

**Educators' Responses to Key
Top-down Citizenship
Education Related Initiatives
2000-2010**

Helen Lawson

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy**

Manchester Metropolitan University
The Education and Social Research Institute

March 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| ABSTRACT | 8 |
| GLOSSARY | 10 |
| Chapter 1 | |
| 1.0 Introduction | 12 |
| 1.1 Context | 12 |
| 1.2 Aims of the research | 13 |
| 1.3 Structure of the thesis | 15 |
| Chapter 2 | |
| 2.0 Research Methodology | 17 |
| 2.1 Reasons for choosing critical realism | 17 |
| 2.2 Realism | 20 |
| 2.3 Critical realism | 20 |
| 2.3.1 Views of reality: Transitive and intransitive knowledge | 21 |
| 2.3.2 Bhaskar's stratification of reality | 22 |
| 2.3.3 Generative mechanisms | 24 |
| 2.4 Research strategy | 28 |
| 2.4.1 Research design | 29 |
| 2.5 Sources of data | 33 |
| 2.6 Sample | 35 |
| 2.6.1 Self selection | 39 |
| 2.7 Research methods | 40 |
| 2.7.1 Introduction | 40 |
| 2.7.2 Questionnaire | 41 |
| 2.7.3 Participant observation | 43 |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------|
| 2.7.3.1 | Levels of participation | 44 |
| 2.7.4 | Interviews | 48 |
| 2.7.5 | Focus group interviews | 53 |
| 2.7.6 | Observation | 59 |
| 2.8 | Data analysis | 61 |
| 2.8.1 | Thematic analysis | 63 |
| 2.8.2 | Further thoughts on the analysis process | 65 |
| 2.9 | Ethical considerations | 69 |
| 2.9.1 | Informed consent | 70 |
| 2.9.2 | Protection from harm | 72 |
| 2.9.3 | An ethically important moment | 73 |
| 2.9.4 | Research diary extract | 73 |
| 2.10 | Significance | 77 |
| 2.11 | Reliability and Validity | 78 |
| 2.12 | Contribution to knowledge | 79 |
| 2.13 | Conclusion | 80 |
| Chapter 3 | | 81 |
| 3.0 | The key citizenship related top-down initiatives: | |
| Context and critique | | 81 |
| 3.1 | Introduction | 81 |
| 3.2 | The Crick Report and the Order for Citizenship | 82 |
| 3.2.1 | Democratic deficit | 83 |
| 3.2.2 | Reinvigoration of community spirit | 85 |
| 3.3.3 | Diversity and difference | 89 |
| 3.3.4 | The gendering of citizenship | 95 |
| 3.3.5 | Delivery | 99 |
| 3.3 | The Macpherson Report | 100 |

| | | |
|------------------|---|------------|
| 3.4 | The Cattle Report | 104 |
| 3.5 | The White Paper: Building Support for Development | 109 |
| 3.6 | The Ajegbo Report | 112 |
| 3.7 | Conclusion | 115 |
| Chapter 4 | | 117 |
| 4.0 | Theme 1: Making sense of citizenship | 117 |
| 4.1 | Introduction to the theme | 117 |
| 4.2 | Background | 118 |
| 4.2.1 | Western political modes of thought | 122 |
| 4.2.2 | Marshall's theory of Citizenship | 126 |
| 4.2.3 | Neo-liberalism and the New Right | 129 |
| 4.2.4 | New Labour | 131 |
| 4.2.5 | Globalisation | 133 |
| 4.3 | Findings | 143 |
| 4.3.1 | The OU project | 143 |
| 4.3.2 | MMU/DEP projects: Tutors and Students | 144 |
| 4.3.3 | Practising teachers | 147 |
| 4.4 | Discussion of findings | 152 |
| Chapter 5 | | 155 |
| 5.0 | Theme 2: Space | 155 |
| 5.1 | Introduction to the theme | 155 |
| 5.2 | Background | 155 |
| 5.2.1 | Citizenship education models and pedagogy | 156 |
| 5.2.2 | The importance of citizenship education | 161 |
| 5.2.3 | The English context | 168 |
| 5.2.4 | A brief history | 168 |
| 5.2.5 | The Order for Citizenship Education | 175 |

| | | |
|------------------|---|------------|
| 5.3 | Findings | 179 |
| 5.3.1 | Finding space | 179 |
| 5.3.2 | Constrained space | 185 |
| 5.3.3 | No space | 188 |
| 5.3.4 | Circumscribed space | 191 |
| 5.3.5 | Enabling space versus Controlled space | 197 |
| 5.3.6 | Authorised space: The importance of remit | 204 |
| 5.4 | Discussion of findings | 206 |
| Chapter 6 | | 208 |
| 6.0 | Theme 3: Managing difference in the classroom | 208 |
| 6.1 | Introduction to the theme | 208 |
| 6.2 | Background | 209 |
| 6.2.1 | Values and virtues | 217 |
| 6.2.2 | Values, virtues and global citizenship | 224 |
| 6.2.3 | Diversity and the curriculum | 228 |
| 6.3 | Findings | 230 |
| 6.3.1 | Recognising diversity | 231 |
| 6.3.2 | Confidence | 238 |
| 6.3.3 | Engaging with difference | 240 |
| 6.3.4 | Diversity of language | 242 |
| 6.3.5 | Diversity through links | 249 |
| 6.4 | Conclusion | |
| Chapter 7 | | 256 |
| 7.0 | Theme 4: Difference, Deliberation and Participation | 256 |
| 7.1 | Introduction to the theme | 256 |
| 7.2 | Background | 257 |
| 7.2.1 | What is a controversial issue? | 258 |

| | | |
|--|---|------------|
| 7.2.2 | Deliberation | 259 |
| 7.2.3 | Minority rights | 265 |
| 7.2.4 | Participation | 267 |
| 7.2.5 | In the classroom | 270 |
| 7.3 | Findings | 272 |
| 7.3.1 | Community participation | 280 |
| 7.3.2 | Transformative participation in the community and the classroom | 283 |
| 7.3.3 | Conflict in the classroom | 287 |
| 7.3.5 | Training as catalyst for change | 291 |
| 7.4 | Discussion of findings | 294 |
| Chapter 8 | | 295 |
| 8.0 | Conclusion | 295 |
| Appendices | | 303 |
| <i>Appendix 1: Open University Questionnaire</i> | | 303 |
| References and bibliography | | 308 |
| <i>List of figures</i> | | |
| <i>Fig. 1:</i> | <i>Matrix of data collection methods and sample</i> | 39 |
| <i>Fig. 2:</i> | <i>Key top-down initiatives relating to Citizenship Education</i> | 81 |
| <i>Fig. 3:</i> | <i>Prevention of racism the Role of Education</i> | 103 |
| <i>Fig. 4:</i> | <i>Education for Global Citizenship: A Guide for Schools, Oxfam</i> | 172 |

ABSTRACT

Introduction: In 2001, the year before citizenship education became a statutory subject in England there were disturbances and violence ‘involving large numbers of people from different cultural backgrounds’ (The Cantle Report, 2001). That same year the attacks on the Twin Towers rocked the world and in 2005 so-called ‘home-grown’ extremists bombed London killing 52 people.

Reports were commissioned to explore the reasons behind these events and to suggest recommended ways forward. Concerns were raised about intuitional racism, internal security, a lack of a sense of Britishness and extremism. All prompted an education response. From 2002 teachers had to cope with more and more education initiatives and directives which addressed key issues and concerns, with citizenship education in particular being seen as playing a key role in bringing about the necessary societal change.

The aims of this research are to show how teachers, student teachers and tutors say they are responding to the many top-down initiatives related to citizenship education, and reveal the mechanisms that impact on the ways in which educators say they are responding to the top-down initiatives related to citizenship education.

Methodology: The research uses a qualitative research design which is underpinned by critical realism. Critical realism helped to provide the necessary methodological framework to reveal the generative mechanisms which might be working to influence educators’ responses (tendencies) to top-down initiatives; and how and why these tendencies occur in some settings but not others. The empirical research has been generated over a ten year period and I employed a variety of data collection tools including questionnaires; semi-structured interview; focus group and participant observation.

Findings: The number of top-down initiatives that have been introduced by the government has seen some very different responses from educators. Some educators are able to interlace different agendas and weave varied themes together in creative ways as a means of addressing different demands. For others the initiatives seem to be source of pressure which sets up a tendency to interpret the initiatives as something more, something additional that has to be managed, particularly in the case where educators are having to address different priorities such as raising or maintaining results. This in turn helps to create further sets of tendencies and tensions with some educators employing teaching and learning processes which are incompatible with citizenship education.

Conclusion: While there are a number of mechanisms which seem to be particularly significant to tendency generation including school context and appropriate training, highly significant mechanisms for generating educators’ responses are personal commitment and motivation, and the ability to think creatively. It is possible that, through appropriate training, educators can acquire skills in creative and critical thinking. However the passion and motivation to teach citizenship education is much harder to impart. The majority of educators who were committed to citizenship, and in particular those committed to teaching for diversity and dialogue, had had some kind of personal experience which had not only provoked commitment but also provided a personal resource for educators to draw on in the classroom, which in turn helped to increase educators’ confidence to address potentially highly controversial issues. The potential for innovative educator training to capture and transmit the feelings that personal experience can inspire is thus an area that would benefit from further research.

GLOSSARY

| | |
|------|--|
| CC | Citizenship Coordinator |
| CE | Citizenship Education |
| CP | Citizenship Provider |
| CPD | Continuing Professional Development |
| CR | Critical Realism |
| DEA | Development Education Association |
| DEP | Manchester Development Education Project |
| DFES | Department for Education and Skills |
| DCSF | Department of Children, Schools and Families |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| DoE | Department of Education |
| EAL | English as an Additional Language |
| ESD | Education for Sustainable Development |
| ECM | Every Child Matters |
| GA | Gaining Authority |
| GCE | Global Citizenship Education |
| GD | Global Dimension |
| GED | Global Education Derby |
| GLEN | Global Education Network |
| GM | Global Mapping |
| ISA | International Schools Award |
| MMU | Manchester Metropolitan University |
| NQT | Newly Qualified Teacher |
| OSDE | Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry |
| OU | Open University |
| P4C | Philosophy for Citizenship |

| | |
|-----|---|
| QCA | Qualifications and Curriculum Authority |
| QTS | Qualified Teacher Status |
| WH | Widening Horizons |

CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Context

This thesis is the result of a ten year critical examination of educators' responses to top-down initiatives related to citizenship education, education for global citizenship, and the drive to include a global dimension in classroom teaching. I first started researching citizenship education in the year 2000, two years before it became a statutory subject for 11-14 year olds in England and Wales. Since that time I have been researching how teachers and other educators say they are responding to citizenship related top-down initiatives.

Interest in citizenship during the 1990s was sparked by a number political events and trends all over the world but reasons for this differ from country to country:

Whereas leaders in the new regimes are concerned that their citizens learn the basic skills of political participation, elites in the older democracies worry that the foundations of their once self-confident political systems are weakening and hope that civic education will play a role in reversing the downward direction in the conventional indicators of political participation, such as voter turnout. (Halpern et al 2002, p217)

In the UK the revival of interest in citizenship was prompted by a number of phenomena: increasing voter apathy, the resurgence of nationalist movements in Eastern Europe, the stresses created by an increasingly multicultural and multiracial population in Western Europe, the backlash against the welfare state in Thatcher's England and the failure of environmental policies that rely on voluntary citizen cooperation (see Delanty, 2000; Faulks, 1998, 2000; Isin and Turner, 2002; Kymlicka and Norman, 2000; Turner, 2009).

For many these issues highlighted that a healthy, functioning, modern democracy depends not only on 'the justice of its basic structure' but also 'the qualities and attitudes of its citizens'

(Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, p352). These ‘qualities and attitudes’ include a sense of identity and how competing forms of national, regional, ethnic or religious identities are viewed; their ability to tolerate and work with others who are different from themselves; their desire to actively take part in political processes in order to promote the public good; a willingness to show self-restraint and exercise personal responsibility over their economic demands; and exercise personal responsibility in personal choices which affect their health and the environment. (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, p353). It is argued that if citizens do not possess these qualities ‘democracies become difficult to govern, even unstable’ (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, p353).

In 2001, the year before Citizenship became a statutory subject there were disturbances and violence ‘involving large numbers of people from different cultural backgrounds’ (The Cantle Report, 2001). That same year the attacks on the Twin Towers rocked the world and in 2005 so-called ‘home-grown’ extremists bombed London killing 52 people.

Reports were commissioned to explore the reasons behind these events and to suggest recommended ways forward. Concerns were raised about institutional racism, internal security, a lack of a sense of Britishness and extremism. All prompted an education response. From 2002 teachers had to cope with more and more education initiatives and directives which addressed key issues and concerns, with citizenship education in particular being seen as playing a key role in bringing about the necessary societal change.

1.2 Aims of research

The research aims are to:

- a) Show how teachers, student teachers and tutors say they are responding to the many top-down initiatives related to citizenship education

- b) Reveal the generative mechanisms that impact on the ways in which educators say they are responding to the top-down initiatives related to citizenship education
- c) Explain the tendencies and tensions produced by the mechanisms
- d) Explore the key top-down initiatives relating to citizenship education

The objectives are to:

- a) Use critical realism as the methodological tool to enable generative mechanisms to be revealed
- b) Establish how the top-down initiatives have been developed in response to wider concerns about citizenship
- c) Describe and understand how citizenship is perceived by educators taking into account the paradigmatic shifts in citizenship discourse over the decade of research
- d) Explore and analyse educators' responses to the key top-down initiatives related to citizenship education
- e) Identify and consider how the shifting and changing landscape of citizenship might work to either inhibit or encourage creative responses to citizenship education related top-down initiatives

The key research questions are:

- a) How do teacher, tutors and other involved professionals say they have responded to the ever changing landscape of citizenship education?
- b) What are the factors that are influencing teachers' responses?

1.3 *Structure of the thesis*

This thesis is presented in eight chapters. Chapter 1 provides the introduction and context of my research, and outlines my research aims and objectives. In Chapter 2 I present my research methodology, research design and research methods. For this research I wanted to move beyond simply reporting educators' responses to an understanding of the actual and real conditions under which interpretation of top-down initiatives takes place and how this influences interpretation. I was therefore drawn to retrodution and the notion of generative mechanisms as an explanatory tool for explaining behaviour and choice which led me to critical realism as a methodology. Critical realism helped to provide the necessary methodological framework to reveal the generative mechanisms which might be working to influence educators' responses (tendencies) to top-down initiatives; and how and why these tendencies occur in some settings but not others. Chapter 3 provides an analysis and critique of the key reports which resulted in top-down initiatives related to citizenship education. This chapter provides the context for my research and relates to Stage 1 of the research design which is description of context

In chapters 4 -7, I explore the themes which have emerged from my research data. The themes are: *Making sense of citizenship; Space; Managing difference in the classroom; Difference, deliberation and participation.*

Each of these chapters follows the same format: introduction to the theme and a theme-related literature review. This relates to Stages 3 and 4 of the research design which correspond to the operations of abduction and retrodution. I finish each of these chapters with a discussion of findings and suggestions of possible explanations for educators' responses to the top down initiatives. This relates to stage 5 of the research design.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion to the thesis and outlines the key mechanisms which have the strongest explanatory power related to the empirical evidence, and help to explain educators' tendential responses to the key citizenship related top-down initiatives.

.

Chapter 2

2.0 Research Methodology

2.1 Reasons for choosing critical realism

I considered employing phenomenology as a methodology which privileges the idea of a socially constructed reality. However, phenomenology does not take note of how social structures and processes impact on interpretation. Phenomenology examines the ‘domain of the actual’ and so ‘cannot establish the hidden dynamics of the multi-relational stratified nature of shared discourse’ (Crinson, 2001, p11).

As Porter (1993, 2002) argues, this highlights the subjective at the expense of recognition of the causal effects of the wider social world on individuals’ subjectivities. For this research I wanted to move beyond simply reporting educators’ responses to an understanding of the actual and real conditions under which interpretation of top-down initiatives takes place and how this influences interpretation.

I was therefore drawn to retrodution and the notion of generative mechanisms as an explanatory tool for explaining behaviour and choice which led me to critical realism as a methodology. Critical realism helped to provide the necessary methodological framework to reveal the generative mechanisms which might be working to influence educators’ responses (tendencies) to top-down initiatives; and how and why these tendencies occur in some settings but not others.

For example lack of time came up repeatedly in the focus groups with students. I knew that some teachers and some students were committed to teaching active global citizenship and to including a global dimension in the classroom. What I did not know was why they were so

readily taken up by some individuals, and ignored by others. What was it about their lived experiences that brought about this phenomenon? As Hollway and Jefferson state (2000)

Once methods allow for individuals to express what they mean, theories not only have to address the status of these meanings for that person and their understanding by the researcher, but they must also take into account the uniqueness of individuals. (p14)

I was keen to uncover what was underneath the 'busy' discourse. As a critical realist I cannot assume to understand the external world directly because it is mediated by language. The meanings available through language can never represent the world neutrally but it can be described and I wanted to try and find accounts that came as close as possible to explain what is real. In trying to make sense of global citizenship and a global dimension a discourse of busy-ness, was being employed. To be busy explained away non-involvement and non-action and students were investing in a discourse that legitimates inactivity. These claims in part rely on other people also buying in to this discourse, for example tutors, and so a framework is constructed that prevents critical engagement with global citizenship. This then allows the student to give a plausible and socially acceptable reason for not trying to understand a hugely complex area.

Moreover it is very difficult to constructively challenge someone who says that they have been too busy to do something. It is possible to have doubts as whether this is a 'real' reason but it is not possible to know someone else's reality to the extent that it is possible to dispute whether they thought they were busy or not. I was therefore keen to find out what lay behind these statements and stories of being busy. It became apparent through further interviews and focus groups that a significant number of students felt that there was already 'too much to do' on the course and considered that there was no room for additional initiatives, particularly if these initiatives were not assessed. The focus groups also revealed varying levels of commitment to and understanding of citizenship and including a global dimension, with a

strong positive correlation between overseas experience and personal interest in citizenship issues. Moreover, this feeling of being too busy was further entrenched by university department culture through tutors endorsing claims from students that they, the students, had ‘enough to deal with’.

Retroductive analysis reveals how certain mechanisms are generating particular responses to top-down initiatives. Thus for students the phrase ‘too busy’ (tendency) comes to encapsulate a whole range of other issues (generative mechanisms) and almost becomes a short hand way for some students of saying that they do not understand the concept of citizenship or including a global dimension; the teacher training course is highly pressurised and they are finding it hard to cope; or that they do not feel CE and including a global dimension are a priority.

Below I explore critical realism in more detail.

2.2 *Realism*

Realism ‘entails a belief in the existence of a reality independent of individual consciousness; in common sense terms, a belief in “things out there” that exist even though we may not perceive them directly’ (Carter, 2000, p56). On one level this is easy to accept. We know, for example, that when we leave our house and the people in it they continue to live and act out their realities even though we cannot see them. However, while we might accept that there is a reality ‘out there’ that exists independent of our thoughts, this raises some important questions. If reality exists independent of us as individuals, how it is possible for us to have knowledge of that reality and how might it be constructed. Once constructed, what might this new knowledge look like, and how congruent is this new knowledge created by the person or people who did not experience the original reality with the reality of that experienced in the

first instance? Indeed is this the difference between authentic and erroneous reality? If so, one might question whether it is necessary to try and go about knowing this ‘other’ reality that is potentially unknowable and possibly erroneous.

However, this external reality is crucial because how we interpret, perceive and think about it will impact on our actions and on our potential as human beings. Choosing not to know reduces our potential and opportunities for transformation, and stasis will continue. Understanding our external reality enables us to recognize the structures and processes which have the potential to bring about change and transformation. There are, then, epistemological questions about how we acquire knowledge of realities that exists independent of us, and ontological questions of how we interpret these realities.

2.3 *Critical realism*

Critical realism (CR) provides a robust philosophical and methodological framework for the use of a range of qualitative methods in order to better understand the ways in which educators say they are responding to top-down initiatives and policies. The advantages of this methodology are that it is ontological, focusing on causality through retroductive analysis. As Danermark et al (2001) explain:

Critical realism involves a switch from epistemology to ontology, and within ontology a switch to events and mechanisms. This is the core of critical realism, and it indicates a metatheory with far-reaching consequences for scientific work ... In short the point of departure in critical realism is that the world is structured, differentiated, stratified and changing. (p5)

The switch from events to mechanisms means attention shifts from the events themselves to what produces the events. According to CR ‘generative mechanisms’ can produce an event which becomes ‘empirical fact’ (Danermark et al, 2001, p5) when experienced. In order to

acquire knowledge about generative mechanisms the focus of research must be on these mechanisms not on the observable and empirically experienced events.

2.3.1 *Views of reality: Transitive and intransitive knowledge*

The starting point for CR is to argue that ‘science is not just about recording constant conjunctions of observable events’ (Mingers et al, 2013, p796). Bhaskar (1998) argues that a philosophy of science needs to find a way of:

Grappling with this central paradox of science: that men in their social activity produce knowledge which is a social product much like any other, which is no more independent of its production and the men who produce it than motor cars, armchairs or books, which has its own craftsmen, technicians, publicists, standards and skills and which is no less subject to change than any other commodity. (p16)

This, Bhaskar states, is one side of knowledge; the other is knowledge ‘*of*’ things which are not produced by men at all. These ‘objects of knowledge’ do not depend on human activity and, as he says, if men ceased to exist sound would continue to travel. Thus science is about the objects, entities and structures that exist, even if they cannot be observed, which generate the events that we observe. These he calls the ‘intransitive objects of knowledge’, or ‘the raw materials of science – the artificial objects fashioned into items of knowledge by the science of the day’ (p11). These include the ‘antecedently established facts and theories, paradigms, and models, methods and techniques of inquiry available to a particular scientific school or worker’ (p11).

Thus causal laws would continue to act whether we have knowledge of them or not, *but* they are not dependent on our knowledge of them in order to exist. In order for them to become knowable there is a requisite for ‘knowledge-like antecedents’ (p12). In this way transitive knowledge, knowledge that has been created to explain things is used to explore the unknown (but knowable) intransitive objects of knowledge. As a result the intransitive objects of

knowledge are knowable through already held scientific knowledge to produce them. Bhaskar (*ibid.*) argues that an adequate philosophy of science needs to sustain and reconcile both these aspects, showing how science is a transitive process dependent on antecedent knowledge and the activity of men, and which has intransitive objects which depend on neither. For Bhaskar (*ibid.*) both empirical and idealist approaches fail to understand what the world has to do with this dual structure of knowledge, where a philosophy of science must satisfy both:

1. A criterion of the non-spontaneous production of knowledge, viz. the production of knowledge from and by means of knowledge (in the transitive dimension), and
2. A criterion of structural and essential realism, viz. the independent existence and activity of causal structures and things (in the intransitive dimension) (p14).

2.3.2 Bhaskar's stratification of reality

Key to critical realism is the recognition of a reality which is external to us and that 'there is an ontological distinction between scientific laws and patterns of events' (Bhaskar, 1978, p12). These laws depend on 'natural mechanisms' and:

It is only if we make the assumption of the real independence of such mechanisms from the events they generate that we are justified in assuming that they endure and go on acting in their normal way outside the experimentally closed conditions that enable us to empirically identify them. (p13)

This premise can be articulated in terms of 'epistemic fallacy' (Bhaskar, 1978, p16) which is the conflation of reality with our knowledge of it. For CR ontology is key; the world exists whether humans exist or not:

Events must occur independently of the experiences in which they are apprehended. Structures and mechanisms then are real and distinct from the patterns of events that they generate; just as events are real and distinct from the experiences in which they are apprehended. (Bhaskar, 1978, p56)

Bhaskar (*ibid.*) sees experience by others not only as part of their narrative or a function of our beliefs about them, but as existing whether or not these experiences are acknowledged.

Critical realism presupposes an objective reality which exists independently of our thoughts

and whose discovery is one purpose of knowledge acquisition. Descriptions of that reality are mediated through the filters of language, meaning-making and social context. The gap between the real world and our knowledge of it can never be closed. This does not imply that 'all beliefs are equally valid in the sense that there are no rational grounds for preferring one to another' (Bhaskar, 1986, p72). Reality cannot be known for sure but it can be described. The obligation is to try and find the account that comes as close as possible to explaining what is real.

The separation of ontology from epistemology leads Bhaskar (*ibid.*) to stratify the world of existing things:

Mechanisms, events and experiences thus constitute three overlapping domains of reality, viz. the domains of the *real*, the *actual*, and the *empirical*. (p56)

The 'empirical' level is that of experience and observation. This is the level from which explorations of reality start. Individuals experience and observe the world in very different ways consequently this layer is recognised to be constantly changing, constructed and relative. The 'actual' level consists of all events that take place in the world, whether experienced or not. The actual and the empirical co-exist since 'we experience events as they happen' (p13). The third level is the real (causal) level and is made up of structures and mechanisms, natural and social and which have 'an objective existence, and from which events at the level of the actual, and observations and experiences at the level of the empirical emerge' (Boughey, undated, p3). This dimension consists of objects of knowledge that are 'in general terms invariant' (*non-changing*) with respect to our knowledge of them; they are the real structures, mechanisms and processes, events and possibilities of the world; and for the most part they are quite independent of us' (Bhaskar, 1978, p15).

At this level structures and mechanisms are intransitive but they are also tendential rather than causal. Structures and mechanisms may be dormant or active and ‘may come together to produce unexpected effects in myriad ways’. Even though the causal level of reality may not be open to direct perception, it is still seen by Bhaskar as in some way real ‘the domain of the real is distinct from and greater than the domain of the empirical’ (Bhaskar, 1998, p. xii). As Houston (2001) says: ‘It is real because it causes events to occur’ (p76).

What is important is ‘the recognition of the possibility that powers may exist unexercised therefore what has happened or been known to have happened does not mean this is the limit of what could happen or have happened, this therefore makes it possible to understand how we could be or become many things which we are not’ (Sayer, 2000, p13).

Bhaskar (2008) argues that causes are not a series of events which inevitably follow on from each other. Instead a cause is to be understood as a power belonging to a thing and refers to powers, mechanisms, or structures by which objects are capable of acting. According to Bhaskar (2008) the antecedent of a causal claim may be present but the anticipated result does not necessarily follow. This is not due to false claims but is instead due to other intervening causes which prevented the anticipated result from occurring.

In this way critical realism is committed to the notion of emergence. This is the belief that new entities and powers will emerge as a result of the interaction between generative mechanisms and entities operating at the different levels of reality:

Concrete phenomena are complexly composed of powers and mechanism, which affect, reinforce, weaken, and sometimes neutralize the effects of one another. The question of which mechanisms are most significant for the object under study can, therefore, only be decided from case to case, through empirical studies and in relation to the problem we address. (Danermark et al, 2002, pp62-63)

2.3.3 *Generative mechanisms*

The uncovering of ‘generative mechanisms’ is therefore key to social explanation in CR. A particular combination of internally and related objects acts as a ‘generative mechanism’ (Bhaskar, 1978) for phenomena at a higher ontological level. All phenomena can be explained partly by their underlying generative mechanisms but they cannot be reduced to them. In a complex social world multiple causal mechanisms, including the interpretations of each situation made by each individual, constantly interact with, negate and reinforce each other. Generative mechanisms are neither determinative nor all-explaining. Rejecting simple linear causality, critical realism describes a social world in which there are multiple opportunities for intervention and change.

Crucial here is Bhaskar’s distinction between ‘open’ and ‘closed’ systems. Critical realists view the world as an open system comprising a range of heterogeneous systems each with their own distinct mechanisms. Open systems have multiple mechanisms and interactions taking place at any one time. These can never be replicated and this needs to be recognised when making generalisations from research:

These are the tendencies of objects to behave in certain, typical ways by virtue of their essential structures, so that, although these structures will be necessarily unperceivable, we can know them by their effects. This allows for the notion of ontological depth, the idea that real, causal structures underlie the surface manifestations of phenomena. (Carter, 2000, p630)

Generative mechanisms have to be identified in a way that, ‘make it possible to describe how and under what circumstances exactly these mechanisms exist, and how they interact in exactly these circumstances’ (Danermark et al, 2002, p69).

The effects of the countervailing and complementary mechanisms mean that it is not possible to predict the outcome of an intervention. Critical realism puts forward the idea that

mechanisms produce tendencies. In this way attention is guided to an understanding and explanation of those tendencies. Firm prediction is not sought. Instead CR strives for the identification, analysis and explanation of psychological and societal mechanisms and their causal tendencies, which *if* they ‘were to exist and act in the postulated way would account for the phenomenon in question’ (Bhaskar, 1979, p. 15).

However the human subject can never have a completely true view of the social world. Only a transitive view can be attained, therefore a position of fallibility must be adopted.

Carter (2000) uses a seed analogy to make this point: we see the flowers blossom but we cannot see the generative structures within the seed that will cause it to germinate and bloom. Furthermore these seeds, given the right conditions, have the potential to germinate and bloom whether we are aware of them or not. Their reality is not dependent on us knowing about it. However we can affect that reality for some seeds because we have the knowledge that allows us to. Moreover, drawing on what we know we can therefore not only expect particular tendencies, in some cases we can also influence the reality of others.

For Collier (1994):

Things have the powers that they do because of their structures, then, and we can investigate the structures that generate powers, and to an extent predict the powers from the structures. Structures cause powers to be exercised gives some input, some ‘efficient cause’ eg, the match lights when you strike it. In asking about the structure generating some power of unity, we are asking about a mechanism generating an event. A mechanism in this sense is not necessarily mechanical in the sense of Newtonian mechanics. It could be an animal instinct, an economic tendency, a syntactic structure, a Freudian ‘defence mechanism’. (p43)

For Archer (1995) the stratification of reality is recognized as ‘both the horizontal and vertical evaluations of why they (structure and processes) are occurring that is historical factors and current context’ (p196). There is thus a need for a sound level of contextual knowledge - historical, political and social, in order to interpret the mechanisms present.

According to Archer (1995), structure, culture and agency are key to understanding the social world. Structure relates to material resources, recurring patterns of social behaviour and the interrelationship between different elements of society around the distribution of these material resources. Structure relates to concepts like social class, gender, race, marriage, education. Culture concerns ideas, beliefs, values and ideologies. Agency refers to the personal and psychological makeup of people 'in relation to their social roles and relates to the capacity people have to act in a voluntary way'. Archer suggests that structure, culture and agency should be viewed as separate domains of reality which each have distinct properties and powers. Each should be analysed separately, interplay should be explored and conflation avoided.

Indeed Archer (2000) argues that upwards, downwards and central conflation 'conceals the emergent powers of people and the foundations of human agency' (p19). Downwards conflation is the 'displacement of the human subject and celebration of the power of social forces to shape and to mould' (p19). People are conceived as possessing no personal powers which can make a difference or offer resistance to the forces of socialisation. Upwards conflation involves the role of power in the imposition of culture and denies emergent powers at the level of society or culture:

Here conflation is from the bottom upwards, since it is Socio-Cultural conflict which generates a common Cultural System – usually represented as 'the dominant ideology'. (Archer, 1996, p47)

According to Archer (1995), upwards and downwards conflationists:

Always advance some device which reduces one [strata] to the other, thus depriving the two of independent properties, capable of exerting autonomous influences (p. 6).

A third form is central conflation where structure and agency are seen as being co-constitutive. That is, structure is reproduced through agency which is concurrently constrained and made possible by structure:

Agents cannot act without drawing upon structural properties whose own existence depends upon their instantiation by agents. (Archer, 1995, p. 13)

In contrast Archer argues for an analytical dualism which acknowledges emergent, stratified natural powers with causal powers at the level of both individual and society: ‘both humanity and society have their own *sui generis* properties and powers, which makes their interplay the central issue of social theory’ (Archer, 2000, p17). This analytical dualism enables us to explore the processes of change and how reproduction and transformation occur, and to take account of both individual and collective agency, and structural change at the level of society.

This was a crucial point for my research. I wanted to see if I could uncover the generative mechanisms at work for those involved with global citizenship education. In trying to unpack the different realities I could know the impact of the citizenship education teaching at a certain level: through what I was told, what I observed (and how I myself constructed that reality) and in the process piece together another reality separate from, but intermingled with, the event as it was originally experienced.

My aim was to be able to uncover the generative mechanisms which might impact on and explain how educators say that they are responding to the top-down initiatives. To enable generative mechanisms to be revealed retroductive analysis is necessary

2.4 *Research strategy*

According to van Heur (2010):

The research cycle, following such a retroductive approach, is thus constructed as follows: first, the observation of an interesting or surprising fact is followed by abductive reasoning, which tries to make a guess that could explain the fact; second, deductive reasoning is applied to explicate the guess (through formulation of a general rule); and third inductive reasoning is used to test and evaluate the guess (through observation). (p422)

Commitment to retroductive analysis meant that my research design needed to be one which would enable and allow the probing of generative mechanisms. This can only be achieved through a research design which allows investigation into the mechanisms and the conditions that produce and reproduce them with the objective being to explain social phenomena rather than predict, describe or deconstruct it. Applied to my study the key was to reveal the mechanisms that could explain why educators are responding in the way that they say they are, and why these occur in some settings but not others.

2.4.1 Research design

In designing the research I employed a combination of Pawson and Tilley's (1997) Context-Mechanisms-Outcome model and Danermark et al's (1997) model. Pawson and Tilley (1997) developed a critical realist model of theory driven evaluation called 'realistic evaluation'. Their model involves developing a 'context-mechanism-outcome pattern-configuration' (CMOC) that enables the researcher to understand 'what works for whom in what circumstances' (Tilley, 2000). Danermark et al's (1997) six-stage model for explanatory research is made up as follows: Description; Analytic resolution; Abduction/Theoretical redescription; Retroduction; Comparisons between different theories and abstractions; Concretisation and contextualisation. Below I outline the content of the two models and how they specifically relate to my research design.

Stage 1 Description (what Pawson and Tilley (1997) refer to as 'context'). An explanatory social science analysis 'usually starts in the actual or real, and researchers

identify the event or situation they intend to empirically research' (Danermark et al, 1997, p5). The situation I wanted to research was the implementation of top-down initiatives and I therefore provide a description of the key top-down initiatives that are the central focus of my research. This also provides the context for my research and I include analysis and critique of the top-down initiatives together with reasons for their introduction.

According to Danermark et al (1997) an essential aspect of this stage of the research is to acknowledge the role of the researcher in describing and designing the research, and interpreting data. Reflexivity is crucial and the researcher must be cognisant of the effects 'their position and prejudices' (p5) may have on the research data. I therefore kept a reflexive diary throughout the research process. In addition I was able to share thoughts, feelings and ideas with others in a variety of ways including conference presentations, workshops, meetings and discussions with my supervisor and others involved in citizenship education related research.

Stage 2 Analytical resolution focuses on 'components, aspects or dimensions' (Danermark et al, 2002, p109) of the phenomena under study. The key components are the real objects of the case such as the persons, organisations and systems. The key components of my research are the educators and the education organisations in which they work. They constitute structures and networks of objects with causal powers and are the focus of the empirical research. Figure 1 below shows my research data collection methods and sample.

Stages 3 and 4 These stages correspond to the operations of abduction and retroduction. The process of retroduction aims to explain the conditions for the social phenomena being explored, through the postulation of a set of generative mechanisms which can account for, and contextualize, the discourses of the specific social agents being investigated (Crimson 2001).

Mechanisms relate to:

The process of how individuals interpret and execute the intervention. Programmes are theories incarnate. They begin in the heads of policy architects, pass into the hands of practitioners and, sometimes, into the hearts and minds of programme subjects. These conjectures originate with an understanding of what gives rise to inappropriate behaviour, or to discriminatory events, or to inequalities of social condition and then move to speculate on how changes may be made to these patterns. Interventions are always inserted into existing social systems that are thought to underpin and account for present problems. (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, p3)

Davies (2008) argues that we cannot assume that behavioural observations are representative of a particular social world nor is it possible to wholly reveal or reconstruct the social world through an understanding of actors' meanings and beliefs. Instead the explanation of observable events necessitates consideration of the conditions that enabled these events.

Archer (1998) illuminates this idea through:

Observing a cherry tree in England depends on its prior importation from China, just as experiencing educational discrimination is posterior to a given definition of achievement being institutionalized. (p196)

Davies (2008) suggests that this introduces the need for historicity when offering explanation, in conjunction with recognition of 'the layering of social phenomena and the contingency of social explanation'. He says that literature is therefore necessary in order to provide a structural context and contextual knowledge acquired about a subject from theory and ideas is necessary for laying bare the reasons for action. My research design therefore included analysis of background literature relating to citizenship and citizenship education. I used retroductive thematic analysis to analyse the empirical data. I discuss the analysis in more detail below.

Stage 5 At this stage comparisons are made between different theories and abstractions, and 'one elaborates and estimates the relative explanatory power of the mechanisms and

structures which have been described by means of abduction and retroduction within the frame of stages 3 and 4' (Danermark et al, 2002, p110).

This interactive process searches for connections between subjective interpretations, actual events and deeper causal explanations. My thesis therefore includes discussion and suggestion of possible explanations for educators' responses to the top down initiatives. General theories are regarded as 'instruments to be used in the interpretation and analysis of concrete social situations' (Danermark et al, 2002, p140). In this way:

Theories and theoretical concepts help researchers not only to reach to satisfactory explanations of reality but also to trace and investigate new features of social reality deemed to remain unexamined with certain theoretical armory. (Iosifides, 2013, p137)

For this stage I found Pawson and Tilley's (1997) description of outcome patterns very useful during the analysis process and in helping to establish the most likely mechanisms to explain tendencies. Outcome patterns comprise the intended and unintended consequences of programmes, resulting from the activation of different mechanisms in different contexts. Programmes are embedded in social systems. This means that realist evaluation must take notice of the different layers of social reality which make up and surround programmes. Programmes are almost always introduced into multiple contexts, in the sense that mechanisms activated by the interventions will vary and will do so according to saliently different conditions. Because of relevant variations in context and mechanisms thereby activated, any programme is liable to have mixed outcome patterns. Programmes are open systems which means that they cannot be fully isolated or kept constant:

Unanticipated events, political change, personnel moves, physical and technological shifts, inter-programme and intra-programme interactions, practitioner learning, media coverage, organisational imperatives, performance management innovations and so on make programmes permeable and plastic. (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, p5)

These externalities will impact on programme delivery which means that programmes are never delivered in exactly the same way.

Stage 6 Concretisation and contextualisation, is to find the key mechanisms and this involves consideration of ‘how different structures and mechanisms manifest themselves in concrete situations’ (Danermark et al 2002, p110). These key mechanisms are the ones with the strongest explanatory power related to the empirical evidence; that is, the causal structure that best explains the events observed (Sayer, 1992). In the conclusion I therefore include elaboration of the key mechanisms which help to explain educators’ tendential responses to the top-down initiatives.

The following section includes details of my sources of data and sampling and I include a matrix of data collection methods and samples. I then outline my research methods before describing my procedures for data analysis and discussing ethical considerations, and research significance, reliability and validity.

2.5 *Sources of data*

Empirical data are drawn from a variety of different projects over a ten year period. They are as follows:

The Open University. From 2000-2002 I worked as a Research Fellow in Citizenship Education for the Open University. During this time I administered and analysed a questionnaire which was sent to all secondary schools in Lincolnshire. However the results of this questionnaire are unpublished and I have been able to usefully bring this research into my PhD thesis. I also draw on empirical research conducted at one Lincolnshire school (selected from the questionnaire) which includes two interviews conducted with the school’s citizenship education provider and citizenship education coordinator.

Including a Global Dimension in Initial Teacher Education and Training (Phase 1). Two key sources of data are the two joint projects managed Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) and Manchester Development Education Project (DEP). Both projects were funded by the Department for International Development (DFID) and were developed in response to the global dimension imperative. Phase 1 was a three year project which aimed to reshape the Initial Teacher Education and Training courses at MMU so that trainee teachers would have a critical understanding of issues related to the global dimension and the necessary skills and values to address the issues in the classroom. During this project my research found that there were a number of obstacles preventing trainees from fully engaging with the global dimension in the classroom. A significant barrier was that trainees felt they were not adequately supported by their mentors or class teachers. Reasons cited for this included lack of relevant resources in schools; mentors' lack of knowledge and understanding of citizenship education and an unwillingness to allow students to experiment with different pedagogies. Phase 2 (below) was developed in response to these issues.

Partnership Schools and the Global Dimension (Phase 2). Phase 2 focused on training mentors in MMU's partnership schools so that they were better able to support students and newly qualified teachers NQTs to include a global dimension in their teaching.

Widening Horizons. Widening Horizons was a three year project managed by Global Education Derby, a specialist educational organisation working in schools and communities across Derby and Derbyshire to encourage active participation in initiatives to address global poverty and environmental degradation. The main aim of Widening Horizons was the development of teacher skills and educational frameworks to enhance whole school global citizenship programmes through citizenship education, the Community Cohesion

requirement, and school twinning. The project worked with secondary schools in Derby and Derbyshire.

Gaining Authority. Gaining Authority was a three-year project funded by DFID and worked with groups of primary teachers to develop and use enquiry-based resources and methodologies to use in the classroom, in particular Philosophy for Global Citizenship (P4GC) and Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE).

Global Mapping: Bristol and South Gloucestershire. This project researched teachers' understanding of and commitment to a global dimension and global citizenship education. All research for this project was undertaken in Bristol.

2.6 Sample

Data were collected using a purposeful sampling approach in order to maximize the opportunity to learn from a wide range of respondents. With a purposeful non-random sample the number of people interviewed is less important than the criteria used to select them:

The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting *information-rich cases* for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term *purposeful sampling*. (Patton, 1990, p169)

Criteria for selection of respondents were as follows:

- The Open University:

Two schools were selected from a questionnaire sent to all secondary and special schools in Lincolnshire. Schools were asked to state whether they would be interested in participating in a project researching citizenship education. School 1 was chosen on the basis of the high level of citizenship education work they had developed. School 2

was selected on the basis of their approach to active citizenship and pupil participation in the community.

- MMU/DEP projects:

- Tutors. Those interviewed were participants in the projects ‘Including a global dimension’ and ‘Partnership Schools and the Global Dimension’.
- Students. Participants for the focus groups with students were invited from cohorts of students who had been engaged with and been exposed to global citizenship and global dimension work through the MMU/DEP project. Students were invited through email invitation and gentle reminders from tutors. It was important that participants in the focus group were ‘similar’. A group with very different characteristics will decrease the quality of the data (Patton, 1990) because individuals may censor their ideas if they are with people who are very different from them in power, status, job, income, education or personal characteristics. It is also very important that a single focus group is not relied upon for data generation.
- Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs). After the focus groups with students I asked participants to contact me if they would like to take part in a semi-structured interview during their NQT year which would further explore their global dimension and global citizenship teaching. Four NQTS were interviewed as a result of this process.

- Gaining Authority and Widening Horizons:

I was external evaluator for both these projects which were funded by DFID and managed by GED. The teachers involved with the projects were obliged to participate

in the evaluation research as part of their funding requirements. GED contacted schools on my behalf to make teachers aware of my PhD research and to ask whether they would be interested and willing to participate. All teachers were keen to be involved in the wider research process.

- *Global Mapping: Bristol and South Gloucestershire:*

Schools were identified by the organisation that commissioned the research, African Initiatives (AI). Head teachers of potential schools were contacted from a database of AI's contacts. AI introduced the research, outlining what was required from research participants and the purposes of the research. I was then introduced as the researcher via an email from AI to those schools that wanted to participate. I personally contacted schools after the introductory email to arrange a convenient time to come in to the schools to conduct the semi-structured interviews.

| Year of research | Project | Project Code | Data collection method | Sample |
|------------------|--|--------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Year 1 | Open University | OU | Questionnaire | Sent to 73 no. schools 44 no. returned |
| | | | Semi-structured interviews | CE coordinator CE provider |
| | | | Lesson observation | Year 7 double period citizenship lesson |
| | | | Observation | Pupil school council meeting |
| | | | Focus group | 5 pupils |
| Year 2 | Including a Global Dimension in Teacher Training | MMU/DEP | 2 x focus group | <i>PG Primary students:</i> 7 participants. 4 female; 3 male <i>PG Secondary students:</i> 8 participants. 5 female; 3 male |
| | | | 5 x semi-structured interview | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tutor Secondary Programmes • Tutor Primary |

| | | | | |
|---------------|--|----------|--|---|
| | | | | Programmes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geography Subject Tutor • RE Subject Tutor • History Subject Tutor |
| | | | Participant observation | Project Away Day |
| Year 3 | Including a Global Dimension in Teacher Training | MMU/DEP | 3x Focus group | <i>BEd. Global citizenship option students:</i> 6 participants. 3 female; 3 male <i>PG Primary students:</i> 5 participants. 3 female. 2 male <i>PG Secondary students:</i> 8 participants. 6 female; 2 male |
| | | | 5 x Semi-structured interview | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tutor Secondary Programmes • Tutor Secondary Programmes • Geography NQT • RE NQT |
| | | | Participant observation | Project Away Day |
| Year 4 | Including a Global Dimension in Teacher Training | MMU/DEP | 3 x Focus group | <i>BEd. Global citizenship option students:</i> 3 participants: 3 female. <i>PG Primary:</i> 7 participants: 5 female; 2 male <i>PG Secondary:</i> 6 participants 4 female; 2 male |
| | | | 2 x Semi-structured interview | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary NQT • Geography NQT |
| Year 5 | Gaining Authority | GA | 8 x Semi-structured interview | <i>8 practising teachers:</i> 1 Nursery teacher 2 Infant teachers 5 Junior teachers |
| | Partnership Schools | MMU/DEP2 | 2 x Focus group | <i>PG Primary:</i> 5 participants. 5 female <i>PG Secondary:</i> 8 participants. 5 female; 3 male |
| | | | 1 x Focus group 1 x Semi structured interview | 8 practising secondary teachers Secondary professional |

| | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|-----|--------------------------------|--|
| | | | | mentor |
| | Widening Horizons | WH1 | 6 x Semi structured interview | 6 Secondary teacher |
| Year 6 | Widening Horizons | WH2 | 6 x Semi structured interview | 6 Secondary teacher |
| | Global Mapping | GM | 14 x Semi structured interview | 5 Primary teachers 2 Primary Heads 5 Secondary teachers 1 Secondary Head 1 Secondary Deputy Head |

Fig. 1: Matrix of data collection methods and sample

2.6.1 Self selection

As with all such research those participants who self-selecting are likely to be those with the greatest interest in citizenship education. However for the purposes of this research this was acceptable. Any barriers or difficulties in interpreting the top-down initiatives for those educators who are actually keen could be regarded as crucially important. Why there are others without any interest in the first place would be the focus of a different study with different research questions

Although the research is spread over a decade and I held different roles across the projects during this time, my main focus remained consistent and common to all projects: how educators say they are responding to top-down policies and education initiatives relating to citizenship education.

As I was employed as an evaluator for two of the projects which form part of this research I had a responsibility to the funder (both projects were funded by DFID) to answer specific questions related to the projects. However I also had space and freedom to collect my own research data as part of the evaluation process. The aims and objectives of the evaluation

overlapped to some extent with my own research interests in that the evaluation was focused on how successful the projects had been in enabling teachers to better address global citizenship education and the community cohesion requirement in schools. In some cases funders can attempt to control evaluation outcomes but in this case the funder was at arm's length leaving me to conduct the evaluation research as I saw fit with no prior expectations of findings. As indicated above I was explicit with participants that data collected may form part of my PhD. I explained how the data would be used and all participants gave their consent.

For the projects where I carried out evaluations I supplemented the interviewing to ensure all my research questions were also included.

2.7 Research Methods

Mixed methods were used in order to investigate how educators' said they were responding to top-down initiatives. I employed questionnaire, semi-structured interview, focus group and participant observation.

2.7.1 Introduction

Research data can be collected via a number of methods including focus groups, interviews, surveys, field notes, telephone interviews or questionnaires (Heaton, 2004, p37). However, O'Leary (2004) reminds us that 'collecting data is a tough task, and it is worth remembering the one method of data collection is not inherently better than another' (p150). The aim of the research was to enable generative mechanisms to be identified and assessed with the aim of developing deep knowledge about underlying mechanisms that generate events and outcomes

I thus wanted to try and uncover the generative mechanisms that might be playing a part in how teachers and others were saying they reacting to and implementing change. My chosen

methods of data collection were questionnaire, focus group, semi-structured interview and observation. I was also a participant-observer which was a role I found challenging and uncomfortable at times.

2.7.2 *Questionnaire*

I used a self-completion postal questionnaire survey once in the research process. The survey was used to gather factual information about schools' citizenship education provision in May 2000 and aimed to gain a picture of the state of CE in one area at that time. The questions were thus straight forward and easy to understand which meant that the questionnaire was easy to complete. The questionnaire was also an important tool for identifying school's interested in taking part in further research. Some questions were therefore designed to elicit the information necessary for me to be able to assess which schools would be valuable to visit in order to gather data on interpretations of active citizenship. In questionnaire design:

There are many issues that need to be considered in order to a) maximise the responses and b) be confident that it is an instrument that is reliable and valid. (Lewin, 2011, p224)

It needs to be considered whether the questionnaire should be completed anonymously. I decided that, as the questions were not dealing with sensitive issues, the questionnaire did not need to be anonymised. In addition respondents were asked to give their contact details if they wanted to participate further in the research.

The questionnaire 'should be designed with the respondent in mind' (Newell, 1996, p107), needs to have clear aims and objectives, and have a logical structure and sequence of questions in sections and sub-sections. The questions should 'not jump from subject to subject ... When positioning the questions, try to follow the same sequence one would in

normal conversation, with each question arising logically out of the one before' (Newell, 1996, p108).

Filter questions need to be included to ensure that respondents only answer the questions that are relevant to them. Filter questions are essential in order to avoid respondents wasting time on trying to answer irrelevant questions Lewin (2011) also notes that:

The researcher should ensure that the data will be relevant and sufficient to answer the research questions as it is difficult to collect additional data after the questionnaires have been returned. (p224)

The questionnaire contained both closed and open questions. The questionnaire started with information about the school itself: name, type, size etc, because these questions can be answered quickly and easily. Lewin (*ibid.*) suggests that highly structured, closed questions are suitable for large scale surveys as they are quick for respondents to answer.

The strengths of the questionnaire survey are that I was able to contact a large number of schools quickly and efficiently. Further strengths are that questionnaires are relatively quick and easy to develop, code and interpret. It is also easy to standardise as all respondents are asked the same question in the same way which increases reliability of data. However, care must be taken over the wording of the questions in order to maximise reliability (Lewin, *ibid.*). Clarity is therefore 'a fundamental point' (Newell, 1996, p105) in order that questions are clearly understood and not subject to any ambiguity. Newell (1996) states that this is particularly important when developing a questionnaire for self-completion. It is important that there is a shared vocabulary between the researcher and the respondents (Smith, 1975).

Lewin (*ibid.*) further asserts that questions should:

- Avoid leading questions
- Be simple rather than complex

- Avoid questions that are double-barrelled
- Avoid the use of negatives and double negatives
- Avoid questions that might antagonise or irritate respondents (p225)

The instructions for the questionnaire need to be clear, outlining exactly what is needed at the beginning. This includes providing clear instructions so that respondents need only respond to questions which are appropriate to them. To encourage maximum completion rates it is important that the questionnaire is not too long, and ideally should take less than half an hour to complete. The questionnaire was accompanied by a letter which detailed who I was and outlined how the purpose of the survey. I included a date by which the questionnaire needed to be returned and I included a Freepost envelope.

A potential disadvantage with a postal questionnaire it is not always possible to establish who the questionnaire needs to go to. For the OU survey it was decided to direct the questionnaire to the Head Teacher. Appendix 1 contains the questionnaire sent to schools as part of the OU research.

2.7.3 Participant observation

This role was framed by my insider-outsider status which was a source of tension at times – sometimes I was one of the crowd at other times I felt my outsider status keenly, particularly when asking questions that were regarded as challenging. My role as participant-observer/insider-outsider is explored in more detail below.

Participant observation is an interpretive method which aims to understand the social world from the point of view of those under study. Objectivity is essential in order to prevent the intrusion of personal beliefs and values into the research process, influencing the way respondents react to questions or behaviour. The aim is to observe and experience the social

world as a participant at the same time as maintaining an observational stance. Asselin (2003) suggests that it is best if the insider researcher to gather data with her or his 'eyes opens' at the same time as assuming that they know nothing about the phenomenon being studied.

Participant observation offers flexibility as a research method. The researcher can react to events and follow lines of research which were not apparent at the start of the research process. This method provides rich information and enables the researcher to gain insights into the social pressures and influences that might contribute to different types of actions. A limitation of participant observation is that studies tend to be small-scale and are therefore unlikely to be representative of other social groups which may cast doubt on the whether findings are generalizable. For me, however, it was participant-observation as a process which became as important to the quality of research data generated, as the data generated by participant-observation as research method. It became my way in to hard to reach key informants.

2.7.3.1 *Levels of participation*

Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that issue of researcher membership in the group or area that is under study is relevant to all qualitative research methodology as:

The researcher plays such a direct and intimate role in both data collection and analysis. Whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the community shared by participants, the personhood of the research, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation. (p55)

My insider/outsider researcher status was an issue with which I grappled early on in the research I conducted with tutors and students at MMU and was something that was brought into sharp relief by one particular incident soon after I started my PhD research. I explore this incident in more detail in the *Ethics* section.

Adler and Adler (2012) argue that all researchers need to take 'membership roles' in the settings they study. They suggest that the researcher's own perspectives and emotions become equally important to the accounts gathered from others which 'highlights the importance of researchers' subjectivity, casting it in unabashed virtue' (p34). According to Adler and Adler (2012) there are a number of advantages of taking a membership role including members' recognition of the researcher as a 'fellow member'. A further advantage is that researchers gain access to 'secret' information (Junker, 1960 quoted in Adler and Adler, 2012):

This information, known only to members, ratifies the solidarity and continued existence of the group. Its possession, thus, further reinforces researchers' membership roles. (p34)

I found Adler and Adler's (1987) typology of membership roles of qualitative researchers using observational methods particularly useful. They identify three roles:

- Peripheral member researchers. This role is the most marginal and least committed to the social world studied. Researchers in this role participate as insiders in the activities of the group under study but do not engage in the most central activities.
- Active member researchers. Researchers participate in the core activities of the group, but do not commit themselves to the goals and values of members.
- Complete member researchers. In this role researchers study their topic as a full member of the group. This can be done through the selection of groups to study to which they had prior membership, or by converting to membership of these groups.

Although I was a peripheral member researcher and remained so over the course of the research, my acceptance by the group increased over time which I feel is an important point. My role was peripheral in relation to the activities of the group, but my membership of the group in terms of recognition increased and I became a valued member.

Asselin (2003) has highlighted that this dual role can cause role confusion when the researcher reacts with and to the participants or analyses the data from a perspective other than that of researcher. She suggests that role confusion may occur in any research study but observes that there is an increased risk when the researcher is familiar with the research setting or participants through a role other than that of researcher.

Participation can be overt or covert. As an overt participant I was open with the group about the purpose of the research and research activities. The advantages of overt participation include:

- Issues of access
- The group is in their natural setting; It is argued that even though group members are aware of the researcher with time any impact should become imperceptible and so will not change the way in which group members behave
- Data can be recorded
- It is less likely that the researcher will go native where the researcher is no longer an observer but becomes a participant.

Going native captures the notion of overrapport between the researcher and those being studied with the result that the researcher becomes one of those under study. The origins of going native are attributed to Malinowski who advocated that anthropologists should participate in the culture they were observing in order to develop their understanding of that culture and peoples. For Malinowski ethnography meant 'going native' in an attempt 'to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world' (Malinowski, 1922, p25). This method raises issues of objectivity and the role of the researcher. In some case going native is a desirable and necessary part of the research process, such as research into criminal or deviant behaviour where members of these groups

would not allow themselves to be studied. Going native thus allows researchers to study behaviour that is normally hidden from researchers and the public. However other commentators argue that going native may cloud judgement and threaten objectivity. There is a risk that the research over-identifies with the views of those under study to the extent that the researcher's perspective is submerged beneath those of the researched.

As an overt participant-observer I was aware that my presence could potentially affect activity and it is not possible to measure how my presence might influence group behaviour. This aspect is explored more deeply in the Ethics section. I recognise that I was perhaps not seeing 'normal' behaviour and that participants were more careful and measured in what they said and did.

I feel that my role as participant-observer was one of peripheral membership. The research was insider research in that I shared an identity, language and experiential base (Asselin, 2003) with the group but I did not participate in its core activities. I think that my peripheral role offered some interesting insights which I am not sure would have surfaced had I been a full member. This is particularly the case with my relationships within the group. The focus groups and semi-structured interviews were a space in an otherwise extremely tight schedule where participants could talk freely and openly, not just about the project, but, at times, about whatever was most pressing at the time of the interview. In a number of cases I interviewed tutors straight after another meeting and that would be the topic of discussion for the first few minutes of the interview. This enabled me to gain an even deeper insight into, for example, how the wider operations of the university might be having an impact on tutors and their global dimension work.

Although there was no automatic level of trust established in the same way that there can be with full insider membership of a group, I felt I earned the trust of participants as time

progressed and participants became increasingly open. My peripheral membership was thus very useful – I knew enough about the group to be able to understand where someone was coming from, but then I went away, and the participant knew that they were not going to see me in, for example, a departmental meeting which may leave them feeling compromised. Moreover, I feel that my peripheral membership meant that there were no ‘assumptions of similarity’ (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009) which meant that participants’ individual experiences and thoughts were explained fully. As Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (*ibid.*) highlight:

The researcher’s perceptions might be clouded by his or her personal experience and that as a member of the group he or she will have difficulty separating it from that of the participants. This might result in an interview that is shaped and guided by the core aspects of the researcher’s experience and not the participant’s. Furthermore, its undue influence might affect the analysis, leading to an emphasis on shared factors between the researcher and the participants and a de-emphasis on factors that are discrepant, or vice versa. (p58)

2.7.4 *Interviews*

Actors’ accounts are both corrigible and limited by the existence of unacknowledged conditions, unintended consequences, tacit skills and unconscious motivations ... but, in opposition to the positivist view, actors’ accounts form the indispensable starting point of social enquiry. (Archer et al, 1998, pxvi)

Kvale (1996) describes the interview as ‘an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest, [and] sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasizes the social situatedness of research data’ (p14). For Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) ‘the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself, its human embeddedness is inescapable’ (p267).

The use of interviews as a research method provokes a number of issues for the researcher: not only the type of interview to be employed but also the theoretical assumptions underpinning the process of generating and treating the data. Noaks and Wincup (2004) have produced a typology of interview strategies (see below) which outlines the skills required for

each interview type. I employed a semi-structured interview type for my interviews and focus groups but also drew on the characteristics of the open-ended interview, in particular flexibility.

Silverman (2001) argues that interviews do not allow direct access to 'facts'; interviews do not tell us about people's experiences directly but give indirect representations of those experiences. Interview question and answers cannot be treated as 'passive filters towards some truths about people's identities' (p118). Silverman (2001) questions the status of interview data and asks whether accounts are potentially 'true' or 'false'; and how the relationship between interviewer and interviewee should be understood. In answer Silverman distinguishes between three orientations to data generation: positivist, emotionalist and social constructionist. The positivist approach aims to generate 'facts' which exist independently of the researcher and the interviewee. Because the interview is producing 'facts' it is essential that reliability and validity are attained. To achieve this, the interview has to be standardized. Questions must be asked exactly as they are written, in the same order and in the same way.

Emotionalism frames interviews as 'symbolic interaction' (Silverman, 1993, p94). Interviewees are viewed as 'experiencing subjects who actively construct their social worlds' (Silverman, 2001, p118). The main aim is to generate data which 'give an authentic insight into people's experiences' (p118). According to constructionism interviewers and interviewees are 'always actively engaged in constructing meaning' (p118). I would describe my orientation as being both emotionalist and constructionist. As Rapley (2004) argues, 'no single ideal gains 'better data' than the others. You cannot escape from the interactional nature of interviews. Whatever 'ideals' interviewers practise, their talk is central to the trajectories of the interviewees' talk' (p24). The interview is collaboratively produced 'the respondent is transformed from a repository of opinions and reason or a wellspring of

emotions into a productive source of either form of knowledge (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004, p150).

Although I was not going to be asking sensitive questions in the sense of talking about a deeply personal or emotional experience I was going to be asking students their views on their course and their opinion on how well tutors had prepared them to teach global citizenship; tutors about their experience of trying to include global citizenship on their course in the context of the wider university environment; newly qualified teachers and practising teachers about their experiences of including global citizenship in their teaching which would include discussing the support they felt they had received from other teachers including the Head. This meant that it was very important that respondents felt they could trust me and that they felt they could be honest in their telling. It was therefore essential to establish rapport with participants. As outlined in the Ethics section, it was also important that students were informed about the research, how the data collected would be used and that it was made clear to them, not only that they could decline to participate, but also that their studies would not be affected by either participation or non-participation.

Types of interviews have been described by many (eg Noaks and Wincup, 2004). They include the structured interview which aims at neutrality and utilises prompting; semi-structured which involves some probing and some rapport with the interviewee; open-ended interviews which are more flexible requiring a higher level of rapport with the interviewee; and focus groups where the group dynamics can emerge. I used semi-structured interviews and focus groups as discussed below.

Face-to-face interviewing has become the most common type of qualitative research method to find out about people's experiences in context, and the meanings that these experiences hold. However, Hollway and Jefferson (2000, 2008) point out that 'despite the energy

expended, the idea that an interviewee can ‘tell it like it is’ still remains the unchallenged starting-point for most of this qualitative, interview-based research’ (p11). The effect of this is that the questions the interviewer asks are often not mentioned. The assumption being that the words will mean the same thing to the interviewer and the interviewee and that there is shared meaning attached to words and that the question asked will be the one that is understood. If we accept that, as Hollway and Jefferson (2000) suggest, all research subjects are meaning-making subjects who:

- May not hear the question through the same meaning-frame as that of the interviewer or other interviewees;
- Are invested in particular positions in discourse to protect vulnerable aspects of self
- May not know why they experience or feel things in the way that they do
- Are motivated, largely unconsciously, to disguise the meaning of at least some of their feelings and actions (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000, p26).

Any account of experience is a mediation of reality. Moreover the interviewer will play a part in constructing meaning, and this meaning is further mediated at the point of analysis. I produced interview schedules that asked specific questions about what was understood by the term ‘global citizenship’ and ‘a global dimension’. Questions were also included that tried to delve into personal histories that might go some way to explain where knowledge and understanding was coming from. I was also interested to learn about experience of teaching global citizenship

Although there was room for considerable flexibility within the interview and focus group, all focus groups and interviewees were asked exactly the same core questions. Beyond this core there was scope to explore and tap into stories and anecdotes. The average length of a focus group was 1 hour and 10 minutes; however there were some that lasted for 40 minutes and

one that lasted for almost three hours. Although the interview was a question-and-answer type where the interviewer is in control of the information produced the focus groups and interviews were open to their own course and I was keen that interviewees' own stories were not suppressed (Mishler, 1986). As Hollway and Jefferson (2000) note: 'While stories are obviously not providing a transparent account through which we learn truths, story-telling stays closer to actual life-events than methods that elicit explanations' (p32).

Hollway and Jefferson (2000) also suggest that by assuming that an interviewee's account of reality is a faithful reflection of what actually happened and what the interviewee really thinks, we are taking for granted that the interviewee is someone who: shares meanings with the researcher; is knowledgeable about him or herself (his or her action, feelings and relations; can access the relevant knowledge accurately and comprehensively; can convey that knowledge to a stranger listener; and is motivated to tell the truth (p12).

Thus, different meaning may be ascribed to the interviewee's event construction by different people. What I understand and take from the data generated may not be what the interviewee intended and indeed, may be different from the meaning someone else might construct from the data. Providing the context of the interview and interview questions is therefore critical to understanding meaning. Taking account of what has gone before is also crucial to understanding meaning. Their meaning may be lost or distorted or changed in some way as what the interviewee says is filtered by the interviewer. I was acutely aware of my own thoughts and views on citizenship, citizenship education and what I thought teachers should be doing. I wanted to try and reveal reasons for action/non-action, engagement/non-engagement and therefore wanted research participants stories, thoughts and views to be as real as possible. It was crucial, therefore, that I did not contaminate research findings by allowing too much of my stance to come through. There were times when interviewing both

teachers and student teachers and when participating in project away days which I was also observing for my research when I felt quite exasperated by comments and views but it was important that this exasperation was hidden and that participants were allowed to say what they wanted to say. This exasperation stemmed in part from knowledge and the 'secret information' gained through my peripheral insider status. I had acquired knowledge about systems and structures, I was aware of tensions and the opinions, thoughts and feelings that other members of the project team held about each other, but at the same time I was not in a position to act as an informant or allow others' views to cloud my own perspective. I found it quite a strange place to be: to be party to office gossip and privy to quite personal information about the people I was researching. For me it was very important to consider carefully any conclusions I drew from my research to ensure that findings were valid. I look at this issue further under *Reliability and Validity*.

Further questions were raised in my mind about whether I was being told certain things because of my research role and whether perhaps I could act as a change agent in some way. However, I was clear that I wanted to observe change rather than be part of it. I think it was at these times that it was important to keep separate and distanced my participant and observer roles which would not have been possible had I been a full member of the community.

2.7.5 *Focus group interviews*

Focus group research is 'a way of collecting qualitative data, which – essentially – involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion (or discussions) 'focused' around a particular topic or set of issues' (Wilkinson, 2004, p177). They are organised discussions 'to explore a specific set of issues' (Kitzinger, 1994, p103) and are especially valuable for establishing not only what people think about something also '*how* they thought and *why* they thought as they did' (Kitzinger, 1994, p104). According to Krueger (1994):

The focus group interview ... taps into human tendencies. Attitudes and perceptions relating to concepts, products, services or programs are developed in part by interaction with other people. We are a product of our environment and are influenced by people around us (pp10-11).

The focus group 'capitalizes on the interactions within a group to elicit rich experiential data' (Asbury, 1995, p414). Thus the key feature of focus groups is the active encouragement of interaction between focus group participants.

Krueger and Casey (2000) and others suggest a minimum of 6-12 participants (Baumgartner, Strong and Hensley, 2002; Johnson and Christensen, 2004). The grounds for this number are that there should be enough participants for there to be a variety of information but not so many that participants do not have the opportunity to share their views and perspectives.

It is suggested that multiple focus groups are held because it enables the researcher to establish when saturation has been arrived at (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Data saturation occurs when information occurs frequently so that the researcher can predict it thereby rendering unnecessary further focus groups. Theoretical saturation occurs when the researcher can presuppose that their theory is developed to the extent that it will fit future data collected. Krueger (1994) suggests that three to six different focus groups are adequate to reach data saturation or theoretical saturation.

There are a number of advantages of focus group research. They are an economical, fast and efficient method of obtaining data from a multiple participants (Krueger and Casey, 2000) which means that it is possible to increase the overall number of participants in a qualitative study (Krueger, 2000). In addition it is argued that focus groups provide researchers with more surprises than other kinds of research. There are no restrictions to the answers participants give and they are free to say whatever they like. Focus groups can thus be described as 'naturalistic' (Krueger and Casey, 2000) and can provide the setting for

spontaneous responses (Butler, 1996). However the control that the researcher has over the focus group in determining when and where a focus group takes place also means that they are 'in some sense unnatural' (Morgan, 1988, p8). Furthermore focus groups are limited to verbal behaviour, consist only of interaction in discussion groups and are created and managed by the researcher.

