About citizED

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

citizED's Director is Professor James Arthur of Canterbury Christ Church University. (Tel +44 (0)1227 782277, email james.arthur@canterbury.ac.uk). The Deputy Directors are Professor Ian Davies of the University of York (Tel +44 (0)1904 433460, email id5@york.ac.uk) and Professor Jon Davison of the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (Tel +44 (0)207 612 6567, email j.davison@mac.com). The project administrator is Roma Woodward at Canterbury Christ Church University. (Tel +44 (0)1227 782993, email: roma.woodward @canterbury.ac.uk).

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

About 'Citizenship Teaching and Learning'

Formerly published as 'The International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education', the Journal is now renamed 'Citizenship Teaching and Learning' reflecting our interest in citizenship teaching and learning in all contexts, for all ages within and beyond schools; international, global and cosmopolitan with a commitment to academic excellence within diverse democracies.

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

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

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

Citizenship Teaching and Learning

Volume 5, Number 1 June 2009

Contents

Editorial

IAN DAVIES, *University of York, UK and Deputy Director of citizED*

I am delighted to announce that Citizenship Teaching and Learning will, following the December 2009 edition, be published by Intellect (http://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/). Intellect is now in its 20th year of operation publishing a wide range of academic books and journals in the arts and humanities. CitizED, CiCea and the editorial committee are convinced that this will have the effect of bringing the Journal to the attention of an even wider audience than we have experienced thus far. We look forward to very productive and harmonious relationships with our new colleagues. More details will be provided about this new development in subsequent editorials.

This current issue is launched at the 2009 citizED Hong Kong conference. It will also be a feature of the CiCea conference in Malmo, Sweden. Details about citizED and CiCea may be seen online (www.citized.info; www.cicea.eu/)

The articles that are contained in this issue reflect the global significance of citizenship education. Alan Reid and Judith Gill chart the ways in which schools in Australia have traditionally served the interests of the nation through civics and citizenship education. They focus on the structures of schooling, the cultures and processes of schools and the formal representations of civics and citizenship in the curriculum to argue that more could be done to equip young Australians to take their place in an increasingly globalised world. Yan Wing Leung and Timothy Wai Wa Yuen report an explorative case study of an atypical Hong Kong secondary school that works to promote participatory citizenship on an experimental basis. Stephen Gorard, Beng Huat See and Robina Shaheen discuss research findings from England that suggest that student/family background and institution-level factors are relatively minor determinants of citizenship outcomes such as voting behaviour and charity work. They argue that this suggests that improvements here can come easier than in more traditional school outcomes. Rosnani Hashim and Charlene Tan focus on the concept of 'ethnic-national hyphenated identity' and discuss the curricular challenges common to Malaysia and Singapore, arguing for students to possess a greater sense of ethnic understanding and appreciation, coupled with a greater emphasis on critical inquiry and deliberation of ethnic issues in the curriculum. Dagmar Richter discusses a study undertaken in Germany in which concept maps are probed for their potential value in relation to primary school students' political education. Dieter Schmidt-Sinns provides a 'think-piece' which explores historical material in order to provide clearer understandings of citizenship teaching in order to contribute to political literacy.

The citizenship education communities continue to take forward the challenge of helping to secure a citizenship that is appropriate for diverse democracies. During the writing of this editorial I was planning to take part, on the following day, in a

citizED seminar to discuss the legacy of the admirable and influential work of Bernard Crick for schools and teacher education in England and elsewhere. The authors who have contributed to this edition of Citizenship Teaching and Learning are, through their empirical analyses and scholarship, making a very valuable contribution to the work that remains to be done.

Correspondence: IAN DAVIES, Department of Education Studies, University of York, YO10 5DD, UK.

Articles to be submitted electronically to Elizabeth Melville
(elizabeth.melville@canterbury.ac.uk)

AN ARM OF THE STATE? LINKING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING PRACTICE

ALAN REID AND JUDITH GILL, *University of South Australia*

ABSTRACT   *This paper charts the ways in which schools in Australia have traditionally served the needs of the nation state in terms of civics and citizenship education.   A brief historical overview provides a platform for developing a tripartite model of this process which sees civics and citizenship education being developed through (i) the structures of schooling (ii) the cultures and processes of schools and (iii) the formal representations of civics and citizenship in the curriculum. The period around 1970 is identified as a time of fracturing of these traditional modalities, a transformation brought about by population change, technological developments and the increasingly felt pressures of a globalising economy. Hence in 1990 the federal government began a process of reclamation of civics education in schooling.   Our analysis of this process and its outcomes demonstrates that there has been a subsequent re-invocation of the traditional model and points to a lack of fit between this model and current concerns to equip young Australians to take their place in an increasingly globalised world.*

Introduction

It is now well established that democracies around the world are confronted by a number of challenges, including the implications of technological change, the growth of the global market economy, and the increasing diversity of the population. Hobsbawm (2007) suggests that democracies are ill-equipped to handle such challenges:

> *In short, we shall be facing the problems of the 21st century with a collection of political mechanisms dramatically ill-suited to dealing with them. They are effectively confined within the borders of nation-states, whose numbers are growing, and confront a global world which lies beyond their range of operation… They face and compete with a world economy effectively operating through quite different units (transnational firms) to which consideration of political legitimacy and common interest do not apply, and which bypass politics. Above all, they face the fundamental problems of the future of the world in an age when the impact of human action on nature and the globe has become a force of geological proportions.* (Hobsbawm, 2007: 113)

Such challenges are of concern to the governments of nation-states whose legitimation role requires a stable democratic system and who are therefore casting

about for solutions. They understand that as the democratic system adjusts to these new challenges, so too is change needed to the concept of what it means to be a citizen in a nation-state in the 21st century. Invariably schooling is seen as a major vehicle through which citizenship can be shaped and developed, and inevitably a curriculum solution is proposed, involving a renewed focus on civics and citizenship in schools. Certainly this has been evident in Australia, where, over the past two decades, the federal government has exhorted the Australian States – through policy, curriculum resource development, funding and national assessment – to foreground the place of civics and citizenship in the official curriculum.

In this paper we want to assess if the educational response in Australia is consistent with the kind of democracy and citizenship that is needed to address the challenges described by Hobsbawm. In particular we will critically explore how Australian governments over the past decade have understood the challenges to Australian democracy and how these understandings have been reflected in policy related to civics and citizenship education. We stop at the level of government policy, recognising that such policy can be implemented, resisted, appropriated or altered as it moves from policy to actual practice in schools. But education policy does set the parameters for teaching practice, as well as establish the nature of the prevailing educational discourse, and since our interest is in the relationship between education and the state, we believe it deserves an analysis in its own right.

In order to place the task in context, we start with a brief historical overview of the role that civics and citizenship education has played in Australian education.

Civics education as a project of schooling: the historical context

At a fundamental level, schools have always been sites where the knowledge and dispositions for civics and citizenship are learned. Indeed, Althusser's much cited identification of schools as Ideological State Apparatuses has its most ready application in terms of education for civics and citizenship (Althusser, 1967). This basic connection between schooling and the state has continued to preoccupy the educational literature over the past three decades, particularly that of the sociology of the curriculum where the relationship between the state, education policy and curriculum practice is an ongoing problematic (e.g, Bernstein, 1971; Apple, 1996; Pinar, 2006).

One of the recurring themes in the sociology of curriculum literature is the role of schools in nurturing civic values and nationalist sentiment for the purposes of social order and control. Willinsky, for example, observes that "fostering an allegiance to the nation lies so close to the heart of public schooling" (Willinsky, 1999, 99); and Grundy in her analysis of school texts demonstrates that what is presented in school lessons can be regarded as the 'official storylines of a society' such that 'in classroom discourse we would find portrayed modes of being that are given wide social approval (Grundy, 1994, 17).

Such perspectives have inspired research into the processes through which schooling produces nationally shared understandings. For example, De Cillia et al, in an investigation of population movements in Europe, use a Bourdieuian perspective to argue that:

> *… it is to a large extent through its schools and education system that the state shapes those forms of perception, categorization, interpretation and memory that serve to determine the orchestration of*

> *the habitus which are in turn the constitutive basis for a kind of national commonsense.* (De Cillia et al,1999: 156)

That is, constructing a national identity is embedded in the 'grammars' (Tyack and Tobin, 1994) or the 'scripts' of the project of schooling (Barton and Levstik, 2004).

Clearly then, civics and citizenship education are not limited to the particular stream of curriculum overtly dedicated to their purpose. Rather, issues of civics and citizenship are embedded across the curriculum and in the forms and structures of schooling. This feature has been evident since the start of formal schooling in Australia. Thus, the introduction of state provided education (public schools) by the Australian colonies in the 1870s was motivated by the need for social order (especially among the working classes), and for social cohesion (Grundy, 1970; Miller, 1986). For the next 50 years, state schools were elementary (primary) schools, at the end of which stage most working class students left. The children of the middle classes and elites, on the other hand, largely attended private (church) schools which offered post primary education and formed the pathway to university and white collar employment (McCalman, 1993). Even as state provided post-primary opportunities expanded in the first half of the 20th century to meet the needs of an industrialising, economy, so school structures were stratified with technical schools (trade and domestic) for working class boys and girls, and high schools for the more socially mobile (Hyams and Bessant, 1972; Miller, 1986). That is, the structure of schooling reflected, normalised and reproduced the unequal power and social relationships that existed, first in the colonies and, following Federation in 1901, in the States. This was a powerful and continuing form of pedagogy for citizenship, brought to life through the very structure and organisation of schooling. It taught students, from an early age, about their proper place in society.

At the same time, throughout the period until the 1950s, the culture and processes of schools, and the official curriculum, melded two apparently contradictory roles in relation to civics and citizenship education. They taught and reinforced loyalty to the mother country (Great Britain) and to the British Empire. In addition, and with increasing intensity after Federation, they inculcated a sense of nationalism, fanned by writers and artists around the turn of the century, which developed pride in a new country that was free from some of the ingrained customs and divisions of the old: 'a new land is for new ideas!' (Goldstein,1918).

In the first half of the 20th century at their weekly assemblies, school children sang the national anthem (God save the King/Queen), recited the Oath of Allegiance ('I will serve the King/Queen, honour the flag and cheerfully obey my parents, teachers and the laws' (Education Dept SA, 1953); raised the flag, and marched in to class to the steady beat of a fife and drum band. When in class, students were instructed in a small number of tightly prescribed subjects, including arithmetic, English literature and British history. It was through these subjects, and particularly the stand alone subject of Civics, that young people were taught to become loyal subjects of the King and Empire, vote, pay taxes and, if the need arose, to enlist and fight for country and Empire (Education Dept SA, 1953). In these and other ways, schools were sites for nation building and national identity formation – mediating a particular view of what it meant to be an Australian citizen, based on strong ties to Great Britain and an awareness of a new 'Australianness' (Musgrave, 1979).

Over time the emphasis on the strong ties to Great Britain and the Empire weakened. The profound social changes that began in the post-World War 2 period were accompanied by an influx of non-British peoples from southern and eastern

Europe who brought with them cultures and customs distinctly different from the dominant British culture. This influence and the social and cultural revolutions of the 1960s, resulted in Australia slowly becoming, from the early 1970s, a more tolerant and cosmopolitan society – at least on the surface. There was a growing awareness of Australia's place in Asia, a focus on multiculturalism rather than assimilation or integration, and a growing appreciation of the need for reconciliation with Aboriginal Australians (Manne, 2001).

These developments inevitably challenged accepted practices in education. By the mid to late 1970s, most young people were experiencing at least two or three years of secondary schooling, increasing numbers of girls were completing secondary school, the stratified technical and high schools divisions were abandoned in favour of comprehensive high schools, and the traditional competitive academic curriculum came under challenge (Connell et al, 1982). In addition, by the late 1980s the Australian university system had become a mass system, which encouraged a greater proportion of the population to think of themselves as University material, entitled to attend and take out degrees. Thus education structures systematically began to mirror the social changes that were occurring in the wider society.

With the relative prosperity brought about by the population increase and the ready availability of work, more Australian families began to look to extended educational experiences as an important means of upward mobility for their children. Developments in the discipline of psychology lent weight to the idea that learning should be understood as an individual endeavour and that educational achievement was produced in terms of a good relationship between teacher and individual student. Teachers also embraced the idea of needing to gear their classroom treatments to each student rather than the group and "treat them as individuals" became the new credo in teacher education (Grundy & Hatton, 1996).

In this environment the older style of teaching for civics and citizenship education – both across the curriculum and as a stand-alone subject – appeared increasingly irrelevant. Schools became less regulated in terms of ritual ceremonies; Monday assemblies gradually abandoned the oath of allegiance and children no longer marched into class. The rigid seating patterns that had dominated classrooms in the pre-war years were replaced by more casual arrangements. The organisational culture of the school was no longer characterised by a military discipline but rather an atmosphere that included alternative elements, open space classrooms and group work.

Formal areas of study were also changing. By the 1970s, teachers were gaining a larger share of popular respect as professionals and were increasingly empowered to develop their own curricula in keeping with the perceived needs of the students and the teachers' particular skills (Jones, 1971). Student demands for curricula to be relevant added to the push for education to become more flexible, with much attention to process as well as to the repeatedly stated commitment to maximize individual student potential. By the 1980s then, the civics and citizenship education function of the school, as represented in the hidden curriculum of school structures and process, was now performing a very different function than the one it had performed in the first half of the 20th century.

