

**re-examining citizenship
education:
the case of England**

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1. BACKGROUND: TRADITION AND CONTEXT

What is clear from researching citizenship education in the context of England is that there is no great tradition of explicit teaching of citizenship education in English schools or of voluntary and community service for young people.¹ As a result, there is no consistent framework in which to posit discussion of this area. Citizenship is a broad area which is fraught with difficulties. The difficulties arise because of the nature of the endeavour. Citizenship education is concerned with young people's understanding of society and, in particular, with influencing what pupils learn and understand about the social world. As such, citizenship education attracts the interest of many groups in society. These groups invariably have differing perspectives as to what aspects of the social world citizenship education should encompass and divergent views about the methods of approach to be taken with pupils.

Rowe (1997) has categorised these differing perspectives into eight models of citizenship education, which he asserts have been developed in democratic societies such as Britain. They are the constitutional knowledge, the patriotic, the parental, the religious, the value conflict or pluralist, the empathetic, the school ethos and the community action models. There is no space to outline these models here. It must also be remembered that in reality much of the thinking and practice concerning citizenship education in England is more disparate than the models suggest. Nevertheless, they are a useful way of thinking about citizenship education in England because they highlight differing approaches to citizenship education, both in terms of emphasis and teaching and learning styles.

The continued support of groups in society and of teachers in schools for elements of these models of citizenship education helps to explain why discussion of citizenship education in England is never far from the top of the political and educational agenda. It also explains why that discussion is often characterised by a lack of clarity of definition and approach. Though there is general agreement that the development of citizenship education in English schools is important, there is a general lack of consensus as to how precisely such development should be achieved. Indeed, the history of education for citizenship in England is a curious mixture of noble intentions, which are then turned into general pronouncements, which, in turn, become minimal guidance for schools. The avoidance of any overt official government direction to schools concerning political socialisation and citizenship education can almost be seen as a national trait. Such education has long been perceived as unbecoming, vulgar and

¹ This research was sponsored by NFER and the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) (now the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA)) as the first phase of a two-phase international study of citizenship education approved by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1994. Twenty-four countries participated in Phase 1, which involved an in-depth exploration of how citizenship education was conceptualised and understood in each national context. National Case Study reports were produced for each country. The reports are stored in the IEA international database on citizenship education.

'unEnglish'. It explains why when citizenship education has periodically come to the fore in the English education system, it has been located, primarily, in the implicit or hidden curriculum rather than in the explicit or formal curriculum.

There has never been strong support for a discrete subject entitled citizenship or civics. Instead, what passes as citizenship education has been characterised more by an emphasis on indirect transmission through school values, ethos and participation in school rituals than by direct delivery through subjects. Indeed, transmission has been weighted toward pupil exposure to good role models and sound habits rather than to direction through specified subject content. The intention has been to mould character and behaviour rather than to develop civic awareness. As such, citizenship education in England has been traditionally insular and largely devoid both of political concerns in contemporary society and of developments in other countries.

2. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: KEY POINTS FROM THE PAST

The history of educating for citizenship in England is well documented (Batho, 1990; Brown, 1991; Heater, 1990, 1991; Kerr, 1993; Oliver and Heater, 1994 and Annette, 1997), yet some key points, which are relevant to this case study, need to be highlighted. The first is the renewed interest in citizenship education over the past decade, which resulted, in 1989, in its renaissance as a cross-curricular theme, 'Education for Citizenship', in the National Curriculum (England) and, in 1999, in proposals for the inclusion of Citizenship in the revised National Curriculum. Interestingly, citizenship education has been defined differently in the National Curriculum of Wales and Northern Ireland. In Wales, it has been termed 'Education for Community Understanding', and in Northern Ireland, 'Education for Mutual Understanding' and 'Education for Cultural Heritage'. This renewed interest has been indicative of the oscillating fortunes of citizenship education and of its periodic rise to prominence in the debate about the shape of the whole curriculum. It is a prominence which has often been accompanied by an attempt to define what it entails and how schools might best approach it. However, such attempts at definition and approach have been less than successful, often resulting in general statements rather than specific guidance and advice for schools.

The 1990s have been the latest of these periods of introspection. However, two developments threaten to make this period historic in terms of what has gone before. The first is the work of the Citizenship Advisory Group in providing a clear definition of the aims and purposes of citizenship education along with concrete proposals for a framework for citizenship in schools (Crick, 1998a and b; Kerr, 1999a). The second is the conviction of the new Labour Government to include Citizenship (as it is being termed) as a formal component in the revised National Curriculum in schools from 2002. David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, is proposing that citizenship becomes a new statutory foundation subject in secondary schools, and part of a non-statutory framework along with personal, social and health education (PSHE) in primary schools. These proposals, if accepted, herald an historic political and cultural shift in attitudes to citizenship education.

The second key point is the complex relationship between citizenship and education for citizenship. Citizenship is a contested concept. At the heart of the contest are differing views about the function and organisation of society. Because education is accepted as central to society, it follows that attitudes to education, and by default to citizenship education, are dependent on the particular conception of citizenship put forward. It is important to understand this connection. The periodic definition of citizenship education is a by-product of a much larger, wide-ranging debate concerning the nature of English society and the role of education within that society. That debate has usually been linked, in the past,

to some major movement or trauma, such as the spread of industrialisation or involvement in a world war.

The current focus on citizenship, and *de facto* citizenship education, has two triggers, one long-term and the other short-term. The long-term trigger was the impact of the world oil crisis of the mid-1970s in western, industrialised democracies such as Britain. This has caused such democracies to radically restructure economic, welfare and education provision to meet the challenges of the rapidly changing world. The British Government has been in the vanguard of such moves. This restructuring has led intellectuals to question whether it marks a watershed, namely the end of modern, liberal democratic society and the onset of a less certain postmodern world. They have also begun to redefine the concept of citizenship in this postmodern world. Indeed, citizenship has been a continuous topic of discussion in the past decade in intellectual and political circles in England. It has attracted copious comment from social commentators, political and economic theorists and politicians across the spectrum. Everyone, from the New Right, across the crowded Centre, to the Old Left, has been preoccupied with redefining and claiming ownership of the concept (Dahrendorf, 1987; Heater, 1990; Turner, 1990; Wexler, 1990; Andrews, 1991; Roche, 1992; Demaine and Entwistle, 1997; Callow, 1997).

However, these attempts to redefine citizenship have had only a limited impact on debates about citizenship education in schools. They reached their apogee in the late 1980s and early 1990s with discussion of the implications for schools of the then Conservative Government's championing of civic obligation or 'active citizenship' (Hurd, 1988; MacGregor, 1990; Oliver, 1991). More important, in terms of citizenship education, has been the short-term trigger, namely, the seemingly pervasive erosion of the social, political, economic and moral fabric of society in England, in the face of rapid economic and social change. This has resulted in increasing disquiet, in many quarters, at the apparent breakdown of many of the institutions and values which have traditionally underpinned society and encouraged social cohesion and stability, such as family, marriage, religion and respect for the law. It has led to a particular concern about the impact of such developments on the attitudes and behaviour of young people.