The researcher is able not only to hear and listen to the content of discussion and answers to questions but can also observe contradictions, tensions, emotions and body language which allows the researcher to learn 'the meaning behind the facts' and thus 'the production of insight'. Focus groups elicit conversation among participants that is 'talk' and paints a portrait of combined local perspectives. They are not set up to generalise in the same way as survey research (Fern, 2001). However, interviewing is not just 'a conversation'. The interview 'may be conversational, but you as the interviewer do have some level of control. You routinely decide which bit of talk to follow-up, you routinely decide when to open and close various topics and interactions as a whole' (Rapley, 2004, p26).

I am highly aware that the focus group is not a watertight method for establishing a person's genuine or true point of view. A participant may agree or disagree with a particular point and there is potential for personal feeling to colour views. Alternatively an individual may want to add support to another participant's views but not necessarily agree with that point of view.

A focus group can take a different direction from the one anticipated depending on the make-up of the group. The participants in all the focus groups I conducted were all known to each other to differing degrees with one focus group in particular being made up of almost exclusively of a friendship group. This in itself provoked some interesting comment. At times they would prompt each other over activities or opinions or things that others had done. In this way I was able to access 'fragments of interactions' (Kitzinger, 1994, p105) which were

akin to the sort of conversation that the researcher might witness as a participant observer, indeed by referring or even deferring to another participant deflecting the focus of the group shifts to someone else. Indeed the interactions that occur among participants can yield important data (Morgan, 1988). Very interestingly the conversations that occurred in the focus groups at times revealed previously unknown aspects of their peers which caused some consternation. This was due to the feeling that there were important or significant pieces of information which had been withheld until the focus group, but which could have led to things being different during the course.

An advantage of working with groups that are already known to each other is that it can provide a built-in regulator and checks and balances for trustworthy data. In the same way that participants were able to prompt each other over events and activities, it could be argued that participants are far less prone to exaggeration or even lying due to the presence of peers who know them.

It was sometimes the case in focus groups that another participant would tackle or challenge a fellow interviewee which I feel starts a process of group meaning making and construction which is more real than if I, as researcher, had interjected with opinion. It was on these occasions that I drew on the active listening feature of open ended interviews and would nod and encourage talk. I wanted to gain 'very detailed and comprehensive talk – which I consider to be a central rationale to qualitative interviewing (Rapley, 2007, p22). In this way as an interviewer I am an active participant in the interview. Without my nodding and wordless or vocal but neutral encouragement ('uh-huh') the interviewee may not talk. As Holstein and Gubrium (2004) state: 'while the respondent ... actively constructs and assembles answers, he or she does not simply 'break out' talking. Neither elaborate narratives, nor one-word replies, emerge without provocation' (p152). I would therefore

follow up on what the interviewee was saying, making mental notes on which points to come back to but it was crucial to 'allow them the space to talk' (*ibid.*, p25). Rapley (2004) claims that qualitative interviewing:

Does not involve extraordinary skill, it involves just trying to interact with that specific person, trying to understand their experience opinion and ideas ... [this may involve] initially introducing a topic for discussion; listening to the answer and then producing follow-up questions; asking them to unpack certain key-terms ... And while listening going 'mm', 'yeah', 'right' alongside nodding, laughing, joking smiling, frowning. (pp25-26)

Silverman (2001) suggests that a style of interviewing where the researcher offers only 'mm hmm' can be used as a way avoiding bias - presumably because there is no indication from the interviewer of what they are thinking or believing. However, I would argue that vocal and visual encouragement are also important because without it there is a risk that interviewees will start to talk simply to fill an embarrassing silence, and will search around for something to say that they hope is on the right lines of what the interviewer wants to hear. If this happens bias may be avoided but what one ends up with is a stream of incoherent thought and 'babble which makes no sense' (Silverman, 2001). Cues and prompts and therefore very important.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) highlight that it is naive to make the assumption that open-ended or non-directive interviewing is not itself a form of social control which shapes what people say (pp110-11). The response of the interviewer can hugely influence the direction an interview might take. This aspect of conducting interviews and focus groups was one where I felt I had the potential to skew interview data. My interjections, body language, the faces I make all have the potential to impact on what a person says and how they say it. A slightly doubtful look from me (which could be a genuine doubt, or a false doubt and simply a way of getting the person to justify or defend what they are saying) can have all sorts of implications.

Pawson (1996) and Pawson and Tilley (1997) have developed a critical realist conception of interviewing which also recognises the active roles of the interviewer and the informant in the same way that Hammersley and Atkinson do:

People are always knowledgeable about the reasons for their conduct but in a way which can never carry total awareness of the entire set of structural conditions which prompt an action, nor the full set of consequences of that action ... In attempting to construct explanations for the patterning of social activity, the researcher is thus trying to develop an understanding which includes hypotheses about their subjects' reasons within a wider model of their causes and consequences (Pawson, 1996, p302; also Pawson and Tilley, 1997, pp162-3).

Participants were from pre-existing groups and networks of students. Some were very well known to each other, some not so familiar. These groups spend time together formally and some will communicate on a more informal basis. In both cases it is likely that students will discuss their work, placements, tutors and a whole variety of issues and events. It is possible that in some cases conversation will ebb and flow:

Individuals laugh, tell personal stories, revisit an earlier question, disagree, contradict themselves, and interrupt. However, the research must balance the needs of participants to 'have their say' against the need to stay focused. (Larson, Grudens-Schuck, and Lundy Allen, 2004, p3)

I was very aware that the focus groups should not be mechanical but at the same time as trying to maintain the naturalistic aspect of the focus group it was important that the intended questions are asked and that questions flowed 'from general to specific'. To some extent the quality of data depends on the eloquence of participants. Where participants are perhaps hesitant or searching for words the temptation is to put words into their mouth but it is important to resist this.

Focus groups also allow for spontaneous elements and sometimes unexpected results. Topics and issues might be raised or responses may be very different from those anticipated. If a particular aspect seems 'popular' it might encourage more discussion on that topic or issue.

They may build the new 'point' into the interview guide for future sessions (Krueger and Casey, 2000).

2.7.6 *Observation*

Observation can provide rich qualitative data which can be described as 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973). Lewis and Somekh (2011) describe observation as:

One of the most important methods of data collection. It entails being present in a situation and making a record of one's impressions of what takes place. (p131)

I chose to use an holistic, unstructured approach to unobtrusive observation. I felt that this most suited a critical realist methodology because:

The researcher is guided by prior knowledge and experience and 'sees' through the unique lens of her own socioculturally constructed values dependent upon life history and factors such as gender, ethnicity, social class, and disciplinary and professional background. Broad decisions are usually made in advance about the kinds of things to be recorded, either on the basis of analysis of other data already collected (eg interview or questionnaire data) or derived from the focus of research (Somekh et al, 2011, p15)

The observation was naturalistic and I, as researcher, did not manipulate or stimulate the behaviour of those that I was observing. Punch (2009) states that that when planning the collection of observational data there are two key practical issues which are: approaching data and data recording (p155).

The options for recording observational data include tape recording, video recording and field notes. Fielding (1993) states that 'the production of field notes is the observer's *raison d'être*: if you do not record what happens you might as well not be in the setting' (p161). It is also strongly recommended that field notes are written up as soon as possible after the observation work has taken place and before further observation is undertaken because 'erosion of memory is not related to time so strongly as it is to new input' (Fielding, 1993, p161).

I had originally wanted to use video equipment in the observation process but encountered ethical issues (see below) fairly early on in the research process and so made the decision to use field notes and tape-recording. The most important consideration for tape recording is the sound quality. At the very start of my research I used a traditional tape recorder but soon upgraded to a digital voice recorder with a noise reduction feature which helped to reduce background noise and enabled me to focus on the main speaker, usually a teacher. Choosing where to place the tape recorder in the classroom was an issue as teachers tend to move around the classroom to greater or lesser degree. However most teachers begin and end their lessons at the front of the class and so I chose to place the recorder at the front on a desk. In order to analyse the data I conducted partial transcription of certain passages of the voice recording after first listening to the recording in its entirety.

It is suggested that the researcher sit at the side or the back of the room and make detailed notes. However, it is crucial to remember that the observer will always have some kind of impact on the people that they are observing and, in the worst case, may 'have a strong sense of performing' (Jones and Somekh, 2011, p133). I was able to sit at the back of the classroom on one occasion but was asked to sit at the front of the class on the other due to lack of space at the back of the classroom. I was far more conspicuous to the class and could clearly be seen to be taking notes. I was concerned that this might influence pupil behaviour and talk and was especially aware of one particular group of boys who seemed to be acting up. However I followed up the lesson observation with a semi-structured interview with the teacher on the same day of the observation. This was hugely helpful to my analytic and reflexive process. I was able to follow up my thoughts and ideas and reflect on how my perceptions and ways of seeing compared with that of the teacher. In the case of the what I thought was the boys acting up turned out to be their usual behaviour in this class.

In order to reduce the potential for participants feeling that they are on stage and performing and to reduce negative effects it is suggested that the purposes of the observation, in what ways the data will be used and who will have access to them are clarified from the beginning (Jones and Somekh, 2011). I was able to do this with the teachers before the observation took place.

Field notes provide a running commentary of events, people and conversation and the researcher should not 'seek to summarise' and should 'resist the urge to use abstractions' (Fielding, 1993, p162). Any abstractions or analytic ideas need to be recorded separately which also helps to avert bias. Any phrases or remarks that I noted I did so verbatim in order to reduce the 'extent to which intended meanings are obscured' (ibid). I also drew maps of the classrooms and included the location of desks, tables, whiteboards and information that was on the walls in the classroom.

In order to reduce the potential for bias when recording my observations I was very aware of the difference between direct observations where I recorded what I saw, and interpretation where I made assumptions and judgments about what I saw. I therefore used a 'double-entry notebook' (Driscoll, 2011) which enabled me to log separately observation and judgment.

2.8 Data analysis

A major consideration when considering causality is that for critical realism, the society and individual are interactive. Individuals and social structures are both independent and interdependent which brings about the riddle of structure and agency, where structure is viewed in relation to the social structures at play, and agency is identified as human purposiveness such as wants, beliefs, desires and emotions (Archer 1995). Individuals both reproduce and transform social structures as well as being formed by them. In turn social

structures both shape and place constraints on individuals but are also the result of continuous activity by individuals:

Society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. (Bhaskar, 1998, p36)

As previously argued, in order to understand change and transformation it is crucial to establish which mechanisms, structures and powers are producing the outcomes. A key point is that event A will not necessarily give rise to outcome B. There is the added complexity that there may be very different versions of B rather than one definitive and immutable B. Certainly there could be a whole series of outcomes which are similar enough to be categorized as 'B' but which in themselves generate very different outcomes. Moreover where it is possible to categorize one cannot definitively claim that B occurred because of A. The journey between A and B is open to any number of mechanisms, some of which reveal themselves, others which are revealed and others which may never be revealed:

Causal laws must be analysed as the tendencies of things, which may be possessed unexercised and exercised unrealised, just as they may of course be realised unperceived. (Bhaskar, 1989, pp9-10)

Actions are influenced by 'innate psychological mechanisms as well as wider social mechanisms' (Houston, 2000, p80). The societal mechanisms which will have a bearing on how individuals function within society and communities include patriarchy, racism, homophobia, misogyny, all of which will impact on a person's life opportunities. So, for example, my research found that lack of time was perceived by both students and practising teachers as a limiting factor in including a global dimension to their teaching. It would have been easy to simply accept this as a reason for non-inclusion and look no further. However, I wanted to achieve ontological depth and try to establish the countervailing mechanisms and structures underlying the 'lack of time' theme.

The principal thrust of critical realists is the importance of the analysis of lay accounts. This is premised on the idea that the ‘empirical’ is the experience of the participant, which can be distinguished from the ‘actual’ and the ‘real’ (Bhaskar, 1975). The ‘actual’ is defined as the events as they actually happened, and the ‘real’ are the generative mechanisms that naturally exist. To reveal the mechanisms a process of retroductive analysis is undertaken.

2.8.1 *Thematic analysis*

Thematic analysis is widely used in qualitative research but is described as being poorly defined with little agreement about how it should be approached (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe qualitative analysis as a method for:

Identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally *organises* and *describes* your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and *interprets* various aspects of the research topic. (p79. Emphasis in original)

They describe a theme as capturing:

Something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of *patterned response* or meaning within the data set. (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p82. Emphasis in original)

I use retroductive thematic analysis as the method of data analysis. I felt it was compatible with a critical realist approach and would enable generative mechanisms to be uncovered. Thematic analysis focuses on identifying, analysing and reporting both implicit and explicit patterns or themes in the data (Boyatzis, 1998).

Crinson’s (2001) model comprises five phases: transcriptions, indexing, interpretation, theorisation and retroduction (ibid.). The first phase refers to the management and organisation of the raw data which would include transcriptions of the focus groups and semi-structured interviews. This stage involved immersing myself in the data. This involved listening to the

recordings all the way through before starting to transcribe. During transcription I was also able to add to my field notes about what I heard.

Phase 2 refers to categorising and coding data and is based on the issues and insights which the participants themselves raise and follows a 'non-exclusivity' principle (*ibid*, p10). Non-exclusivity at this stage is recommended 'in order to avoid selection' (*ibid.*). This involved organising data in meaningful 'chunks' to identify whether there are any patterns emerging and how it relates to what is expected based on prior knowledge (Fetterman, 1998). I carried out initial coding within the participant groups of teachers, tutors and students. Coding was inductive whereby the codes were driven by the data, often using concepts, ideas and phrases used by participants themselves. The third phase relates to the interpretation of research participants' meanings and perspectives. In this stage I began to organise the different codes into potential themes. This I did manually by printing out the transcription and colour coding the relevant quotes and starting to organise them into overarching themes. The fourth and final phases are 'theorisation' and 'retroduction'. Theorisation involves the further categorisation of the data through 'theoretically deduced categories drawn from the literature (moving from the abstract to the concrete) which might offer a structural context for the particular discourses' (*ibid.*). I reviewed and refined the potential themes which had been identified in stage 3. In some cases themes were collapsed into each other due to similarities between them.

Retroduction involves identifying generative, causal mechanisms:

This involves the process of inference that critical realists have described as retroduction, in which the conditions for the social phenomena under investigation are explained through the postulation of a set of generative mechanisms. In the process of abstracting from the concrete object then back to the postulation of a concrete conceptualisation it is essential to distinguish between those social relationships that are necessary rather than contingent for this social phenomena to occur i.e. those which are internally related. Clearly it is important to specify those contingencies that bring about or indeed, counteract the action of the identified generative mechanisms. Certainly in the case of the discourses of social agents, it is necessary to be sensitive to developments within the ideological environment which maybe determinant in the practices of those agents under investigation. (Crinson, 2001, p11)

According to Sayer (1992) retrodution is a ‘mode of inference in which events are explained by postulating (and identifying) mechanisms which are capable of producing them’ (p107).

Revealing the multi-faceted causes of behaviour is a complex aspect of research analysis that requires interpretative tools capable of unpacking the association between what people do, and the individual or structural factors encountered in their environment that shape behavioural responses. (Meyer and Lunnay, 2013)

Retrodution enables generative mechanisms to be identified and assessed and the aim is to develop knowledge about underlying mechanisms that generate events and outcomes. These mechanisms cannot be observed or experienced directly, and cannot be accessed through sense experience. The researcher must bring a priori knowledge to the research which allows the questioning and clarification of the conditions without which something cannot exist.

Mingers et al (2013) explain:

We take some unexplained phenomenon that is of interest to us and propose hypothetical mechanisms that, *if they existed*, would generate or cause that which is to be explained. So, we move from experiences in the empirical domain to possible structures or mechanisms in the real domain. This is the essential methodological step in CR studies: to move from descriptions of empirical events or regularities to potential causal mechanisms, of a variety of kinds, some of which may be nonphysical and nonobservable, the interaction of which could potentially have generated the events. (p797. Emphasis in original)

Significantly, however, these hypotheses do not prove that the mechanisms exist. A further stage in the methodology requires that more research is carried out to try and rule out some explanations and strengthen others.

2.8.2 *Further thoughts on the analysis process*

Critical realist sees society as ‘inseparable from its human components because the very existence of society depends in some way upon our activities’ (Archer, 1995, p1). Human experiences and behaviours are explained through the uncovering of the mechanisms that produce them (Archer, 1995).

It is possible to draw out themes and perspectives but not generalisations in the same ways that is possible with statistics and which apply to a wider audience. However, results from interviews are 'highly believable' because the research is reporting what someone has actually said. Kitzinger (2004) warns that analysis of qualitative interviews can overlook 'the fact that experience is never 'raw,' but is embedded in a social web of interpretation and re-interpretation' (p128). Interview participants actively create meaning. This lies behind Holstein and Gubrium's idea of 'the active interview':

Construed as active, the subject behind the respondent not only holds facts and details of experience, but, in the very process of offering them up for response, constructively adds to, takes away from, and transforms the facts and details. The respondent can hardly 'spoil' what he or she is, in effect, subjectively creating. (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003, p70)

Kitzinger (2004) adds:

From this perspective, what respondents say should not be taken as evidence of their experience, but only as a form of talk - a 'discourse', 'account' or 'repertoire' - which represents a culturally available way of packaging experience. (p128)

Drawing on research analysis carried out into female experience of coupledom Kitzinger (2004) warns that, when presenting research findings and drawing conclusions from interview and focus group data, description of experience should not be 'taken as a transparent window' through which analysts are able to see what the experiences are 'really' like. It is important not to take what participants *say* as 'accurately reflecting' what things were actually like (Kitzinger, 2004, p134). She too picks up the point about context and highlights the importance of explaining why someone is telling a story at a particular point, how listeners react, and to which of the expectations and previous statements a participant may be orienting in telling a story (ie what has gone before). In this way Kitzinger (*ibid.*) problematizes the relationship between 'voice' and 'experience'. She asks: 'How do we know that their retrospective account is what it was really like?' Or is the story 'slanted' in some

way ‘to impress the interviewer, or to display their own victimization?’ (p134) She goes on to say:

My own view is that the emphasis on ‘voice’ has led to an over-reliance on self-report methods, to the detriment of approaches which involve the researcher in direct observation of the phenomenon of interest. (p138)

A constructionist model enables a process-oriented grasp of the phenomenon. Rather than simply confirming ideas, beliefs and perspectives a constructionist model has the potential to provide new and valuable insights.

[...] compared with the extensive advice on how to *conduct* focus groups, there is relatively little in the focus group literature on how to *analyze* the resulting data. Data analysis sections of focus group ‘handbooks’ area typically very brief ... In published focus group studies, researchers often omit, or briefly gloss over, the details of exactly how they conducted their analyses. (Wilkinson, 2004, p182)

When considering the data from focus group interviews, the group interaction between participants generates data that may not emerge from other methods such as one-to-one interviews. Similarly Carey (1995) states that ‘an appropriate description of the nature of the group dynamics is necessary to incorporate in analysis – for example, heated discussion, a dominant member, little agreement’ (p488). Group dynamics are crucial for analysis.

Macleod Clarke et al (1996) argue that it is important to ‘maintain a sense of the whole group within the analysis’ (p150). When presenting the data it should:

Ideally contain examples of the discursive nature of the method, by using two or more participants in any quotations rather than presenting isolated excerpts from one individual. (p151)

Kitzinger (1994) asserts that:

Tapping into such variety of communication is important because people’s knowledge and attitudes are not entirely encapsulated in reasoned responses to direct questions. Every day forms of communication such as anecdotes, jokes or loose word association may tell us *as much*, if not *more*, about what people ‘know’... revealing dimensions of understanding that often remain untapped by the more conventional one-to-one interview or questionnaire. (p300)

This was very much in evidence where strong opinion or outrage was being expressed or to emphasise the apparent ridiculousness of a situation. On a number of occasions students would mock (to varying degrees of harshness) things that tutors or teachers at their placement schools had said to them by repeating the words in a silly voice or re-enacting the situation, prompting much hilarity and egging-on from other participants. This is unlikely to have happened in a one-to-one interview which tended to be much more serious.

Focus groups enable the collection of data on norms. There were particular phrases and comments that elicited agreement not only within individual focus groups but also across groups. Certain themes emerged from the discussions that became familiar throughout the MMU/DEP project in particular. It became apparent that students were framing issues and ideas in particular ways. This was extremely useful for one particular project which aimed to reshape teacher education courses, as constraints and barriers became explicit and verbalised. As acknowledged it may also be the case that some participants do not want to go against the group consensus, yet 'group work is invaluable in enabling people to articulate experiences in ways which break away from the clichés of dominant cultural constructions' (Kitzinger, 1994, p112). On occasions stories and anecdotes of others were used to support their own viewpoint, opinion and reasons for action or non-action.

However Onwuegbuzie, Dickenson, Leech and Zoran (2009) warn:

Although these themes can yield important and interesting information, analyzing and interpreting only the text can be extremely problematic. (p5)

This is because merely presenting and interpreting the emergent themes provides no information about the degree of consensus and dissent, 'resulting in dissenters effectively being censored or marginalized and preventing the delineation of the voice of negative cases or outliers' (Onwuegbuzie, Dickenson, Leech, Zoran, 2009, p5) that can increase the richness

of data. The suggestion is that when analyzing and interpreting data, information about dissenters would help determine the extent to which the data that contributed to the theme reached saturation for the focus group:

Thus information about dissenters would increase the descriptive validity, interpretive validity, and theoretical validity associated with the emergent themes, which, in turn, would increase *Verstehen* (ie understanding) of the phenomenon of interest. (Onwuegbuzie, Dickenson, Leech, Zoran, 2009, p5)

A sense of consensus in the data actually might be an artefact of the group, being indicative of the group dynamics, and might provide little information about the various views held by individual focus group members. It is recommended that when discussing emergent themes, that in addition to providing quotations made by focus group participants, researchers should delineate information about the number or proportion of members who appear to be part of the consensus from which the category or theme emerged. It is also important to note the number and proportion of those who appeared to be part of the consensus. Kitzinger (1994) suggests that when analysing the script of a focus group discussion it is useful to have coding categories for certain types of interaction between participants such as ‘question’, ‘cited sources’, deferring to the opinion of others’, and ‘changes of mind’.

2.9 Ethical considerations

The ethical considerations are in line with Manchester Metropolitan University Research Ethics and Guidelines and British Educational Research Association guidelines. Hammersley and Traianou (2012) state that there are five common ethical principles in education research:

1. Minimising harm. This asks the question of whether the research is likely to cause harm.
2. Respecting autonomy. Does the research process show respect for people, allowing them to make decisions for themselves, in particular whether or not participate.

3. Protecting privacy. What aspects of the data should and should not be made public. Further issues to consider include confidentiality and anonymising participants in research writing.
4. Offering reciprocity. Researchers depend on being allowed access to data which may involve participants having to give up their time to be interviewed. The research process can be disruptive to people's lives which means consideration needs to be given to what researchers are able to offer participants, if anything.
5. Treating people equitably. No one should be unjustly favoured or discriminated against. (np)

I was able to use these guidelines to guide my research in conjunction with MMU's guidelines. Hammersley and Traianou (*ibid.*) point out that the above guidelines may conflict at times. For example by minimising potential harm to those we consider to be vulnerable such as children the research may infringe their personal autonomy through an insistence that others, such as parents or guardians, give consent on the children's behalf.

2.9.1 *Informed consent*

Gaining informed consent from those involved in the research process is regarded as central to ethical research practice. As Hammersley and Traianou (*ibid.*) state that 'a common strategy used by researchers is to gain informed consent via a consent form which lays out what will be involved in the research, and the rights and responsibilities each side has' (np). However they warn that the consent form does not 'offer any blanket solution to ethical problems' and that 'complex and uncertain judgments are always at least potentially involved':

Should all of this be supplied to the people being researched or only some of it?
Should they be provided only with the information that is relevant to their decision

about whether or not to participate? But, if so, can the researcher legitimately judge what is and is not relevant? And what about the danger that giving participants some of this information will affect their behaviour and thereby possibly render the findings of the research invalid or non-generalisable? (np)

I chose to use consent forms, mindful that they did not offer a ‘blanket solution to ethical problems’. The concept of situated ethics is useful here. Situated ethics acknowledges the uniqueness and complexity of each situation (Piper and Simons, 2011). Piper and Simons (ibid) highlights how:

The situated nature of practical decision-making within research makes clear that sound judgments about what it is best to do cannot be made simply by following instructions or applying rules. In this respect, and others, research is a form of praxis; in other words, it is an activity in which there must be continual attention to methodological, ethical, and prudential principles, what they might mean in the particular circumstances faced, and how best to act in those circumstances as a researcher.

All research participants gave their consent to be part of the research through signing a consent form, and gave consent to having their interviews recorded and transcribed. In light of Simon’s (Piper and Simons, 2011) comments I employed ‘rolling informed consent’ which is ‘the renegotiation of informed consent once the research is underway and a more realistic assessment of the risks to participants can be made’ (Piper and Simons, 2011, p25).

All students who participated in global dimension and global citizenship projects at MMU were offered the opportunity to participate in the research. All those who were interested were issued with information sheets which set out the aims and objectives of the research. Students signed consent forms which allowed their responses to be analysed. Students participating in the research were informed that they could withdraw from the research process at any time with no obligation to explain or give reasons and without being penalised.

Anonymization affords some protection of privacy by not identifying people but in some cases it is possible to identify individuals due to the context revealing clues. All names used

in my thesis that related to participant quotes are pseudonyms. Confidentiality is ‘a principle that allows people not only to talk in confidence, but also to refuse to allow publication of material that they think might harm them’ (p26). Piper and Simons (2011) thus suggest that ‘a sound ethical principle’ is to try and obtain clearance from the participants involved for use of the data in a specific report or context.

My methods did not require any type of deception and I sought to conduct myself with openness and honesty throughout the research process. Participants’ wishes with regard to confidentiality and anonymity were respected and all participants had the choice to remain anonymous.

2.9.2 Protection from harm

My research was not considered to be sensitive. However students involved in research about their learning may be perceived to be vulnerable due to the fact that they are talking about their studies and potentially being critical of university staff or their placement experience. Students were therefore fully informed that their decision to participate or not would in no way affect their studies, the interview recordings would be confidential, and they would be given a pseudonym if quoted, as with all participants in the research. With regard to Tutors, again, my research was not considered sensitive and was not thought to have the potential to cause harm. However there was one incident early on in the research which highlighted to me the crucial importance of taking ethic issues seriously. It was what Guillemin and Gillam (2004) describe as an ‘ethically important moment’. They suggest that there can be all sorts of ethically important moments including when participants indicate discomfort with their answer, or reveal a vulnerability. For the participant below it was the potential discomfort of answers she may give and things she might say that was causing the anxiety, as well as a sense of vulnerability that she may be exposed as not being as knowledgeable as others.

2.9.3 An ethically important moment

As part of my research I had wanted to video the MMU/DEP's first project Away Day so that I would have a record of events and could analyse how the community of practice was developing, what alliances and allegiances might be developing within the community and to have the opportunity to pick up on other signs which might come to light only through analysis of a video. I therefore sent round an email to all participants, with a consent form, asking their permission to be able to record the sessions. Everyone was fine apart from one tutor, Tutor x, who was new to the group and new to global dimension issues. She phoned the project manager to say that she was very concerned about the idea of being videoed and that she felt that she wouldn't be able to contribute to the Away Day because she was worried she'd say something silly or wrong. The project manager then had a word with me and I said, 'OK we'll just tape record the day'. I sent another email round to this effect and the same tutor phoned the project manager again and said that she thought we'd been through all this she did not want to be recorded in any way and if this is what we wanted to do then she just wouldn't come. The project manager spoke to me again and the compromise we came up with was that I would only tape the parts of the day where participants separated into groups and I would tape the group without the person who'd raised the objections. On the day itself thinking all issues and objections had been resolved I set off to the location of the meeting. Below is an extract from my research diary which describes how my actions inadvertently not only caused a member of the project team to feel anxious but also threatened the success of this particular event, and compromised my credibility as a researcher.

2.9.4 Research diary extract using field notes

After a hectic drive through the city's morning rush hour traffic we turn off the motorway and life immediately slows down. The house itself is approached by a sweeping drive lined with

trees. The ground is frosty, mist is gently rising, deer are roaming and a beautiful morning sun is just starting to make an appearance. The car in front of me slows down to take in the scene which looks like something from a traditional Christmas card. The entrance hall of the house is very grand. We are taken up a sweeping staircase to a room where the sunshine is pouring in, there are beautiful views over formal gardens, a lake and countryside beyond. The room is high ceilinged with an ornate central light fitting, fireplace and gilded mirror. In the centre of the room are a square of tables. On arrival everyone is offered tea or coffee and warm Danish pastries. I take one and go and sit by the window with my notebook to watch other people as they arrive. Everyone who comes in does so with a smile and comments on how beautiful it is and 'Can't we come here more often?', 'What a fantastic place!', 'It's lifted my spirits!'

I had just had enough time to take all this [the grand surroundings] in when I was approached in a very confrontational and aggressive manner by the tutor who had been worried about being recorded. Oh dear! My first mistake. So taken was I with the meeting room and the setting that I had unwittingly walked in carrying my large tape recorder instead of leaving it in the anteroom where it would not be seen.

'I told you I did not want to be recorded.'

'Yes, I know that. What I'm planning...'

'I spoke to the project manager several times about this and they assured me I would not be recorded.'

'Yes, I'm aware of that. I ...'

'There's absolutely no point in me staying if my wishes are going to be ignored.'

'If you could just let me speak!' Silence. My pulse is racing, my palms feel sweaty, everyone's looking at me. Breathe, Helen, breathe! I take a deep breath. 'I'm only going to record the group sessions not the sessions when everyone is together and obviously I'll only record the group that you're not in. This is for a research project so I'm sure you'll understand the importance of having to gather data'.

'Yes, of course I understand' she snaps. 'My students have to do that all the time.'

'Well, in that case can I ask why you don't want to be recorded?'

'I don't have to answer any of your questions! I've talked to other people about this and it's my prerogative. If I don't want to be recorded then I certainly don't have to be and if you're going to insist on doing it then I'll leave!'

'I won't be recording you.' And away I walk with my trusty tape recorder.

I felt quite shaken by the exchange and also frustrated. I wanted to record the whole day, one person was preventing this from happening, everyone else was fine about it but I could not risk jeopardising my relationship with the DEP in order to pursue my own research interests. I also wanted to argue with this particular person a bit more! However I knew the DEP would be extremely disappointed with me if my actions not only caused a member of the group to be upset but also resulted in her leaving and not becoming involved in the project. I swallowed my feelings, hid the tape recorder and regained my composure.

Eventually everyone sat down and we went through the programme for the day. I was still feeling a bit tense and also slightly uneasy about my role. How are they feeling about it? All these questions were running through my mind when, at the end of the outline for the day, the project manager asked if it was alright for me to take photographs for my research. Someone said: 'Photographs? I thought we were going to be videoed? What's happened?' The tutor I

had just had the run in with looked at me, the project manager and I exchanged a look of uncertainty and I could see her thinking the same as me: 'Oh God! What do I say?' Thankfully the moment of awkwardness was broken by someone saying: 'Why? Did you think you were going to be a star?' Laughter. 'Yes! I've got my best make-up on.' 'And I've had my hair done!' More laughter and good natured teasing 'Well, you'll just have to wait!' The project manager and I shared a look of relief and we got down to some work.

This was the first time the group had met and this incident could have had completely the opposite effect and caused a rift between the tutors and between the tutors and DEP. The location of the meeting helped to set the tone, people were already in good spirits by the time they came to the table, another location could have had a different effect. It was not something designed to make the group more cohesive – all the team building activities in the world probably wouldn't have had the same effect. At the end of the day we did an activity 'extracting the essence' where we all had to write down a phrase or word or picture which we felt summed up the day. Tutor x chose the word 'inclusive' and said that she felt that the group were 'coming together, moving forward and unified in purpose'. Having avoided eye contact for most of the day the tutor and I actually smile at each other!

Although this experience felt quite stressful at times, I think that the day helped to further clarify my role as researcher, both in my mind and in tutors' minds. It was important that I was not seen as a hindrance to the project or regarded negatively. I needed their help with access to students, arranging focus groups and I wanted to interview tutors themselves at key points during the project. Tutor support was therefore crucial to the success of the project and in ensuring the generation of high quality data.

In terms of ethics, the incident shows how ethical considerations can impinge on research activity, which for me underlined the importance of thinking through further ethical issues

likely to arise, and ethical decision-making procedures. It was important that another incident such as this did not arise again, jeopardising the research process and data collection.

2.10 Significance

A concern when analysing qualitative research is significance: what may seem significant to the researcher may not be seen as significant to others. At the start of the second year of the research with MMU/DEP a number of themes were starting to emerge. I selected five quotes from students which I thought were significant and emailed them to a tutor for comment, together with an explanation of why I thought the quotes were significant. However we ended up having a rather tense email exchange in which the tutor told me that she did not see the quotes as being relevant, and made me feel that I was wasting her time. This discussion occurred shortly before the second project away day. I was due to present my research findings and was feeling a bit nervous, wondering what the day might have in store.

However, before my presentation slot, the tutor concerned apologised for her response to my email and explained to the group that she had reacted ‘somewhat defensively to seeing student comments’ but ‘on reflection had found them very useful’. She said that they had really made her think about how she had assumed trainees were taking the global dimension on board, but these extracts showed problems. She had also used them at a recent conference for Geography ITE tutors who, she said, found them very stimulating and thought provoking. The tutor then led a discussion around the extracts and the ensuing discussion was both extremely interesting and useful for project direction for three key reasons. Firstly, it encouraged tutors to think about and reflect on their own practice and how they might do things differently with students. This, in turn inspired tutors to be more open to trying a new learning strategy ‘Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry’, although there was initial resistance to this new pedagogy. Thirdly for the final year of the project the tutors were very

much more open to considering and critiquing extracts from both student and NQT focus groups and interviews, and taking on board some of the not so positive feedback from students. For both the DEC and the university this turned out to be significant because project findings led to a second three year project, funded by DFID and entitled 'Partnership Schools and the Global Dimension'.

2.11 Reliability and Validity

In order for research to be considered meaningful Guba and Lincoln (1981) state that all research needs to have 'truth value', 'applicability', 'consistency' and 'neutrality'. To ensure trustworthiness credibility, fittingness, auditability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) is necessary. Guba and Lincoln refined these to credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). They recommended using specific strategies to achieve trustworthiness such as negative cases, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement and persistent observation, audit trails and member checks.

Verification strategies ensure both reliability and validity of data.

Verification is the process of checking, confirming, making sure, and being certain. In qualitative research, verification refers to the mechanisms used during the process of research to incrementally contribute to ensuring reliability and validity and, thus, the rigor of a study. (Morse et al, 2002, p9)

To maximise the credibility of research Pope and Mays (1999) highlight the importance of reflexivity, acknowledging any preconceptions and beliefs held by the researcher and influence on the research process. To support this I kept a field diary during the research process. This made explicit my thoughts and experiences which may impact on the research process.

Maykut and Morehouse (1994) propose that:

The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others - to indwell - and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand. (p123)

As well as forming part of my PhD the data collected was part of other projects. The data analysis thus involved others such as project staff. Including fellow researchers, sometimes funding bodies, conferences where I was able to discuss and present my ideas. Conference papers, evaluation reports, research findings. In this way I was able to mitigate against bias as I was not relying on just one perspective

Adequate immersion in the data to identify recurrent themes is essential as is a systematic account of the data analysis ensuring findings and analysis are closely linked to the text (Pope and Mays, 1999). The process is iterative and I moved back and forth between design and implementation to ensure congruence among question formulation, literature, recruitment, data collection strategies, and analysis. Cresswell (2007, p.150) represents the process of data analysis as a spiral, with data collection, analysis and writing inter-related.

2.12 Contribution to knowledge:

May others have looked at citizenship education, but this is the only research which has taken a long term view focusing on the specific issue of how educators say they are responding to top-down, citizenship related initiatives. The specific contribution I summarise as:

- a) The research provides evidence of the generative mechanisms that impact on the ways in which educators say they are responding to the top-down initiatives related to citizenship education
- b) The research indicates there are many teachers and others committed to citizenship education regardless of the hurdles put in their way, and in spite of the

changes in fashion which has seen citizenship education as part of the taught curriculum come and go over the decades

- c) The research provides evidence of the many creative ways some teachers are able to turn problems into opportunities, for example a lack of space in the curriculum and competing demands

2.13 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a brief synopsis of the chapters; discussed some of the broad methodological issues I have engaged with; as well as providing a description of the main research methods I employed. I have also considered issues of significance; reliability and validity; and contribution to knowledge.

In the following chapter I provide an analysis and critique of the key reports which resulted in top-down initiatives related to citizenship education. These are: the Macpherson Report and the subsequent amendment to the Race Relations Act; the Crick Report and the ensuing Order for Citizenship Education; the Cattle Report which resulted in the statutory duty for schools to contribute to Community Cohesion; the Department for International Development's programme for Enabling Effective Support which helped to ensure that the global dimension was a cross-curricular theme in the English National Curriculum; the Ajegbo Report from which stemmed the fourth strand to the citizenship curriculum – 'Identity and Diversity: Living together in the UK'.

Chapter 3

3.0 The key citizenship related top-down initiatives: Context and critique

3.1 Introduction

In recent times significant events such as the murder of Stephen Lawrence, the terrorist attack in the United States on 11th September 2001 and the London bombings of July 2005 have raised concerns about institutional racism, internal security and extremism. All have prompted an education response, with citizenship education in particular being seen as playing a key role in bringing about the necessary attitudinal and societal change for a more cohesive society. The key reports and initiatives examined in this chapter are detailed in the table below together with the resulting policy changes to the curriculum.

| Date | Report | Addressed | Education Policy and/or Initiative |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|
| 22 nd Sep. 1998 | The Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (The Crick Report) | Democratic deficit | The Order for Citizenship (2002) |
| 24 th Feb. 1999 | Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (The Macpherson Report) | Institutional racism | Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) |
| 1 st April 1999 | White Paper: <i>Building Support for Development</i> | Millennium Development Goals | Including a global dimension in the classroom |
| January 2001 | Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team (The Cattle Report) | Segregation and separation of communities | The statutory duty for schools to contribute to Community Cohesion, September 2007 |
| January 2007 | Curriculum Review: Diversity and Citizenship (The Ajegbo Report) | Diversity in the school curriculum | The addition of the <i>Identity and Diversity</i> strand to Citizenship Education |

Figure 2: Key top-down initiatives relating to Citizenship Education

In this chapter I provide an analysis and critique of the key reports which resulted in top-down initiatives related to citizenship education. This chapter provides the context for my research.

3.2 *The Crick Report and the Order for Citizenship*

In many ways, the Crick Report and subsequent policy provisions in England represent, as a result of advantageous circumstances in the policy-making sphere, a belated recognition of arguments long advanced. (McLaughlin, 2000, p544)

In 1997 Tony Blair and the New Labour government swept to power after 18 years of Conservative rule. The advent of New Labour saw a revival in questions of citizenship, what it means to be British, and of citizenship education. On 19th November 1997 David Blunkett, the then Secretary of State for Education and Employment, pledged ‘to strengthen citizenship education and the teaching of democracy in schools’ (Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, referred to as the Crick Report). The establishment of the Citizenship Advisory Group (CAG) was prompted by increasing concern about the decline in participation in political life particularly the decrease in voting among young people. The CAG was chaired by Sir Bernard Crick and tasked with providing:

Advice on effective education for citizenship in schools – to include the nature and practices of participation in democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of community activity. (The Crick Report, 1998, p6)

The Report was submitted on 22nd September 1998 and stated that the central aim for citizenship education was to bring about:

No less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting ... (QCA, 1998, p7)

The Report defined ‘effective education for citizenship’ as comprising three separate but interrelated strands: ‘social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy’ (QCA, 1998, p 11):

1. Social and moral responsibility: ‘learning from the very beginning self confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other’ (QCA, 1998, p11).
2. Community involvement: ‘learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community’ (QCA, 1998, p12).
3. Political literacy: ‘learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values’ (QCA, 1998, p13).

Crick (2000) states that the report was a ‘creative synthesis of politics and social studies’ (p13), underpinned by civic republicanism and pluralism with the aim ‘to create active and responsible citizens’ (Crick, 2002, p501). The Citizenship programme of study has three interconnected elements:

- Knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens
- Developing skills of enquiry and approach; and
- Developing skills of participation and responsible action

The programme was deliberately ‘light touch’ and set out ‘a barebones but rigorous framework for what is to be taught and learnt’ (Kerr, Smith and Twine, 2008, p254). I now examine the reasons behind the introduction of Citizenship education as a statutory subject.

3.2.1 Democratic deficit

A key concern of New Labour’s at this time was the democratic deficit. Indeed they were so concerned with the public’s decreasing interest in politics that Cogan and Derricott (2000) describe it as a ‘near obsession (p36). The Crick Report confirmed the government’s fears,

claiming that there were 'worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life' (QCA, 1998, p8), and that the situation was 'inexcusably and damagingly bad' (*ibid.*, p16).

In his research Buckingham (1999) found that while pupils could be 'irreverent or dismissive, they could also be distinctly bitter and forceful. Politicians were often condemned, not merely as boring, but also as corrupt, uncaring, insincere and self-interested; and politics was widely dismissed as a kind of dishonest game, which had little relevance to the students' everyday lives and concerns.' (p186). Hahn (1998) also found low levels of political interest in pupils and typical remarks were, 'it's boring', and 'it's too complicated' (p243). Her research also found low levels of trust in politicians and students made general references to politicians being 'rubbish' (p246). She was 'particularly struck' by the numbers of students in the Netherlands and England who said they had not studied politics, nor talked about current events in their classes and who said that politics was just too complicated to understand or who said they did not know much about politics. On the positive side Hahn's research found that where curricula included political education students more interested in politics than where no provision made (p246).

The subsequent Order for citizenship stated that CE aims to develop pupils' political literacy so that they might 'play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels' (QCA, 1998, p183). Pupils are required to be 'actively involved in the life of their school' and to 'learn about respect for democracy and diversity at school, local, national and global level' (QCA, 1998, p184).

The Order was heavily criticised because it was largely aimed at individual young people which individualizes the problem of young people's citizenship 'and in doing so follows the neo-liberal line of thinking in which individuals are blamed for their social malfunctioning' (Biesta and Lawy, 2006). It is argued that the Report ignored the structural disadvantages that

exist in society which partly account for the alienation of young people from mainstream politics and in so doing teaches ‘a one-dimension version of citizenship at odds with the political realities’ (Faulks, 2006b, p66). Faulks (*ibid.*) argues that:

To dismiss young people’s lack of participation in traditional political activities as merely apathy is to impose a particular and, in some senses, outmoded definition of politics upon them. (p66)

As Leighton (2004) states, citizenship education ‘is designed to encourage participation in the system, not to question or challenge it’ (p171).

The Crick Report is underpinned by civic republicanism which stresses citizens’ duty to participate in public affairs; to respect the rights and freedoms of the nation state and its democratic values; observe its laws and fulfil the duties and obligations of citizenship. The establishment of school councils was not a statutory requirement for schools, a decision which Faulks (2006b) describes as ‘regrettable’ (p66). However they were viewed as one method of teaching children about democratic processes and it was a dimension that was recommended be ‘a proper object of comment both by OFSTED inspectors and the LEA on the performance of a school as a whole’ (QCA, 1998, p26).

3.2.2 *Reinvigoration of community spirit*

If we succeed in making a more active community, I’m convinced that there will also be other benefits – less anti-social behaviour, less crime, less of the corrosion of values that worry so many people. (Tony Blair, 2000, np)

Today’s reports show that too many of our towns and cities lack any sense of civic identity or shared values. Young people, in particular, are alienated and disengaged from much of the society around them, including the leadership of their communities. These are not issues for government alone. They demand a wide public debate on what citizenship and community belonging should mean in this country. (David Blunkett, 2001, np)

These ideas reflect New Labour’s desire to create a socially inclusive society, with all individuals able to make an active contribution to the community. The concept of ‘active

citizenship' is a key facet of the Crick report and, indeed, the report states that 'active citizenship is our aim throughout' (QCA, 1998, p25). The report states:

We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting. (p7)

This points to one of the significant tensions in debates about citizenship education – on the one hand, governments concerned with issues of legitimacy and social order were keen to shore up the existing status quo; on the other hand, citizenship education is seen as a means of subverting present social arrangements and changing the way citizens understood and worked with state institutions (Scott and Lawson, 2001). The Crick Report suggests that:

Volunteering and community involvement are necessary conditions of civil society and democracy ... This is especially important at a time when government is attempting a shift of emphasis between, on the one hand, state welfare provision and responsibility and, on the other, community and individual responsibility. (QCA, 1998, p10)

However the Report recognises that active citizenship is more than this. It is also about civic morality and engendering in people a feeling of collective responsibility:

Too often rights were elevated above responsibilities, but the responsibility of the individual to his or her family, neighbourhood and society cannot be offloaded on to the state. If the concept of mutual obligation is forgotten, this results in a decline in community spirit, lack of responsibility towards neighbours, rising crime and vandalism, and a legal system that cannot cope. (Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroder: The Third Way/Die Neue Mitte, 1999, p28)

Responsibility for oneself and for others was a central part of New Labour ideology. The government was explicit in its attempt to lower public expectations that the state should provide for its citizens, regardless of what they give back to society. By employing a discourse of mutual obligation the government is trying to create the notion of a socially inclusive society in which all individuals are able to, and should, make an active contribution

to society and have rights and responsibilities as active citizens. This was an attempt to create the ‘something-for-something’ society:

Education for Citizenship is vital to revive and sustain an active democratic society in the new century. We cannot leave it to chance ... We must provide opportunities for all our young people to develop an understanding of what democracy means and how government works in practice-locally and nationally - and encourage them to take an active part in the lives of their communities. Linking rights and responsibilities and emphasizing socially acceptable behaviour to others, underpins the development of active citizenship. (David Blunkett, 1998)

The aim is to make children ready for democracy by instilling in them the knowledge, skills and dispositions. Biesta (2007) raises a number of problems with this instrumentalist view of education. Firstly by using CE as an instrument for trying to bring about democracy, the model of education can be blamed if it fails. Biesta (2007) argues that it is unfair to burden schools with this task. She also states that it is unrealistic to assume that schools can ‘make or break’ democracy. A second problem is that it entails an individualistic approach to democratic education where the focus is on ensuring that individuals are equipped with the knowledge, skills and dispositions which does not involve looking at an individual’s relationship with others and the social and political context in which people learn and act. As Kahne and Westheimer (2003) state, educators are:

Emphasizing curricular strategies that develop internal efficacy but that obscure the importance of politics, social critique, and collective pursuit of systemic change. (p12)

This is closely connected to the third problem (Biesta, 2007) which is that this ideal of education rests on an individualistic view of democracy which assumes that its success depends on the knowledge, skills and dispositions of individuals and on their willingness as individuals to act democratically:

What is particularly problematic here is the assumption that democracy is only possible if all citizens are “properly” educated and act accordingly. The question this raises is whether we take democracy seriously enough if we assume that it can only exist if it is founded on a common identity. Isn’t it the case that the challenge of

democracy lies precisely in our ability to live together with those who are not like us. (Biesta, 2007, pp742-743)

Lister (1997) highlights the unequal terms of the contract which was being renegotiated between state and individual:

Although the work obligation is presented as one that unites all citizens in a contribution to the common good, it is in fact differentially applied, for those with sufficient independent means can afford, and therefore choose, to ignore it, if they so wish. (p20).

She goes on to say that the target of this new contract tends to be the poor, but it is inaccurate to assume that the work obligation will provide the same benefits to them as to those in society who are better off (Lister, 1997). The language of rights and obligations may therefore act to obscure the real arguments about equality and social inclusion which modern societies have to address. Indeed, they may do more than this; they may act to support political arrangements which have at the centre unequal economic rewards for different members of community (Lawson, 2001).

The government has also shown a commitment to the notion of collective responsibility at a global level. Its international development policy is based on the ideal that global poverty should be eradicated and that people in this country have a responsibility to help achieve this ideal. Although the term 'global citizenship' does not appear anywhere in the Report, it does argue that one of the purposes of citizenship education is 'to cultivate awareness and concern for world affairs and global issues' (QCA, 1998. p.40) and that pupils should 'know about the world as a global community and understand the political, economic and social disparities that exist' (*ibid.*, p.50).

3.3.3 *Diversity and difference*

New Labour came to power affirming a commitment to social justice and to education as a means to create a socially just society (Blair, 1997). In 1999 the then Prime Minister asserted that ‘nations that succeed will be tolerant, respectful of diversity, multi-racial societies’ (Blair, 1999). The Report states that pupils need to develop skills and aptitudes ‘within pluralist contexts’ so that they are able to ‘respond in different ways to a diversity of views’ (QCA, 1998, p41).

However, the Crick Report and subsequent Citizenship Order were heavily criticised for their outmoded approach to difference and diversity and lack of reference to social justice. The Report includes ‘an almost total absence of concern for structured inequalities, especially economic ones’ and ‘the invisibility of inequalities of power as an issue for social justice’ (Gamarnikow and Green, 1999, p120) is especially remarkable.

Racism has been identified as a major force undermining democracy. It is argued that any rethinking of citizenship should incorporate ‘systematic challenges to the practice of racism in the legal system and, by extension, in the school system’ (Torres, 1998, p126). Citizenship education is regarded as playing a key role in strengthening democracy and challenging racism. Yet racism is not mentioned at all in the report and further ‘may itself unwittingly reflect racism, particularly in its reference to minorities’ (Osler, 1999, p13). The report characterises minorities as having a deficit; it uses patronising language and stereotypes in its depiction of these groups; and it compounds these problems by failing to address racism and other structural disadvantages which act as a key barrier to full and equal citizenship (Osler, 2008). Although there is a reference to Modood’s (1997) proposal that an explicit idea of ‘multicultural citizenship needs to be formulated for Britain’ (QCA, 1998, p. 17), the Report does not develop this idea further. Instead the

Report calls for ‘a national identity that is secure enough to find a place for the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities and religions long found in the United Kingdom’

(p17). Wilkins (2005) argues, for example, that:

The Crick Report is rooted in a de-politicised multiculturalist perspective that locates racism in the personal domain, a phenomenon of individual ignorance and prejudice, and suggests that through teaching about other cultures, the white majority will come to understand (and so respect and tolerate) minorities ... Within this conceptualisation, the classroom is essentially a neutral arena in which tolerance can be fostered by understanding, and equality of opportunity can be achieved through the personal enlightenment that ensues. However, the RRAA takes schools a step beyond this minimalist agenda, placing on them a duty to promote race equality. This implies a proactive approach to challenging racism, including institutionalised racism. (p158)

Furthermore, inherent in the Crick Report is the idea that minorities need to change in order to achieve citizenship:

Majorities must respect, understand and tolerate minorities and minorities must learn and respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority. (QCA, 1998, p18)

Osler (2000) argues that while tolerance is important it is an inadequate response within a society which is characterised by diversity and inequality. Osler and Starkey (2001) argue that the majority merely has to ‘tolerate’ minority groups, and it is assumed that minorities are ‘less law-abiding than those of whites’ (p293). Hoffman (2004) comments that, ‘it seems that the dominant group is to do all the teaching and the ethnic minorities all the learning!’ (p167).

Moreover the ‘codes and conventions’ suggests cultural practices that minorities should adopt which may be completely inappropriate. As Olssen (2004) notes, there is a ‘presumption of a unified social structure.’ Furthermore talk of ‘majorities’ and ‘minorities’, reflects a ‘mainstream liberalism inhospitable to ‘difference’’ with potentially ‘normalising assumption’ (Stevenson, 2002, p7). This suggests a hierarchical relationship between dominant and minority cultures and does not seem to be conducive to a shared and inclusive sense of

citizenship (Faulks, 2006a). Faulks (2006a) suggests that a policy of integration is consistent with multiple citizenship, as opposed to policies of either assimilation or segregation:

Such integration must first however recognize the reality that individuals' identities are indeed multiple and dynamic in character, ranging across gender, religion, class, region and ethnicity. This means that integration should not attempt to reduce citizenship to a single identity but instead combine a common framework of rights and responsibilities with what Habermas (1994) has usefully called constitutional patriotism. (p133-134)

A policy of integration underpins a notion of 'inclusive citizenship' which 'should not seek to eradicate difference but rather to provide a network of common rights and responsibilities through which diversity can be positively accommodated' (Faulks, 2006b, p62).

Diversity is presented as a problem that needs to be overcome and managed rather than as enriching society. To achieve an inclusive concept of citizenship within a pluralist society 'then we need to develop a new concept and vision of multiculturalism which is itself founded on human rights and which is inclusive of all citizens, majority white populations as well as minorities' (Osler, 1999, p14).

Wilkins (2001) also addresses the conspicuous avoidance of dealing with 'personal, institutional and structural racism' (p8). He suggests that this may have been strategic in order to avoid conflict with other educational conservatives. There is no explicit encouragement for schools to deal with and challenge racist attitudes though the report does make reference to the need to promote tolerance and diversity:

Underpinning the Report is a consensual view of society at odds with the realities of prejudice experienced by many citizens. Issues of class, disability and gender are largely overlooked as powerful deterrents to a sense of commonality and commitment to a shared civic order. (Faulks, 2006a, p128)

Olssen (2004) also notes that the Crick report does not address racism.

Faulks (2006b) differentiates between ‘a weak, *ethnic multiculturalism* implicit in the Crick Report and in New Labour’s style of governance generally, and what he calls *civic multiculturalism*’ (p62). Civic multiculturalism distinguishes ‘*between* nationality and citizenship, with the latter being understood as a dynamic political status centred on the individual’s rights and responsibilities but which is fully inclusive of all cultures as necessary conditions of human identity’ (p63). Civic multiculturalism would modify ‘its associated forms of citizenship through dialogue and democratic interaction that cross social and cultural boundaries’ (p63). Ethnic multiculturalism, in contrast, is ‘essentialist and abstract in character since it fails to acknowledge the multiple and dynamic nature of social identities’ (p62) and privileges a singular group identity – membership of a single nation state (Osler 2000, p30). Ethnic multiculturalism implies a differentiated citizenship in the form of group rights rather than a universal citizenship. He argues that the problem with treating ethnic minorities as internally coherent groups is that this does not recognise or make explicit the diversity and conflict within these groups. One implication of ethnic multiculturalism is that ‘unelected leaders’ become the only voice of authority of the group. This may serve to hide and further entrench any inequalities of citizenship that exist within the group yet the Crick Report supports the establishment of community forums which include ‘community leaders’ and faith groups to help the development of citizenship education (Faulks, 2006b). What is needed, Faulks (*ibid*) argues, is for citizenship education to:

Embrace a fluid conception of identity that is multiple and dynamic in character. It must also include an extensive element of anti-discriminatory education, sadly lacking in the final Report. (p65)

As Hoffman (2004, p166) has suggested, the thrust of Crick Report, as with Marshall’s approach, which the Crick Report cites as especially influential, is essentially statist. The danger of such an approach is that the divisions and inequalities of civil society as barriers to citizenship are glossed over. As Torres (1998) states:

Identities are not formed once and for all in a particular period of life; their formation is a lifelong process. They are an integral part of the process of a symbolic meaning-making resulting from our changing existential situation; they are deeply affected by political economy factors, and they are ever changing, elusive and contradictory. (p21)

Gillborn (2006) argues that ‘far from promoting anti-racism, in practice citizenship education operates as a form of placebo’ (p85). Crick (2000) argues, however, that:

Explicit attacks on racism or teaching anti-racism full frontal can prove inflammatory – just what the racist white lads will look forward to in classroom discussion, or disruption. (p134)

Starkey (2008a) suggest that this ‘statement reinforces discourse from sections of the popular press that also use parody to discredit antiracism’ (p330). Crick’s reaction is very similar to that from tutors from the MMU/DEP project when they were first introduced to the Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) pedagogy at the second project Away Day. OSDE methodology provides a safe space for dialogue and provides the tools to challenge assumptions and develop critical thinking skills. Stimuli are provided based on quotes with the point being to encourage people to discuss and engage with them. Tutors’ initial reactions were that: ‘not all knowledge deserves respect’; ‘how can fundamentalists and people who are dogmatic be challenged’; it is ‘lifting the lid off a can of worms’; ‘how can you control what is created once the lid has been lifted’? The resistance from tutors seems to stem from worries about the experience needed to manage the emotions and strong opinions that may be voiced. One of the tutors described OSDE as ‘high level pedagogy’ which takes ‘expert ability’ and which a new teacher ‘wouldn’t necessarily have’, especially where ‘tensions are high because of Islamaphobia’. Another of the tutors felt that it would take a considerable amount of time to become skilled at using OSDE. One of the tutors was far less opposed to OSDE because she has used Philosophy for Children (P4C), a teaching and learning method where the emphasis is on listening and the process is learnt through safe topics. However, for some tutors there is a further difficulty. The premise of OSDE is that everyone deserves to be

heard and listened to, whatever their views and opinions. Whether people change their views or not is not the purpose of Open Spaces. The purpose is to reflect. It is also about relationships and creating a space where people relate to each other without competition. After a time the Space becomes self-regulating. If people hear racist views they will listen and then challenge. The group allows the views and then moves on. This prompts quite a passionate discussion about whether all views are valid, and the idea of having to allow and listen to, for example racist opinion, is evidently difficult for tutors.

Crick and the tutors above share repulsion at the idea of allowing opinion to be aired and heard that is potentially offensive or deliberately provocative, which is completely understandable. Nevertheless, simply telling someone not to be racist does nothing to encourage reflection on their attitudes. By talking, sharing and reflecting the idea is that negative opinion does not become something more hateful, and, very importantly, creates a safe space for those individuals who are the target of prejudice to have their opinions and perspectives heard. This was a crucial issue recognised by the Cattle Report (2001) which stated that:

Schools should not be afraid to discuss difficult areas and the young people we met wanted to have this opportunity and should be given a safe environment in which to do so. (p36)

I think the tutor is right who says that it is a pedagogy that needs to be managed carefully. Indeed practising teachers found OSDE very challenging to start with and I explore this in more detail later in the thesis. However the evidence suggests that discursive methods such as OSDE can act as important catalysts for change in both pupils and teachers, and enable teachers to engage with controversial issues and attitudes, such as Islamaphobia, which in turn leads to teachers responding to initiatives such as Community Cohesion with commitment and enthusiasm.

Writing some years later in 2008 Crick says:

Yes, there could have been more stress on diversity in the original national curriculum for citizenship, the report that preceded it and the first QCA guidances that followed it. But they were written before the terrorist bombings which to press and politicians, at least, have given urgency to the matter – although I think a misleading one. Terrorism does not arise from diversity but from a very specific ideology which is targeted, among others, for quite obvious reasons on the UK ... Also many of us once thought that the carefully worded prescript in the national curriculum was enough: ‘KS 3 para. 1. “Pupils should be taught about ... (b) the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding”’. And, talking of history, in KS 4 ‘the origins and implications of diversity’. Is this too brief? We had prided ourselves, in David Blunkett’s words, on being ‘light touch’, to give teachers the flexibility and freedom to adapt these general prescriptions to varying circumstances. I echoed ‘light touch’ fervently seeing it as basic to freedom itself – philosophically basic to the citizenship curriculum. But I grant that ‘light touch’ has been misinterpreted, sometimes innocently, sometimes wilfully, as meaning that some parts of the curriculum (particularly the difficult and contentious parts!) need only be lightly touched upon. So greater guidance is needed, which can now be found in Sir Keith Ajegbo’s sensible proposals. (2008a, p31)

As suggested below, Crick assumed a level of knowledge and skills in teachers that was perhaps optimistic.

3.3.4 The gendering of citizenship

For Arnot (2003) ‘the Crick report is noticeably and strangely silent on questions of gender’ ‘These materials signally fail to address masculine associations of the concept of citizenship and the different relationships of men and women to it.’ References to gender are ‘well hidden’ (p109) and there is a ‘silence about the importance of challenging a historical legacy which has marginalised the sphere of everyday family life in discussions about rights, duties, justice and freedoms’ (p110).

Female citizenship in liberal democracies has been constructed ‘within a male logic’ and is ‘marginal’. New definitions of citizenship need to be constructed ‘based on the needs of contemporary women’ and to ‘problematise the gendered premises of democratic

education....which accords women political agency and the possibility of solidarity without repressing difference' (Dillabough and Arnot, 2000, p34).

The public, in much political theorizing in the West, is idealized as a universal space for all, where the mind rules with rationality and logical thought; the private is a sphere of body, emotion, and the particularity of relationships (Knight, Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p667)

The construction of the male and female in liberal democracy has given women and men differing characteristics, 'dividing the world into two parts: that of the rational, autonomous man and that of the caring, dependent woman' (Fisher and Tronto, 1990, p36). Arnot (1997) found that within liberal democratic discourse 'women are included, but in particular narrow and inferior domains' (p281). This distinction between female and male citizenship is further compounded by the separation and gendering of the private and public sphere. The private sphere has developed as a female space, encompassing private matters, familial duties, unpaid labour, and personal relationships, while the public sphere is male dominated and promotes the model of citizen-as-worker 'in which citizenship rights flow through a person's status as paid worker' (Hancock, 2000, p156) and encompasses public matters, legal rights and formal relations (Fisher and Tronto, 1990). Consequently that that which is the norm in the public sphere: 'are socially constructed notions.....to provide advantages to those who had the power to construct them, usually white males' (Marshall and Anderson, 1994, p180). As Coleman and Higgins (2000) state:

Enshrining the European male as *the norm*, as what defines humanity as such – proved the way forward here. *Difference* (deviation from the norm) signified *defect*. (p55)

In this way women and non-Europeans were constructed as defective. Thus, as Hancock (2000) argues, women's citizenship is rendered: 'typically derivative and relational' (p157) because it is mediated through the family (marriage, children and men) and the private sphere (through caring for children, the dependent or the disabled). She argues: 'In terms of

citizenship women have been marginalised and excluded from dominant male centric notions of citizenship, public participation and rights. Central to such marginalisation is the devaluing of women's caring roles' (p157) and the dominance of the 'male breadwinner' or 'wage earner' model of citizenship which 'obscures unpaid caring activities and their importance to social welfare' (p157). As Fisher and Tronto, (1990) highlight, caring has virtually no place in descriptions of 'the good life', despite the fact that caring permeates our experience (p35). They also make the very interesting point that this male centric model of citizenship assumes that the caring needed to sustain activities by others in the public sphere will somehow get done 'if not by oneself, then by slaves, women, or lower-class, lower-caste people' (p36).

There has been considerable debate as to whether women should fight for identical rights, or should women fight for recognition of their female contribution to society (Arnot, 1997), constructing a concept of citizenship where the 'the state is based on principles derived from women's distinctiveness and where the model of the citizenship is female-inscribed' (Forde, 2008, p87). As Lister (2008) points out, if women adapt to male norms they negate the reproductive and nurturing roles associated with women, destroying their specificity. On the other hand asserting their specificity as women categorizes them as deviant from the universal principle that all individuals are equal, in the sense of being the same.

Some commentators argue that defenders of cultural group rights often fail to consider issues of gender. Liberal protectors of group rights claim that these rights cannot be defended unless individuals have the right to exit their culture or religion of origin. Moller Okin (2004) however argues that even where exit might be possible exit might not be a desirable or even a thinkable option, particularly where a young woman's choice is between total submission and 'total alienation from the person she understands herself to be' (p346). She concludes that the liberal state 'should not only not give special rights or exemptions to cultural and religious

groups that discriminate against or oppress women. It should also enforce individual rights against such groups when the opportunity arise, and encourage all groups within its borders to ease such practices.’ (p346). Indeed Torres (1998) says of Latin American culture:

Race, class and gender interact quite decisively in one of the most patriarchal forms of male dominance, machismo, which has long been considered a serious handicap in the construction of radical democratic and socialist behaviour. (p118)

A ‘gender-inclusive’ model of citizenship, therefore, has to be inclusive of women in their diversity (Lister, 2003). She says: ‘Many theorists have grappled with the tension created between attention to diversity and particularity on the one hand and citizenship’s universalist promise on the other. My own attempt at reconciliation, if not resolution, has been through the concept of a “differentiated universalism” in which the achievement of the universal is contingent upon attention to difference’ (Lister, 2008 p7). She describes how women’s exclusion has operated on two levels:

At the ‘surface’ level, in the classical civic republican tradition, the active participation of male citizens was predicated on the exclusion of women who sustained male participation by their labour in the private sphere. Today, to varying degrees in different societies, the gendered division of labour means that many women still enter the public sphere of politics and the economy with one hand tied behind their back. In the liberal tradition, married women’s legal subordination helped define their husband’s status as citizen heads of households. At a deeper level, the exclusion reflected an essentialist categorization of men and women’s qualities and capacities, rooted in the public-private dichotomy. (p6)

Citizenship discourse also privileges the active citizen who participates in the public sphere with the passive citizen being seen as a much less worthy of respect than the active one. However, as discussed above, the public sphere is delineated as a white, male space in which those who are different struggle to be heard. Universal understandings of citizenship, which in theory create a general will which transcends difference, are predicated on white, male understandings of the citizen which have worked to excluded individuals who do not fit this citizen model. There therefore have to be ways and means for voices of difference and

opposition to the dominant discourse to be heard. To ensure that everyone is heard may mean special rights are articulated, 'that attend to group differences in order to undermine oppression and disadvantage' (Young, 1997, p265). As Coleman and Higgins (2000) state:

The challenge today consists in upgrading our notions of equality and inclusiveness to make them adequate to societies characterised by difference of this order. The task will involve us in carefully rooting out all our concepts and practices based on the implicit male European norm that has driven past and present intolerance, inequalities, exclusions and subjugation. (p73)

3.3.5 *Delivery*

There were a number of criticisms about the recommendations for the delivery of citizenship education. Crick (2002) argues that 'the virtue of the [citizenship] Order is that the generality of its prescriptions leave the school and the teacher with a good deal of freedom and discretion' (p499). Crick (paragraph 3.21) warns against 'conflating or confusing PSHE (or other forms of values education) and citizenship education, even if some of the topics it mentions could be discussed under either heading, as schools may choose.' The Report (paragraph 4.12) also stresses that the introduction of citizenship should not 'be at the expense of other subjects nor lead to any narrowing of the curriculum'. Paragraph 4.2 encourages schools to be flexible in approach and suggests:

The possibility of different approaches to citizenship education, involving different subject combinations and aspects of the curriculum based on existing good practice in each school.

Details of curriculum provision and methods of teaching and learning were left to guidance from the QCA and a 'light touch' allowed schools to build on the citizenship education they were already doing. 5% of curriculum time was to be dedicated to citizenship education.

In practice, this lack of clarity has proved extremely problematic for the successful delivery of citizenship in schools as a number of studies into the implementation of citizenship

education have demonstrated (Ofsted, 2005a). Criticisms of this approach include the fact that it was extremely difficult for schools with little or citizenship education in place to establish a coherent and comprehensive programme due to the sheer amount of time needed to plan for its introduction: 'It seems clear that the incorporation of citizenship education into schools calls for very considerable planning, coordination and leadership on the part of teachers' (McLaughlin, 2000, p559). As Halpern et al (2002) state: 'In typical English ministerial style, there has been a rapid policy intervention to move schools from little or no provision to universal coverage' (p218).