One outcome of these changes was to cause the study of Civics to fall into serious decline as a formal area of study in schools. It had tended to be rejected by students as dry and boring and was an early victim of the progressive movement in education which championed the call for relevance of curriculum content to student experience. The subject of civics was now subsumed by the broader,

interdisciplinary subject of 'social studies' where it dealt more with current issues than it did the structure and functions of government. As the Civics Expert Group was to note later:

> *There is no clear point at which Civics was submerged in Australian schooling, but by the late 1960s, social studies was disowning its civic function and declaring itself to be more concerned with 'current realities' than with the formal institutions and methods by which they were shaped.* (Civics Expert Group, 1994: 31)

This brief sweep across Australian educational history has served two purposes. First, it demonstrates that there is a close connection between the state, forms of democracy and school curricula. This is not a one way relationship involving state imposed policy and compliant teachers. Curriculum policy is always and rightly a site of struggle. But the dominant elites do have an edge in this struggle, and in the last instance the state will serve their interests (Bernstein, 1971; Apple, 1996). We have shown how schooling is organised, structured and practised by the state to serve particular versions of what it means to be a citizen in Australian democracy at specific historical moments. Second, our historical overview suggests that the civics and citizenship function of schools is delivered through at least three modalities of the schooling project:

1   *The structure of schooling:* The ways in which formal schooling is organised in a society - the balance of public and private schools, funding arrangements, types of schools, processes of policy making and so on – which contain hidden messages about how the society is/should be structured, ordered and maintained;

2   *The culture and processes of schools:* The inculcation of the values and dispositions associated with citizenship seen in the organisational culture of the schools through such processes and events as its ceremonies, class organisation and pedagogy, discipline structures, traditions, and relationships;

3   *Formal representations of civics and citizenship in the curriculum:* The formalised knowledge represented in the curriculum as 'civics and citizenship', usually concerned with the structures of power and governance, citizen's rights and responsibilities, and the skills and dispositions for participation in the polity and civil society. This may have constituted a separate subject as in the first half of the 20th century, but since the 1960s it has usually been taught across the curriculum, particularly within social studies or through a strand of what is now known as Studies of Society and the Environment (SOSE), as well as through the more traditional subjects such as history, geography, literature, science and the arts.

In the next section of the paper we will use these three modalities as the theoretical framework for an analysis of contemporary approaches to civics and citizenship education. But, since these modalities occur in, indeed are shaped by, the wider context in which the state functions, we will start by describing some of the features of political life during the 11 years of the Howard government. We will then be in a position to explore the extent to which these features influenced education, and specifically curriculum, policy.

The contemporary period: changing government ideology, changing schooling?

The context

In 1996 the Liberal/National Party Coalition won government under the leadership of John Howard and the direction of Australian politics changed dramatically. Bearing an amalgam of neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideology, successive Howard governments reconfigured the multicultural settlement of the 1980s and challenged the ways in which concepts like citizen and citizenship are understood and used in the public sphere. Not surprisingly, attempts were made to co-opt schools into the service of this agenda, particularly their role in forming the citizen subject.

Before Howard's election, the Hawke and Keating Labor governments (1983-1996) had been attempting to complete Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's project from 20 years earlier – described by Manne as 'the transformation of Australia from a postcolonial British settler society to fully independent nationhood' (Manne, 2001, p. 2). This included an embrace of multiculturalism, recognition of the need for Australia to have deeper links with countries in the Asian region, a proposal for Australia to free itself from its colonial past by becoming a republic, and an assertion of the need for reconciliation with Indigenous Australians. From the outset, the new Howard government set about dismantling these policy directions and taking Australia back to earlier times.

Within a decade of winning government for the first time, Howard was able to boast in his 2006 Australia day speech that Australia had now successfully rebalanced national identity and cultural and ethnic diversity:

> *We've drawn back from being too obsessed with diversity to a point where Australians are now better able to appreciate the enduring values of the national character that we proudly celebrate and preserve.* (Howard, 2006)

Behind this triumphalist tone lay a trail of policy initiatives and political rhetoric based on a mixture of fervent Australian nationalism, fear of external threats, attacks on 'political correctness' and so called 'black armband'[1] views of Australian history. There is not the space here to tell the full story. Rather, for the purposes of this paper, we will draw attention to the ways in which democratic processes and the concept of 'citizenship' were narrowed and diluted.

Howard's legitimation of an anti-political correctness line changed the tenor and tone of public conversation: indeed some described the new form of public discourse as being a 'war on democracy' (Lucy and Mickler, 2006). For example, radio shock jocks and conservative media commentators attacked the so-called 'social elites' and 'chattering classes' for holding progressive views claimed to be at odds with the interests and views of the 'Aussie battlers' upon whose behalf they purported to speak; and left leaning public intellectuals were named and derided under Parliamentary privilege (Hamilton & Maddison, 2007).

At the same time there were ongoing efforts to narrow the definition of Australian citizenship. Thus refugees fleeing repressive regimes – the so called 'boat people' – were constructed as the 'other' through exclusionary discourses and strategies; placed under detention orders in far flung detention centres for indeterminate periods of time; and accused by the government of being a threat to 'border security'. From positions of safety, radio shock jocks and the conservative

commentariat described the asylum seekers as 'queue jumpers' and 'terrorist sympathisers' (Crock, Saul & Dastyari, 2006).

Of course all of this was played out against the backdrop of 9/11, the 'war on terror', and the Iraq war – events which underlined the message of fear that was the bedrock of government policy. In 2001, Howard garnered substantial public support when he refused to allow the Tampa, a Norwegian vessel which had saved a sinking boatload of refugees on their way to Australia, to land on Australian soil. Not long after, he falsely accused another boatload of refugees in a sinking vessel of throwing their children overboard to advance their chances of arriving in Australia. Howard's famous claims during the 2001 election that 'we will decide who comes to this country and the manner in which they come' fed the picture of a government protecting rightful Australians from an alien threat and made a major contribution to the re-election of the Liberal/National party government (see Marr & Wilkinson, 2003).

In such a climate it was inevitable that understandings about citizenship would change significantly. Calls from senior government Ministers for a focus on 'Australian values' confirmed a sense of 'us' and 'them'. The Treasurer Peter Costello, for example, observed that those immigrants who don't like 'our' values should go home (Lateline, 2005). With citizens being defined through a much narrower lens, the stage was set for a new version of Australian citizenship, one that placed greater emphasis on sameness than on difference.

For some time there had been a consistent attack on the concept of multiculturalism which, according to the government, placed too great a focus on diversity at the expense of national cohesion. Bi-partisan support from the major parties resulted in an Act which established a compulsory test for citizenship based on the view that Australian values are not optional – migrants who refuse to accept them, or learn them, should be refused citizenship. A multiple choice test - which expects new citizens to learn and regurgitate under test conditions, disparate knowledge about Australian iconic events, people, values and customs- was introduced in the Australian Citizenship Act of 2007.

Such changes were emblematic of the attempts to redefine what it meant to be a citizen in Howard's Australia. They eschewed difference, assuming an homogenous Australian culture with an agreed set of values; and thereby disciplined the most vulnerable citizens in the community. In this way Australian citizenship was constituted through a discourse of exclusion which distinguished between 'us' and 'them' and which characterised the 'other' as people not to be trusted. As a number of researchers have pointed out, such an approach is consistent with the project of nation building, including the formulation of nation, national identity and citizenship (e.g., Hall, 1997; Urry, 1998; Christie and Sidhu, 2006). To use Hannah Arendt's powerful image, such an outcome represents the 'conquest of the state by the nation' (Arendt, 1951, p. 275, quoted in Isin and Turner, 2007, p. 12).

We argued earlier that although schools have a certain relative autonomy, they are state apparatuses, and are therefore caught in a tension between their role in establishing the conditions for capital accumulation and for democratic practice. This legitimation role whereby schools reflect and refract the guiding principles of dominant social groups is usually shaped by the prevailing political settlement. Nonetheless, when the state is reshaping the social and cultural practices of a society, as Howard did for over a decade, it is inevitable that the organisational and curricula structures and processes of schools will be expected to bear the burden of some of this change. How was civics and citizenship education constructed in this environment?

The three modalities of civics and citizenship education

During the Howard decade, each of the three Federal Ministers of Education – Kemp, Nelson and Bishop – used schooling, and specifically civics education, as an important plank in the government's attempt to consolidate a particular approach to democratic processes and to understandings of citizenship. We will argue that this created a form of civics and citizenship education that is redolent of the early years of the last century – one that is manifestly out of step with the challenges of citizenship and political participation in a globalising world. We will employ the heuristic of the three modalities to demonstrate how this occurred, spending most time on the third.

The structure of schooling

The messages contained in the hidden curriculum of the Federal government's schooling policy constituted a form of civics education in the broadest sense. The central platform was the concept of individual choice, where parents and students are understood as consumers and education as a commodity. On the basis of this logic the Howard Federal government increased funding to private schools, thus speeding up the drift of students from public to private schools, and leading to the current position in which just over 66% of students nationally attend government schools, a decline from 70.4% in 1997 (ABS, 2007).

Much empirical research from around the world demonstrates the social effects of constructing education around individual choice (Whitty et al. 1998; Lauder & Hughes 1999; Campbell & Whitty 2000). Such research shows that marketized schooling systems result in a loss of the diversity of student populations and a significant growth in the disparity of resources between schools. And these differentiations are invariably organised on the basis of socio-economic status, ethnicity, religion and race. Already, the focus on individual choice within education markets is creating a number of tendencies in Australia. Such choices create an educational environment which promotes competition between schools and the imperative to market schools; the re-creation of curriculum hierarchies as schools seek to establish market niche; and the residualization of public education (Caro and Bonner, 2007).

An approach like this foregrounds the private benefits of education at the expense of seeing education as a public good (Reid, 2002). Such an environment projects a narrow, competitive and individualistic view of the world. In an educational culture where many schools are organised around single world views, or where competition is valorised, it is difficult to promote educational outcomes that foster a sense of the common good, reciprocity and respect for difference. Accompanying the neo-liberal policy regime at the Federal level has been a corporate managerialist approach to the administration of education at the State levels. The professional autonomy that teachers experienced in the 1970s and 1980s has been replaced by top down processes of surveillance and accountability, where teachers are seen as technicians implementing the ideas of 'expert' policy makers who construct policy many steps removed from actual teaching practice (Hargreaves, 2003).

In such a policy environment, the socialising messages of choice and technical rationality become a surrogate but powerful form of civics and citizenship education because they highlight what is valued (and not valued) in citizens and the processes of democracy. Far from participatory and engaged citizenship, these messages

suggest that the ideal form of governance in society involves a quiet and compliant citizenry which limits its political involvement to voting every three or four years.

The cultures and processes of schools

Although the Australian Constitution does not give the Federal Government responsibility for school education, in the past decade successive Federal Ministers of Education have mounted sustained attacks on the supposed low quality of school education in the various States and Territories, particularly of schools and teachers in the public system. The attacks have been accompanied by a similar campaign conducted by the national newspaper, The Australian. Using the language of crisis as a vehicle for reform (Sears & Hyslop-Margison, 2007), both the government and some sections of the media constructed an educational environment in which any initiative which goes beyond a restricted set of discipline-based subjects, transmission pedagogy or external examinations, was deemed to constitute a 'dumbing down' of the curriculum. State Ministers were sensitive to the political effects of these claims, and, in the name of 'rigour' and 'standards', dismantled a number of progressive strategies designed to cater for diverse groups of students. All of these interventions have begun to shape the organisational structures and processes of schools in ways that resemble versions of schooling from the 1950s and before.

In 2004, the Prime Minister stepped up the 'culture wars' by claiming provocatively that public schools don't teach values because they are too 'politically correct and too values-neutral' (*Australian* 20/1/2004), and it was not long before Minister Nelson was proposing a focus on values education. In the next few months his Department developed a National Framework for Values which named nine 'values for Australian schooling' - freedom, honesty, respect, care and compassion, fair go, doing your best, integrity, understanding and tolerance, and inclusion. These were the centre piece of a $29 million campaign involving school-based values projects and conferences. A values poster containing the silhouetted image of Simpson and his Donkey (a once celebrated and partly mythical hero from WW1) as the background to the selected values was sent to every school in Australia.

To ensure that such developments were not ignored by the States, in 2005 the federal government moved to a form of coercive federalism where federal funding for schools was made conditional on the implementation of a number of federal initiatives, including the requirement that all schools must hang the values poster in the school foyer. Other expectations were that all schools have and use a fully functioning flagpole, (re)introduce a traditional 'A-E' grading system, and publish the results of 'benchmark' tests to parents. Under the threat of losing funds, the States fell in line with these demands.

In all of these policies, the federal government was seeking to reach into schools and to influence pedagogical style. The template it used for this intervention was the practices of earlier times in Australian education, characterised by order, certainty and classification. Inexorably, by returning to the past, the Federal government was seeking to (re)create a version of Australian education that was designed, through the cultures and processes of schools, to produce the individual citizen subject: loyal, competitive and compliant.