This short-term trigger has led, from the early 1990s, to increasing discussion of citizenship education in relation to: values education and the development of pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development; and pupils' experiences of personal, social and health education (PSHE). The discussion has grown into the current concern, in many quarters of British society, about the lack of a coherent programme of personal and social education and citizenship education for pupils both inside and outside schools. This concern, in turn, has prompted a number of initiatives, which are intended to help construct this coherent programme and which include aspects of citizenship education. It explains the inclusion in the revised National Curriculum of a statement of values, aims and purposes of the school curriculum and detailed proposals to strengthen citizenship and personal and social education.

Third, there is the key point that the history of citizenship education confirms the extent to which definitions of citizenship are very much a product of the spirit and concerns of the age. Citizenship education has been ascribed various purposes in the past. These include the promotion in Victorian times of the reinforcement of the duties associated with social standing; in the 1920s of the importance of understanding local and national communities, and in the 1960s and 1970s of the desirability of fostering world citizenship. The focus is often dependent on the views of the dominant social or political group at the time. It is no coincidence that the focus in the late 1980s and early 1990s, on that of the rights, obligations and allegiances of the individual citizen, was influenced by the rhetoric and policies of the prevailing Conservative Government. It was encapsulated in the then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's famous remark in the mid-1980s that '*there is no such thing as "society". There are men. And there are women. And there are families*'. The Conservative Government championed the individualism of the free market and placed an emphasis on the importance of civic obligation or 'active citizenship'.

The term 'active citizenship' was part of a wider Conservative philosophy based on the privacy of the rights and responsibilities of the individual over those of the state. The Conservative Government urged individuals to take up actively their civic responsibilities rather than leave it to the government to carry them out. It backed up the call with policies which encouraged greater private ownership and the privacy of consumer rights in all areas of life, including education.

The new Labour Government, which came to power in May 1997, has championed a communitarian rhetoric with an emphasis on 'civic morality'. This is part of the wider philosophy of 'new Labour', as the Prime Minister Tony Blair has termed his party and its policies, based on the civic responsibilities of the individual in partnership with the state. The Labour Government is urging individuals to act as caring people aware of the needs and views of others and motivated to contribute positively to wider society. The emphasis on 'civic morality' is heralded publicly as a much-needed antidote to counter the harmful effects of the rampant individualism which underpinned 'active citizenship'. It will be interesting to gauge the extent of the impact of the 'new Labour' rhetoric on education policy and practice.

The fourth key point is that the history of citizenship highlights the continuities in some of the recent approaches to citizenship education with what has gone before. Many of the characteristics of the 1990s versions of citizenship education have strong echoes with the past. Indeed, they elicit a profound sense of *déjà vu*. They include the lack of consensus about the specific purposes, approaches and outcomes of educating for citizenship in schools; the non-statutory, cross-curricular approach to 'Education for Citizenship'; the general nature of the official advice given to schools to date, as embodied in the National Curriculum Council (NCC) curriculum guidance document *Education for Citizenship* (1990), and the distrust, in schools and elsewhere, of anything associated with attempts to introduce overt political education into the curriculum. It will be fascinating

to see how far the proposals for citizenship in the revised National Curriculum are able both to build from what has gone before and, more importantly, to break new ground in terms of achieving consensus, prompting detailed advice and guidance for schools and overcoming distrust.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The data-gathering process in the completion of this case study report has been extensive and intensive because of the broad conception of citizenship education in England. It has been conducted, in the main, by the IEA Citizenship Education Study National Research Co-ordinator (NRC), David Kerr, at NFER. The approach has been determined by the nature of the answers required to the three core topic domains which underpin Phase 1 of the IEA Study namely: democracy; national identity, and social diversity and cohesion (see Appendix 1). Each of the countries participating in Phase 1 had to provide answers to common questions relating to the three core topic domains. It has also been influenced by the tight timescale for completion of the case study report. The data gathering has been largely qualitative in nature, though with some quantitative elements. It has involved the gathering and analysis of a wide range of materials and sources of information through a variety of approaches. These materials and sources of information have then been synthesised so as to provide answers to the core topic domains.

The sources of information gathered and analysed have included:

- ♦ academic books, articles and reports both from within education and also from the wider academic and public community;
- ♦ articles in the popular and education press;
- ♦ publications for professional educators;
- ♦ official government legislation and curriculum documents;
- ♦ guidance for schools from official government and non-government organisations and agencies;
- ♦ curriculum materials, including textbooks;
- ♦ questionnaire responses from secondary schools.

Materials and sources of information have been gathered from different time periods, ranging from the 1950s to present day, in order to provide a crucial historical perspective in some of the answers. Indeed, it would not have been possible to answer some aspects of the core topic domains without this historical review. The main materials and sources of information are cited, where appropriate, in this case study report.

The approaches to the gathering, analysis and synthesising of materials and sources of information have included:

- ♦ A literature and research review for each core topic domain, carried out with the assistance of the extensive support services offered by the NFER library.
- ♦ Individual interviews with 12 National Expert Panel (NEP) members, who advised on Phase 1, and with individuals and organisations they suggested as further sources of information. These were conducted

largely by telephone because of pressures of time. Individuals and organisations were also encouraged to send written responses, to David Kerr on each core topic domain, related to their interests and experience. This process of receiving targeted written responses was made more manageable by breaking down the questions relating to each core topic domain into four categories, namely, *General Issues*, *Official Curriculum Decisions*, *School Focused Matters* and *National (non-Government) Organisations*. Individuals and organisations were able to make a response under the category or categories most appropriate to their activities and concerns.

- ♦ A curriculum analysis of official government sources and of developments in relevant subjects and curriculum areas.
- ♦ An analysis of curriculum materials, including textbooks.
- ♦ A national survey of approaches to values education in secondary schools, conducted by NFER. This national survey included a number of questions on citizenship education. Follow-up telephone interviews were conducted with some of the schools at the start of the second phase of the values education initiative.

4. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ENGLAND: MAIN FINDINGS

The findings in relation to the three core topic domains highlight many aspects of citizenship education in the context of England. However, there is only room here to focus on the most significant ones. What is most striking in the findings is the huge gaps that currently exist in the knowledge and research base which underpins this area in England. There has been little research on political socialisation and citizenship education in England during the past 20 years (Furnham and Stacey, 1991; Denver and Hands, 1991; Taylor, 1997). The debates and discussions, the making of official curriculum policy, the efforts of curriculum developers and other interested agencies, and the making of policy in individual schools, which are described in the case study report, take place in almost total ignorance of current aims, practices and awareness of citizenship education at the school level, and of the impact of such education at the pupil level. In particular, little is known about:

At the school level:

- ♦ the impact of school ideology or ethos on approaches to citizenship education;
- ♦ the provision for citizenship education in secondary schools;
- ♦ the strategies, resources and approaches employed by teachers in the classroom;
- ♦ the needs of schools and teachers regarding citizenship education;
- ♦ the outcomes of citizenship education programmes.

And at the pupil level:

- ♦ the extent and type of knowledge and understanding 11 to 16 year olds have of society;
- ♦ the stages of development that pupils of this age group go through in the acquisition of social knowledge;
- ♦ the individual, social and cultural determinants of the development and growth of pupils' social knowledge;
- ♦ the relationship between knowledge, attitudes and behaviour among this age group;
- ♦ the degree to which schools, teachers and the curriculum can affect the acquisition of social knowledge by pupils and influence their attitudes and behaviour.