In addition, the light touch approach assumes appropriate levels of knowledge, interest and commitment amongst teachers tasked with teaching citizenship. This approach also means that there is the continued risk that where citizenship education is taken seriously, and is taught and planned by keen and committed teachers provision is going to be far better than in those schools where it is taught not because of a commitment to the aims and objectives of CE but because it is statutory. In practice, the freedom and discretion Crick advocates has led to fudge and confusion. Crick and the government failed to fully consider how the lack of appropriately trained teachers, the genuine problems of curriculum overload and general misunderstanding of the nature and significance of citizenship education have led to schools failing, quite understandably, to successfully implement a successful programme of citizenship into their curriculum (Ofsted, 2005a). Significantly, this generally poor provision in schools is likely to reinforce many pupils' perception that citizenship, and politics generally, is an irrelevance to them.

3.3 *The Macpherson Report*

In 1997, due to public pressure, an enquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence was agreed. Sir William Macpherson, a retired high court judge, led the enquiry into police conduct

during the murder investigation. Shortly after the Crick Report was issued the MacPherson Report (1999) was produced. This report highlighted the ways in which the criminal justice system had failed the Lawrence family, concluding that the police did not carry out the investigation in an appropriate manner. The Report labels the Metropolitan Police force as ‘institutionally racist’.

The MacPherson Report emphasised the role that schools can play in challenging racism, and citizenship education was identified as a key curriculum area for the positive promotion of cultural diversity. The MacPherson report highlights how schools could be theoretically and practically used to prevent racism and how changes need to be made to the curriculum in order to reflect cultural diversity. See Figure 3 below.

Gillborn (2008a) has said that this was ‘one of the most important episodes in the history of British race relations’ (p132). However, it has been argued that their actions in this area were no more than a smoke screen that hid major, fundamental structural inequalities (Gillborn 2008, Piper and Piper, 2000). Gillborn says:

The case seems initially to promise a major step forward in progressive politics, only for time to confound expectations and render the words not merely empty promises but reveal them to be diversionary tactic that hid ever more regressive realities. (2008b, p717)

Gillborn (2008) argues that this case represents an example of a ‘contradiction-closing case’ (p720). This happens when there is a contradiction between the state’s favoured narrative of society as meritocratic and just and an event that reveals ‘the true extent of real material inequality and disadvantage as systemic phenomena.’ (p720). The contradiction is closed by reforms that seem to have addressed the inequality but have in reality left things untouched. Gillborn (2008) argues that the recommendations (see Figure 3 below):

Did nothing to advance anti-racist education: it simply provided for basic civic lessons and institutionalized a weak understanding of discrimination that is entirely at odds with the thrust of the Lawrence Inquiry. (p128)

On the same day as the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report the (then) Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett, talked about the new commitment to the teaching of citizenship as a way to ‘promote social justice in our communities’. However, in a contradiction to the social justice agenda, immigration policy continued to be restrictive, with asylum-seekers and particular groups of racialized immigrants being regarded as a threat to the British way of life (Pilkington, 2008).

Government response to the report was:

Characterised by ‘racial inexplicitness’ and a side-stepping of the critical issues raised in the Macpherson Report, for example; it effectively dismisses the report’s assertion that there is a need to amend the curriculum. (Skinner and McCollum, 2000, p150)

The curriculum review of 1999 of which the Order for Citizenship forms part refers to the Macpherson Report and indicates that the education recommendations of the Report will be addressed through citizenship education by playing a ‘vital role in promoting a greater understanding of the rights and responsibilities that underpin a democratic society’ (QCA, 1999a). The Order for Citizenship (2000) stated that pupils needed to explore ‘the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious, ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding’.

The citizenship curriculum also called on schools to ‘celebrate the diversity of its population, including consideration of local issues (such as particular manifestations of racism and its removal) as well as national ones’. It stated that the curriculum should ‘reflect and value all social and ethnic groups, for example by providing opportunities for pupils to consider their identities, those of others and cultural attributes’.

Blair (2003) asserts that citizenship education was given:

A huge responsibility for dealing with the problems of multi-ethnic communities ... It seems not to have been acknowledged that this latest addition to the compulsory curriculum may have been set an impossible task. The introduction of the Citizenship curriculum may not change hearts and minds quickly enough to address urgent problems of community distrust. (p148)

67. That consideration be given to amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the need of a diverse society.
68. That Local Education Authorities and school governors have the duty to create and implement strategies in their schools to prevent and address racism. Such strategies include:
 - That schools record all racist incidents;
 - that all recorded incidents are reported to the pupils' parents/guardians, school governors and LEAs;
 - that the numbers of racist incidents are published annually, on a school by school basis; and
 - that the numbers and self defined ethnic identity of 'excluded' pupils are published annually on a school by school basis.
69. That OFSTED inspections include examination of the implementation of such strategies.

(Recommendations from the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, Home Office, 1999)

Figure 3: Prevention of racism the Role of Education

As discussed above, teachers received no explicit, specialist training in citizenship education either in pedagogy or content. It therefore made it extremely difficult for teachers unused to managing difference and diversity in the classroom (either visible difference or difference of opinion) to tackle manifestations of racism and 'provide opportunities for pupils to consider their identities, those of others and cultural attributes'. To assume that teachers would be able to include teaching about diversity and identity within an area of the curriculum which was new to many was an optimistic assumption.

In 2002 the Race Relations (Amendment) Act came into effect. The new regulations required state-maintained schools to have a written race equality policy. The revised Ofsted framework for the inspection of schools expected schools to ‘provide an atmosphere free from oppressive behaviour, such as racism’ and that the school will ‘make it clear in its literature that it is an establishment that will not tolerate any form of racist behaviour’. However later research conducted by Commission for Race Equality (CRE) found that two-thirds of schools had not set any specific goals for improving levels of attainment (Gillborn, 2008a).

As Rollock (2009) points out, concern for social justice was balanced by a drive to enact a tighter concept of social order. Focus shifted from attention to race equality to concern about what members of minority ethnic communities needed to do in order to be regarded as fully fledged, integrated members of British society. This was the focus of the Cantle Report which coined the term ‘parallel lives’ to describe communities living side by side spatially but with no shared sense of community.

3.4 The Cantle Report

During the summer of 2001 there were disturbances in the towns of Bradford, Oldham and Burnley in the north west of England. A Review Team was established and led by Ted Cantle, ‘to seek the views of local residents and community leaders in the affected towns and in other parts of England on the issues which need to be addressed to bring about social cohesion and also to identify good practice in the handling of these issues at local level’. There were concerns about communities divided along racial, faith and cultural lines and a need for better ‘community cohesion’:

Britain, like almost all countries, has been affected by globalisation and is now host to communities for whom concerns about their country of origin can be refreshed daily. In these circumstances, strategies for making them feel at home, rather than as

reluctant exiles, need to be established ... This needs a determined effort to gain consensus on the fundamental issue of 'cultural pluralism'. In other words, an acceptance, and even a celebration, of our diversity and that within the concept of citizenship, different cultures can thrive, adding to the richness and experience of our nationality. That also means an acceptance that we are never going to turn the clock back to what was perceived to be a dominant or monoculturalist view of nationality. (p18)

The Report refers to the notion of 'layers of separation' and puts forward the concept of 'parallel lives' where communities are separated at spatial, social and cultural levels through the segregation of housing, education and faith. These findings have resonance with a speech made by Trevor Phillips (2004) of the Commission for Racial Equality when he argues that multiculturalism as it is commonly understood is not always helpful because it privileges cultural differences and understates structural inequalities:

Integration only works if it both recognizes newcomers' differences and extends complete equality. Celebrating diversity, but ignoring inequality, inevitably leads to the nightmare of entrenched segregation ... There can be no true integration without true equality. But the reverse is also true. The equality of the ghetto is no equality at all. Multiculturalism is in danger of becoming a sleight of hand in which ethnic minorities are distracted by tokens of recognition, while being excluded from the real business. (Phillips, 2004)

The Report also found that:

There has been little attempt to develop clear values which focus on what it means to be a citizen of a modern multi-racial Britain and many still look backwards to some supposedly halcyon days of a mono-cultural society, or alternatively look to their country of origin for some form of identity. (p9)

The authors argues that there was an 'urgent need' to promote not only greater understanding of, but contact between different cultures, and a 'greater sense of citizenship' needed to be established based on a '(a few) common principles' (p10). Moreover the report argues that people from minority groups need to be made 'to feel at home, rather than as reluctant exiles' (p18), and that a determined effort needed to be made:

To gain consensus on the fundamental issue of 'cultural pluralism'. In other words, an acceptance, and even a celebration, of our diversity and that within the concept of

citizenship, different cultures can thrive, adding to the richness and experience of our nationality (p18).

The Report goes on to state that ‘it will also be essential to agree some common elements of nationhood’ (p19). The Cattle Report makes it very clear that although they are calling for the establishment of a ‘meaningful concept of citizenship’ which takes account of all cultures’ contributions to ‘this Nation’s development’, any concept of citizenship must establish ‘a clear primary loyalty to this Nation’ and ‘a clearer statement of allegiance ... should be considered’ (p20).

Segregation and separation are key themes in the Cattle Report. Again, schools are recognised as being key to promoting diversity and in helping to develop shared understanding of what citizenship means. Faith based and mono cultural schools are perceived as contributing to community division and citizenship education is once more identified as the key vehicle for ensuring contact with other cultures:

In terms of community cohesion, however, a significant problem is posed by existing and future mono-cultural schools; which can add significantly to the separation of communities ... We believe that all schools owe a responsibility to their pupils to promote, expand and enrich their experiences, by developing contacts with other cultures ... Contact with other cultures should be a clear requirement for, and development of, the concept of citizenship education from September 2002 – and possibly a condition for funding. This should be seen as a demanding responsibility. (The Cattle Report, 2001, p33)

The Report proposed that:

Immediate steps should be taken to address the problems of mono-cultural schools by: The creation of inter-school twinning between schools representing the principal cultures; The development of joint sports, arts and cultural programmes between these schools; Teacher exchanges and joint working; Joint curriculum activities and learning programmes, with perhaps, part of the school week spent in another school; Joint parental activities – eg cultural events and skills programmes; Planned intake across the partnered schools, so that joint activities may eventually lead to a more mixed intake for each school; Technological links between schools, including video conference and internet work. (p10)

The premise of the Report is that education is fundamental to the promotion and understanding of, and respect for different cultures:

All schools should be under a statutory duty to promote a respect for, and an understanding of, the cultures in the school and neighbouring areas, through a programme of cross-cultural contact. This could be an expansion of the introduction of citizenship education from September 2002. Schools should not be afraid to discuss difficult areas and the young people we met wanted to have this opportunity and should be given a safe environment in which to do so. (p36)

The Duty for schools to promote Community Cohesion became a statutory requirement in September 2007. Community Cohesion is described as:

Working towards a society in which there is a **common vision** and **sense of belonging by all communities**; a society in which the diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and valued; a society in which similar **life opportunities** are available to all; and a society in which strong and positive relationships exist and continue to be developed in the workplace, in schools and in the wider community. (DCSF, 2007, p3, emphasis in original)

The Duty includes twinning 'to compensate for lack of contact with other cultures in the school environment' (p37) and focuses on three strands:

- *Teaching, learning and curriculum*

Helping pupils to learn to understand others, to value diversity whilst also promoting shared values, to promote awareness of human rights and to apply and defend them, and to develop the skills of participation and responsible action.

- *Equity and excellence*

To ensure equal opportunities for all to succeed at the highest level possible, striving to remove barriers to access and participation in learning and wider activities and working to eliminate variations in outcomes for different groups.

- *Engagement and extended services*

To provide reasonable means for children, young people, their friends and families to interact with people from different backgrounds and build positive relations: including links with different schools and communities and the provision of extended services with opportunities for pupils, families and the wider community to take part in activities and receive services which build positive interaction and achievement for all groups. (DCSF, 2007)

The guidance emphasises the need for community as whole to learn and interact with one another, regardless of race, faith or culture. Malik (2012) suggests that through the community cohesion initiative ‘the school can become (and indeed in many areas already is) the heart, providing a safe space for children, families and others to interact and break down prejudices, and teach everyone, not just the pupils, the confidence to become good neighbours and active citizens’ (p70).

Community cohesion became the defining policy of this time. There was a distinct shift from multiculturalism which was seen to have created divided and fragmented communities, to a need for those (minority) ethnic communities to integrate. Rollock (2009) argues that:

In general, the government response (notably expressed through the Cantle report) paid little attention to issues of inequality, the role of economic factors, institutional racism and political disenfranchisement, but instead focused on Asian communities (although white groups were also involved in the riots) as the locus of the problem. They found themselves characterized by deviance and criminality, and their purported choice to exclude themselves from mainstream society. (p10)

Olssen (2004) suggests that the recommendations of the Cantle Report could have been included in the citizenship curriculum in order to produce a ‘richer text’ on citizenship education. Instead, however, the duty to promote community cohesion was not inserted into the 2002 Education Act until the Inspection Act of 2006. The duty became statutory in September 2007 and the result was that schools did not take up the possibilities that CE offers for engaging with diversity. For Tomlinson (2005):

Arguably, the most serious omission concerning the education of all young people in a multiethnic society concerns the failure of successive governments to encourage curriculum policies that would combat cultural ignorance, ethnocentric attitudes and racism. (p165)

In the meantime the notion of ‘the global dimension’ comes to the fore and marks the start of a period of ‘unprecedented’ interest in global education by the British government (Marshall, 2007).

3.5 *The White Paper: ‘Building Support for Development’*

If globalisation affects the lives of all, regardless of the state we live in, the capacity to be active both within and across boundaries of national states seems like an appropriate aim of education. (Enslin and Tjiattas, 2008, p82)

New Labour demonstrated a commitment to the notion of collective responsibility at a global level. Its international development policy is based on the ideal that global poverty should be eradicated and that people in this country have a responsibility to help achieve this ideal. The global dimension initiative seems to be explicitly linked to New Labour’s ‘ethical’ foreign policy agenda with education, Tony Blair’s enthusiasm for Communitarianism, and his explicit commitment to meeting the Millennium Goals. This interest in ensuring that a global dimension is an explicit element of the formal education curriculum reflected the then government’s belief that every individual ‘should embrace the objectives of international development’:

First because it is right to do so. Every generation has a moral duty to reach out to the poor and needy and to try to create a more just world. Second, because we have a common interest in doing so. Global warming, land degradation, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, polluted and over-fished oceans, shortage of fresh water, population pressures and insufficient land on which to grow food will otherwise endanger the lives of everyone – rich and poor, developed and developing. (White Paper on International Development, 1997)

The White Paper ‘Building Support for Development’ (1999) calls for every child to be educated about development issues so that they can understand the key global considerations which will shape their lives. The Paper also recognises that this type of education needed to go beyond awareness raising and remind people of their moral obligations. The Paper goes on

to state: 'The elimination of extreme poverty from the world is the greatest challenge of the new Millennium. But it is a challenge that can be met ... *Above all we now need the will to do it*' (my emphasis.) This, it is hoped, will be aided by ensuring that children are taught global citizenship education and a global dimension is brought into all aspects of classroom teaching.

Although the term 'global citizenship' does not appear anywhere in the Crick Report, it does argue that one of the purposes of citizenship education is 'to cultivate awareness and concern for world affairs and global issues' (p.40) and that pupils should 'know about the world as a global community and understand the political, economic and social disparities that exist' (p.50).

The publication 'Enabling Effective Support' (DFID, 2005) sets out the government's strategy of support for the global dimension in formal education. The document states that:

Education plays a vital role in helping children and young people recognise their contribution and responsibilities as citizens of this global community and equipping them with the skills to make informed decisions and take responsible actions. (p2)

The document has been specifically designed to provide teachers with more effective and sustained support to incorporate a global dimension into their teaching. The global dimension is an umbrella term incorporating the eight key concepts of global citizenship, conflict resolution, diversity, human rights, interdependence, social justice, sustainable development and values and perceptions. The emphasis of the report is on mutual interdependence and helping young people 'recognise their contribution and responsibilities as citizens of this global community and equipping them with the skills to make informed decisions and take responsible actions' (DFID, 2005, p2). It is about making 'links between local and global issues' and enables young people to:

Critically examine their own values and attitudes; appreciate the similarities between peoples everywhere and value diversity; understand the global context of their local lives and develop skills that will enable them to combat injustice, prejudice and discrimination ... Such knowledge, skills and understanding enables young people to make informed decisions about playing an active role in the *global* community. (DFID, 2005, p2)

While Gordon Brown was supportive of the global dimension in the curriculum it was not the robust, unequivocal commitment of Tony Blair. Brown (2008) states:

We live in a global society and I believe it is important that young people, wherever they are in the world, have an understanding of how their actions and choices impact on the lives of others – not only in different countries but on different continents. From the food we buy to the way we get to work, our everyday decisions have consequences for the world around us and we need to understand those consequences if we are to build a fairer, more sustainable society. (Gordon Brown, ‘Introduction’ to *Global Matters*)

The new secondary curriculum took effect from September 2008. At secondary level the theme ‘global dimension and sustainable development’ was introduced as one of the seven whole curriculum dimensions which are described as: ‘Overarching themes that have a significance for individuals and society, and provide relevant learning contexts’. Although these themes are not statutory the global dimension now has an official remit within the national curriculum. The cross-curricular dimensions, which include a global dimension and sustainable development, identity and cultural diversity, technology and the media, among four others, are defined and explained in the following way:

[They] provide important unifying areas of learning that help young people make sense of the world and give education relevance and authenticity. They reflect the major ideas and challenges that face individuals and society ... They can provide a focus for work within and between subjects and across the curriculum as a whole, including the routines, events and ethos of the school. (QCA 2008)

In addition to the global dimension becoming an overarching theme there are a number of initiatives which could have direct relevance to global citizenship. For example, the new curriculum should enable all young people to become:

- successful learners who enjoy learning, make progress and achieve
- confident individuals who are able to live safe, healthy and fulfilling lives
- **responsible citizens who make a positive contribution to society.** (My emphasis)

These aims, which incorporate the five outcomes of Every Child Matters, were the starting point for the changes to the secondary curriculum:

Every Child Matters is a fundamental part of the curriculum. The new *aims for the curriculum* - agreed by school leaders, teachers and other education professionals - and the new emphasis on personal development are closely linked to Every Child Matters, promoting learners' wellbeing and enabling them to develop their potential as healthy, enterprising and responsible citizens.

The original Citizenship programme of study was revised considerably with a greater emphasis on the development of concepts such as democracy and justice and rights and responsibilities. The most significant change was the addition of a new, fourth strand entitled 'Identities and diversity: living together in the UK'. This came out of the Ajegbo Report which I now look at.

3.6 *The Ajegbo Report*

On 7th July 2005 terrorist attacks were carried out in London. Following the attacks a number of speeches were made on diversity, integration and multiculturalism by senior British government ministers. In January 2006 Gordon Brown (then New Labour Deputy Prime Minister) gave a speech on Britishness, British values and patriotism in which he emphasised the importance of teaching British history:

Britishness is not just an academic debate – something for the historians, just for the commentators, just for the so-called chattering classes. Indeed in a recent poll, as many as half of British people said they were worried that if we do not promote Britishness we run a real risk of having a divided society ... And I believe that out of a debate, hopefully leading to a broad consensus about what Britishness means, flows a rich agenda for change: a new constitutional settlement, an explicit definition of citizenship, a renewal of civil society, a rebuilding of our local government and a

better balance between diversity and integration ... it is to our benefit to be more explicit about what we stand for and what are our objectives and that we will meet and master all challenges best by finding shared purpose as a country in our enduring British ideals that I would summarise as - in addition to our qualities of creativity, inventiveness, enterprise and our internationalism - our central beliefs are a commitment to liberty for all, responsibility by all and fairness to all. (np)

That same year Tony Blair, then British Prime Minister, gave a speech addressing education, British values and the importance of multiculturalism (Blair, 2006). For Blair, integration is not about culture of lifestyle: 'It is about values. It is about integrating at the point of shared, common, unifying British values. It isn't about what defines us as people, but as citizens, the rights and duties that go with being a member of our society'. Blair, too, talks of being 'bound together' and our 'tolerance'. He says:

We protect this attitude by defending it. Our tolerance is part of what makes Britain, Britain. So conform to it; or don't come here. We don't want the hate-mongers, whatever their race, religion or creed. (np)

Despite the fact that the suicide bombers were British Sivandan (2006) suggests that the thinking in the UK was to embrace an undeniably Islamophobic discourse which contends that cultural pluralism has gone too far, threatening our values and national safety. Ethnic minorities, in the domestic context of the War on Terror, have to effectively subsume their cultural heritage to Britishness (Sivanandan, 2006):

The government has been thrashing about for answers as to how to handle its ethnic minorities. First, with the riots, it blamed the self-separatism of Asian communities for the disaffection between Asians and whites – never acknowledging that successive governments' policies of culturalism, combined with their neglect of the inner cities, had created the enclaves which had turned Asians against whites and vice versa. (Sivanandan, 2006, np)

It was against this backdrop that in 2006 the government ordered a review which aimed to look at ways in which ethnic, religious and cultural diversity might be addressed within the English curriculum. Alan Johnson, the then Secretary of State for Education commissioned Sir Keith Ajegbo to write a review of diversity in schools, amid concerns about growing

disaffection among some ethnic minority groups. The Ajebo report re-asserts the need for schools to be prepared to tackle controversial issues and says that more could be done to ensure children ‘explore, discuss and debate their identities within their citizenship lessons’. The Report also reiterates the importance of citizenship education as the key curriculum area for teaching about diversity:

The link between education for diversity and Citizenship education is clear: whilst we need to understand and celebrate the diverse cultures and backgrounds of the UK’s population, we also need to acknowledge what brings us together as active citizens and agents of change. Diversity has been recognised as a crucial area in education for some time; and concepts of citizenship are deficient without a substantive understanding of diversity. Education for diversity is key to preparing children and young people for the 21st century world, where borders are becoming porous and global citizenship is an increasing imperative. (Ajebo., 2007, p21)

The Report found that:

Issues of identity and diversity are more often than not neglected in Citizenship education. When these issues are referred to, coverage is often unsatisfactory or lacks contextual depth. (p65)

Moreover, the authors:

... were struck by the evidence that following the bombings of 7/7 there were many schools that chose silence as the best way of coping with the complexity of the situation. They simply did not know how to cope with the questions pupils were asking. Schools need support, structures and training to be able to develop safe environments in which constructive learning dialogue can take place (*ibid.*, p68)

They suggest that issues such as the debate over immigration, and the UK's place in the European Union as well as the legacy of the British Empire need to be debated.

The Report recommended that a fourth strand be added to the Citizenship curriculum. From September 2008 the revised secondary curriculum for citizenship includes the new strand ‘Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK’:

This strand brings together three conceptual components:

- Critical thinking about ethnicity, religion and race

- An explicit link to political issues and values
- The use of contemporary history in teachers' pedagogy to illuminate thinking about contemporary issues relating to citizenship. (*ibid*, p97)

This strand involves students:

- Appreciating that identities are complex, can change over time and are informed by different understandings of what it means to be a citizen in the UK
- Exploring the diverse national, regional, ethnic and religious cultures, groups and communities in the UK and the connections between them
- Considering the interconnections between the UK and the rest of Europe and the wider world
- Exploring community cohesion and the different forces that bring about change in communities over time (QCA, 2007)

The Ajebo Report emphasises that Citizenship education has an essential role to play in developing the knowledge and skills for positive community relations, shared identities, and secure ways in which difference can be expressed. In addition the Report highlights that:

The evidence suggests Citizenship education works best when delivered discretely – we recommend this as the preferred model for schools. We [also] recommend greater definition and support in place of the flexible, ‘light touch’ approach’. (p11)

It also recommends that ‘ITT and CPD should explicitly address and develop clear conceptual understanding, in part by focusing on, and strengthening, treatment of issues relating to the ‘political literacy’ strand’ (*ibid.*)

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the key top-down initiatives associated with citizenship education during my research period. At the start of the research process democratic deficit and in particular the political apathy of young people were the key concerns of the then New Labour government. This resulted in citizenship education becoming a statutory subject at key stages 3 and 4. At the same time, for New Labour globalisation meant that no country can afford to ignore famine, war or human rights abuse anywhere in the world:

The critics will say: but how can the world be a community? Nations act in their own self-interest. Of course they do. But what is the lesson of the financial markets, climate change, international terrorism, nuclear proliferation or world trade? It is that our self-interest and our mutual interests are today inextricably woven together. (Tony Blair, Labour Party Conference, October 2001)

This understanding of ‘our interests’ being ‘inextricably woven together’ together with the aim to create a ‘something-for-something’ society led to the global dimension initiative. However, before citizenship became statutory in 2001 the terrorist attacks occurred in the United States and there was rioting in a number of towns in the north of England. Democratic deficit ceased to be a key policy driver for the New Labour government. British values and community cohesion come to the fore amid concerns about internal security and the threat of extremism from within rather than from outside:

The panicked political gaze was directed to the perceived problems of the ethnic ‘Other’, with the additional perceived threat of ideological incompatibility (namely Islam). (Rollock, 2009. p10)

The duty for schools to contribute to community cohesion became a statutory requirement and an additional strand was added to the citizenship curriculum in order to enhance understanding of difference and diversity.

The following chapters explore educators’ responses to these citizenship related top-down initiatives. The chapters are arranged according to the themes which emerged through the analysis. I start with the theme ‘Making sense of citizenship’.

Chapter 4

4.0 Theme 1: Making sense of citizenship

4.1 Introduction to the theme

As the previous chapter has shown a number of top-down initiatives were introduced by the government during the period 2002-2008 which had a direct impact on the nature and purpose of citizenship education. During this time there were a number of amendments made to the key aims of citizenship education in England from a focus on the rights and duties of the active citizen, in particular tackling democratic deficit, to a desire to include a global dimension in classroom teaching, to an explicit requirement for citizenship to tackle issues of difference and diversity and concerns with a lack of community cohesion.

As the role and purpose of citizenship education shifts, interpretations of citizenship by teachers, students and tutors also seem to shift with a change in emphasis on teaching the rights and responsibilities of law abiding citizens to an aspiration for pupils to embrace difference and diversity. It is interesting to note that teacher and student definitions and understandings of citizenship and related top-down education initiatives often reflect current wider debates and concerns about education and society. However this research also found that some teachers and students found it difficult not only to define citizenship and how it relates to their teaching, but also how to interpret the different proposals. For example a number of teachers at one school were unsure as to how adding the word ‘global’ to ‘citizenship’ altered the notion of citizenship, and how this change might impact on their classroom practice. Other teachers and students felt confident to define citizenship, were able to fully engage with the ideas, blending different initiatives and finding ways to incorporate elements of education for citizenship in their teaching.

In this chapter I first provide a critique of the different theories of citizenship, including global citizenship. I then present my research findings in relation to how educators' say they are interpreting the concept of citizenship in the context of the top-down initiatives.

There is a significant amount of literature and commentary on citizenship that has been written from a non-Western viewpoint of citizenship. However the main selection of literature in this thesis is focused on Western notions of citizenship which have influenced the key policies and documents produced on citizenship education in England. Indeed the Crick Report (paragraph 2.1) situates its own position uncritically within the 'political tradition stemming from the Greek city states and the Roman republic', and in so doing, as Cremin and Faulks (2005) assert, misses an opportunity to include the more radical conceptions of politics offered by, for example, feminists and socialists.

4.2 *Background*

Dahrendorf has said (1994, p13):

At times one wants to despair at the distortions of one of the great ideas of social and political thought, and begins to wonder whether it can be rescued from its ideological abuses.

As with many grand themes citizenship is a concept that and can interpreted and shaped to appeal to a wide spectrum of political ideology. Indeed as Faulks (2000) has stated:

Citizenship has an almost universal appeal. Radicals and conservatives alike feel able to utilize the language of citizenship in support of their policy prescriptions. (p1)

Citizenship can be defined as the bundle of contributory rights and duties that decide an individual's access to social and economic resources (Turner, 2000) and in this way an accepted relationship with the state is maintained. This creates a process for establishing a group to which access is gained through being able to fulfil certain rights and duties. Citizenship thus establishes a juridic identity which determines an individual's status within a

political community. As Lister (2008) states: 'One reason why citizenship is a contested concept is that it operates simultaneously as a force for both inclusion and exclusion.' (p3). Citizens and non-citizens 'such as the poor, the property less, women, immigrants, excluded 'races', and others' (Tully, 2008, p21) have had to fight, and continue to fight, for recognition within nations' constructs of citizenship.

Citizenship as an exclusive status has its roots in the canons of Western political thought. As Purvis and Hunt (1999) state:

The concept of citizenship contained the seeds of many of the contradictions with which we still grapple today ... Political life was reserved for citizens, and identities other than that of the virtuous citizen were deemed to have no place in political life. (p463)

The Ancient Greek notion of citizenship was centred on 'man's capacity to be both ruler and ruled' (Bowden, 2003, p350) and 'a strong citizenship of exclusion was preferred' (Delanty, 2000, p11). Aristotle's theory was that man is born to actively participate in political life, he is 'a political animal' (Heater, 1999) and if this activity is unfulfilled 'he is deprived of living and a completely fulfilling and satisfying human life' (Bowden, 2003, p350).

The capacity to both ruler and ruled requires rational thought and self-autonomy and it was considered that certain groups lacked these essential qualities. A citizen could be excluded from the geo-political territory or could be bestowed with non-citizen status (Delanty, 2000). Resident foreigners, women, slaves and peasantry of the rural environment of the city were all excluded (Heater, 1999). As Delanty (2000) states: 'No account of citizenship can evade the fact that it was originally constructed in order to exclude and subordinate people' (p11). Traditionally a citizen was an inhabitant of a town and rights and duties were specifically associated with the town. According to Aristotle, in order for citizens to carry out their duties and responsibilities in the most effective manner possible the city-state should be compact

and cohesive in order that ‘the citizens of the state must know one another’s characters’ (Aristotle, quoted in Heater, 1999, p4).

The cosmopolitan ideal is considered to have emerged in Greece around the fifth century BC and was developed by Diogenes who rejected the contemporary political notion of citizenship and declared that the good life could be attained through the enhancement of rational power. He was exiled from his native city and spent his life living in a bath tub and wandering the streets of Athens with a lamp, looking for an honest man. For him, the ultimate notion of the good life was that of self-sufficiency and he eschewed the luxuries of civilisation.

The Stoics superseded the Cynics and developed a ‘tougher, creative cosmopolitanism’ (Heater, 1999, p11). Echoing Diogenes the Stoics regarded wisdom as being the only essential requirement of citizenship which they considered to be attainable by all through the development of rational thought. This universal notion of citizenship was framed by the law of nature which all citizens should obey:

Rules of right conduct and statements of rights that they held pertained to all humanity and were superior in force of obligation to any positive and merely local law ... Laws of nature ... included the obligations to abstain from theft, murder and unusual sexual practices, to obey one’s superiors, honour one’s parents, feed one’s children, assist the needs, and to practice charity and fidelity. (Wilson, 2008 quoted in Daston and Stolleis, 2008, p19)

With the expansion of the Roman Empire the idea of a universal law of nature was further developed in order that a hugely diverse population could be included in the Roman notion of citizenship. During this period there was a shift from understanding the citizen in political terms to the citizen as having legal rights and responsibilities: ‘To be a Roman citizen meant to belong to a community governed by shared common laws that guaranteed a set of rights that were unique to one’s fellow Roman citizens’ (Bowden, 2003, p351). Rather than democracy, law and property became the principal markers of citizenship and full citizenship

included six privileges. These were the public rights of service in the army; voting; eligibility for public office and the right to legal protection and appeal; and two private rights of intermarriage and trade with other Roman citizens (Heater, 1999, p17).

Over time the citizenship ideal changed in emphasis and it was no longer regarded as an honour to be a Roman citizen, 'and as the sense of honour declined, so did the sense of civic responsibility' (Heater, 1999, p19). With this decline an elitist understanding of citizenship began to emerge and with the Renaissance came renewed interest in the Roman republic and the idea that society be organised through state rather than city. Delanty (2000) describes this 'turn to the state' as 'another step in the separation of citizenship from democracy, since Renaissance republicanism made no claims to democracy' (p12).

From the sixteenth century a citizen's sphere of activity extended beyond the town or city to the state. Heater (1999) notes that the seventeenth century 'was the pivotal age' during which the modern egalitarian form of citizenship developed (p28). By the eighteenth century citizenship in the public domain 'was based on the prior existence of a private domain composed of unequal relationships in terms of class, race and gender' (Delanty, 2000, p12) though in theory citizens had legal equality. It was during this period that key revolutionary events 'appropriated the norms of Greece and Rome as their own' and 'citizenship rights became significant as an aspect of modern politics' (Isin and Turner, 2007, p6). These events were the English Civil War, the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. Although these revolutions had a lot in common, such as the evolution of citizenship involving a set of exclusive rights that set out claims to collective resources, each revolution 'appropriated and interpreted citizenship quite differently' (Isin and Turner, 2007, p6). The French republican tradition focused on suppressing differences between citizens and religious identity was excluded from the public sphere. In the United States 'citizens shared a radical

doctrine of egalitarianism, and there was a profound suspicion of central institutions and frameworks' (Isin and Turner, 2007, p6). In Germany a notion of social citizenship prevailed and civil liberties were regarded as less important than rights to social security. In Britain citizenship rights were 'negative freedoms from interference rather than positive rights to enjoy certain privileges' (Isin and Turner, 2007, p6). In order to try and maintain a cohesive nation 'strong racist characteristics' were given to citizen identity in many societies 'in the creation of such notions as 'the British people' or 'the German folk'' (Turner, 2000, p23).

Turner continues:

The growth of national citizenship was associated with Occidentalism (as an adjunct of Orientalism), creating strong notions of Otherness as the boundary between the inside and outside world. National citizenship became crucial to the building of loyalties and commitments around the nation-state. (Turner, 2000, p23).

In order to place in context the recent and current debates about citizenship and models of citizenship education in England, below I look at the three key Western political modes of thought that have influenced, and continue to influence, routes to citizenship – liberalism, civic republicanism and communitarianism. I then examine the shifting and changing nature of citizenship constructs in the UK context, starting with an exploration of T. H. Marshall's conceptualisation of citizenship which has been highly significant in the British context, not least because it is his conceptualisation upon which the citizenship curriculum for England is based.

4.2.1 Western political modes of thought

Although there is a thread of commonality among commentators about the constituents of citizenship in western democracies the exact nature of each of these components is much debated and will vary depending on the political system of which they form part. Common distinctions between political theories are between liberal, communitarian and civic

republican notions. Classical liberal theory conceptualized the political being as rational and autonomous. Understandings have focused on the rights and privileges of the individual that the state guarantees together with a focus on freedom from unnecessary interference from the state. The state should be neutral, not promote one version of the good life over another and protect individual citizen rights and ensure that citizens are able to choose their own conception of the good life. Modern liberal citizenship is exemplified by Rawls. Rawlsian citizenship is principally a status.

I revisit Rawls' concept of 'justice as reasonableness' later in the thesis.

Civic republican models stress the importance of the contribution of individuals to the state, particularly active participation in decision-making (Oldfield, 1990) which is regarded as 'the highest form of human living-together that most individuals can aspire to' (p6). Civic republicanism is based on the Roman ideas of the *res publica*, *virtus* and *civitas*:

The ideal of the virtuous citizen of Athens, actively and equally engaged in political life, was resuscitated and pressed into service as the cornerstone of the civic republican vision of citizenship. (Purvis and Hunt, 1999, p464)

For Oldfield liberalism has prioritised individual rights at the expense of active participation. He argues that an individual 'becomes a citizen' through the 'performance of duties of the practice of citizenship'. He asserts that 'not to engage in the practice is, in important senses, not to be a citizen' (Oldfield, 1990, p5).

Civic republicanism has been criticised for being 'uniformly masculine' (Van Gunsteren, 1994, p42) and 'hostile to non republican values' (Hanasz, 2006, p285). Moreover this model of citizenship is regarded as 'unable to satisfy the requirements of a world of globalization' (Hanasz, 2006, p284) showing as it does 'little appreciation for the particular meaning and diversity of other communities' (Van Gunsteren, 1994, p43). Hanasz (2006) argues that:

The traditional ideas of civic republicanism - the stress on strong patriotic identity and high demands of public service, the rhetorical approach to individual rights and political participation, the multiple functions of the republican state, among others— are hardly ever adjustable to the global reality. (p284)

In addition, a civic republican model of citizenship regards political life as ‘superior to the merely private pleasures of family, neighbourhood, and profession and so should occupy the centre of people’s lives’ (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, p362). However, as Kymlicka and Norman (1994) go on to assert: ‘We no longer seek gratification in politics because our personal and social life is so much richer than the Greeks’ (p362).

Communitarianism developed as a response to the extreme individualism of the latter part of the twentieth century and has been popularized by Amitai Etzioni. He contends that individuals who are well integrated into communities are better able to reason and act in responsible ways than isolated individuals (Etzioni, 1995). ‘Community’ is understood to mean a web of ‘social relations that encompass shared meanings and above all shared values’, ‘nested, each within a more encompassing one’ and which are not necessarily ‘places of virtue’: families, schools, communities, and the community of communities (Etzioni, 1995, p24). He suggests an ‘upward shifting of moral commitments to ever more encompassing communities is the earmark of a community which is most progressive’ (p24). This moral commitment must not be ‘reduced in scope’ (p25) so that obligation is limited to friends and close neighbours ‘rather than those who are most in need’ (p25). If the individual is understood to be part of a community who has rights as an individual but also obligations as an individual to that community this will impact on their actions in the public sphere and possibly the private as well. Etzioni argues that individuals should not make unreasonable demands of others and of the state, for example demanding ‘ever more services and handouts while being unwilling to pay taxes and make contributions to the commons, a form of citizen infantilism’ (Etzioni, 1995, p91). Within communitarian philosophy ‘the separate individual

does not make up the basic moral unit of society in this scheme of things, but rather is attached to other individuals in community on whom he or she is somewhat dependent' (Arthur and Bailey, 2000, p7). However the caveat is added that should pressure to conform become too great the individual self will be weakened.

As the above brief descriptions show, citizenship is constructed from a set of rights and duties, and belonging to a nation is defined through the guarantee of certain rights by the state in return for individuals carrying out certain obligations, the framing and arrangement of which will depend on the political system they form part of. As Isin and Turner (2002) state:

Modern citizenship rights that draw from the nation-state typically include civil, political and social rights. The combination and depth of such rights vary from one state to another but a modern democratic state is expected to uphold a combination of citizenship rights and obligations. (p3)

Although this narrative of the historical development of modern citizenship is the dominant one, citizenship is complex and contested. It is a model of citizenship presented as universal both in terms of applicability to all societies and in terms of historical processes. Heater (1999) notes that the Treaty of Westphalia, developed in the West, has been imposed through imperialism. Over time excluded groups and individuals have fought for recognition and to be included in this concept of citizenship, and for the rights of citizenship to be extended beyond protection.

In the next section I look at Marshall's theory of citizenship which privileges social rights. This welfare model of citizenship has come under intense criticism for being inappropriate in a postmodern, global era by not providing a framework that deals with issues such as gender, multiculturalism, diasporas, refugees and immigrants. However, as stated above, Marshall's notion of citizenship is important to consider because it is his theory of citizenship which undergirds the curriculum for citizenship education in England.

4.2.2 *Marshall's theory of Citizenship*

T. H. Marshall's theory of citizenship is associated with a model of social citizenship and is considered by some to be:

One of the best descriptions of social rights in twentieth century Britain and an important framework for understanding the connection between civil liberties and social rights. (Turner, 2009, p65)

His conception of citizenship is one firmly rooted in a British conceptualization of post-war development and transformation of state roles (Turner, 2009, p66) and his theory was developed in response to the grinding poverty of post-war Britain. For Marshall, citizenship can be defined as 'full membership of a community' (Marshall, 1948, p72). In its modern form citizenship of the nation state is based on three sets of rights: the civil, the political and the social which he considers to have developed in three successive centuries. The civil component arose in the eighteenth century and relates to the legal rights that citizens have and include 'the rights necessary for individual freedom – liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice (Marshall, 1948, p74). The political refers to participation in democratic processes, the main method of participation being through voting. Citizens also have the right to try and influence policy and procedure through lobbying, petitioning and protesting though in England these rights have been curtailed significantly. Social rights lessen the impact of social inequalities created by capitalism by 'civilising' the impact of the market through, for example, the right to education, health care, unemployment insurance and old age pension.

Marshall states:

By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in society. (Marshall, 1963, p74)

Marshall explains that the inclusion of social rights would provide ‘a general reduction of risk and insecurity, an equalization between the more and the less fortunate at all levels.’ (1963, p102). Marshall did not consider that social stratification was necessarily bad. His view was that ‘through education and its relations with occupational structure, citizenship operates as an instrument of social stratification’ (Marshall 1963, p110). Education was intended to give citizens the tools to achieve their potential. Implicit in this idea is the view that all individuals are able access their rights and have at their disposal the array of resources necessary to take advantage of the benefit and protection of a welfare state. There are a whole host of issues bundled up in Marshall’s assumption and understanding of what citizenship entails which Delanty (2000) summarizes. He outlines five problems. Firstly cultural rights and other forms of exclusion such gender and race which cannot be accommodated by social rights but must be included in a conception of citizenship. Torres (1998) calls the failure to address ethnicity and race a ‘glaring omission’ (p124). As Knight, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) state: ‘Culture cannot be realistically or productively segregated from citizenship as a practice or a status’ (p670). Turner (2009) too describes this as an ‘important weakness’, and argues that Marshall’s theory was blind to both race and ethnicity, and to culture.

Secondly, Delanty (2000) criticises Marshall’s notion of citizenship as being an essentially passive notion where social classes were ‘the passive recipients of rights’ (p19). The stress is on entitlement rather than a requirement to participate in public life and can be classified as citizenship as redistribution (Isin and Turner, 2007). The framing of citizenship as ‘passive’ raises further issues. For example, it is argued that ‘passive’ citizenship as a negative state needs to be rethought since that what is deemed passive (and therefore less worthy of respect) is in reality a necessary constituent of active citizenship in the private sphere (Lanoix 2007).

A further point is that citizenship is time and place specific. Marshall's definition of citizenship was aimed at reducing social inequalities which were inherent in post-war democracies. The series of entitlements allocated included unemployment insurance, welfare, social housing and universal health care. These social rights were the result of working class demands for social security. However, very importantly, it was also a way of reducing class conflict. It helped to ensure that the masses would remain quiet so that capitalism could flourish unimpeded. The state is able to demand loyalty and 'define the nature of participation for its entire population' (Hoxsey, 2011, p917). As Hoxsey (2011) goes on to say, 'The implementation of social rights was not merely some altruistic product of a 'caring' government' (p917).

Fourthly Marshall did not question the pairing of citizenship and nationality. As Banks (2008a) suggests, Marshall assumed an homogenous society in which regional, cultural and ethnic divisions were not important in comparison to social class divisions. He also failed to include any significant discussion of the religious, cultural and class divisions (Banks, 2008, p6). Delanty (2000) argues that 'cultural rights cannot be simply added on to Marshall's development model ... In sum, there is no simple trajectory along which a logic of rights unfolds' (p18). However Banks (2008a) suggests expanding Marshall's theory of citizenship to include cultural democracy and cultural citizenship which is consistent with Marshall's view that citizenship evolves to reflect the historical development of the times and expands to increase equality and social justice. Ethnic and language minority groups in societies throughout the world are denied full citizenship rights because of their languages and cultural characteristics, because they regard maintaining attachments to their cultural communities as important to their identities, and because of historic group discrimination and exclusion (Kymlicka, 1995). Consequently, the conception of citizenship in a modern democratic nation-state should be expanded to include cultural rights and group rights within a

democratic framework (Banks, 2008a, p130). Finally Delanty argues that Marshall took for granted the separation of the public and private sphere.

4.2.3 Neo-liberalism and the New Right

A huge shift in understanding of citizenship and welfare came with the New Right. The Conservative Party 'sought to redefine citizenship by reducing the significance of social rights and by reasserting market rights' (Faulks, 1998, p54). The New Right argued that the welfare state encouraged passivity and created a culture of dependency which Margaret Thatcher, the then British Prime Minister, wanted to reverse:

Keynesian redistribution was replaced by more aggressive neo-conservative regimes in which the enterprising and self-regarding consumer became the driving force of the economy and the free market was a necessary condition of freedom. (Isin and Turner, 2007, p9)

Neo-liberal discourse of citizenship the citizen becomes consumer. The difference here being that classic liberalism 'spoke in the name of civil society' (Delanty, 2000, p21) while neo-liberalism supports individual consumers over social democracy. The social liberal approach to social rights 'was rejected as subverting, rather than civilising, capitalism' (Faulks, 1998, p117) and:

Since the welfare state discourages people from becoming self-reliant, the safety net should be but back and any remaining welfare benefits should have obligations tied to them. Thatcherism emphasised individualism and attacked collectivism. Thatcherism also stressed the need to 'reinvigorate a morally diluted nation which had been undermined by 'enemies within' and by a mass immigration which had brought to Britain cultures 'alien to our streets'. (Faulks, 1998, p118)

The neo-liberal conception of citizenship 'becomes a status divorced from notions of equality, fraternity and positive liberty. It carries with it no duties to others, but entails rights to be unequal and to assert that inequality, whilst being protected by a minimal, but coercive, state' (Faulks, 1998, p73). This understanding of citizenship further marginalised those already on

the edge of society, expanding the underclass which, Faulks (1998) contends, is bad for society as a whole for two reasons. Firstly because diversity is lost, and secondly because there is a fear that the anger and disillusionment felt by those groups on the margins will spill over into violence and unrest:

It is highly questionable whether a society of competitive individuals struggling for resources, with little basis for loyalty to the state or indeed to each other, would merely accept the outcome of market forces and the inequality of the ownership of property. (Faulks, 1998, p72)

Those who failed in the market would not be able to turn to the state for help and would have to find other ways to provide for themselves. As Faulks (1998) argues, this is likely to manifest itself in organised crime, drug addiction and public disorder (p72). He argues that the money the individual saves from paying tax on welfare for the poor will be spent on the maintenance of law and order. Where countries are sharply divided by inequality 'wealthy citizens are increasingly taking extreme measure to cut themselves off from the rest of society deemed to be unsafe and violent. Wealthy people in such places are increasingly turning to barbed-wire-protected citadels policed by private security firms' (p72). The wealthy will lead increasingly isolated lives 'unable to venture out into the world of crumbling infrastructures, disorder and violent crime with most other 'citizens' will inhabit.' (p73)

During the period of the Thatcher government the good citizen was an active citizen who was self-reliant, responsible for their own actions and had a sense of civic pride in their country and local community. This understanding of active citizenship was underpinned by the need for shared values, 'common loyalties' and 'mutual obligations' (Douglas Hurd, 1989, quoted in Faulks, 1998, p128). Kymlicka and Norman (1994) argue that this approach 'made possible an era of unprecedented greed and economic irresponsibility.' (p356). Indeed as Noddings (2005) suggests, there was a shift in make-up of society:

From one made up of public citizens to one dominated by corporate citizens. The good citizen became the one who contributed to an expanding economy. The most despised citizen was the one who relied on public monies for basic needs. (p72)

4.6 *New Labour*

In 1997 when New Labour came to power there was a perceived crisis in citizenship (Pattie et al, 2004) and in society's social and moral values. The advent of New Labour saw a revival in questions of citizenship, what it means to be a British citizen and citizenship education. Tony Blair, the then Prime Minister, was keen to establish a 'Third Way' (Giddens, 1998) between Liberalism and Civic Republicanism.

In a speech Tony Blair gave in South Africa in January 1999 he states that globalisation is 'the driving force behind ideas associated with the third way' because:

No country is immune from the massive change that globalisation brings ... what globalisation is doing is bringing in its wake profound economic and social change, economic change rendering all jobs in industry, sometimes even new jobs in new industries, redundant overnight and social change that is a change to culture, to lifestyle, to the family, to established patterns of community life. (Blair, 1999, np)

Responsibility for oneself and for others was a central part of New Labour ideology. The government was explicit in its attempt to lower public expectations that the state should provide for its citizens, regardless of what they give back to society:

Too often rights were elevated above responsibilities, but the responsibility of the individual to his or her family, neighbourhood and society cannot be offloaded on to the state. If the concept of mutual obligation is forgotten, this results in a decline in community spirit, lack of responsibility towards neighbours, rising crime and vandalism, and a legal system that cannot cope. (Blair and Schroeder, 1999)

This was an attempt to create the 'something-for-something' society and reflect New Labour's desire to create a socially inclusive society, with all individuals able to make an active contribution to the community:

If we succeed in making a more active community, I'm convinced that there will also be other benefits – less anti-social behaviour, less crime, less of the corrosion of values that worry so many people. (Blair, 2000)

Today's reports show that too many of our towns and cities lack any sense of civic identity or shared values. Young people, in particular, are alienated and disengaged from much of the society around them, including the leadership of their communities. These are not issues for government alone. They demand a wide public debate on what citizenship and community belonging should mean in this country. (Blunkett, 2001)

By employing a discourse of mutual obligation the government was trying to create the notion of a socially inclusive society in which all individuals are able to, and should, make an active contribution to society and have rights and responsibilities as active citizens. However as Pilkington (2008) argues, New Labour's approach to social inclusion was contradictory, in particular in their restrictive approach towards immigration, regarding some immigrants as a threat to Britishness.

This perceived threat was provoked by events at local, national and international level which led to increased public debate about what it means to be a British. The year before Citizenship became a statutory subject there were 'disturbances' and violence 'involving large numbers of people from different cultural backgrounds' (The Cattle Report, 2001). That same year the attacks on the Twin Towers rocked the world, and in July 2005 extremists hit London killing 52 people. These events were hugely significant to debates around citizenship and difference. I look at these issues in much more detail later in the thesis. Below I examine how globalisation processes are framing constructions of citizenship and driving calls for an updated notion of citizenship 'to moderate the exclusive demands of nationalism' (Wringe, 1999, p5). As Beck (2002) suggests:

An increasing number of people nowadays trade internationally, work internationally, love internationally, marry internationally, do research internationally, and their children are growing up and are being educated internationally. These children are not only bi-lingual; they move through the non-place of television and the Internet like

fish through water. So why do we expect that political loyalties and identities will continue to be tied exclusively to a nation? (p31)

4.2.5 *Globalisation*

The Western concept of citizenship that has developed in the modern era is one that is contiguous with the nation-state. Indeed citizenship continues to be equated with membership of and relationship with the nation-state and centres on the rights and duties of the individual in relation to the state, participation in state affairs and public life, and developing germane values. However, the process of globalisation is having a huge impact on what it means to be a citizen and presents significant challenges to the role of the nation state as the sole, and even primary, source of an individual's identity:

New transnational connections and new forms of commodification are noted to assist 'boundary crossings' and to hasten the formation of cultural hybridities. The globe is regarded as replacing the national/local as an identity referent, thus establishing conditions for freeing subjects from fixed identities while reducing the possibilities for cultural domination and imperialism. (Featherstone, 2002, p. 4)

As Benhabib (2005) says: 'We are witnessing an 'unbundling' of these components' (p675) while Torres (1998) questions whether citizenship tied to the nation state is 'withering away' (p86). Ong (2005) suggests that as the rights associated with citizenship 'are becoming disarticulated from the state, they are re-articulated with elements such as market-based interests, transnational agencies, mobile elites, and marginalized populations' (p697).

Globalisation describes an 'accelerated set of changes' which impinge on one another 'in novel ways and create new possibilities and dangers both for the democratic state and the notions of citizenship and national identity that underpin it' and 'state boundaries have become unreliable indicators of boundaries of common interests' (Peters, 2008, p72). The key changes that have an impact on the meaning of citizenship have been identified as: the globalization of the economy; technological change including changes to means of

communication; population growth and movement, and the environmental situation (Cogan and Derricott, 2000). To these ‘motors of change’ (Giddens, 1999) Humes (2007) adds political and cultural globalization. He states that:

The far-reaching nature of these changes and the scale of their impact create disequilibrium for societies. This, in turn, requires governments to respond. (p44)

For Castles (2004) the chief consequences of globalisation are that the autonomy of the nation state is limited by transnational corporations’ power; border control is undermined; democracy is reduced; the link between the nation and the citizen is undermined; and welfare states decline (pp21-22). All these processes have enormous implications for understandings of ‘the citizen’ and their rights and obligations. Benhabib (2005) too proposes that citizenship needs to be ‘resituated in a transnational context’ (p674). She also suggests that:

The irony of current political developments is that while state sovereignty in economic, military, and technological domains has been greatly eroded, it is nonetheless vigorously asserted; national borders, while more porous, still keep out aliens and intruders. (Benhabib, 2005, p674)

Benhabib (2005) states that although old political structures, ‘have waned ... the new political forms of globalization are not yet in sight’ (p674). As Tully (2008) maintains:

Globalisation has become a shared yet disputed vocabulary in terms of which rival interpretations of the ways humans and their habitats are governed globally are presented and disputed in both practice and theory ... When ‘globalisation’ and ‘citizenship’ are combined they not only bring their contested histories of meanings with them. They bring into being a complex new field that raises new questions and elicits new answers concerning the meaning of, and relationship between, global governance and global citizenship. (p15)

To try and makes sense and take account of the changes being brought about by globalisation commentators have outlined various models of citizenship. There is a wide spectrum of notions of global citizenship which range from a belief that we merely have moral respect for others to advocates of a citizenship where humanity is our first moral allegiance and all local allegiances and actions should be in harmony with what we consider we owe to humanity as a

whole. There thus exists an array of labels that commentators use to try and describe a citizenship that extends beyond the nation including global, universal, world, post-national, cosmopolitan and transnational citizenship. Lynch (1992) suggests a ‘multiple-leveled global citizenship’ (p8), the levels being ethnic, national and international. Heater (1990) has proposed the cube of citizenship which is made up of four geographical levels, five elements of citizenship and three educational requirements (pp318-320). Cogan and Derricott (2000) talk of multi-dimensional citizenship which is comprised of four dimensions: personal, social, temporal and spatial (p12). The environmental situation has given rise to the suggestion that ‘the shared sense of common destiny of environmentalism’ (Gilbert, 1996) should be included in any conceptualization of citizenship and there has been a call for the development of ‘the earth citizen’ (van Steenberg, 1994, p151). Castles (2004) talks of transnational communities and citizenship where, ‘porous boundaries and multiple identities undermine ideas of cultural belonging as a necessary accompaniment to political membership’ (p18).

As indicated by Tully (2008) above, issues of definition are further complicated by very different understandings of the same term. For example some theorists describe cosmopolitanism as a damaging process of global capitalism with its historical roots based firmly in imperialism (Venn, 2002; Turner, 2002); while for others cosmopolitanism can be used as a way of describing a model of citizenship that embraces all of humanity (See for example Nussbaum). Keating et al (2009) also highlight that:

Cosmopolitan discourses of citizenship can be co-opted and used to promote neo-liberal economic goals, to the detriment of the social democratic goals of promoting civic awareness or respect for individual and group difference. (p151)

The view that we have duties towards humanity as a whole has produced an understanding of citizenship as shared fate (Williams, 2003, Ben-Porath, 2012) and ‘a cosmopolitanism with prospects’ which must ‘reconcile a kind of universalism with the legitimacy of at least some

forms of partiality' (Appiah, 2005, p223). Dower and Williams (2002) describe global citizenship as having two axes of debate: the ethical component which relates to the values and norms held by a world citizen; and the citizenship aspect which asks whether global citizenship exists in any substantive sense. As Appiah (2005) says:

Planes and boats and trains, satellites and cables of copper and optic fibre, and the people and the things and ideas that travel all of them, are, indeed, bringing us all ever more definitely into a single web. And that web is physical, biological, electronic, artistic, literary, musical, linguistic, juridical, religious, economic, familial. (p216)

However he goes on to say:

Our increasing interconnectedness – and our growing awareness of it – has not, of course, made us into denizens of a single community, the proverbial 'global village'. Everyone knows you cannot have face-to-face relations with six billion people. (p216)

But this is not to say that we cannot form relationships with others 'on a grander scale' (p217).

For many the concept of a citizenship that is global is an anathema. For these commentators it global citizenship is a concept which is 'deeply flawed' (Featherstone, 2002) because its main arguments are 'inappropriate, impractical, irrelevant and invidious' (p10). An intractable stumbling block for those who do not believe that global citizenship is that a viable construct is that a world state within which a world community would co-habit would necessitate the creation of a world government. As McGrew (2004) states:

Short of a democratic hegemon, or alternatively some form of world federation of democratic states, imposing or cultivating cosmopolitan social democracy, the conditions for its realization must accordingly appear impractical. (p10)

Turner (2009) points out the problems for the development of contemporary forms of global citizenship are two-fold: global society is not (as yet) a definite or specific political community to which cosmopolitanism could be attached, and the continuity of robust forms

of nationalistic citizenship necessarily constrains the possibilities of global governance (Turner, 2002, p50).

The notion of the global is so vast that it very difficult to understand what 'global' citizenship might entail. Indeed Davies (2006) asks the question: 'Is global citizenship 'a metaphor, a linguistic fancy ... a fiction, a seeming paradox or oxymoron'? and Beck (2002) describes the process of trying to define globalisation and cosmopolitanization as 'attempting to nail a pudding to the wall' (p17).

Currently the rights and duties of citizens are inextricably linked to the nation-state and, according to Isin and Turner (2007), this implies a relationship between rights and territory. There is no 'supra-national' law (Featherstone, 2002, p3) or global government to enforce the rights and duties of citizens at global level and 'until a genuinely global state exists that has sovereign powers to impose its will, it is misleading to talk about the 'global citizen'' (Isin and Turner, 2007, p14).

However the risk here is that cosmopolitan democracy 'harbours the potential for a new form of (Western) global tyranny and domination' (McGrew, 2004, p12). In the absence of a global constitution the danger is that cosmopolitan democracy is 'susceptible to crude majoritarian impulses, which have the potential to negate the legitimate democratic rights and wishes of (national) minorities' (McGrew, 2004, p12). It is argued that a further reason 'genuine democracy cannot be without territory', is because love of country is a necessary prerequisite for pride in the democratic community:

One learns political virtues within a definite spatial context, because respect for democracy cannot be easily divorced from commitment to a place' (Turner, 2002, p48)

Turner (2002) also regards a 'political home' a necessary component of global citizenship.

He says:

The geography of emotions therefore appears to be important in creating civic loyalties and commitments. Political attachments need memories and collective memories need a location where these common rituals can be enacted. A placeless cosmopolitanism would also be vacuous and ultimately lifeless. (Turner, p49, 2002)

Indeed Schattle (2008) found that:

Lacking a sense of belonging, upwardly mobile professionals fill the void by forming allegiances to incomes, career prospects and networks of colleagues around the world. (p124)

Kymlicka (1999) argues that democracy and justice must be rooted in a shared history, language or political culture. At the global level these features do not exist in any significant way. Globalisation binds the fate of communities but 'the only forum within which genuine [justice and] democracy occurs is within national boundaries (Kymlicka, 1999). Turner (2002) also contends that political attachments need memories and collective memories need a location where these common rituals can be enacted, otherwise the result is 'a placeless cosmopolitanism would also be vacuous and ultimately lifeless' (p49) which is like to be 'remote, bureaucratic, oppressive and culturally bland' (Parekh, 2003). Moreover Turner (2002) argues that:

The idea of global citizenship is probably too abstract and vague to carry conviction and commitment. The nation state is often too distant to provide a channel for strong emotions and serious involvement by comparison with the effect of local and regional identities. It would therefore be difficult to grasp how individuals might feel some passionate loyalties to a global government or indeed to any global institutions. What rituals and collective rites might be associated with such an artificial political entity? (p49)

As McGrew (2004) states:

The very idea of cosmopolitan social democracy is simply inappropriate. It reflects a category error: namely, inappropriately reifying the domestic analogy to the global level. (p10)

A further argument against the notion of global citizenship is that for institutions to be democratic the active participation of citizens is required, but civil society beyond the nation state does not exist in any significant way. Moreover, nationalistic forms of citizenship still hold very firm which constrains the development of global governance (Turner, 2002).

Nevertheless changes in the way citizens relate to each other are no longer confined to the local and the national. In addition there are pressing concerns such as environmental degradation, poverty and war which cannot be solved by nation states working in isolation. Many, however, have significant doubts about the ‘relevance and desirability of cosmopolitan social democracy’. For them a fundamental concern ‘is not more democratic global governance but quite simply more effective global governance’ (McGrew, 2004, p11).

Martha Nussbaum is a well-known proponent of the type of cosmopolitan citizenship where loyalty is to the cosmopolis which takes precedent where conflict arises. She says:

The accident of where one is born is just that, an accident; any human being might have been born in any nation ... We should recognize humanity wherever it occurs, and give its fundamental ingredients, reason and moral capacity, our first allegiance and respect. (Nussbaum, 1994, p3)

First allegiance should be to ‘the moral community made up by the humanity of all human beings’ (*ibid*). This is based on the Stoics’ premise that every individual was born into two *republicae*: the city state and the cosmopolis. Based on these ideas Nussbaum (1994) argues that human relationships form a series of concentric circles with the self in the centre, the next one the family and ‘the largest one, humanity has a whole’ (Nussbaum, 1994, p9). The capacity to empathise is most strong with people who are closest to us. However the argument holds that we can still empathise with people who we share something with, that is, with whom we identify, even if we do not have personal contact with them. This feeling tends to become more and more abstract and intangible the further one moves from the centre. For

Nussbaum it is morally justified to care more about one's own children but without denying the worth of other people's children and their right to live and flourish. She says:

I think the challenge is to build concentricity in a way that really does extend outward rather than drawing the line somewhere, so that you demonize those who are outside that boundary. <http://chronicle.com/free/v48/i06/06a01401.htm>

Nussbaum also accepts that there will not be total equality for all but argues instead for a minimum 'threshold' over which inequalities are then permitted.

'Strong' or 'extreme' cosmopolitanism Scheffler (2001) such as the type advocated by Nussbaum is rejected by some on the basis that we would spend all our lives trying to help others and abandoning 'those projects that make our individual lives worth living' (Waks, 2008, p206). Scheffler (ibid) suggests an alternative 'is to say that, in addition to one's relationships and affiliations with particular individuals and groups, one also stands in an ethically significant relation to other human beings in general.' (p115). This softer version of cosmopolitanism is advocated by a number of commentators. Miller (2005) calls for 'moral respect', rather than 'moral concern that requires action'. For Wringe (1999) the key principle of social justice with regard to citizenship means 'ensuring that the collective arrangements to which we give our assent do not ... secure the better life of some at the expense of a much worse life for others' (p. 6). For him, this does not mean reducing global citizenship to 'international do-goodery', rather it means understanding and being able to influence decision-making processes at the global level, together with their effects on peoples' lives. Held (1995, 2005) considers that cosmopolitanism provides no more than a framework for most basic rights. Held emphasises the importance of multiple and overlapping allegiances at different levels which assert that where people are connected in significant social relations they have a collective right to share in control of these. It is argued that there should be a democratic polity to govern affairs at all levels people are connected to each other:

People would come, thus, to enjoy multiple citizenships – political membership in the diverse political communities which significantly affect them. They would be citizens of their immediate political communities, and of the wider regional and global networks which impacted upon their lives. (Held, 1995, p233)

Bowden (2003), however, argues that cosmopolitanism is in fact another name for imperialism. He says:

Just as today when Nussbaum and like-minded cosmopolitans declare themselves to be ‘citizens of the world’, what they mean is that they are citizens of the cosmopolitan, globalised liberal-democratic, Western world that constitutes ‘the centre’. It is a world which outsiders are welcome to join (or are drawn into), only so long as they measure up, or are happy to conform to Western values. (p355)

Indeed this analysis underpins a view of cosmopolitanism as supporting the ‘remnant’ structures of power established by colonization and extended by capitalism which have given rise to a new transnational capitalist class of ‘international bourgeoisie of frequent flier executives, financiers, bureaucrats, professionals and media personnel’ (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000), as well as cultural tourists without the capacity or desire to form lasting attachments (Sklair, 2001; Venn, 2002).

Mathews and Sidhu (2005) call this softer version of cosmopolitanism ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ which gives little thought or commitment to a globally oriented citizenship and entails ‘the consumption of global brands, icons, peoples, heroes, public figures, foreign travel and multicultural food’ (p53). They say:

The free floating, fleet-footed, globally mobile individual for whom the world is borderless and opportunities bound-less is problematically premised on the dispositions, aspirations and opportunities of the Euro-American, first world, elite, masculine subject. (p53)

This version of cosmopolitanism emphasises the mobility and interconnectedness of people. The discourse employed serves to hide significant social, environmental and economic problems by describing this movement of people and information as ‘flows’ and ‘relationships between people in disparate locations will be formed as easily as people in

proximate ones' (Waters, 2001, p5). Globalisation processes are portrayed as changing people's lives in a positive way by creating 'new ways of doing business and working, new forms of identity and politics, new forms of everyday life, time and space, new forms of sociability' (Featherstone, 2002, p4).

Parekh (2003) puts forward the notion of 'globally oriented citizenship'. He says:

Cosmopolitanism ignores the special ties and attachments to one's community is too abstract to generate the emotional and moral energy needed to live up to its austere imperatives, and can also easily become an excuse for ignoring the well-being of the community ones knows and can directly influence in the name of an unrealistic pursuit of the abstract ideal of universal well-being. (p12)

A globally oriented citizen has a valued home of his own and forms different types of alliances with others. Parekh recognises both the reality and the value of political communities and calls for 'internationalism' rather than cosmopolitanism. His premise is that we have a 'deep moral' and political commitment to people 'in distant lands' and he claims that internationalism accepts the love of one's community and that this can be expanded to include 'at least respect and concern' if not love for other communities.

Globally oriented citizenship has three important constituents. Firstly, citizens would be responsible for examining the policies of one's own country to ensure that policies are pursued that promote the interests of humankind. Secondly an active interest in the affairs of other countries is important because we have a duty 'to protest and mobilise international public opinion when governments in other parts of the world'. Thirdly the globally oriented citizen would be actively committed to creating a just world order (pp12-13). According to Parekh we have duties to human beings in general and also to those to whom we have special ties and although these ties are related they are 'distinct and mutually irreducible.' He says:

Globally oriented citizenship thus calls for a delicate balance between several complementary but also potentially conflicting virtues, such as appreciation of our

common humanity and of our deep differences, courage of conviction as well as humility, a firm sense of our moral identity and a willingness to revise it, internationalism as well as patriotism, rootedness in our community as well as openness to others. (p13)

The task, then, is how to realize a cosmopolitanism that does not ignore or suppress deeply held cultural differences. As Turner (2009) states:

Citizenship is and must remain an important ingredient in these solutions, because it provides important ingredients for viable civil societies – solidarity, commitment, loyalty and identity to an actual community. (p72)

These recent reformulations of citizenship are focused not on status but on role, on the exercise of new forms of political agency aimed at some form of common good (Williams, 2009, p33)

4.3 *Findings*

The following section provides an account of how educators say they are interpreting notions of citizenship and offers possible explanations of why educators are responding in the way they say they are. Although the research is not aiming to assert generalisations it is interesting to follow the thread of shifting and changing responses in how educators react to top-down initiatives. Responses move from a focus on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, to an aspiration to educate about global issues and broaden horizons, to the desire to try and create a more cohesive community both inside and outside the school. I look first at teacher responses from the OU project, followed by MMU/DEP tutor, practising teacher and student responses. I then explore responses from practising teachers involved in projects GA, WH 1 and 2, and GM.