Formal representations of civics and citizenship in the curriculum

In the late 1980s, two Senate Enquiries (SSCEET, 1989; SSCEET, 1991) produced evidence to show there was a low level of knowledge among 18 year old Australians about the Australian political system. This caused a great deal of consternation in political circles and the then Labor government subsequently established a 'Civics Expert Group' to explore the problem and recommend some possible solutions. The subsequent report - Whereas the people … civics and citizenship education in Australia (Commonwealth of Australia, 1994) – provided the rationale for a significant federal intervention into civics education. It was clear that there was a determination that civics and citizenship education should return to being a more visible part of the school curriculum.

Dr Kemp, who was appointed as Howard's first Education Minister in 1996, made it clear that he intended to pursue the civics agenda set in train by the previous Keating government. However, under Kemp, the civics project, now labelled Discovering Democracy, was reduced to the development of a set of materials which were sent to all schools in late 1998. The process of development and the nature of the materials made it clear that Discovering Democracy represented a shift of ideological gears, consistent with the government's broader agenda outlined above. The package had a strong curriculum content focus for each year level of schooling, to be integrated across the curriculum, or as a stand-alone subject, and with a strong historical flavour. Although many of the materials were useful resources for teachers, their most notable feature was what they did not contain. Thus, the materials lacked almost any attention to diversity and what it means to be a citizen in a multicultural society; and almost totally neglected a consideration of the changing concept of citizenship in a globalising world. They also marginalised the development of political skills for active citizenship, particularly in the areas of environmental sustainability and social justice.

The Discovering Democracy project was maintained as the federal flagship for civics and citizenship education until 2004, throughout which time its content emphasis continued. Associated with the project were a number of video kits that were developed and distributed to all Australian schools. The seemingly objective, factual nature of the material disguised its gendered construction. For example, one video featured the ANZAC story [2], stressing the heroism of the soldiers who fought for King and Country, their mate-ship and loyalty to their cause and to each other. Women on the other hand were included in reference to the baking of the Anzac cookie, a national symbol of this piece of military history. Another video took up the issue of Australia as a military power and ranged through the several wars in which Australian troops were involved. Once again the representations centred around men as the soldiers or leaders in war. Prefiguring some of these developments, Pettman wrote in 1996:

> *This routine invisibility of women ... is also encouraged by the current*
> *recasting of Australian identity in militaristic associations of manhood,*
> *independence, bloodying and agency on the international scene ... this*
> *history routinely masculinises nationalism and militarises citizenship.*
> (Pettman, 1996: 16)

Although the Discovering Democracy project ceased being funded in 2004, the Howard government maintained, even increased, its determination to implement its version of civics and citizenship education in schools. In his Australia Day speech in

2006, Prime Minister Howard boasted that on his watch there had been a successful rebalancing of Australia's national identity and cultural and ethnic diversity. However, he claimed that there was much more to do and that education was central to this work. In particular, he called for a 'coalition of the willing' to promote a 'root and branch' renewal of teaching history which had 'succumbed to a postmodern culture of relativism where any object of achievement is questioned or repudiated'. Instead, said the Prime Minister, Australian schools must replace the fragmented stew of issues and themes that currently exist as historical education, with a single structured historical narrative (Howard, 2006). It was made clear that alternative narratives to the one that would be officially endorsed would not be acceptable.

Education Minister Bishop took the cue and in a speech opening the National History Teachers Conference in 2006, she attacked state curricula, announcing that she would convene a national history summit comprising the 'sensible centre of educators' (Bishop, 2006). This summit was held in August 2006 and predictably recommended compulsory Australian history at Years 9 and 10 in all Australian schools, organised around a chronologically structured narrative approach. History was now being co-opted in the service of a conservative model of citizenship focusing on the nation.

Just as in the first half of the 20th century, the curriculum area of civics and citizenship was now being based on an inward-looking nationalism and an exclusionary concept of citizenship. It must be stressed here that we are not suggesting that the ideological slant of the federal government was simply implemented in the various states. Far from it. Although this paper has been based on the official discourses about civics and citizenship education - mainly as represented in policy texts - at the level of the federal government, we appreciate that many of the curriculum developers in the States and Territories, and teachers in schools, were putting in place far more expansive versions of civics. Indeed, at the political level, the Ministerial Council for Education, Employment and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) - the regular meeting of the State Education Ministers – tried to wrest back a more progressive curriculum agenda through a proposal for nationally consistent statements of learning. The civics version of these statements, for example, included a quite clear focus on skills as well as knowledge for active citizenship. But this was a rearguard action and, by 2007, the increasing use of its financial muscle suggested that the federal government was going to get its way.

But in late 2007, the Howard government was defeated. The new Rudd Labor government is as yet untested in terms of its implications for schooling but this work will need to involve the recognition that Australian democracy has changed.

Conclusion: Civics education beyond the nation state

In this paper we have explored the relationship between the state and schooling in developing an officially sanctioned version of civics and citizenship education in Australia. We have argued, using examples from the history of Australian education, that the state has employed three key modalities to shape civics and citizenship education; and we have critically analysed how these modalities were employed during the years of the Howard government in the service of forming citizen subjects. We are concerned about the current direction for two main reasons.

First, we believe that it is based upon a constrained view of democracy. It posits democracy as a thing, something to be discovered and accessed when needed, rather than as a process of ongoing engagement in critical and thoughtful deliberation in public arenas. The idea of deliberative democracy (Parker, 2006; Young, 2002) has

never been more important than now. A multicultural society organised around enclaved communities of difference with civic engagement limited to voting every three or four years is doomed to fail. Unless citizens have the skills and the opportunities to engage in democratic dialogue across groups, and unless this dialogue is characterised by a sense of reciprocity, then ethnic tensions can only multiply. In order to meet the demands of a world of increasing diversity and interdependence, civics and citizenship education in Australia must be based upon more sophisticated notions of democratic theory. And importantly, education policy must recognise the powerful messages that the structure of schooling systems and the organisation and processes of schools give out about what and who is valued in society.

Second, we believe that the current focus of civics and citizenship education as a preparation for civic life in a nation state like Australia is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for citizenship in the 21st century. We recognise that since notions of citizenship are still defined by the rights and responsibilities that derive from living in sovereign nation states national and local identities cannot be ignored. But as Hobsbawm noted in the opening quotation the expanded global flows of goods, services and people; the increasing economic and environmental interdependence of all nation states; and the new and additional forms of influence and decision making at regional and global levels, make redundant old versions of citizenship and therefore citizenship education (Hobsbawm, 2007). As Held (2001, quoted in Osler and Starkey, 2003. p. 246) points out, we live in 'overlapping communities of fate' – local, regional, national, international and increasingly virtual.

In our view the concepts of cosmopolitan citizenship proposed by Osler and Starkey (2003), and of inclusive citizenship based on institutional multiculturalism (Kiwan, 2008), hold potential for reimagining what it means to be a citizen of a nation-state in a globalising world. They offer a genuine alternative to the myopic policy direction that has been pursued in Australia over the past decade. Instead of a narrowly nation-state focused civics education which ignores diversity and power differentials in society, we believe that there is an urgent need to begin the conversation about ways in which the three modalities of Australian schooling might be reconstituted to reflect a more cosmopolitan and identity-based conception of citizens and deeper forms of democratic engagement. This would include reorientating:

- *The structure of schooling,* to be based upon a rejuvenated notion of the public good and social reciprocity in place of market-based competitive individualism, with the professional expertise of teachers recognised, respected and employed in policy making;

- *The cultures and processes of schools* to reflect models of deliberative democracy where power differentials are recognised and the culture of the school is one that eschews certainty and dogmatism in favour of open, respectful and critical dialogue and analysis, and 'operationalizes multiculturalism' *(Kiwan, 2008: 108)*

- *Formal representations of civics and citizenship in the curriculum* to ensure that the curriculum engages with the actual experiences of learners who in a globalising world are likely to have multiple identities and a sense of belonging that is not necessarily expressed primarily in terms of the nation; and embraces global as well as local and national perspectives.

We have argued that the absence of these features from education policy at the federal level in the past decade has exacerbated the problems facing Australian democracy. Far from being a 'new civics' for contemporary times as described by Print (1996), Australian education has witnessed a rerun of earlier versions of civics and citizenship education – fiercely nationalistic, based on a limited understanding of democracy, an individualised and passive notion of citizen, and a failure to take account of the diversity of the Australian population or the effect of globalisation in its various guises on Australian democracy. In our view, in the 21st century this curriculum trajectory can only lead to disaster, ignoring as it does the rich diversity of Australian society and the fact that Australia exists in a globalising world. But it doesn't have to be this way. Education (and specifically civics and citizenship education) can play a role in reshaping democracy, rather than simply reprising versions that were designed for different times and different circumstances.

Correspondence: ALAN REID AND JUDITH GILL, School of Education, University of South Australia, GPO Box 2471, Adelaide SA 5001. Email: alan.reid@unisa.edu.au

NOTES

[1] The 'black armband' view of history is a pejorative term used by conservative commentators and intellectuals to describe interpretations of Australian history that are perceived to be too negative, such as histories that focus on the colonial dispossession of indigenous Australians

[2] The ANZAC story concerns a WWI engagement at Gallipoli wherein the Australian and New Zealand forces were defeated. It was routinely retold in schools before the 1960s but had slipped from focus until its very recent revival with PM Howard leading pilgrimages of young people to ANZAC cove in Turkey.

REFERENCES

ABS 2007 available at:
http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/4221.0Main%20Features22007?ope ndocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=4221.0&issue=2007&num=&view= (accessed 18/4/08)
ALTHUSSER, L. (1971) Ideology and ideological state Apparatuses in Lenin, philosophy and other essays, London: New Left Books, 123-173.
APPLE, M. (1996). Cultural Politics and Education. Buckingham, Open University Press.
ANDERSON, B. (1991) Imagined Communities. London: Verso.
ARENDT, H. (1951) The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Harcourt Brace.
BARTON, K. & LEVSTIK, L. (2004) Teaching history for the common good, Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

BERNSTEIN (1971) On the classification and framing of knowledge in MFD Young (ed) Knowledge and Control, Basingstoke, Collier-Macmillan 47-69.

BISHOP, J. (2006) Address to the History teachers' Association Conference, Fremantle WA available at http://www.dest.gov.au/Ministers/Media/Bishop/2006/10/B001061006.asp (Accessed 18/4/08)

CARO, J. & BONNER, C. (2007) The stupid country: How Australia is dismantling public education, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

CIVICS EXPERT GROUP, 1994   Whereas the people: civics and citizenship education. Australian Government Publishing Service.

CHRISTIE, P., & SIDHU, R. (2006) 'Governmentality and 'fearless speech': framing the education of asylum seeker and refugee children in Australia'. Oxford Review of Education, 32, 4, 449-465.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA (1994) Whereas the People: Civics and Citizenship Education, Report of the Civics Expert Group. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

CONNELL, R. W., ASHENDEN, D., DOWSETT, G. & KESSLER, S. (1982) Making the Difference: Schools. Families and social division. Sydney, Allen and Unwin.

CROCK M., SAUL, B. & DASTYARI, A. (2006) Future seekers II. Refugees and Irregular migration in Australia. Sydney, Federation Press.

DE CILLIA, R.., REISIGL, M. & WODAK, R. (1999) The discursive construction of national identities. Discourse and Society, 10, 2, 149-173.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA (1953) Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, SA Government Printer.

GOLDSTEIN, V. (1918) Historical Manuscripts Commission - National Register of Archives, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 2002. Available at: http://www.hmc.gov.uk/nra/searches/pidocs.asp?P=P11498

GRUNDY, D. (1970) Secular Compulsory and Free: the education Act of 1872. Carlton, Melbourne University Press.

GRUNDY, S. (1994) Being and becoming Australian: classroom discourse and the construction of identity. Discourse, 15, 1, 14-23.

GRUNDY, S. & HATTON, E. (1996) Teacher Educators, Student Teachers and Biography. Available at: www.aare.edu.au/96pap/gruns96227.txt   Accessed 12/06/08

HALL, S. (1997) 'Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities'. In King, A. (ed) Culture, Globalization and the World System. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

HAMILTON, C., & MADIDISON, S. (2007) Silencing Dissent, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

HARGREAVES, A. (2003) Teaching in the knowledge society: Education in the age of insecurity, New York: Teachers College Press.

HOBSBAWM, E. (2007) Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism, London: Little, Brown.

HOWARD, J. (2006) Australia Day Speech, 2006, http://www.australianpolitics.com/news/2006/01/06-01-25_howard.shtml, accessed on 22/4/2007

HYAMS, B. & BESSANT, B. (1972). Schools for the People? An Introduction to the History of Sate Education in Australia. Melbourne, Victoria, Longman.

ISIN, E. & TURNER, B. (2007) 'Investigating citizenship: An agenda for citizenship studies'. In Citizenship Studies, 11, 1, 5-17.

JONES, A. (1971) Freedom and Authority Memorandum, see ref at: http://www.unisa.edu.au/hawkecentre/events/2007events/ATIR

KIWAN, D. (2008) Education for Inclusive Citizenship, Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge.

LATELINE (2005) Transcript of Lateline interview with Peter Costello, on 28/5/2005: Accessed at http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2005/s1444603.htm; on 12/2/2008

LUCY, N., & MICKLER, S. (2006) The War on Democracy. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.

MCCALMAN, J. (1993) Journeyings: The biography of a middle class generation. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

MANNE, R. (2001) The Barren Years. Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company.