This lack of knowledge has made it difficult to provide detailed answers to issues concerning curriculum organisation and pupil experiences. The work of the Citizenship Advisory Group has made an important start in tackling some of

these gaps in our knowledge and understanding. England's participation in Phase 2 of the IEA Citizenship Education Study hopefully will provide many more valuable insights about attitudes and approaches to citizenship at the school and pupil level.²

The other striking aspect of the findings is the extent to which the prevailing political context influences the nature of the discussion of citizenship education. This has created a particular ebb and flow in the discussion across the decades, as citizenship education has risen periodically to prominence in the debate about the shape of the whole curriculum. Indeed, this context has been chosen by the National Expert Panel as the pressing theme most likely to appeal to an international audience. It is discussed in the next section.

All three core topic domains raise important concepts and sets of issues in the context of England. However, these concepts and issues are rarely posed explicitly either in society or in schools. This makes it difficult to be specific about the extent to which the topic domains of democracy, national identity and social diversity and cohesion are important as a way of understanding important aspects of citizenship education in England. This has been confirmed by the findings of a recent major comparative research programme into aspects of citizenship in Britain and in the United States (Crewe, *et al.*, 1996; P. Phillips, 1997). The study discovered that for British respondents citizenship was a foreign concept and played only a peripheral part in their self-perception; they attached far more importance and value to their sense of Britishness than to their sense of citizenship; and that if citizenship meant anything it was defined in relation to being a member of a community (local rather than national) and doing something beneficial in that community. Arnot (1996), in a survey of student teachers in England at the end of their initial training course, also found that the student teachers had great difficulty defining the concept of citizenship and listing the characteristics of a 'good citizen'. This has been reinforced by the findings of a further study of student teachers' understanding of citizenship (Wilkins, 1999).

The distancing of citizenship from the questions of democracy, national identity and social cohesion in England is deep-rooted. There is no tradition of developing national allegiance or social cohesion through the political system and civic culture. Nor is that culture embodied in contractual symbols of democratic importance such as a bill of rights or written constitution. Indeed, there is no common core of civic principles and values which command national allegiance

² IEA Citizenship Education: Phase 2 is a major project, funded by the Department for Education and Employment (DFEE), which is investigating national developments in citizenship education for 14 year olds within an international context. It builds from the detailed National Case Study Reports in Phase 1. Phase 2 started in 1998 and consists of a major international survey in 29 countries of young people's attitudes, experiences and understanding of citizenship education. The goal of Phase 2 is to identify and examine in a comparative framework the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their role as citizens in democracies and societies aspiring to democracy. About 150 schools will take part in a survey which will include tests to be completed by students and questionnaires for students, teachers and headteachers. A national report on Phase 2 results in England and an international report on key international and national findings will be ready for publication in 2001.

and are transmitted to pupils through schools and elsewhere in society. This is in marked contrast to other countries such as the United States.

This distancing has been carried over into the education system. The connection between education and pupil acquisition of a sense of national identity or civic loyalty has long made people uneasy (Brown, 1991). Though the maintenance of a democratic society is a central aim of education in England, it is not, as yet, formalised in the curriculum. Rather it remains an intended outcome of the whole educational experience for pupils. This experience is offered through many different forms and contexts, and involves not only schools but also parents and society in general. As a result, schools have long been viewed as institutions which develop critical reasoning skills and attempt to shape the behaviour of pupils rather than serve nationalistic ends.

4.1 The School Curriculum

It is not surprising that in England, as yet, there are no explicit official (i.e. government) curriculum goals related to the three core topic domains. Instead there are implicit goals in the official curriculum framework for schools, as set out in the *1988 Education Reform Act* (ERA) (GB. Statutes, 1988). ERA placed a statutory responsibility upon schools to provide '*a balanced and broadly based curriculum that promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society*' and '*prepares pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life*' (Section 1(2)). This was to be achieved through a National Curriculum, covering pupils aged 5 to 16, and consisting of three core and seven foundation subjects and religious education (RE), and supported by cross-curricular dimensions, skills and themes. 'Education for Citizenship' was identified as one of the five cross-curricular themes. The implicit goals underlying this official curriculum framework have been developed from the 1970s and the framework itself has been subject to revision since 1988.

The current situation, pending the introduction of the revised National Curriculum in 2000, is that beyond the statutory responsibilities of ERA, it remains up to each school and local education authority (LEA), at local and regional level, to decide how best to approach the National Curriculum framework. The path from the establishment of official curriculum goals by central government to the decision of each school as to how to approach them in the context of their own institution is an extremely complex one. It involves not only central government and its national agencies, but also political interest groups, local agencies, school staff, school governors and non-governmental national organisations. Indeed the drawing up of the National Curriculum goals was itself a tortuous process involving not only periods of public consultation but also significant political input. It is to be hoped that the consultation on the proposals for the revised National Curriculum will be less vexatious.

The three core topic domains of democracy, national identity and social diversity and cohesion have generated a great deal of public discussion and controversy in England over the past 20 years. They remain on the education and public agenda, particularly in the light of the revision of the National Curriculum in the year 2000. They are also kept there, in part, by the efforts of the large number of non-governmental national organisations which take an interest in what 11 to 16 year olds should know about these topic domains. The case study shows them to be a diverse group. They range from: those at the forefront of supporting the development of citizenship education in schools, notably The Citizenship Foundation, Community Service Volunteers (CSV), The Institute for Citizenship, and the Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education; to those who work with children and young people, such as youth agencies, charities and children's rights organisations, to others such as political interest groups, the media and national organisations concerned with equal opportunities and racial equality. Many of these organisations, particularly those in the voluntary sector, report feeling marginalised from the official debates about the nature of citizenship education. They view such debates as overly dominated by narrow concerns about the shape of the school curriculum, to the exclusion of wider issues about the overall educational experience of pupils both in schools and in the community.

The case study findings also highlight, in particular, how little is known about the emphasis given to citizenship education in schools and how it is addressed through the curriculum. They demonstrate how each school has a large degree of autonomy in delivering the non-statutory curriculum framework and in deciding how, where and when the topic domains associated with citizenship education might be included as part of pupil studies and experiences. Though there is rich potential for addressing citizenship education through NC subjects and the additional subjects and cross-curricular elements that comprise the whole curriculum, tapping that potential is dependent on schools identifying suitable contexts and planning for experiences within subjects. This requires making time in a busy timetable and thus giving citizenship education some priority.

The limited research base on how schools address citizenship education confirms the impact of this institutional autonomy and breadth of opportunity on what actually happens in the curriculum (Fogelman, 1990 and 1991). Part of the approach to the case study was an attempt to add to this limited research base. Accordingly, a number of questions on citizenship education (defined in relation to the three core topic domains) were included in a national survey of provision and practice for values education in 173 secondary schools conducted by NFER (Taylor and Lines, 1998). Initial responses support the previous research findings. The curriculum subjects most frequently mentioned for delivery of citizenship education are history/humanities (63% of schools at key stage 3 and 55% at key stage 4) and English (42% key stage 3 and 32% key stage 4). Only 19 per cent of schools deliver it as a defined cross-curricular theme and only two per cent as a separate subject. However the most frequently mentioned place for delivery is personal and social education (PSE) (83% and 78%) and, in addition, form time and tutorial groups (58% and 50%).