4.3.1 *The OU project*

For the school in Lincolnshire citizenship is based around notions of rights and responsibilities. The statement below from the citizenship provider chimes very much not only with the aims of the Crick Report but also the wider debates that were happening at the time about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship:

I think, putting it in a nutshell, to me it's all about helping young people take their place in a responsible manner in society. Obviously it's deeper than that but that's my starting point. It's trying to help young people to become aware of society, its rules, the reasons behind them, the different communities within society, the different needs of people within society, how they can actually take their place as responsible citizens and how they can respond in a positive manner to the needs of other individuals.
(Shirley, CE Provider)

For Shirley citizenship education should not only encourage pupils to abide by society's rules but should also develop in pupils a desire to look after the welfare of others in society.

Shirley also has a very clear understanding of citizenship as it relates to identity. She says:

I think it's on different levels isn't it? Citizenship obviously is to do with identity and belonging, yes. It's an individual thing, it's a cultural thing, it's national, it's international. You start off with just the local identity and belonging – who am I? What am I? What am I about? But as you go further through education then you should be expanding. So you're in the centre but you're not the centre of the world, you're not the centre of society. Your needs and desires and wants aren't the all-important thing.

Although Shirley does not use the term 'global citizenship' or 'cosmopolitanism', her understanding of citizenship resonates very strongly with Banks' (2008a) understanding of identity, and with Nussbaum's notion of cosmopolitan citizenship which she illustrates through concentric circles. As the following chapter will show, the CE model developed is premised on 'Good Citizenship', rather than the critical or transformative models of citizenship discussed above.

4.3.2 MMU/DEP projects: Tutors and Students

As global citizenship and including a global dimension initiatives are developed definitions of citizenship shift to include ideas about enabling pupils to better understand ‘what’s going on in the world’. Some students also talk about ‘challenging perceptions’ and developing a sense of justice and equity:

It’s to do with global issues and making sure that pupils are aware of what’s going on in the world. (Florence, PGCE Primary student)

It’s teaching young children that children are the same as them whatever they look like, whatever their culture they’re from or their religious traditions. (Daniel, PGCE Primary student)

I understand it as in something that covers issues that affect everybody from the richest person in the richest country to the poorest person in the poorest country, issues that affect people, I suppose linked in strongly with sustainable development, making everybody work towards everybody having a better world. (Ruby, BA year 3 global citizenship option)

Challenging children’s perceptions and getting the global understanding is really important. (Alexandra, Secondary PGCE)

Looking at connections between people and trying to challenge stereotypes as well possibly that are already existing or so that you’re not always looking at the differences between different places, you’re also looking at similarities that people may have across the world and how we’re all connected. So I think that’s really important in terms of society in general. (Gemma, Secondary PGCE)

And encouraging children to understand the position of people within the global dimension and encouraging skills of empathy. (Zoe, Secondary PGCE)

It’s really important to teach at a young age that actually the world is a lot bigger and there’s a lot more out there and it’s very important for us to understand it. (Oliver, Primary PGCE)

A key finding from the focus groups was that students’ understanding of the global dimension and global citizenship was highly variable, from those that felt able to give an account of what the notion entails, to those who claimed to have very little idea. This would seem to reflect the opinion of many commentators that citizenship as a concept is little discussed which makes it difficult to reflect on and refine thoughts and perspectives about concepts. One Tutor comments:

A lot of them have still received a Eurocentric education in terms of their own understanding, One or two socially and politically aware students who would look for the global dimension in their teaching of history. Initiatives for them in the curriculum like the citizenship orders. (Valerie, Tutor)

For Tutors global citizenship and including a global dimension are regarded as a way of broadening the curriculum:

It's getting the kids in school and the students we train to think outside the north/west paradigm, to think outside the Eurocentric view that they traditionally have and to have a wider perspective. (Jeanette, Tutor)

Tutors also regard people-to-people contact as key to getting children to learn about global dimension issues and to act:

The more people meet other people from different cultures, the less prejudice and discrimination there'll be. More harmony ... For me the personal solidarity and people-to-people contact is really important and can have a massive impact on people and so I think the more information they have the more contact they have with people from other cultures and other situations and places the more likely they will be to act. (Valerie, Tutor)

As an educator I also think that the global dialogue is extremely useful and that at the end of the day human relationships are crucial to a functioning society and I think kids like learning about kids in other situations and they get a buzz out of learning and I think empathy is a crucial human quality and I think the more that that can be done globally and not just see people as 'other' and 'strange'. (Jane, Tutor)

The research found that tutors' and students' personal experience was a contributory factor in determining how they interpreted the global dimension and global citizenship initiatives. The majority of students who say that they have included a global dimension during their teaching practice were already interested in global issues and were aware of their importance in education before they started their teaching course. One tutor describes how 'the global dimension is just part of me!', while for a student 'it's just always been there'. Experiences included living and working abroad, volunteering abroad, parents who were interested in, for example, environmental issues. Some students considered that personal interest in global citizenship and including a global dimension is a prerequisite in order for them to be taught:

I think you have to take an active interest in it and thereby do your teaching studies essay around it or ... you'd have to think I'm really interested in this so I'm going to find about it for this essay on it and that's going to be my focus. You're not pushed in that direction unless you choose to take that direction. (Florence, PGCE Primary)

4.10 Practising teachers

As the notion of citizenship is adapted and the global dimension initiative is developed some teachers find it difficult to fathom the significance of the addition of 'global' to citizenship, and how this impacts on teaching. The MMMU/DEP practising teacher focus group found that these teachers were finding it difficult to reconcile how adding the word 'global' to 'citizenship' might make a difference to their citizenship teaching, and how they should adapt their current understandings of citizenship:

What are the extra skills, values, understanding that you're gaining from adding the global bit? (Jo, Teacher)

Another teacher adds:

It's another label or another idea that we don't understand what it is (chorus of agreement) so if somebody were to explain it and say this is what it means I think everybody, well the vast majority would say: 'Yes, we're all aware of our role'. (Grace, Teacher)

As part of the focus group I show the teachers two definitions of global citizenship: QCA's (2007) definition and the Oxfam (2006) definition. I ask them which one most chimes with their own understanding of global citizenship. One of the participants gets to the nub of the difficulties in teaching global citizenship which can be interpreted in so many different, and conflicting, ways. She says:

You could put, 'How to be a good person' full stop and it would include all of those ideas. I still don't think it actually defines particularly for me in the classroom what global citizenship is or being a global citizen other than how I would expect people to behave to create a world where I'd like to live in it. Is it just another way of defining citizenship but we've put global on front of it? Are you a citizen just in your country or should it be global anyway so why have we added global onto the front? (Steph, Teacher)

This leads to a discussion about the relevance of global citizenship to pupils. This is significant because how teachers interpret the relevance of global citizenship to pupils will impact on how they interpret the global dimension imperative and global citizenship education:

That might be one of the reasons why it isn't relevant [to pupils] because it literally isn't relevant to them. It's only when it becomes necessary for them to know about these things that it becomes relevant and it actually affects them as individuals.
(Charlotte, Teacher)

The difference in perspective of the definitions is also picked up on:

The thing with the definitions though is that the organizations are coming from different directions aren't they? Because QCA's idea is that a global citizen is somebody who's earning money, putting money back into the economy and being a useful person because they're not a burden on everyone else. Whereas if you're an NGO you're actually going to be looking at the less advantaged communities and countries and looking at how the world system disadvantages them which is ... We're part of the world system that's doing this so it's difficult. (Steph, Teacher)

The above exchange between teachers highlights the complexity of the notion of global citizenship, and the difficulty some educators have in interpreting global citizenship in such a way that the concept has relevance at local level for pupils. These debates also highlight the challenges created by the existence of a variety of definitions of citizenship, and the tensions generated for teachers by the aims of two very different forms of citizenship which have as their end result two different types of citizen: one critical and challenging; the other to contribute responsibly to society and a competitive economy, drawing on their rights in return for realising their duties.

In 2007 Community Cohesion became a statutory requirement, and the Identity and Diversity strand became part of the citizenship curriculum. In order to gain some insight into what bearing these initiatives were having on the ways in which teachers were interpreting global citizenship and the global dimension I interviewed teachers in Bristol (Project GM) and

teachers in Derbyshire (Projects GA, WH1 and WH2). All teachers interviewed had some understanding of the global dimension and global citizenship and were able to use the top-down initiatives as frameworks for global citizenship and global dimension work. However there was a difference in the way that teachers' interpretations were framed.

The teachers interviewed in Bristol (Project GM) frame global citizenship in terms of cultural diversity:

I believe that it's something to do with enabling students to look at their own culture in relationship to other cultures around the world and hopefully encourage them to embrace other cultures. And that can be taught explicitly in geography or in citizenship in lessons or we make reference to it more implicitly in history or in English where they might be doing global poetry. (Faith, Secondary English NQT)

Making kids really feel part of the world and putting a context to their lives against other peoples and realising that actually they may think that actually they're quite different but actually I think bringing in the global dimension can make them realise that everyone's really the same, that we all have these different issues surrounding us and obviously different common issues as well like climate change (Sharon, Secondary Music NQT)

It's to value others and understand other cultures ... To celebrate diversity rather than to be focused on differences as being negative, be more positive about that whether that be religious, race or different points of view. (Hilary, Primary Teacher)

Care needs to be taken that work tackles negative, stereotypical attitudes rather than serving to further entrench them, an issue recognised by the teachers below:

I think the way that it needs to be pushed forward is that we have a lot to learn from each other. I've gone quite slowly with developing the link because I think there can be quite negative connotations with a link especially with a school in Africa. This is from staff as well you know thinking 'Oh we should give them stuff' but it's not about that. They do a lot of stuff we could learn from so the whole key thing is about working together. (Peter, Secondary Science teacher)

I felt it was important to give a positive image to a country that's the second poorest in the world and try to redress the balance there and to show how people are working together to transform and rebuild their lives. (Matilda, Primary Teacher)

I just want them to think about the role that they have in the world. In geography we're doing about rainforests and it's evident that they know that rainforests are being cut down but you can see it in their faces, at no point did they consider that they

might, not so much have a hand in their destruction that's unfair because they're not consumers at this moment but they certainly will in the future inherit this problem and they don't seem to get that. I'm trying to get them to visualise the future. We've got 8 different characters ranging from WWF to evil tree loggers and I'm trying to get them to visualise what the future might look like in 100 years' time if one of these characters get their way and that seems to start to work. (Paul, Secondary Geography and Citizenship Teacher)

Turner (2009) contends that current anxieties about the meaning of citizenship in this country are leading a 'defensive citizenship' and the development of an 'enclave society'. He argues that fears around state security and the need to defend political borders have turned public opinion against outsiders. Economic migrants contribute to growth yet 'they are often thought to be parasitic on the welfare system of the host society' (p55).

These attitudes were very much in evidence in a number of schools in Derby City and Derbyshire (Project WH1 and 2) where there was a very explicit desire to participate in international linking as a way of tackling Islamophobia in the school. These teachers were involved with WH which provided support to schools for gaining the International Schools Award (ISA). In 2004 the *Community Cohesion Standards for Schools* was produced by the government which provided a framework for schools to promote community cohesion. The document contains a number of recommendations including school linking as a way of encouraging learning about difference (Home Office, 2004, p8). The Ajegbo Report (2007) described school linking as a 'major recommendation' (p60), particularly for schools that are monocultural. The schools involved with the WH project were developing links with overseas schools as a way of teaching about difference.

The teachers involved with WH are interpreting initiatives as a way of providing opportunities to tackle those issues they see as important, such as prejudice, and are using school linking and the process of achieving the ISA as a framework for curriculum and resource development. The driver for change is the community cohesion agenda and there is

a strong desire for increased pupil knowledge and understanding and a need to challenge pupil opinion in order to help strengthen community cohesion. I explore approaches to dealing with difference and diversity later in the thesis. Comments from teachers included:

You can't live without the global dimension! The rationale for going for language college status was because school in predominantly white working class area and was a way of challenging attitudes towards others. We still have some 1950s attitudes here! (Julie, Secondary Teacher)

They need a greater understanding of the issues of the world outside their own community and issues related to racism and other cultures; they need to understand the lives of other people ... I want to keep the culture diversity work going looking at lifestyles in countries. (Steve, Secondary Teacher)

This sort of work helps to challenge prejudices ... Widen kids' perceptions ... Challenge their views. (Harry, Secondary Teacher)

Teachers consider that it is important to teach for global citizenship and include a global dimension in their teaching because of the need to 'broaden horizons' and 'widen kids' perceptions'. This is seen as particularly important in the case of pupils who 'don't get the chance to see much of the wider world'. Moreover education for global citizenship is regarded as vital to enable pupils to make sense of their world, to help promote community cohesion and to develop skills such as analytical and critical thinking skills. Global citizenship education is also perceived as helping to 'bring lessons alive'. Observations included:

I think that given the way the media is and given that our children are on the internet all the time and watching the television I think you have to be able to give them some context to put all this in. And also to find their place in that wider world. We have a lot of children who lead very insular lives here and I think to broaden their horizons and to broaden their experiences is why we do it. It's also relevant to their learning. Numeracy and literacy can be very dry subjects but if you give those subjects a relevance and take them out into the wider world ... It doesn't have to mean taking them abroad or dealing with somebody in another country. For our children it can be dealing with another school in another county or dealing with a school in an inner city setting. So for our children it broadens their horizons it gives them relevance, it

lets them find their place in the world. Quite often they can be sidelined ... Other cultures are venturing in, metaphorically as well as physically. They need to have the knowledge and awareness of other cultures. Let them look out rather than looking in. And we need to give them critical thinking skills. We shouldn't deprive them of those opportunities even if they have special needs. They can't just make value judgements and they need the skills to be able to think for themselves, and analytical skills. (Sally, Secondary teacher)

Sally talks about how she came to realise that, having identified community cohesion as an area that 'was lacking', she was approaching the concept too narrowly. Initially she was thinking about community cohesion in terms of race and culture but felt that this did not really fit with what she was trying to achieve with pupils. She says:

A lot of our children are disabled so we've been doing some work on community cohesion but dealing with 'me as a special needs person', 'who are my heroes', 'who are the people I look up to in my community', 'do I see myself the same'. It's community cohesion along the lines of disability and special needs and we talk to the children about which individual they would identify with and how they see themselves within the community and not looking at the issue of race and culture so much but looking at the issue of disability and special needs.

This fits very clearly with the guidance on Community Cohesion:

Race and faith are often seen as the most frequent friction points between communities, and the most visible sources of tension. However, discrimination and prejudice can be experienced by other groups – including the disabled, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender communities and different age and gender groups. Schools should therefore design their programmes to recognise where other strands of the equalities agenda – including gender, sexual orientation, disability and age – are interconnected with the aspiration to promote community cohesion, but should note that the main focus of the duty is cohesion across different cultures, ethnic, religious or nonreligious and socio-economic groups. (Guidance of the duty to promote community cohesion, DCSF, 2007)

4.4 Discussion of findings

The OU project teachers have an understanding of citizenship which clearly reflects the aims and objectives of the citizenship curriculum that was to be introduced. There is a focus on rights and responsibilities and progression in citizenship education as pupils go up the year

groups. Indeed, as I note in the following chapter, the Citizenship Provider talks about ‘going through the Report and the new citizenship curriculum very carefully’.

The focus groups with students revealed that, while there is a similarity across the definitions of a global dimension, no two definitions were the same. This would suggest that a tendency in interpreting top-down initiatives and complex concepts is to find a way to relate definitions to personal understanding and experience. Tutors and students who are able to do this are able to talk about the global dimension and global citizenship and how these notions relate to pupils’ education. This is, of course, extremely beneficial to their practice, particularly where educators have, for example, overseas experience, as they are able to share their experiences in the classroom, enlivening teaching and learning and helping pupils to see how big concepts such as global citizenship are relevant to their lives. There is a potential adverse tendency, however, which is that educators may keep to their personal understanding and not challenge themselves expand their understanding.

The comments from MMU/DEP practicing teachers highlight how the separating out of global citizenship and citizenship can add to confusion in interpretation. As I suggested above, the lack of a single definition of the necessary attributes for citizenship in this country can lead to confusion and lack of clarity as others contribute to the debate and put forward definitions, some of which are adopted by educators such as the Oxfam definition which defined the global citizen as someone who:

- Is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen, respects and values diversity
- Has an understanding of how the world works economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically and environmentally
- Is outraged by social injustice
- Is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place
- Participates in and contributes to the community at a range of levels from the local to the global. (1997, p1)

Moreover, the perception that global citizenship is not relevant to their pupils has a very significant impact on how teachers approach difference and diversity in the classroom, and pedagogies employed. I explore this in more detail in the Difference and Diversity chapter.

In contrast to the MMU/DEP teachers who seem to be interpreting initiatives as separate parts of what could be the same package, the WH groups of teachers say they are combining a number of different initiatives and linking the global citizenship with community cohesion and an international dimension through international linking. These teachers have very clear ideas about citizenship and how they want to develop their ideas. This will enable them to engage with top down initiatives more successfully than those who perhaps understand citizenship in a way that emphasises certain aspects of the concept to the exclusion of others. This makes it more challenging for them to engage with aspects of top down initiatives which do not fit with their compartmentalisations of the notion.

The ISA process ‘formalises things’, provides the opportunity for teachers to develop an acknowledged remit within the school, recognised by others, to work on global citizenship education collectively rather than as individuals. Without this remit teachers are wary of being seen as hassling or badgering others for work and information. One teacher describes the ISA as a ‘powerful tool for collaborative work’. I revisit the importance of remit in the following chapter on ‘Space’.

The observations from GM project teachers do not have the same cohesion as the WH teachers which is partly to be expected. The WH teachers were all involved with the same project which was aimed at supporting schools to include global citizenship through educational frameworks while GM teachers were not at that time working on any joint initiatives. However, there is some similarity between their answers including a desire among schools for pupils to learn about and from other cultures.

Chapter 5

5.0 Theme 2: Space

5.1 Introduction to the theme

The civic community, the *civitas*, is a union of the political institutions of the *res publica* and individual civic engagement, the *virtus*. In order to build such a union, the republic must actively strive to shape its citizens in a politically effective way, through some form of civic education. (Hanasz, 2006, p283)

In this section I explore the theme of curriculum space, and how perceptions of space impact on the ways in which teachers, students and tutors interpret the key top-down initiatives associated with citizenship education, influenced in part by CE's legacy void. I consider how different perceptions of space in the curriculum work as generative mechanisms to produce tendencies which block or free up teaching for citizenship. I use the concept of Space to refer to figurative space in the curriculum, in addition to the physical space of the classroom. Perceiving space flexibly leads teachers to an unbounded and multidimensional view of the curriculum rather than perceiving the curriculum as bounded and compartmentalised.

5.2 Background

I first look at the importance attached to citizenship education by commentators and the reasons that countries might wish to develop programmes of citizenship education. I include examples from Japan, South Africa, China and Brazil which highlights that, although there are general similarities between nations for the need to educate for citizenship, CE is also time and context specific. I then look at the history of citizenship education in England in more detail and consider how its 'diffuse and uncoordinated' (McLaughlin, 2000, p544) past may have contributed to how educators say they are interpreting CE related top-down initiatives.

5.2.1 *Citizenship education models and pedagogy*

There are two key problems with citizenship education programmes. The first relates to reaching agreement about the ideal model towards which any programme of citizenship education is directed. The second relates to the pedagogical arrangements most appropriate to this end. As Scott and Lawson (2001) point out, however, the two are not exclusive:

The means for achieving educational ends always have implications for those ends themselves, and, even more importantly, the ends themselves restrict the types of pedagogical means which can be employed. (p349)

Scott and Lawson (*ibid*) also note that school CE programmes are subject to influences and social experiences coming from the outside world which will influence the citizen identity of the individual so ‘any process therefore is likely to be fragmented and multi-directional’ (p349).

As the previous chapter has shown the concept of citizenship is hugely contested thus models of citizenship education will vary enormously linked as they are to what it means to be a citizen. The different features of citizenship can be placed on a continuum ranging from minimal (thin) to maximal (thick) (McLaughlin, 1992). A ‘minimal’ citizenship is merely formal, legal and juridical. The virtues needed for minimal citizenship are ‘local and immediate in character’ and include being law-abiding and helping neighbours (p236). At the other end of the continuum ‘maximal’ citizenship, in contrast, requires the citizen to have ‘a consciousness of him or herself as a member of a living community with a shared democratic culture involving obligations and responsibilities as well as rights, a sense of the common good, fraternity and so on’ (p236). Maximal virtues included a responsibility to actively question one’s own version of the good life and strive to the ‘empowerment of all citizens’ (p237).

Models of citizenship will range from those underpinned by a minimal understanding with the aim of developing unquestioning, obedient citizens, to a type of CE that encourages criticism and dissent. In the past, when citizenship was closely tied to membership of and relationship with the nation-state, the main aims of citizenship education were to build a common identity, and to encourage patriotism and loyalty to the nation. This form of citizenship education has been described as ‘nation-building’ (Gellner, 1983) which in turn has been described as ‘a polite term for cultural and ideological homogenization of a country’s population’ (Nandy, 1997, p265). However, as discussed above the concept of citizenship shifts and changes in response to societal changes. Faulks (2006b) suggests that citizenship education ‘must embrace a fluid conception of identity that is multiple and dynamic in character’ (p65).

Nussbaum (1994) offers four arguments for making world citizenship rather than democratic or national citizenship education’s central tenet (p4). Firstly there is a need to look at ourselves ‘in the lens of the other’. That is, re-examine what we think of as ‘normal’ and open ourselves to the possibility of doing things differently. Otherwise we run the risk of assuming that familiar options are the only ones. Secondly children need to be educated about interdependence and ‘deliberation about ecology ... requires global planning, global knowledge, and the recognition of a shared future’ (p5). Thirdly world citizenship education would develop a recognition of our moral obligation towards others. Nussbaum (*ibid*) notes that the point is not that we are equally responsible for all but that when making political or economic choices, for example, we give the individuals and communities located in the outer spheres of her model of cosmopolitanism due thought and attention. Lastly Nussbaum (*ibid*) argues that education needs to foster a ‘broader world respect’.

Added to the complexity of citizenship education programmes are issues of pedagogy and how the content of citizenship education programmes might be delivered. Kerr (2000)

characterises three types of CE: Education *about* citizenship; Education *through* citizenship; and Education *for* Citizenship, the latter being the ideal. This typology is similar to Parker's (1996) distinctions between 'traditional', 'progressive' and 'advanced' citizenship. Education *as* citizenship could also be added to the model. On this view of CE young people could be treated as citizens in their own right rather than as 'citizens-in-waiting' (Osler and Starkey, 2006) or 'not-yet-good-enough citizens' (Pykett et al, 2010) which underpins current education models which deal not with children's current rights and responsibilities but those they will have in the future as adults Hove and Covell (2007). This would entail a move away from individualised learning to a model that enabled pupils to make collective decisions about their learning Arnot (2006). This then raises issues of gender and the way in which structural inequalities such as gender relations, enter the CE curriculum, preparing students for their rights and duties as men and women, rather than as equal citizens. Arnot's (2006) research found that pupils were aware that neither they nor their teachers had control over lesson content which affected pupil motivation for learning. She also found that social differences such 'those of gender, ethnicity and class ... enter into the learning process'. This meant that pupil learning and space for learning was treated differently with boys being provided more space to exercise agency, while far less physical and emotional space was offered girls. The spaces that boys carry out citizenship-related actions are deemed superior and privileges male learning over female learning, not shaping processes of individualisation but also masking the pedagogic relationships of individualised learning.

Citizenship education now appears to have more to do with establishing nationalist identities and conservative hierarchical social orders than addressing refashioned social relations which are associated with a globalising and individualising society. One example of this paradoxical response is evidenced in the ways in which this political education agenda manages to ignore the very processes of individualisation to be found in liberal democratic Western economies - those associated with gender relations. (Arnot, 2006, p78)

Furthermore, Bernard-Powers (2008) reports research into a study conducted in 2000-2001 in the US into civics textbooks for 11-15 year olds found that there were 258 v 1899 more references to men than there were to women:

The lessons of curricula media are that women do not belong in public spaces and in leadership positions; they belong in the private spheres in sustaining roles. While this is only one small aspect of citizenship education it is nonetheless part of systemic portrayal of gender that reinforces or reproduces equity. (p323)

For Arnot (2006) education for citizenship must recognise ‘the particular circumstances which have shaped women’s lives and the contributions they have made to the development of society’ (p82). This is essential for achieving gender justice.

Banks (2008a, p135) has developed a typology to help educators conceptualize ways to help students gain increasingly deeper citizenship that has four levels. The levels overlap and are interrelated but different levels can be discerned:

1. Legal citizenship is the most superficial level of citizenship in the typology, applies to citizens who are legal members of the nation-state and have certain rights and obligations to the state but do not participate in the political system in any meaningful ways.
2. Minimal citizenship applies to those who are legal citizens and vote in local and national elections.
3. Active citizenship involves action beyond voting to actualize existing laws and conventions.
4. Transformative citizenship involves civic actions designed to actualize values and moral principles and ideals beyond those of existing laws and conventions. Transformative classrooms create conditions in which students from different groups can interact in ways that enable them to view events from diverse perspectives and to deliberate in equal-status situations.

The model of citizenship education that Banks advocates is typology number 4 which aims to help individuals become ‘transformative citizens’ who ‘take action to promote social justice even when their actions violate, challenge, or dismantle existing laws, conventions, or structures’ (*ibid.*). This is an interesting proposition. It is very unlikely that the formal education sector would ever be in a position to be able to design an education programme that

actively encourages dissent and disorder. On the other hand the ideas underpinning education for transformative citizenship clearly relate to a notion of global citizenship that is epitomized by transnational collective action which is ‘the coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of activists against international actors, other states, or international institutions’ (Porta and Tarrow, 2005 p7). Currently, taking time off school in England to demonstrate or attend a campaign meeting would be classed as truancy rather than active citizenship (Cunningham and Lavalette, 2004). The incongruence of teaching pupils how to dismantle laws within and by an institution that is founded on very strict rules and regulations (ie school) seems, at the moment, to be an insuperable incongruity. However citizenship education can go some way to enable young people to be equipped for transformation at local, national and global levels through learning skills of dialogue and deliberation, and learning how to deal with controversy and difference.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) detail three visions of citizenship, premised on a Western notion of citizenship, which correspond with minimal and maximal interpretations: personally responsible (minimal), participatory (intermediate) and justice oriented (maximal) (p2). These conceptions emerged from an analysis of democratic theory and education programme goals and practices and reflect ‘a relatively distinct set of theoretical and curricular goals’. The personally responsible citizen acts responsibly in the community by obeying laws, recycling and picking up litter. They would also volunteer to help others. Programmes that are designed to develop personally responsible citizens build character by emphasising ‘honesty, integrity, self-discipline and hard work. Programmes also seek to cultivate empathy through involvement in voluntary work. The limits of the approach are well recognised. Emphasis placed on the individual conceals the need for collective action and fails to address root causes of social problems. As Westheimer and Kahne (2004) state, these are ‘desirable traits’ and although nurturing these traits should perhaps form a part of

CE programmes, it should not be an end in itself. This may be a model of citizenship that many governments would favour given that it would help to build a fairly docile citizenry.

The participatory citizen actively participates in community life at local, regional or national level. Educational programmes focus on teaching pupils how government and community organisations work. ‘Whereas the personally responsible citizen would contribute cans of food for the homeless, the participatory citizen might organise the food drive.’ (p242). Participatory citizenship enables citizens to develop relationships, common understandings, trust, and collective commitments (p242); and to transcend particular community problems or opportunities.

The justice-oriented citizen critically analyses the ‘interplay of social, economic and political forces’ (p242). This citizen model focuses on structural problems and education programmes teach about social movements and how to bring about systemic change. Justice-oriented citizens would ask why people are hungry and act on what they find out. However:

Those working to prepare justice-oriented citizens for a democracy do not aim to impart a fixed set of truths or critiques regarding the structure of the society. Rather, they work to engage students to informed analysis and discussion regarding social, political, and economic structures. They want students to consider collective strategies for change that challenge injustice and, when possible, address root causes of problems. (p242)

It is critical, they say, that the various citizen voices are heard and expert evidence is considered when analysing issues.

5.2.2 The importance of citizenship education

The literature reveals that there is agreement among commentators internationally that CE is a good and necessary thing. Indeed Huddleston and Kerr (2006), for example, observe that:

It is no coincidence that effective citizenship education has been included as a fundamental goal of education systems in the curriculum reviews that are underway in many countries. Schools, curricula and teachers have been given a significant role in helping to prepare young people for engaging with and participating in modern society. (p10)

They suggest that this interest is developing in response to global change, identifying as key challenges: the movement of people within and across national boundaries; growing recognition of the rights of indigenous people and minority groups; the collapse of old political structures and the growth of new ones; the changing role and status of women in society; the impact of the global economy on social, economic and political ties; the effects of the revolution in information and communications technologies; increasing global population; and the emergence of new forms of community and protest (p9).

Although there is broad similarity between nations for the increased interest and commitment to citizenship education there are also important differences. Interest in citizenship during the 1990s was sparked by a number political events and trends all over the world but reasons for this differ from country to country:

Whereas leaders in the new regimes are concerned that their citizens learn the basic skills of political participation, elites in the older democracies worry that the foundations of their once self-confident political systems are weakening and hope that civic education will play a role in reversing the downward direction in the conventional indicators of political participation, such as voter turnout. (Halpern et al 2002, p217)

Citizenship education is context specific and will be appropriate to the political system of which it forms part, focusing on the citizen attributes regarded as necessary for individuals to function effectively in that system. In addition programmes for CE may be developed in response to particular societal issues. Below are examples from Japan, South Africa, China and Brazil that highlight the broad similarities in approaches to citizenship education that Huddleston and Kerr (2006) refer to above. They also show how citizenship and citizenship

education are time and space specific, indicating that citizenship is a fluid and shifting notion, changing and developing in response to events both internal and external to the nation.

In Japan, for example, Hosack (2012) reports that citizenship education is in transition prompted by concerns about profound changes in society. The *Declaration on Citizenship Education* produced in 2006 by the Japanese Ministry of Economy refers to the rapid changes Japan's economy is undergoing, technology development, an aging population, the emergence of a borderless world and changing personal values which are contributing to an increasingly unequal society which 'can no longer be understood in terms of our previous ways of thinking (p2, quoted in Hosack, 2012, p132). Currently citizenship teaching comes under the umbrella of social studies which includes civic, politics, economics and moral education and aims to cultivate values of diligence, sincerity, respect for self and others, and sense of public responsibility. Hosack (*ibid*) outlines how commentators argue that 'real' citizenship education in Japan takes place in pupils' active involvement in their school. These activities range from cleaning school buildings, to participating in school council meetings. Parmenter, Mizuyama and Taniguchi (2008) highlight how, although these activities are not labelled citizenship education they are similar to the skills of participation and responsible action outlined in the National Curriculum for England and Wales at key stages 3 and 4. However, they also make the point that 'participation is expected rather than offered' (p211) which is an area they say would benefit from further research.

Hosack (*ibid*) also calls attention to tensions in citizenship discourse between traditional notions which emphasise a strong national identity and loyalty to the state, and post-national perspectives which stress active engagement in civil society at both the transnational and local levels (p133). In a further tension there are efforts to promote patriotism in schools and an adherence to the view that Japan is a mono ethnic society despite increasing diversity

(p133). Displaying the national flag at school ceremonies is now a national requirement and some local authorities are taking steps to discipline teachers who refuse to stand and sing the national anthem when it is played.

As Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009) point out, there is very little in terms of encouraging critical thought or developing dispositions among students that might prompt questioning of the values and type of nation building that is occurring. The citizen role is passive and 'successful citizenship requires virtually complete compliance with prevailing hegemonic norms' (p64).

Citizenship education in post-apartheid South Africa is focused on developing 'a new kind of citizen' (Hammett and Staeheli, 2009, p3). Ahmed, Sayed and Soudien (2007) describe South Africa's Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy as 'a significant policy document' (p125). The document outlines ten fundamental values: Democracy, Social Justice and Equity; Non-Racism and Non-Sexism; Ubuntu (Human Dignity); An Open Society; Accountability and Responsibility; Respect; Rule of Law; and Reconciliation (p124). In addition four keystones have been identified as central strategies to enable democratic values to flourish. These are critical thinking, creative expression through art, a critical understanding of history, and multilingualism (*ibid*). The dominant citizenship discourse that is emerging is 'about the modern, patriotic, nation-building citizen' (Ahmed, Sayed and Soudien, 2007, p127).

However, the context in which educators and others are working is tough. Challenges include varying levels of poverty; unemployment, continued inequalities and differential access to safe learning spaces outside school. CE is about the 'development of self-in-society' and includes specific concerns including discrimination, xenophobia, race, HIV/AIDS and diversity, together with the development of an ethic of volunteerism and service (Hammett and Staeheli, 2009, p5). Their research also reports that educators try to instil a sense of pride

in being a citizen of South Africa, including recognising the progress the country has made since the transition from apartheid, and developing a sense of nationhood and belonging. In terms of delivery key challenges for educators include the expectation to talk about inequality and handle questions around history, race and diversity but they are not provided with the language and tools to enable them to do this. A significant difficulty for teachers is how to talk about these issues without ‘entrenching racial thinking in their learners’ (*ibid.*, p8). For Ahmed, Sayed and Soudien, (2007):

The effect of these approaches to citizenship is to set up the citizenship discourse in a very particular way in South Africa. At one level, with the privileging of middle-class approaches and ways of being, access to citizenship rights, the rights of participation and to social benefits, are set inside the discourse of the normative order of the middle-class. Within this framework the Rainbow Nation, African identity and global participation are presented as unproblematic and it is possible to imagine South Africa within an entirely seamless modernist discourse ... But when the seamlessness of the discourse is ruptured, and it is made apparent how much the discourse of citizenship is framed around a normative middle-class order, it becomes apparent how much more complex the nature disenfranchisement is for those who are poor and black and not entirely with the universe of middle class life. (p133)

In China citizenship education is a ‘newly emergent’ term and there is currently no CE curriculum subject. Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009) maintain that:

In countries such as China, where centuries of subservience to authority have mitigated the need to cloak actual intentions regardless of the deleterious impact on individual consciousness and agency, the model of citizenship education taught is openly espoused as targeting thought control. (p63)

Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009) describe the CE model developed in China as ‘intentional indoctrination’ (64) which might include knowledge about Marxism, socialist ideals, labour education and inciting respect for the rule of law and personal discipline (p64).

In 2007 the then General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Hu Jintao, stated that there was a need to ‘step up education about citizenship’ in a report to the 17th National Congress of the CCP. Citizenship in China ideologically follows communism or socialism

and in ‘the ideal communist society with abundant resources ... people spontaneously participate in society for the collective good without claims for rights or burden for responsibilities’ (Chen, 2013. p3). However, this ideology is challenged by market-oriented, capitalist values such as individualism, ‘raising prospects of liberalization and democratization in China’ (*ibid.*).

Wan (2004) comments that ‘people’s citizenship consciousness is still unclear, and their understanding of citizenship remains narrow’ (p356, quoted in Chen, 2013, p4). There is generally a lack of active participation which is attributed to traditional and socialist values together with the limitations of citizenship-related education.

The notion of citizenship is ‘a sensitive issue’ due to associations with the West and a desire to protect the nation from western influence. Prior to this the nearest terms to citizenship education in China were ideological, political and moral educations which are described as ‘the three interrelated substitutes’ for citizenship education in China. However, significant changes to Chinese society have prompted ‘new demands for citizenship qualities’ including ‘a global perspective, an orientation towards achievement, open-mindedness and democratic awareness’ (On Lee and Chi-hang, 2008, p140). In addition a major concern is the ‘moral decline’ (*ibid.* p141) of Chinese youth in particular. Tse (2011), however, argues that moral education is gradually shifting from ‘ideological–political indoctrination’ towards ‘a relaxed notion of citizenship’ with an increasing emphasis on individual rights (p. 177). Nevertheless Li et al (2004) argue that:

However depoliticized and pronounced citizenship is under the veil of moral education, it bears political and ideological purposes because it is a political concept. Evidence is that in the above mentioned guideline, loyalty to socialism is part of the basic requirement for citizens’ morality and socialist morality is treated as ‘the highest stage of morality’. (p 458)

Brazil has perhaps developed one of the most progressive notions of citizenship but Schugurensky and Madjidi (2008) describe how citizenship status in Brazil has varied widely throughout the country's history, often excluding huge sectors of the population including the poor, rural, black, slave, female individuals from decision-making processes. A law passed in the 1880s required that all voters pass a literacy test but made no attempt to increase literacy rates, thereby excluding 85% of the population. Universal suffrage was not achieved until 1985. Schugurensky and Madjidi (2008) state that, 'The practice of citizenship education in Brazil has changed as frequently as its political structures and concurrently shifting social and political objectives' (p111). During the republic education was provided only to the elite and used as a barrier to the exercise of citizenship rights. The citizenship education during the time of the military dictatorship was focused on instilling patriotism and allegiance to the military state. A more liberal form of citizenship education has only recently been included since the 1980s and with the Brazilian Constitution of 1988. The guidelines for 'Human Sciences and its Technologies' stipulate that:

Secondary education, as the final stage of Basic Education, must count the exercise of citizenship among its indispensable element and not just in the political sense of formal citizenship but also in the perspective of social citizenship, extending to work relations, among other social relations ... One should not lose sight that citizenship must not be faced ... as an abstract concept but as a lived experience that includes all aspects of life in society. (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1999, p12 cited in Schugurensky and Madjidi, 2008, p111)

However, teachers lack pedagogical tools which means that for many teachers citizenship education has become 'a cliché, a superficial statement of political correctness without much substance or pedagogical practice' (Schugurensky and Madjidi, 2008, p112).

The above brief examples offer a snapshot of how citizenship education has developed in different nations and how its development is influenced by context and the type of citizen the nation is aiming to cultivate. Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009) point out that although it

may be believed that citizenship models in the west are very different from countries with a history of authoritarian rule such as Japan and China 'any differences are more cosmetic in nature than they are substantive' (p65). They suggest that citizenship discourse in the west depicts society as rapidly changing 'and the role of citizens is therefore educed to passive adaptation to imposed changes' (p65). In the following section I look at the history of citizenship education in England.

5.2.3 The English context

Citizenship education in England has been treated in a 'diffuse and uncoordinated way in various forms of curriculum structure, pedagogic strategy and school organisation' (McLaughlin, 2000, p544). Indeed Tonge et al (2012) describe the status of citizenship as a 'political football' (p22). Frazer (2000, p. 89) argues that Britain's weak discourse on ideal citizenship is a major problem impacting on the potential effectiveness of the citizenship curriculum. She says:

The lack of any wide assent to, consensus on, or even well-articulated dominant account of the nature of politics, civic life, or the constitution' in the UK has hindered the implementation of quality citizenship education. For many commentators this weakness in the discourse of ideal citizenship has done little to militate against the contention surrounding the values that might or ought to be promoted in citizenship education. In particular, suspicion has arisen in terms of how such values are inevitably shaped by ever increasing government control imposed on schools. (p89)

5.2.4 A brief history

Citizenship education and education for global citizenship have their foundations in the adjectival educations (AE) which have developed over the years. During the 1970s and 1980s, educators began to question whether mainstream education was enabling pupils to make sense of the world (Hicks, 2003). Looking back very briefly over the past forty years or so various concerns came to the fore in the public/political arena and many argued that the

prevailing education model with its focus on the dominant culture within a national and European context, was not equipping pupils with the knowledge, awareness and understanding it was felt they needed in order to make informed decisions and choices about the world and the way they live their life. In response corresponding adjectival educations (AE) were constructed. For example Lynch (1989) notes how news of human and natural disasters increased attention on development education and a number of NGOs produced curriculum resources for use in the classroom. Environmental issues also featured in the curriculum 'alerting educationists to their responsibility for encouraging responsible consumerism as an aspect of schooling, appreciation of sustainable development and the environmental interdependence of all animal populations and their biosphere and ecosystem' (Lynch, 1989, p xvi).

Multicultural education has its roots in different conditions. The multicultural education movement in the United States was motivated by the civil rights movements of the 1960s whereas in England it was due to increased diversity caused by mass migration of the 1950s, 60s and early 1970s. Multicultural education had three major aims: the creative development of cultural diversity, maintenance of social cohesion and achievement of human justice (Lynch, 1989, p xiv). Lynch (1989) is critical of multicultural education which, he argues, 'paradoxically manifested a predominant tendency to parochialism, narrowness and introversion, even chauvinism'. Approaches restricted consideration of common humanity in such a way that a global dimension was 'almost regarded as superfluous and irrelevant'. Lynch (*ibid*) also criticises the way in which adjectival educations share common aims, concepts, content and vocabulary 'yet they strive separately to achieve their goals' (*ibid*, pix), leading to a lack of synergy and 'inflating their quest into educational imperialism'.

Lister (1987) is more positive about the contribution of AEs, labelling them ‘new movements’ led by ‘vanguard educators’ (p54). He says that one of their big achievements was that:

More and more teachers were starting to believe that there was a need to educate for pluralism and that school education needed to be realigned with a changed and changing world. (p54)

However, Lister (*ibid.*) recognises that a key limitation of the movements was that they tended to be ‘process-rich and content-poor’ (p59).

| Issue | Type of education |
|---|---|
| Threat of nuclear war | Peace education |
| Environmental degradation | Environmental education |
| Global inequality and injustice | Development education |
| Interdependence | Global education |
| Race unrest | Anti-racist education |
| Diversity issues | Multicultural education |
| Impact of what we do now on the future | Futures education |
| Political apathy | Citizenship education |
| Improving quality of life for all now without damaging the planet of the future | Education for sustainable development |
| Democracy, equality and justice | Human rights education |
| All of the above! | Education for responsible, active citizenship |

These adjectival educations share common themes but each has a distinct focus because they have been developed to raise awareness of a particular contemporary issue. On the one hand this could be said to be strength because each AE has kept their own identity and hasn’t been

subsumed and potentially lost with another model. But the downside of remaining distinct is that they have come in and gone out of favour as different issues have come to the fore and the different groups representing the various issues have competed for time and space in the curriculum.

What is particularly interesting about the global dimension imperative and other adjectival educations is the impact of social movements, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and Development Education Centres (DECs) which have explicit educational aims at their core. As Torres (1998) says:

A distinctive characteristic of new social movements is their cognitive and ideological focus on rethinking preexisting social and cultural paradigms as part of a politics of identity. (p130).

These organizations have not been so successful in achieving policy change but have been very successful in the educational arena which is highlighted by significant shifts in public opinion:

Virtually every social movement has also been characterized by the advocacy of curricular change and has generally found a few sympathetic listeners within teacher education and among educational policy makers. (Torres, 1998, p132)

Below, for example, is the Oxfam model of education for global citizenship which a number of teachers work to, but even within the same model there will variations in what is taught and how, depending not only on knowledge and understanding of the concepts but also personal interest in and commitment to the various ideas.

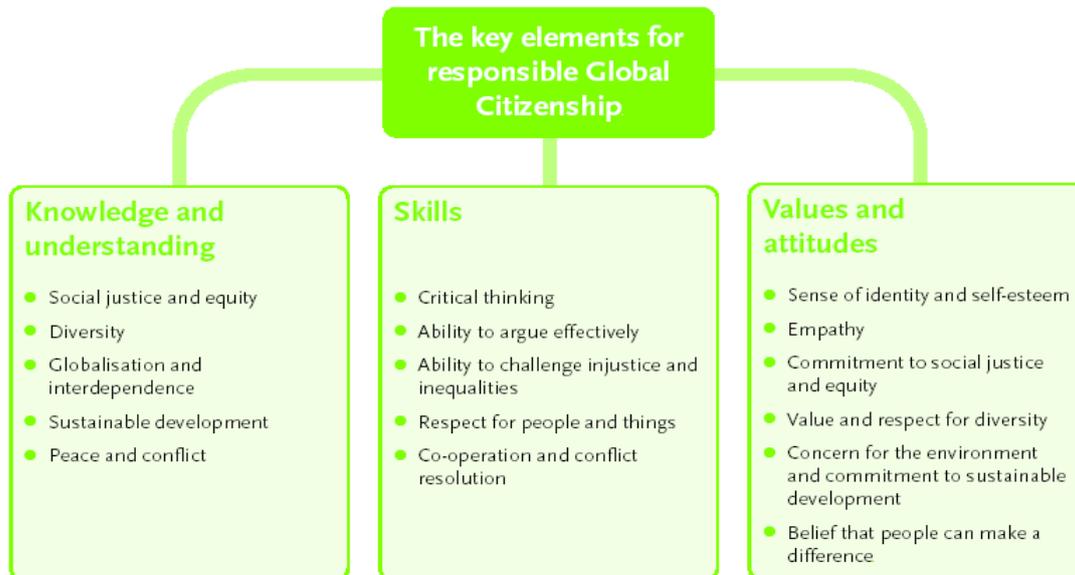


Figure 4: Education for Global Citizenship: A Guide for Schools, Oxfam, 2006a

The national curriculum introduced in 1988 had a major impact on these AEs. The national curriculum:

Defined 10 compulsory subjects with mandated knowledge, an Anglo-centric focus on the past rather than the future orientation of most global education, and a centralised testing and evaluation component, with the results published and ranked. Whole-class instruction was recommended; disciplinary boundaries reinscribed, and authorized knowledge privileged over student-generated understandings. Content and pedagogy took a dramatic turn to the right. (Cook, 2008, p901)

For Cremin (2008):

The failure to make citizenship core to the curriculum reflected the Conservative government's mistrust of teachers generally, and those who shared the concerns of the left in particular. (p48)

Citizenship education in England during the 1980s was markedly minimalist and focused on encouraging law-abiding citizens together with attempts to increase active citizenship in the community. Active citizenship during this period was about:

Motivating young people to be active in taking on the worthy and necessary tasks left undone by the welfare state. Active in this sense means supporting things as they are

and does not also mean critical and informed participation in democratic political debate and action. (Harber, 1992, p17)

Despite the rhetoric of citizens taking active responsibility for themselves citizenship education did not form part of the National Curriculum in 1988. Before the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act the only subject that was compulsory was Religious Education. With the advent of the National Curriculum in 1988 the role that schools play in shaping social values was explicitly recognised. The promotion of ‘the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical develop of pupils and society’ (ERA, 1988) became statutory while citizenship education became a non-statutory cross curricular theme (together with economic and industrial understanding; careers education and guidance; health education; and environmental education). Kerr (1996) notes that those schools who were already including citizenship education in the curriculum took advantage of the increased space to include more cross-curricular work, while those that had not been including citizenship education because it was non-statutory used the curriculum review to justify this.

Guidance documents were issued on each of the themes though it was stressed that it was up to schools to decide how to include each of the themes. The Guidance also acknowledged Britain as a: ‘multicultural, multiethnic, multifait and multilingual society’ and significantly, a more international perspective was encouraged by recommending that citizenship education should take account of the main international charters and conventions (Fogelman, 1997). Suggestions for a programme of study included human rights and the Guidance specifies the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In 1993, under John Patten as Secretary of State, the Department of Education asked Sir Ron Dearing to conduct a curriculum review, and a revised version of the National Curriculum was introduced in 1995. The Review (1994) stated that:

The primary purpose of the review at Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 should be to slim down the National Curriculum; to make the Orders less prescriptive; and to free some 20% of teaching time for use at the discretion of the school. (p7)

During the 1990s debate about the aims and purpose of education in England was framed by a desire to restore Great Britain to its supposed former glory together with huge concern about a number of societal issues including: the decline of traditional forms of religion; the breakdown of the family unit and the alienation of large numbers of young people from social institutions. The moral crisis was viewed as a ‘temporary aberration’ (Beck, 1998, p18) and the belief was that British culture can be restored through the National Curriculum which should reinforce a common culture and maintain unity in an increasingly diverse society. In order for national identity to be reinforced and social cohesion to be maintained it was argued that certain beliefs and values needed to be communicated. Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2007) assert that the need for this type of education is presented ‘in powerful means’ (p64) by including:

False depictions of social reality, blaming the victims of capitalism for their own hardship and advancing weak citizenship models where political engagement is circumscribed by knowledge of banal facts and ballot box participation while neo-liberal social carnage is left politically and morally intact (p64)

There were thus demands that pupils in English schools should follow a curriculum that reflected British traditions, culture and history, and that all pupils should be treated in the same way, without any reference to difference such as pupil’s cultural and ethnic identities (Ross, 2000). It was argued that recognition of cultural diversity was likely to ‘inflare racial tension’ and create resentment rather than tackle educational disadvantage (Gillborn, 2001).

The dominance of cultural restorationism was ‘preoccupied with the re-valorisation of traditional forms of education’ (Ball 1993, p195). Pike (2008) asserts that:

The neo-liberal education agenda is based on a premise that better performances in the ‘basic’ subjects of mathematics, reading and science will raised educational

standards and, ipso facto, produce citizens better able to contribute to human advancement. Furthermore, it is assumed that enhanced competition between countries (and between schools and communities in those nations that have established 'league tables') will produce better results. (p471)

Indeed, at the Conservative Party Conference in 1992 John Major stated:

Let us return to the basic subject teaching and get rid of courses in the theory of education ... Our primary school teachers should learn how to teach children to read, not waste their time on the politics of gender, race and class. (Cited in Chitty, 2004, p186)

Within this analysis the individual is morally at fault and, as Beck (1998) argues the 'Appeal of analyses whose political implications are in the direction of blaming complex social problems as individual moral inadequacies is likely to be considerable'. Indeed as Torres (1998) states:

By placing the blame and responsibility for the perceived economic, social, or moral crisis on 'the other' as scapegoats, the ethical and political dilemmas emerging in the constitution of working and caring communities are diffused or ignored. Thus, shifting the blame to 'others' (illegal immigrants, lazy workers, 'minorities', etc) facilitates a pedagogical discourse that relocates the responsibility for providing high quality education to all citizens from the hands of the state to the market. (p135)

5.2.5 *The Order for Citizenship Education*

In 2002 citizenship education became a statutory subject in England and Wales at key stages 3 and 4. However as Frazer (1999) asserts:

Of course, even this kind of political education is far from secure in UK schools, due to right-wing anxiety that it is partisan and biased, a vehicle for left-wing propaganda and a mode of fomenting the kind of disruptive thinking that undermines the state

The reasons for citizenship education becoming a compulsory aspect of the national curriculum have been outlined in Chapter 2. To recap, CE was designed to address the increasing democratic deficit of young people as well as the need to tackle a perceived increase in youth alienation. At that time CE was described as a series of 'uncoordinated local initiatives which vary greatly in number, content and method' (QCA, 1998, p7).

There is a fair amount of discussion in the literature about the political theory within the Crick Report, the subsequent Order for Citizenship Education and government expectations of what the subject could achieve. The Report argues that: ‘Pupils should acquire basic knowledge and understanding of particular aspects of society with which citizenship education is concerned’ (QCA, 1998, p41). The report defines these as the ‘social; moral; political, including issues relating to government, law and constitution; economic (public and personal), including issues relating to public services, taxation, public expenditure and employment; environmental and sustainable development’ (QCA, 1998, pp41-42). The stated goal of the Report is to facilitate ‘active citizenship’ (QCA, 1998, p25) which it defines as citizens being ‘willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life’ (p7) and ‘to think of themselves as active citizens’ (QCA, 1998, p7). The report asserts that a key aim of citizenship education is for pupils to gain ‘the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy’ (QCA, p22).

The Crick Report is underpinned by a civic republican understanding of citizenship:

I often wonder how many my group realised that they were signing up to the radical agenda of civic republicanism rather than the less demanding ‘good citizen’ and ‘rule of law’ imperatives of liberal democracy (Crick 2002b, p114)

For Blunkett (2001), too:

The ‘civic republican’ tradition of democratic thought has always been an important influence for me ... This tradition offers us a substantive account of the importance of community, in which duty and civic virtues play a strong and formative role. AS such, it is a tradition of thinking which rejects unfettered individualism and criticises the elevation of individual entitlements above the common values needed to sustain worthwhile and purposeful lives. We do not enter life unencumbered by any community commitments, and we cannot live in isolation from others. (p19)

The ‘active’ citizen is promoted where ‘people *acting together* publicly and effectively to demonstrate common values and achieve common purposes’ (Crick, 2007, p247). The good citizen is someone who is socially and morally responsible, involved in their community and

politically literate (Pykett et al, 2010). Interestingly Crick (2007) distinguishes between the good citizen and the active citizen which he says is ‘elementary’ (Crick, 2000):

One can be a good citizen in an autocratic state. One can also be *only* a good citizen in a democratic state, that is one can obey the law, pay taxes, drive carefully and behave oneself socially (say minimising offence to others) but not work with others on any matters that effect public policy (emphasis in original). (p243)

Faulks (2009) notes that the Rawlsian concept of social justice, which advocates high levels of state intervention in both the economy and society in order to tackle inequality so as to protect and promote citizens’ rights and duties, is completely absent.

Communitarianism is also clear in New Labour rhetoric and policy where the themes of responsibility and duty to each other are central. Both Tony Blair and David Blunkett were evidently influenced by communitarian thinking and both talk of the need to create a ‘something-for-something’ society:

Our goal is nothing less than the establishment of a new social contract. David Blunkett, 3 November 1999

By employing a discourse of mutual obligation the government is trying to create the notion of a socially inclusive society in which all individuals are able to, and should, make an active contribution to society and have rights and responsibilities as active citizens. This reflects a commitment to ‘Third Way’ (Giddens, 1998) politics which aimed to ‘chart a discrete path between post-war labourism and the New Right amalgam of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism’ (Tonge, Mycock and Jeffery, 2011, p3). They state:

Social capital and political capital were thus persistent but distinctive themes within the Crick Report and Citizenship Order, informing an approach to active citizenship that addressed the perceived decline in both. (Tonge, Mycock and Jeffery, 2011, p5)

Blunkett (2001) contests that the state must enable citizens to lead autonomous lives, and this can be achieved through citizenship education. He says:

It is clear that weak civic engagement and an absence of social capital deprives democracy of its vitality, health and legitimacy. A fully participatory democracy depends on sustained dialogue between free and equal, socially committed citizens ... The State ... can facilitate and provide the framework within which the greater strength of community and society can be brought to bear to support people in reaching their full potential ... autonomy requires a rich and rounded education ... If autonomy is dependent on education, and a fully autonomous person is also by definition an active citizen, then there needs to be explicit education for citizenship in the school and college curriculum. (pp26–9)

Volunteering and community involvement, the Report argues, ‘are necessary conditions of civil society and democracy’ (QCA, 1998, p53), adding that: ‘This is especially important at a time when government is attempting a shift of emphasis between, on the one hand, State welfare provision and responsibility and, on the other, community and individual responsibility’ (QCA, 1998, p10). Kisby (2009) suggests that this highlights how citizenship was a ‘curious hybrid, containing elements from both republican and communitarian conceptions of citizenship’ (p54).

The Order asserted that 5% of curriculum time was to be allocated to citizenship delivered ‘with whatever combinations of other subjects seem appropriate’ (Crick, 1998 para. 5.2.2) all at the discretion of schools. This, Faulks (2006b) argues is incompatible with citizenship becoming a subject at the centre of the national curriculum (p67). The risk is that overburdened schools develop a policy of ‘renaming or rebranding’ PSHE as ‘citizenship’ (QCA, 2004, p5) or add citizenship to PSHE to become PSHCE. However, details of curriculum provision and methods of teaching and learning were left to guidance from the QCA and a ‘light touch’ allowed schools to implement CE however they chose.

However, even before CE was introduced, the role and purpose of CE began to shift. After the Macpherson report was produced Blunkett asserted a new commitment for CE as a way to ‘promote social justice in our communities’ (Blunkett, 1999). The meaning of Britishness and a desire to define the values underpinning British identity became prime concerns, prompted

by civil unrest such as the riots in 2001 in Bradford and Oldham and the terrorist attacks in London of July 2005. The notion of community cohesion came to the fore and ‘the duty to integrate’ (Blair, 2006) began to frame government policy on dealing with diversity. Blunkett (2005) stated that the ‘citizenship curriculum I introduced as Education secretary’ will create ‘a more civic, more tolerant, but in some respects more demanding, sense of what being British entails’ (p4). The Ajebo Report (2007) recommended the introduction of a fourth strand to the Citizenship curriculum, ‘Diversity and Identity: Living together in the UK’, which was aimed at promoting and developing critical thinking about ethnicity, religion and race. The Report makes reference to the ‘fears and tensions’ related to immigration and deep concerns about ‘home-grown’ terrorists.

In the following section I explore how perspectives of space generate certain tendencies and tensions in responses to top-down initiatives as educators and students develop CE models and pedagogy.

5.3 *Findings*

5.3.1 *Finding space*

In May 2000, as part of the OU project, a questionnaire was sent to seventy three secondary schools in Lincolnshire, including independent schools, to ascertain their citizenship education provision at that time. Forty four questionnaires were returned. The first striking finding was that out of the forty four schools that returned questionnaires just two claimed to have a designated subject called ‘Citizenship’. The second notable finding was the wide variety of approaches that schools took. Of the 27 schools that stated they taught citizenship in ‘other ways’ there was some similarity in approaches to teaching and learning. CE was assimilated into other subjects, in particular history, geography, and RE as well as other areas of the Humanities curriculum. One school, for example, stated that the citizenship education

taught 'was often secondary and only for short periods such as in English when discussing war poetry'. The questionnaire also revealed that schools were giving the name 'Citizenship' to other areas of the curriculum such as school assemblies, the pastoral system, tutor time and the general ethos of the school. The risk with this approach is that CE disappears within the curriculum and becomes indistinguishable as a subject, an issue identified by Andrew, the CE Coordinator:

I think you've got to be very careful with cross-curricular work, that you don't actually get to a situation where you so want to show that you're doing citizenship in the school that you are just sort of making things fit. It needs to be something that flows.

Furthermore, there was significant diversity in the amount of time schools stated they allocated to citizenship. Some schools took a modular approach and were not able to give an exact amount of time spent on CE, while other schools spent a specific number of hours teaching citizenship over the year though this was a very small amount – just three or four hours throughout the year. This seems to show that schools were feeling the pressure of an already overstretched curriculum even in those schools where citizenship was an established aspect of the curriculum.

The assimilation approach was also identified and criticised in a report by Ofsted (2003):

Too often schools have stretched the concept of citizenship to breaking point in an attempt to demonstrate that subjects as diverse as science and physical education are making a constructive and demonstrable contribution to citizenship. This eclectic approach means citizenship elements are implicit, there is no tangible programme overall and pupils are not necessarily aware that they are studying citizenship. (p 13)

In a later report OFSTED (2005) state that: 'The most-asked question about citizenship in the curriculum is where the time should come from' (p5).

This raises the question of the significance of pupils being aware that they are studying citizenship. It could be argued that the attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge for active

citizenship can be acquired without being conscious that this is what is being learnt. Indeed, an awareness by pupils that they are learning about citizenship could perhaps contribute to a compartmentalisation of learning that inhibits the transfer of skills to other areas of learning and experience. This was a feature of teaching and learning that was picked up on by one group of PGCE Primary students, not only in terms of classroom teaching but also in terms of their own learning:

We had the separate science department, and we had the English department and it's all very separate and here is my subject and I shall teach you it and there's no dialogue between these subjects. And even in school it's very separate. How can we come together and teach these issues as a whole rather than separate units of work. Right we're doing this lesson now, and then we're doing this. (Betsy, Primary PGCE)

Yes, it's like, 'Put your English books away and get your maths book out. (Holly, Primary PGCE)

Children have to know their place in the world for the future and we're helping them build that future and if they don't know how things are interconnected. How is that curriculum disjointing their vision of the way things are in real life? (Megan, Primary PGCE)

The questionnaire to Lincolnshire schools also asked about their PSHE provision. Forty schools stated that PSHE was a designated subject on the syllabus. However, only three schools stated that citizenship was included as part of the PSHE curriculum. This is in contrast to Calvert and Clemitshaw's (2003) research conducted a year after CE became a statutory element of the secondary curriculum that found that the 'great majority of schools tie the citizenship curriculum securely to their existing PSHE provision (p9).

Clavert and Clemitshaw (2003) point out that locating citizenship within PSHE is logical in one sense in that PSHE covers some aspects of the citizenship curriculum and staff in this area may be better disposed towards CE. The risk is that CE becomes ghettoized by locating it in area which is already low status (p8). Furthermore, citizenship taught within a PSHE

framework is potentially very different from that which is taught as a discrete subject. Harber (1992) distinguishes between two broad types of social learning: social sciences on the one hand and PSE (as it was then) on the other. PSE includes courses on life skills and how to survive in society and ‘is taught by volunteers and conscripts from all the other curriculum subjects’ (p19). There is a strong element of prescription and socialisation for the status quo with little or no criticality despite PSHE employing a more participative pedagogy. A social science approach, on the other hand, encourages critical awareness of social structures and aims to develop autonomy (Harber, 1992). Davies and Issitt (2005) also differentiate between: ‘civics: provision of information about formal public institutions’; ‘citizenship: a broad-based promotion of socially useful qualities’; and ‘social studies: societal understanding that emerges from the development of critical thinking skills related to existing [school] subjects such as history and English’ (p389).

The assimilation approach is perhaps an indication of the pressure schools were under to find curriculum space to include citizenship, preferring instead to label as CE an established aspect of the timetable which could contribute to the 5% curriculum allocation for citizenship. It could also be argued that the assimilation approach is an indication of the lack of understanding of citizenship as a concept and the aims and purposes of CE. As discussed above CE’s presence in the curriculum has been inconsistent and, at times, controversial which created a legacy void in terms of teacher knowledge and experience of CE, either as teachers or as pupils themselves.

The Lincolnshire school designed a CE course founded on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and each lesson includes five elements: Good manners; Acceptable behaviour; Complying with the rules; Self discipline; The needs of others (see Box 1 below). The course is built on the notion of being good and doing good. The school is aiming to continue with

‘the traditional type of timetabling’ with CE provided as a distinct and discrete subject area, delivered by all teachers at the school, but Shirley is mindful that:

Now, you can only fit so much in and schools are already struggling to do everything they should be doing according to the National Curriculum and according to syllabuses. If the government is going to become that prescriptive then I think they’ve got to relook at the whole of education, to be quite honest. Can we continue with the traditional type of timetabling or do we need a completely different structure to the school day? In that sense you can’t fit a gallon into a pint pot!

Five elements of good citizenship

Good manners

Acceptable behaviour

Complying with the rules

Self discipline

Needs of others

The choice is yours

Bad citizen – only concern yourself

Good citizen – has a lot to offer and can make a difference

Challenge – Go out there and be Good Citizens!

Conclude the session by taking general questions about the Police and if time a demonstration of everyday equipment

Box 1: Five elements of good citizenship

I was invited to observe a year 7 citizenship lesson on ‘Law and Order’ which as part of the schools Good Citizenship course. The lesson hand out was written by the citizenship coordinator for the teachers who were going to be teaching the class (See Box 2), and included a visit from a local police officer.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP

Actions = A result

Good Citizenship is about the right action getting the right result

Or

The right action despite the result

All actions have consequences; you choose what action you take, no one else can force you to take the right action. You have to live with the consequences of your actions good or bad!

Consequences

Bad Citizen

- Unpopular
- Always in trouble
- No trust
- Got to keep up the image – vicious circle

Good citizen

- Feel good factor – self/others
- Doing things to help other people
- Life more pleasant and happier

Box 2: Good citizenship

During this lesson a pupil was dressed up in police riot gear and asked to stand in front of the class. The message from the officer was that the police force respond to the way society is and if society becomes more violent then the police will have to ‘arm themselves to the teeth in order to tackle violent crime’. The pupils were asked ‘Do you want a police service that looks like this?’ Most pupils said they did not and were told: ‘In that case, behave well’.

5.3.2 *Constrained space*

For the school in Manchester CE is taught under the PSHE umbrella. There is a PSHE coordinator who is described as ‘voluntary’ and who is responsible for designing the schemes of work and lesson plans, which are then taught by teachers during Tutor time. This arrangement seems to be a source of some contention for teachers and leads to sense that the curriculum is fragmented and lacks coherence, something which is recognised by the teachers themselves. One of the MMU/DEP teaches felt that the quality of citizenship teaching:

Comes down to issues of planning and delivery. (Natalie, Teacher)

Natalie made a very interesting point about the tensions created by the fact that Citizenship is a subject ‘in its own right’ but does not have to be taught as a discrete subject and can be assimilated into other subject areas:

I think the mistake was to make Citizenship an individual subject in its own right with its own targets and everything and then to try and impose that onto the subject areas and previous PSHE Coordinators have done audits to see where various aspects are being met and obviously within Humanities we meet a lot of the requirements for citizenship curriculum and yet have no input into what’s going on either.

This is perhaps again a reflection of how the light touch approach can lead to a lack of direction in how to organize CE that some schools felt. This leads to a discussion about planning and the frustration felt by teachers who are given a poorly prepared worksheet ten minutes before the lesson starts:

I think PSHE would be better if teachers who were the specialists in that subject area taught it so that we would do the citizenship part. You teach the part of the PSHE curriculum that you know most about and you develop resources for it. Then at least you’re teaching from an informed knowledge rather than being given a sheet two hours before a lesson. (Jo, Teacher)

That is so annoying! (Steph, Teacher)

But that’s how, unfortunately, that’s how it’s always been. I’ve been here 20 years and that’s how PSHE has been taught. One lesson a week, you’re given something ten

minutes before you teach it, or a day if you're lucky, so you're not properly prepared. And they're very, very poor worksheets. It's just not satisfactory. But the main problem has been that there hasn't been anyone in overall control of PSHE. Someone is doing it in their spare time basically and getting a management point for it. It's just so unsatisfactory and no one has been put in place for citizenship at all. There's nobody in overall control. It means it not valued. Teachers don't value it. Therefore if you don't value it, the pupils don't value it. It's just not seen as a valued part of the curriculum. (Jo, Teacher)

For the MMU/DEP teachers, then, the way the curriculum is organized and managed means that they are very much constrained in how they are able to interpret CE. This issue of coordinating citizenship was also noted by teachers from the GM project:

The problem with citizenship is that generally speaking there's only one qualified teacher to teach citizenship all the other teachers I work with, geography, history, music, design and technology, didn't get into the profession to do citizenship lesson plans. The easier you make that job for them the better it is (Paul, Secondary Geography and Citizenship Teacher)

I think if they think of this as an add-on, a bolt-on they won't take it on board but if we sold it to them that they would benefit and the children will certainly benefit that might work. (Faith, Primary Head Teacher)

Faulks (2006b) argues that the role of coordinating citizenship has often fallen to teachers from other subject areas who may well have other subjects or school responsibilities. He says that it is 'unfair' on these teachers and 'insulting' to citizenship itself. He continues:

The fact that the implementation of citizenship is being left to non-specialists suggests that despite the rhetoric, in practice citizenship is being given a low priority by Government and schools alike. (p69)

However, also significant is the context in which these teachers are working. Below is an extract from an OFSTED inspection which highlights the huge diversity of pupils attending the Manchester school (see Box 3).