MARR, D., & WILKINSON, M. (2003) Dark Victory. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

MILLER, P. (1986). Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society. Adelaide, Wakefield Press.

MUSGRAVE, P. (1979) Society and the Curriculum in Australia, Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

OSLER, A., & STARKEY, H. (2003) 'Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences'. Educational Review, 55, 3, 243-254.

PARKER, W.C. (2006) Public discourses in schools: purposes, problems, possibilities. Educational Researcher 35, 8, 11-18.

PETTMAN, J.J. (1996) Second-class citizens? Nationalism, identity and difference in Australia. in Sullivan, Barbara and Whitehouse Gillian (eds)(1996): Gender, politics and citizenship in the 1990s. Sydney, University of NSW Press.

PINAR, W. (2006) The Synoptic Text Today and other essays: Curriculum Development after the Reconceptualization. New York: Peter Lang.

PRINT, M. (1996) The new civics education: An integrated approach for Australian schools. Social Education, 60, 7, 443-447.

REID, A. (2002). 'Public education and democracy: a changing relationship in a globalising world'. Journal of Education Policy, 17, 5, 571-585.

SEARS, A. & HYSLOP-MARGISON, E. (2007) Crisis as a vehicle for educational reform: The case of citizenship education, in Journal of Educational Thought, 41, 1, 43-62.

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND TRAINING: SSCEET (1989) Education for Active Citizenship in Australian Schools and Youth Organisations. Canberra: AGPS.

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND TRAINING: SSCEET (1991) Education Citizenship Education Revisited. Canberra: AGPS.

TYACK, D. & TOBIN, W. (1994) 'The grammar of schooling: Why has it been so hard to change?' American Educational Research Journal, 31, 3, Fall: 453-480.

URRY, J. (1998) 'Contemporary transformations of time and space', in Scott, P (Ed) The Globalization of Higher Education. Balmoor: Open University Press, 1-17.

WILLINSKY, J. (1999): Curriculum after culture, race and nation. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 20, 1, 89-106.

YOUNG, I.M. (2002) Inclusion and democracy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

.
.

Participatory Citizenship and student Empowerment: Case Study of a Hong Kong School

YAN WING LEUNG AND TIMOTHY WAI WA YUEN, Department of Educational Policy and Administration, Hong Kong Institute of Education

ABSTRACT *This paper reports an explorative case study of a Hong Kong secondary school that works to promote participatory citizenship on an experimental basis. Guided by the school's civic mission and supported by civic-minded leaders and teachers, the school values students' participation rights. The students are empowered to take part in dialogues, engage in various kinds of school activities, and participate in decision-making over such matters as school rules and dress codes. An atmosphere supportive of active participation is emphasized: mutual respect, trust, fairness, willingness to voice opinions, and open-mindedness etc. The school is definitely atypical in Hong Kong where the majority of schools are examination and career oriented. This paper argues that viewed from a broadened conception of politics and citizenship, the school is a political community where the students were empowered to participate as active 'here and now citizens', influencing the communal affairs. This paper examines how the students' engagement in school affairs are related to the promoting of participatory citizenship and examines how such efforts may have impact on the students.*

Introduction

In the 21st century, there is a growing concern that without active citizenship, which comprises both voting and active participation in civil society, democratic governance is fragile (Osler & Starkey, 2006; Naval, Print & Veldhuis, 2002). This observation leads to a renewed interest in education for democratic citizenship and human rights in civic education internationally (Davies, et al, 2001; Eurydice, 2005; Morris & Cogan, 2001; Osler & Starkey, 2006; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001). Schools have long been considered influential political socializing agents though the role played by schools in politically educating their students can often come along with suspicion of possible indoctrination and partisan influences (Brownhill and Smart 1989; Heater 1990). Nevertheless, reports about the impacts of formal civic education on democratic citizenship are mixed; some identified positive impacts, while others identified none (Niemi & Junn, 1998; Print, Ornstromare & Nielsen, 2002). The conventional view was that civic education had only a marginal impact on students' democratic orientation. However, this conventional wisdom has undergone significant revision recently (Dobozy, 2007;

Finkel & Ernst, 2005). This revision may on one hand be due to the adoption of a broadened understanding of politics and citizenship, and on the other due to the adoption of active pedagogies such as issue-based approaches in an open classroom ethos, and experiential learning (Hahn, 1998; Leung, 2006; Porter, 1993; Print, Ormstrom & Nielsen, 2002). In addition, the adoption of active pedagogies such as issue-based approaches in an open classroom ethos, which aims at developing critical thinking, help to minimize the suspicion of possible indoctrination and partisan influences.

Broadened understandings of politics and citizenship

An emphasis on formal politics as government, and citizenship as legal status, tends to inhibit the development of citizenship in youths. Because of their age (usually under 18 or 21) children and teenagers are not citizens in a constitutional sense. They cannot vote and do not enjoy the legal rights and responsibilities. This implies that children and teenagers are considered as " 'not-yet's': not yet knowing, not yet competent and not yet being" (Roche, 1999; Verhellen, 2000). By defining childhood as 'not -yet ', they become 'citizens-waiting' (Osler & Starkey, 2005). As a consequence, citizenship education programmes become something for the future citizens and are hence perceived by students as having little relevance to their 'here and now' school life.

A broadened understanding of politics goes beyond formal politics of the government to include engagement in civil society and communities at different levels (Flanagan & Gallay, 1995), while a broadened concept of citizenship implies a shift in emphasis: from a classical liberal notion of voting rights and responsibilities to a communitarian notion of participation and identity (Delany, 2000). These broadened conceptions may become part of children's 'here and now' life experiences. With this understanding, schools become the closest communities where children can participate, have their sense of identity flourish and citizenship developed. With appropriate teaching and learning strategies, such as issue-based approaches and experiential learning, what has been learned at school may become transferable to communities at different levels.

Promoting democratic citizenship through teaching and participation

Strategically, both teaching and participation are essential for the nurturing of democratic citizenship, both in the narrow and the broadened sense. Pedagogies that have been identified as facilitating include issue-based approaches conducted in an open classroom ethos, and experiential learning. Students' participation, in particularly participation in decision-making in perceived meaningful issues in school have also been highlighted as significant factors (McQuillan, 2005; Taylor & Percy-Smith, 2008). Dobozy (2007) argued for the interplay between teaching and participation, which he named as "education for democracy and human rights" and "education in democracy and human rights" respectively. "Education for democracy and human rights" refers to the teaching and learning of political knowledge and "education in democracy and human rights" refers to democratic practices such as canvassing of students' opinions as well as the ensuring of students' rights to be heard, and that of participation, association, and expression. The idea that what is taught about citizenship must be practiced in schools; or else the perceived contradiction may lead to cynicism, alienation and apathy, is well shared by scholars (Raby, 2008; Ruddock & Flutter, 2000; Schimmel, 2003). In fact, the discrepancies

between what is taught and practised may be one of the contributing factors to the failure of many civic education programmes (Osler & Starkey, 2005).

Participation and empowerment

Dobozy (2007) identified three distinct features of democratic schools. The principals must first perceive their schools to be no 'ordinary' school and that means the schools are held to be distinctively different from traditional schools, which are usually characterized by teacher authorities, and rote learning of subjects in a repressive atmosphere (Lloyd 1990). Secondly, school rules are presented as small: numbers of statements of principles rather than an extensive list of 'do's and don'ts'. Vieno et.al. (2005) argued that a democratic school climate is a strong predictor for students' sense of community or belongingness in the school setting, which are key concepts pertaining to the idea of identity. Such democratic school climate s comprise participation of students in making rules and events, encouraging greater freedom of speech, fairness of school and teachers etc., Other researches also support involving students in decision-making, in particular school rules and dress codes, for the development of citizenship (Osler, 2000; Raby, 2005, 2008; Schimmel, 2003).

School rules and dress code

Schools in some countries may not operate school uniform, but for those which do, school rules and school uniform symbolize how power is distributed. These schools tend to use straight school rules and compulsory uniform to control students, putting them in a powerless position. This is particularly the case in Hong Kong where primary and secondary students are normally required to wear the school uniform, with neither choice of colour nor style. In fact not to wear the school uniform is punishable in most of the schools in Hong Kong. Schimmel (2003) argued that usually school codes are framed as 'thou shalt not' and contain many items of prohibited conduct plus a list of penalties, while students' rights are seldom mentioned. Some rules are vague that different interpretations are possible, making the enforcing of rules arbitrary. Procedures for amending perceived unfair rules and appealing against unfair treatment are rarely present. In addition, the rules are usually top-down and students are seldom involved in developing them. In some cases, informal appeal may be possible through negotiation with open-mined teachers (Raby, 2008). As a consequence, most school rules have been confining instead of encouraging active responsible citizens. Such rules are cultivating students to be non-questioning, non-participatory, cynical, passive and docile citizens based on remaining mute (Raby, 2005; Schimmel, 2003). Occasionally, in such uneven power distribution conditions, students fight back, hurting the relationship between students and school. Alternative strategies on school rules which compromise a firm benevolent dictatorship but nonetheless insure balance between order and native permissiveness that lead to confusion are proposed, such as Collaborative Rule-Making (Schimmel, 2003). They are characterized firstly by broad participation of stakeholders in the development of or revision of school and classroom rules. Second, instead of listing many items of prohibition, the rules should seek a balance between students' rights and responsibilities. Justification and explanation of the rules related to protection, safety and missions of the school should be included. Thirdly, the rules should be seen as fair, free from self-

contradiction, well known to the people affected, and compliable. Lastly, clear procedure for questioning, revising, and appealing should be established.

All the above studies support the notion of encouraging children to participate in some sort of decision-making formally and informally, so that they will be empowered. McQuillan (2005) contended that schools can become 'crucibles of democracy' by empowering students, especially through political empowerment which refers to "having students enact power and influence either formally or informally within schools" (p.642). Similarly, Hoarce (1994) argued that a school becomes a political laboratory for democracy if students experience real practice in democratic process.

Research design

This paper reports an explorative case study of a Hong Kong secondary school (denoted hereafter as School A) which is experimenting with the nurturing of participatory citizenship. The school was chosen as it has a clear mission statement of contributing to the development of a civil society and encouraging students to become active citizens. In this way, the school may become a 'crucible of democracy'. This is atypical in Hong Kong where most of the schools are examination-oriented. The research questions of the study comprise:

1. What are the school missions and policies for the cultivation of participatory citizenship?

2. How are the school missions and policies for participatory citizenship of students implemented?

3. What are the impacts on the students' development of citizenship?

The period of data collection ran from February 2007 to August 2007. Relevant documents such as school mission statements, meeting minutes, etc., were analyzed to study the civic missions and related policies. As the size of the student population is small (N=170) the questionnaire survey covered all students of the school. The qualitative data were obtained from selected parties who could inform our understanding with regard to the research questions. We conducted ten teacher interviews, including the principal, vice principals, counselling teacher, subject teachers, and teachers of civic education. The school supervisor and one school director were also interviewed. We conducted 10 focus group interviews and two individual interviews with students of different participation inclinations. In addition, we carried out 16 episode observations, such as school summits, and admission interviews.

Semi-structured interview guides were developed for personal and focus group interviews. Other questions and topics raised during the course of interviews could also be pursued. The interviews were conducted in Cantonese, the native language of the participants. They were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim in Chinese. In the survey of this study, a questionnaire with Likert scales in which students indicated their choice was prepared. There were five themes for the questionnaire. They were 'Opinions on citizenship', 'Opinions about the school uniform', 'Opinions about the school rules', 'Opinions about the project week' and 'Overall comments about the school'.

The 'constant comparative method' was adopted for analyzing qualitative data. For quantitative data, SPSS version 17 was used to generate descriptive statistical results.

Findings and Discussion

In this section we shall start with examining the school's background and civic missions. We shall then proceed to study the impact the school has on the students.

Background of the school

The school is a Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) [1] senior secondary school in Hong Kong with a unique mission to actualize creative education through the school-based curriculum, comprising both multimedia performing arts and academic subjects. The aim of the school is to provide young people with all-round creative learning experiences and opportunities through creating a civil society and by involving students and teachers in fostering a participatory culture.

The school was founded in September, 2006 and was comparatively small in size. It had only 170 secondary 4 students and 14 teachers in the academic year of 06/07. The school premises were temporary and much smaller in size as compared to a standard school. This small size in both premises and population provided an environment for the building of a close community. School A has a group of socially active board members. They purposely recruited a principal and teachers with strong civic awareness and cultural sensitivity. Moreover, there is no pressure from external examinations in the year 2006/07 (the year of data collection). All these backgrounds are crucial in understanding the work of the school in nurturing participatory citizenship among the students.