4.2 Pupil Experiences

Unfortunately, it proved impossible in the case study to measure the extent to which pupils are assessed on what they have learnt about topics associated with citizenship education in PSE and these curriculum subjects. There is no national examination or formal assessment that all pupils take which does this, while little is known about the classroom assessment practices of teachers. Nor was it possible to identify a relevant set of text materials (i.e. textbooks) which address citizenship education in the context of secondary schools in England. This was for a number of reasons. First, there is no list of approved or officially sanctioned textbooks in England. Instead each school purchases its own textbooks from a wide selection available from commercial publishers. Second, it is not easy to identify the most popular textbooks. There is a free market in the production and purchase of textbooks. Third, many of the textbooks produced do not explicitly cover citizenship education because it is not explicitly addressed in the official curriculum framework.

It also proved difficult to find out what kind of activities and assignments pupils cover in the classroom in relation to citizenship education. The official curriculum neither explicitly addresses citizenship education as yet nor prescribes methods of instruction. Instead the decision is left to the professional judgement of teachers. However, there has been little research into specific teaching and learning activities which address the topics associated with citizenship education. Kerr (1996), in a survey of 144 primary schools, found that teachers felt the most effective approach to citizenship education was through active strategies, such as discussion and debate. Crewe *et al.* (1996), in a comparative research programme into aspects of citizenship in paired communities in Britain and in the United States, found that nearly 80 per cent of pupils aged 15 to 16 in their British sample communities engaged in little discussion of public issues in the classroom.

It was a similar picture in relation to the common extracurricular activities inside schools, which give pupils the opportunity to learn more about citizenship education. There is a singular lack of research evidence on extracurricular activities in English schools. In particular, little is known about either what are the most common activities or what pupils gain from them. The limited research that has been carried out suggests a number of characteristics. The first is that there is no standard or common practice inside schools. There are no national holidays or famous landmarks in the country's history or literature which are universally celebrated in schools. Nor are there periods of time officially designated to commemorate certain events, such as Women's History day, or Black History week or European Awareness month, around which schools can base activities. Instead pupils may be involved in a broad range of extracurricular activities, from school councils and community activities to clubs and school teams. Fogelman (1990 and 1991), in a survey of 455 secondary schools, found the most common extracurricular activities involving pupils were community activity or service (90% of schools) and school councils (60%).

The second is that pupils aged 14- to 16-years old are more likely to participate in these activities than younger pupils. This is particularly apparent in more formalised activities such as school councils (Ashworth, 1995). The third is that these activities are intended to broaden pupils' experiences and encourage active pupil decision-making. There is a growing groundswell of support from outside the formal education system in England, led by children's rights, community service and youth movements, for greater pupil involvement in such decision-making activities (Lansdown, 1995; Willow, 1997; British Youth Council, 1995, 1997; National Youth Agency, 1997). The case study included an attempt to add to this limited research base. As part of a national values education survey, conducted by NFER, secondary schools were asked to list the activities through which pupils have opportunities inside school to experience citizenship. Initial findings confirm the broad approach in many schools. At key stage 3 the most common activities are charity fund-raising (87% of schools), visiting speakers (69%), school councils (67%), clubs and societies (57%), environment projects (50%) and community activities (49%). The list also includes work experience, formal award schemes, school magazine, mock political elections, voluntary work, debating society and school committees. Key stage 4 responses show a similar breadth. The most common activities are work experience (84%), charity fund-raising (78%), visiting speakers (70%), school councils (63%), community activities (57%) and formal award schemes (54%) (Taylor and Lines, 1998).

The case study also reveals how little is known about pupils' experiences of activities outside school. There are many opportunities for 11- to 16-year olds, through the experiences offered by organisations such as youth groups, often associated with religion, the boy scout and girl guide movement, sports and recreational clubs, volunteering and community groups and charities and environment groups, to gain experience relating to the core topic domains of citizenship education. However, little is known about levels of participation of young people in such activities and what they gain from them. A recent research study by Roker *et al.* (1997 and 1999) of 1,160 14- to 16-year olds has suggested higher levels of interest and participation of 14- to 16-year olds in voluntary and campaigning activities than previously reported. The study found that the majority of those questioned had been involved in some form of political or community action in the past year. Further detailed research is required into such matters.

4.3 Teachers

As to teachers, the case study reveals that teachers in secondary schools have had little explicit or implicit preparation for delivering citizenship education in classrooms. The topic domains are not a priority in pre-service (termed initial) and inservice (termed INSET or CPD) training in England. Though there have been occasional courses in the past, boosted by the appearance of Education for Citizenship as a cross-curricular theme, these have all but ceased. INSET and initial teacher training for the secondary sector, the latter based on one-year Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) courses, are dominated by the

demands of the formal, subject-based curriculum. Teachers teach and train to teach a main (usually NC) subject. However, those teachers who have completed a PGCE course in the past ten years are likely to have covered issues relating to PSE, equal opportunities and multicultural education as part of their educational or professional studies course component. They may also have completed some appropriate coursework linked to their increased teaching experience in schools.

Recent research by Arnot (1996) and Wilkins (1999) has shown that despite these increased opportunities many student teachers in England feel ill-prepared and uncomfortable, at the end of their PGCE course, in addressing issues related to citizenship education in schools. In particular, less than ten per cent of student teachers felt confident in teaching about social class and ethnic groups or public and working life in Britain, while only four per cent felt confident about teaching about legal rights. Many also recognised the inherent difficulty of teaching common values in a heterogeneous society. However, on a positive note, the new generation of teachers also defined the primary aim of citizenship education as the promotion of greater harmony between different social groups, and the encouragement of active participation in society and individual responsibility.

The findings underline the need for a comprehensive and sustained programme of pre-service and INSET training for Citizenship following the introduction of the revised National Curriculum in the year 2000. Indeed, the recent consultation papers from the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) on new national professional qualifications for headteachers and subject leaders have included, under the category *People and Relationships*, an expectation of staff and pupils with regard to '*encouraging moral and spiritual growth and civic and social responsibility*' (TTA, 1996a p. 8; 1996b p.7).

4.4 Outside Agencies

The case study process also highlights the lack of knowledge of the influence of outside agencies such as the media and politicians on schools and pupils. In particular, there has been a lack of systematic research to date both on the use of the media by 11- to 16-year olds and on its influence on their political socialisation, developing sense of national identity and acquisition of ideas about social cohesion and diversity. However, the case study found that the volume of research is now increasing, driven by research findings from the United States, and that what little that is known suggests a number of characteristics in pupils' engagement with the media in England (Bazalgette and Buckingham, 1995; Carrington and Short, 1997 and Buckingham, 1999). First, the media, particularly television, are embedded in the culture of 11- to 16-year olds. Recent statistics have revealed that 4- to 15-year olds watch over 19 hours of television per week and have access to the 27 million copies of daily and 31 million copies of Sunday newspapers sold in Britain each week (GB. CSO, 1995, 1996). Second, there are ample opportunities for pupils to sample material through the media related to the three core topic domains. For example, Parliament is now televised, daily news coverage is dominated by national and local political issues and many

television 'soap operas' have storylines which focus on different types of families and relationships, on the treatment of women and ethnic groups and address issues of discrimination.

Third, 11- to 16-year olds are critical consumers of the media, in that they make conscious, informed choices as to what they watch and read and what they do not. This is very noticeable in the area of television and newspapers. Television viewing by this age group is dominated by children's programmes (25% of viewing time) and light entertainment (20%) with news a low priority (6%). A similar pattern emerges in terms of newspaper (both national and local) reading habits, with entertainment, features and sports pages the most popular (Harcourt and Hartland, 1992). Fourth, they have a low interest in political affairs as currently defined and presented in the media (Walker, 1996 and Buckingham, 1999). Pupils of this age find most news and politics boring. They often do not know enough about the context to generate interest and the issues appear remote from their everyday experiences (Buckingham, 1993).