There are a lot things that the report describes the school as doing well, including ensuring pupils' wellbeing and identifying pupils' learning needs on an individual basis. It could therefore perhaps be argued that the school has to cope and deal with a whole array of issues

that other schools do not have to contend with, which means that some areas of the curriculum may not receive the same amount of attention as other schools. As one of the teachers says:

The main problem has been that there hasn't been anyone in overall control of PSHE. Someone is doing it in their spare time basically and getting a management point for it. It's just so unsatisfactory. And no one has been put in place for citizenship at all. There's nobody in overall control. It means it's not valued. Teachers don't value it. Therefore if you don't value it, the pupils don't value it. It's just not seen as a valued part of the curriculum. (Jo, Teacher)

[The school] is a larger than average comprehensive school serving an area of significant social disadvantage. There are more boys than girls on the school's roll. At 84%, the proportion of pupils from minority ethnic groups is very high. Pupils come from 59 countries. Almost half are from Pakistani backgrounds, a sixth are white British and there are small groups from a large number of other minority ethnic backgrounds. A number of pupils are asylum seekers and refugees. There are 52 different languages spoken in the school and for 70% of the pupils, a very large proportion, English is an additional language. Of these, 88 are at the early stages of learning the language. The proportion of pupils eligible for free school meals is very high. The percentage identified as having learning difficulties and/or disabilities is well above average. Within the school, there is a base for 30 pupils with physical disabilities and a barrier free environment so that they are fully included in the life of the school.

Box 3: Extract from OFSTED Inspection Report, 2006

This makes clear the importance of school context and the significant impact that a lack of support from school management can have. This combination of pupil diversity and school context together with lack of organization and management, leads to an unsatisfactory CE experience for both pupils and staff. For these educators, who are interested in citizenship and in bringing global issues into the classroom, the global dimension initiative has provided the opportunity for them to include a wide range of topics in their teaching and to broach some

potentially controversial issues. The initiative has provided an opportunity for a degree of freedom in their teaching which CE has not, potentially leading teachers to interpret the global dimension in ways that personally interest them:

With the global dimension a lot of teachers can take the global dimension and go off and do that on their own and find out projects and things they're personally interested in and do it because we know our role ... whereas citizenship is supposedly a prescribed curriculum and you know you've got these lessons to teach which don't necessarily connect together or with global dimensions at all. (Steph, Teacher)

Furthermore this perceived freedom to pursue topics they were interested in led teachers to state that:

I think at this school we do the global dimension better than we do the citizenship. (Grace, Teacher)

The global dimension ticks all the boxes and we do that OK but we're not very good at the citizenship angle and we're especially not very good at the British citizenship angle. That would be my opinion. (Anita, Teacher)

5.3.3 No space

Curriculum space is also an important theme for student teachers, again both in terms of the curriculum they are being trained to teach in schools, and in terms of their own curriculum and university training. Lack of space led some students to perceive including a global dimension as something that has to be 'fitted in' amongst all the other things that 'have to be done'. Typical comments included:

I know what it is but where do you expect me to fit in? (Freddie, PGCE Primary)

There's so much else on that unless it has to be done, it won't be done ... Because it's your NQT year, because there's so much on, unless it's an absolute must it probably won't get done. (Lydia, Geography NQT)

Moreover perceived lack of space leads some students to regard the global dimension as 'a side effect':

I think it's very challenging but for English the global dimension is a side effect of teaching stuff to basically comply with the National Curriculum ... but it's a side effect rather than something that's included explicitly. (Becky, Secondary PGCE)

A constant theme throughout the research was that students were 'too busy to think about global citizenship or global dimension stuff'. The comment below is typical:

There's so much to do, so much that we have to do that we're just too busy to think about other things. (Rosie, PGCE Primary)

Picking up on the point that 'unless it *has* to be done, it won't be done', concentration on statutory obligations may mean that there is a chance that non-statutory initiatives and recommendations are completely ignored because 'there's so much other stuff that they're trying to fit in' that global citizenship is:

Overshadowed by other things, on a course like this when there's so much to do, you can totally understand why they need to sort out, you know, understanding of the national curriculum, you know, literacy and numeracy, you know you can understand why there's a big emphasis on that because there is a big emphasis in schools generally on that, but it seems to be an area that is quite overshadowed. (Poppy, PGCE Secondary)

As a primary school teacher you've got about 13 or 14 things to get right and also seeing what the school does – you've got to fit into their agenda as well. (Freddie, PGCE Primary)

Student concern about not knowing where to 'fit in the global dimension' continues into the NQT year:

There's a million things you've got to do now, particularly in relation to kids' speaking and listening skills, ICT and computers. The expectations are high and you're playing a variety of roles. (Freddie, PGCE Primary)

He continues:

The amount of things that schools are being asked to do priority wise – it is a priority but so is ICT, as is MFL and I'm just about to go to France for 2 weeks to a French primary school to look how they teach modern foreign languages because all primary schools have got to do that in three years, as is boy's writing. There's that many targets which is the priority?

Interestingly, although pressure is something that is cited as a reason for not including a global dimension, for other students *lack* of pressure is given as a reason for not including a global dimension:

There's no pressure to include the global dimension because there are so many other things to do and you can't tell us to do 60 things. (David, PGCE Primary)

The pressure on what to include seems to be strongly influenced by an outcomes-based, assessment-driven model which, for some teachers, works to completely fill not only the teaching space but also the space to think. The perception is that little time is left for other initiatives that fall outside the assessment paradigm. A practising teacher comments:

We are so limited by time. By doing this I've actually broken the law because for the last two terms my children haven't had any RE they haven't had any music education and it sounds terrible to say, they haven't had any art either, only incidental teaching art but not as an artist would call art because we are so under pressure. It's just madness. I mean this is the problem with the primary curriculum – you haven't got enough hours in the day so we have to make decisions about what we have to put in and what we have to leave out. (Linda, Primary Teacher, GA project)

Key, then, to how educators say they are responding to including a global dimension and global citizenship is the requirement to teach 'what has to be done' which is defined as work that contributes to targets and measurable outcomes:

We don't actually do any citizenship at our school. We have very, very, very little because of the pressures on the curriculum it's one of those things that's hit and miss and citizenship is way down at the bottom of the pile along really with a big part of the curriculum. It's not on its own; it's not as if it's singled out. It's just that's how it is at the moment. The focus is very much on numeracy and literacy. That's the priority. (Elizabeth, GA project)

The increasing number of initiatives that are introduced and made statutory leads one primary school teacher to describe the curriculum as being 'squeezed':

Time commitment is a huge problem as everything is being squeezed and squeezed and the amount of time spent on any given topic is being reduced so that we can get everything in ... We used to spend half an hour every morning on global citizenship

work and sometimes we'd follow up work in another subject like geography. We just can't do that now. (Penny, GA project)

Another teacher comments:

We had changed and reworked our curriculum so that global citizenship was a real feature but we had a setback with the advent of SEAL which was introduced in September. This makes citizenship very inward looking. It focuses on the pupil, their peer group and more personal citizenship. I'm working with the PSHE coordinator to see how we can combine SEAL with global citizenship ... The impetus for global citizenship was almost lost because we've had to do a lot of other work to support SEAL. (Sarah, GA project)

It's difficult to incorporate the global dimension in year 6 because of the SATs. It's really driven by those. Especially as we're quite high up in the league tables and we want to maintain that. (Emma, GA project)

The GCSE is very much set in stone – this is how we do it, this is how long it takes, these are the lessons that you have to do and in terms of the syllabus that we are doing I agree with him because you've got to get through a certain amount of stuff. (Lydia, Geography NQT)

I now look at the concept of circumscribed space and how teachers prioritise the elements that fill the space privileging measurable outcomes and thereby closing the space for non-assessed initiatives.

5.3.4 *Circumscribed space*

Holt (2002) highlights how:

The pressure to proceed from one targeted standard to another as fast as possible, to absorb and demonstrate specified knowledge with conveyor-belt precision, is an irresistible fact of school life. Parents are encouraged to focus on achievement, not self-realisation ... It's curious that, in an age when the right of adults to shape their own lifestyle is taken for granted, the right of children to an education that will help them make something of themselves is more circumscribed than ever. (p57).

The space to teach seems to be severely circumscribed by the sometimes exclusive focus on meeting targets, right through the formal education process from Foundation stage through to higher education. For students and teachers who feel the pressure of the requirement to meet

standards and targets the global dimension is seen as something additional to everything else that has to be done, something that is taking away from the focus on achieving the standards:

I think on this course sometimes I've had to spend so much time getting those standards it's been a case of tunnel vision on getting those standards that I've not been able to think about it as much as I'd like to but next year that's something that with a bit more freedom I'll be able to develop a bit more. (Andrea, PGCE Primary)

I think the problem is that if it's not part of the units or the topics that you're teaching it's quite difficult to bring it in because you're so focusing on getting through the objectives of that unit. (Gemma, PGCE Primary)

If you're trying to integrate it into the curriculum, like the geography or English curriculum then it's quite difficult because you're not actually hitting the things you're meant to be hitting for the National Curriculum. (Amanda, PGCE Secondary geography)

The intensity of the course and the pressure that trainees feel is picked up by John, a Primary PGCE Tutor at MMU:

It can't all be squeezed in to certain programmes. At the moment teacher training is struggling, especially in the case of a one year PGCE ... We don't actually have the space, the resources, the time to cover behaviour management, assessment, links with parents, links with other professionals, the global dimension, anti-racism, equal opportunities, special educational needs ... the list just goes on and on and on and every one of those is seen as a priority. I think trainees at the moment are overwhelmed at the amount that they are expected to know and understand.

The above tutor clearly recognises that that the PGCE course is very crowded, and that this is likely to make students feel pressurised. Yet at the same time, perhaps contradictorily, it was the 'state of busy-ness' attitude that this tutor found very frustrating when it was expressed by other tutors. During the second MMU/DEP project Away Day the group were introduced to a new pedagogy called Open Spaces for Development and Enquiry (OSDE). The tutors reacted strongly, and not very positively, to its innovative approach to teaching and learning about global citizenship, not least because it is a very different methodology for dealing with controversial issues in the classroom. As discussed earlier in the thesis, tutors found the notion of allowing all opinions to be aired in the classroom very challenging. Their reasons

for not engaging with OSDE included being too busy and not having enough time available to get to grips with a ‘high level pedagogy’. This led the tutor to ask:

What is it that people are so busy with?! There is a terrible state of busy-ness which is leading people not to engage with opportunities that are coming up in the university. (John, Primary PGCE Tutor)

One of the outcomes of the above discussion was that it stimulated further thoughts about the space available to think creatively as part of the teacher training programme for both tutors and students:

People feel disengaged from the process of programme development – how do you re-engage people? We never get ahead of ourselves and create the space to develop programmes. We need to look at the fundamental changes we could make to give ourselves more space to think. (Valerie, Secondary PGCE Tutor).

I think there is commitment here to include a global dimension but the difficulty is making sufficient space for it within programme time. There’s always pressure on the programmes to accommodate a range of initiatives and to deliver the standards. (Jane, Secondary PGCE Tutor).

The pressure on students on the teacher training programme was again mentioned:

There are serious issues around the pressure put on students. The drop out rate is spectacular. They walk away because there is a sense that the vision is unattainable. We need to come back to the notion that we’re not expecting them to be experts otherwise we transfer this anxiety that what they’re doing isn’t enough. (John, Primary PGCE Tutor)

Trainees often expect a quick fix but this [including a global dimension in teaching] is a long term process. (Lily, Secondary PGCE Tutor)

This notion of a ‘mismatch’ between expectation, aspiration and reality was also remarked on during an interview with one of the tutors:

Now I absolutely believe that you’ve got to have ideals and to aspire to these concepts to address in the classroom but this was more to do with the mismatch between maybe the expectations that we maybe encourage our trainee teachers to have and the reality they face when they go into the classroom. So they may go in and say I want to do this and I want to have a global dimension to my teaching and I want to do about fair trade I want to look at developing work on values and diversity but they come up

against teachers who say yeah but let's just try and get them to read, they come up against a curriculum which is so heavily based on numeracy and literacy that it constrains a lot of the creativity, they come up against kids who are challenging in lots of ways so I think there's a tension in that we are sending them out into schools with these notions that these are the things that you should aspire to achieve but actually you also need to equip them with the basic language and strategies for making the most of diverse school contexts that they're working in and I think we're doing one thing reasonably well but not the other. (Valerie, Secondary PGCE Tutor)

One of the challenges that teachers, tutors and student teachers talked about when trying to teach citizenship within a curriculum that is 'so heavily based on numeracy and literacy that it constrains a lot of the creativity' was the difficulty in using participative and interactive teaching and learning strategies and pupils not being able to work in pairs or in groups. One of the MMU tutors attributes this to 'hegemonic space':

The space in the classroom is still the same in 90% of classrooms with rows of desks and a blackboard at the front. Teachers think they're being interactive, collaborative but the pupil's perspective is very different from what the teacher thinks they're doing and how they're teaching. . (John, Primary PGCE Tutor)

In response, another tutor describes this as 'the pragmatics of being in school'.

A lot of these things depend on students sitting in groups but there isn't the room to put them in circles – the physical environment is against them. (Lily, Secondary PGCE Tutor)

The 'pragmatics of being in school' was also revealed to be a problem for the NQT below:

We did one that I've not tried – looking at photographs and then getting the children to pose the photograph and tell that person's story. That would be something nice to do ... That was introduced to me through my PGCE. We did it as a group in a big room about four times this size. It's a nice idea but it's getting the opportunity to do it, to actually use it. (Amanda, Geography NQT)

There is evidence of a cycle of non-thoughtful or creative action emerging. Tutors do not feel they have the time or space to think, which causes students to feel the pressure of trying to include an initiative which is regarded as extra to what they should be doing, which leads to

pedagogies which allow teachers to get through everything they have to. Everything they have to do is defined as that which is measurable and assessed.

The assessment-driven, outcomes-based model of teaching sets up a tightly packed space which seems to work to prevent some teachers from including innovative pedagogy. The recognition by these teachers that pupils are rarely given space to think made one teacher:

Realize how often adults must spoon feed children and that there's absolutely no independence of thought. (Katherine, Primary Teacher)

Practising teachers involved with the GA project also talked about the initial difficulties they experienced when using new and innovative pedagogy with children.

I found trying to get the questions together very difficult, extremely laborious. They didn't know what it was, and I thought that would make a good starting point, but the questions were very poor ... [Having chosen the question] There was no discussion at all, it all fell apart. (Sarah, Primary Teacher)

Sarah explained how 'debate just wasn't happening' but rather than abandon her aspiration to use P4C she decided to do some 'groundwork':

We had to teach them how to get on with each other and listen to each other because she found that they were just shouting over the top of each other, they weren't taking turns, they had no sense of group solidarity and they were like 'I'm not working with her', and 'I'm not working with him'. I just thought to myself, 'What do I need to do to move them on from this to being independent and critical enquirers'? It felt like I had a long way to go!

After introducing a range of 'circle games', the teacher quoted above said that she gradually 'felt more confident in the group's abilities to talk about serious issues'. But she said it was 'hard work at times' and she was 'astonished' that she needed to work with them on 'why we need to listen'.

What was fascinating was the reaction from these teachers when asked to think themselves.

One teacher commented:

I just thought it was a bit of a shock when someone asked me what I thought ... When you go to school you're told what to think and what to teach and everything and nobody ever asks you what you think about it. (Penny, Primary Teacher)

The thinking has been lovely because it's something I've not had time to do for years and I think it's something that's sadly lacking now in the way that we teach our children. (Elizabeth, Teacher)

It's really good to think that my brain's still alive! It's not just bogged down with key stage this, that and the other, SATs and numeracy, literacy ... I've enjoyed the philosophy ... I found the theory really interesting ... having a bit more to get your teeth into, a bit more to think about. You don't normally get the chance to talk to colleagues in this way. (Katherine, Teacher)

For another of the teachers:

It's made me change the way I talk to the children. I don't ask such direct questions ... So instead of me going in with my agenda I see what they're doing first and let them ask me questions about things. I play quietly with them and then if they're doing something I might say 'tell me about this or that, rather than asking specific questions about things which is what I would have done before. In my head before I had 'I've got to know whether they know their colours and if they can count to five and blah, blah, blah'. Now what they're coming out with is not necessarily anything to do with what I'm trying to assess but actually it's doing them a lot more good than me asking them questions so I can tick boxes. It gives me a much more rounded picture of each child. (Emma, Teacher)

For the above teacher targets and assessment processes have clearly had an impact on how she was interpreting initiatives in the past. Involvement in the course reaffirmed her belief that critical thinking was important for the children and provided the space and distance from her teaching practice to think about and change how she was working with her pupils. Emma also changed the way she conducts circle time with pupils. Prior to the training a teddy bear used to be passed around but now she says that she tries to bring in a variety of artefacts. She said:

I don't ask questions. I just wait for them to come up with their own questions, thoughts and ideas.

This also highlights that it is possible to use alternative pedagogies and teaching styles without necessarily making big changes to what is being taught.

MMU/DEP educators also talk about the need for pupils to be informed about issues before they can participate in deliberative dialogue:

But they need to be informed! We seem to think that pupils can suddenly have a debate about something – with no knowledge! We can't do that so why are we expecting children to be able to have deep in-depth discussions about global warming or modern day slavery if they've not got knowledge of it? I mean we did the Abolitionist Movement and they did a lot of discussion about that but we'd done an assembly with them and then they had sheets on what it meant to be a modern day slave and that they could then discuss afterwards. But only after to assemblies and three periods of PSHE. (Jo, Teacher)

That was really global! That was amazingly global!! And you incorporated everybody in the whole school. (Grace, Teacher)

Well, that to me is good global PSHE. It was what happened in the past, how the people ended it and then the present day – child slaves picking chocolate and stuff like that and so it did have a big impact. (Jo, Teacher)

The need to make learning 'directly relevant' to pupils is again picked up by the teachers.

This seems to be an area that they feel particularly strongly about:

So if you're doing about trade issues you can do trainers that are being made in China for so much pence by 12 year olds, so we'd take one of the trainers from the kids in the class and we'd do an assembly on that trainer and then we'll do a debate within that. (Steph, Teacher)

And make it directly relevant. (Natalie, Teacher)

Exactly. (murmurs of agreement from all)

They've got an understanding then of where you can go with it. (Steph, Teacher)

It has to have some relevance. Otherwise they're completely switched off. (Charlotte, Teacher)

Creating the time and space to think enabled some of the teachers to see more clearly which changes to their teaching could be made and how. However, a further issue that educators encountered was the way in which others delineated their teaching space which set up either an enabling space or a controlled space in which to teach. I explore this issue next.

5.3.5 *Enabling Space versus Controlled Space*

Students' experience while on placement had a significant impact on the ways in which they interpreted the top-down initiatives. The priorities and understandings of citizenship at the placement school intermingle to create either a supportive or unsupportive environment. For some students their placement acted as a catalyst for wanting to include global citizenship in their teaching; for other students the interest was already there and the placement enabled them to develop a deeper understanding.

Some students were placed in schools that were responding to the top-down initiatives positively and the students were encouraged to think about how they could contribute to recommendations:

I was placed at a school that just happened to do a whole week with theme of diversity. Everybody learnt about diversity, different things going on in the world, different countries, different cultures, the way that we're all different but that we're all the same as well, and it was really exciting and the kids really loved it. We had special assemblies at the end of the week that was celebrating, everyone's differences and similarities and it was really good. (Florence, PGCE Primary)

Themed weeks seemed to be one of the most popular ways of interpreting and responding to the top-down initiatives, including the global dimension initiative. An NQT interviewed as part of the GM project described how she was going to be organising her school's first World Awareness Week. She explained how:

All subjects are going to try and make reference to the global dimension whether it's a starter activity or something else and we've tried to rearrange the schemes of work so that as many subjects as possible are doing something on the global dimension in that first term to fit in with the week. Refugee Action are going to come in and train year 12 and 13s the week before because one of their units is on immigration so they will then be trained on how to lead an assembly on asylum seekers. I'm trying to encourage people to see the positive aspects because most students here don't see the positive and I've had debates on asylum seekers and immigration and they never see anything good ... It's very narrow minded here. (Faith, Secondary English NQT)

Support and encouragement from others will enable students and teachers to better interpret initiatives but many commentators are critical of the way in which schools address citizenship or lack of ethnic minority representation in the school and curriculum through Diversity Week or Black History Month (Tikly et al, 2004). Tikly et al (2004) point out that while recognising and representing the diversity of British society in the curriculum and school environment is well-established as way of countering institutional racism, in many schools they found ‘a distinct lack of formal and informal inclusion of minority ethnic people within the curriculum and general school environment’ (p62). They also argue that although pupils enjoyed the opportunity to explore aspects of their heritage not often reflected in schools, Black History Month acts to marginalise the experiences and heritages of minority ethnic groups in Britain, rather than reflecting their normality. As Maylor et al (2007) comment:

Diversity presented in this partial manner, through the use of a few additional texts on diversity, suggests that ‘diversity’ is not viewed as mainstream and is indeed at the margins of ‘normal’ or mainstream British history. (p19)

The impact of a placement in a non-supportive environment can mean that students:

Get institutionalised and go backwards in any placement that lasts longer than 5 weeks if there is no space for creativity, if they’re being told what to do. They become compliant and stop learning after 4 weeks. Some schools actually tell the trainees to ignore what their tutors are telling them! (Jack, Secondary PGCE Tutor)

One student described how she had a ‘dream placement’ and was encouraged to try out different techniques with the full and interested support of her mentor and the class teacher who were very interested in her ideas and adapted techniques gained from PGCE course to teach global citizenship. Another student talks about how she was ‘lucky with my first placement’:

I was able to do lots of interesting global citizenship work. I had loads of support but not to put my ideas in. I was just getting support to follow what was already there. So

Block A was brilliant and there was a lot of citizenship going on. It was a really good experience and then I got to my second school and there was no citizenship there whatsoever. But to be fair, when my mentor found out that I was really interested in global citizenship she suggested that I do something for the enrichment project. They suggested that we do something with year 7. They said we have a citizenship week and why don't you work together as a team to make it more 'global' (Anabel, Secondary PGCE)

This comment raises the interesting point about the need for teachers who can act as role models to students, and the need for mentor support in the classroom. As one student commented: 'You need a role model otherwise it's like sending somebody to work with a teaspoon'. Another student, for example, talked about how much she learned and how enthused she was by her mentor while she was on placement:

The techniques and knowledge she had were amazing and her mantra was, 'Anyone who says citizenship isn't a proper subject is wrong!' I'll use a lot of her ideas and methods. She had the passion for her subject. You can envisage yourself like being like that in a few years' time. (Sarah, PGCE Secondary)

However, the above student experience was unusual and the lack of support in the classroom was identified by students as a significant barrier to the inclusion of GCE and a global dimension. A minority of students had placements that encouraged or supported the inclusion of a global dimension and education for global citizenship:

It wasn't explicitly encouraged by my mentor or the class teacher, because not being one of the stated standards they weren't encouraging us to do things like that but fits in quite well with MFL. (Alice, PGCE Secondary)

Sometimes the mentors at school are so busy. They take care of us but only in the sense of filling in paperwork. (Simon, PGCE Secondary)

You've got to have a school that's sympathetic to your way of thinking and your beliefs. If you've not got that, if you've got a school that's concentrating on meeting targets, bringing children up, then there's no time in the timetable. (David, PGCE Primary)

For these students the space to be a teacher is controlled by others which had a strong impact on how teachers and students interpret citizenship and related top-down initiatives. For the majority of students they not only did not have a role model for global citizenship education

but were also discouraged from using innovative pedagogies, or from working with pupils in any way that was different from how the class teacher worked. This was the case for PGCE students at both Primary and Secondary level, and was a theme that occurred throughout the research period:

I had to do exactly as the teacher in the classroom [said in robotic style voice] 'Do not change any parameters of what I do in the classroom. You have to be a perfect carbon copy of myself'. (Kate, Secondary PGCE)

Some trainees feel that at times they were prevented from working with pupils in the way they would like because 'you're very much working within the constraints set by the class teacher'

And they remind you frequently that they're going to have to take the class back. (Alice, Secondary PGCE)

You're only there for a short amount of time and it's not your class, it's not your classroom and you haven't got the control to change the classroom around. (Sophie, Secondary PGCE)

The reason for the lack of support again seems to come down to measurable outcomes:

A trainee might include one of the eight key concepts during their lesson. This might be logged but it's not something we're explicitly looking for because we're focusing on the Standards and the global dimension is not one of the Standards ... We're looking at classroom management, their relationship with the pupils, things that make a good teacher. (Helen, Professional Mentor)

In this case including a global dimension and GCE are clearly not classified as 'things that make a good teacher'. This may be one reason why there is an unwillingness to allow students to experiment with different pedagogies:

I had a class I wanted to do group work with and I wish I could have persevered with them but their class teacher said to me 'Remember, I've got to take this class back after you've gone!' (Alice, Secondary PGCE)

However perseverance within a tightly constrained framework can lead to inappropriate teaching methodologies being used:

There comes a point when you think 'Right scrap PE. We're going to have to do geography for a whole afternoon and really hammer it at them!' And then the following week you do a whole afternoon of history. And you just hammer it home to them. Basically that's what you've got to do because you've got no time to do it. It's either an hour and a half hammer, hammer, hammer session or giving them the information but not doing an activity so they don't put anything of what they've just learned into practice (Jane, BEd. Global Citizenship option, January 2006)

Lack of time and space to think means educators may seek a quick fix to top-down initiatives:

If someone presented us with a readymade package we might be able to take the global dimension on board but as it is we just don't have any spare capacity I think it's incredibly worthwhile but there's just no time and space. It could be a longer term goal but it's certainly not an immediate one. (Paul, Deputy Head Teacher)

Time is what's needed and I just can't give time. Every year the government asks for something else to become a priority in the curriculum. (Christian, Deputy Head)

Teachers interviewed for the GA project also talked about having to:

Move things around on the timetable because it's so packed to free up some time to devote to this [the global dimension] because we do think it's something we need to do with our children (Emma)

Having to find and create space in the curriculum evidently causes some teachers a great deal of worry. During the focus group with GA project teachers, one teacher, Linda, described how she wondered 'Is it worth it? Is it too much'? She continued:

A lot has had to be sacrificed so that we can include some global citizenship.

One of the participants asks:

What are you sacrificing?

PSHE, RE, Art ... PSHE is covered, that's been fine, but I haven't covered the RE curriculum this year.

You need to try and fit it in the topic itself. Our Head has given us license to do that which is great.

Another teacher adds:

There lies the difficulty with all of this! To try and incorporate all of this! To try and incorporate all this within a curriculum ... It's so vast ... There are so many strands and connections; it's quite difficult to draw them together and to make it coherent and understandable. Whether it's about rainforests or Hinduism they all have global perspectives and it's quite difficult to draw them together and call it a global perspective. It's an educational perspective on a way of life, whether that's religion ... It's a vast topic and it does require reflection and doubt.

There are tensions between teachers and senior management where there is a very strong emphasis on improving teaching and learning but no connection made by senior management as to how including a global dimension and global citizenship education can improve behaviour and raise standards. One secondary head comments:

Our number one priority is improving the quality of teaching and learning and establishing consistency ... Post 16 there's a huge amount of work to do and we're under a lot of pressure to deliver targets. Next academic year will be the first A level and the first KS3 results and everyone will be watching us. (Paul, Deputy Head Teacher)

In one school I visited a lot of global citizenship planning and work had taken place. The foundations were in place for all sorts of global dimension work but a new Head started in and put a stop to everything:

He wants to improve his exam results and he doesn't feel that anything that can detract from children in the classroom can possibly be a good idea ... I mean, I beg to differ. And so do a lot of the staff here. (Hilary, Secondary teacher, Head of PSHE)

Those teachers who are committed to the global dimension and global citizenship feel that they have to try and convince others of its value. For those teachers whose global dimension work is tolerated by senior management but not actively encouraged it is very difficult for the global dimension to become a consistent and coherent thread running throughout the school.

This is seen very clearly in this exchange between a teacher and a deputy head where the deputy considers the global dimension to be 'extra curricular':

Senior management don't always see it as a priority. It's a struggle because it is always about results in these sorts of schools. It's convincing other members of staff of the value of this sort of work as well. (Freya, Secondary teacher)

The Deputy Head replies that:

It's [the global dimension] happening at a very low level because priorities for the school are elsewhere – raising attainment. Learning to learn is the key and we've got projects for KS3 pupils next year which have a global dimension and that's as much as we can do sitting alongside existing curriculum initiatives. We're a RAP school which means that we'll not hit a baseline performance of 30% A-C in English and Maths. That is the priority so we're not a school that you can say was at a performance level where you could say let's leave achievement and we'll just look at extra-curricular enrichment. We're looking at basics of English, Maths and Science. So it hasn't taken a high priority.

He goes on to say:

Looking at the school as a whole, the global dimension is one area of a jigsaw which is absolutely massive and the LEA ... We're relying on individual staff and their interests. Because we're a RAP school there is pressure on the Head of Science from the LEA and all they're interested in is purely science, SATs and GCSE results. The government are not interested in this agenda [the global dimension] because we're a RAP school and it's all about A to C's.

This, again, highlights the importance of a head teacher and senior management being supportive of these initiatives. Teachers appreciate being 'allowed' to develop their work but recognise the limitations of this approach:

It's important to try and embed the global dimension in the curriculum. It gets tacked on for people like me who are interested in it but if we can embed it throughout the curriculum it would be so much better. (Matilda, Primary teacher)

The next section explores the importance of remit to Educators in making best use of curriculum space.

5.3.6 Authorised space: The importance of remit

The schools involved with the WH project found the ISA as a highly valuable way of moving the school forward from a situation where teachers carrying out global citizenship work on an

individual basis to establishing cross curricular links and embedding global citizenship education within the curriculum. In addition, to have a framework within which to work such as the ISA gave teachers the remit they felt they needed in order to organise global citizenship work, and encourage other teachers in the school to include global citizenship in their teaching. The ISA process ‘formalises things’, provides the opportunity for teachers to develop an acknowledged remit within the school, recognised by others, to work on global education collectively rather than as individuals. Without this remit teachers are wary of being seen as hassling or badgering others for work and information. One teacher describes the ISA as a ‘powerful tool’. Working for the ISA is also a valuable way of gaining further support from other teachers in the school, ‘Staff came out of the woodwork! There is a lot more going on than I thought’, of raising the profile of global citizenship education and as a way of ensuring it becomes part of the school’s agenda.

The head’s very supportive and there are lots of enthusiastic staff. The ISA has helped to formalise things and the help will be a bit more structured than it has been. (Sally, Secondary Teacher)

The ISA is making the school think about it. It [the ISA] has also raised the profile of this work especially for the Head who’s been very supportive and has given me free rein. Everyone can see the importance of it. We’re looking at how the eight concepts and how they tie in and where SEAL fits into it all – we’re mapping it across the curriculum to see if one thing can hit several areas. Giving it weight to teachers who are trying to do it. (Harry, Secondary Teacher)

One teacher says:

The thing is if there’s no one to coordinate it it’s difficult to know what other people are doing so as part of the ISA process that’s what we’ve been doing – finding out what other departments are doing. Bits and pieces were going on that people didn’t necessarily associate with the global dimension. We’re a big school and we’re all working towards our own targets and it’s having the time to step back and pull it all together. (Julie, Secondary Teacher)

Another comments:

We’re going to take things slowly, do a small amount and then they become part and parcel of what you do and then you add something else to it and it goes from there

and I think that's the way forward and that way you get the cooperation of colleagues as well rather than presenting them with too much all at once. (Steve, Secondary Teacher)

At the moment we've had to do all the work within the time that we've got without any extra time allocated or any extra funding allocated or anybody with any specific responsibility. It's been suggested that there's one person in each faculty who's allocated the job of doing some international stuff within that faculty so you're spreading it out through the school and as we can say 'as part of the bid you have to do this'. So we might give them a period a week and use the funding to do that. Then they'll be accountable for it. (Julie, Secondary Teacher)

5.4 Discussion of findings

We had prided ourselves, in David Blunkett's words, on being 'light touch', to give teachers the flexibility and freedom to adapt these general prescriptions to varying circumstances. I echoed 'light touch' fervently seeing it as basic to freedom itself – philosophically basic to the citizenship curriculum. But I grant that 'light touch' has been misinterpreted, sometimes innocently, sometimes wilfully, as meaning that some parts of the curriculum (particularly the difficult and contentious parts!) need only be lightly touched upon. (Crick 2008a, p31)

In this section I have explored the theme of Space and how educators' conceptualisations of space impact on interpretations of top-down initiatives which in turn impact CE models and pedagogy. The aim of the citizenship curriculum was to give educators the space to develop the CE models they felt most appropriate to their context. However, one of the problems was the perceived lack of available space in the curriculum to develop citizenship education. This perceived lack of space led educators to adopting an assimilation model of CE, an approach which was later criticised by OFSTED. The main subject into which citizenship is assimilated is PSHE, which, as the previous chapter also showed, can be source of tension, particularly where little time is made available for the preparation of resources. In addition, the type of CE developed within a PSHE framework is like to be designed to socialise pupils into the status quo, as opposed to a critical, challenging model of CE.

Targets and assessment procedures are also cited as key fillers of space, circumscribing space and impeding the creation of space to critically reflect on their own teaching, or share thoughts and ideas with peers. This lack of space for educators' to think and reflect seems to

create a self-perpetuating cycle of uncritical engagement: from Foundation Stage education right the way through to tertiary education educators are having to use assessment frameworks which seem to shut off space to think and generate the tendency for educators to cite that they are too busy to consider the global dimension. This then provokes further tendencies in educators to interpret top-down initiatives as being too much to deal with which in turn closes the space for educators to engage with innovative pedagogies.

For those educators who continue to think within an assessment and outcomes paradigm there is a tendency to use inappropriate teaching methodology such as the idea of hammering home critical thinking. In addition, for pupils used to working within this paradigm it can sometimes be a challenge for them to work in groups or listen to each other. For educators that do not have space to engage, the model of citizenship developed is likely to lack coherence and citizenship related teaching is likely to be assimilated into other areas of school life and the curriculum.

This research also found that appropriate training can have a profound effect on educators' practice which drives them to respond to initiatives in ways that are new to them and enables some educators to see more clearly which changes to their teaching can be made and how. However, enabled space is highly significant. Without the support from senior management and, in the case of students, mentors, for top-down initiatives it is very difficult for individuals to respond in the way they would like, highlighting the importance of remit. In addition the way the curriculum is organised and managed will also provoke certain tendencies. Where curriculum space is constrained educators' responses and interpretations will depend on school context and personal interests. Educators with interest in and commitment to global issues and the global dimension will find ways round externally imposed constraints to teach.

Chapter 6

6.0 Theme 3: Managing difference in the classroom

6.1 *Introduction to the theme*

The need to widen the notion of citizenship to embrace all members of society has given rise theories on citizenship and diversity (see Guttmann, 1994; Kymlicka, 1995; Parekh, 2000), including feminist critiques (Arnot, 2003), gay and lesbian groups, disabled people (Lanoix, 2007; Lister, 2003) and postcolonial and indigenous groups (Isin and Turner, 2002). How nation states deal with increasing difference and diversity in the context of globalisation and transnational migration is highly relevant to schools (Osler, 2009; Mayo, Gaventa and Rooke, 2009; Kiwan, 2008b). As Kymlicka (1998) argues:

If there is a viable way to promote a sense of solidarity and common purpose in a multination state, it will involve accommodating, rather than subordinating, national identities. People from different national groups will only share an allegiance to the larger polity if they see it as the context within which their national identity is nurtured rather than subordinated. (Kymlicka, 1998, p182)

This chapter explores how educators say they were responding to and interpreting top-down initiatives in relation to difference and diversity, and the mechanisms that might produce particular tendencies in responses. There was considerable variation between schools. Some teachers and students felt confident and able to teach in a multicultural classroom, and considered that it was crucial to draw on pupils' heritage and experiences in order that they do not lose their identity. Some educators also considered that including pupils' personal knowledge enriched the pupil learning experience in a way that text books cannot. Other educators found dealing with difference a considerable challenge and rather than a rich resource, regarded difference as a problem to be overcome. These divergent ways of understanding difference will impact on the way in which educators interpret top-down initiatives. Interpretations varied from those teachers who considered that issues of difference

were not a problem because the school was majority white in an almost all-white area, to those teachers who were interpreting the initiatives as a vehicle for tackling racism, in particular Islamophobia.

This shift in interpretation is likely to have been influenced by key events at both global and local level which have continued to push the debate about difference and diversity into the public arena. These events acted as drivers for major top-down education initiatives such as the addition of the Difference and Diversity strand to citizenship education; the Race Relations Act; and the statutory requirement for schools to contribute to Community Cohesion.

Below I first explore the literature on identity before then providing an analysis of research findings.

6.2 *Background*

As worldwide immigration increases diversity on every continent and as global terrorism intensifies negative attitudes toward Muslims, schools in nation-states around the world are finding it difficult to implement policies and practices that respond to the diversity of students and also foster national cohesion. (Banks et al., 2005)

The passage of time has seen an increasing emphasis on the implications of a plural and diverse society within political discourse, reflecting growing concerns about social cohesion (Cantle, 2008).

In the past citizenship was equated with membership of a single nation state and citizen rights and duties were bound almost exclusively to that nation. This has given rise to the conflation of citizenship and nationality which has led to citizenship being understood in terms of the dominant ethnic identity within a nation state. However, as Faulks (2006b) points out nationality and citizenship are theoretically distinct concepts, with citizenship:

... being essentially a political concept that entails equal rights and responsibilities but not necessarily a shared culture, religion or ethnic identity. Reasserting the independence of citizenship from nationality is a necessity if the potential of citizenship to act as an inclusive rather than exclusive status. (p132)

The sites and spaces where citizenship is played out have changed considerably from the time when belonging was place bound and constructed in relation to the nation state. Indeed as Torres (1998) says:

The notion of identity as an elusive, disputed, ever-changing assemblage of narratives and positions makes it very difficult to speak of citizenship as a single identity correlated either with a territory, culture or experience. (p117)

According to some commentators, for example Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1991), the 'nation' came about as a political category in Western Europe and North America as a way of controlling progressively complex areas. Nations were keen to maintain order and stability through the creation some kind of loyalty to and solidarity with the state. To foster loyalty to the nation state and maintain an ordered society it was considered vital that members of a nation share a common culture and means of communication, in order that society is able to function with some order. The state provides this by organising similar types of education and other means of socialisation. A similar shared culture and language then reinforces the sense of similarity felt between members of the nation, and thus creates a sense of or an imagined 'national' identity (Anderson, 1991; Gellner,1983). This then works to circumscribe notions of identity and supports the development of citizenship constructs as those who are members of the in-group (ie those individuals who share the perceived key aspects of the dominant culture), and those who are deemed to belong to the out-group and do not share the cultural constituents by which citizenship has come to be defined.

During the 1940s, for example, British Citizenship was differentiated and defined against the 'other' and to 'the enemy'. The 'other' was those who lived outside Britain's borders and in particular Germany, the Nazis, fascism and Japan. British citizenship 'entailed international

elements in seemingly contradictory ways’ as ‘constructions of citizenship’ also ‘embodied notions of community, knowledge, responsibility and obligation which transcended the boundaries of the nation-state and which embraced the international’ (Tinkler, 2001, p110). Tinkler quotes an article from the Girls Own Paper written by Joya Begg in January 1947. Begg’s article at first acknowledges the similarities between British and German girls ‘their athletic figures, love of sport and easy friendliness’ but then goes on to note the ‘essential differences. They [the German girls] would always be willing to tell tales against their neighbours, to us their late enemies. If they earned any extra food they would eat it themselves, instead of sharing with their families’ (Joya Begg, quoted in Tinkler, 2001, p111).

For constructionists (such as Hall, 1996) sharing cultural traits establishes a starting point for identifying with someone that you do not know and promotes a feeling of shared identity.

Jenkins (2008) states:

As a very basic starting point, identity is the human capacity – rooted in language – to know ‘who’s who’ (and hence ‘what’s what’). This involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are, and so on: a multi-dimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our places in it, as individuals and as members of collectivities. (p5)

Similarly, for Hall (1996) identity is responsive to and shaped by one’s peers, the space in which interaction occurs and events going before and ‘in all sorts of ways ... our identities are neither wholly scripted for us nor wholly scripted by us’ (Appiah, 2005). However Hall is not suggesting that our identities are continually in flux but that people have a range of identities that become more or less dominant depending on the social context we find ourselves in.

Thus, as the extract for the Girls Own Paper quoted above highlights, although identities are socially constructed individuals do not have complete freedom to choose aspects of their identity. The way that others label a person may influence self-definition even if that label

has not been internalised by an individual. In this way, it is argued, identity is not fixed and unchanging.

In addition, as Torres notes (1998):

Identities are constructed in a process of contestation and struggle and are subject to multiple interpretations; identity is a journey of learning, knowledge and recognition. Identities are social constructions with material and historical bases, and indeed they are based on ... perceptions of knowledge, ways of seeing and feeling, and lived experience of power, particularly what knowledge is (or should be considered) legitimate and should count, what experience should be celebrated and learned from, and how power can be negotiated among different knowledges and experiences. (p216)

However Torres goes on to point out that identity is something which is ‘historically, culturally, and discursively produced’ (p216) and is much more ‘than just rhetoric, argumentation, or an evolving social (and individual) ‘text’ constructed by, and through, different sets of experiences and knowledge.’ (p217). This consciousness cannot be separated from the oppression, discrimination and exclusion that people experience and make up people’s lives. This is particularly important given that some cultural forms try to establish themselves as the universal model, ‘the metaphysical canon by which to judge all other social formations or consciousness’ (p217).

Our identity is articulated relative to others in particular social contexts and would have no meaning with those contexts. Ross (2007) describes this activity as ‘a palate of pigments from which colours and combinations can be selected at will’ and gives the example of:

A young unemployed male UK citizen of Pakistani heritage living in a northern English city might reasonably and with justification describe himself in different ways to his parents, to his peers in the locality, to community leaders, to a police officer, to an academic sociologist or to an opinion pollster from the national media. His responses might be different if gathered pre- or post the events of 7 July 2005, or if he was asked to identify himself when in a German city or when on a visit to relatives in Pakistan, and so on. (p288)

This resonates strongly with Heater's (1999) 'feeling of citizenship'. He uses as an example a 'male Hindu of high-caste Indian origin living in London may think of himself as sexually, religiously, socially, racially and culturally different from a Roman Catholic working-class Scotswoman in Glasgow. But they are both British citizens. Citizenship can help satisfy the human need for identity without arousing the perils of such animosities ... citizenship helps to tame the divisive passions of other identities' (p184).

Heater (*ibid.*) cautions that citizenship 'must not be allowed to swallow up or blanket out all other social identities' and that 'the national culture must come to embrace, though not suffocate, the group culture' (p185). As Parekh (2000) observes, increasing numbers of people have hybrid identities:

More and more people have multiple identities – they are Welsh Europeans, Pakistani Yorkshirewomen, Glaswegian Muslims, English Jews and Black British.

Like Heater, Le Roux (2002) also asserts that minority ethnic 'cultural goods' should not be 'sacrificed for the sake of maintaining and fostering the dominant culture' or identity (p37).

Key to discussions on citizenship in Western democracies are the concepts of abstraction and universalism. There exists considerable tension between citizenship and the multiple identities that a person may have. For democratic citizenship to be meaningful it is argued that citizens must share a subjective sense of membership in a political community. To achieve this, it is argued, necessitates placing our 'universal identity' as citizens above the 'particular interests that arise from our daily lives' (Purvis and Hunt, 1999, p461) in order to take account of the fact that 'as social and political agents our daily existence is mediated by numerous, often conflicting spheres of action and interest' (*Ibid.*). The aim of abstraction is to eliminate all non-essential particularities. The end result is a notion of the individual which is universally applicable because only essential traits are recognized. Thus, in theory the

universal ideal of citizenship transcends difference and particularity and gives everyone the same status in the public realm, regardless of inequalities of wealth, power and status:

- . There is, thus, a distinct friction between citizenship and the identities that arise from other aspects of our lives. To citizenship has been allotted the job of transcending those complex differences that arise in the everyday world. But a concept of citizenship which occludes these identities and, in turn, the social relations through which they are constituted, reproduced, and potentially transformed, threatens to serve as a legitimating discourse for the maintenance of the oppressions premised upon those identities. (Purvis and Hunt, 1999, p461)

As Lanoix (2007) asserts, members of a political community cannot be considered abstract individuals because people are influenced by a specific culture, gender, race and social position which forms their view of the world. Moreover ‘no abstraction is neutral’ because there will be some characteristics and virtues which are considered highly important, such as rationality. Abstract individualism exclude certain individuals from the political community because they do not conform to the dominant model of the individual. As Isin and Turner (2007) state: ‘while cast in the language of inclusion, belonging and universalism, modern citizenship has systematically made certain groups strangers and outsiders’ (p3).

For Lister (2008), too, difference is subsumed within universality which leads to unequal and unfair citizenship, leading the suppression of, for example, women (Arnot, 2002) and cultural minorities (Banks 2008). Indeed there continues to be ‘enormous injustices, oppression and marginalisation’ (Isin and Turner, 2002, p2). Claims for citizenship have thus become framed by struggles for recognition (Gutmann, 1994) within the dominant paradigm of citizenship and include claims from environmental, gay and lesbian groups, disabled people, peace groups, postcolonial and indigenous peoples (Isin and Turner, 2002).

These challenges have raised difficult questions about whether the notion of citizenship is a truly universal ideal which is applicable ‘to more than just white males’ (Lanoix, 2007, p72) or whether the concept needs to be refashioned in order to take account of the diverse groups

and individuals who are omitted from the dominant paradigm. Isin and Turner (2002) suggest that the need to accommodate 'some form of differentiated citizenship and the inadequacy of modern liberal citizenship are now widely accepted' (p2) means that it is increasingly possible for different groups across the world 'to enact their claims to recognition and citizenship. Similarly, across the world many states have begun rethinking and revising their citizenship laws to recognise these growing demands' (Isin and Turner, 2002, p2). In addition to holding multiple identities individuals who belong to one ethnic group may understand and feel that identity and belonging very differently from each other. Belonging to the same ethnic group and sharing the same culture does not necessarily lead to homogeneity of outlook, experience or background, or mean that individuals share the same beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours (Le Roux, 2002). As Le Roux argues, it is 'socioeconomic status, educational background, religion, gender, age, world-view' which 'influence *who* and *what* we are' (p42).

According to Ladson-Billings (2004):

The dynamic of the modern (or postmodern) nation-state makes identities as either an individual or a member of a group untenable. Rather than seeing the choice as either/or, the citizen of the nation state operates in the realism of both/and. She is both an individual who is entitled to citizen rights that permit one to legally challenge infringement of those rights [and one who is] acting as a member of a group ... People move back and forth across many identities, and the way society responds to these identities either binds people to or alienates them from the civic culture. (p112)

In order to achieve equal citizenship, therefore, it is argued that difference needs to be actively recognised because there is no general perspective 'from which all experiences and perspectives can be understood and taken into account' (Young, 1989, p262). As Macedo (2000) states:

Talk of diversity often proceeds without taking adequate account of the degree of moral convergence it takes to sustain a constitutional order that is liberal, democratic, and characterized by widespread bonds of civic friendship and cooperation. (p1)

Multicultural citizenship (Banks 2008, Kymlicka, 1995, Parekh, 2000) is one conception of citizenship which tries to take account of the diverse cultures that exist within state borders. Multiculturalism as a public policy came to the fore in the UK during the 1970s with the aims of recognising cultural diversity and trying to ensure social equality for minority groups. However Isin and Turner (2007) argue that:

Multiculturalism is in crisis, because most liberal governments are retreating from open commitment to cultural diversity, emphasizing instead security, cohesion and integration. (p11)

Moreover, as Weedon (2011) suggests:

The pervasiveness of discourses that ground Britishness in whiteness has remained a key feature of the cultural politics of race and multiculturalism right up to the present. One effect of this was to render anyone who was not white 'foreign'. (p21)

For citizenship to be inclusive there is a need to formally recognise that some people have the right to more than one nationality:

Migrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin with societies where they choose to live for varying periods of time, and such thick ties are girded by a dense web of regular instantaneous communications, frequently renewed through the ease of personal travel. (Stasiulis and Ross, 2006, p333)

Isin and Turner (2007) discuss the paradox of trying to manage the new combinations of work and welfare together with migration and nation-making:

Governments that are faced with ageing populations and low birth rates are forced to rely on foreign migrant workers to keep their economic growing. The labour markets of western states also depend on these workers, because their own labour force is not sufficiently mobile or is reluctant to take on unskilled work.

The argument about state security and the need to defend political borders has turned public opinion against outsiders in general and against Muslim foreign workers in particular. The heightened securitization of the state has therefore typically conflated three categories of persons: migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. ... Although economic migrants contribute significantly to growth, they are often thought to be parasitic on the welfare systems of the host society. These workers do not fit easily into a welfare model of contributory rights in an age of terrorism, when states have

turned to the maintenance of security as their principal contribution to the functioning of society. European governments have been reluctant to give citizenship status to migrants without stringent criteria of membership and naturalization is often a slow and complex process. (pp10-11)

This antagonistic feeling is not just felt towards those who have physically come from outside the nation's boundaries, but those who fall 'outside' a perceptions of what a British citizen should look and sound like including those who are deemed outside the dominant norms of society in their thought, colour, dress, belief, opinion, behaviour. Indeed the focus on state security has given rise to a desire to define what it means to be a British citizen. I now look at the drive to define a collective sense of Britishness based on shared understanding of and commitment to purportedly British values and virtues.

6.2.1 *Values and virtues*

There is recognition that individuals will have multiple identities but it is argued that a shared sense of identity at national level is regarded as essential in a multicultural society, 'because of its greater need to cultivate a common sense of belonging among its diverse communities' (Parekh, 2000, p231). A number of commentators discuss the importance of developing shared values in a culturally diverse society and the need to cultivate 'a commitment to a common authority that can override local interests, local decisions, and local ways of knowing ... A liberal polity does not rest on diversity, but on shared political commitments weighty enough to override competing values' (Macedo, 2004, p146). Banks et al (2005) suggest that a nation-state needs to be unified around a set of democratic values such as human rights, justice and equality' so that it can:

Secure the liberties of cultural, ethnic, language, and religious groups and enable them to experience freedom, justice and peace. Citizens who understand this unity-diversity tension and act accordingly do not materialise from thin air; they are educated for it. (Banks *et al.*, 2005, p7)

As discussed in the chapter on top-down initiatives there were a number of events that prompted debate on the nature of Britishness to address increasing anxieties concerning immigration and radical terrorism. A speech by David Blunkett in 2002 which refers to the 9/11 terrorist attacks clearly links Islamic terrorism with threats to democracy:

The attack was, of course, a threat to economic stability, to commerce and social intercourse, but primarily it was a threat to democracy. It was not simply a terrorist action, but a fundamental rejection of the values of democracy. (Blunkett 2002)

The government was keen to pin down what it meant to be British and to construct an understanding of ‘The British Citizen’ that we can all aspire to. In January 2006 Gordon Brown gave a speech to The Fabian Society entitled ‘The Future of Britishness’. In this speech he said that he believed that British values were something that should be celebrated and shared:

Britishness is not just an academic debate – something for the historians, just for the commentators, just for the so-called chattering classes. Indeed in a recent poll, as many as half of British people said they were worried that if we do not promote Britishness we run a real risk of having a divided society ... And I believe that out of a debate, hopefully leading to a broad consensus about what Britishness means, flows a rich agenda for change: a new constitutional settlement, an explicit definition of citizenship, a renewal of civil society, a rebuilding of our local government and a better balance between diversity and integration ... it is to our benefit to be more explicit about what we stand for and what are our objectives and that we will meet and master all challenges best by finding shared purpose as a country in our enduring British ideals that I would summarise as - in addition to our qualities of creativity, inventiveness, enterprise and our internationalism - our central beliefs are a commitment to liberty for all, responsibility by all and fairness to all. (np)

Later in the speech he refers specifically to the role of education, in particular the History curriculum, in promoting civic values and calls for greater importance to be given to British history in citizenship classes:

We should not recoil from our national history – rather we should make it more central to our education. I propose that British history should be given much more prominence in our curriculum – not just dates, places and names, nor just a set of unconnected facts, but a narrative that encompasses our history. And because Citizenship is still taught too much in isolation, I suggest in the current review of the

curriculum that we look at how we root the teaching of citizenship more closely in history.

As Andrews et al (2010) point out this is New Labour's attempt to construct a British national heritage which can authenticate the present. British patriotism has been founded on the purported rediscovery of 'long-standing British values':

Rediscovering the roots of our identity in our shared beliefs also gives us more confidence in facing difficult questions about our relationship with the rest of the world. (Brown, 2006, np)

The discourse of the speech is strongly patriotic and the emphasis is on the nation 'coming together', 'being bound together', 'shared values', 'common purpose' and our 'shared history'. Brown acknowledges that, as a nation, we need 'to master the challenges of a global economy' and 'master global change'; and makes reference to 'our global responsibilities' (though he does not define these). The civic action which Brown frames as 'British' consists of 'thousands of voluntary associations; the Britain of mutual societies, craft unions, insurance and friendly societies and cooperatives; the Britain of churches and faith groups; the Britain of municipal provision from libraries to parks; and the Britain of public service'. Moreover, for Brown the events of July 7 2005 have 'rightly led to calls for all of us, including moderates in the Islamic community, to stand up to extremism'. With this speech Brown also sought to stimulate debate which, most importantly, would lead to 'a broad consensus about what Britishness means'. The aim is to promote a patriotism of shared values founded 'not on ethnicity nor race, not just on institutions we share and respect, but on enduring ideals' (Brown, 2006). Banks et al (2003) contend that:

Patriotism is a double-edged sword ... In the name of patriotism, intolerance towards dissent has been propagated, freedom of speech restricted, and an arbitrary consensus imposed. The accusation of 'unpatriotic behaviour' can intimidate teachers and students into self-censorship. They may bow to conformist pressure that emanates from powerful media, clergy, and the government as to what is legitimate and what is out of bounds ... When patriotism engenders collective solidarity with fellow citizens

and loyalty to the law and democratic constitutions, it is positive and useful. This patriotism fosters the social responsibility and civic courage essential for defending the rights and freedoms that a democratic political culture guarantees. (p23)

Instead, they suggest a form of ‘critical patriotism’ which ‘encourages reasoned loyalty: pride in the ‘rights’ of the nation alongside a commitment to correct its ‘wrongs’” (p24).

Johnson (2010) highlights how Tony Blair, the then Prime Minister, had argued that the government should address the public’s feelings of anxiety about Muslim immigration. Blair maintained that while ‘the vast bulk of the British people are not racist ... they expect government to respond to their worries’ (Blair, 2004). The ostensible worries were about terrorism and concern that British national identity was being undermined by British citizens who rejected traditional British values and culture (Blair, 2004). As Johnson (2010) says anxiety and fear were created and: ‘In short, both the identity and the security of the British citizen were at stake’ (p500). Isin (2004) describes this as a strategy of ‘governing through neurosis’ in which the ‘neurotic citizen’ is encouraged to have a number of anxieties, including ‘about the Other’ (p217). Employing the ‘politics of affect’ Blair:

... privileged the emotions of particular groups when constructing the national identity of good British citizens. He not merely asserted the right of mainstream Britons to feel concerned but also suggested that minority groups needed to ensure that mainstream Britons did not feel uncomfortable. (Johnson, 2010, p501)

The appeal to shared values is echoed by Tony Blair in December 2006 in a speech entitled: ‘The Duty to Integrate: Shared British Values’.

Integration, in this context, is not about culture or lifestyle. It is about values. It is about integrating at the point of shared, common unifying British values. It isn’t about what defines us as people, but as citizens, the rights and duties that go with being a member of our society.

But when it comes to our essential values - belief in democracy, the rule of law, tolerance, equal treatment for all, respect for this country and its shared heritage - then that is where we come together, it is what we hold in common; it is what gives us the

right to call ourselves British. At that point no distinctive culture or religion supersedes our duty to be part of an integrated United Kingdom.

So it is not that we need to dispense with multicultural Britain. On the contrary we should continue celebrating it. But we need - in the face of the challenge to our values - to re-assert also the duty to integrate, to stress what we hold in common and to say: these are the shared boundaries within which we all are obliged to live, precisely in order to preserve our right to our own different faiths, races and creeds.

We must respect both our right to differ and the duty to express any difference in a way fully consistent with the values that bind us together.

If you come here lawfully, we welcome you. If you are permitted to stay here permanently, you become an equal member of our community and become one of us. Then you, and all of us, who want to, can worship God in our own way, take pride in our different cultures after our own fashion, respect our distinctive histories according to our own traditions; but do so within a shared space of shared values in which we take no less pride and show no less respect. The right to be different. The duty to integrate. That is what being British means. And neither racists nor extremists should be allowed to destroy it. (Blair, 2006, np)

Although much is made of ‘tolerance’ as a core, shared value, the message is clear that it is not tolerance at any cost. It is tolerance based on intolerance. For minority groups much more is demanded in that they are seemingly being asked to forget the repression, bigotry and ‘the many horrors that laid the way for the establishment of the English nation, and have supported its maintenance’ (Clemmitshaw, 2008, p145). Jack Straw, a former senior minister of the Labour government, called for a stronger ‘British story’ and a ‘non-negotiable bargain or contract’ of being a British citizen:

Yes, there is room for multiple and different identities, but those have to be accepted alongside an agreement that none of these identities can take precedence over the core democratic values of freedom, fairness, tolerance and plurality that define what it means to be British. (The Times, 26 January 2007)

The British identity that New Labour is trying to build is based on the notion that Britishness has certain essential qualities that are different from other nationalities. The way the past is constructed is highly significant for identity formation and maintenance ‘as it can lend legitimacy to identities by giving them the appearance of timeless continuity’ (Maylor et al, p35).

Gillborn, (2008) argues that:

From a critical race perspective, Blair's premiership is a story of broken promises, betrayed trusts, and overwhelming continuity with the racist history of the country he described as 'the greatest nation on Earth'. (p722)

He suggests that Blair's 'brand of nationalism is especially important because it illuminates his government's failure to understand the nature of the racism':

Hence, the same PM who celebrated the Lawrence Inquiry could (less than a decade later) happily stereotype youth crime as a facet of a racialised sub-culture:

What we are dealing with is not a general social disorder; but specific groups or people who for one reason or another, are deciding not to abide by the same code of conduct as the rest of us. This came home to me when, at the recent summit I held on knife and gun crime, the black Pastor of a London church said bluntly: when are we going to start saying this is a problem amongst a section of the black community and not, for reasons of political correctness, pretend that this is nothing to do with it. (Gillborn, 2008, p722).

This failure to understand the nature of racism is compounded by 'the air-brushing of historical experience out of citizenship' (Clemmitshaw, 2008, p144). Reflecting on the citizenship curriculum he refers to 'the absence of significant reference to identity, and to the history of the peoples that comprise the society it addresses' (p144):

Historical experiences, for example the experience of the legal, social and political oppression of women, the experiences of New Commonwealth immigrants in the post-1945 years, the experience of mass unemployment amongst certain communities in the 1920s and 1930s, the destruction of mining and other manufacturing industry in the 1980s and 1990s, the experience of generations of Irish immigrants – all these represent traumatic layers of experience that contribute to identity, and which deserve to be considered in a conception of citizenship. (pp 144-145)

He goes on to argue that 'when we reach the level of discourse and policy around citizenship and citizenship education, there is a kind of repressed silence. We are seemingly called upon to exercise a collective amnesia'. (p145) He states:

When one considers the many horrors that laid the way for the establishment of the English nation, and have supported its maintenance, then the claiming of the virtues

‘calm, thoughtful and reasonable’ proposed by Cameron can seem callously insensitive. (p145)

Macedo (2000) and Callan (1997) argue that liberal democracies do not only produce reasonable forms of social diversity and therefore the aims of democratic education is for individuals ‘to assimilate in non-oppressive ways and toward justifiable values’ (Macedo, 2000) and must include ‘the task of creating citizens who share a sufficiently cohesive political identity’ (Callan, 1997, p222). This political identity would be underpinned by certain core liberal principles such as freedom, equality and tolerance which are solid enough to bind a democratic community. Based on these shared values, they argue, it is possible to build consensus over significant issues in order for democracy to thrive. This roughly corresponds with the distinction between ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism, civic nationalism being a supposedly preferable foundation for identity in a political community since sharing commitment to core liberal democratic principles ‘can overcome the dark side of ethnic nationalism’ (Williams, 2003, p22). Callan (2004) argues that the value of ‘liberal patriotism’ is a necessary condition of liberal justice and political stability:

The problem of stability that pluralism creates for the well-ordered society has to do with the fragility of any reconciliation between the good of citizens and the political virtue they must evince if the justice of the basic structure is to endure. The ideal of liberal patriotism suggests a way in which that reconciliation might hold fast against the divisions and disharmony that pluralism, even at its reasonable best, will tend to arouse. (p96)

The issue of patriotism is a thorny issue about which opinion is divided. Williams (2006), argues against the valorization of citizen loyalty as a virtue to be taught and used as a measure of worth because the other side of the claim that we have good reason to trust those people who affirm their commitment to liberal principles is that we have good reason to distrust those who refuse to confirm their commitment. Williams also argues that to articulate the substantive content of ‘a healthy citizen identity’ risks sliding into the argument that citizens who do not have this identity are ‘unhealthy’ and ‘unworthy of political trust’.

Galston (1991) also regards loyalty as a necessary ‘general virtue of citizens’ (p221-224) and suggests that responsible citizenship requires four main types of civic virtues under the overarching label of ‘liberal virtues’:

- General virtues of courage, law-abidingness and loyalty
- Social virtues of independence and open-mindedness
- Economic virtues of a work ethic, adaptability to economic and technological change and the capacity to delay self-gratification
- Political virtues including capacity to discern and respect the rights of others, willingness to demand only what can be paid for, ability to evaluate the performance of those in office, a willingness to engage in public discourse. (pp221-224)

Williams (2003), however, says that she is not ‘confident’ or ‘persuaded’ that a citizenship education designed to inculcate citizen identity is easily reconcilable with the equal treatment of all citizens nor that this is a ‘route to robust democratic citizenship in diverse societies’ (p218). Williams (*Ibid.*) is also doubtful that shared identity and moral agreement are necessary for stable democracy. As Grossman (2008) contends:

The core values and ideals of a nation are animated not by those already secured within the mainstream, not by those privileged already, but by those not secured and not privileged ... A fundamental prerequisite for achieving inclusion is a citizenship that embraces individual differences, multiple group identities and a unifying political community all at once. (p44)

6.2.2 *Values, virtues and global citizenship*

Values and virtues are an inherent element of citizenship. However attempting to describe values and virtues that are meaningful at a global level is highly contentious. New Labour had indicated an interest in encouraging the development of values consonant with a globally oriented citizenship.

Delanty (2000, pp 137–145) argues that a model of ‘civic cosmopolitanism’ would be underpinned by values such as global justice and solidarity. He argues that when these values are pursued within the civic ties of the nation rather than kept in abstraction from everyday

political life they have the potential to serve as a bottom–up corrective for some of the forces of economic globalization. Bowden (2003b) also argues that identifying oneself as a global citizen does not necessitate the throwing off of specific identities. He suggests that an awareness of the importance and the depth of meaning one’s own national identity should enable us to realise, acknowledge and accept the importance of the respective national identities of the external others. He says:

We need not travel to every corner of the globe seeking every last detail about all peoples of the world, but we can be made aware of and adopt a willingness to recognise the true value of diversity. If such a condition can be widely achieved, whereby a form of ‘cultural cosmopolitanism’ engenders a wider understanding and toleration that leads to what might be described as ‘moral cosmopolitanism’ – where the term ‘cosmopolitanism’ is defined in a truly multicultural sense alluded to earlier – might not we be on the verge of a more peaceful world. (p245)

It is possible for an assortment of identities to knit together at local, regional or national level to form a harmonious, patterned self. Our identities are fluid and continually evolving, all the more so with our exposure to different modes of being and living from both travel and migrants. We absorb ideas, thoughts, beliefs as well as food, music, film, literature that blend together into a hybrid, new cultural form. In some ways it is becoming increasingly difficult to define specific cultures.

Turner (2002) suggests that cosmopolitan citizenship is characterised by cool loyalties and thin citizenship. Modern societies are organised around the market place of anonymous strangers ‘where these strangers are mobile and disconnected’ (Turner, 2000, p27) as opposed to being ‘permanent, emotional and solid’ thick solidarities. Turner (2002) proposes the concept of ‘cosmopolitan virtue’, which he associates with ‘cosmopolitan coolness’, a reflexive distance from the homeland, ironic self-reflection and some prior emotional commitment to place so that we are ‘not inhibited by a myopia inspired by unmediated

communitarian attachments' (Smith, 2007, p46) This distance will enable us to 'criticize, contest and, perhaps, ridicule' (*Ibid.*) the world or even the group to which we belong.

For Turner (2002) and Smith (2007) irony is key element of cosmopolitan virtue because:

The understanding of other cultures is assisted by an intellectual distance from one's own national or local culture ... scepticism and distance from one's own tradition are the basis of an obligation of care and stewardship for other cultures. (Turner, 2002, p57)

But 'irony may only be possible when one already has an emotional commitment to place'

(Turner, 2002, p57). Furthermore, Smith (2007) argues that:

On the one hand, the cultivation of irony may help us to attain critical distance and self-awareness, which in turn can facilitate greater openness to others and a more flexible attitude towards the world. On the other hand, irony may be a somewhat debilitating and even cruel way of being in the world, as likely to encourage introspection and apathy as care and engagement. At the very least, cultivating irony *by itself* will not make us more likely to act on our cosmopolitan obligations and may even render us less likely to do so. (p47)

All this, of course, has huge implications for schools and educators. Capturing the myriad of identities that an individual may have within a workable notion of both/and citizenship education as opposed to either/or is a source of considerable contention and debate. As Olssen (2004) says:

As far as education is concerned, then, we must devise citizenship education strategies that: (1) treat all people the same to the extent that they are the same, yet, (2) recognise difference in its particularity. (p184)

Multicultural citizenship education is one model within which the legitimacy and validity of different cultural beliefs and values is recognised and extends beyond toleration:

When we are merely tolerant we refrain from coercing those with whom we disagree, but when we accord them civic respect we take them and their ideas seriously. To be able to do so, children need to learn skills such as how rationally to evaluate different moral claims. These are inextricably bound to capacities for autonomy. (Enslin and Tjiattas, 2008, p83)

Banks (2001) maintains that multicultural citizenship education ‘allows students to maintain attachments to their cultural and ethnic communities while at the same time helping them to attain the knowledge and skills needed to participate in the wider civic culture and community’ (p8). He goes on to state that it is important for students to develop ‘reflective cultural identifications’ and at the same time strengthen identification with the nation-state but warns against ‘blind patriotism’ (p8).