Missions and policies

As pointed out by Dobozy (2007) one of the features of democratic schools is that the heads of the school perceive the school to be no 'ordinary' school and are distinctively different from traditional schools. The distinctiveness of School A is reflected from its school mission statement 2, which stated "cultivating a learning community which develops together with a creative economic and civil society." It is uncommon for a HK school to include civil society in their mission statements. Civil society clearly implies active citizenry. Interviews with the school's leaders (abbreviated as SL), including supervisor, directors, principal, vice principals and senior teachers, showed a strong concern for and a degree of consensus about what active citizenship means. Some commonalities observed were participation, ranging from expressing views to taking public actions, responsibilities, commitment, contributing and showing concern to the communities:

> *Students should have knowledge and passion for the society. They should feel being part of the society, and they should be well informed and actively participating. They should know their rights, responsibilities, and how to make things better.* (SL1)

> *A good citizen should be able to help in improving the society for quality living, both physical and metaphysical by voicing his opinions to influence the public policies.* (SL2)

> *Get involved in the civil society and be so in an informed way.* (SL3)

'Cultural activist' is used instead of active citizen by SL4, to describe citizens with similar attributes:

*A cultural activist is one who comes out to advocate on cultural issues,
with culture taken in a broad sense. (SL4)*

That is, School A's leaders have a commonly shared distinct mission of expecting students to have active concern for the civil society and be able to dialogue with others to influence the communal lives. The school leaders also share the ideas of multiple citizenships, with communities referring to schools, Hong Kong, China and the world (both SL4 and SL1), which echoes with Heater's (1990) idea of multiple citizenship.

School A's devotion to promoting active citizens is intriguing, considering the cultural context that promotes examination drilling for academic success. The shared vision of the school leadership is of course crucial. The supervisor of the school emphasized in the interview that the school wants to prepare students to face the challenging 21st century and that the traditional mode of learning through examination does not work anymore. She valued a learning style that involves students actively interacting with the context, as learners and citizens. She further mentioned that the core team of the school wants to start some pioneering work in Hong Kong, which they thought was nothing new internationally. Similarly the principal stressed that it is a shared educational value of the core team that civic mission, the cultivation of active participating citizens, should be at least as important as, if not more important than, examination. In another interview, the Principal pointed out that though examination oriented culture is still dominating, it is the right time to start something pioneering, especially when the school has recruited many similar minded educators as directors, advisers, and teachers. It may also be relevant to note from the introduction of the school above that the school was founded according to the Direct Subsidy Scheme, which was coined to enrich parental choices. In this case, School A presents itself as an alternative to the "regular schools" one will normally find in Hong Kong.

However, although the school has a mission statement on civil society, it neither has well developed nor well shared policies on civic education among teachers. Concrete goals and activities usually came from ad hoc discussions among relevant staff. The time for preparation and dissemination is often limited and this may have hampered the impact of the programmes. In implementing the civic mission and policies, the teaching of subjects such as Integrated Humanities plays an important role. Besides, students are required to take part in project week, participate in extra-curricular activities, and play a role in school summits, and other forms of participation. Students are treated as 'here and now' citizens. Students' involvement and open dialogues among teachers and students are encouraged with an intention for building an ethos of trust and participation.

Impacts on students

Did what have been done by the school have any effect on the students' development of participatory citizenship? We shall start with the students' general perceptions of the school before we proceed to study the impacts of individual practices of significance, namely school rule and dress code.

Students' general perceptions of the school

Some students expressed that there was significant difference between School A and their previous schools. They witnessed that they were transformed by School A. Student Cathy (all student names are fake):

My previous school was an examination machine and I was a failure. As for this school, it is not an examination machine and aims to develop us along different dimensions. Through the creative education, we will become someone different, someone who can think in different perspectives, though our academic results may not be good.

Student Peter elaborated：

After coming to this school, I feel more comfortable and it suits me more. This school provides me with more opportunities to explore different things. I find that my horizon has enlarged and I am more involved in my school life.

Student Carl supplemented:

I did not care about current affairs before. If I were still in my previous school, I don't think I can name the candidate for the election of Chief Executive. But now I think I can listen to other views and that I can think more.

Quantitative data collected from the questionnaire survey and reported in Figure 1 also supports that the school has positive impacts on the students.

Figure I: Overall perceptions of the school

	N=132	Agree + Strongly agree	Disagree +strongly disagree	No opinion
1.	School allows students freedom	89.4	7.5	3.0
2.	We are allowed to participate in schools' matters.	85.6	8.3	6.1
3.	School is willing to accept different opinions.	84.8	9.1	6.1
4.	There is transparency in school administration.	51.9	21.4	26.7
5.	The school cultivates us to care for the community.	62.3	16.9	20.8
6.	The school cultivates us to care for Hong Kong.	70.2	11.4	18.3
7.	The school cultivates us to care for China.	53.8	16.7	29.5
8.	The school cultivates us to care for the world.	68	14.5	17.6
9.	The school cultivates us to care for the environment.	66	16.6	17.4
10.	The school cultivates us to be active citizens.	57.6	13.6	28.8
11.	I consider myself as an active citizen.	48.5	25.7	25.8

In general the perception of the school is positive. The percentage for positive response (including 'agree' and 'highly agree') of all items were more than 50%, with 89.4% (item 1) being the highest and 51.9% (item 4) being the lowest. Responses to items 1, 2 and 3 indicated that the students can perceive in the school ethos a sense of respect of freedom, tolerance, and encouragement of participation. Although item 4, shows a relatively low rating, yet there were still over 50% positive responses. A high percentage of students agree that the school has cultivated them to be more concerned about communities at various levels, especially Hong Kong (item 6: 70.2%) and the world (item 8: 68%). Item 9 indicates that the cultivation of environmental awareness is high too (66%). Relatively speaking, the concern about China is least affected (item 7: 53.8%). However, positive response was still over 50%, a reasonably high standard. Item 10 indicates that nearly 60% of the respondents recognize that the school has introduced various measures to cultivate them to be active citizens.

Concerning participation, although School A has no formal Student Council, student Carl said：

> *Student Council is to gather and reflect students' opinions to influence decision making. My school allows students to be involved in decision making and I think there are already many defacto students' councils.*

Similarly student Rita supported:

> *In the summit, we have voted to decide on whether we could bring mobile phones to school. Voting can enhance our civic awareness.*

Voicing out opinions is important in decision making. Student Carl argued that students are more willing to air their opinions while teachers are more willing to listen.

> *We are brave to voice out opinions and fight for our rights. We can think quite deeply and consider how we may be affected if the school adopts a certain policy.*

Stella further commented on the development of students' willingness to voice opinions as encouraged by teachers:

> *In my previous school, we are afraid that when we voice out our opinions, we will be scorned as trouble makers. But in this school, teachers encourage us to speak up. We are adjusting to this new style.*

Other attributes pertaining to active participation were also identified, for example, respect for different opinions. Student Peter:

> *My previous school will not allow me to have my own views and they indoctrinate one view to us. But teachers here are different, they lead us seek for solutions.*

The unusual handling of a student's request to voice his opinion about June 4th Incident [2] was another example of tolerance of different opinions. Student Greg shared:

> *I have different views about June 4th from the teachers'. I want to share my views with my schoolmates. They allowed me to talk in the assembly, which I think is democratic.*

Student Stella pointed out the perception of a sense of collective ownership, creation and memory in the process of participation:

> *The principal, the teachers, and we are all involved in decision making because the school belongs to all of us. Through voting, teachers know how we think and they will make decision with reference to our views. We feel that our sense of belonging is enhanced because the public space is created together by all of us and we can have collective memory.*

Equality and harmony are also valued by the students. Winnie narrated:

> *The teachers treat us equally and were open to our participation and opinions. We live harmoniously together without barrier. We are like friends rather than teachers /students and we call each other by names.*

When being asked whether they are active citizen, student Rita said:

> *I think I am as I love this place and I care about the culture and the people. Moreover, I have concern for the world too.*

Student Winnie commented:

> *I think so too. The school teaches us to care about the issues in the community and hence enrich our vision.*

The students' concern for local and global issues has also been enriched. Student Stella explained:

> *If I stayed in my previous school, probably I would only know that they are 800 people who can elect the chief Executive but that being none of my business. Since our present school has invited the election candidate to actually come to talk with us, we are able to know more. We then find out that democracy in HK is facing grave problem.*

Students Pierra talked about global issues:

> *We have discussed about global warming and we have to do research on this issue with the help of the internet. We become very involved due to this research.*

Pierra's point was quickly agreed to by other students.

From the above quantitative and qualitative data, it can be discerned that the school's efforts have positive influence on the nurturing of civic awareness and citizenship. The students have been treated as 'here and now citizens' in the school community which seek their immediate and not delayed participation. Though no formal procedure such as student council has been established, they have been involved in decision making in school affairs informally. Other pertinent factors such as strong identity, respect for different opinions, equality, and harmony have also been identified. This in fact echoes the democratic school climate proposed by Vieno et.al. (2005). A strong sense of trust and identity of students for the school was developing.

However although some students indicated that the school had done a lot to help them become active citizens, and evidences of positive influence on the development of citizenship can be identified, some students do not think that they are active citizens. If we compare the response of item 11 and item 10 (Figure 1 refers), we can see a discrepancy between the school's effort and the outcome. Though 57.6% (item 10) respondents agreed that school had made an effort to cultivate them to be active citizen, only 48.5% (item 11) of respondents agreed that they were active citizens, representing a difference of 9.1%. Nonparametric statistical study was performed on the relationship between item 11 and item 10 and it indicated that they are not significantly related (Kendall tau-b coefficient: τb= .069, p=.348; Spearman's rho rs =.387, p=.387). One possible explanation may be that the students were evaluating themselves with reference to a narrow conception of citizenship instead of a broadened view as discussed. This possible difference in construal can be further researched.

School rules and dress code

In addition to their general perception of the school, how do the students perceive the school rules and dress code and what is the impact this may have on them?

The school rules

Instead of having many trivial controlling school rules, the Students' Development Guides (Guides), have specified nine principles in the Direction for Development:

- To create our school culture together
- Be initiative in learning and participate actively with joys
- Concern for people and matters, respect for both individual and community
- Balance between rights and responsibly
- Value time and resource
- Develop creativity by positive means
- Have courage to implement
- Develop health life style
- To adopt an open attitude towards issues

Ten unacceptable behaviours are also specified:

- Unlawful acts
- Bullying and violence
- Smoking in the campus or in school uniform
- Showing disrespect to teachers and schoolmates
- Cheating
- Harassment

- Dirty words
- Using mobile in class without teachers' permission
- Lateness, truancy and absent without reasons
- Changing natural colour of the hair

The special feature of the Guides is that it contains mainly positively oriented principles and only a few negatively oriented unacceptable behaviours. This dovetails with the suggestion that a democratic school should adopt school rules presented as small numbers of statements of principles rather than an extensive list of confining 'dos and don'ts' (Schimmel, 2003).

Students' perceptions of the school rules

Figure 2 below reports the perceptions of students on school rules. The perceptions are all positive from three different perspectives, namely, the process of making school rules (items 1, 2, 8, 9), the function of school rules in protecting students' rights (items 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) and the impacts on their development (3, 4, 5, 6, 7).

Figure 2: Perceptions of the school rules

	N=132	Strongly Agree + agree	Disagree +strongly disagree	No opinion
1.	I understand the school rules well	85.6	6.0	8.3
2.	Students are involved in making the school rules	74.2	16.7	9.1
3.	The school rules help me participate in the school actively.	59.1	18.2	22.7
4.	The school rules prepare me for active participation in the society.	57.2	16.8	26.0
5.	The school rules help me to become more creative.	58.8	19.1	22.1
6.	The school rules help me to become active students.	58.3	22.7	18.9
7.	The school rules help me to care about the school.	50.8	20.4	28.8
8.	Students are involved in executing the school rules	60.6	15.9	23.5
9.	Students are involved in revising the school rules	56.8	22.0	21.2
10.	The school rules can protect students' rights	71.2	13.7	15.2
11.	The school allows students who have broken the school rules to explain.	77.3	12.1	10.6
12.	The students who have broken the school rule can appeal.	59.8	17.4	22.7
13.	The school rules infringe on students' rights.	18.4	57.2	24.4
14.	In punishing those who have broken the school rules, the school will consider the rights of the offenders.	68.0	12.2	19.8

For the first two perspectives, the respondents expressed that they know the school rules well (item 1: 85.6%), and they are given chances to participate in shaping the rules (item 2: 74.2%), execute (item 8: 60.6%) and revise (item 9: 56.8%) the school rules. Moreover, students believe the rights of students are protected by the school rules (item 10: 71.2%; item 13: 18.4%), including those who have broken the school rules (item 14: 68.0%) because those who have broken the school rules are given chance to explain (item 11: 77.3%), and appeal (item 12: 59.8%). In general, the perception of the students matches well with the essences of Collaborative Rule-Making strategy, namely (1) broad participation of students and staff in the development of, and revision of, the school rules; (2) seeking a balance between students' rights and responsibilities; (3) the rules are seen as fair, as the students' rights are protected. It is interesting to note that although no formal appeal mechanism has been established, students perceive that they can appeal against unfair treatments. This is believed to be possible through informal negotiation with teachers.

For the third perspective, as reflected from responses to items 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, the students clearly indicated that the school rules have helped them become more active and caring citizens

The qualitative data also reveal that the school is willing to involve students in developing school rules.

Student Winnie narrated:

> *Unlike this school, all the school rules in my previous school are fixed and you must follow but not revise them.*

Student Kate jumped in and elaborated:

> *The school rules here are not so strict and some of them are developed by us together.*

Winnie supplemented:

> *In establishing the school rules, the teacher will consider from our perspective to see whether the rules are necessary.*

Summit on 'table art': an example of students' involvement in making rules

School A has many school summits to enhance dialogues between students and teachers. A school summit on 'table art' was called in the first semester of school year 06/07 to involve students in the formulation of school rules over graffiti on student tables (a persistent issue of the school).