Interestingly, Billig (1995) and Anderson (1991) have claimed that material presented by the media is a vital part of the everyday flagging and reproduction of a cohesive, national identity for people in Britain. Billig, in particular, argues that this form of nationalism, what he terms 'banal nationalism', operates beyond the level of conscious public awareness but is nevertheless deeply ingrained in people's consciousness. However, more research is needed into the impact of the media on this age group before the merits of this thesis can be considered.

What is clear from the case study is that political parties do not attempt to influence directly exactly what pupils learn about the topic domains associated with citizenship education. Instead there is a broad political consensus that education should prepare pupils for their roles and responsibilities in adult life, including those as citizens in a democracy. However, there is nothing to stop materials produced by political parties being used in the classroom as part of teaching and learning approaches. Instead any influence by political parties tends to be by indirect means. It is confined largely to involvement in determining the overall shape of the curriculum, and the impact of public pronouncements by prominent politicians which are widely reported in the mass media. The actions of political parties may, in turn, be influenced by the activities of interest or pressure groups.

The case study reveals that a particularly pressing issue for the three main political parties (Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat) is the declining number of 18 to 34 year olds actively participating in the political process at national and local level. This was demonstrated in the cross-party support for the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship in 1990. Though much of the effort of the political parties is aimed primarily at those over 16 years of age, there is a growing recognition of the need to encourage 11- to 16-year olds to become interested and involved in the political process. Accordingly, there is cross-party support for a number of initiatives and competitions aimed at schools. These include endorsements by politicians of public speaking and debating competitions and

of initiatives, such as mock parliaments and elections, involving pupils in this age group. Many MPs (Members of Parliament) regularly visit schools in their constituencies to talk to pupils. There is also cross-party support for making information about the political process more widely available to schools.

Politicians have also taken a growing interest from the 1970s in the periodic reshaping of the curriculum. The Government has become increasingly involved in determining the overall shape of the education system and of the curriculum. Indeed, the emerging accounts of the making of the National Curriculum, have highlighted the extent of interference from Conservative politicians in the curriculum process (Graham with Tytler, 1993; Baker, 1993; Cox, 1995; M. Phillips, 1996). It will be interesting to see how the new Labour Government handles the further revision of the National Curriculum which will be completed in the year 2000.

4.5 Deep-seated Obstacles

Two final findings emerge from the case study process. They arise from research findings over the past 20 years and are reinforced by the questionnaire responses of teachers directly involved in the case study process. The first is that schools in England face a number of deep-seated obstacles or problems in dealing with citizenship education. They include: the low interest of pupils in such issues; a lack of tradition in explicitly addressing the topic domains of democracy, national identity and social diversity and cohesion; a lack of teacher commitment and confidence arising from the dangers of promoting bias, indoctrinating pupils and alienating groups in the community, and a lack of pre-service or inservice training for teachers to develop teacher skills in appropriate teaching methods.

The second finding is that these obstacles or problems remain for schools in England in the late 1990s in spite of the proposed revision of the National Curriculum. Indeed, they have been accentuated by the inclusion of clauses 44 and 45 in the *1986 Education (No.2) Act* to prevent pupil indoctrination, and by the introduction of the National Curriculum. The lack of the explicit inclusion of citizenship education in the National Curriculum framework to date has made it difficult for schools, given the demands of delivering the NC core and foundation subjects plus religious education (RE), to find time to address democracy, national identity and social cohesion and diversity. The potential for addressing these core topic domains through the cross-curricular theme of 'Education for Citizenship' and the cross-curricular dimensions has not, as yet, been realised by secondary schools (Whitty *et al.*, 1994; Saunders *et al.*, 1995).

Indeed, as part of this case study, 173 secondary schools in a national survey of values education, conducted by NFER, were asked what were the main obstacles or problems faced in dealing with citizenship education. Schools reported that the main obstacle or problem is pressure on the school timetable (79% of schools), followed by lack of funding for resources (51%), lack of an agreed definition of citizenship education (38%), lack of staff expertise (35%), lack of staff commitment/confidence (31%), non-availability of suitable resources (28%) and

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lack of national advice and guidance (27%). The demands of the National Curriculum have clearly prevented most schools from giving more attention to citizenship education during the last ten years. This has prompted calls throughout the 1990s for a proper debate about the status and nature of citizenship education. These developments are discussed in more detail in the next section of this case study report.

5. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

One of the striking aspects of the findings concerning citizenship education in England is the extent to which the prevailing political context influences the nature of the discussion of citizenship education. The discussion has centred on a number of key, overarching questions, most notably: What is British society? What does it mean to be a British subject or citizen? What is the purpose and role of education in British society? These underlie the three core topic domains and generate a further series of sub-questions in each topic domain.

At the heart of the discussion of democracy are sub-questions about the health of the democratic system in England, and the role of education in maintaining and improving that system. These are supplemented by concern about the attitudes and behaviour of young people, particularly in relation to their ability to take up their future roles and responsibilities in a democratic society, and anxiety about the performance of schools in preparing pupils for adult life.

Meanwhile, the discussion of national identity centres on the sub-question of the desirability and extent of a national history and/or a national literary canon at the heart of the school curriculum. It has become enmeshed in issues of citizenship, national loyalty, cultural heritage and language, particularly concerning the relationship between the majority in society and minority groups. The discussion also involves arguments about the treatment given to certain groups through British history and literature, particularly the extent to which those from minority groups, and their cultures, can or should be incorporated into the school curriculum (Collicott, 1990). It also encompasses concerns not only about new forms of content and pedagogical approaches, such as the 'new history' and media studies in English (Cox, 1995; M. Phillips, 1996), but also about the role of history and English in British society at the end of the twentieth century (McKiernan, 1993).

The discussion of social cohesion and diversity covers similar ground to that of national identity. It focuses particularly on the changing relationship between the majority society and minorities and the extent to which those from minority groups and their cultures should be incorporated into society and schools. There has been much discussion of this issue in relation to citizenship, national identity and cultural heritage, including the acquisition and use of language (Parekh, 1986; Tomlinson, 1992; Lynch, 1992; Jackson and Penrose, 1993).

Attempts to answer these questions and associated sub-questions have sparked fierce debates in each decade, many of which remain unresolved. This is not surprising given the range of possible answers to these questions. Clearly, the answers to the first two key questions – What is British society? What does it mean to be a British subject or citizen? – influence the answer to the third question – What is the purpose and role of education in British society? This, in turn, impacts on proposals as to the organisation of schools and the shape of the

curriculum. The discussion of these questions has been one of ebb and flow in each decade, often leading to controversy when proposals and concerns within the wider political context clash with those generated from within the education system. The following provides a brief historical overview which examines the impact of the prevailing political context on the nature of the discussion of citizenship education over the past three decades.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there was an emphasis from within education on the personal and social development of pupils. It included support for political education or 'political literacy', the development of multicultural and anti-racist education and the evolution of a less British-centred curriculum, as a central part of such development (Crick and Porter, 1978; GB. DES. HMI, 1977, 1979 and 1989). This was driven largely by those on the left of education. It was a reaction to the historical conservatism of the curriculum, which gave teachers little opportunity to discuss controversial and contemporary issues with pupils.