Additionally Banks (2005, 2008a and b) argues that citizenship education should help students develop some kind of global identification and an awareness of the interdependence of nation-states. Students should be encouraged to critically examine their identifications and commitments and to understand the complex ways in which they are interrelated and constructed. Banks sees these identifications as developmental and that one cannot develop national identification without first developing cultural identification. He describes this process as ‘a delicate balance’.

What is needed is a form of citizenship which supports individual difference, multiple group identities and a unifying political community all at the same time (Parker 2003) and enables students to realize that ‘no local loyalty can ever justify forgetting that each human being has responsibilities to every other’ (Appiah, 2006, p. xvi). As citizens of the global community, students must develop a deep understanding of the need to take action and make decisions to help solve the world’s difficult problems (Banks 2008 p134). They need to participate in ways that will enhance democracy and promote equality and social justice in their cultural communities, nations, and regions, and in the world. Haydon (2006) suggests that:

Education should promote, not the idea of respect for each of a number of distinct cultures – since that is itself a flawed idea - but an attitude of respect towards human cultural contexts in all their variety. (p469)

6.2.3 *Diversity and the curriculum*

Richardson (2008) argues that global citizenship education should develop ‘the ethic of care, empathy and appreciation of difference that are key aspects in countering the homogenising tendencies of globalisation’ (*ibid.*, p126). Waks (2008), meanwhile, argues that schools can be places of positive cosmopolitan experience but warns that this will only occur if a) there is an appropriate assemblage of ethnic and national groups; b) divergent ethnic and national identities do not prevent interaction and c) school culture and curriculum actively promote cosmopolitan exchange. This research found that there was little congruence in how visible difference in a multicultural classroom is handled. Some teachers interpret this as an opportunity to bring pupils together in a shared understanding and respect for diversity through learning more about each other, while others find it very challenging and choose not to explicitly teach for diversity. Humes (2007) describes how the ‘identifiable effects of globalisation’ might impact on pupils in the classroom:

New residents who may be immigrants or asylum seekers, increased pressures on housing, the health service and the education system (eg caused by an influx of children whose first language is not English). These visible changes certainly have educational potential – in terms of promoting understanding of difference, learning from each other etc – but they are likely to cause a degree of resentment amongst at least some of the local population. (p50)

As indicated in the chapter on the top-down initiatives, although there is a reference in the Crick Report to Modood’s (1997) proposal that an explicit idea of ‘multicultural citizenship needs to be formulated for Britain’ (QCA, 1998, p. 17), rather than developing this idea further the Report calls for ‘a national identity that is secure enough to find a place for the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities and religions long found in the United Kingdom’ (p17). The Report was criticised for not developing a notion of ‘inclusive citizenship’ (Faulks, 2006). Diversity is presented as a problem that needs to be overcome and managed rather than as enriching society.

To summarise, in 2001, before citizenship education was introduced, there were riots in the north west of England. Ted Cantle led a Review Team to try and establish ‘the issues which need to be addressed to bring about social cohesion’. Olssen (2004) suggests that the recommendations of the Cantle Report could have been included in the citizenship curriculum in order to produce a ‘richer text’ on citizenship education. Instead, however, the duty to promote community cohesion was not inserted into the 2002 Education Act until the Inspection Act of 2006. The duty became statutory in September 2007 and the result was that schools did not take up the possibilities that CE offers for engaging with diversity. In 2001 the catastrophic events of September 11th occurred. This has provoked sustained anti-Islamic feeling further entrenched by the London Bombings of July 2005. As a response to the bombings Sir Keith Ajegbo was commissioned to write a review of diversity in schools, amid concerns about growing disaffection among some ethnic minority groups. The report (2007) stated that:

There are also many in schools, in all social contexts, who find it difficult both to deal with all aspects of education for diversity, including anti-racism, and to understand diversity sufficiently well to feel confident in teaching the issues around it. Not only do teachers need guidance on how to tackle these areas, which might be external to them; they also need specific training on exploring their own biographies, so that they are not simply ‘vessels of knowledge’ but practise education for diversity teaching and learning as a two-way process. (p65)

The Ajegbo Report (2007) recommended that a fourth strand be added to the Citizenship curriculum. From September 2008 the revised secondary curriculum for citizenship includes the new strand ‘Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK’. The Order for Citizenship (2000) recommended that pupils explore ‘the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious, ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding’. However, the Ajegbo Report found that ‘Issues of identity and diversity are more often than not neglected in Citizenship education. When issues are

referred to, coverage is often unsatisfactory or lacks contextual depth'. Furthermore, in evidence given by Scott Harrison of OFSTED to the House of Commons Select Committee investigating citizenship, he states:

What we are finding is more teaching of what you might perceive as the central political literacy/government/voting/law area than, for example, the diversity of the UK, the EU, the Commonwealth, which are somewhat neglected, I think because some of them are perceived to be dull and some of them are particularly sensitive areas that some teachers do so with great reluctance. I am talking about, for example, diversity of the UK, which in the Order says, the 'regional, national, religious, ethnic diversity of Britain'. Some people find that difficult to teach. (HMSO, 2007).

The Report states that more could be done to ensure that children 'explore, discuss and debate their identities within their citizenship lessons'. Moreover the Report stresses that 'It is the duty of all schools to address issues of 'how we live together' and 'dealing with difference', however difficult or controversial they may seem'. The report also asserts that:

It is crucial that headteachers and leadership teams 'buy in' morally and commit to Citizenship education, not just as a 'discrete' subject, but also in terms of developing a 'citizenship' ethos throughout the school and through community involvement. (Ajegbo Report, 2007, p86)

6.3 *Findings*

In the following section, drawing on my research findings, I explore how educators say they are responding to the initiative to enable pupils to reflect on difference, diverse identities and the need for mutual respect and understanding. In particular I look at how educators respond to and manage diversity in the classroom, and how educators draw on pupils' rich heritages in order to enhance pupil learning about difference. The subsequent chapter looks at participation and how educators deal with controversy and controversial issues in the classroom, and participation in the community. A significant finding that my research highlights is the range of approaches to diversity, from schools that have founded their entire curriculum, including the latent curriculum, on diversity, to educators that are keen to include

issues of diversity but are unsure how, through to those schools where pupil background is unrecognised and educators seem keen to assimilate and anglicise pupils, particularly through language use. A key underlying mechanism that shapes educators' responses to initiatives is confidence.

6.3.1 *Recognising diversity*

The school in Lincolnshire that I visited considered that they did not need to carry out diversity work because:

We're an all-white school in a practically 100% all white area and so it's not really relevant to teach about diversity. (Andrew, Citizenship Provider)

This is an interesting observation and in contrast to other educators I interviewed who felt that that it was extremely important for pupils in predominantly white areas to critically explore and reflect on issues of diversity. The focus of the above school's CE is very much on the political literacy strand of the subject area and teaching centres on the rights and responsibilities of citizens which include voting, government and the law. Issues that are framed as controversial are those which most often sit within PSHE and which deal with drink, drugs, sex and irresponsible behaviour, as opposed to issues which are regarded as more sensitive such as religious belief or attitudes towards immigration. OFSTED (2003) also noted that a 'particular problem' (p6) is how to draw the line between citizenship and PSHE. OFSTED (2005) define the difference in the following way:

As a rule of thumb, citizenship treats at a public dimension what PSHE treats at a personal level. Thus conflict resolution in citizenship is not about the problems experienced in individual parent-teenager relationships. However, topics like bullying, teenage pregnancy and drug abuse, which are naturally the content of PSHE, take on a citizenship dimension when the questions addressed are to do with topical local and national issues, policy, and what can be done to bring about change. (p6)

This school's PSHE did not take on the citizenship dimension as described above by OFSTED. Any change that the school is aiming bring about is at the personal level rather than societal. I did encounter one school which perfectly illustrates how PSHE topics shift to become citizenship issues which I detail below.

The school above has side-stepped the issues, not through fear or discomfort, but because it was felt that they did not need to broach these issues in an all-white school, in a majority white area. It is the type of CE that was later criticised by OFSTED:

More broadly, some aspects of the curriculum have as yet received little attention. While many pupils have explored in reasonable depth human rights issues, aspects of the law and government, and the media, other areas such as public finance, the diversity of the UK and the role of the European Union are limited or absent. Similarly, the potential of the topical issues section of the enquiry and communications strand is often not realised. (OFSTED, 2005, p7)

However, it is worth noting that the interviews with teachers at the Lincolnshire school took place before the events of 2001 and 2005, and therefore before the Cattle and Ajegbo reports were produced. Moreover the emphasis on personal responsibility, including duties such as voting and taking care of oneself and others, is a very strong reflection of government concerns of that time, encapsulated in the notion of the something-for-something society. Despite political events of that time including the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, the production of the Macpherson report and the Race Relations Amendment Act issues of difference and diversity were not at the forefront of this school's concerns.

Later in the research process educators in predominantly white areas make specific reference to community cohesion in schools in predominantly white areas. One teacher commented:

We're a 98% white school and this has implications for us in terms of community cohesion. There's a general ignorance about things beyond Chesterfield and a lack of understanding. (Sally, Secondary Teacher)

Another teacher interviewed noted how:

Our LEA is in a predominantly white area and we're very slowly getting other cultures into the school. We're seeing it more in the infants. Before the last couple of years there weren't any children from other cultures and those that do come in, whether they're Indian, they have got the white culture, it's almost like they're trying to be British rather us celebrating their culture so that is a problem. (Gillian, Secondary Teacher)

A number of students were keen that pupil learning about the 'other' should go beyond text books so that pupils are learning from each other and were critical of those that do not draw on pupils' backgrounds:

When Eid comes they'll get a book about Eid and that'll be that. Yet they've got children in their class who can talk about it firsthand! (Holly, Primary PGCE)

Another student said:

Even in a school where the pupils were Stockport born and bred and they'd been raised there but their parents came from different places and they went back to India and Pakistan for their holidays and they went to their uncle's house and they ate their auntie's dhal and rode the motorbike round the countryside and did all sorts of crazy stuff with their cousins out in India but that wasn't shared in the same way that a kid'll be like, 'I went to Spain for my holidays and swam in the pool.' It felt to me that children came and told me things off their own bat. We had a two Muslims and a Sikh and a Hindu ... None off their experiences are shared in the class. The teachers just didn't seem to have considered listening to the children and letting them share their own experiences. (Emily, Primary PGCE)

This student felt that one reason that her placement school did not draw on pupils' experiences and background was due to teachers' lack of knowledge about appropriate pedagogies for using pupils' own experiences in the classroom which is compounded by a lack of awareness of resources. This student's teacher was interested in hearing about ways to make her classroom more inclusive and in finding out about appropriate resources. Emily continued:

My class teacher really encouraged me to try out some of the resources. When I did some literacy I brought in the book 'Letters from around the World' read the letter from the girl who lives in India and there were five children in the class of Indian heritage and Indian background and I asked the class who knew what dahl is and they went 'oh my auntie makes the best dahl' and then someone else said 'when I go to India I ride on my uncle's motorbike', and then the other children were asking them to explain what dahl is. They were able to share their experiences of India with the

other children in the class and relate to this to the letter from India. I was really pleased that it worked so well and my class teacher was like 'Wow! Where did you get these resources'?

These students were very keen to enable pupils to share their experiences by creating a comfortable and open classroom. P's strategy of encouraging pupils to talk and engage is highly appropriate. She does not pick on one child which could serve to highlight pupil difference in a negative way. Indeed a less sensitive teacher could have picked on one of the children of Indian heritage and said: 'So you're Indian, you must know about dahl. What's it like'?

Asking children to share their experiences may have negative consequences. Piper and Garrett (2004, p278) usefully illustrate a consequence of this at the classroom level, where multiculturalism and celebration of diversity can have 'unintended negative consequences'. By singling out individuals by celebrating their differences with others, 'reinforced differences "stick" to particular children and young people in ways that "root" their identity'. Instead, effective education for citizenship should seek to encourage pupils to critically explore their identities and try on 'different ones for size' (Piper & Garrett, 2004, p. 279). Furthermore, lack of experience can lead students and teachers to make links between global issues and children's lives in a way which is inappropriate:

Lack of food might be a better issue with children who are on free school meals. (Tom, Primary PGCE)

This is a very risky approach to take and is picked up on by a PGCE Secondary Tutor:

Talking about the local issues of poverty and rising issues of debt, yes you can draw parallels with other parts of the globe but to be honest it's morally difficult and it's also incredibly sensitive particularly for inexperienced trainee teachers to get that right. They could really put their foot in it. (Valerie)

Gutmann (1999) argues that children should be exposed to other ways of life which are different from their own and that they must develop 'the intellectual skills necessary to

evaluate ways of life different from that of their parents'. If this teaching does not take place children will not acquire 'mutual respect among persons' which is:

Instrumental to assuring all children the freedom to choose in the future ... [S]ocial diversity enriches our lives by expanding our understanding of differing ways of life. To reap the benefits of social diversity, children must be exposed to ways of life different from their parents and – in the course of their exposure-must embrace certain values, such as mutual respect among persons. (Guttmann, 1999, pp32-33)

To such an extent, perhaps, pupils will not regard dahl and going to India as different in a negative sense, but different in the sense that 'some people do this, some people do that' and both ways of doing things are of equal worth. Although describing the North American experience Ladson-Billings' (2005) research is relevant to the UK context. She describes research that 'suggests that even when students of different racial or ethnic groups are sitting in the same classrooms, their perspectives about the veracity and reliability of what U.S. history and citizenship mean can differ widely' (p70). The content of the curriculum and text books used very often picture and describe events from a white, monocultural perspective, with no concept of the fact that many students will have strong links with places other than the UK. As Banks (2008) points out, many ethnic, language, and religious groups have weak identifications with their nation-states because of their marginalized status and because they do not see their hopes, dreams, visions, and possibilities reflected in the nation-state or in schools. There is, then, a need to make learning relevant to pupils' experiences and 'to draw on young people's cosmopolitan identities, building on their immediate experiences in local neighbourhoods' (Osler, 2009, p98), something which was identified in the Cantle Report (2001):

There is also a need to ensure that the teaching and ethos of each school reflects different cultures within the school and in the wider community. Further, a respect for different faiths and cultures throughout the day to day activities of the school also essential. Despite previous advice to schools on this matter, a rather euro-centric curriculum and pervasive Christian worship (even in schools with few, if any, Christians), is still evident. British history, in particular, should be taught in a way in

which young people from ethnic minority backgrounds, feel a sense of belonging and ownership. But, everyone should share and value the historical achievements of all nations and cultures that now make up the United Kingdom. A failure to have a shared history is to condemn some sections of our nation to be forever strangers in their own country. (p34)

As observed in previous chapters school linking is regarded as a valuable way of encouraging learning about difference. The Oldham Schools Linking Project aims to bring together young people from a variety of diverse ethnic and social backgrounds as a way of breaking down some of the barriers which have been built up between different communities in Oldham. The project works with primary school pupils and ‘uses the curriculum as a natural delivery vehicle. Working closely together allows children to gain more understanding of each other’s cultures and identity’ (Oldham Independent Review Report, 2001, p26).

The Report adds:

We recommend this initiative be pursued with vigour. It enhances social inclusion and is a positive move towards integration of children.

One of the students, Rachel, during a Primary PGCE focus group described her experiences in her placement school in Oldham which was part of the School Linking Project. She said:

I’m sure a lot of arguments in the class are about their culture and about their religion so you have to ask ‘Do I try and ignore it or do I bring it up as an issue?’ And Oldham LEA brings it up as an issue.

Rachel talked about how successful the link has been and the significant and positive impact that it has had on pupils:

Pupils can get involved. They can join in the Harvest festival and other things. It’s not necessarily about creating more work but making two schools into one and making use of what’s already happening. They’re close in proximity so you’re not carting children from one side of the country to the other and it’s just, like, ‘We’re doing an assembly on such and such, does your class 5 want to come?’ It’s not a case of having to make time to fit it in. It’s just part of the everyday experience.

Students in the focus group commented:

That sounds like a brilliant project. When they're older they'll have grown up knowing about the Muslim religion, knowing about Asians.

And when the textbook talks about 'Meet Ahab and these are his traditions', They can actually go and meet Ahab and he can tell them about his traditions!

Rachel clearly has a very sound understanding of global citizenship and the notion of it being an every day, lived experience, not an add-on to life. Indeed this project is very close to the idea of 'cosmopolitan exchange' as put forward by Waks (2008) who says that education for cosmopolitan citizenship should 'soften oppositional identities' and enable 'cosmopolitan exchange' in order to 'strengthen cosmopolitan attitudes, interests and loyalties' (p213).

The need for relevant resources was also commented on by another student, particularly where it is perhaps not possible to link with another school:

You need to make the resources that are available to the children relevant. It's great if you can link up with another school that has an ethnic minority but I was in a school in Derbyshire where it was all white. The kids probably don't know what it means to be a different colour and to say to them 'OK, today we're going to talk about such and such ...' I think that does more harm and actually feeds their prejudices. But you've got to find a way make it relevant to their lives, because just using a book isn't going to make it relevant to them.

Pratvia, a Primary school Headteacher from Bristol, was also very keen that student learning about and appreciation of difference should be real and relevant to their lives. She described how she wanted to give children 'wow factor' by 'really exciting and interesting them':

So, for example, rather than what traditionally used to happen which was that they used to do a topic in the summer term on Indian villages and it was very detached from reality because it was looking at books, a few slides but it didn't really mean anything, we wanted to do more and use our parents who come from India, get good quality music so the children are experiencing some of traditions and customs, have an India day where they eat the food and go to the local shops so making it much more real.

We have Science Days looking at scientists from around the world so each class had to find a scientist from another country and find out what they were known for. So all the time we're bringing in the contribution the rest of the world has made whatever we're doing, whether it's problem solving whatever.

I want teachers to seek out these opportunities and bring them into the school themselves so that they're always thinking about ways to enrich the curriculum and the work we're doing.

This last point is a very interesting one and links, in part, to educator's confidence in teaching for diversity. Davies and Crozier's research (2006) also found 'inconsistency across [initial training] providers in both the amount and the nature of the input students received about diversity'. They state that one of the key difficulties associated with this incongruence of provision is 'that many providers do not regard diversity issues, and more specifically race, as sufficiently important, and that underlying this is the profound lack of confidence and understanding of some providers' (p19) in addressing such issues; this leads to a 'simplistic approach' and lack of permeation across courses but 'consistent with the provision of information to meet the requirements of the QTS' (Qualified Teacher Status) (Davies and Crozier, 2006. p20). As Maylor (2006) indicates, the reduced emphasis on diversity in teacher training (ITT) is unlikely to effectively aid teachers' understanding of this issue.

6.3.2 Confidence

Lack of confidence was something that GM teachers talked about. The comment from the teacher below was typical. When asked whether she felt confident to teach global citizenship this Head Teacher replied:

Confident? No. I think if you talked to some teachers in the school they might say that they are but I don't feel that we're fully on board as a school, or that we're talking about the same things. I feel we need somebody to come in and give us a real blast on something to get us going. I feel that we can do it but we're not actually getting anywhere, we're just coasting along, we can tick some boxes but global citizenship is so much more than that. (Freya, Primary Head Teacher)

Confidence is a significant generative mechanism for whether educators teach for global citizenship, and is a continuous thread throughout the research.

Yes, I'm confident about delivering the global dimension. It's part of me! I've done VSO, been over to Uganda to visit our link school and taken photos and videos and the kids here were fascinated to hear about the kids in Uganda and what it was like there. (Peter, Secondary Science teacher)

The educators who feel global citizenship and the global dimension are 'part of them' feel committed and confident about including a global dimension. These teachers are also more likely draw from their personal experiences and to develop and use their own resources which are often based on or around artefacts and photographs they themselves have gathered during their travels:

I feel confident after visiting Mozambique and I think training's important but I think you need to help yourself as well. It's out there, it depends if you want to make the effort. Because I visited Africa I feel confident about teaching about what I saw when I was there but I think lots of people can do it from their own travels abroad but I suppose you might worry that you were giving only your viewpoint and then it wouldn't be rounded. (Molly, Primary teacher, July 2008)

It's very much my ethos so within my class it's [the global dimension] always been very important for me to have that. It's also to do with my values system of respecting and understanding one another. I also did volunteer work with Christian Aid and travelled with them to Sierra Leone. That was an incredible experience. (Hilary, Primary teacher)

I'm prepared to see where it takes me and I'm not scared of hard work and I'm fully prepared to give it go. I feel quite confident and I know that TY's really supportive. (Sharon, Secondary Music NQT)

This attitude was similar to that of a teacher, Linda, involved with the GA project who decided she wanted to look at the historical context of slavery which she described as 'a completely non National Curriculum topic'. She said:

I've devised it myself and I've justified as and where I can and this just would not have happened had I not been involved in the project ... It was really bloody hard. I had to go and do a bit of research on it which did my head in because I'm just not at all academic and I could barely understand what I was reading half the time!!! So no I had to go and do a fair bit of work but I've enjoyed it. We've looked at the historical context of slavery and now we're moving into the present concept of slavery.

At the same time as making use of their own resources, in their commitment to the global dimension these teachers recognise that ‘you need to help yourself’. These educators remain open and alert to opportunities to bring in a global dimension and GCE.

6.3.3 *Engaging with difference*

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the MMU/DEP teachers were practising in a school where 52 languages were spoken and pupils came from 59 countries. This diversity of backgrounds has the potential to be a rich resource for pupil learning about and celebrating difference but for these teachers engaging with different cultures and beliefs is a considerable challenge, again underscoring how tricky it can be for some educators to bring in such diverse views in a multicultural classroom. These teachers consider that pupils will:

Know bits about the countries they come from but usually very skewed bits depending on who they’ve been seeing who their parents are and whether they like their granny in Pakistan or not and whether they have goats or not, they seem to like it when they have goats.

Most of the kids here, if they go on holiday they are going back to Pakistan to visit relatives.

I ask if this means that pupils are broadening their knowledge. But all teachers disagree and consider that pupils are ‘entrenching it really’. Another teacher adds:

Yes. I mean they stay within that little group within society so they see granny on the farm ... but I’ll ask them ‘Did you see this in Pakistan? Did you see that in Pakistan? No, they saw granny on the farm. I suppose it’s the same as middle class kids going to Egypt. I mean I’ve got friends who went to Egypt and Mexico this year and they have not seen a pyramid they just stayed in their resort, went to the sea and they didn’t see anything of the country at all.

It could be argued that pupils returning to their country of origin to visit family is very different from pupils going on holiday as a tourist. Moreover there is a significant amount of learning that could happen in the classroom by having pupils of different backgrounds talk about their day to day lives, creating an open and trusted classroom environment where there

are opportunities for other pupils to ask questions. There may be opportunities for cosmopolitan exchange but the above comments from students and teachers highlight two very different perspectives of the same pupil experience of visiting relatives who are still living in the pupil's country of origin. The student, Matilda, is keen to encourage pupils to share their experiences of everyday life of riding the motor bike round the farm and eating dahl, but for the teacher this same experience of visiting granny, what could be described as an 'every day' experience for the pupil, does not seem to count as global citizenship. There is a sense that teachers are keen to widen the sphere of pupils' experiences, and challenge them to think beyond their immediate, lived experiences. For these teachers, their pupils' activities are very local even though for some pupils that activity is spread between countries.

The focus group then took an interesting turn when I asked them about learning from each other and the impact on teaching and learning of such a multiethnic school:

The problem is that they see things that are directly related to them but they don't see things in the abstract or the wider issues. For example, we were talking about the Holocaust and learning about those issues and how it relates to modern day issues but it still doesn't stop kids ... There were some kids with a spray can writing the word 'Jew' in massive letters in the playground. You wonder how much they're actually understanding. And because we've got a lot of Muslims in the school that is an extra problem actually because they don't see it as the same. They think it's terrible that Jewish women wear wigs and they can't see that it's the same as them wearing a veil.

It links back to the communities that they live in which are very ...

... prejudiced ...

... They don't meet anybody else from other ethnic groups unless they're in school and then they meet whoever happens to be at school.

There is a belief that if you belong to a minority multicultural group then you're multicultural and you're not because you tend to stay within that culture.

This exchange contains some highly noteworthy points and helps to illuminate this group of educators' responses to citizenship and diversity. A multicultural school does not necessarily

mean that cosmopolitan exchange is happening, or that integration is occurring which helps to develop tolerance of and empathy with difference. The Muslim pupils are regarded as ‘an extra problem’ because of their purported attitudes towards Jewish pupils, and the view that they stay within their own communities which are described as ‘prejudiced’. There exists the strong possibility that teachers and pupils are going to hold diametrically opposed views and opinions on key global (controversial) concerns which, if teachers are unprepared to teach in the multicultural classroom, is likely to lead to a number of problems including misunderstanding and misrepresentation. I explore the issues that teachers can face in a multicultural, multiethnic classroom in the following chapter when trying to discuss potentially controversial issues that challenge personal belief and opinion.

One way in which pupils can stay within their own community is through language use. My research showed that schools take a variety of different approaches to dealing with different languages in the classroom which I look at in the following section.

6.3.4 Diversity of language

It is argued that the dominant culture of the nation-state should incorporate features of minorities’ experiences, cultures, and languages, which will enrich the dominant culture as well as enable marginalized groups to experience civic equality and recognition (Gutmann, 2004). At the same time, to be able to express oneself is extremely important in order to be able to participate in public life and be able to articulate opinions and perspectives on important issues. Without this there is a risk that citizens will be excluded from the public sphere, unable to carry out their rights and duties. It is also important to explore barriers to participation and issues of identity – not only how we perceive ourselves but also how others perceive us. How one understands one’s place in the various communities that we are now part of will influence how we participate in activities at a number of levels.

One student, Betsy, talked about her placement which was at a school with ‘a massive refugee community’ where only one child had English as their first language. She described how she was:

... really excited to see how the class teacher would deal with these issues and how is this wealth of information and experiences from around the world, how is that addressed.

However she was surprised to discover that:

It's just not mentioned ... They pretend they're all English ... There is this wealth information that our children have as global citizens and it's just not recognised or values.

Betsy described how her class teacher was quite cross with her for trying to work in a different way. She says when the teacher came back:

She asked me what I was doing. I told her that one of the pupils was trying to say something and wanting to participate in the lesson and I wanted him to be able to contribute. The teacher just said to me, ‘You can’t do that. They all need to be able to speak English. How are they supposed to learn if we speak their language in the class? Look, the children don’t like it. They want to speak English’. I was shocked.

Bullivant (1984) outlines how in culturally diverse societies identity descriptors are used, for example religious, ethnic, racial and linguistic, as ‘markers’ of inclusion or exclusion. In this case the inability to speak English is used as a marker of exclusion. There is a failure to recognize the variety of languages in the classroom yet there is a strong argument that a significant element of global citizenship should include multilingualism (Biseth, 2009). This highlights a potential tension between including diversity and recognising alternative languages but at the same time ensuring that pupils with EAL become fully bilingual and able to reach their full potential. I asked Betsy why she thought the teacher reacted in this way. She said:

I'm not really sure. The school just didn't really acknowledge the fact that they've got all these different pupils from all these different places. It could have been amazing but ... I know my class teacher was worrying about SATs, because obviously the

school doesn't do that well in the league tables, so I think maybe it's that. Also the lack of resources. There isn't much available for teachers who want to bring pupils' background into their teaching.

The possible motivations for how difference is dealt with in this case seem to be influenced by the need to ensure adequate assessment outcomes. The inappropriateness of the SATs process was highlighted by an NQT who felt extremely frustrated by the fact that SATs did not adequately take into consideration the progress of individual children, particularly those with EAL who may be dealing with very difficult circumstances. Their level descriptors may be below the national average but an individual pupil might have made huge progress in, for example, Literacy, but there is no nationally recognised method of showing this. This potentially puts pressure on schools and teachers to push pupils in a very specific direction (for example for pupils to be able to speak English as quickly) and not only limits the time available for pupils to make the transition from their first language to English, but also risks creating a notion that home languages are not to be valued. Research by Cummins (2001) and Parker (2010), for example, found that as some students try to become fully accepted into the school community, they may dissociate themselves from their families by purposely not speaking their family language or acknowledging their cultural heritages. Furthermore pupils may be reluctant to voice conflicting opinion where it relates explicitly to their ethnic identity (Cummins, 2001).

Betsy described how:

All new arrivals are on one table. All the other children stigmatise them because they can't speak English as well as the others so one day when the teacher was out of the classroom we were doing history and a boy was trying to put his hand up to say something so I thought 'This is fantastic!' So I said: 'Does anyone else in the class speak L's language?' And about five hands went up and I thought. 'Great'! So I asked one of them to come and sit next to him and listen to what he's saying and he came up with fantastic ideas and he had some great insights. He had first-hand experience of the issues and the boy who was translating for him was really embarrassed. He was like 'Miss, can I go back to my seat now? I don't sit on that table, I sit on that table. Miss! I speak English. I need to go back to my table'! (PGCE Primary student)

This comment would suggest that these pupils are not accustomed to using any language other than English in the classroom, and it seems that pride in pupils' home languages is not encouraged. This is a significant issue because, as the background literature highlights, language is important to an individual's identity. Kymlicka and Patten (2000) highlight how linguistic diversity has emerged as a major source of political controversy in several contexts, 'affecting the stability and sustainability of political communities' (p3). Moreover, they say: 'There has been great reluctance to view policies of bilingualism or multilingualism as 'rights' rather than pragmatic accommodations' (p3). By not making links between the curriculum and pupils' culture and language there is the danger that pupils who do not have English as a first language are viewed and view themselves as different in a way that is not positive. The lack of linkages may lead pupils to want to ignore how they are different thereby suppressing the facets of their identity which are regarded as negatively different from the dominant group. As Hall (1996) argues:

[Identities] are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity ... Above all, and directly contrary to the form in which they are constantly invoked, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference ... Identities can function as points of identification and attachment only because of their capacity to exclude. (pp4-5)

Schools were encouraged to utilise resources that reflect the multi ethnic nature of British society, and use opportunities to explore 'cultural differences, differences of perception, interpretation and narrative' (DfES, 2004a, p20). The aim was that pupils come to understand and be comfortable with their own identity and the notion of 'multiple identities'. According to the DfES (2004b):

Pupils' need to know and feel confident in their own identity, but also be open to change and development, and to be able to engage positively with other identities. All pupils need to be comfortable with the concept of multiple identity and with hyphenated terms such as Black-British, British-Muslim and English-British. (p21)

Based on the work of Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001), Cline and de Abreu (2005) outline three options available to children from minority backgrounds as they develop ethnic identities. These are:

- Ethnic flights – identifying strongly with the dominant majority culture
- Split identities – presenting different identities in different contexts
- Transcultural identities – evolving a sense of self that encompasses bicultural and bilingual competencies (p548)

Their research found a number of examples of split identities with children displaying different identities in different contexts. They found that this was particularly the case where pupils experienced pressure to conform from the White majority peer group at school which led pupils to bury their minority ethnic identity in the school context. The pupils that Betsy talked about seem to be choosing ethnic flight, disassociating themselves from their ethnic identity, and displaying a strong desire to be seen as part of the dominant culture. This seems to reflect Cline and de Abreu (*ibid.*) research that found that pupils were often embarrassed to speak their family language in front of their white friends, and avoided associating with other members of the same ethnic group so that they might feel ‘one of the crowd’ (p550).

Rowe et al’s (2011) research found that one school banned the use of home languages at school as way of encouraging pupils to become fluent in the English language:

For many of the primary schools, the emphasis was at least as much on the development of language skills as on the acquisition of knowledge about the wider world. At the level of secondary school, concerns over children acquiring the necessary language to overcome barriers to integration were also expressed. Whilst respecting students’ home culture and the right to cherish and sustain it, one school explicitly bans students from using their home languages in school, even amongst friends, insisting that English should become totally familiar through practice and expectation.

We can see that the problem here is that you are Turkish speaking and that in your culture you would prefer, even in school, to speak Turkish - but it's not doing you any favours. It's not helping you to be seen as separate and to speak that language in the corridors and in the playground. So I'm going to work with you so that you don't. Because you will integrate for that period of six hours a day and you will not be ostracised or feel ostracised and you will be getting steadily better. (Rowe et al,

The risk with this approach is that it works to stifle other aspects of difference and does not create the conditions necessary for equal status for all pupils in order that pupils from different groups are able to participate.

The MMU/DEP practising teachers' school takes a radically different approach to pupils' diverse backgrounds and language. The school has established an Ethnic Minority Achievement department which includes a team of EAL teachers and bilingual teaching assistants to help pupils acquire English. Pupils with EAL are included in the mainstream curriculum with support from bilingual teaching assistants. In addition the school has set up Libyan and Malay supplementary schools that run each weekend and after school. The supplementary schools look at pupils' culture and language to maintain links for those children who may have been born in the UK and to promote bilingualism in order to achieve academic performance in GCSEs. The school also provides support to parents through coffee mornings, cultural evenings and sessions for Eastern European parents. What is interesting is that the school is doing all it can to support pupils with EAL and help them maintain links with their countries of origin, but, as discussed above, the teachers from the school involved in the focus group consider that pupils stay within their own communities and do not mix with others from different backgrounds and beliefs. The teachers observed:

But your average child is very much in their own little community. I mean our children ... They think Britain is like Cheetham Hill and so when you tell them that there's only 6% is multicultural in Britain they're gobsmacked.

Because it's 70% round here.

They think the rest of the world's like that and even persuading them what the world's like outside Cheetham Hill, even if it's just Manchester is a nightmare let alone telling them what it's like in different countries.

Another teacher added:

I think that the most we can do is teach awareness of global issues and to try and drum critical thinking into them. That's the most important thing.

In the same way that the student described having to 'hammer' home critical thinking these educators are so keen for pupils to gain an understanding of other ways of being and for them to widen their appreciation of global issues that this leads to one teacher feeling that she has to drum critical thinking into pupils

One primary school I visited in Bristol as part of the GM project has developed global citizenship and community cohesion to be the core of both the school and curriculum which has wider positive impacts on the parent community. Language is a key part of the Head Teacher's community cohesion strategy. Pratvia explained:

We have a language every month that represents one of the community languages in our school. We've got over 23 languages in the school so over two years we almost cover a language a month. What we do is have set phrases that the children and teachers all learn so in assembly that month we greet in whatever language, the register is done in that language and what we try and do is greet the parents in the language of the month and they think it's hilarious!

A key motivating factor for this approach is that she feels it is extremely important to try and 'help break down barriers by putting ourselves as the learners' and for teachers to experience, even if it is in a small way, how it might feel for a new pupil coming to the school without English as a first language. She continued:

By putting the adults in the situation of learning a language that's totally alien to them and they have the same sort of fears that the pupils might have and that gets good discussion going. And the parents love it. In terms of community cohesion these are just subtle ways of keeping that going all the time so it's not just tokenistic. We do all this all the time ... it runs through the veins of the school.

6.3.5 Diversity through links

As discussed above a key response to the community cohesion agenda for the WH teachers was to pursue the development of overseas links, hence their involvement with the project. There is a very clear focus of wanting to explore difference as it relates to pupil's every day experiences in school and the local community and make it relevant to their lives:

You've only got to look around the school we've got students from much more diverse backgrounds much more diverse than had 3,4,5 years ago if looking at diverse cultures within the classroom that sort of spills out into the rest of the school and we deep down we're all the same, and we're all here for a reason, we're here to learn whether we're Black, White, Muslim, Catholic; the whole idea of being one community within the school is one we're very keen to promote. (Max, Secondary Head Teacher)

One of the teachers involved with the WH project described how they are bringing together the global dimension and community cohesion 'in one coherent plan'. She described how:

Just recently we had a project in tutor time where children researched a country. They've chosen a country where someone in their tutor group has family or background is from a particular country outside the UK and that's been very successful because it's raising awareness of different cultures and celebrating the diversity within our school. We have a lot of children who's backgrounds aren't necessarily the United Kingdom so it was making people aware of that and celebrating that. The idea is for the children to have an understanding of another culture other than their own. (Julie, Secondary Teacher)

These teachers were able to interpret the top-down initiatives in order to link global citizenship with community cohesion, using links with schools in Southern countries as a way of developing empathy and the ability to identify with other cultures:

We need to foster understanding because to be blinkered is a danger ... Our work with the Afghanistan link is very much linked to the whole idea of promoting community cohesion. (Harry)

The changing ethnic mix of the school is also a concern for some schools. One school has fewer than 1000 children who would describe themselves as White British out of a population of 1500 which she describes as:

Quite a big shift as a school. This is part of our way of trying to ensure that we do get on well as a community ... Catholic schools traditionally have been white British but the make-up of schools has been changing and children are becoming much more aware of the religious dimension. They need to see the Islamic dimension as something to understand rather than to divide people. (Max, Head Teacher)

Cline and de Abreu (*ibid.*) suggest language, religion, traditions of dress, cuisine and race intermingle as the main elements that combine to undergird an individual's sense of ethnic identity. Minority ethnic children who attend majority white schools experience a disentangling of these elements. They suggest that this has a particular impact on language maintenance and language loss in the case of religion due to the way that religious practices may provide 'a stimulus to the use of community languages'. Crucially teachers also see overseas links as providing pupils with the opportunity to develop and maintain links with their country of origin, which will help to prevent the main elements of pupil identity from disentangling. One teacher said:

We teach Urdu and Punjabi as well so there's the potential for quite a lot of links with schools in India and Pakistan ... I think this ties in with the idea of Homeland. A lot of the families will have come from other countries and so the kids can identify very readily with schools in those countries (Ruth)

The above school demonstrates an additional approach to language and diversity by teaching pupils with English as a first language, two minority languages as a way of enhancing community cohesion. Furthermore, it is in contrast to educators who did not seem to consider that sharing family experience was an aspect of global citizenship and were not aware of the wealth of experience that pupils have as global citizens.

WH project teachers were actively interested in how pupils could have a positive learning experience about a very different culture. An important aspect of the learning was that pupils should start to think in terms of similarities as well as differences:

Some of our kids were absolutely amazed when they sent us pictures of kids playing football and cricket. Really it's all about changing perception influenced by what they see in the media, and it's our role to change that. Getting pupils to think outside the stereotypes that I think they have.

Actually they're very similar to us. There is the perception that Afghanistan is a culture that is very anti-Western, but that's not the feeling that we've got as staff and not the feeling we've had from Afghan students. They're very open minded, very much wanting to learn about us. It's all about how we can help each other develop.

Interestingly there was some congruence of approach between schools interviewed as part of the GM project. There is recognition from teachers of the need for the community cohesion initiative:

We definitely need [community cohesion] now given what's happening in inner Bristol. We need to be ready to break down boundaries. This is why I think it's really, really important. (Rob, Secondary teacher, Head of PSHE)

However the emphasis seems to be more on the global dimension to citizenship and using overseas links to tackle negative, stereotypical attitudes. He makes a similar point to the MMU/DEP teacher that some of the children will:

Travel abroad quite far, like Mexico but they don't necessarily know where they've been or anything about the people when they come back. We definitely need that now given what's happening in inner Bristol we need to be ready, to break down boundaries. This is why I think it's really, really important.

None of the teachers interviewed make specific reference to Islamophobia in the way that the Derbyshire schools below do. Typical comments included:

I think the way that it needs to be pushed forward is that we have a lot to learn from each other. I've gone quite slowly with developing the link because I think there can be quite negative connotations with a link especially with a school in Africa. This is from staff as well you know thinking 'Oh we should send them stuff' but it's not about that. They do a lot of stuff we could learn from so the whole key thing is about working together. (Peter, Secondary Science teacher)

One teacher also adds that the global dimension 'enables people to see themselves as part of the global village as opposed to in this country and that's all'. Including a global dimension

as a means of enabling and encouraging pupils to broaden their outlook and set their personal horizons beyond their local community is mentioned by a number of teachers:

I like the idea that our children understand that there's a world beyond where they are. They often go down to the centre of Bristol and keep going 'where are we now?' you know and we're still in Bristol. I was aware of racism, because of their parents. They didn't have any understanding of other people's cultures at all and I think it's really important that you put those kinds of things into their education. (Matilda, Primary Teacher)

I think it's about raising children's awareness about the world, about what's out there, and not having stereotypical views about people and places that might be different from them. (Freya Primary Head Teacher)

I feel it's important for all children to understand that there are other children from other races and cultures and different ways of life in this world. (Joy, PRU Teacher)

For these teachers, difference and diversity feature strongly in their interpretations of global citizenship. The emphasis is very much on wanting to tackle the negative and unproductive attitudes of pupils towards others, particularly the attitudes of those pupils from predominantly white communities:

We're a middle class, predominantly white school so we need that global dimension. (Primary teacher)

We're an all-white area still although the St George population is gradually making its way out towards to the outer regions but basically these kids come from reasonably affluent parents and they can travel abroad quite far, like Mexico but they don't necessarily know where they've been or anything about the people when they come back. We definitely need that now given what's happening in inner Bristol we need to be ready, to break down boundaries. This is why I think it's really, really important. (Secondary teacher, Head of PSHE)

Two teachers stated the importance of learning from each other. Comments from teachers included:

The global dimension is about learning from other countries and cultures which is what we've tried to do with our link school in Africa. Looking at the positive things that they can offer not just how we can help them ... I suppose it would come in to history, geography and citizenship hopefully leading to an appreciation of other countries and cultures, the way they live their life and how their society is run ... It's

important because of the way that children have very stereotypical ideas about things.
(Secondary teacher)

The way they've been brought up is the only way that they can understand or appreciate. People are so wanting to conform to an image. We live in a consumerist society, and they want a nice car, a nice house, they don't want the things that might make them think or question their decisions. (Primary teacher)

6.4 Discussion of findings

The plurality in how citizenship and Britishness are understood has elicited different responses in constructing citizenship education programmes across the UK which highlights tensions between assumptions of universality by Westminster-based politicians and policy makers and those across devolved nations (Tonge, Mycock and Andrews, 2011, p7)

The key mechanisms that generated particular tendencies in response to diversity and top-down initiatives were acknowledging that difference needs to be actively recognised and reflected on; this acknowledgement subsequently needs to be underpinned by educator confidence in their ability to include diversity issues. Interestingly this does not seem to require prior experience, although those educators who seemed most confident were those that had had some overseas experience and regarded the global dimension/global citizenship 'as part of me'. Other educators were 'happy to see where it takes me'. However, on occasion without appropriate training confidence can be misplaced and lead to the use of inappropriate pedagogy.

The teachers and students who felt most confident to address difference looked to use the citizenship initiatives as frameworks for introducing pupils to diversity, and encouraging empathy, respect and understanding. Community cohesion is welcomed as a way of helping to create a more harmonious classroom based on understanding and respect. Teachers and students focus on the aim of living together. Waks (2008) suggests that education for cosmopolitan citizenship should 'soften oppositional identities' and enable 'cosmopolitan exchange' in order to 'strengthen cosmopolitan attitudes, interests and loyalties' (p213). However, some students who were keen to promote cosmopolitan exchange found that school

culture and the way the class was managed was not always conducive to utilising the educational potential of pupils from diverse cultural backgrounds and experience. Furthermore, in democratic classrooms it is critical that all pupils have the opportunity voice their views and perspectives, and engage in constructive discussion. This chapter showed how some teachers and students find dealing with diversity a challenge. There is a risk that those educators who feel unable to appropriately draw on pupil's experiences will also find it difficult to deal with controversial issues in the classroom. As stated above this will have an impact on how top down initiatives are interpreted and how issues of difference are approached in the classroom, including how teachers include pupils with English as an additional language. This research found that there were some schools that seemed to want pupils to be proficient in English as quickly as possible. While it could be argued that it is necessary for pupils to be fluent in English in order that they are able to actively participate in civic life, it was also the case that the English language was privileged in the classroom to the exclusion of all other language use which can have a detrimental impact on an individual's identity. Furthermore, excluding the use of other languages in the classroom may serve to hide other aspects of a pupil's identity, sending a signal to pupils that diversity is not something to be celebrated but something to be overcome.

The following chapter explores difference, deliberation and participation. The citizenship Order requires that pupils should be taught to 'use their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express and explain views that are not their own'.

Chapter 7

7.0 Theme 4: Difference, Deliberation and Participation

7.1 Introduction to the theme

In this chapter I explore the themes of deliberation and participation. A classroom with pupils from diverse backgrounds is likely to contain divergent opinions and pupils with very different values and ways of being. The research showed that some teachers are able to work with, for example, hostile pupil opinion towards what they perceive as the other, utilising the top-down initiatives as frameworks to tackle controversial pupil opinion, encourage critical thought and reflection, challenging them to explore their views and perspectives. Other teachers are aware of the need for pupils to be able to engage positively with difference but are unsure of ways forward. This can lead to the tendency to develop safe citizenship education, rather than that which could be construed as more dangerous by encouraging dissent in the classroom. Few schools undertook a process of voluntary or community work which enabled pupils to participate in active citizenship followed by critical reflection on, for example, the structural inequalities that have given rise to the situation in which they are volunteering.

I look first at the background literature to controversial issues in the classroom and then present my research findings. The key underlying mechanisms that seemed to make the difference between sound, coherent pupil experience, and a more fragmented learning experience, were teacher confidence, a commitment to learning for diversity and valuing voices of difference, and conviction in their pedagogies. In addition, the space to teach and the support from others in the school, particularly the head teacher, to include controversial issues were also significant. Teacher confidence and conviction seems to become increasingly important as the top-down initiatives and directives issued to schools contain

recommendations that educators need to be teaching for difference, at the same time as political rhetoric explicitly states that the British people need a set of overarching values to which all are committed, and that minorities have a duty to integrate. Sivandan (2006) suggests that the thinking in the UK was to embrace an undeniably Islamophobic discourse which contends that cultural pluralism has gone too far, threatening our values and national safety. Some educators are unsure whether they should be teaching for Britishness, for difference or for a combination of the two.

7.2 *Background*

As discussed in previous chapters, it is argued that the public sphere is delineated as a white, male space in which those who are different struggle to be heard. Universal understandings of citizenship, which in theory transcends difference, are, it is contested, predicated on white, male understandings of the citizen which have worked to excluded individuals who do not fit this citizen model. There therefore have to be ways and means for voices of difference and opposition to the dominant discourse to be heard. To ensure that everyone is heard may mean special rights are articulated, 'that attend to group differences in order to undermine oppression and disadvantage' (Young, 1997, p265).

For Gutmann (1994) the key aspect of democratic education is enabling students to participate in 'rational deliberations of competing conceptions of the good life and the good society' (p44). Hess (2004) suggests that classrooms are 'powerful places' in which to promote dialogue because 'they contain more ideological diversity than one would expect to find in a family, church, synagogue, mosque or club' (p257). Hess (2004) contends that:

Facing the challenges inherent in teaching controversial issues is essential if we take seriously the importance of teaching young people to deal forthrightly and effectively with the plethora of political controversies facing society. (p261)

In addition research shows the positive impact on pupils of discussing controversial issues in the classroom. The IEA Civic Education study (2001), for example, found that an open classroom climate helps 'students experience their classrooms as places to investigate issues and explore their opinions and those of their peers' (Torney-Purta et al, 2001, p138). In a multicultural classroom it is possible that pupils will hold conflicting values about all sorts of issues. Hahn (1998) found that some students worried about negative feedback and embarrassment if they voiced unpopular views in classroom discussions. She concluded that teachers needed to:

Consciously handle key elements of the instructional climate - content, pedagogy, and atmosphere - so as to model inclusive democratic inquiry and discourse. (Hahn, 1998, p232)

Without the views and opinions of minority groups there is a risk that decisions and policies will be based on majority opinion at the expense of the minority. As Arnot (2006) states:

Lesbians and gay men are only "partial citizens" since they are often excluded from civil, political and social rights, left unprotected from discrimination and harassment on grounds of sexuality by the law and the police, and experience prejudicial treatment in relation to social rights of welfare. (p82)

7.2.1 What is a controversial issue?

Stradling (1984) defines controversial issues as 'those problems and disputes that divide society and for which significant groups within society offer conflicting explanations and solutions based on alternative values' (p2). Hess (2002) defines 'controversial public issues' (CPI) as 'unresolved questions of public policy that spark significant disagreement' (p11). These include the 'big' political issues such as nuclear disarmament, juvenile crime or state-assisted suicide which generate strong views but do not normally go to the heart of students' sense of ethnic or cultural identity (Hess, 2004). Other issues that could be denoted as controversial include 'wicked' and 'social messes' (Horn, undated) which are 'some of the largest issues, the largest risks, the largest unknowns and uncertainties' (np). They are

‘complex, they are often ambiguous. There is no standard view of what is going on. They are highly constrained; they exist among great resistance to change and are tightly interconnected, have great uncertainty, many value conflicts, and are wrapped in major conflicts of interest’ (Horn, undated, np). Hess (2002) highlights that where classroom discussions do happen they rarely focus on what she calls controversial public issues (CPI). There is a strong link between learning how to discuss ‘divisive public topics and preparing for democratic citizenship’ (p12). CPI discussions help to develop democratic values like toleration of dissent and support for equality. They are also recommended as a way of enhancing students’ willingness to participate in the political world. One reason that Hess (2002) gives for the lack of CPI discussions in schools is that adequately preparing students is time consuming. She says that CPI discussions may well be difficult because of their ‘potential to inflame emotional reactions’ (p12). Some teachers might therefore prefer to concentrate curricular time on skills that are easier to acquire.

Another type of controversial issue is that which can be more personal, based on private values, and therefore more emotionally involving. These private values ‘have to do with issues which are significantly controversial. Obvious examples include many aspects of religious belief and many matters connected with sexuality and sexual behaviour’ (Hess, 2004, p84).

7.2.2 Deliberation

Parker (2005) details two forms of classroom discussion: seminar and deliberation. Parker suggests that seminars encourage students ‘to plumb the world more deeply’ and participants speak and listen to learn. In deliberations however participants speak and listen to decide which course of action to take on a given issue, rather than to learn. This type of classroom discussion helps to develop ‘civic consciousness’ (Parker, 2005). However:

The difficulty with facilitating discussions is the range of troubles any discussion leader faces in selecting from the universe of possibilities a compelling and worthy object for discussion and then opening, facilitating, and closing the discussion and conducting whatever follow-up work is needed, such as writing, additional study, or activism.

In discussing the Northern Irish experience of Education for Mutual Understanding McCully (2006) argues that restricting controversial issues to safe topics:

FAILS to embrace that strong emotional element that often accompanies controversial issues in societies characterised by religious, cultural or ethnic conflict. It is the premise here that facilitating such emotions is a critical factor in determining whether or not a practitioner in an educational setting can engage participants in effective learning. (p52)

The importance of nurturing critical objective reasoning in young people to help them work through difficult and emotive material is indisputable but recent thinking into the part played by emotions in the learning process indicates that there is a danger of placing an undue emphasis on the capacity of individuals to think rationally and constructively in emotionally charged situations. (McCully, 2006). In multiethnic classrooms it is entirely possible that there will be pupils who will have experienced events like to cause fear and bitterness, either directly or through the experience of family members.

For Larmore (1987) the type of discussion which is compatible with liberalism is 'rational conversation'. The norm of rational conversation would entail participants retreating 'to neutral ground in order to convince others of the truth of that disputed aspect of his own ideal of the good life, or to elaborate principles of state action upon this neutral basis itself, without resolving to dispute' (p54). Larmore suggests that although the process of rational conversation is premised on neutrality, implicit in the commitment to reaching a decision through rational argument are certain values. These are 'some sense of community and a desire for civil peace' which will enable the conversation to continue with those with whom we disagree but 'feel some sympathy' or 'some significant amount of power'. These values underpin justifications for engagement and are used as a means of marginalisation. For

Larmore the justification of political neutrality can remain neutral only if the reasons for carrying on the conversation are neutral with respect to controversial ideals of the good life. Given that civil peace is not so important for ‘fanatics’ and ‘would-be martyrs’ he argues that a ‘liberal political system need not feel obliged to reason with fanatics; it must simply take the necessary precautions to guard against them’ (p60).

Rawls (1998) takes a slightly different tack and indicates that there are ‘certain fundamental questions’ which at times ‘give rise to sharp and divisive political controversy’ (p13). He suggests that one undertaking for political philosophy in a democratic society is:

To focus on such questions and to examine whether some underlying basis of agreement can be uncovered and a mutually acceptable way of resolving these questions publicly established. Or if these questions cannot be fully settled, as may well be the case, perhaps the divergence of opinion can be narrowed sufficiently so that political cooperation on a basis of mutual respect can still be maintained. (p14)

Rawls goes on to say that even ‘firmly held convictions gradually change’ and uses the examples of religious toleration where ‘arguments for persecution are no longer openly professed’ and slavery which is ‘rejected as inherently unjust’ and which no one is willing to defend. He suggests these ‘convictions’ are regarded as ‘provisional fixed points’ upon which a concept of reasonable justice can be based. In this way a publicly acceptable political notion of justice is established. Justice as fairness serves as a ‘basis of informed and willing political agreement between citizens viewed as free and equal persons’. In order for this to come about it is necessary ‘to avoid disputed philosophical, as well as disputed moral and religious, questions’ and a ‘shared basis of agreement is achieved by narrowing the range of public disagreement (p6). These questions are avoided, not because they are not important but because there is no way they can be politically resolved: ‘Thus, justice as fairness deliberately stays on the surface, philosophically speaking’ because public agreement ‘cannot be obtained without the state’s infringement of basic liberties’. Rawls states:

The hope is that, by this method of avoidance, as we might call it, existing differences between contending political views can at least be moderated, even if not entirely removed, so that social cooperation on the basis of mutual respect can be maintained. (p47)

Heartfelt opinions on the issues that will influence and possibly guide an individual through life are confined to the private sphere. As Beck (1998) states:

‘Private’ values have to do with issues which are significantly controversial. Obvious examples include many aspects of religious belief and many matters connected with sexuality and sexual behaviour. (p84)

Relegating issues which are contentious to the private domain does nothing to help develop understanding, empathy or tolerance. Moreover preventing private values from being out in the public sphere increases the possibility of distrust and insecurity between citizens. It would never be possible to know what someone was really thinking, or how they really felt; you could only know that which was acceptable in the public sphere. Added to this is the issue of whether it is important that those who publicly espouse certain values should also hold them privately. It could be argued that professing certain values in public is meaningless if in private these are not the values that guide you. Suppressing deeply held beliefs also runs the risk of creating a situation where these beliefs will bubble out into the public sphere with negative consequences.

Reluctance and fear of openly discussing difficult and sensitive issues can have far reaching impacts on communities. The Cattle Report (2001) found little evidence of ‘open and honest dialogue’, as people ‘tiptoe around’ the sensitive issues of race, religion and culture (Cattle, 2001, p18). Instead ‘a reluctance to confront the issues and to find solutions’ (p9) was found.

The Report continues:

In such a climate, there has been little attempt to develop clear values which focus on what it means to be a citizen of a modern multi-racial Britain and many still look backwards to some supposedly halcyon days of a mono-cultural society, or alternatively look to their country of origin for some form of identity. (p10)

However there exists the view that controversial issues that have to do with private values should remain in the private domain. As Beck (1998) states: ‘Civic education is centrally concerned with the relationship between the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ ... One main reason why it is contested has precisely to do with values’.

For Rawls (1993) civic education would include an understanding of civil rights, political tolerance and the model of discourse which is appropriate to a liberal democracy. This type of civic education is incompatible with the transformative citizenship education as advocated by, for example, Banks (2008). Rawls argues that the state must remain neutral and not support one doctrine over another. At the same time civic education must educate young people in the virtues of the political sphere to become ‘fully co-operating members of society’ including ‘public reason’ (Rawls, 1993, p199).

Drawing on Rawls’ understanding of the ‘reasonable’ Callan (1997) contends that a key aim of political education should be to engender the virtue ‘justice as reasonableness’ which is ‘a cluster of mutually supportive habits, desires emotional propensities, and intellectual capacities’ which include ‘imaginative sympathy’ (p8). Ruitenberg (2009) bases a critique of Callan’s ideas on Mouffe’s critique of Rawls:

Conflict in and of itself is not a problem to be overcome, but rather a force to be channelled into political and democratic commitments.’ Envisaged from the point of view of ‘agonistic pluralism,’ the aim of democratic politics is to construct the ‘them’ in such a way that it is no longer perceived as an enemy to be destroyed, but as an ‘adversary,’ that is, somebody whose ideas we combat but whose right to defend those ideas we do not put into question. (Mouffe, 2000, pp. 101-102)

Ruitenberg (2009) highlights the fundamental differences between Callan and Macedo’s suggestion for the virtue of justice as reasonableness, and Mouffe’s notion of sources of disagreement between reasonable persons. She points out that reasonable conflict for Callan and Rawls is the result of ‘the many hazards involved in the correct (and conscientious)

exercise of our powers of reason and judgment in the ordinary course of political life' (Rawls, 1993, p56) or, in Callan's (1997) words, 'the contingent but inescapable imperfections of our capacity to reason together towards agreement' (p. 25). For Mouffe (2000) an important difference with the model of 'deliberative democracy, is that for 'agonistic pluralism, the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions from the sphere of the public, in order to render a rational consensus possible, but to mobilize those passions towards democratic designs' (p15). Mouffe argues:

A well-functioning democracy calls for a vibrant clash of democratic political positions. If this is missing there is the danger that this democratic confrontation will be replaced by a confrontation among other forms of collective identification, as it is the case with identity politics. Too much emphasis on consensus and the refusal of confrontation lead to apathy and disaffection with political participation. Worse still, the result can be the crystallization of collective passions around issues, which cannot be managed by the democratic process and an explosion of antagonisms that can tear up the very basis of civility. (p16)

As Ruitenberg (*Ibid.*) suggests, Mouffe's proposals have important implications for the way that students are educated to regard opponents in political conflicts as adversaries rather than moral enemies. Ruitenberg suggests three areas that political education would have to change if Mouffe's ideas for an agonistic public sphere were to be accepted. These are the education of the emotions, fostering an understanding of the difference between moral and political disputes, thirdly developing an awareness of the historical and contemporary political projects of the 'left' and right' (p6). Historically models of citizenship education have focused on developing the ability to reason in the public sphere while emotions have come to be associated with the feminine and considered to belong to the private role. Ruitenberg therefore suggests that for a vibrant agonistic democracy emotions need to be given a legitimate place in education, focusing on understanding the cultural significance and significations of emotions. This also requires developing a sense of solidarity and ability to feel anger or outrage on behalf of others who are treated unfairly rather than 'on behalf of

ones' own pride'. Ruitenberg then puts forward the idea that citizenship education needs to focus on political anger as opposed to moral anger. This necessitates that the concept of power is addressed in the curriculum.

Educating political adversaries requires that the supposed neutrality of the terrain in which different groups fight for their view of a just society is contested, and that the economic paradigm that pervades both politics and education is made explicit as paradigm. Then students may learn that engaging a political adversary is not a game, but an expression of a serious commitment to democracy. (p8)

The notion of political anger sits well within the model of GCE which has been developed by Oxfam which demands that citizens feel a sense of outrage at injustice. Developing political anger as opposed to moral anger is perhaps more productive because it provides a focus for channelling feelings of outrage and a guide for where and how to act. As previously discussed, minority groups have fought and continue to fight for recognition within the dominant citizenship paradigm with differing degrees of success. Developing a sense of solidarity implies collective action by all, for example, in the fight for recognition of minority rights, which can help to overcome a sense of 'us' and 'them', as well as the big issues such as climate change.

7.2.3 *Minority rights*

Defenders of minority rights have often been suspicious of appeals to some ideal of 'good citizenship', which they see as reflecting a demand that minorities should quietly learn to play by the majority's rules. Conversely, those who wish to promote a more robust conception of civic virtue and democratic citizenship have often been suspicious of appeals to minority rights, which they see as reflecting the sort of politics of narrow self-interest that they seek to overcome'. (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000, p1)

The term 'minority rights' is used to describe the recognitions sought by ethnic groups 'for accommodation of their cultural differences' (Kymlicka, 1995). Minority rights extend the civil and political rights of individual citizenship protected in liberal democracies and they

are adopted in order to recognise and accommodate the distinctive identities and needs of ethnocultural groups:

If state institutions fail to recognise and respect people's culture and identity, the result can be serious damage to people's self-respect and sense of agency' and 'fractious' debates about multiculturalism. (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000, p5)

Some commentators, however, believe that there are groups that deserve to be marginalised because they are unjust or illiberal (Macedo, 2000). Olssen (2004) too argues that:

Clearly cultural minorities whose practices are based on deeply illiberal oppressive relations based on gender, or sex, or any other basis of difference, cannot be tolerated, and neither can group practices that fail to respect the fundamentally important principles of democratic politics, such as respect for the other, a willingness to negotiate, tolerance, or the institutional basis of deliberation, or the rule of law. (p187)

Added to the issue of minority rights is the complex issue of the rights of individuals within minority groups and 'women's autonomy which is seen as a threat to community' (Connolly, 1992, p231). As different groups have fought for recognition within the dominant concept of citizenship 'the relations of power, discourses, institutions, policies and mechanisms that produced hierarchies of citizenship' (Isin and Turner, 2003, p10) have been exposed. In so doing 'They revealed conditions of oppression, subordination and exclusion as socially constructed (rather than natural or universal). Such denaturalization also began to make the 'normal' visible and contestable' and '... the struggles over women's subordination allowed glimpses of how male power was organized and normalized' (Clarke, 2004, p60).

The dilemma for governments of nation states is that migrants and ethnic minorities may well have oppositional ideas and opinions on not only national policy but also foreign policy, particularly where policy directly impacts on the home nation or country of origin. Indeed there is the potential for majority and minority group opinion to differ hugely. Although Castles (2004) suggests that settler groups can develop countervailing power this relies in part on the groups in question having access to official channels in order to exercise their

citizenship rights, and to challenge and confront political decision-making. The power that multinational corporations wield is immense yet, as Williams (2006) says:

They remain largely unaccountable to those whose life circumstances they profoundly affect (the workers whose labour they employ, the communities whose environments they transform, and the social inequalities they generate). (p36)

Stasiulis and Ross (2006) describe how dual citizenship has become a ‘liability’ and indeed hindered access to fundamental human rights, including those formally protected through international law for dual nationals who have been ‘profiled’ as security risks because of their national origins and religion. They say:

The precariousness of the rights of ‘undesirable’ dual nationals, including the right not to be deprived of their citizenship, is provided ideological justification and visceral force by the demonization of certain populations - especially male Muslims and Arabs ... Dual citizens with ‘dangerous’ nationalities caught up within the post-9/11 security paradigm may find themselves as unprotected persons existing in a vacuum devoid of diplomatic protection. (p335)

Sivandan (2006) asserts that:

With the 2001 riots in Britain and 7/7, the government has been thrashing about for answers as to how to handle its ethnic minorities. First, with the riots, it blamed the self-separatism of Asian communities for the disaffection between Asians and whites – never acknowledging that successive governments’ policies of culturalism, combined with their neglect of the inner cities, had created the enclaves which had turned Asians against whites and vice versa. Thus, the government’s thinking this time was not on the lines of ‘ethnic disadvantage’, as Scarman had it, but of (too much) ethnic advantage, too much ‘multiculturalism’, not enough integration/assimilation or the much more euphemistic term ‘community cohesion’. And now, after 7/7, despite the discovery that the suicide bombers were home-grown and wholly British, the thinking in the UK is to embrace the backward and undoubtedly Islamophobic discourse that is issuing from mainland Europe. Cultural pluralism has gone too far, it threatens our values and our very national safety. A line has to be drawn on difference. Ethnic minorities have now, in the domestic context of the War on Terror, to effectively subsume their cultural heritage to Britishness. (np)

7.2.4 *Participation*

Communities that do not identify with one specific territory can be described as transnational communities (Castles, 2004): ‘They therefore present a powerful challenge to traditional

ideas of nation-state belonging' (*Ibid.*, p27). They can 'develop countervailing power' and can 'function as informal networks, with multiple nodes of control'. They are 'harder to control giving rise to anxiety on the part of governments' (*Ibid.*, p28). This has significant consequences for citizenship as immigration and emigration countries start to change their citizenship laws in order to accommodate dual and multiple citizenship. In England the changes made to citizenship laws became more stringent and, as discussed in the previous chapter there were demands for a tightly defined notion of Britishness to be fostered to which all citizens would commit.

Sklair (2001) indicates the power to bring about change can be severely curtailed not only by lack of access to official political channels but also by the difficulty in being able to identify and reach the centre of power:

The dilemma is that the only chance that people in social movements have to succeed is by disrupting the local agencies with which they come into direct contact in their daily lives, rather than the more global institutions whose interests these agencies are serving directly, or, more often indirectly, while workers are often confused about whom (which representation of capital) to oppose when their interests (conditions of labour, livelihoods) are threatened. Increasingly as capitalism globalises, subordinate groups find difficulty in identifying their adversaries. (p127)

Enslin and Tjiattas (2008) also highlight the limitations of the public sphere for bringing about change within state governments transnational corporations:

While it can successfully pressure governments and other organisations, as well as providing poverty relief, ultimately power still lies in a combination of state governments and transnational corporations accountable to no one and able to move their wealth and operations across international boundaries. (p81)

Added to this there is no form of global governance or constitution to protect minority interests. Consequently transnational democracy is vulnerable to the majoritarian view, quashing minority interests. Another way that groups can bring issues to the fore of public attention is through disruptive activities such as rallies or demonstrations, (though again this

relies on groups' abilities to organise and coordinate); and through representation by other individuals or organisations such as international non-governmental organisations (INGOs).

For many people this activity captures the essence of global citizenship:

Transnational activists are able to create linkages and coalitions among various types of actors operating on different levels (local, national, regional, international) in order to respond to various political contexts, each offering a different range of political opportunities. (Caouette, 2006, p5)

Transnational activism is defined as 'social movements and other civil society organizations and individuals operating across state borders' (Piper and Uhlin, 2004, pp 4-5). Della Porta and Tarrow (2005) add to this by describing transnational collective action as 'the coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of activists against international actors, other states, or international institutions' (p7). Caouette (2006) highlights how:

Undertaking advocacy and organising transnational coalitions is a way of pushing citizen's rights that are being blocked nationally or that cannot be tackled directly within the domestic arena. In other cases, transnational activism becomes a means to broaden political pressure globally on common issues affecting citizens, such as increasing poverty, marginalization of the rural sector, privatization, trade liberalization, deregulation, militarism, migration policies, and a decaying environment. (p25)

Participation in transnational processes of action results in 'the emergence of a new sense of global citizenship and solidarity'. According to Falk (1994) citizenship is:

No longer bounded by or centred upon the formal relationship that an individual has to his or her own territorial society as embodied in the form of a state. Traditional citizenship is being challenged and remoulded by the important activism associated with this trans-national political and social evolution. (p138)

On the other hand increased challenges from below may result in tougher forms of control from the top. National governments' responses to increasingly diverse populations and challenges to its power may be to further suppress difference within an ever diminishing framework of what it means to be a citizen in a particular nation. Indeed transformations in

global authority can work to strengthen ‘the layers and discourses of power that limit the possibilities for their local action’ (Gaventa and Tandon, 2010, p4) thwarting citizen agency.