All students and teachers participated in the summit. They had to decide whether students could be allowed to draw on the tables, which was called 'table art'. Deciding in a vote, about 80% students supported while about 20% opposed to the right of doing table art. After negotiation, the students and teachers came up with a compromise solution that students were allowed to draw on their own tables and not on others' and the students needed to clean up their drawings at the end of the school year. Through the voting and discussion, the students had learned to make collective decisions on the one hand, and respect the minority's views by imposing self-restrictions on their freedom.

In an interview, student Carl argued that this participation in developing the school rules implies a democratic school:

> *Our school allows us to decide on whether we could draw on the tables*
> *by voting. I think this is democratic.*

In another interview, student Stella argued that when students were involved in making rules, they learned to be more self-disciplined and would not abuse their rights:

> *We become more responsible and have more self-control. I feel that as*
> *the school has allowed us so much freedom, we know how to value*
> *them and we become more self-disciplined.*

The students' views reported above are in line with the belief held by the school: students will become responsible when engaged in dialogue with empowerment. The summit reported is actually a political empowering process and represents a high level of trust of the school on the students.

The dress code

Unlike many other secondary schools, School A intends to make the dress code policy more student-centred. Whilst requiring students to wear school uniforms, students may choose from options in terms of colours and styles etc. In addition, students were directly engaged in designing the school uniform. The school wants the students to have a sense of self-discipline while giving them freedom. This policy may be considered a balance between students' rights on the one hand, and discipline/uniformity on the other.

Perception of the school uniform

Figure 3 below reports the perceptions of the students on the school uniforms.

Figure 3: Perception of the school uniform

	N=132	Strongly agree + agree	Disagree + strongly disagree	No opinion
1.	I like the school uniform of my current school.	87.2	8.4	4.5
2.	As compared to my previous school uniform, the present uniform allows me more freedom to choose.	94.7	3.1	2.3
3.	As compared to my previous school uniform, I can express myself better through the present uniform.	76.5	12.1	11.4
4.	As compared to my previous school uniform, the current uniform gives me stronger sense of belonging.	66.6	17.4	15.9
5.	As compared to my previous school uniform, the current uniform could enhance my self esteem.	62.1	15.9	22.0
6.	Students have chances to be involved in the design of the uniform.	78.1	11.4	10.6

From Figure 3 we can see the students' perception of the school uniform is positive. The majority of them (87.2%) like the uniform (item 1). They feel that the school gives them freedom of choice (item 2: 94.7%), and chances to participate in the designing (item 6: 78.1%). This leads to a greater sense of belonging (item 4: 66.6%). Moreover, the uniforms make the respondents feel they are given more opportunities to express themselves (item 7: 76.5 %,). This may be one of the reasons to account for a stronger self esteem in general (item 5: 62.3%). Triangulation with focus group interviews resulted in similar findings. In an interview, a student explained as compared to School A, there were more restrictions, and no accessory was allowed in her previous school. Most of the students interviewed said that they liked the school uniforms as choice was allowed and some considered it as liberating. Student Benny said:

> *The school uniform in this school provides us with chances to create alternatives, which is liberating.*

Student Carl argued:

> *Many want to come to my school because they think there is freedom in the school. But we are not talking about absolute freedom, instead there is a limit in the freedom and we have to learn to be self control not to exceed the base line.*

Student Cherine followed:

> *The school gives us freedom to choose what to wear. We have the responsibility to dress well and in appropriate way. We have to impress people that we are the students of this school and we have to respect the school. Respect is the underlying idea. In this school we are really encouraged to think and decide.*

This positive effect of the school uniform is further confirmed by the willingness of students to wear the uniform even in weekends and students take it as a sense of pride.

Whilst we have been talking about the decisions over school rules and dress code, we should be aware of the related splits of opinion. Some teachers for instance prefer stricter control because they believe that poor motivation of study and impolite attitudes of some students are related to the lack of discipline. That teachers may not feel comfortable with students' empowerment, as it may be seen as threatening, actually is reported in the literature (Ray, 2008). This is another issue worthy of further research.

Conclusions

It is reasonable to conclude that there are plenty of evidences that support the presence of participatory citizenship in School A. Although the results of this study cannot be generalized because they have been based on purposive sample of a school with a special mission, the findings are helpful in understanding how school could become a crucible for democracy by providing politically empowering opportunities to students so as to cultivate them to be actively participating 'here and

now' citizens in the school community. Guided by the school's civic mission and supported by civic-minded leaders and teachers, the students in our study are encouraged to voice their opinions, take part in dialogues, and engage in various kinds of school activities including decision-making. An atmosphere of mutual respect, fairness, willingness to listen and openness to changes, which was crucial to participation, has been in place. Important social capital comprising 'responsibility' and 'trust' (Putnam, 1995) is also developing in the school. The school ethos identified is consistent with the democratic school climate (Vieno *et al,* 2005), and is significant in the development of the sense of belonging and identity, which are core to the enhancement of active citizenship. Viewed from a broadened conception of politics and citizenship, it is reasonable to conclude that the school is a political community where the students are participating as active 'here and now citizens'. Based on the work of Foucault on governmentality, Raby (2008) argued that by opening opportunities for student involvement, new possibilities for school organization may develop. How the involvement of students in decision making in School A can affect the school organization is an issue for further examination.

However, though the students perceived that the school has done a lot to help them become participatory citizens, and there is evidence that they are active citizens in the broadened sense, some do not think that they themselves are active citizens. This phenomenon may be attributed to the fact that the students may be viewing citizenship in a narrow constitutional sense, and evaluate themselves according to this yardstick, making them feel like 'limbo citizens'. Therefore, it is argued that though the school has functioned as a 'crucible of democracy' in a broadened understanding of citizenship, it still encounters difficulties in cultivating active citizens in the constitutional sense. The difficulties in transfer of active citizenship from the school community to the larger community are another issue for further research.

Two crucial factors for success are identified: (1) distinct school civic missions, and (2) dedicated civic-minded school leaders and teachers with open minds ready for changes. Besides, three facilitating factors are also evident: (1) a small school size and a small population of teachers and students (that facilitate the building of a strong sense of community); (2) flexibility in school administration (that invites students' participation while the school is not yet institutionalized); and (3) the absence of pressure of external examinations (since public examination is still far off).

However, with the ending of the 'honeymoon year' (first year of operation) important changes are impending. The school will move to a bigger campus, recruit more students and teachers, become more institutionalized whilst external examination is nearing. These may significantly alter the landscape against which the crucible of democracy was grounded. Whether the school can sustain what they have achieved and continue on its trajectory to build up participatory citizenship in the new landscape is outside the scope of the present study. It however will certainly be another topic worthy of exploring

Correspondence: YAN WING LEUNG AND TIMOTHY WAI WA YUEN, Department of Educational Policy and Administration, Hong Kong Institute of Education. Email: ywleung@ied.edu.hk and tyuen@ied.edu.hk

NOTES

[1]   Direct Subsidy Scheme is an attempt made by the government of Hong Kong to develop a vibrant private sector in school education through creating a sort of semi-private schools. The scheme first came around in 1990's. The scheme allows participating schools to draw funds both from tuition fees and government subsidy on the one hand, and promises greater freedom in school operation on the other.

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

(Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia on 2 September, 2006 at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/June_4th_Event)

REFERENCES

BROWNHILL, R. & SMART, P. (1989) Political Education. London: Routledge.

DAVIES, I., FÜLÖP, M., HUTCHINGS, M. & ROSS, A. (2001) Enterprising citizens? Perceptions of citizenship education and enterprise education in England and Hungary. Educational Review, 53, 3, 261–269

DELANTY, G. (2000). Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics. Buckingham: Open Uni. Press.

DOBOZY, E. (2007). Effective learning of civic skills: democratic schools succeed in nurturing the critical capacities of students. Educational Studies, 33, 2, 115–128.

EURYDICE EUROPEAN UNIT (2005). Citizenship education at school in Europe. Brussels: Eurydice

FINKEL, S. E. & ERNST, H.R. (2005). Civic education in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Alternative paths to the development of political knowledge and democratic values. Political Psychology, 26, 3, 333-364.

FLANAGAN, C. & GALLAY, L.S. (1995). Reframing the meaning of 'political' in research with adolescents. Perspectives on Political Science. 24, 1, 34-41.

HEATER, D. (1990) Citizenship: Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education. London: Longman.

KERR, D., LOPES, J., NELSON, J., WHITE, K., CLEAVER, E. & BENTON, T. (2007). VISION versus PRAGMATISM: Citizenship in the Secondary School Curriculum in England. Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study: Fifth Annual Report (DfES Research Report 845). London: DfES

LOCKYER, A. (2003). The political status of children and young people. In Lockyer, A., Crick, B. and Annette, J. (2003) (eds). Education for Democratic Citizenship. Aldershot: Ashgate.

LEUNG, Y.W. (2003) Citizenship education through service learning: from charity to social justice. Educational Journal, 31, 1, 95- 117.

MCQUILLAN, P.J. (2005). Possibilities and pitfalls: A comparative analysis of students' empowerment. American Educational Research Journal, 42, 4, 639-670.

MORRIS, P. (1990). Curriculum Development in Hong Kong. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong.

MORRIS, P. & COGAN, J. J. (2001). A comparative overview: civic education across six societies, International Journal of Educational Research, 35, 1, 109-123.

MORRIS, P., KAN F., & MORRIS, E. (2001). Education, civic participation and identity: Continuity and change in Hong Kong. In Bray, M. & Lee, W.O., (Eds.), Education and political transition: Themes and experiences in East Asia. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong.

MORRIS, P. & MORRIS, E. (1999). Civic education in Hong Kong: From depoliticization to Chinese values. The International Journal of Social Education, 14, 1, 1-18.

MORRIS, P. & SWEETING, A. (1991). Education and politics: The case of Hong Kong from an historical perspective. Oxford Review of Education, 17, 3, 249-267.

NAVAL, C., PRINT, M. & VELDHUIS, R. (2002). Education for democratic citizenship in the new Europe: Context and reform. European Journal of Education, 37, 2, 107-128.

NEMEROW, L. G. (1996). Do classroom games improve motivation and learning? Teaching and Change, 3, 4, 356-366.

NIEMI, R.G. & JUNN, J. (1998). Civic education: what makes students learn? New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

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. (2005). Changing citizenship: Democracy and inclusion in education. Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.

OSLER, A & STARKEY, H. (2006). Education for democratic citizenship: a review of research, policy and practice 1995-2005, 21, 4, 433-466.

PORTER, A. (Ed) (1993). Teaching political literacy: Implications for teacher training and curriculum planning. Bedford Way Paper, London: Institute of Education, London University.

PRINT, M. (1999). Strategies for teaching civics and civil society. In M. Print, J. E. Brown & A. R. Baginda (Eds.), Civic education for civil society, 81 - 98. London: ASEAN Academic Press.

PRINT, M., ORNSTROM, S & NIELSEN, H. (2002). Education for democratic processes in schools and classrooms: The case of Denmark. European Journal of Education, 37, 2, 193-210.

PUTNAM, R. (1995) Bowling alone: America's declining social capital, Journal of Democracy, 6, 1, 65–78.

RABY, R. (2008). Frustrated, resigned, outspoken: Students engagement with school rule and some implication for participatory citizenship. International Journal of Children's Rights. 2008, 16, 77-98.

RABY, R. (2005). Polite, well-dressed and on time: Secondary school conduct codes and the production of docile citizens. Canadian review of Sociology and Anthropology, 42, 1, 71-92.

ROCHE, J. (1999). Children: rights, participation and citizenship. Childhood, 6, 4, 475-493.

RUDDOCK, J., & FLUTTER, J. Pupil Participation and Pupil Perspective: 'Carving a New Order of Experience', Cambridge Journal of Education, 2000, 30, 1, 75-89.

STORRIE, T. (1997). Citizens or what? in J. Roche and S. Tucker (eds.), Youth in Society London: SAGE Publications.

TAYLOR, M. & PERCY-SMITH, B. (2008). Children's participation: Learning from and for community development. International Journal of Children's Rights. 2008, 16, 379-394.

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 Educational Achievement.

VERHELLEN, E. (2000). Children's rights and education. In A. Osler (Ed) Citizenship and democracy in schools: diversity, identity, equality. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.

VIENO, A, PERKINS, D.D., SMITH, T.M., & SANTELINO, M. (2005). Democratic school climate and sense of community in school: Multilevels analysis. American Journal of Community Psychology, 36, 3&4, 327-341.