The emphasis on pupils' personal and social development heralded changes in approach to traditional subjects, such as the development of 'new history' courses. It also saw the growth of a range of school courses incorporating political education in the widest sense of the term. These courses attempted to have more relevance for pupils in terms of their experiences and needs in modern society. They included personal and social education (PSE), social studies, peace studies, war studies, civics, law-related education, global education, human rights education, environmental education, women's studies, black studies and European studies courses. The majority of these new courses were centred upon the core concept of social justice and respect for human rights. They were aimed at both primary and secondary aged pupils. They reached their apogee with the publication of the Swann Report, *Education for All*, in 1985. The report included a series of recommendations for a curriculum for pupils in a culturally plural society.

However, this growth led to increasing concern from the political right about the dangers of political bias and classroom indoctrination in such courses and about the threat they posed to the traditional conservatism of the curriculum. In particular, efforts to be more inclusive of minorities, through multicultural and anti-racist education which recognises ethnic and cultural diversity and acts positively against prejudice and discrimination, were viewed by many on the right as divisive and a threat to the identity, culture and language of the majority (Hillgate Group, 1986; Marenbon, 1987). The anxiety about indoctrination resulted in the inclusion of two clauses (44 and 45) in the *1986 Education (No. 2) Act* designed to protect pupils from bias and political indoctrination. The Act, while recognising that controversial issues could not be kept out of the curriculum, insisted on a statutory responsibility on teachers to be even-handed in their handling of such issues in the classroom.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, the discussion had shifted to take account of the increasing central government control over the school curriculum. Controversy now arose over two issues. First, there was the question of the

introduction of the National Curriculum, and what was to be included in it. Second, there was the implication for education of the Conservative Government's concept of 'active citizenship'. The National Curriculum was viewed in many quarters as an attempt to reassert or restore British heritage and culture in the school curriculum in the face of gains by cultural pluralism in the previous decades (Ball, 1993). This was evidenced by the lack of mention of race, ethnicity or multicultural education in ERA and by the exclusion of the range of school courses which had grown in popularity, such as PSE, political education and social studies, from the curriculum framework (Eggleston, 1990; Tomlinson, 1993).

Indeed, the National Curriculum ushered in the resurgence of the traditional conservative curriculum. It led to the rapid decline of the school courses centred on the concept of social justice which had developed in the 1970s and 1980s. Instead the debates about the National Curriculum were dominated by those subjects linked to the transmission of British heritage and culture, notably history, English and religious education. The history debate was particularly acrimonious involving academics, politicians and educationalists (Slater, 1989; Deuchar, 1989; Clark, 1990; R. Phillips, 1992). The debates were rejoined with the further revision of the National Curriculum in 1994 (Dearing, 1993; Tate, 1995; M. Phillips, 1996; R. Phillips, 1996; Baldwin, 1996).

Meanwhile, the Conservative Government's concept of 'active citizenship' sparked debate about the implications for education and young people (Hurd, 1988; MacGregor, 1990; Abrams, 1993). The debate was further fuelled by the publication of two documents which attempted to define citizenship education. First, *Encouraging Citizenship* (Commission on Citizenship, 1990) made recommendations as to ways of encouraging social citizenship through education, public services and the voluntary sector, and second, *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship* (1990) offered guidance for schools from the National Curriculum Council (NCC) on how to develop essential components of education for citizenship.

The issues of national identity, social cohesion and diversity, culture and the curriculum remain on the political and educational agenda (Haydn, 1996; Ignatieff, 1996; M. Phillips, 1997, 1999). They have been kept there, in part, by the strong support of Dr Nick Tate (former Chief Executive of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) and now Chief Executive of the new Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA)) for the use of the curriculum to promote the majority culture and British identity in schools (Tate, 1994, 1995, 1996 a to e). Dr Tate has stated that he sees such promotion as an important way of combating racism among pupils (1997). Indeed, the implementation of the National Curriculum has brought increased recognition of the tensions and problems in trying to promote national identity through education policy, particularly in the wider societal context of increased globalisation and rapid cultural change in Britain.

The mid-1990s to present day have witnessed the latest episode of public discussion and controversy concerning citizenship education. It is centred on the moral, spiritual and social dimensions in education and modern life and has been brought to a head by a number of developments in the public domain. First, the social, political and moral fabric of society in England has seemingly been eroded by the impact of rapid economic and social change. This has resulted in increasing disquiet, in many quarters, at the apparent breakdown of the institutions and values which have traditionally underpinned society and encouraged social cohesion and stability, such as marriage, family and respect for the law. There has been particular concern about growing apathy toward the formal political process, as evidenced by the decline in the number of people voting at national and local elections. Second, such developments have had a potentially damaging effect on contemporary English society. A number of research studies, both national and comparative, have concluded that there is a perceptible decline in civic culture in English society and a marked absence of a political and moral discourse in public life, in contrast to other countries (Crewe *et al.*, 1996; P. Phillips, 1997; Arnot *et al.*, 1996).

Third, such developments have had an increasingly negative impact on young people. A number of the studies have focused on attitudes and behaviour of the 18 to 34 age group. The findings have prompted concerns about the following generation of school aged children (Cannon, 1994; Wilkinson and Mulgan, 1995; Park, 1995; Roberts and Sachdev, 1996). There has been increasing anxiety at the rising levels of anti-social behaviour by school-aged children and at the sharp rise in the number of pupil exclusions from schools. Fourth, there have been shockwaves caused by a series of high-profile tragedies involving school-aged children, most notably the murder of the toddler James Bulger by two schoolboys, the massacre of infant pupils at Dunblane and the fatal stabbing of the London headteacher Phillip Lawrence outside his school.

These developments have, in turn, been translated into growing anxiety about the lack of a coherent framework for moral, spiritual and social education both inside and outside schools in England (White, 1994; National Forum, 1996a). This anxiety has prompted action both from within the education system and from without. Many grassroots initiatives have sprung up, aimed primarily at influencing the behaviour and attitudes of pupils and enabling them to voice their feelings and concerns. These include the growth: of mentoring schemes providing adult role models for pupils, such as KWESI in Birmingham for ethnic minority pupils; of local children's rights forums, often linked to local councils or children's organisations, such as Article 12 and the Children's Rights Office (Willow, 1997), and of campaigns designed to encourage young people to get their views and actions across to a wider audience through, for example, the Commission for Racial Equality's 'All Different, All Equal' and 'Roots of the Future' campaigns (CRE, 1996) or through lobbying (BYC, 1997).

The anxiety has also resulted in a series of national initiatives. The most prominent are the establishment of the National Forum for Values in Education and in the Community by SCAA in 1996 (now replaced by QCA); the suggestion

of the Runnymede Trust to set up a Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain; the designation, by the European Union, of 1997 as the European Year Against Racism, and the creation of the Phillip Lawrence Citizenship Awards in memory of the murdered London headteacher. The National Forum has already identified and gained public agreement on a number of core values vital to the functioning of modern English society. It has also set about drawing up model programmes of study, centred upon personal, social and parenting skills for schools, along with guidelines for community service by pupils, for possible inclusion in the revised National Curriculum from the year 2000 (National Forum, 1996a and 1996b).