7.2.5 *In the classroom*

How difference, deliberation and participation are dealt with in the classroom and the community is a critical point for citizenship education:

Learning from real life experience is central to citizenship and sensitive and controversial issues are certain to arise. Pupils should not be sheltered from them ... Issues that are likely to be sensitive or controversial are those that have a political, social or personal impact and arouse strong feelings and/or deal with questions of value and belief. Sex education, religion and politics are all likely to fall into this category. Other issues likely to be sensitive or controversial include for example, family lifestyle and values, law and order, drugs, financial issues, unemployment, environmental issues, bullying and bereavement. (Citizenship at key stages 3 and 4. Initial guidance for schools, p34)

Within western democracies it is argued that citizenship education is important as it ‘equips young people with the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in public life’ and ‘encourages them to take an interest in topical and controversial issues and to engage in discussion and debate’ (QCA 2007, p27). Schools are regarded by many as particularly suitable sites for discussion and dialogue because: ‘Schools are unique institutions in that they hold the largest gatherings of human beings in one place on a regular basis (Inter Faith Network for the UK, 2006, p8). Moreover, as Gutmann (1999) suggests:

Schools have a much greater capacity than most parents and voluntary associations for teaching children to reason out loud about disagreements that arise in democratic politics. (p58)

A distinction is made between non-controversial active citizenship and critical active citizenship. Pupils involved with non-controversial active citizenship tend to see civic engagement as results driven but uncritical of the causes of inequality or injustice. Pupils may

learn how to serve but nothing about how to bring about political change (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). Kahne and Westheimer, (2004) argue:

Since the pursuit of a more just and equitable society requires more than individual efforts to ‘make a difference’ – since politics and attention to the design and impact of social structures are also essential - those designing curriculum must find ways to maintain and promote students’ sense of internal efficacy while also attending to the importance of politics and analysis of social institutions. (p12)

Kahne and Westheimer (2004) stress both the importance, and the success, of projects which are small but part of something larger that may be less immediately attainable, and with broader considerations into root causes of social problems and associated political struggles. This type of project would seek ‘to equip students with the analytical and critical thinking skills needed to address structural obstacles to change’ (p13). They stress that the project intervention should not be seen as ‘the answer’ and also, importantly, the need to minimize any potential sense of frustration and alienation that can occur when pupils work on their own on ‘often intractable social problems’. Carlsson-Paige and Lantieri (2005) also advocate a pedagogy that enables students to ‘construct their own understanding as they actively engage in meaningful, relevant learning experiences; learners are not passive – they actively make their own meanings’ (p113). Learning should be holistic, active and have relevance to learners. Knowledge, values and understanding should become ‘part of each learner’s repertoire for acting in the world’ (Carlsson-Paige and Lantieri, 2005, p114). Also important is that pupils develop a sense of hope in the way that Torres (1998) suggests, even if the pupils are unable to solve the problem. This is very important for education for global citizenship where the problems it seeks to tackle are unlikely to be solved in the near future. It is important to engage pupils in a supportive community, ‘that can motivate and affirm the importance of challenging political structures and working for systemic change’ (Kahne and Westheimer, 2004, p12) even when there may be strong resistance from government or other institutions.

There is a tension between encouraging a commitment and obedience to the status quo on the one hand, and encouraging the development of skills necessary to challenge and event subvert the current order of things on the other (Lawson, 2001). Arnot (2006) contends that:

The good citizen' rather than the critical or protesting citizen is the model being used in neoliberal contexts, although in the United Kingdom there is an attempt to combine such a moral goal with that of civic republicanism (Arnot 2004). However, in neither case are the goals those of challenging social inequality and/or promoting egalitarianism as a democratic ideal ... where punishment and shame are the basis of the social order that societies are based on. (p80)

It is also crucial that young people are able 'to effectively promote their goals as individuals and groups in sometimes contentious political arenas' (Frazer, 2003, p40). She continues:

In political societies we all have to encounter fellow citizens who are strangers (not liked, not loved, not known; also 'different' with different voices, different values, different ways of life and modes of conduct). These strangers may be antagonists, The aim of political education must be to enable people to participate in these webs of political relations, to understand the formal institutions that structure them, and, thereby to be equal to the structures of power and authority that govern them.

Appiah (2005) suggests there are two problems concerning curriculum content. Firstly he says that there are topics in which 'controversy is about what the truth is' (p67). In addition there is concern about how much weight should be given to different topics and different approaches (p68). He says that contemporary controversies are connected with 'powerful collective identities' (p69).

7.3 *Findings*

Crick (2000) asserted that political education should be 'something realistic, racy, down-to-earth which focuses on politics as a lively contest between differing ideals and interests' (p187). There is evidence to suggest that young people are interested in citizenship issues such as homelessness, the environment, poverty, arms. The Citizenship Provider at the Lincolnshire school affirmed that it is important to make the subject relevant to the pupils themselves:

If you're talking about sex, if you're talking about drugs, if you're talking about their experiences of crime, or their views of the police, anything where they can play to the gallery, yes it's interesting. And if you show them videos which are not documentary style but have a good story line with blood and guts and needles and that sort of thing, yes you're probably on to a winner.

However, she goes on to point out:

How long lasting, though, the impressions of those kind of lessons are, I don't know. Kids inevitably tend to latch on to certain aspects of the work that you're doing and they're not necessarily the most important ones. When we were doing the work on homelessness my tutor group was bored to tears because it wasn't really an interactive lesson. They were sitting and watching and we didn't have the time to have a proper introduction and to follow it up afterwards.

This teacher evidently recognises the importance of trying to critically engage pupils in issues and themes looked at during lessons, and to making the learning relevant to the pupils.

During this early stage of the research I wanted to find out more about schools' interpretations of active citizenship and how their understandings cohered with the recommendations contained in the Crick Report. At this time the key driver for CE was the democratic deficit and the perceived apathy of young people regarding participation in civic life. As noted in previous chapters the aim of the Crick Report and the subsequent Order for citizenship education was to address the democratic deficit and encourage more active participation in citizens. School councils were not made a statutory element of CE but were recognised as having the potential to be an effective method of teaching children about democracy and the attributes of democratic living. They have the potential to develop in young people skills of deliberation, conflict-resolution, risk assessment, decision-making, the ability to analyze and evaluate the knowledge and information that we now have access to, and considering others' views. However, a school council cannot operate in isolation. The ethos of the school is very important and a school's understanding of democracy, participation and citizenship education will influence the framework within which procedures

such as the school council will develop. A minimal interpretation would allow for a very different type of council from that of a maximal interpretation.

Moreover, there are associated pedagogical problems with school councils. Indeed Frazer (2007) claims that it is difficult to hold up political processes as models for young people because: 'Politics is uncomfortably close to lying, to procrastination and evasion, and to antagonism and aggression' (p253) Politics is also competitiveness, which is presented as a virtue, can be 'a weakness of political way'. However:

When pupils are denied participation, it is unlikely that they can conceive of themselves as moral persons able to shape their environments. (Covell et al, 2008, p322)

As part of the OU project I visited a school in rural Lincolnshire, identified from their questionnaire answers, in order to observe a school council meeting and to find out more about how the school frames active citizenship. The background to the school council set up was that in the majority of cases each class elects one or two representatives who take issues for discussion to the council. There is usually a teacher present (generally the PSHE Co-ordinator) at meetings who is responsible for organising when a school council meeting takes place though not what is discussed at the meetings.

The presence of a key teacher and occasionally the head teacher will have an effect on pupil discourse and may inhibit discussion. Although people adjust their behaviour depending on the context in which they are operating it is important that the presence of a teacher does not stifle real debate which would leave pupils feeling frustrated. During the school council meeting I was observing the use of common rooms in break time was the topic of discussion. A pupil council representative presented the head teacher with a petition asking for common rooms to remain open for pupil use. The head teacher greeted the petition enthusiastically saying that: 'It's wonderful to see pupils taking up issues independently and organising

yourselves like this. I will always encourage you to take action in this way'. However the initial approbation of pupil action was to some extent undermined when, after flicking through the sheets of signatures the head teacher remarked with a wry smile 'Hmmm, 900 signatures in a school of 600 ... Interesting'. While, of course, it is very possible that some pupils had put their names down more than once and even made up a few names, it is also possible that pupils had discussed the issue with the wider community, including friends not at the school and parents, and received outside support for their cause. It is highly unlikely that the head deliberately wanted to demoralize and patronise the pupils but a casual aside like the above can leave pupils feeling undervalued and suggests that the issue is not being taken seriously.

After the meeting I interviewed a group of pupils, some of whom were council members, others not. In answer to the question: 'What changes would you like to make to the way your school council works, if any?' comments included:

To have forms for the pupils to fill in with the subjects brought up in the meetings to see what the pupils think should be changed or brought in and therefore bringing the shy or people who normally would not be bothered an easier way to participate. I think they would fill it in as it is their future and it is important to them.

I think pupils should have more of a say apart from the school council because they may not have the confidence to say it in front of the council but maybe to one teacher.

In some cases pupil participation is tokenistic and pupils are only able to debate minor issues that are not likely to be controversial. School councils can help pupils to learn skills needed to participate but, reiterating the point the school councils do not operate in isolation, accompanying the learning of skills there needs to be a commitment to the common good rather than using the democratic process to further one's own ends.

That it is a teacher who decides when a meeting occurs raises a number of issues. One pupil commented:

I just think we need more notice about the meetings because some days we don't get told till 5 minutes before the meetings.

Lack of notice means that council representatives have little time to prepare for meetings and to find out what issues other pupils would like to raise. Although allowing pupils as little pre-meeting preparation time as possible may not be deliberate, it is bound to have an impact on what issues get discussed and how they are debated. This is in contrast to another school that took part in this research where meetings are time-tabled at the beginning of the year and discussions about council business form part of PSHE lessons.

Chamberlin (2003) found that pupils had a clear idea of what action to take 'As might be expected, pupils in this age group find action attractive and it is to be hoped that the citizenship curriculum will be able to provide opportunities to capitalize on this.' (p93). Comments from pupils certainly seem to indicate that they not only take their school council responsibilities seriously but that they are also aware of the positive effects that being involved can have both personally and collectively. In answer to the question 'What skills and knowledge do you feel the school council teaches pupils?' comments included:

Communication skills.

It gives us knowledge of how the school is run and the boundaries we have to follow. Also it gives pupils freedom of speech and the council rep. may gain knowledge about dealing with debate issues.

It teaches them to be individuals and be able to stand up for their year and represent their year. It also gives them a taste of what might come in the future.

The knowledge, skills and attitudes that pupils can acquire through participation in a school council have been well documented (Hannam, 1999). For example, learning the language of democracy and learning skills such as leadership and debating skills, problem-solving skills,

listening and participatory skills. However the skills that are learnt will be different depending on the type of involvement. As Chamberlin (2003) states: 'It will be a tragic missed opportunity if the lesson learned from involvement in school councils is that democracy is about voting occasionally for people who take a long time to do nothing of any great importance' (p97).

What is very interesting here is the 'them' and 'us' distinction. It would seem that those who are directly involved with the school council as year reps feel that they are acquiring a number of skills. Those pupils who have no direct involvement had nothing positive to say about the skills that they themselves had gained yet were very aware of the skills that council representatives gain. There are a number of extremely useful and important skills that non-council members could develop such as lobbying skills and how to negotiate for your rights but they are skills which do not seem to be being developed in schools. In answer to the same question a pupil who is not a council member stated that the school council taught them:

Nothing apart from raising our hands.

The school environment should be such that authority can be challenged. It is likely that the school council will have to deal with issues about which staff and pupils will have very different and very strong opinions. This was the case at one of the schools in the survey. What was to happen to the common rooms during break time had become a very contentious issue with the teachers wanting them to be closed because of a small amount of vandalism which was being carried out by a minority of pupils. The pupils did not want the common rooms to be closed and put forward a number of suggestions. Although none of the proposals presented to the meeting were acceptable to staff for various valid reasons it was decided that pupil representatives should canvas opinion from other pupils and try and find a solution that

was acceptable to both parties while teachers would do the same. This was regarded as an appropriate solution by the pupils with one commenting:

Pupils have enough say, because most things are done in the pupils' best interest.

Pupils are unlikely to accept authority simply because it is 'in their best interests' if it means doing or not doing something about which they feel very strongly. The above statement from one of the pupils was the exception. In answer to the question 'Do you think pupils should have more of a say in how the school is run, apart from through the school council?' the majority of pupils thought that they should:

I think we should be able to raise issues more often (other than in the school council).

I do think pupils should have more say on the matters.

Because teachers run the school in a way which they think is best not what the students think is best.

I think that pupils should be able to have more of a say on how the school is run as they spend either 5 years at the school, perhaps more. The pupils have to come to the school every day and will want to have an impact on school life.

School Councils can in fact have non-democratic outcomes. Griffith (1998) argues that school councils can prevent some pupils from exercising their citizenship rights because the rights of the majority of pupils are exercised representatively rather than being directly involved in decision-making and action taking and he claims that the system of prefects is 'the doctrinaire inculcation of favoured pupils into the existing hierarchy of invested power' (p38). Rowe (1996) found that there was student disillusionment at the poor level of discussion, the low status of the school council, the elitism of representatives, poor communication and lack of action (Quoted in Halstead and Taylor, 2000).

The use of the common rooms was just the sort of issue that teachers could have felt they knew best how to deal with. However the Head Teacher encouraged pupils to look at the issue from as many angles as possible and stated that the use of common rooms was ‘an ongoing problem for us as a community’.

Research has shown that young people who have experience of participation in decision-making at school are more likely to believe that they can influence government decisions. It has also been shown that working together on projects breaks down barriers. School councils are a mechanism through which children can participate in school life and work with others. However there exists the danger that school councils can actually strengthen barriers within the school community – between teachers and pupils and between pupils themselves. Within this body of students there will be those students who will be more or less powerful than other students. Barriers will be further strengthened if participation is tokenistic rather than effective and if the unequal power and subsequently rights that are present between teacher and pupils but also between pupils is not recognised.

The citizenship Orders requires that pupils should be taught to ‘use their imagination to consider other people’s experiences and be able to think about, express and explain views that are not their own’. Young people should also be encouraged to stand up for what they believe is right. The School Council can be used as a way of developing in pupils the courage to defend an opinion and as a way of developing pupils’ public discourse. Public discourse is an important aspect of good citizenship. It is part of a process that helps an individual discover who they are and what they believe in, and to reflect on personal thoughts and feelings about key issues.

The implications for citizenship education are that pupils must become aware of the way that their participation in local and national activities may influence and may be influenced by

events happening elsewhere. For school democratic mechanisms such as school councils to be a valuable experience, pupil participation must be meaningful. Significant experience of active citizenship can be learned through these mechanisms if, for example, pupils are able to initiate participation and action with a degree of autonomy, rather than participate within a closely demarcated framework established by others, making decisions on issues that are not their priority. As Frazer (2007) states:

Sadly, though, participation in decision making in school is often patchy and ineffective. Children and students are frequently frustrated by consultative committees and the like, and oppressed by head teachers and other authorities' decisiveness. So school, with its playground and its classroom representatives and its citizenship days, can be an object lesson in how awful and petty and useless politics is. (p260)

7.3.1 Community participation

The Order for citizenship states that pupils should be taught to 'negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in both school and community activities' and they should also be taught to 'reflect on the process of participating'. It is argued that the community involvement strand of citizenship education should be more than just about 'compulsory voluntary activity' (Kisby and Sloane, 2009, p5). To be 'active' includes critical engagement, knowledge and participation. A key concern for schools, acknowledged by the Crick Report (QCA 1998), has been the extent to which opportunities for active citizenship can be undertaken in community contexts outside of schools. Active citizenship is arguably the most dominant conception of citizenship in the Crick Report (Kiwani, 2008, p44).

As part of my OU research I visited a rural school in Lincolnshire to explore how they were interpreting active citizenship. The school actively encourages pupils to be involved in voluntary activities both within the school itself and in the local community. One of the projects pupils could participate in involved working in a special school for children aged 2-

19 with cerebral palsy. Having successfully worked together on an arts project the school was asked whether there might be any pupils interested in helping to revamp the playground at the special school. Two pupils took the initiative to combine working in the community with their course work for design and technology. In this case pupil learning is situated in a real context, working to a very specific brief and fulfilling a defined need. Skills gained from this experience include consultation skills and working in partnership. In addition pupils gained confidence in working with people they saw as different from themselves which is a key aspect of CE:

I didn't know what to expect with the older children and when they started touching my hair I didn't know what to do because I hadn't been in that position before. With the younger children it was fine because I looked at them and wanted to play with them. But now I've worked with older children I'm fine because I know what to expect.

It's helped to overcome our awkwardness because we know what it's [cerebral palsy] like now.

Although the community cohesion initiative has yet to become a statutory duty, as noted above the duty makes reference to the fact that:

... discrimination and prejudice can be experienced by other groups – including the disabled, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender communities and different age and gender groups. Schools should therefore design their programmes to recognise where other strands of the equalities agenda – including gender, sexual orientation, disability and age – are interconnected with the aspiration to promote community cohesion.

A second area of work involved older pupils working with younger students. Initiatives included: peer counselling, football coaching and IT work. The main motivation for pupils to become involved was because 'it will look good on my CV' and because it was a way of gaining additional skills that would not otherwise have been acquired. There did not seem to be any desire on the part the pupils to continue doing voluntary work in another capacity once the skills they needed for their CVs had been attained.

The third area of work was the Duke of Edinburgh Award. There were places for fifteen pupils to participate in the scheme. It was seen as an additional qualification to have which was viewed as particularly useful if academic grades were not going to be particularly high. Community work is a necessary part of the award and in this case work in the community was seen as something that had to be done in order to gain the award. There did not seem to be any interest on the part of the pupils to continue with the voluntary work once they had completed the statutory number of hours.

Kisby and Sloane (2009) stress the importance of experiential learning which:

Seeks both to connect learning to students' past experiences and promoted the notion of students actively and collaboratively engaging in participative activities that address issues that are relevant to their own lives. (p5)

In the above cases the community work that seemed to have the most impact was where pupils were involved with the special school. Learning for these pupils was connected to a real and defined community need rather than it being a tokenistic gesture of local participation. Moreover meaningful bonds were made with the young people these pupils were working with, which may mean that these pupils will value difference and diversity rather than fear what is unknown to them. However, this type of voluntary participation is not of the type that Crick intended. He has written:

I remain concerned, though, that the interpretation of "community involvement" that underpins the Citizenship curriculum will involve a conception of the community that sees it simply as a place or neighbourhood where students are merely 'active': *doing good* rather than *political good* (*ie informed, effective citizens*). That is, the new curriculum will result in forms of volunteering that will fail to challenge the students to think and act "politically" ... (2002, p115)

For pupils who were participating in community work in order to gain the Duke of Edinburgh qualification, the notion of 'active' is closer to Crick's idea of 'doing good'. Work in the community needs to be an interactive and rewarding experience that pupils can relate to. Also

crucial to active citizenship is critical reflection and dialogue. The active citizenship described above is very much of the ‘good’ type rather than the critical transformative type.

Moreover, as Frazer (2002) writes:

Real political societies are full of friction. Political actors play annoying games. Participants experience emotional difficulties and discomforts. The contest for political power is endless. Settlements of economic, social, ethnic and religious conflicts are impossible or elusive. No wonder, perhaps, that many ideal models of politics are focus on the goal of reasoned settlement, harmonious social relations, rational cooperation, and the constraint of power by right. Yet this emphasis on non-violent conciliation can foster the illusion that politics is less agonistic than it really is. Further it can foster the illusion of the non-necessity of politics – the idea that it is an unpleasantness that may sometime end. (p40)

Below I look at models of critical models of CE.

7.3.2 Transformative participation in the community and the classroom

Brooks (2009) writes:

It appears that depending on the form of citizenship education and the way it is taught, an emphasis on ‘active’ citizenship can have very different results; in some cases, promoting critical engagement with the social structure (as actively constructed by citizens) but in others, intensifying social control (by privileging ‘action’ over ‘critical thought’). (p309)

To prepare pupils for activity in the public sphere Carlsson-Paige and Lantieri (2005) state that there is a need to create a community of learners who work together and ‘live out global ways of being’ (p116). Parker and Bickmore (2012) assert that curricular experiences that purposefully generate conflict dialogue and address issues of power and difference can create spaces for inclusion of multiple histories, experiences, and perspectives (p47). They recognise, however, that:

Even though mainstream curriculum narratives can be harmful and exclusionary to subordinated groups, overt conflict (even when aired with constructive intent) is also likely riskiest for the lowest status participants in classrooms, because their ideas and identities may be least familiar, and/or least welcome, in the eyes of classroom majorities. (p49)

Transformative classrooms create conditions in which students from different groups can interact in ways that enable them to view events from diverse perspectives and to deliberate in equal-status situations. Oulton et al (2004) propose that: 'Students need to explore how it is that individuals can apparently arrive at different perspectives on an issue. Introducing them to multiple perspectives is therefore an essential part of the methods of teaching about controversial issues.' (p491). QCA state that it is not their 'business or intention to try to tell teachers how to teach but we do suggest a 'common sense' approach has much to recommend it' (QCA, 1998, p60).

Part of teachers' caution in teaching controversial issues concerns the expression of personal opinion. QCA warn that 'whilst aiming for balance we should remember that to be completely unbiased is impossible and in some cases undesirable. What we need to avoid is indoctrination' (QCA, 1998, p56). QCA then state:

When dealing with controversial issues, teachers should adopt strategies that teach pupils how to recognise bias, how to evaluate evidence put before them and how to look at alternative interpretations, viewpoints and sources of evidence, above all to give good reasons for everything they say or do, and to expect good reasons to be given by others. (QCA, 1998, p56)

One school stood out during the research process as delivering the transformative type of education that Banks (2008) and others describe; a secondary school in rural Derbyshire. The citizenship initiatives at this school are led by the citizenship coordinator who has developed a clear strategy which interweaves all the different initiatives into a coherent whole:

We have modules on discrimination, diversity, inclusion, human rights and it's a scheme of work that's followed through the whole of KS3 so we address it in year 7, we follow it up in 8 and we follow it up in 9. For example we look at bullying in year 7, in year 8 we look at racist bullying and we look at that from a global point of view, and also in year 9 we look at bullying from a sexuality and homophobic point of view.

The kids were stunned that 83 countries in the world still have homosexuality as illegal. So a few years ago we were doing a lot of work on civil partnerships and that,

now we're contrasting attitudes globally regarding civil partnerships and adoption, attitudes towards gay people adopting.

Pupils' class work is enhanced by a link with Uganda where, at the time of visiting, the government were making moves to make homosexuality punishable by death. Older pupils also have the opportunity to carry out voluntary work overseas, an area of work that was commented on in a recent OFSTED inspection:

Students show maturity in understanding how to stay safe and healthy, and their appreciation of community responsibility is exceptional. The school sponsors a Sri Lankan partner school, and some students undertake challenging activities in that country on behalf of the community there. Such commitment illustrates students' strong moral, social and cultural responsibility.

An outstanding feature is the contribution that students make to improving the school and wider community. For example, the fundraising of individuals to finance visits to Sri Lanka to undertake community service there has a positive impact on the attitudes of every student. All are determined to make a lasting difference to people affected by the tsunami.

Key to this educator's success is her passion for and commitment to citizenship. She says 'I love citizenship! It's on the news, it's on the TV. It's everywhere and it's just brilliant'. This teacher has tackled some significantly controversial issues such as arranged marriages which pupils have also explored through poetry as well as through dedicated citizenship classes. She is very keen to encourage pupil understanding and empathy. Pupils explore conflict, conflict resolution and war through a scheme of work called 'Religion in Action' which unites RE and citizenship. For this teacher one of her 'personal aims' is to use overseas links and the ISA to tackle Islamophobia which 'has been a feature of a number of lessons', and to contribute to the community cohesion initiative. I ask:

So what sort of things have you come up against?

They're all terrorists, they don't speak English, they're all over here taking our jobs, they've got no conception of the reality ... To introduce them to Islam I showed them a clip of a documentary about British Muslim women owning their own businesses. I

told them that these women were born in England, their parents were born here. They are British, they just have a different religion. And afterwards I had about three questions asking, 'How did they learn to speak English that well?' And it's such a deep rooted attitude in this area because of a lack of understanding, education and awareness. This whole area has had very little inward migration of any different ethnicities or religions so it's not that they're all ridiculously racist it's just that they've got no awareness so to see a woman dressed in a Burka for example would just be completely alien to anything they've ever seen before so it's about heightening their awareness.

Other schools involved with the WH project also directly link the Community Cohesion initiative to tackling anti-Islamic feeling. These educators seem to have a very clear notion of how the ISA can provide a framework for introducing controversial issues. One secondary teacher comments:

We've done some fantastic stuff on Islamophobia. You do get the kids saying: 'If they come to our county they should wear what we wear' and we're challenging that now. We had quite a heated debate about respecting culture.

He feels that pupil attitude has been shaped by the tabloids such as the Daily Mail which promotes the very negative and biased attitudes. One area of work has focused on women and dress within a human rights framework. He says:

We only get to touch the surface but it's a big one. The Hijab represents a lot of key themes in religion and free choice. In terms of citizenship they need to understand where human rights are contested and they need to understand both points of view. So that's a classic one. Who's human rights are you dealing with? Is there a point at which you can control what somebody wears. And who does? The husband? The person? The pupils would say they do choose because what kids here don't understand is that in the choice of the clothes that they wear - they would say they've got free choice but they all wear the same and very often it's very revealing. Who are they wearing that for? Who's putting pressure on them to wear those sorts of clothes?

Educators also consider that:

One of the good things about the link is that it's about real people and places and not a faceless 'people over there' idea ... But I think it's also about active citizenship. Pupils doing things for others in other parts of the world and acting out of understanding and knowledge rather than out of ignorance.

Other WH teachers, however, are not so confident in dealing with controversial issues, preferring to teach 'safe' topics:

We've chosen fairly safe areas to work on such as 'Perceptions' but I think that's good as well. We've started working on a project called 'A day in the life of' which has included a bit about school, and their view from their bedroom window which I think will show pupils in a simple but effective way how their lives are different ... Year 9 have been asking some very interesting questions and have moved beyond thinking about Afghanistan as just a place of conflict and war ... I think if we can start to change that at grass roots student level then hopefully they'll grow older with that changed perception which can only be good.

7.3.3 Conflict in the classroom

The research found that difference in the classroom was perceived as creating conflict and tension between pupils and was therefore regarded as a barrier to engaging with global citizenship. Educators were wary of causing further conflict between pupils and considered that there were aspects of GCE that would contribute to tension rather than help to alleviate friction. One Primary PGCE student remarked:

In my class it was interaction in the classroom that was a problem, let alone how are we going to get along with that school down the road, or with other people in the community. I had a class of 24 and 6 of them wouldn't sit anywhere near each other. So actually in my class the issue was 'How are we going to get along'?

The above comment underlines the potential difficulty in building a cohesive classroom community where pupils are able to work together. During the discussion about developing links between schools in order for pupils from different ethnic backgrounds and heritages to mix one student says:

I had Muslim children in my class so I didn't need to. I already had that, which is why the class was so problematic.

From this it would seem that he regarded the challenges of teaching in a diverse classroom as being the fault of the 'other' children. My research also found that other forms of perceived difference have the potential to cause tension in the classroom and that this can prevent students and teachers from including a global dimension and teaching global citizenship. One student commented:

It's difficult to do that [persuade children from different backgrounds to work together] even in one classroom. I had 'Oh, I'm not sitting by him! He smells! He doesn't wash!' And that was because his uniform was bedraggled and he was obviously from a low income family and this girl absolutely refused to sit next to him. So it's all very idealistic to say 'Oh, we need to do this and we need to do that!' I don't think some of my kids would even care, to tell you the truth. They're more worried about going home, sitting on their Play Station, and it's wrong, I know, I agree, but a hell of a lot of kids are from poor areas and it's enough just to get them to school in the morning.

This provoked the following response from one of the MMU Secondary Tutors involved with the MMU/DEP project:

I thought that was very telling because it struck me that what they were talking about was less to do with the difficulties of the global dimension and more to do with their own difficulties in getting to grips with this incredibly diverse class that they were teaching. It just struck me that there were some very fundamental things there about understanding their role as teachers and their responsibilities and their awareness. (Valerie)

In addition some students were reluctant to include global issues in the classroom because of the issues pupils have to contend with at home or in the community. This acted as a barrier to teaching GCE or including a global dimension because educators felt that:

To do global issues would have been putting too much on the plate of, like, 6 year old children who were trying to understand what was going on in their home or in their street, let alone what's going on thousands of miles away. It just felt like, 'How can I even go there with those children when they're coming in every day with issues from their street?' (Primary trainee June 2004)

As well as 'issues from their street' acting to prevent inclusion of the global dimension, some students felt that economic issues that pupils were dealing with acted as a barrier:

I think it'd be really difficult because the kids don't bring pencils to school, they don't bring bags to school, they don't have a uniform. So if we do fair trade and tell them we should be buying this to give them [poor people] more money'. I don't think that that would really fit with where those kids are coming from. Some of those parents can barely afford the shopping at the normal price. They don't have non-uniform days so pupils aren't stigmatised. (Secondary trainee, March 2004)

The school I was at had so little money they don't have even have any science, history or geography resources particularly at all so if you stick with the topic what they always do which is Florence Nightingale and the Great Fire of London in history

there's a backlog of resources that you can use but they just don't have the money for you to go and splash out on a whole lot of new resources. So I mean, I think partly depends on the resources the school has and I don't know where to go or the websites to go on. PGCE Primary, June 2005

As discussed in the section on 'Significance' it was the comments above that elicited quite a strong reaction from the tutors involved in the MMU/DEP project, particularly from the Deputy Head of Secondary programmes who apologised during this Away Day for her initial negative response. This tutor then led a discussion focused on the student extracts which elicited some interesting responses from the tutors present:

Education should be about opening up opportunities and awareness. Opening the kids' eyes to the diversity of the world. You've got to make sure that the curriculum makes some sort of emotional contact with the kids that you're teaching. It'd be a bit depressing if you said: 'These kids are poor and they're socially deprived therefore we can't make the curriculum too exciting or interesting because that would be too much for them to cope with.' That's rubbish.

A Primary PGCE Tutor commented:

I think they're seeing teaching as separate parts of a package whereas if you're an experienced teacher can say look I've got these particular students in this school, these are some of the issues we're having to deal with therefore I'm going to make sure that I'm not asking them to do things that are unreasonable in terms of having the right equipment and so on and those sorts of practicalities are dealt with in terms of how they manage the learning in the classroom but that shouldn't dictate the aims and the values and the content of the curriculum which should be to do with widening horizons for these children.

So much of this struck me that it was to do with the absolutely the key issues about what education is for, what it's for, who are the power brokers within education and about the social awareness of our trainees going into very deprived schools and knowing what to prioritise and what they're in a position to tackle and what they're not in a position to tackle. And I'm not surprised that they're saying what they're saying because I think that they are going in and recognising what a huge job it is particularly in sort of Greater Manchester. The person trying to teach about fair trade – the basic levels of need in that classroom are so basic that it's almost irrelevant.

This is nothing to do with the curriculum that's to do with how you organise your teaching and learning to accommodate the fact that they don't have those pieces of equipment. The key thing here is that the students are confusing the need to accommodate and support students and the learning and teaching and its management with the content of the curriculum.

Cole and Stuart's (2005) research with student teachers found a 'significant degree of racism, xenophobia and ignorance in [mainly white] schools' (p363). They advocate 'a critical analysis of imperialism, past and present' in the National Curriculum in order to help inform pupils 'more precisely about the historical and contemporary nature of British society' (ibid. p363). Educators' reluctance to engage with controversial and global issues reiterates the need for appropriate and engaging training for educators, an issue that has been highlighted in a number of reports. For example the introduction to the Guidance for teacher trainers states that student teachers need to understanding the role they need to play in 'preparing pupils to play a full part in a culturally diverse, democratic society which values everybody and accords them equal rights'. The Guidance also asserts that schools have an important part to play in helping all pupils to become informed, concerned citizens, and in increasing mutual understanding' (pp 7-8). However subsequent research found that only 35% of newly qualified teachers considered their initial training 'good' or 'very good' at preparing them to teach pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds (TDA, 2005). Furthermore some educators felt that there was a:

Focus on Britishness now though isn't there which is a bit different from what we're trying to do, promoting other cultures ... We're not doing the British angle at all so we're going to have to find a way of addressing that. (Julie, Secondary Teacher)

The Ajebo Report (2007) argued that teachers need 'training in diversity' in order to prepare pupils to live in a multi-ethnic society and engender community cohesion. The Report states:

The aim is to facilitate the development of 'culturally responsive' teachers. It's a tall order. Education for diversity is a potential minefield for teachers, particularly when they find themselves straying into unfamiliar or controversial territory. It is especially challenging at the extremes: in predominantly white rural areas, which face the challenge of unfamiliarity; and in urban and some rural areas where the challenge is of engaging with a mobile school population settling in the UK for the first time, with little spoken English. (p66)

During the research period students interviewed became increasingly aware of the need to teach for diversity and to include issues and topics in the curriculum about which there may be strong difference of opinion. Nevertheless, none of the students who participated in the focus groups considered that they had included controversial issues during their placement.

7.3.5 *Training as catalyst for change*

As suggested above the methodologies Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) and Philosophy for Global Citizenship can act as important catalysts for change in both pupils and teachers, and enable teachers to engage with controversial issues and attitudes, such as Islamophobia, which in turn leads to teachers responding to initiatives such as Community Cohesion with commitment and enthusiasm. It was endorsed in the Ajegbo Report (2007) as a ‘highly valuable’ (p47) methodology for teaching and learning for diversity.

Conflict in the classroom was initially an issue for one teacher involved with the GA project. She described how she wanted to ‘bring the wider world into the school’ but felt unable to do so because of the friction between pupils. She says:

I mean it was horrendous - physical fighting because they fall out, that's what they're like. They fall out with each other really badly and their solution is to hit each other. I couldn't tell you what it was about. It was something and nothing really but it just got really bad. It would escalate and escalate and escalate until they've gone home and then you get parents involved and they start hitting each other. (Penny, Primary Teacher)

She was asked by the school Head to attend the Gaining Authority CPD course on education for global citizenship but had severe reservations about it:

I wondered how I was ever going to be able to get them to talk to each other properly and work together to do some global dimension work.

However, she went to the training, and on the first day of the course:

We looked at a diagram and there was something about conflict and I thought 'Oh, conflict resolution! That's just the sort of thing we could focus on in my class!

Pupils at this school were trained to become Peacemakers and:

They've taken to it like ducks to water. I got them to choose 8 children that they trusted. It had to be children that they'd trust not to take sides and they did that really well ... They organise it themselves ... I don't really have anything to do with it. The children deal with it themselves which is brilliant because it's giving them that tool that they can take up to secondary school because even if they haven't been a peacemaker themselves if they've been exposed to the process they've learned the listening, not sorting out while the tempers are high, and we have this rule where they don't go to the peacemaker until the peacemaker's finished their work which in actual fact has meant, although I hadn't planned it that way, it's meant that it's given them time to calm down and 9 times out of 10 they can sort it.

Having resolved the conflict in the classroom the teacher was able to start to 'be the teacher I wanted to be'. Aided by what she had learned and experienced on the course she used football as way of introducing the global dimension to her classroom teaching. Below she describes her work:

The course has made me think about what I teach in a different way but all the curriculum links are there – geography, ITC, literacy, maths. And the pupils are really into it. A big thing about the work is that they must work cooperatively. They must work together to produce a piece of work and so far so good. I used a think, pair, share exercise where they thought about what they might do on their own, then they talked about their ideas of another country in pairs and then two pairs got together to share their ideas and planned what they wanted to do on a sheet of paper. This was a chance for the pupils to do something really creative and they needed to think of something that they can all find out about for each of their countries such as music or schools or travel.

The course made it easier for me to do. I can do a project like this in clear conscience I've almost got the backing to do it because I can justify it better because I make the curriculum links and show how they go towards global citizenship.

Another of the teachers involved with the GA project felt that P4C had a great impact on how she teaches literacy. For example the skills pupils develop through P4C enable them to think through what they think and feel about an issue and to structure their writing better. So rather than thinking about discussion in terms of debate where each side speaks and then a vote is taken, it has enabled pupils to see discussion far more in terms of an exchange of ideas. She

added ‘And it’s made *me* think and ask myself questions about my teaching and the children’s learning.’ She described how, during Harvest Time she asked the children ‘What does Harvest mean to you?’ One boy replied that ‘It’s when you give money to poor people in Africa.’ She said:

The course has opened my eyes and not just made me spot comments like the boy’s but made me think about why he thinks this and what can we do to try and broaden his perspectives ... And we were doing about different climates and the had a map of the world and there was the UK in the centre of the map. And again, before the course I don’t think I’d have really given that a second thought but this time we had a great discussion about why the UK is in the middle and why maps are designed the way they are ... It’s [the course] made me question everything and it’s made me want the children to think and question.

Significant is that the training has reinvigorated teaching for this group. This commitment and enthusiasm will have a major impact on how teacher’ interpret new initiatives and is likely to produce the tendency for positivity and to search for creative ways in which new initiatives can be incorporated into current teaching and curriculum:

It was the best, best thing I’ve done in my whole teaching career I think

Me too. It made me feel excited about something again. And it made me feel I want to do this and this and this, and wouldn’t it be wonderful if we could do this and this!! Instead of just looking forward to the end of my teaching career.

Where teachers are confident and knowledgeable they are able to use curriculum space creatively, combining and making links between a number of the top-down initiatives and including an element of progression. One teacher describes how ‘At primary level we’re wearing too many hats!’ (Primary MFL teacher) but in some cases teachers are interpreting the different initiatives in a way that makes creative use of the time and space available for global citizenship so that the space becomes unified.

7.4 *Discussion of findings*

These findings draw attention to some very different responses to participation and active citizenship. The literature highlights that for active citizenship and participation to be meaningful critical reflection and dialogue needs to occur. For the schools in Lincolnshire active citizenship of the ‘good’ type rather than the critical, transformative type. Moreover the research found that diversity in the classroom is perceived by some educators as creating conflict and tension between pupils which sets up a barrier to engaging with global citizenship. Educators were wary of causing further conflict between pupils and considered that there were aspects of GCE that would contribute to tension rather than help to alleviate friction. Lack of understanding and awareness of GCE and associated pedagogy can have significant unintended consequences for pupils as well as serve to further entrench negative views of diversity and frame certain pupils, and by association their beliefs and opinions, as ‘problems’ in the classroom.

Educators’ reluctance to engage with controversial and global issues reiterates the need for appropriate and engaging training for educators to avoid educators adopting racist, xenophobic or ignorant interpretations of top-down initiatives. Indeed my research found that innovative approaches to educator training can have major impacts on teaching practice and reinvigorate teachers’ enthusiasm. A key tendency that this may prompt is a more creative, engaged and open minded interpretation of top-down initiatives.

Chapter 8

8.0 Conclusion

Over the ten years that I researched educators' responses to key top-down citizenship related initiatives there were a number of momentous events at global, national and local levels, the shockwaves of many of which we are still feeling: terrorism; global financial collapse which has led to severe economic recession; violent social unrest; and political scandals such as MP's expenses and phone hacking. England has also experienced a change of government from New Labour to a Conservative/Liberal Democratic Coalition.

The original reason for introducing citizenship education was to address the democratic deficit and to promote active citizenship and it was these areas that schools focused on. Including a global dimension then received a big push which linked to then Prime Minister Tony Blair's commitment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The global dimension and sustainable development became a non-statutory cross curricular dimension as part of the new secondary curriculum in 2008. The aims state that the secondary curriculum should enable young people to become: successful learners who enjoy learning, make progress and achieve; confident individuals who are able to live safe, healthy and fulfilling lives; and responsible citizens who make a positive contribution to society.

My key research questions were:

- a) How do educators say they have responded to the ever changing landscape of citizenship education?
- b) What are the factors that are influencing educators' responses?

The background literature reveals that citizenship is a highly complex notion about which there is no universal agreement. Commentators agree that citizenship is constructed from a

set of rights and duties, and belonging to a nation is defined through the guarantee of certain rights by the state in return for individuals carrying out certain obligations. However the framing and arrangement of rights and obligations will depend on the political system of which they form part.

The literature further shows citizenship to be a fluid concept which shifts and changes in time. Some nations, such as China and Japan, have very tightly defined notions of citizenship but the impact of globalisation is driving nations to rethink and redefine understandings of the citizen. In addition the shifting nature of citizenship can be as a result of, for example, different groups seeking recognition within a nation's citizenship constructs, or, in stark contrast, a narrowing of the concept in order to clearly delineate those who belong and those who do not.

During the period of my research, as I have discussed, there were a number of highly significant events that impacted on notions of citizenship. Each event prompted national debate and generated an educational response with citizenship education being regarded as the vehicle to change attitudes and behaviour. There were thus a number of amendments made to the key aims of citizenship education in England from a focus on the rights and duties of the active citizen, in particular tackling democratic deficit, to a desire to include a global dimension in classroom teaching, to an explicit requirement for citizenship to tackle issues of difference and diversity and concerns with a lack of community cohesion. In addition during this period, in reaction to the London bombings, the New Labour government was extremely keen to construct a notion of the British citizen, underpinned by a number of purported British values.

In the first instance the research found that educators have very different understandings of citizenship. The definition of citizenship which undergirds the Order for Citizenship in

England was T. H. Marshall's description. Government understandings of citizenship were also influenced by both Communitarian and Civic Republican notions of the citizen, which emphasize the duties of the citizen in the public sphere and the something-for-something society. At the school I visited in Lincolnshire at the start of the research process the aims and purposes of citizenship education are clearly based on rights and duties and their model of CE revolves around individuals being responsible citizens. In keeping with this understanding of CE the school elaborated a safe approach towards controversial issues within a PSHE framework focused on developing responsible behaviour in students. There was recognition from the CE provider that teaching needed to be engaging and relevant, particularly where social issues such as homelessness were explored. However social issues were constructed on the rights and responsibilities paradigm (ie this could happen to you if you do not behave properly) as opposed to a model of CE premised on critical action which explored wider social and cultural reasons for homelessness. In addition there was no diversity teaching of any kind.

As the role and purpose of citizenship education shifts, interpretations of citizenship by teachers, students and tutors also seem to shift. The interviews and focus groups with educators revealed a change in citizenship discourse as the need for pupils to be educated about global issues and concerns becomes a key response to the development of CE models, reflecting the global dimension initiative and New Labour's belief that people in this country have a responsibility to help eradicate poverty in developing countries. Educators talk about wanting to raise awareness and broaden horizons as well as a desire to challenge negative perceptions and stereotypes of the other.

The focus group with MMU/DEP teachers highlighted the complexity and the challenge for educators in marrying up the concepts of citizenship, global citizenship and including a

global dimension. There was a general feeling that global citizenship was not relevant to their pupils. Some educators did not consider that adding 'global' to citizenship made any significant difference to the knowledge, skills and understanding needed by pupils. There was also a feeling of a lack of clarity of what a 'global' issue:

It depends though what a global issue is. Is a global issue to do with different countries and different cultures from those countries which is the old multicultural idea or are you teaching global issues because we are living in a global society and we are having an adverse impact on the planet and at some point in the future the rich countries are going to suddenly find that the tables have turned on them and we're the poor relations and that's what they're frightened of. You have to deconstruct it.

Further discussion with the focus group revealed that CE is taught under the PSHE umbrella and the way the curriculum was organized and managed meant that they are very much constrained in how they are able to interpret CE. There is a voluntary PSHE coordinator who is responsible for designing the schemes of work and lesson plans, which are then taught by teachers during Tutor time. This arrangement seemed to be a source of some contention for teachers and led to a feeling that the curriculum was fragmented and lacked coherence, an issue which was recognised by the teachers themselves. This prompted these educators to employ the global dimension initiative as a framework and guide to their classroom teaching which meant they could bring in the GCE issues and topics that were of personal interest to them. However, they considered that they taught the global dimension better than global citizenship. The responses from these educators highlighted the significance of personal interest and motivation in actively finding and creating opportunities to include global issues. As previously mentioned the focus group also revealed the potential challenges for educators created by lack of clarity around CE, global citizenship and including a global dimension. A big hurdle for the notion of global citizenship education and the initiative to include a global dimension in classroom teaching is that they are complex ideas and they are understood very differently in different contexts. Moreover, while citizenship is defined through the National

Curriculum, there is no single definition of global citizenship that teachers can work to, although Oxfam's definition of the global citizen is one which is popular with educators. There exists a definition of the global dimension which DFID developed which can be understood through the eight key concepts of global citizenship, conflict resolution, diversity, human rights, interdependence, social justice, sustainable development, and values and perceptions. The global dimension is therefore underpinned not only by some complex ideas but also includes a number of contested concepts, in particular global citizenship and sustainable development, as well as very differing ideas about how issues of diversity should be approached and exactly what social justice means. The existence of a definition for the global dimension could explain on the one hand why the MMU/DEP teachers felt that they covered the global dimension better than global citizenship – the definition provides teachers something tangible to focus on and explore how it can be included in their teaching. On the other hand, global citizenship is one of the eight key concepts underpinning a global dimension, so in theory schools that are including a global dimension are including teaching and learning about global citizenship. This apparent contradiction in how teachers say they are responding to the various initiatives serves not only to further highlight their complexity, but also the need for appropriate teacher training and CPD.

Educators' conceptualisation of Space significantly impact on interpretations of top-down initiatives which in turn impact CE models and pedagogy. Targets and assessment procedures are cited as key fillers of space, circumscribing space and impeding the creation of space to critically reflect on their own teaching, or share thoughts and ideas with peers. This lack of space for educators' to think and reflect seems to create a self-perpetuating cycle of uncritical engagement: from Foundation Stage education right the way through to tertiary education educators are having to use assessment frameworks which seem to shut off space to think and generate the tendency for educators to cite that they are too busy to consider the global

dimension. This then provokes further tendencies in educators to interpret top-down initiatives as being too much to deal with which in turn closes the space for educators to engage with innovative pedagogies.

Creative use of curriculum space thus becomes increasingly important as the number of top-initiatives increases and pressure on the curriculum increases. Mechanisms that combine to influence perceptions of space are: the priority attributed to CE, particularly by senior management; personal interest; commitment; knowledge and understanding of CE, the global dimension and related pedagogies; the ability (or lack of ability) to take an overview and see how the different initiatives can mesh together into a coherent whole.

The teachers who are committed to and knowledgeable about GCE are able to critically engage with the top down initiatives and meld them in such a way as to construct holistic models of CE that find their own space in the curriculum. Where there are constraints these educators are able to work around the limitations and find space within the curriculum.

For some educators the initiatives seem to be source of pressure which sets up tendency to interpret the initiatives as something more, something additional that has to be managed, particularly in the case where educators are having to address different priorities such as raising or maintaining results. This in turn helps to create a number of tendencies. For some educators the response is that more time is needed to address the top-down initiatives, but it cannot be given so a quick-fix solution is sought. These quick fixes include, for example, one teacher talking about 'breaking the law' so that she was able to include global citizenship in her teaching; and assimilation where CE and top-down initiatives are assimilated into curriculum areas in such a way that they become indistinguishable and no coherent programme can be discerned. The assimilation approach is perhaps an indication of the pressure schools are under to find curriculum space to include citizenship, preferring instead

to label as CE an established aspect of the timetable which could contribute to the 5% curriculum allocation for citizenship. Other teachers seek a readymade package. The pressure on what to include seems to be strongly influenced by an outcomes-based, assessment-driven model which, for some teachers, works to completely fill not only the teaching space but also the space to think leading to a space that is circumscribed. This provokes tendencies in educators to interpret top-down initiatives as being too much to deal with which in turn closes of space for teachers to use innovative pedagogies.

In addition, for pupils used to working within an assessment and outcomes paradigm it can sometimes be a challenge for them to work in groups or listen to each other. For educators that do not have space to engage, the model of citizenship developed is likely to lack coherence and citizenship related teaching is likely to be assimilated into other areas of school life and the curriculum.

This research also found that appropriate training can have a profound effect on educators' practice which drives them to respond to initiatives in ways that are new to them and enables some educators to see more clearly which changes to their teaching can be made and how. However, enabled space is highly significant. Without the support from senior management and, in the case of students, mentors, for top-down initiatives it is very difficult for individuals to respond in the way they would like, highlighting the importance of remit. In addition the way the curriculum is organised and managed will also provoke certain tendencies. Where curriculum space is constrained educators' responses and interpretations will depend on school context and personal interests. Educators with interest in and commitment to global issues and the global dimension will find ways round externally imposed constraints to teach global citizenship.

There was considerable variation between schools in their approach to managing diversity in the classroom. Some teachers and students felt confident and able to teach in a multicultural classroom, and considered it crucial to draw on pupils' heritage and experiences in order that they do not lose their identity. Some educators also considered that including pupils' personal knowledge enriched the pupil learning experience in a way that text books cannot. Other educators found dealing with difference a considerable challenge and rather than a rich resource, regarded difference as a problem to be overcome. These divergent ways of understanding difference will impact on the way in which educators interpret top-down initiatives. Interpretations varied from those teachers who considered that issues of difference were not a problem because the school was majority white in an almost all-white area, to those teachers who were interpreting the initiatives as a vehicle for tackling racism, in particular Islamophobia.

For WH schools the ISA frames notions of CE. At the same time, it is the key teachers' understandings of citizenship education that led to a desire to be involved with the ISA, and the explicit aspiration to tackle Islamophobia. Educators involved with the WH project are able to employ the ISA as an umbrella framework, meshing together CE, with a particular focus on the Identity and Diversity strand, the duty to promote community cohesion and the global dimension. These schools view the ISA as a highly valuable way of moving the school forward from a situation where teachers carrying out global citizenship work on an individual basis to establishing cross curricular links and embedding global citizenship education within the curriculum. One teacher commented:

The ISA has given us lots of changes to bring in things that we wouldn't have been able to before.

In addition, to have a framework within which to work such as the ISA provides a focus for developing global citizenship teaching and learning, gave teachers the remit they felt they

needed in order to organise global citizenship work, and encourage other teachers in the school to include global citizenship in their teaching. One teacher comments:

I think it's given us understanding that there are far more opportunities to do this work than we'd previously thought.

Educators' personal aptitude and interest in difference and diversity come into play within the ISA framework, particularly in relation to controversial issues. Some of the teachers involved took a cautious approach and chose to develop 'safe' joint curriculum projects with partner schools. Pupils explore identity and diversity in a very benign way by drawing and sharing with their link school what they see from their bedroom window. This has the potential to generate interesting classroom dialogue, but is very different from the CE developed by two secondary schools that are part of the WH project, and a primary school in Bristol. These educators share a passion for CE and the commitment and drive to explore and confront the controversy and prejudiced opinion that can be generated by diversity. Although these schools share a general approach, school context is very different between the two secondary schools which are majority white and rural, and the primary school which is multicultural and inner city.

What was interesting, though, was that a school with a highly diverse pupil population does not necessarily mean that there is a high degree of multiculturalism. The MMU/DEP practising teachers work in a highly diverse school but found that pupils tended to stay within their own communities and were quite prejudiced towards others. This suggests that educators need to be interpreting and responding to CE and related top-down initiatives in a way that is sensitive to school context. This then indicates that teacher training and CPD needs to equip educators with a range of strategies and approaches for dealing with diversity and conflict in the classroom. A combination of educator commitment and suitable training gave rise to a transformative teaching and learning experience for both teachers and pupils,

and, indeed, enabled educators to overcome conflict in the classroom in order to be able to include GCE. The OSDE and P4GC reinvigorated educators and encouraged them to change their practice from one that was constrained by the assessment and outcomes based paradigm to one that educators felt was more meaningful.

Enthusiasm and lack of training, on the other hand, can lead to inappropriate pedagogy being employed and educators attempting to hammer or drum critical thinking skills into pupils. Lack of training together with no enthusiasm seems to mean that educators sidestep or ignore issues of difference and diversity and the conflict this can create in the classroom. Educators' lack of knowledge and understanding or experience of difference leads to a lack of confidence in being able to teach about diversity and include difference in their teaching. Teacher confidence and conviction thus seems to become increasingly important as the top-down initiatives and directives issued to schools contain recommendations that educators need to be teaching for difference, at the same time as political rhetoric explicitly states that the British people need a set of overarching values to which all are committed, and that minorities have a duty to integrate. This fear and wariness leads some teachers to perceive diversity as a 'source of divisiveness, conflict, and lack of cultural harmony' (Suliman and Moore, 1996, p4).

Final thoughts

During the research process I was interested to see if certain mechanisms combined to create a 'perfect storm' of tendencies and educators' responses whereby key generative mechanisms knit together to create an ideal CE teaching and learning experience for both pupils and teachers. However my research found that there was a wide variety of responses from educators who are influenced in different ways by different mechanisms to trigger a complex pattern of tendencies. While there are a number of mechanisms which seem to be particularly

significant to tendency generation including school context and appropriate training, highly significant mechanisms for generating educators' responses are personal commitment and motivation, and the ability to think creatively in such a way that top-down initiatives can be viewed as opportunities, for example to develop and include innovative pedagogy, as opposed to regarding proposals as barriers to teaching and learning. It is possible that, through appropriate training, educators can acquire skills in creative and critical thinking. However the passion and motivation to teach citizenship education is much harder to impart. The majority of educators who were committed to citizenship, and in particular those committed to teaching for diversity and dialogue, had had some kind of personal experience which had not only provoked commitment but also provided a personal resource for educators to draw on in the classroom, which in turn helped to increase educators' confidence to address potentially highly controversial issues. The potential for innovative educator training to capture and transmit the feelings that personal experience can inspire is thus an area that would benefit from further research.

APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO SCHOOLS

OPEN UNIVERSITY PROJECT

1. School Information

| <i>Mixed</i> | <i>Single-sex (G)</i> | <i>Single-sex (B)</i> |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | | |

2. Age range of school

| <i>4-16</i> | <i>4-18</i> | <i>8-13</i> | <i>11-16</i> | <i>11-18</i> | <i>12-18</i> | <i>12-19</i> | <i>11-19</i> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | | | | | | |

3. Catchment area of school

| <i>Inner city</i> | <i>Outer city</i> | <i>Rural</i> | <i>Town</i> | <i>Other</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| | | | | |

4. Size of school

| <i>0-150</i> | <i>0-300</i> | <i>0-450</i> | <i>0-600</i> | <i>0-800</i> |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | | | |

| <i>0-1000</i> | <i>0-1200</i> | <i>0-1500</i> | <i>1500+</i> |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | | | |

5. Designated subject called 'Citizenship' on the syllabus

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

6. If 'Yes' how is it organized?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

6a. Do you have any documents relating to the teaching of Citizenship?

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
| | |

6b. If 'Yes' what are they?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

6c. How much time is dedicated to teaching Citizenship and to which pupils?

| Amount of time | Year 7 | Year 8 | Year 9 | Year 10 | Year 11 | Year 12 |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 20 mins/week | | | | | | |
| 30 mins/week | | | | | | |
| 40 mins/week | | | | | | |
| Tutor time | | | | | | |
| Assembly | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | |
| Cross curricular | | | | | | |
| Extra curricular | | | | | | |
| Modular | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | |

7. Do you have a designated subject called 'PSHE' on the syllabus?

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

7a. If 'Yes' how is it organized?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

8. Do you have any documents relating to the teaching of PSHE?

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

8a. If 'Yes' what are they?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

9. Is Citizenship taught in any other way?

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

9a. If 'Yes', in what other ways is Citizenship taught and how much time do you think is spent on it?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

9b. Do you have any documents relating to how Citizenship is taught in other ways?

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

10. Citizenship Provider and/or Coordinator at the school?

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

11. Do you have a Schools Council?

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

11a. If 'Yes' what are its functions?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

12. Do you have any programmes of curricular or extra-curricular work which relate to the community?

| <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|------------|-----------|
| | |

12a. If 'Yes' what form does it take?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abowitz, K. and Harnish, J. (2006) 'Contemporary discourses of citizenship', *Review of Educational Research*, 76, 653-690.
- Adler, P. A. and Adler, P. (1987) *Membership roles in field research*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Adler, P. A. and Adler, P. (2012) 'Keynote address. Tales from the field: Reflections on four decades of ethnography', *Qualitative Sociology Review*, 1, 10-32.
- Ahmed, R., Sayed, Y. and Soudien, C. (2007) 'Creating the Rainbow Nation: Citizenship and Education in South Africa'. In Roth, K. and Burbules, N. C. (Eds) *Changing Notions of Citizenship Education in Contemporary Nation States*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 119-135.
- Ajegbo, K., Kiwan, D. and Sharma, S. (2007) *Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review (The Ajegbo Report)*. Nottingham: DfES.
- Allport, G. W. (1997) *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andrews, R., McGlynn, C., and Mycock, A. (2010): 'National pride and students' attitudes towards history: an exploratory study', *Educational Studies*, 36(3), 299-309.
- Andrews, R. and Mycock, A. (2007) 'Citizenship education in the UK: Divergence within a multi-national state' *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 3(1), 73-88.
- Annette, J. (2000) 'Citizenship studies, community service learning and higher education', in R. Gardner, J. Cairns and D. Lawton (eds) *Education for Values: Morals, Ethics and Citizenship in Contemporary Teaching*. London: Kogan Page. 109-123.
- Annette, J. (2009) "'Active learning for active citizenship": Democratic citizenship and lifelong', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 4, 149-160.
- Annette, J. (2005) 'Character, civic renewal and service learning for democratic citizenship in higher education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53(3), 326-40.
- Appiah, K. A. (2004) 'Liberal Education: The United States Example' in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 56-74.
- Appiah, K. A. (2005) *The Ethics of Identity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Appiah, K. A. (2006) *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Archard, D. 'Citizenship Education and Multiculturalism', Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (Eds) (*Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited. 89-102.

Archer, M. (1995) *Realist social theory; the morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. and Norrie, A. (Eds) (1998) *Realist Perspectives on Management and Organisation*, London: Routledge.

Archer, M. (1998) 'Introduction: Realism in the social sciences' in Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. and Norrie, A. (Eds) *Realist Perspectives on Management and Organisation*, London: Routledge.

Archer, M. (2000) *Being Human: The Problem of Agency*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Arnot, M. (1997) "'Gendered citizenry": new feminist perspectives on education and citizenship'. *British Educational Research Journal* 23(3): 275-93.

Arnot, M. (2002) 'The Complex Gendering of Invisible Pedagogies: Social reproduction or empowerment?', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23(4), 583-593

Arnot, M. (2003) 'Citizenship Education and Gender', Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (Eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Arnot, M. (2006) 'Freedom's Children: A gender perspective on the education of the learner-citizen', *Review of Education*, 52, 67-87

Arnot, M. (2009) *Educating the Gendered Citizen: Sociological Engagement with national and global agendas*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Arnot, M. and Dillabough, J. (2000) *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender and Citizenship*. London: Routledge.

Arthur, J and Bailey, (2000) *Schools and Community: The Communitarian Agenda in Education*. London: Routledge.

Arthur, J. and Croll, P. 'Editorial: Citizenship, Democracy and Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(3), 233-234.

Arthur, J. and Davison, J (2002) 'Experiential learning, social literacy and the curriculum', in Scott, D. and Lawson, H. (Eds) *Citizenship education and the Curriculum* (Vol. 3). Westport, CA: Greenwood Publishing, 27-44.

Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage.

- Asbury, J. (1995) 'Overview of focus group research', *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(4), 414-420.
- Asselin, M.E. (2003) 'Doing qualitative research in your own setting' *Journal for Nurses in Staff Development*, 19(2), 99-103.
- Ball, S. J. (1993) 'Education, Majorism and 'the Curriculum of the Dead'', *Curriculum Studies*, (1) 2, 195-214.
- Banks, J. A. (2001) 'Citizenship education and diversity: Implications for Teacher Education', *Journal of Teacher Education*, 52, 5-16.
- Banks, J. A. (2002) 'Teaching for Diversity and Unity in a Democratic Multicultural Society'. In Parker, W. (Ed) *Education for Democracy: Contexts, Curricula, Assessments*. Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing.
- Banks, J. A. (Ed) (2004) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Banks, J. A. (2008a) 'Diversity, Group Identity, and Citizenship Education in a Global Age', *Educational Researcher*, 37, 129-139.
- Banks, J. A. (2008b) 'Citizenship Education and Diversity: Implications for Teacher Education', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 317-331.
- Banks, J. A. (2008c) 'Diversity and Citizenship Education in Global Times', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 57-70.
- Banks, J., McGhee, C., Cortes, C., Hahn, C., Merryfield, M., Moodley, K., Murphy-Shigematsu, S., Osler, A., Park, C. and Parker, W. (2005) *Democracy and Diversity: Principles and Concepts for Educating Citizens in a Global Age*, Seattle, WA, Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington.
- Batho, G. (1990) 'The history of the teaching of civics and citizenship in English Schools', *The Curriculum Journal*, 1(1), 91-100.
- Bauer, M. W and Gaskell, G. (Eds) (2000) *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound: a practical handbook*. London: SAGE.
- Baumgartner, T. A., Strong, C. H., and Hensley, L. D. (2002). *Conducting and reading research in health and human performance* (3rd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Beck, J. (1998) *Morality and citizenship in education*, London, Cassell.
- Beck J. (2012) 'A brief history of citizenship education in England and Wales', in Arthur, J. and Cremin, H. (2012) *Debates in Citizenship Education*. London and New York: Routledge.

Beck, U. (2002) 'The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies', *Theory, Culture & Society* April 2002 19: 17-44.

Benhabib, S (2005) 'Borders, Boundaries, and Citizenship', *PSOnline*, 673-677.

Benhabib, S. (2006) *Another Cosmopolitan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Benhabib, S. (2007) 'Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1), 19-36.

Ben-Porath, S. (2012) 'Citizenship as shared fate: Education for membership in a diverse society', *Educational Theory*, 62(4), 381-395.

Bernard-Powers, J. (2008) 'Feminism and Gender in Education for Citizenship and Democracy', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 314-328.

Bhaskar, R. A. (1978) *A realist theory of science*, 2nd Edition, New York: Harvester Press.

Bhaskar, R. A. (1979) *The possibility of naturalism: A philosophical critique of the contemporary human sciences*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.

Bhaskar, R. A. (1986) *Scientific Realism and Human Emancipation*. London: Verson.

Bhaskar, R.A. (1989) *Reclaiming Reality: A Critical Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy*. London: Verso.

Bhaskar, R. A. (1998), *The Possibility of Naturalism* (3rd edition), London: Routledge.

Bickmore, K. (2001) 'Student conflict resolution, power 'sharing' in schools, and citizenship Education', *Curriculum Inquiry*, 31(2), 137-162.

Bickmore, K. (2008) 'Peace and Conflict Education', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 438-454.

Biesta, G (2007) 'Education and the Democratic Person: Towards a Political Conception of Democratic Education', *Teachers College Record*, 109(3), 740-769.

Biesta, G. And Lawy, R. (2006) 'From teaching citizenship to learning democracy: overcoming individualism in research, policy and practice', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 36(1), 63-79.

Biseth, H. (2009) 'Multilingualism and education for democracy', *International Review of Education*, 55(1), 5-20.

Blair, A. (2003) 'Equality in education: The challenge of multiculturalism', *European Journal for Education Law and Policy*, 5, 141-151.

Blair, T. (1997) 'Speech to the European Socialists' Congress', Mälmo, Sweden.

Blair, T. (1998) *The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century*, London, Fabian Society, Pamphlet 588.

Blair, T. (1999a) 'Facing the modern challenge: the third way in Britain and South Africa', Speech in Capetown, South Africa.

Blair, T. (1999b) New year message by the British Prime Minister, given at Trimdon Colliery Community Centre, Co. Durham, reproduced at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/582621.stm

Blair, T. (2000) Speech by the British Prime Minister to the Knowledge 2000 Conference, 7 March, reproduced at www.guardianlimited.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,3971304.000

Blair, T. (2001) Speech by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, at the Labour Party conference, 2nd October 2001, reproduced at <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/oct/02/labourconference.labour6>

Blair, T. (2006) 'Our nation's future: multiculturalism and integration'. Speech given at 10 Downing Street, 8th December 2006. Available at: <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page10563.asp> (accessed 17th November 2011).

Blair, T. (2007) 'Speech to RUSI members onboard HMS Albion, Devonport', 12th September. Available at: <https://www.rusi.org/events/ref:E45A6104E7E1A8/info:public/infoID:E45A611EFEA3F2/> [last accessed 12th July 2012]

Blair, T. and Schroeder, G. (1999) 'Europe: the third way/Die Neue Mitte', London: Labour Party.

Blunkett, D. (1998) New report points the way to citizenship education for all pupils, Department for Education and Employment press release, ref.: 433/98.

Blunkett, D. (1999) 'Ethnic minority pupils must have the opportunity to fulfil their potential', quoted in Gillborn, D. Gillborn, D. (2008) *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* London: Routledge.

Blunkett, D. (2001) David Blunkett's speech made in the West Midlands to highlight the publication of reports into inner city violence this summer, Tuesday 11th December, 2001. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/dec/11/immigrationpolicy.race> [last accessed 12th July 2012]

Blunkett, D. (2002) 'What Does Citizenship Mean Today?' Article in The Observer, September 15th 2002. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/sep/15/race.thinktanks> [last accessed 12th July 2012]

Blunkett, D. (2003) *Civil Renewal – a New Agenda*. (Edith Kahn Memorial Lecture), CSV.

Blunkett, D. (2005) 'For Far Too Long, We Have Left Patriotism to the Extremists', *The Guardian*, 19 March, 19.

Bottery, M. (1999) 'Getting the Balance Right: Duty as a core ethic in the life of the school', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(3), 369-386

Bottery, M. (2003) 'The End of Citizenship? The Nation State, Threats to its Legitimacy, and Citizenship Education in the Twenty-first Century', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33(1), 101-122

Boughey, c. (undated) 'The significance of structure, culture and agency in supporting and developing student learning at South African Universities'. Available at: http://rhodes-za.academia.edu/ChrissieBoughey/Papers/446291/The_significance_of_structure_culture_and_agency_in_supporting_and_developing_student_learning_at_South_African_universities (Accessed 17th January 2012).

Bowden, B. (2003a) 'The perils of global citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*, 7(3), 349-362.

Bowden, B. (2003b) 'Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism: Irreconcilable differences or possible bedfellows?', *National Identities*, 5(3), 235-249.

Bowden, B. (2006) 'Civil society, the state and the limits to global civil society', *Global Society*, 20(2), 155-178.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998) *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*, Thousand Oaks, London: Sage.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (1996) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-010.

Breslin, T. (2006) 'The way forward: building the citizenship-rich school', in Breslin, T. and Dufour, B. (Eds) *Developing Citizens: A Comprehensive Introduction to Effective Citizenship Education in the Secondary School*. London: Hodder Murray.

Breslin, T. and Dufour, B. (Eds) (2006) *Developing Citizens: A Comprehensive Introduction to Effective Citizenship Education in the Secondary School*. London: Hodder Murray.

Brighouse, H. (2004) 'Should We Teach Patriotic History', in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 157-178.

Brown, G. (2006) 'The Future of Britishness', Speech to the Fabian Society New Year Conference, 14 January 2006. Available at <http://www.fabian-society.org.uk/events/speeches/the-future-of-britishness> (accessed on 1st August, 2011).

Buckingham, D. (1999) 'Young People, Politics and News Media: beyond political socialisation', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 171-184.

Butler, S. (1996). 'Child protection or professional self-preservation by the baby nurses?: Public health nurses and child protection in Ireland.' *Social Science & Medicine*, 43, 303-314.