Educating for Citizenship: Some Lessons from England 2008

STEPHEN GORARD, BENG HUAT SEE and ROBINA SHAHEEN, *School of Education, University of Birmingham*

ABSTRACT *This paper stems from a study of 45 secondary schools and colleges in England during 2007/08. Using documentary analysis, interviews with staff, students and parents, surveys of staff and students, and official statistics, we look at a number of potential outcomes related to citizenship. These include voting behaviour, charity work, and preparation for later life. In contrast to standard school effectiveness and improvement studies, we find that student/family background and institution-levels factors are relatively minor determinants of citizenship outcomes. If accepted this suggests that improvements here can come easier than in more traditional school outcomes, since they appear to be more sensitive to teacher and students experiences. In particular, we propose further investigation of the promise of student autonomy, staff prioritisation of raising their students' aspirations, and mutual respect between all actors in education.*

Introduction

In England, the Every Child Matters agenda, emerging from the Children Act of 2004 - http://www.everychildmatters.gov.uk/participation/ - proposes a number of outcomes for all students, including being healthy and safe, making a positive contribution to society, and achieving economic well-being. The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA, as it was then) has introduced the 14-19 Reform Programme in September 2008. Among its objectives is the preparation of confident and responsible citizens. At time of writing the government has also recently backed laws making it a requirement for schools to consult pupils on every aspect of their education from teaching to uniform (Stewart 2008). School governing bodies must 'invite and consider pupil's views'. Several teacher organisations have objected, claiming that consultation works where it is done because it is appropriate not because it is legally enforced. However, the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child – http://www.therightssite.org.uk – has been ratified in the UK since 1991, and makes clear that children have the right to say what they think should happen when adults are making decisions affecting them. And this applies to schools and colleges as well as to families and wider society.

One of the ways that legislation and government guidance has envisaged these rights for children being embodied is through elected schools councils. The National Curriculum for personal, social and health education (PSHE) and for Citizenship refers to school councils as central to a school-wide approach - http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk. The Every Child Matters legislation in England suggests the percentage of children participating in election of school council representative as an important indicator of success. The councils are now,

reportedly, consulted during statutory inspections, and are used as an outlet for feeding back the results of inspection to all students - http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/.

It is not sufficient that children have rights as students. They must know what these rights are, and be encouraged by their teachers to use them (Dobozy 2007). And small-scale studies suggest that citizenship has to be fully integrated into the working of the school (as opposed to treated as merely a curriculum subject) if children are to become aware of these rights, and the responsibilities that accompany them (Cowell et al. 2008). There is a reasonable body of evidence to suggest that school and experience at school, as well as family background, is related to the formation of social attitudes and participation in civic activities (Gorard and Smith 2009, Paterson 2009). This paper investigates that relationship further, presenting a snapshot position of citizenship preparation (and related outcomes) for the year 2007/08. Here, we focus primarily on the reports and experiences of students in the 14-19 age range, comparing these across types of educational provision and experiences at school/college.

Methods

Our sample of 45 institutions involved in the delivery of education and training for 14 to 19 year old students included 11-16, 11-18, and 13-18 schools, independent schools, special projects linked to pupil referral units, and general, specialist and sixth-form FE colleges. The sample represents the range and frequency of educational institutions in England in terms of size, intake, outcomes, denomination, and subject specialism (from Edubase, and PLASC/NPD – for a fuller discussion of these official datasets, see Gorard and See 2009). Locations varied from metropolitan to rural hamlets, and from economically privileged to some of the most deprived wards in England. For each institution we have assembled a linked dataset consisting of:

- School/college and student-level records from Edubase, the National Pupil Database (NPD), and the Pupil-level Annual Schools Census (PLASC);
- Documentary evidence provided by each institution about their aims and objectives, visions for the future, staffing and workload. From this we analysed the number and range of courses on offer in each institution.
- A survey with a 76% response rate of all year 11 students (2,700) and 50% of year 12 students (2,200) asking about the process of choosing courses, preference for styles of teaching, and enjoyment of education;
- A survey with a 20% response rate of all staff on roll (1,130) asking about their development, workload, future priorities, and styles of teaching delivery;
- Interviews with 228 teaching staff, managers, and governors concerning the curriculum, teaching and learning, developments in collaboration, and future plans;
- Telephone and group interviews with 67 parents or carers, in addition to parent governors, concerning the experiences of their child;
- Individual and group interviews with 798 year 11 and 12 students (including 98 with learning needs or disabilities, and 82 disaffected or disengaged) discussing opportunities to learn, support to make choices, their experience of teaching and learning, and what was important to them in coming to school or college.
- We also have comments stemming from the surveys, additional data on student destinations from some institutions, field notes and observations.

The analysis in this paper is largely based on a combined numeric data file using the individual responses to the survey of 4,900 students, the characteristics of their institutions – including student mix and course entry patterns - an estimate of the number of curriculum areas offered, and school-level summaries (means, or percentages above a threshold level) of responses to the staff survey.

Seven of the student survey variables have been selected as potential outcomes, relevant to citizenship and/or well-being. These are whether the student is:

- Prepared for world of work
- Prepared for future relationships
- Prepared to handle my own money
- Prepared to handle my own health
- Volunteered to help charity or local organisation
- Voted in school/college elections
- Would vote in election this week

These are each treated as the dependent variable, in turn, in a series of binary logistic regression analyses, with the other variables outlined above used as potential explanatory variables. The explanatory variables are entered in stages (phases, or levels). First the individual student background characteristics, such as sex. Then the institution-level characteristics, such as curriculum offer and staff responses, and finally the individual student responses to other survey items about educational experiences. At each stage, the addition of new variables can only explain variation in the outcomes that is left unexplained by the previous stage. The stages are selected for several reasons. Perhaps most importantly they represent a kind of biographical order from birth characteristics to decisions about what to do at age 16. Placing the institution-level variables before the individual student experience ones also allows the greatest possible role for the influence of institutions on student outcomes (although each model has been run in several orders and the same substantive conclusions emerge each time). And the order minimises the possibility of latent tautology in the individual student experience responses. The base level for each model simply reflects the distribution of responses to the outcome variable (50% means that 50% of students agreed for example). Where the base level is nearer 100%, there is too little variation for logistic regression to work well. It is from the base level that the explanatory variables can be used to create a better explanation of student outcomes. Thus, the variation explained at each stage is:

(Percentage predicted correctly-(100-base))/(100-base)

Variance unexplained (100-percentage predicted correctly) could be due to a variety of factors including model mis-specification or transcription and recording errors. The most likely causes of unexplained variance are missing variables (we can only use what we have, and this omits factors such as motivation and special needs), and the inherent unpredictability of individuals (we would not expect to explain 100% of the variation in any outcomes).

At each stage, new variables are entered into the model, and then removed in backward stepwise fashion using the likelihood ratio. Thus, some variables are not used in each model, as they contribute nothing to the outcome, and some variables are not used in any model. Each explanatory variable that is retained has a calculated coefficient that gives an idea of its relative importance to the model. The coefficient is like an odds for one category compared to another (so that 0.5 for sex might mean that males were only half as likely *ceteris paribus* to have the specified outcome).

Alternatively, the coefficient for a real number variable is a multiplier (so that 0.9 for institution-level FSM might mean that the specified outcome is only 0.9 times as likely for every percentage of school intake eligible for free school meals). The precise figures are not key here (there are too many compromises in the data, and the model is best fit *a posteriori* only), but their relative importance and the direction of 'influence' could be an important clue to the determinants of outcomes. The focus below is on those variables that appear repeatedly and in a stable manner in the models, in the belief that such a meta-view is less likely to be misled by spurious correlations (or similar).

A summary of findings

Seven possible self-reported outcomes relevant to the preparation of citizens appear in Figure 1. The responses from years 11 and 12 are very similar, and will be treated together in much of what follows. Some of the scores, for citizenship participation, are quite low, whereas some, for preparedness for the future, are surprisingly high. The figures for participation in a school election are slightly lower than those reported to OFSTED (2007) by younger children ranging from year 6 to year 10, of whom 43% voted in one school year. The figures for charity assistance are much lower here than in the OFSTED study which found 65% had helped raise money for charity in one school year. Part of the difference could be age, in that primary schools may be more active in charity collections involving all students. But most of the difference could be that the OFSTED focus was on what took place at school, whereas our focus was on out-of-school activities (voluntary).

Figure 1: Percentage of students agreeing with each statement

	Year 11	Year 12
Prepared for world of work	58	62
Prepared for future relationships	67	71
Prepared to handle my own money	70	71
Prepared to handle my own health	78	79
Volunteered to help charity or local organisation	25	30
Voted in school/college elections	38	35
Would vote in election this week	44	46

Source: student surveys   *N=2700*   *N=2200*

Overall, 92% of staff report making the development of good citizens a priority. Schools and colleges in which more staff report their priority to be developing citizenship actually have students less likely to participate in the activities in Figure 1. One possible interpretation of this result, and others like it, is that staff priorities are set by a hierarchy of concerns, with priority going to areas of weakness rather than immediately leading to areas of strength. This would have implications for our consideration of the staff interviews, where we are generally unable to relate the reported staff actions and priorities to the actual experience of the students. Where we are able to compare, a similar pattern (of reverse correlation) emerges.

There is insufficient space here to provide detailed results of the regression analyses and from the interviews for each of the seven outcomes in Figure 1.

Anyway, the outcomes form two clusters of very similar patterns. Here we present results for one of the preparedness outcomes, and one of the civic participation outcomes.

Possible determinants of citizenship participation

Which students vote in school/college elections is used as an illustration of the more general pattern of citizenship participation (Figure 2). The model is reasonably strong, explaining around 50% of the remaining variation. All three stages/levels help to explain variation in responses.

Figure 2: Accuracy of model for "voted in school elections"

Stage/Level	Percentage explained
Background	12
School/College	20
Individual responses	47

N=4900 for this and all subsequent figures

The first stage is the student background. Girls and students from professional families are more likely to report voting in school/college elections (Figure 3). We should not read too much into the boy/girl difference since the vagaries of sampling and consent mean that the single-sex girl schools are very different in type to the boys schools, and this may account for some of this difference. What is of more interest perhaps is the lack of association with so many other background variables, such as poverty, ethnicity, language, in-migration and so on (see discussion).

Figure 3: Individual background variables in model for "voted in school elections"

Variable	Odds
Sex (female)	1.40
Mother professional)	1.23
Father professional)	1.25

Note: the coefficients or odds would appear as Exp(B) in the model. For example, a female student in our cases is 1.4 times as likely to report voting as a male.

The second stage is the institution context and the reports from staff. Cases in cities and with high proportions of students eligible for free school meals, an indicator of poverty, report less citizenship participation here. More interestingly, students in institutions where staff report prioritising citizenship are also less likely to vote in elections. The sequence is obscure. It is possible that staff feel that they have to prioritise in areas where their own students might be weaker. Certainly there is a positive association between staff reportedly trying to raise student aspirations and reported voting behaviour.

Figure 4 – School/College variables in model for "voted in school elections"

Variable	Odds
Urban location	0.56
FSM institution (%)	0.82
Staff priority to improving own skills (%)	0.90
Staff priority to developing citizens (%)	0.61
Staff priority to increase HE (%)	0.63
Staff priority to raising aspirations (%)	1.56

The final stage of the model involves student reports of their school/college experiences. Students are more likely to vote in elections where they receive individual attention from staff, experience autonomy in learning and have contact with students on other programmes or via work experience (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Individual response variables in model for "voted in school elections"

Variable	Odds
Learn also in work environment	1.28
Can work at own pace	1.20
Enough individual attention	1.23
Contact with other students	1.32
Small classes	1.17
Teachers for specialist subjects	1.19
Employment guidance	1.28

A number of institutions use accreditation awards that make civic and community engagement part of assessed curricula such as ASDAN, or encourage involvement in other schemes like the Duke of Edinburgh's Award. More commonly, schools and colleges have introduced various mechanisms for developing students' capacity to express their own views and engage in decision-making, such as student councils, representation on governing bodies, and student surveys to inform organisational planning and processes. But citizenship in action, as exemplified in interactions between students and staff, may be as important as formal pedagogy and principles for the development of citizenship behaviour, such as voting and public service. Our student accounts suggest some differences could be based on a feeling of being treated more as a young adult in some institutions – notably colleges and independent schools – and in year 12.

For example, a student in a comprehensive school says:

> *Some teachers don't respect you and wonder why you cause so much trouble… The teachers say we want respect from you but they don't normally show it to us. They're the teacher they're always right, we're the kid and we don't know what we are going on about.*

Whereas, a year 12 student in an Academy says:

It's not intimidating because people are actually here to learn. When we were at school people just wanted to leave and get it over and done with.

And a student in a specialist FE college says:

Everyone in my [old] school wants to quit sixth form, loads of them are coming here as well. Cos they've heard such good things about it; and no-one likes the… like, the teachers at 6th form, and it's more laid back here… the teachers are more sort of friendly, do you know what I mean?

Another in a more general FE college says:

Teachers are much, they respect you more, talk to you like, not like you're a little kid, treat you with a bit of respect, give you a bit of leeway if you're like that with them, if you do what they do, they'll be alright with you.

Possible determinants of preparedness for future life

Figure 6 looks at the model for those students reportedly prepared for the world of work. Very little of the variation in responses to questions about preparedness for work, health, relationships, or handling money is explicable by student background or institution-level factors. The only variables that seem to matter are those relating to individual experiences of education. Nevertheless, the model here is a good one explaining 50% of the variation.

Figure 6 – Accuracy of model for "prepared for world of work"

	Percentage explained
Background	3
School/College	7
Individual responses	49

It is only the coefficients for student experience (the third stage) that contribute much to this model (Figure 7). There is some similarity to the determinants of civic participation (Figure 5 above). Students already involved in learning delivered at work, and those given good employment guidance, report being more prepared for the world of work – possibly because their exposure demonstrates the demands of work or because different kinds of students are currently learning at work. Students also feel better prepared when they have had enough chance to discuss issues in small enough groups. It is possible, of course, that factors such as these are a disguised intake effect such that schools with smaller classes are different in kind and in student intake from those with large classes. That is one reason why the models are run in three stages. The results in Figure 7 are presented after accounting for student background and institutional variables. This strengthens the claim that their explanatory power is independent of the earlier stages. What does it all mean?