These projects and initiatives are aimed primarily at encouraging the greater involvement of young people in addressing issues related to political socialisation and citizenship education, often through their local communities. They have the potential to be emulated more widely in schools and to influence future reforms at national level. Indeed, Dr Nick Tate has hinted strongly at the need for a proper debate about the status of citizenship education and the values underpinning British society, as part of the revision of the National Curriculum 2000 (Tate, 1996 a to e).

The new Labour Government, in its first Education White Paper, *Excellence in Schools* (GB. Parliament. House of Commons, 1997), signalled its intention to build on existing developments at national and grassroots levels. The White Paper announced a period of public consultation on citizenship and the setting up of an Advisory Group to strengthen 'Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools'. The Secretary of State for Education and Employment also made it clear that he expected the main outcomes of the Group's work to be:

'a statement of the aims and purposes of citizenship education in schools; a broad framework for what good citizenship education in schools might look like, and how it can be successfully delivered – covering opportunities for teaching about citizenship within and outside the formal curriculum and the development of personal and social skills through projects linking schools and the community, volunteering and the involvement of pupils in the development of school rules and policies'.

The Group had a carefully chosen, balanced membership – a mixture of practitioners with a track record in citizenship education, from schools and link organisations, and those offering political and wider professional expertise. The latter included well-known public figures such as Kenneth Baker, ex-Secretary of State for Education and Home Secretary, Michael Brunson, Political Editor at ITN, and Sir Stephen Tumim, former HM Chief Inspector of Prisons in England and Wales, as well as church and think tank representatives. The Chairman, Professor Bernard Crick, spearheaded the push for political education in schools in the 1970s and was the joint author of the Hansard Society report *Political Education and Political Literacy* (Crick and Porter, 1978). I was

seconded from NFER to act as professional officer to the Group and to offer the Chairman and members specialist advice and expertise (Kerr, 1999a).

It is worth emphasising that though set up under the new Labour Government, the Group was deliberately non-partisan, as evidenced by the presence of the Speaker of the House of Commons, Betty Boothroyd, as its patron and Lord Baker as one of its members. Indeed, the Speaker could only participate with the consent of the leaders of both the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Parties. This non-partisan approach was and is vital. If citizenship education is to be truly effective, it must not only address the issue of party politics but also stand above it. It must command the support and respect of all parties rather than being seen as the creature of one.

The Group was convened in November 1997 and worked to a very tight timescale in order to dovetail with QCA's timetable for providing advice on the review of the National Curriculum. Accordingly, the Group produced an initial report in March 1998 stating the case for citizenship education, to tie in with QCA's initial advice on the National Curriculum review, and a final report in September 1998, containing detailed proposals for a framework for citizenship education in schools (Crick, 1998a and b).³ Both reports were warmly welcomed by the Secretary of State and well received in the general and educational press (GB.DFEE, 1998a and b). There was little public concern about the dangers of political indoctrination of pupils, which has dogged discussion of citizenship and political education in the past. The Group's final recommendations form the basis of the proposals for the formal inclusion of Citizenship in the revised National Curriculum in schools from 2002. These proposals are currently being considered as part of the formal consultation on the revisions to the National Curriculum.

³ The framework of learning outcomes for citizenship education in schools was drawn up by two sub-groups, one for primary and one for secondary schools, composed of practitioners from the Advisory Group, representatives of citizenship organisations and those from schools on the leading edge of current developments in citizenship education in England. I chaired both sub-groups, who drew heavily in their deliberations on past and present initiatives in England, such as *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship* (NCC, 1990) and the *Junior Citizenship Project*, as well as ongoing citizenship initiatives in other countries, notably Scotland, the Republic of Ireland and Australia. The Advisory Group then agreed the framework.

6. CONCLUSION: THE CHALLENGES FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

This case study has borne witness to the diversified state of citizenship education in England and to the varied views as to its content and underlying sets of values. These pose a series of fundamental challenges for English educationalists and, in particular, for the ultimate success of the Government's proposals for strengthening citizenship in schools as part of the revised National Curriculum. The main challenges are outlined below:

Definition: What is meant by citizenship education? What aspects does it encompass? Is it a body of knowledge, understanding, skills, attitudes, values or experiences, or is it also about encouraging participation and active citizenship? To what extent is there, or can there be, a shared understanding or agreement on such matters by the teaching profession and leaders in society, since it has been extremely difficult to achieve a degree of consensus in the past? How can such a consensus be built; is it a necessary step in order to drive forward citizenship education in England in a more unified way?

Location: Where is citizenship education best located? Is it best in the school curriculum or in the community, or a mixture of the two? If the answer is in the school curriculum, is it to be in both primary and secondary schools or more directly focused on the latter? Where is it to be located in the school curriculum? Is it best as a separate subject, or as a cross-curricular component, or in particular subjects such as history/humanities and English, or in personal and social education (PSE), or in designated time slots? What percentage of curriculum time is it to occupy? Is there a role for community-based activities as well as classroom learning?

Approach: How is it to be approached? Rowe (1997) has identified eight models of citizenship education and each model has particular implications for pedagogical approaches. Is it possible to devise a coherent approach to citizenship education? What model(s) should the Government support and promote? What is to be the status and nature of central government recommendations? Is citizenship education to be a statutory curriculum component or, as it has often been in the past, a non-statutory element?

Involvement: Who is to be involved in citizenship education and who is best placed to deliver it? What is to be the role of pupils, teachers, parents, community representatives and support agencies? Are all teachers to be involved, or will it be the responsibility of designated specialist teachers? How can parents, governors, community representatives and support organisations best be involved, perhaps in partnership with schools?

Resourcing: How is citizenship education to be resourced? Teachers need assistance in terms of training, resources and time to get to grips with citizenship, but who is going to provide and pay for such assistance? Who is going to meet

the particular training needs of newly qualified teachers, as shown by Arnot (1996) and Wilkins (1999)? How can the guidance and resources offered by support agencies and community representatives be better targeted and co-ordinated?

Purpose/Outcomes: What is the purpose(s) of citizenship education? Who are the chief beneficiaries: individual groups or society in general? Are benefits confined to pupils while they are at school or do they have a potentially lifelong impact? What are the outcomes for pupils of involvement in citizenship education programmes in schools? What is meant by pupil progression in citizenship education? How, if at all, can it be measured and assessed? What are pupil outcomes at the end of compulsory schooling? What can citizenship education achieve?

Some of these challenges have already been answered through the work of the Citizenship Advisory Group and the resultant proposals for citizenship in the revised National Curriculum. Yet many others are deep-seated and will not be easy to overcome. However, a useful starting-point is to re-examine past approaches to citizenship education in England. As this case study highlights, there is much that can be learnt from the past about ways to proceed. Indeed, such re-examination is vital if the current proposals for citizenship in schools are to achieve the lasting inclusion of citizenship education in the curriculum, and to influence the practices of teachers and schools in this area. All too often previous attempts, such as the National Curriculum Council's *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship* (1990), have been launched on a wave of high expectations only to subside as short-lived, paper exercises.

Key criteria to increase the chances of success for the latest proposals in the coming years include: creating a much stronger research and information base to underpin discussion of this area; overcoming the scepticism of teachers in schools, and broadening the discussion to encompass pupils' experiences both in schools and in the community. This last point would encourage greater involvement of those groups and organisations who work with young people in society. They currently feel excluded from what they perceive to be a discussion dominated by the narrow concerns of the school curriculum. Citizenship education is as much about the communities in which schools are situated and the nature of society, as about the school curriculum. All too often in the past this fact has not been sufficiently acknowledged.