Cabrera, L. (2010) *The Practice of Global Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cabinet Office (2010) *Building the Big Society*. London: Cabinet Office. Available at: <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/407789/building-big-society.pdf> (accessed on 17th November 2011).

Callan, E. (1997) *Creating citizens. Political education and liberal democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Callan, E. (2004) 'Citizenship and Education', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, 71-90.

Calhoun, C. (2003) 'Belonging in the cosmopolitan imaginary', *Ethnicities*, 3(4), 531-568.

Calvert, M. (2005) 'A square peg in a round hole: citizenship education and problems with 'curriculum' – the English secondary school problem'. Paper presented at 'Learning Beyond Cognition', Biennial Conference of the European Affective Education Network', The Danish University of Education, 30th June – 2nd July.

Calvert, M. and Clemitshaw, G. (2003). 'Implementing citizenship into the English secondary school curriculum', *Pastoral Care in Education*, (21) 3, 3–12.

Cameron, D. (2010) 'Our Big Society Agenda', Speech to the Conservative Party Conference, Liverpool, 14 July 2010. Available at http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2010/07/David_Cameron_Our_Big_Society_Agenda.aspx. (Accessed on 1st December, 2011).

Cameron, D. (2009) 'The Big Society', Hugo Young Lecture, 10 November 2009. Available at http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/11/David_Cameron_The_Big_Society.aspx. (Accessed on 1st December, 2011).

Cantle, T. (2001) *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team*. London: Home Office.

Cantle, T. (2008) *Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Caouette, D. (2006) 'Thinking and Nurturing Transnational Activism: Global Citizen Advocacy in Southeast Asia', *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies*, 21(2), 3-33.

Carnegie UK Trust (2010) *Making good society: Summary of the final report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Future of Civil Society in the UK and Ireland Carnegie UK Trust*. Dunfermline: Carnegie Trust.

Carey, M. (1995) 'Comment: Concerns in the analysis of focus group data', *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(4), 487-495.

- Carlsson-Paige, N. and Lantieri, L. (2005) 'A Changing Vision of Education', in Noddings, N. *Educating Citizens for Global Citizens*, New York: Teachers College Press. 107-121.
- Carr, D. (2006) 'Professional and personal values and virtues in education and teaching', *Oxford Review of Education*, 32(2), 171-183.
- Carr, D. (2007) 'Character in teaching', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(4), 369-389.
- Carr, D. (2008) 'Rights, Duties and Responsibilities', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 20-28.
- Carter, B. (2000) *Realism and Racism: Concepts of Race in Sociological Research*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Castles, S (2004) 'Migration, Citizenship, and Education' in Banks, J. A. (Ed) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 17-48.
- Chamberlin, R. (2003) 'Citizenship? Only If You Haven't Got A Life: secondary school pupils' views of Citizenship Education', *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 26(2), 87-97.
- Chen, S. (2013) 'The Discrepancy of Meaning of Citizenship between the State and Society in China: Implications for Citizenship Education and Policymaking', in *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 1- 14.
- Chitty, C. (2004) *Education Policy in Britain*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Claire, H. and Holden, C. (Eds) (2007) *The Challenge of Teaching Controversial Issues*. London: Trentham Books.
- Clarke, J. (2004) *Changing Welfare, Changing States: New Directions in Social Policy*. London: Sage Publications.
- Clarke, J. (2005) 'New Labour's citizens: activated, empowered, responsabilized, abandoned?', *Critical Social Policy*, 25, 447-463.
- Cleaver, E., Kerr, D. and Ireland, E. (2006) 'Foundations and baselines for citizenship: the NFER Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study' in Breslin, T. and Dufour, B. (Eds) *Developing Citizens: A Comprehensive Introduction to Effective Citizenship Education in the Secondary School*. London: Hodder Murray.
- Clemitchaw, G. (2008) 'Citizenship without history? Knowledge, skills and values in citizenship education', *Ethics and Education*, 3(2), 135-147.
- Cline, T. and De Abreu, G. (2005) ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism, ed. James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, 542-551. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

- Cogan, J. and Derricott, R. (2000) *Citizenship for the 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994) *Research Methods in Education*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. Morrison, K. (2000) *Research Methods in Education (5th Edition)*, London: Routledge.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K., (2000) *Research Methods in Education (5th Edition)*. London: Routledge.
- Cole, M. and Stuart, J. (2005) 'Do you ride on elephants and never tell them you're German: The experiences of British Asian and black and overseas student teachers in south-east England', *British Educational Research Journal*, 31(3), 349-366.
- Coleman, A. and Higgins, W. (2000) 'Racial and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary Citizenship' in Vandenberg, A. (Ed) *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*. New York, N. Y: MacMillan Press. 51-76.
- Collier, A. (1994) *Critical Realism*, London: Verso.
- Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (CFMEB). 2000. *The future of multi-ethnic Britain. The Parekh report*. London: Profile Books.
- Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) *Our Shared Future, report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion*. London: The Stationery Office.
- Conservative Party (2010) *Big Society Not Big Government: Building a Big Society*. London: Conservative Party.
- Cook, S. A. (2008) 'Give Peace a Chance: The Diminution of Peace in Global Education in the United States, United Kingdom and Canada', *Canadian Journal of Education*, 31(4). 889-914.
- Cook, S., and Westheimer, J. (Eds.) (2006). Democracy and education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29 (2), 347–607 <http://www.csse.ca/CJE/Articles/CJE29-2.htm> (special issue).
- Corbin Dwyer, S. and Buckle, J. L. (2009) 'The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), 54-63.
- Cormoroff, J. and Cormoroff, J. (2000) 'Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming', *Public Culture*, 12(2), 291-343.
- Covell, K., Howe, B. R. and McNeil, J. K. (2008) 'If there's a dead rat, don't leave it'. Young children's understanding of their citizenship rights and responsibilities', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 38(3), 321-339.
- Cremin, H. (2008) *Peer Mediation: Citizenship and Social Inclusion*. Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open University Press.

Cremin, H. and Faulks, K. (2005) 'Citizenship education: past, present and future'. Paper presented at the British Education Research Association Conference: Glasmorgan, 2005

Crick, B. (1999) 'The presuppositions of citizenship education', *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 33(3), 337–352.

Crick, B. (Ed) (2000) *Essays on Citizenship*. London: Continuum.

Crick, B. (2002) 'Education for Citizenship: the Citizenship Order' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 488-504.

Crick, B. (2003) 'The English Citizenship Order 1999: Context, Content and Presuppositions', Shafir, G. (Ed) (*The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press. 1-14.

Crick, B. (2007) 'Citizenship: the political and democratic', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(3), 235-248.

Crick, B. (2008a) 'Citizenship, diversity and national identity', *London Review of Education*, 6(1), 31-37.

Crick, B. (2008b) 'Foreward', in Kiwan, D. *Education for Inclusive Citizenship*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Crick, B. (2008c) 'Democracy' in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 13-19.

Crinson, I. (2001) 'A realist approach to the analysis of focus group data', in Nielson, P (Ed.), 5th Annual IACR Conference, 17 – 19 August 2001, Roskilde University, Denmark. The International Association for Critical Realism, 15– 34.

Cummins, J. (2001) 'Bilingual children's mother tongue: Why is it important for education?', *Sprogforum*, 7(1), 15-20.

Cunningham, J. (1992) 'Rights, responsibilities and school ethos', in Baglin Jones, E. and Jones, N. (Eds) *Education for Citizenship: Ideas and Perspectives for Cross-curricular Study*. London: Kogan Page.

Cunningham, S. & Lavalette, M. (2004) 'Active citizens' or 'irresponsible truants'? School student strikes against the war, *Critical Social Policy*, 24(2), 255–269.

Dahrendorf, R. (1994) 'The changing quality of citizenship', in van Steenberg, B. (ed) *The Condition of Citizenship*. Beverley Hills: Sage, 10-19.

Danermark, B., Ekström, M., Jakobsen, L., and Karlsson, J. (1997) *Explaining Society: An Introduction to Critical Realism in the Social Sciences*. London & New York: Routledge.

Danermark, B., Ekström, M., Jakobsen, L., and Karlsson, J. (2002). *Explaining Society: Critical Realism in the Social Sciences*. Routledge, London.

Daston, L. and Stolleis, M. (2008) *Natural Law and Laws of Nature in Early Modern Europe*. London: Ashgate.

Davies, C. A. (2008) *Reflexive Ethnography: A guide to research selves and others (2nd edition)*, London: Routledge.

Davies, I. (1999) 'What has happened in the teaching of politics in schools in England during the last three decades, and why?' *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1/2), 125-140.

Davies, I. (2008) 'Political literacy', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 377-387.

Davies, I. (2003) 'Developing Education for Citizenship', Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (Eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Davies, I., Gorard, S., McGuinn, N. (2005) 'Citizenship education and character education: similarities and contrasts', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53(3), 341-358.

Davies, I., Gray, G. and Stephens, P. (1998) 'Education for Citizenship: a case study of 'Democracy Day' at a comprehensive school', *Educational Review*, 50(1), 15-27.

Davies, I., Evans, M. and Reid, A. (2005) 'Globalising citizenship education? A critique of 'global education' and citizenship education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53(1), 66-89

Davies, I., Arthur, J., Harrison, T., and Watson, H. (2008) 'Developing a characterisation of citizenship education: Issues arising from work undertaken in a higher education Network', *Curriculum Journal*, 19(2), 119-132

Davies, I. and Issitt, J. (2005) 'Reflections on citizenship education in Australia, Canada and England', *Comparative Education*, (41) 4, 389-410.

Davies, J. and Crozier, G. (2006) 'Tackling diversity in ITE: unpacking the issues', *Race Equality Teaching*, 24(3), 18-21.

Davies, L. (2002) 'Pupil voice in Europe', in Schweisfurth, M., Daveis, L. And Harber, C. (Eds.) *Learning Democracy and Citizenship: International Experiences*. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Davies, L. (2006) 'Global citizenship: abstraction or framework for action?', *Educational Review*, 58(1), 5-25.

Davies, L., Harber, C., Yamashita, H. (2005) *Global Citizenship Education: the needs of Teachers and Learners*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

The Dearing Review (1994) *The National Curriculum and its Assessment: Final Report*, London: School Curriculum and Assessment Authority.

Dei, G. (2008) 'Antiracism Education for Global Citizenship', Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. pp 477-490.

Delanty, G. (2000) *Citizenship in a Global Age*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Delanty, G (2007) 'European Citizenship: A Critical Assessment', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1), 63-72.

della Porta, D. and Tarrow, S. (2005) 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction' in della Porta, D. and Tarrow, S. (Eds) *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield. 1-17.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) (2007a) *Guidance on the duty to promote community cohesion*. London: HMSO.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) (2007b) *Education and Inspections Act 2006*. London: HMSO.

Department for Education, (2011) *The Framework for the National Curriculum. A report by the Expert Panel for the National Curriculum review*. London: Department for Education.

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2004a) *Aiming High: Understanding the Educational Needs of Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools*, DfES Guidance (London, DfES/0416).

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2004b) *Aiming High: Supportive Effective Use of EMAG* (London, DfES).

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2005) *Developing the Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* (London, DfES with DFID/1409-2005DOC-EN).

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2007) Johnson says pupils need to learn our history to understand British values in citizenship classes. Press notice 2007/0012. 25 January. http://www.dfes.gov.uk/pns/DisplayPN.cgi?pn_id=2007_0012.

Development Education Association (DEA) (2008) *Global Matters: Case studies of education for a just sustainable world*, London: DEA.

DFID, DfEE, QCA, DEA and The Central Bureau (2000) *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum*. London: DfEE.

Dower, N. (2003). *An Introduction to Global Citizenship*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Dower, N. and Williams, J. (Eds) (2002) *Global Citizenship: A Critical Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Driscoll, D. L. (2011) 'Introduction to primary research: Observations, Surveys and Interviews' in Lowe, C. and Zemliansky, P. (Eds) *Writing Spaces: Readings on Writing, Volume 2*, Indiana: Parlor Press.

Education Reform Act (ERA) (1988) London: HMSO.

Elder-Vass, D. (2004) 'Re-examining Bhaskar's three ontological domains: The lessons from emergence', Paper presented at IACR Conference, Cambridge.

Emler, N. and Frazer, E. (1999) 'Politics: the education effect', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 251-273.

Enslin, P. and Tjiattas, M. (2008) 'Cosmopolitan Justice: Education and Global Citizenship', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 71-85.

Etzioni, A. (1995) *The Spirit of Community*, New York: Basic Books.

Evans, M. (2006) 'Education for Citizenship: What teachers say and what teachers do?' *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29(2), 410-435.

Evans, M. (2008) 'Citizenship Education: Pedagogy and School Contexts', Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 519-532.

Falk, R. (1994) 'The Making of Global Citizenship', in van Steenberg, B. (Ed.) *The Condition of Citizenship*, Sage Publications, London. 127-140.

Farnsworth, J. and Boon, B. (2010) 'Analysing group dynamics within the focus group', *Qualitative Research*, 10, 605-624.

Faulks, K. (1998) *Citizenship in Modern Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Faulks, K. (2000) *Citizenship*. London: Routledge.

Faulks, K. (2006a) 'Rethinking citizenship education in England: Some lessons from contemporary social and political theory', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 1(2), 123-140.

Faulks, K. (2006b) 'Education for citizenship in England's secondary schools: a critique of current principle and practice', *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(1), 59-74.

Featherstone, M. (2002) 'Cosmopolis: an introduction', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(1/2), 1-16.

Feinberg, W. and McDonough, K. (2004) 'Liberalism and the Dilemma of Public Education in Multicultural Societies' in Marshall, T. H. (1948) *Citizenship and Social Class*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Fern, E. F. (2001). *Advanced focus group research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Fielding, N. (1993) 'Ethnography' in Gilbert, N. (ed) *Researching Social Life*, London: Sage. 154-171.
- Figueroa, P. (2000) Citizenship education for a plural society, in Osler, A. (ed) *Citizenship and Democracy in Schools: Diversity, Identity, Equality*, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham, 47-62.
- Figueroa, P. (2004) 'Diversity and Citizenship Education in England', in Banks, J. A. (Ed) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 219-244.
- Fisher, B. and Tronto, J. (1999) 'Towards a feminist theory of caring' in Abel, E. K. and Nelson, M, K. *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*. New York: State University of New York.
- Fogelman, K. (1997) 'Citizenship Education' in Bynner, J., Chisholm, L. and Furlong, A. (Eds) 'Citizenship education', in *Youth, Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context*, Aldershot: Ashgate
- Fontana, A. And Frey, J. H. (2000) 'The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Forde, C. (2008) 'Revisioning Ideas of Citizenry: The Female State and the Construction of Citizenship' in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 87-102.
- Frazer, E. (1999) 'Introduction: the idea of political education', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 5-22.
- Frazer, E. (2000) Citizenship education: anti-political culture and political education in Britain, *Political Studies*, 48(1), 88–103.
- Frazer, E. (2003) 'Citizenship Education: Anti-political Culture and Political Education in Britain', in Lockyer, A. 'Introduction and review' in Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (Eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*. 27-42.
- Frazer, E. (2007) 'Depoliticising citizenship', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(3), 249-263.
- Frazer, F. (2008) 'Key Perspectives, Traditions and Disciplines: Overview', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 281-291.
- Galston, W. A. (1991) *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Diversity in the Liberal State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamarnikow, E. and Green, A. (1999) 'Developing social capital: dilemmas, possibilities and limitations in education', in A. Hayton (ed.) *Tackling Disaffection and Social Exclusion: Education Perspectives and Policies*, London: Kogan Page.

- Garratt, D. and Piper, H. (2008) 'Citizenship education in England and Wales: theoretical critique and practical considerations', *Teachers and Teaching*, 14(5), 481-496.
- Gaventa, J. and Tandon, R. (2010) *Globalizing Citizens: New Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion*, London: Zed Books.
- Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1999) *Runaway World: How Globalisation is Shaping our Lives*. London: Profile Books.
- Gifford, C. (2004) 'National and post-national dimensions of citizenship education in the UK', *Citizenship Studies*, 8(2), 145-158.
- Gilbert, R. (1996) 'Identity, culture and environment: education for citizenship in the twenty-first century', in J. Demaine & H. Entwistle (eds.). *Beyond Communitarianism: Citizenship, Politics and Education*. New York: St Martins Press.
- Gillborn, D. (2006) 'Citizenship education as placebo: "standards", institutional racism and education policy', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 1(1), 83-104.
- Gillborn, D. (2008a) 'Tony Blair and the politics of race in education: whiteness, doublethink and New Labour', *Oxford Review of Education*, 34(6), 713-725.
- Gillborn, D. (2008b) *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* London: Routledge.
- Giroux, H. A. (2003) 'Public pedagogy and the politics of resistance: Notes on a critical theory of educational study', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 35(1), 5-16
- Global Citizenship*. Learning and Teaching Scotland (2010) Available at: <http://www.ltsscotland.org.uk/citizenship/index.asp> (accessed 3rd August 2011).
- Golmohamad, M. (2008) 'Global Citizenship: From Theory to Practice, Unlocking Hearts and Minds' in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Gove, M. (2009) 'What is Education For?' Speech to the Royal Society for the Arts, 30th June 2009. Available at: http://www.thersa.org/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/213021/Gove-speech-to-RSA.pdf [last accessed 21st March 2012].
- Griffith, R (1998) *Educational Citizenship and Independent Learning*. London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Grossman, D. L., (2008) 'Democracy, citizenship education and inclusion: a multi-dimensional approach', *Prospects*, 38, 35-46.

- Guba and Lincoln (1981) *Effective evaluation: Improving the usefulness of evaluation results through responsive and naturalistic approaches*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Guillemin, M. and Gillam L. (2004) 'Ethics, reflexivity and 'ethically important moments' in research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), 261-280.
- Gutmann, A. (1994) *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Guttman, A. (1999) *Democratic Education*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Gutmann, A. (2004) 'Unity and Diversity in Democratic Multicultural Education: Creative and Destructive Tensions', in Banks, J. A. (Ed) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 71-98.
- Hahn, C. (1998) *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Hahn, C. (1999) 'Citizenship Education: an empirical study of policy, practices and outcomes' *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 231-250.
- Hahn, C. L. (2001) 'Democratic understanding: cross-national perspectives', *Theory into Practice*, 40(1), 14-22.
- Hahn, C. (2008) 'Education for Citizenship and Democracy in the United States', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 263-278.
- Hahn, C. (2010) 'Comparative Civic Education Research: what we know and what we need to know', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 6(1), 5-23.
- Hall, S. (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications Ltd
- Halkier, B. (2010) 'Focus groups as social enactments: integrating interaction and content in the analysis of focus group data' *Qualitative Research*, 10, 71-89.
- Halpern, D., John, P. & Morris, Z. (2002) Before the citizenship order: a survey of citizenship education practice in England, *Journal of Education Policy*, 17(2), 217-228.
- Halstead, J. M. (2004) 'Schooling and Cultural Maintenance for Religious Minorities in the Liberal State', in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 273-298.
- Halstead, J.M., and Taylor, M.J., (2000) *The development of values, attitudes and personal qualities: a review of recent research*. Slough: NFER.

Hamersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1983) *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London: Routledge.

Hammersley, M. and Traianou, A. (2012) 'Ethics and Educational Research', British Educational Research Association on-line resource. Available on-line at <http://www.bera.ac.uk/category/keywords/ethics>. Accessed 12th June 2012.

Hanasz, W. (2006) 'Toward global republican citizenship?', 282-302.

Hancock, L. (2000) 'The care crunch: changing work, families and welfare in Australia', *Critical Social Policy*, 22(1), 119-139.

Hannam, D (2006) 'Education for democracy and as a democratic process', in Breslin, T. and Dufour, B. (Eds) *Developing Citizens: A Comprehensive Introduction to Effective Citizenship Education in the Secondary School*. London: Hodder Murray.

Harber, C. (1992) *Democratic Learning and Learning Democracy: Education for Active Citizenship?* Ticknall, Derbyshire: Education Now Publishing Cooperative.

Haydon, G. (2006) 'Respect for persons and for cultures as a basis for national and global citizenship', *Journal of Moral Education*, 35(4), 457-471.

Heater, D. (1999) *What is Citizenship?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Heater, D. (2000) 'Does cosmopolitan thinking have a future?' *Review of International Studies*, 26, 179-197.

Heater, D. (2002) 'The History of Citizenship Education: A Comparative Outline', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 457-474.

Heaton, J. (2004). *Reworking Qualitative Data*. London: SAGE Publications.

Held, D. (1995) *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitanism Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hess, D. E. (2002) 'Discussing controversial public issues in secondary social studies classrooms: Learning from skilled teachers', *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 30(1), 10-41.

Hess, D. E. (2004) 'Controversies about controversial issues in democratic education', *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 37(1), 67-91.

Hess, D. and Avery, P. G. (2008) 'Discussion of controversial issues as form and goal of democratic education', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage.

HM Government (2009) *Building Britains Future* London: HM Government.

HM Government (2010a) *The Coalition: our programme for government*. London: HM Government.

HM Government (2010b) *Building a Stronger Civil Society: A strategy for voluntary and community groups, charities and social enterprises*. London: HM Government.

Hicks, D. (2001) 'Re-examining the future: the challenge for citizenship education', *Educational Review*, 53(3), 229-240.

Hicks, D. (2003) Thirty Years of Global Education: a reminder of key principles and precedents. *Educational Review*, 55(3). 265-275.

Hoffman, J. (2004) *Citizenship Beyond the State*, London: Sage.

Hollander, J. A. 'The social contexts of focus groups', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 33, 602-637.

Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and Interview*. London: Sage.

Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (2008) 'The free association narrative interview method', in: Given, L. M. (Ed) *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Sevenoaks, California: Sage, 296-315.

Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, F. J. (2004) Context: working it up, down and across, in Seale, C. Gobo, G., Gubrium F. J. and Silverman, D. (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*, London: Sage.

Holt, M. (2002) 'It's time to start the slow school movement' *Phi Delta Kappan*, 84(4), 264-271.

Home Office (2001) Blunkett calls for honest and open debate on citizenship and community, Press release, 11 December 2001, London: HMSO.

Home Office (2002) *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain*, Cm 5387. London: HMSO.

Horn, R. E. (Undated) *Breaking the Wall of Organisational Ignorance. How Visual Language Supports Decision Making about Wicked Problems and Social Messes*. Available at: <http://falling-walls.com/videos/Robert-E.-Horn-1290>

Hosack, I. (2012) 'Citizenship and language education in Japanese high schools', in P. Cunningham & N. Fretwell (Eds) *Creating Communities: Local, National and Global*. London: CiCe. 132 – 144.

Hoskins, B., Jesinghaus, J., Mascherini, M. Munda, G., Nardo, M., Saisana, M., Van Nijlen, D. And Villalba, E. (2006) *Measuring Active Citizenship in Europe*. CRELL Research Paper 4. Ispra, Italy: Joint Research Centre/CRELL.

House of Commons Education and Skills Committee (2007) *Citizenship Education. Report of Session 2006-07*. London: HMSO.

Houston, S. (2001) 'Beyond social constructionism: Critical realism and social work', *British Journal of Social Work*, 31, 845-861.

Howe, R.B. and K. Covell (2007) *Empowering Children: Children's Rights Education as a Pathway to Citizenship*. University of Toronto Press.

Hoxsey, D. (2011) 'Debating the ghost of Marshall: a critique of citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*, 15(6-7), 915-932.

Huddleston and Kerr (2006) *Making sense of citizenship – CPD Handbook*, ACT/Citizenship Foundation/DFES, London: Hodder Murray.

Humes, W. (2008) 'The Discourse of Global Citizenship', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 41-52.

Hyslop-Margison, E. J. (2008) 'Challenging the Dominant Neo-Liberal Discourse; From Human Capital Learning to Education for Civic Engagement', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 299-315.

Hyslop-Margison, E. J. and Thayer, J. (2009) *Teaching Democracy. Citizenship Education as Critical Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Ibrahim, T. (2005) 'Global citizenship education: Mainstreaming the curriculum?', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 35(2), 177-94.

Ichilov, O. (1998) 'Patterns of citizenship in a changing world' . In O. Ichilov (Ed.), *Citizenship and citizenship education in a changing world*, London, UK: The Woburn Press. 11-27

Independent Review Team (2001) *Community Cohesion: a report of the Independent Review Team (The Cattle Report)*. London: The Home Office.

Inter Faith Network for the UK (2006) *Faith, Identity and Belonging: Educating for Shared Citizenship. Report on a seminar held on 7 February 2006*. London: Inter Faith Network for the UK

Iosifides, T. (2013) *Qualitative Methods in Migration Studies*, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.

Ireland, E., Kerr, D., Lopes, J. and Nelson, J. with Cleaver, L. (2006) *Active Citizenship and Young People: Opportunities, Experiences and Challenges In and Beyond School Citizenship Education. Longitudinal Study: Fourth Annual Report (DfES Research Report 732)*. London: DfES.

Isac, M.M., Maslowski, R. and van der Werf, G. (2011) 'Effective civic education: an educational effectiveness model for explaining students' civic knowledge', *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 22(3), 313-333.

- Isin, E. F. and Wood, P.K. (1999) *Citizenship and Identity*. London: Sage.
- Isin, E. (2004) 'The neurotic citizen', *Citizenship studies*, 8(3), 217–235.
- Isin, E. F. (2008) 'Theorizing acts of citizenship', Isin, E. F. and Nielsen, G. M. (Eds). *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 15–43.
- Isin, E. F. and Turner, B. S. (2002) 'Citizenship studies: An introduction', in Isin, E. F. and Turner, B. S. (Eds) *Handbook of citizenship studies*. London: Sage, 1–10.
- Isin, E. F. and Turner, B. S. (2007) 'Investigating citizenship: An agenda for citizenship studies', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1), 5-17.
- Isin, E. F. & Wood, P. K. (1999) *Citizenship and Identity*. London: Sage.
- Jenkins, R. (1996) *Social Identity (Key Ideas)*. London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, R. (2008) *Social Identity (Key Ideas)*. London: Routledge.
- Jerome, L. and Clemitshaw, G. (2012) 'Teaching (about) Britishness? An investigation into trainee teachers' understanding of Britishness in relation to citizenship and the discourse of civic nationalism', *Curriculum Journal*, 23(1), 19-41.
- Johnson, C. (2010) 'The politics of affective citizenship: from Blair to Obama', *Citizenship Studies*, 14(5), 495-509.
- Johnson, L. and Morris, P. (2010) 'Towards a framework for critical citizenship education', *Curriculum Journal*, 21(1), 77-96.
- Johnson, R. B., & Christensen, L. B. (2004). *Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Jones, K. B. 'Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity', Shafir, G. (Ed) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jones, T. (2004) 'Conflict resolution education: the field, the findings, and the future', *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 22(1), 115-30.
- Jones, L. and Somekh, B. (2011) 'Observation' in Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. (2011) *Theory and methods in social research*, London: Sage, 31-138.
- Kahne, J. and Westheimer, J. (2003) 'Teaching democracy: what schools need to do', *Phi Delta Kappan*, 85(1), 34–40, 57–66.
- Kahne, J. and Westheimer, J. (2004) 'The Limits of Efficacy. Education Citizens for a Democratic Society' in In Giarelli, J. and Rubin, B. *Social Studies for a New Millennium: Re-Envisioning Civic Education for a Changing World*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kahne, J. and Sporte, S. (2008) 'Developing citizens, The impact of civic learning opportunities on students' commitment to civic participation', *American Educational Research Journal*, 45(3), 738-66.

Karsten, S., Cogan, J. J., Grossman, D. L., Liu, M. Pitiyanuwat, S. (2002) 'Citizenship education and the preparation of future teachers: A study', *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 3(2), 168-183.

Keating, A. (2009) 'Educating Europe's citizens: moving from national to post-national models of educating for European citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*, 13(2), 135-151.

Keating, A. Hinderliter Ortloff, D. and Philippou, S. (2009) 'Citizenship education curricula: the changes and challenges presented by global and European Integration', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(2), 145-158.

Keddie, A. (2008) 'Engaging the 'maximal' intentions of the citizenship curriculum: one teacher's story', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 38(2), 171-185.

Kennedy, K. (2007) 'Student constructions of active citizenship: what does participation mean to students?', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(3), 304-324.

Kennedy, K. 'The Citizenship Curriculum: Ideology, Content and Organisation', Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 483-491.

Kennedy, K., Hahn, C., and Lee, W. (2008) 'Constructing citizenship: comparing the views of students in Australia, Hong Kong and the United States', *Comparative Education Review*, 52(1), 53-91.

Kerr, D. (1999) 'Changing the Political Culture: the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and Teaching of Democracy in Schools', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 275-284.

Kerr, D., Cleaver, E., and Ireland, E. (2003) 'Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study: First Year Findings – Establishing a Baseline for Developing Citizenship Education'. Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference. NFER.

Kerr, D., Smith, A. and Twine, C. 'Citizenship Education in the United Kingdom', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 252-262.

Kerr, D., Keating, A. And Ireland, E. (2009) *Pupil Assessment in Citizenship Education: Purposes, Practices and Possibilities. Report of a CIDREE Collaborative Project*. Slough: NFER/CIDREE.

Kerr, D. and Losito, B. (2010) *Policy Tool for Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Kerr, D., Sturman, L., Schulz, W. and Burge, B. (2010) *ICCS 2009 European Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement among Lower-Secondary Students in 24 European*

Countries. Amsterdam; International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

Kisby, K. (2009) 'Social capital and citizenship lessons in England: Analysing the presuppositions of citizenship education', in *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, (4)1, 41-62.

Kisby, B. and Sloam, J. (2011) 'Citizenship, democracy and education in the UK: Towards a common framework for citizenship lessons in the four home nations', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 1-22.

Kitzinger, J. (1994) 'The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 16(1), 103-121.

Kitzinger, J. (2000) 'Media templates: patterns of association and the (re)construction of meaning over time', *Media, Culture and Society*. 22(1), 61-84.

Kitzinger, J. (2004) *Framing abuse: Media influence and public understanding of sexual violence against children*, London: Pluto Press.

Kiwan, D. (2007a) 'Citizenship education in England at the cross-roads? Four models of citizenship and their implications for ethnic and religious diversity', *Oxford Review of Education*, 34(1), 39-58.

Kiwan, D. (2007b) 'uneasy relationships?: conceptions of 'citizenship, 'democracy' and 'diversity' in the English citizenship education policymaking process', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 2, 223-235.

Kiwan D (2008a) 'A journey to citizenship in the United Kingdom'. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 10(1), 60–75.

Kiwan D (2008b) *Becoming a British citizen: A learning journey. Lord Goldsmith Review of Citizenship*. London: Ministry of Justice.

Kiwan, D. (2012) 'Human rights and citizenship education: re-positioning the debate', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42(1), 1-7.

Kjellin, M. S. and Stier, J. (2008)'Citizenship in the classroom: transferring and transforming transcultural values', *Intercultural Education*, 19(1), 41-51.

Knight Abowitz, K. and Harnish, J. (2006) 'Contemporary Discourses of Citizenship', *Review of Educational Research*, 76(4), 653-690.

Krueger, R. A. (1994) *Focus groups - A Practical guide for Applied Research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Krueger, R. A., & Casey, M. A. (2000). *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied researchers* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kvale, D. (1996) *Interviews*. London: SAGE Publications.

- Kymlicka, W. (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (1999) Citizenship in an era of globalization. *Democracy's Edges*. Shapiro, I. and Hacker-Cordon, C.. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (1998) 'Multicultural Citizenship', in Gershon, S. (Ed.) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 167-188.
- Kymlicka, W. (2000) 'Multicultural citizenship within multination states', *Ethnicities*, 11(3), 281-302.
- Kymlicka, W. (2003) 'Two dilemmas of citizenship education in pluralist societies', in Lockyer, A., Crick, B. and Annette, J. (Eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 47-63.
- Kymlicka, W. (2004) 'Liberal Nationalism and Cosmopolitan Justice', in Benhabib, S. (2006) *Another Cosmopolitan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 128-144.
- Kymlicka, W. and Norman, W. (1994) 'Return of the citizen: A survey of recent work on citizenship theory', *Ethics*, 104(2). pp. 352-381.
- Kymlicka, W. and Norman, K. (2000) *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2004) 'Culture Versus Citizenship: The Challenge of Racialized Citizenship in the United States', in Banks, J. A. (Ed) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 99-126.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2005) The evolving role of critical race theory in educational scholarship. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 115-119.
- Landrum, D. (2002) 'Citizenship, education and the political discourse of New Labour', *Contemporary Politics*, 8(3), 219-23
- Lanoix, M. (1995) 'Liberal Democratic Theory and the Situated Individual', *Problematique*, 4, 72-82
- Lanoix, M. (2007), 'The Citizen in Question'. *Hypatia*, 22, 113–129.
- Larkin, C. 'Citizenship education or crowd control? The Crick Report and the role of peace education and conflict resolution in the new citizenship curriculum', Centre for Conflict Resolution, Working Paper 9.
- Larmore, (1987) *Patterns of Moral Complexity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Larson, K., Grudens-Schuck, N and LundyAllen, B. (2004) *Can You Call It a Focus Group?* Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Extension
- Lawson, H. (2001) 'Active citizenship in schools and the community', *Curriculum Journal*, 12(5), 163–178.

- Leighton, R. (2004) 'The nature of citizenship education provision: an initial study', *Curriculum Journal*, 15(2), 167–181.
- Le Roux, J. (2002) 'Effective educators are culturally competent communicators', *Intercultural Education* 13(1): 37-48.
- Levinson, M. (1999) 'Liberalism, Pluralism, and Political Education: paradox or paradigm?', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 39-58.
- Lewin, C (2011) 'Understanding and describing quantitative Data', in Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. (2011) *Theory and methods in social research*, London: Sage. 220-230.
- Li, P., Zhong M., and Lin B. (2004) 'Deyu as moral education in modern China: ideological functions and transformations', *Journal of Moral Education*, 33(4). 449–464.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lister, I. (1987) 'Global and international approaches to political education', in Harber, C. (Ed.) *Political Education in Britain*, Lewes: Falmer Press.
- Lister, R. (1997) 'Citizenship: Towards a feminist synthesis', *Feminist Review*, 57, Autumn, 28-48.
- Lister, R. (2007) 'Inclusive citizenship: Realizing the potential' *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1), 49-61.
- Lister, R. (2008) 'Inclusive Citizenship, gender and poverty: some implications for education for citizenship', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 4(1), 3-19.
- Lister, R., Smith, N., Middleton, S. and Cox, L. (2003) 'Young people talk about citizenship: empirical perspectives on theoretical and political debates', *Citizenship Studies*, 7(2), 235-253.
- Llewellyn, K.R., Cook, S. A. and Molina, A (2010) 'Civic learning: Moving from the apolitical to the socially just', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42(6), 791-812.
- Lockyer, A. (2003) 'Introduction and review', in Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (Eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*.
- Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (Eds) (2003) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Lopes, J., Benton, T. and Cleaver, E (2009): 'Young people's intended civic and political participation: does education matter?', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12(1), 1-20.
- Lupel, A. (2005) 'Tasks of a Global Civil Society: Held, Habermas and Democratic Legitimacy beyond the Nation-State', *Globalizatoins*, 2, (1), 117-133.
- Lynch, J. (1989) *Multicultural Education in a Global Society*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Macedo, S. (2000) *Diversity and Distrust: Civic Education Multicultural Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Macedo S. (2004) 'Liberalism and Group Identities', in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 414-436.

Macleod Clark J., Maben J. & Jones K. (1996) 'The use of focus group interviews in nursing research: issues and challenges', *NT Research* 1, 143-153.

McCabe, A. (2010) 'Below the radar in a Big Society? Reflections on community engagement, empowerment and social action in a changing policy context', Working Paper 51.

McCully, A. (2006) 'Practitioner perceptions of their role in facilitating the handling of controversial issues in contested societies: a Northern Irish experience', *Educational Review*, 58(1), 51-65

McDonough, K. 'Multinational Civic Education', in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 351-384.

McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) (2004) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McGrew A.. (2000) 'Globalization and Global Politics', in Baylis J. and Smith S. (Eds) *The Globalization of World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McGrew, A. (2004) 'Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice', *Ritsumeikan Annual Review of International Studies*, 3, 1-17.

McLaughlin, T., H., (1992) 'Citizenship, Diversity and Education: a philosophical perspective', *Journal of Moral Education*, 21(3), 235-250.

McLaughlin, T. H. (2000) 'Citizenship Education in England: The Crick Report and Beyond', *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 34(4), 541-570.

McLaughlin, T. H. (2003) 'Teaching Controversial Issues in Citizenship Education', Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (Eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

McLaughlin, T. H. (2004) 'The Burdens and Dilemmas of Common Schooling' in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 121-156.

Macpherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny*, Cm 4262-I, London:HMSO

- McWherter, D. (2012) 'Reconstructing Bhaskar's transcendental analysis of experimental activity', *Cosmos and History: The Journal of Natural and Social Philosophy*, 8(1), 199-206.
- Malik, A (2012) 'Citizenship education, race and community cohesion', in Arthur, J. and Cremin, H. (Eds) *Debates in Citizenship Education*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. 67-79.
- Malinowsky, B. (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. Studies in Economics and Political Science, 65, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Marshall, C and Anderson, G. L. (1994) 'Rethinking the public and private spheres: Feminist and cultural studies perspectives on the politics of education', in
- Marshall, H. (2009) 'Educating the European citizen in the global age: engaging with the post-national and identifying a research agenda', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(2), 247-267.
- Marshall, H. (2007) 'Global education in perspective: fostering a global dimension in an English secondary school', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 37(3), 355-374.
- Marshall, T. H. (1948) *Citizenship and Social Class*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Mathews, J. and Sidhu, R. (2005) 'Desperately seeking the global subject: International Education, Citizenship and Cosmopolitanism', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 3(1), 49-66.
- Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophical and Practical Guide*. Oxford: Psychology Press.
- Maylor, U. (2006) 'The new QTS standards, *Race Equality Teaching*', 24(3), 22-24.
- Maylor, U. (2007) *Diversity and Citizenship in the Curriculum: Research Review*. Nottingham: DfES.
- Mayo, M., Gaventa, J. and Rooke, A., (2009) *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 4, 161-175.
- Merryfield, M. M. (1998) 'Pedagogy for global perspectives in education: Studies of teachers' thinking and practice', *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 26(3), 342-378.
- Merryfield, M. M. (2008) 'Globalization', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 80-91.
- Meyer, S. B. and Lunnay, B. (2013) 'The application of abductive and retroductive inference for the design and analysis of theory-driven sociological research', *Sociological Research Online*, 18(1) 12. Available at <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/18/1/12.html> Accessed 6th May 2013.
- Miller, D. (2005) 'Reasonable partiality towards compatriots', *Ethical theory and moral practice*, 8, 63-81.

- Miller, D. (2008) 'National responsibility and global justice', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 11(4), 383-399.
- Miller, R. W. (1998) 'Cosmopolitan Respect and Patriotic Concern', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 27(3), 202-224.
- Miller, R. W. (2007) 'Unlearning American Patriotism', *Theory and Research in Education*, 5, 7-21.
- Mingers, J., Mutch, A., and Willcocks, L. (2013) 'Critical Realism in Information Systems Research', *MIS Quarterly*, (37: 3), 795-802.
- Mishler, E. G. (1986) *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Modood, T. (1997) 'Difference, Cultural Racism and Anti-racism', in Werbner, P. and Modood, T. (Eds) *Debating Cultural Identity*. London: Zed Books. (Reproduced in M. Boxill (ed) [2000] *Racism: A Reader*, Oxford University Press.)
- Moller Okin, S. (2004) "'Mistresses of Their Own Destiny': Group Rights, Gender, and Realistic Rights of Exit", in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 325-350.
- Morgan, D. L. (1988). *Focus groups as qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Morris, Z., John, P. & Halpern, D. (2003) 'Compulsory citizenship education for the disenfranchised: benchmarking students, schools and social and political attitudes before the Citizenship Order', *Curriculum Journal*, 14(2), 181-199.
- Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K. and Spiers, J. (2002) 'Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 1(2), 1-19.
- Mouffe, C. (2000) 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism', Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS), Wien.
- Nandy, A. (1997) 'State'. In Sachs, W. (ed.) *The development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge and Power*. London and New York: ZED Books Ltd; 264-272.
- Nelson, J and Kerr, D. (2006) *Active citizenship in INCA countries: definitions, policies, practices and outcomes. Final Report*. London: QCA.
- Newell, R. (1996) 'Questionnaires', in Gilbert, N. (Ed) *Researching Social Life*. London: Sage.94-115.
- Newton, J. (2002) 'Citizenship education in the curriculum: The practical side', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 523-538.

Noaks, L. and Wincup, E. (2004) *Criminological research: Understanding qualitative methods*. London: Sage.

Noddings, N. (2005) *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

Norris, P. (2002) *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*, New York, NY, Cambridge University Press.

North, P. (2011) 'Geographies and utopias of Cameron's Big Society', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 12(8), 817-827.

Nussbaum, M. (1994) 'Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism', *The Boston Review*, 1-8.

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2002a) *Citizenship: survey report: preparation for the introduction of citizenship in secondary schools 2001–2002*. Available online at: www.ofsted.gov.uk (accessed 18th June 2010).

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2002b) *Personal, social and health education and citizenship in primary schools*. Available online at: www.ofsted.gov.uk [accessed 1 July 2005].

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2003) *National curriculum citizenship: planning and implementation 2002/3*. Available online at: www.ofsted.gov.uk [accessed 1 July 2010].

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2005a) *Citizenship in secondary schools: evidence from Ofsted inspections (2003/04)*. Available online at: www.ofsted.gov.uk [accessed 1 July 2010].

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2005b) *Initial teacher training for teachers of citizenship 2004/05. Overview report*. Available online at: www.ofsted.gov.uk [accessed 1 July 2010].

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2006) *Towards Consensus? Citizenship in Secondary Schools*. London: Office for Standards in Education.

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2010) 'Citizenship established', *Citizenship in Schools 2006/9*. Available at: <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/resources/citizenship-established-citizenship-schools-200609> (Accessed 11th November 2010).

Okpala, J. and Okpoko, A. (2003) 'The essence of citizenship and lifelong learning: Lessons from Nigeria'. In Williams, M. and Humphreys, G. (Eds) *Citizenship education and lifelong learning*

Oldfield, (1990) *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*, London: Routledge

Oldfield, A. (1998) 'Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World', Shafir, G. (Ed) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press. 5-75.

- O'Leary, A. (2004) *The Essential Guide to Doing Research*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Oliver, C. (2011) 'Critical Realist Grounded Theory: A New Approach for Social Work Research', *British Journal of Social Work*, 1-17.
- Olssen, M. (2004) 'From the Crick Report to the Parekh Report: multiculturalism, cultural difference and democracy—the re-visioning of citizenship education', *British Journal of the Sociology of Education*, 25(2), 179–192.
- Olssen, M. (2008) 'Globalisation, the Third Way and Education Post 9/11: Building Democratic Citizenship' in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 261-282.
- Ong, A. (2004) 'Higher Learning: Educational Availability and Flexible Citizenship in Global Space', in Banks, J. A. (Ed) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 49-70.
- Ong, A. (2005) '(Re)Articulations of Citizenship', *PSOnline*, 697-699.
- On Lee, W. and Chi-hang, H. 'Citizenship Education in China: Changing Concepts, Approaches and Policies in the Changing Political, Economic and Social Context', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 139-157.
- Onwuegbuzie, A. J., Dickinson, W. B., Leech, N. L., & Zoran, A. G. (2009) 'A qualitative framework for collecting and analyzing data in focus group research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(3), 1-21.
- Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) (2006) *Critical Literacy in Global Citizenship Education: Professional Development Resource Pack*, Derby: Global Education Derby.
- Osler, A. (1999) 'Rights, Identities and Inclusion: European action programmes as political education', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 199-215.
- Osler, A. (2000) 'The Crick Report: Difference, equality, and racial justice', *The Curriculum Journal*, 11(1), 25-37.
- Osler, A. (2003) 'The Crick Report and the future of multiethnic Britain', in Gearon, L. (Ed.) *Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. 42-53.
- Osler, A. (2008a) 'Citizenship education and the Ajegbo report: re-imagining a cosmopolitan nation', *London Review of Education*, 6(1), 11-25.
- Osler, A. (2008b) 'Human rights education', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage.
- Osler, A. (2009a) 'Patriotism, multiculturalism and belonging: political discourse and the teaching of history', *Educational Review*, 61(1), 85-100.

- Osler, A. (2009a) 'Citizenship education, democracy and racial justice 10 years on', *Race Equality Teaching*, 27(3), 21-27.
- Osler, A. (2011) 'Citizenship education, communities and multiculturalism', *British Politics Review*, 6(2), 8-9.
- Osler, A. and Starkey, H. (2000) 'Citizenship, human rights and cultural diversity', in Osler, A. (Ed) *Citizenship and Democracy in Schools: Diversity, Identity and Equality*, Stoke-on-Trent:Trentham, 3-18.
- Osler, A. & Starkey, H. (2001) Citizenship education and national identities in France and England: inclusive or exclusive?, *Oxford Review of Education*, 27(2), 287–305.
- Osler, A. & Starkey, H. (2003) Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences, *Educational Review*, 55(3), 243–254.
- Osler, A. and Starkey, H. (2005) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Review of Research, Policy and Practice 1995-2005*. London: BERA.
- Osler, A. and Starkey, H. (2008) 'Education for cosmopolitan citizenship', in Georgi, V. (Ed) *The Makings of Citizens in Europe: New Perspectives on Citizenship Education*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.
- Oulton, C., Day V., Dillon, J. and Grace, M. (2004) *Controversial issues – teachers' attitudes and practices in the context of citizen education*. *Oxford Review of Education*, 30, 4, pp 489-50
- Oxfam (2000) *A Curriculum for Global Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford Development Education Programme.
- Oxfam (2006a) *Education for citizenship: A guide for schools*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Oxfam (2006b) *Teaching controversial issues*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Parmenter, L., Mizuyama, M., and Taniguchi, K. 'Citizenship Education in Japan', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 205-214.
- Papastephanou, M. (2008a) 'Cosmopolitanism: With or Without Patriotism', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) (2008) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Papastephanou, M. (2008b) 'Philosophical Presuppositions of Citizenship Education and Political Liberalism', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 40-56.
- Parekh, B. (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*, London: Profile Books and the Runnymede Trust.

- Parekh, B. (2003) 'Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship', *Review of International Studies*, 29, 3-17.
- Parekh, B. (2006) *Rethinking Multiculturalism. Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan; second edition. Hampshire: Basingstoke.
- Parker, W. C. (2001) 'Classroom discussion: Models for leading seminars and deliberations', *Social Education*, 65(2), 111-115.
- Parker, W. C. (2003) *Teaching democracy: Unity and diversity in public life*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Parker, W. C. (2004) 'Diversity, Globalization, and Democratic Education: Curriculum Possibilities', in Banks, J. A. (Ed) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Parker, W. C. (2005) 'Teaching against idiocy', *Phi Delta Kappan*, 86(5), 344-351.
- Parker, W. C. (2006) 'Public discourse: purposes, problems, possibilities', *Educational Researcher*, 35(8), 11-18
- Parker, W. C. (2010) 'Finding our way home (at school): A study of students' experiences of bringing their home culture into the classroom', *Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 7(1), 17-29.. *Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 7(1), 17-29.
- Parker, W. C. and Bickmore, K. (2012) 'Conflict Management and Dialogue with Diverse Students: Novice Teachers' Approaches and Concerns', in *Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 8, (2). 47-63.
- Parker, W. C. and Hess, D. (2001), 'Teaching with and for discussion', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 17, 273-289.
- Parry, G (1999) 'Constructive and reconstructive politics', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25 (1-2), 23-38.
- Parry, G. (2003) 'Citizenship Education: Reproductive and Remedial', Shafir, G. (Ed) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press. 30-46.
- Paterson, L. (2009) Civic values and the subject matter of educational courses', *Oxford Review of Education*, 35(1), 81-98.
- Patterson Dilworth, P. (2008) 'Multicultural Citizenship Education, in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 424-437.
- Patten, A. and Kymlicka, W. (2003) 'Introduction. Language rights and political theory: context, issues, and approaches' in Kymlicka, W. and Patten, A. *Language Rights and Political Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-50.

- Pattie, C., Seyd, P. and Whiteley, P. (2004) *Citizenship in Britain: Values, participation and democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patton, M. (1990) *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Sage: Beverly Hills, CA, 169-186.
- Pawson, R. (1996) 'Theorizing the Interview', *British Journal of Sociology*, 47, pp 296-314.
- Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. (1997) *Realist Evaluation*, London: Sage.
- Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. (2004) *Realist Evaluation*, London: Cabinet Office.
- Peters, M. A. (2008) 'Between Empires: Rethinking Identity and Citizenship in the Context of Globalisation', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 53-70.s
- Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) (2008) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (2008) 'Introduction: Many Faces of Global Civil Society: Possible Futures for Global Citizenship', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 1-13.
- Peterson, A. (2009) 'Civic republicanism and contestatory deliberation: framing pupil discourse within citizenship education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 57(1), 55-69.
- Peterson, A. (2011) 'Republican cosmopolitanism: democratising the global dimensions of citizenship education', *Oxford Review of Education*, 37(3), 421-435.
- Peterson, A. and Knowles, C. (2009) 'Active citizenship: a preliminary study into student teacher understandings', *Educational Research*, 51(1), 39-59.
- Peterson, S. and Katzarska-Miller, I. (2012) 'A model of global citizenship: Antecedents and Outcomes', *International Journal of Psychology*, 1-13.
- Philippou, S., Keating, Avril and Ortloff, D. H. (2009) 'Citizenship education curricula: comparing the multiple meanings of supra-national citizenship in Europe and beyond', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(2), 291-299.
- Phillips, T. (2004) *Multiculturalism's legacy is 'have a nice day' racism*, The Guardian, 28th May, 2004. Reproduced at <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2004/may/28/equality.raceintheuk>
- Phillips, T. (2005) Speech given at Manchester Council for Community Relations Meeting, 22nd September 2005.
- Pike, G. (2008) 'Global education', Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 468-480.

- Pike, M. A. (2007) 'The state and citizenship education in England: a curriculum for subjects or citizens?', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 39(4), 471 - 489
- Pike, M. A. (2012) 'Values, ethics and citizenship education', Arthur, J. and Cremin, H. (2012) *Debates in Citizenship Education*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Pilkington, A. (2008) 'Institutional racism to Community Cohesion: The changing nature of racial discourse in Britain', *Sociological Research Online*, 13(3) [www.socresonline.org.uk/13/3/6.html (accessed 14th March 2013)]
- Piper, H. and Garratt, D. (2004) 'Identity and citizenship: some contradictions in practice', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 52(3), 276–292.
- Piper, H. and Simons, H. (2011) 'Ethical issues in generating public knowledge' in Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. (2011) *Theory and methods in social research*, London: Sage. 25-32.
- Piper, H. and Piper, J. (2000) 'Volunteering and Citizenship in Communitarian Education Policy: philosopher's stone and fools' gold?' *Education and Social Justice* 3(1), 48-55.
- Piper, N. and Uhlin, A. (2004) 'New Perspective on Transnational Activism', in Piper, N and Uhlin, A (Eds), *Transnational Activism in Asia*, New York: Routledge.
- Pope, C. and Mays, N. (1999) *Qualitative Research in Healthcare (second edition)*. London: British Medical Journal Books.
- Popkewitz, T. S. (2008) 'Cosmopolitanism, the Citizen and Processes of Abjection: The Double Gestures of Pedagogy', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 133-152.
- Porter, S. (1993) 'Critical Realist Ethnography: The case of racism and professionalism in a medical setting'. *Sociology*, 27(4), 591-609.
- Porter, S. (2002) 'Critical realist ethnography: the case of racism and professionalism in a medical setting', in Ackroyd S. and Fleetwood, S. (Eds) *Critical Realism in Action in Organisation and Management Studies*. London: Routledge, 141-160.
- Potter, J. (2002) 'The challenge of education for active citizenship', *Education and Training*, 44(2), 57-66.
- Preece, J. (2008) 'A Social Justice Approach to Education for Active Citizenship: An International Perspective', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Pring, R. (1999) 'Political education: relevance of the humanities', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 71-87.
- Punch, K. F. (2009) *Introduction to research methods in education*, London: Sage.

Purvis, T. and Hunt, A. (1999) 'Identity versus Citizenship: Transformations in the Discourses and Practices of Citizenship', *Social and Legal Studies*, 8(4), 457-482.

Pykett, J. (2007) 'Making citizens governable? The Crick Report as governmental technology', *Journal of Education Policy*, 22(3), 301-319.

Pykett, J., Saward, M. and Schaefer, A. (2010) 'Framing the Good Citizen', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 12, 523-538.

Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (1998) *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools: Final Report of the Advisory Committee on Citizenship* (The Crick Report). London: QCA.

Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (2000) *Citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4: Initial Guidance for Schools*. London: QCA.

Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (2007) *Citizenship: A Programme of Study for Key Stage 3 and 4*. London: QCA.

Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (2008b) *Cross curriculum dimensions: A planning guide for schools*. London: QCA.

Qualifications and Curriculum Development Authority (QCDA) (2008b) *A Big Picture of the Secondary Curriculum*. London: QCDA. Available at: http://teachingcitizenship.org.uk/dnloads/bigpicture_sec_05_tcm8_157430.pdf (accessed 17th November 2011).

Rapley, T. J. (2001) 'The art(fulness) of open-ended interviewing: some considerations on analysing interviews', *Qualitative Research* 1, 303-323.

Rapley, T. J. (2004) 'Interviews' in Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubium, J. F., Silverman, D. (Eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage. 15-34.

Rapley, T. (2007). *Doing conversation, discourse and document analysis*. London: Sage.

Rawls, J. (1993) *Political Liberalism*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Rawls, J. (1998) 'Justice as Fairness in the Liberal Polity', in Shafir, G. (Ed) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press. 4-53.

Reay, D. (2008) 'Tony Blair, the promotion of the 'active' educational citizen, and middle-class hegemony', *Oxford Review of Education*, 34(6), 639-650.

Reich, R. (2004) 'Multicultural Accommodations in Education', in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 299-324.

Reimers, F. (2006), 'The public purposes of schools in an age of globalization', *Prospects*, XXXVI(3), 275-294.

- Reysen, S. and Katzarska-Miller, I. (2012) 'A model of global citizenship: Antecedents and outcomes', *International Journal of Psychology*, 1-13.
- Ritchie, D. (2001) *One Oldham, one future – The Ritchie Report*. Coventry: Institute of Community Cohesion.
- Robertson, S. L. (2007) 'Globalisation, Rescaling and Citizenship Regimes', in In Roth, K. and Burbules, N. C. (Eds) *Changing Notions of Citizenship Education in Contemporary Nation States*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 136-150.
- Rollock, N. (2009) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry 10 Years on. An Analysis of the Literature*. Berrymedley, London: Runnymede.
- Ross, A. (2000) *Curriculum, Construction and Critique*, London: Falmer Press.
- Ross, A. (2002) 'Younger children's political learning: concept-based approaches versus issues-based approaches', in Ross, A. (Ed) *Future Citizens in Europe*. London: Cice, 231-237.
- Ross, A. (2007) 'Multiple identities and education for active citizenship', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(3), 286-303.
- Ross, A. (2008) 'Organising a Curriculum for Active Citizenship Education', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 492-505.
- Roth, K. (2007) 'Cosmopolitan Learning'. In Roth, K. and Burbules, N. C. (Eds) *Changing Notions of Citizenship Education in Contemporary Nation States*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 10-29.
- Roth, K. and Burbules, N. C. (2007) *Changing Notions of Citizenship Education in Contemporary Nation-states*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Rowe, D., and Horsley, N. with Thorpe, T. and Breslin, T. (2011) *Teaching, Learning and Community Cohesion: A study of primary and secondary schools' responses to a new statutory duty*. Reading: CfBT.
- Ruitenbergh, C. W. (2009) 'Educating political adversaries: Chantal Mouffe and radical democratic citizenship education', *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 28(3), 269-281.
- Rutter, J. (2002) 'Citizenship education in the UK: a radical alternative or failed communitarian experiment?' in Ross, A. (Ed) *Future Citizens in Europe*. London: CICE, 73-78.
- de Ruyter, D and Spieker, B. (2008) 'The World Citizen Travels with a Different View' in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 351-364.
- Sayer, A. (1992) *Methods in social science: A realist approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Sayer, A. (2000) *Realism and Social Science*. Londong: Sage Publications

- Sayer, A. (2004) 'Why critical realism?', in Fleetwood, S. and Ackroyd, S. (Eds) *Critical realist applications in organisations and management studies*, London: Routledge, 6-20.
- Schattle, H. (2005) 'Communicating Global Citizenship: Multiple Discourses Beyond the Academy', *Citizenship Studies*, 9(2), 119-133.
- Schattle, H. (2008) *The Practices of Global Citizenship*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Scheffler, S. (2001) *Boundaries and Allegiances. Problems of Justice and Responsibility in Liberal Thought*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schugurensky, D. and Madjidi, K. (2008) 'Reinventing Freire: Exceptional Cases of Citizenship Education', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage. 100-123.
- Scott, D. and Lawson, H. (Eds) *Citizenship education and the Curriculum* (Vol. 3). Westport, CA: Greenwood Publishing,
- Sears, A., and Huges, A. (2006) 'Citizenship: Education and indoctrination', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 2(1), 3-17.
- Shafir, G. (Ed) (1998) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction: 2nd edition*. London: Sage.
- Singh, D., Marcus, S., Rabbats, H. and Sherlock, M., (2012) 5 Days in August: An interim report on the 2011 English Riots. Riots, Communities and Victims Panel.
- Sivanandan, A. (2006) *Britain's Shame: From multiculturalism to nativism*. [(www.irr.org.uk/2006/may/ha000024.html (last accessed 12th March 2013)]
- Skinner, G., and McCollum, A. (2000). Values education, citizenship, and the challenges of cultural diversity. In R. Bailey (Ed.), *Teaching values and citizenship across the curriculum, educating children for the world* (pp. 146-156). Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.
- Sklair (2001) *The Transnational Capitalist Class*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell
- Smith, S. (2007) 'Deliberating Publics Citizens: Post-national Citizenship amidst Global Public Spheres', in In Roth, K. and Burbules, N. C. (Eds) *Changing Notions of Citizenship Education in Contemporary Nation States*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 30-50.
- Smith, W. (2007) 'Virtue, Irony and Worldliness', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10(1), 37-52.
- Somekh, B., Burman, E., Delamont, S., Meyer, J., Payne, M., Thorpe, R. (2011) 'Research in the social sciences', in Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. (2011) *Theory and methods in social research*, London: Sage. 2-15.

Soysal, Y. (1997) 'Rights, identity and claims making', Metropolis International Workshop Proceedings, Lisbon. Available at http://www.brandeis.edu/ethics/pdfs/internationaljustice/otheractivities/JAC_Soysal.pdf (Accessed 17th November 2011).

Soysal Y. (1998) 'Towards a postnational model of citizenship', Shafir, G. (Ed) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press. 10-180.

Stradling (1984) 'Controversial Issues in the Classroom', in Hill, S. and Reid, C. (Eds) *Teaching Controversial Issues*. London: Edward Arnold, 1984.

Starkey, H. (2008a) 'Antiracism' in in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage.

Starkey, H. (2008b) 'Diversity and citizenship in the curriculum', *London Review of Education*, 6(1), 5-10.

Starkey, H (2008c) 'Education for citizenship, diversity and "Britishness" 1997-2007' *Observatoire de la societe britannique*, 5, 95-108.

Stasiulis, D. and Ross, D. (2006) 'Security, Flexible Sovereignty, and the Perils of Multiple Citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*, 10(3), 329-348.

Stevenson, N (2010) 'Cultural citizenship, education and democracy: redefining the good society', *Citizenship Studies*, 14(3), 275-291.

Stradling, R. (1985) Controversial issues in the curriculum. *Bulletin of Environmental Education*, 170, 9-13.

Strauss, A., and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Suleiman, M. and Moore, R. (1996) *Instilling Civic and Democratic Values in ALL Students: A Multicultural Perspective* (Hays, Fort Hays University Publications).

TDA (2005) *Results of the Newly Qualified Teacher Survey* (London, TDA).

Tikly, L., Caballero, C., Haynes, J. and Hill, J. in association with Birmingham Local Education Authority (2004) *Understanding the Educational Needs of Mixed Heritage Pupils* (London, DfES/RR 549).

Tilley, N. (2000) 'Realistic Evaluation: An Overview. Presented at the Founding Conference of the Danish Evaluation Society'. September 2000. [Online]. Available at: www.danskevalueringsselskab.dk/pdf/Nick%20Tilley.pdf [accessed 14th October 2010].

Tinkler, P. (2001) 'English girls and the International Dimensions of British Citizenship in the 1940s', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 8(1), 103-126.

Tomlinson, S. (2005) 'Race, ethnicity and education under New Labour', *Oxford Review of Education*, 31(1), 153-171.

Tonge, J., Mycock, A. and Jeffery, B. (2012) 'Does citizenship education make young people better-engaged citizens', *Political Studies*, 1-26.

Torney-Purta, J., Schwille, J. and Amadeo, J.A. (1999) *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-four Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

Torney-Purta, J. Lehmann, R., Oswald, H. and Schulz, W. (2001) *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of the Educational Achievement (IEA).

Torney-Purta, J. and Amadeo, J. (2002) 'A cross-national study of political and civic involvement among adolescents', *Political Science and Politics*, 36(2), 269–274.

Torney-Purta, J., Richardson, W. K. and Henry Barber, C. (2005) 'Teachers' Educational Experience and confidence in relation to students' civic knowledge across countries', *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1(1), 32-56.

Torres, CA. (1998) *Democracy, education and multiculturalism: dilemmas of citizenship in a global world*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield

Torres, C. A. (2001) 'Globalization and comparative education in the world system', *Comparative Education Review*, 45(4), iii-ix.

Torres, C A. (2002) 'Globalization, Education and Citizenship: Solidarity versus Markets?', *American Educational Research Association*, 39, 363-378.

Trafford, B. (2008) 'Democratic schools, towards a definition', in Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (Eds) (2008) *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage.

Tse T. K (2011) 'Creating good citizens in China: comparing grade 7-9 school textbooks, 1997-2005', *Journal of Moral Education* 40(2). 161–180.

Tsoldis, G. (2002) 'How do we teach and learn in times when the notion of 'global citizenship' sounds like a cliché?' *Journal of Research in International Education*, 1(2), 213-226.

Tully, J. (2008) 'Two Meanings of Global Citizenship: Modern and Diverse', in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 15-39.

Turner, B. S. (2000) 'Liberal Citizenship and Cosmopolitan Virtue', Vandenberg, A. (Ed) *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*. New York, N. Y: MacMillan Press. 18-32.

Turner, B. S. (2001a) 'Cosmopolitan Virtue: On Religion in a Global Age', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 4(2), 131-152.

Turner, B. S. (2001b) 'The erosion of citizenship', *British Journal of Sociology*, 2(52), 189–209

- Turner, B. S. (2002) 'Cosmopolitan Virtue, Globalization and Patriotism', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19(1-2), 45-63
- Turner, B. S. (2009) 'T.H. Marshall, social rights and English national identity', *Citizenship Studies*, 13(1), 65-73.
- Vandenberg, A. (2000a) (Ed) *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*. New York, N. Y: MacMillan Press.
- Vandenberg, A. (2000b) 'Contesting Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era', in Vandenberg, A. (Ed) *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*. New York, N. Y: MacMillan Press. 3-17.
- van Gunsteren, H. (1994) 'Four Conceptions of Citizenship', in Van Steenbergen, B. (Ed) *The Condition of Citizenship*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- van Heur, B. (2010) 'Beyond regulation: Towards a cultural political economy of complexity and emergence', *Political Economy*, 15(3), 421-444
- van Steenbergen, B. (Ed) (1994) *The Condition of Citizenship*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Venn, C. (2002) 'Altered States: Post-enlightenment cosmopolitanism and transmodern socialities', *Theory Culture Society*, 19, 65-80.
- Waks, L. J. (2008) 'Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship Education' in Peters, M. A., Britton, A., Blee, H. (Eds) *Global Citizenship Education. Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. 203-219.
- Waldron, J. (2004) 'Teaching Cosmopolitan Right', in McDonough, K. and Feinberg, W. (Eds) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies. Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waldron, J. (2006) 'Cosmopolitan Norms', in Benhabib, S. *Another Cosmopolitan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 83-101.
- Walzer, M. (1998) 'The Civil Society Argument', Shafir, G. (Ed) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Warwick, P. (2008) 'The development of apt citizenship education through listening to young people's voices', *Educational Action Research*, 16 (3), 321-33.
- Waters, M. (2001) *Globalisation*. London: Routledge.
- Webb, C. and Kevern, J. (2001) 'Focus groups as a research method: a critique of some aspects of their use in nursing research', *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 33(6), 798-805.
- Weedon, C. (2011) 'Identity, Difference and Social Cohesion in Contemporary Britain', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 32(3), 209-227.

- Westheimer, J., and Kahne, J. (2004) 'What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy', *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(2), 237–269.
- White, C. and Openshaw, R. (2005) *Democracy at the Crossroads: International Perspectives on Critical Global Citizenship Education*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Wilkins, C. (1999) 'The making of 'Good Citizens': the social and political attitudes of PGCE students', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(1-2), 217-230.
- Wilkins, C. (2001) 'Student Teachers and Attitudes towards 'Race': the role of citizenship education in addressing racism through the curriculum', *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 24(1), 7-21.
- Wilkins, C. (2005) 'Teaching for Equality and Diversity: Putting Values into Practice', in Osler, A. (Ed.) *Teachers, Human Rights and Diversity*, Trentham: Stoke on Trent, 155-170
- Wilkinson, S. (2004) 'Focus group research', in D. Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative research: Theory, method, and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 177–199
- Williams, M. (2003) 'Citizenship as Identity, Citizenship as Shared Fate, and the Functions of Multicultural Education', in K. McDonough & W. Feinberg (eds), *Education and Citizenship in Liberal Democratic Societies: Teaching for cosmopolitan values and collective identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 208–247.
- Williams, M. (2009) 'Citizenship as Agency within Communities of Shared Fate', in Bernstein, S., Coleman, W. D. (Eds), *Unsettled Legitimacy: Political Community, Power and Authority in a Global Era*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 33-52.
- Wringe, C. (1999) 'Social exclusion, citizenship and global education', *The Development Education Journal* 6(1): 4-6
- Wyse, D. (2001) 'Felt tip pens and school councils: Children's participation rights in four English schools', *Children and Society*, 15(4), 209-218.
- Yeatman, A. (2007) 'The Subject of Citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1), 105-115.
- Young, I. M. (1997) 'Feminism and the Public Sphere', *Constellations* 3(3):340-363.
- Young, I. M. (1998) 'Justice, Democracy and Hazardous Siting' with Christian Hunold, *Political Studies*, Vol. XLVI, 82-95.
- Zadja, J. (2009) 'Globalisation, nation-building and cultural identity: the role of intercultural dialogue', in Zajda, J., Daun, H. and Saha, L. (Eds) *Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education*. Frankfurt: Springer.
- Zajda, J, Daun, H. and Saha, L. S. (2009) (Eds) *Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education*. New York, NY: Springer.