It is premature to speculate whether the current Labour Government initiative concerning citizenship education will be a success. However, re-examining past approaches suggests two conclusions may be drawn. First, any recommendations on citizenship education will spark considerable controversy and debate. Second, citizenship will remain on the political and educational agenda in England, as the country moves toward the 21st century. It is hoped that this case study report on the state of education for citizenship in England, and the comparative information provided by case studies from other countries (when they become available), will make a significant contribution to the ongoing review of this

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crucial area, in England (Kerr, 1999b; Torney-Purta *et al.*, 1999). Indeed, there is much that can be learnt from the approaches in other countries to citizenship education in schools (Kerr, 1999c).

I am pleased to confirm that the Citizenship Advisory Group took account of the findings of this case study in its deliberations. Indeed, in my role as professional officer to the Group, I was able to bring to the attention of members ongoing developments in citizenship education in the United Kingdom and in other countries around the world. These were influential, in particular, in informing the construction of the framework of learning outcomes for citizenship in schools, which was endorsed by the Group.

There is much to be done if the aims and benefits of citizenship education for pupils, teachers, schools and society, as set out in the Citizenship Advisory Group's Final Report, are to be realised so as to effect:

'no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves'.

It is a noble intention, and one which may take a generation or more of pupils to realise. However, seen in the light of past approaches, the explicit teaching of citizenship in English schools is long overdue. The start of a new century is as good a time as any to usher in an historic shift in the approach to citizenship education in English schools. It will be interesting to see the extent to which the legacy of citizenship education in England and the prevailing political context influence the outcomes of this historic shift.

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APPENDIX 1:

CORE TOPIC DOMAINS AND COMMON FRAMING QUESTIONS FOR IEA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION STUDY – PHASE 1

Common Core Framing Question 1:

(Topic Domain: Democracy, Institutions, Rights and Responsibilities)

Given that democracy is a central concept, what does it mean in the national context and what are young people expected or likely to learn about it by age 14 or 15?

In particular, what is most emphasised as inherent to or distinctive of democracy, with relation to each of the following subdomains?:

1. Institutions and practices: including how governing groups and/or leaders are selected and held accountable; how laws and regulations are established, interpreted, and enforced; how individuals and groups participate.
2. Rights of citizenship: including a) civil and political rights, b) the right to form or join political parties, unions, and other organisations; and c) social and economic rights.
3. Obligations or responsibilities of citizenship: including voting, military/national service and more generally expectations for adults to work, pay taxes and obey laws.

To what extent is democracy with respect to these rights and obligations presented in an idealised form and to what extent in a way in which young people are given opportunities to experience what it means in a more practical sense?

Common Core Framing Question 2:

(Topic Domain: National Identity)

What are young people expected or likely to have acquired as a sense of national identity or national loyalty by age 14 or 15?

To what degree are loyalty or sense of belonging to the nation, to its various communities, and to its traditions and institutions thought to be important to develop among young people, and how is it developed? What are the documents, role models, historical events, national stories and ideals which are widely believed to be important for all citizens to know about? Who are the heroes and role models thought to be worthy of national pride, and how are they presented to students? What point of view are young people encouraged to adopt regarding national leaders and major political events in the present and in history? What are young people likely to learn about the nature and appropriateness of the role their country has played and continues to play in global and regional spheres of influence?

Common Core Framing Question 3:

(Topic Domain: Social Cohesion and Social Diversity)

What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 about those belonging to groups which are seen as set apart or disenfranchised (as defined, for example, by ethnicity, race, immigrant status, mother tongue, social class, religion or gender)?

What groups (if any) are viewed as subject to discrimination in contemporary society? How are instances of past oppression or discrimination dealt with in civic education?

POINTS TO BE ADDRESSED BY ALL COUNTRIES IN ANSWERING THE COMMON FRAMING QUESTIONS

The following 17 points are to be **addressed by all countries for each of the three designated common core questions/topic domains**. The purpose of these points is both to obtain in-depth information about explicit attempts within the schools to transmit information and encourage related beliefs and also to get some information about more indirect learning relating to these topic domains (in schools and out of schools).

1. An explanation of why, within the country, this framing question or topic domain with which it deals is or is not important or valuable as a way of understanding important aspects of citizenship education
2. What official (i.e. government) national, regional, or local curriculum goals exist related to this topic domain and who (what individuals or groups) decide what these goals are to be?
3. If this topic domain is addressed as part of the official curriculum of public elementary or secondary schools, specify the national terminology used to designate all the subject matters and courses.
4. How much public discussion or controversy there has been, if any, over the inclusion of or nature of discussion of topics related to these questions in the public school curriculum and what has been the nature of that discussion?
5. Which national organisations (non-governmental), if any, currently take a particularly active or well known interest in what 11 to 15 year olds should know about this topic domain?
6. What the best sources (documents, interviews) are for obtaining necessary material to synthesise in an elaborated answer to the framing question.
7. If the topic domain of this framing question is addressed as part of the official curriculum of secondary schools, indicate all the subjects and grade levels at which it is likely to be addressed and emphasised.
8. If the textbooks used in public school in the grades which include the majority of 11 to 15 year olds address the topic domain of the framing question, how do they usually approach it in terms of content and method?

9. What kind of activities during the class period and what kind of student assignments would be most likely to be found in the grades of 11 to 15 year olds dealing with the topic domain in the framing question (illustrate with concrete examples)?
10. Does the school system have examinations or other formal assessments which address in a substantial way what 11 to 15 year olds have learned with respect to the topic domain in this framing question?
11. What common extracurricular activities, ceremonies, or other occasions *inside* schools give 11 to 15 year olds the opportunity to learn more about or gain experience relating to this topic domain?
12. What common activities, ceremonies, or other occasions *outside* school give 11 to 15 year olds (including any early school leavers) opportunities to learn more about or gain experience relating to this topic domain?
13. What training (pre-service and inservice) are teachers for this age group likely to have received in the content of the topic domain related to the framing question and in methods for dealing with it in class?
14. To what extent are 11 to 15 year olds likely to be active consumers of material presented by the media (television, radio, newspapers, electronic communication networks) with regard to this topic domain?
15. How much, and in what ways, do political parties attempt to influence what 11 to 15 year olds think and do with regard to the topic domain of the framing question?
16. What are the most serious obstacles or problems schools face in dealing with the topic domain of this framing question?
17. What changes have taken place during the last ten years in the way this topic has been dealt with in school?

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re-examining citizenship education: the case of England

Citizenship is set to become an explicit curriculum subject, for the very first time, in schools in England from 2002. How has this historic shift in attitude and approach come about? What are the challenges to be overcome if pupils are to be helped to become 'good and active' citizens? What are the benefits of citizenship education for pupils, teachers, schools and society?

This book reports the findings of the first phase of a two-part major international comparative study of citizenship education undertaken by NFER. This first phase sought to investigate the approach of schools to a number of important citizenship topics. The topics were explored through detailed gathering and analysis of a wide range of documents and sources of information.

The findings set current developments in citizenship within an important historical context. They reveal the huge gaps that currently exist in our knowledge and understanding of this area, particularly concerning the attitude and approach of pupils, teachers and schools. The report identifies a number of fundamental challenges for citizenship education in England. It raises important issues which call for urgent consideration by researchers, policy makers, LEAs and schools.

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