Figure 7 – Individual response variables in model for "prepared for world of work"

Variable	Odds
Learn also in work environment	1.47
Employment guidance	1.52
Enough small classes	1.27
Enough chance to discuss in class	1.35

Discussion

Given the range of material and sources available for analysis here, perhaps the most remarkable finding is how few of these are related to variables representing the outcomes. Of course, there may be important explanatory variables that are not included in the material available to us, and the variables that are available may be incomplete, indirect measures, or poorly specified. Nevertheless, some of the variables lacking association with any outcomes, as assessed by these means, are worthy of note.

We are used to patterns of participation and attainment in education being heavily stratified by student background factors such as prior attainment, sex, ethnicity and parental occupation. In standard school effectiveness studies, around 80% of the difference between institutions is attributed to the nature of the student intake. But here the outcomes where students reported having enough say in their own learning, and being prepared to handle their own money, health, and future relationships, were all unrelated to student background, and to the different types of institutions students attend. In traditional terms we could say that there is no 'school effect' on these outcomes. Looked at the other way, the factors which are largely unrelated to *any* outcomes include the country of origin of the student, their prior attainment scores, the overall school results of the students' institution, its (numeric) range of curriculum offer, ethnic mix, denomination, economic region, and local index of deprivation. Other factors unrelated to the outcomes are the institution-level views of staff relating to the introduction of new qualifications, their encouragement of vocational routes, their style and activities of teaching, sources of stress, barriers to partnerships, and their reported prioritisation of exam results.

These negative findings are all in sharp contrast to standard 'school effectiveness' studies focusing only on attainment as an outcome, which invariably find prior attainment and student background to be key predictors (e.g. Gorard 2009). If these new findings are accepted as reasonable, then they illustrate again how much more there is to 14-19 education than exam-based attainment, and they suggest that improvements in citizenship education do not need to overcome all of the stratified barriers that more narrowly focused 'school improvement' faces.

More in line with decades of research in the sociology of education, the occupation of each student's mother and father generally had a consistent but sometimes weak relationship with several outcome variables. Professional and managerial parents were associated with greater student aspiration for professional occupations, preparedness for work, participation in charity, and past and future participation in elections. Given this, what does the study suggest might be being done to encourage students from other backgrounds?

Insofar as a potential lever is identifiable from the staff views it must be that encouraging staff to see themselves as developing their students' aspirations may

have direct positive benefits for students, and more directly than a focus on specific issues of attainment, equity and participation.

Several small groups of student-reported experiences are repeatedly associated with positive outcomes. As such, these robust links are worth further consideration, even though their causal models are unclear. One of these is guidance - about future employment or future learning opportunities. Those students reporting good guidance report being better prepared for their futures in terms of handling their health, personal relationships and money, and in terms of the future world of work. Guidance is also positively related to students being encouraged to want to learn more, education being about important experiences, and to preparation for citizenship. Of course, these results could be partly hidden intake effects, and the confidence that students portray over money and health might be illusory. However, it is difficult to imagine how else outcomes such as these could be assessed other than by self-report. There is at least a *prime facie* institution that guidance is useful and makes a difference even when student intake and institution-level factors are accounted for.

Another area of possible interest is the experience of students learning off-site. Here, however, the results are not as clear and this may be a disguised intake 'effect'. Students involved in learning delivered at work report being more prepared for the world of work. This could be as much a consequence of who chooses (or is chosen) to have learning delivered off-site as a consequence of that learning itself. But for some students the importance of learning off-site is clear both for students and adults:

> *We find that, it never ceases to amaze me, they are completely different creatures down at xxx. I've heard, I think, one young lady, she came from yyy and apparently from all accounts, she was a bit of a horror, you know, and she's absolutely perfect at xxx. She behaves herself. She does as she's asked. And when you ask her why, she says it's the way she's spoken to. She feels that sometimes teachers don't speak to her with the respect that she deserves.*

> *We have a young man from zzz. Apparently he's autistic, apparently we've been told that he can't read and can't write. Within two sessions at xxx, he was reading to us off a fire extinguisher because he was doing his health and safety. So, you know, there are no barriers.*

There were several reports of the greater respect experienced between staff and learners in FE colleges and workplaces:

> *Teachers are much, they respect you more, talk to you like, not like you're a little kid, treat you with a bit of respect, give you a bit of leeway if you're like that with them, if you do what they do, they'll be alright with you. They won't talk to like a little child or look down at you or anything, so that's cushedy.*

A third cluster of student experiences could be described in terms of the quality and variety of learning delivery. Having enough chances for discussion, learning in small groups, and variation in lesson delivery (including practical work and field trips) are positively related to being prepared for the world of work, for handling health issues,

and the importance of experiences at school. Students find lessons interesting, enjoy education more generally, and report having enough of a say in their own education, when the classes are small, they can discuss their ideas in class, the teachers are appropriately specialist, and there is variation in delivery and activity. The same kinds of students are more likely to vote in school elections. The same kinds of outcomes are also positively associated with students reporting contact with students on other courses or programmes (which might refer to social or pastoral activities, or to vertical organisations such as houses and competitions, or simply a small institution). These students are also more likely to continue in education. One reason could be that they become aware of the range of possibilities open to them.

A final small group of student experiences concerns autonomy. Being encouraged by teachers to make up their own minds (being treated like adults), and being allowed to work at their own pace are related to students wanting to learn, finding lessons interesting, enjoying education more generally, and a willingness to vote.

There is, of course, the danger of a form of tautology in some of these associations with student experiences since the 'outcomes' are themselves rather like reports of student experiences. However, it should be recalled that these few variables explain/predict the clear majority of the variance that is explicable in most outcomes. Unlike standard school effectiveness research where background/intake explains most of the variation in test scores and school-level data a lot of the remainder, this study places most of the variance in a wider set of outcomes at the individual student experience and teacher/classroom level. Our findings suggest that the type of institution a student attends has less to do with these other outcomes than previous research might indicate. What appears to matter slightly more are mixed student intakes in schools and colleges, opportunities for young people to have contact with each other even when on different programmes in the same institution, and a variety of educational experiences through partnership delivery. This mixing between, within and across institutions is positively related to occupational aspirations, plans for participation, and confident and responsible citizenship – whatever the student's own background.

Correspondence: STEPHEN GORARD, BENG HUAT SEE AND ROBINA SHAHEEN, The School of Education, University of Birmingham. Email: s.gorard@bham.ac.uk

REFERENCES

COWELL, K, HOWE, B. & MCNEIL, J. (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

DOBOZY, E. (2007) Effective learning of civic skills: democratic schools succeed in nurturing the critical capabilities of students, Educational Studies, 33, 2, 115-128

GORARD, S. (2009) What are Academies the answer to? Journal of Education Policy, 24, 1, 1-13

GORARD, S. & SEE, BH. (2009) The impact of SES on participation and attainment in science, Studies in Science Education, (forthcoming March 2009)

GORARD, S. & SMITH, E. (2008) The impact of school experiences on students' sense of justice: an international study of student voice, *Orbis Scholae*, 2, 2, 87-105

OFSTED (2007) Ofsted TellUs2 Survey Summary and Technical Manual, http://www.ttrb.ac.uk/viewArticle2.aspx?contentId=14193, accessed 7/1/09

PATERSON, L. (2009) Civic values and the subject matter of educational courses, Oxford Review of Education, 35, 1, 81-98

STEWART, W. (2008) Pupil voice to become law, Times Educational Supplement, 14th November, p.1

A Hyphenated Identity: Fostering National Unity Through Education in Malaysia and Singapore

ROSNANI HASHIM, Institute of Education, International Islamic University, Malaysia, and CHARLENE TAN, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

ABSTRACT *Among plural societies, Malaysia and Singapore are two countries in Southeast Asia that face the challenges of ethnic diversity since their independence from British colonial rule. This paper offers a comparative study on Malaysia and Singapore in their governments' attempts to foster national unity through education. While both the governments adopt cultural pluralism, they have different approaches in the management of ethnic groups. The Malaysian government chooses to promote ethnic Malay interests through affirmative action policies in education, while the Singapore government professes to treat all the ethnic groups equally and claims that social mobility is determined by meritocracy. This paper focuses on the concept of 'ethnic-national hyphenated identity' and discusses the curricular challenges common to Malaysia and Singapore. It argues that efforts are needed to encourage the students to possess a greater sense of ethnic understanding and appreciation, coupled with a greater emphasis on critical inquiry and deliberation of ethnic issues in the curriculum.*

Introduction

Ethnic diversity has always posed a challenge to national identity and unity in plural societies. The quest of each ethnic group to maintain its culture, religion and language may conflict with the central government's efforts in nation-building and integration. Tensions among the ethnic groups may also result from national issues such as the distribution of economic wealth and social services, and decisions regarding the national and official languages, political supremacy and cultural interests. The diversity of culture, religion and language, especially when any of these variables is used to provide special privileges to some groups and deny others equal opportunities to participate, may create ethnic inequality and ethnic polarisation, leading to contentions, instability, and upheaval (Hashim, 2005). Among the plural societies, Malaysia and Singapore are two countries in Southeast Asia that face the challenges of ethnic diversity since their independence from British colonial rule.

Malaysia, comprising Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak, is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country of approximately 22.04 million with a predominantly Muslim population. Historically, Malaya was ruled by Malay Sultans since the founding of

the Sultanate of Malacca in the fifteenth century. It was gradually colonised by the British since 1786. Malaya attained its independence in 1957 and became known as the Federation of Malaya. Malaysia was formed in 1963 through the political merger of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak. However, due to political differences, Singapore separated and became a sovereign state in 1965. The population of Malaysia consisted of 65.9% bumiputras (Malay and other indigenous groups such as the Kadazan and Iban), 25.3% Chinese, 7.5% Indians and 1.3 % of other origin (Economic Planning Unit, 2006). The Malays are Muslims, the Indians are mainly Hindus or Sikhs, and the Chinese are primarily Buddhists or Taoists. There are also a small percentage of Indians and Chinese who are either Christians or Muslims. Malay language is the national language and Islam is the official religion. However, the Constitution guarantees religious freedom for adherents of other faiths and upholds the autonomy of the state governments in matters relating to Islam and Malay customs.

Singapore shares a close historical tie with Malaysia as it was part of the Malaysia Federation. Singapore was founded as a British trading post and colony in 1819 and was granted self-government in 1959. After a short-lived union with Malaysia in 1963, it was separated to become a sovereign state in 1965. With over 4.2 million people, Singapore comprises 76.8% Chinese, 13.9% Malay, 7.9% Indian and 1.4% Others. A majority of the population are Buddhists (42.5%), followed by Muslims (14.9%), Christians (14.6%), Taoists (8.5%) and Hindus (4.0%) (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2000). Like Malaysia, religious identity in Singapore is closely linked to ethnic identity. 64.4 % of Chinese are either Buddhists or Taoists, 99.6 % of Malays are Muslims, 55.4 % of Indians are Hindus, and about half of 'Others' are Christians. While Malay is designated as the national language, Malay, Mandarin (Putonghua) and Tamil are recognised as official languages, and English is given the status of lingua franca. There is no official religion as the government affirms religious freedom under a secular state.

This paper offers a comparative study on Malaysia and Singapore in their governments' attempts to foster national unity through education. These two countries are chosen as both are multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-lingual nation-states with Muslim population. Both share a common past and close cultural ties, and rely on education as a vehicle to create and sustain a national identity. They both serve as a case-in-point demonstrating how despite the adoption of two opposing strategies in education for nation building, they yield almost similar outcomes with respect to national unity and economic disparity. The paper begins by explaining how the governments of Malaysia and Singapore adopt cultural pluralism by championing a 'hyphenated identity' for their citizens based on ethnicity and nationality. It then discusses the governments' attempts to promote this ethnic-national identity through the school curriculum, and the challenges that result from the state effort [1].

A Hyphenated Identity in Malaysia and Singapore

The concept of 'ethnic-national hyphenated identity' is located within the framework of cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism is a major approach towards nation building in multicultural nations. Adopted in Malaysia and Singapore, it is also known as the 'mosaic model' and is committed to one nation, many peoples and many cultures (Hill and Lian, 1995). In cultural pluralism, "members of the diverse groups are permitted to retain many of their cultural ways, as long as they conform to those practices deemed necessary for the survival of the society as a whole"

(Bennett, 1995:86). It involves a process of seeking compromises characterised by mutual appreciation and respect between two or more ethnic groups (Sills, 1968). Ethnicity plays a key role in the formation of a national identity in cultural pluralism; Hill and Lian (1995:95) describe such a national identity as "a hyphenated identity (ethnic-national)". This hyphenated identity means that both the governments strive to foster national unity by instilling a common national identity that is based on ethnic diversity. The classification of citizens according to ethnicity is a legacy of the British rule in both Malaysia and Singapore (Ganuly, 1997; Hefner, 2001). After independence, the local governments in Malaysia and Singapore continued the linkage between nationality and ethnicity. The Malaysian government aims to inculcate a sense of Malaysian-ness and patriotism that is explicitly based on ethnic stratification (Brown, 2007). Likewise in Singapore, Chua notes that "[t]he presence of the three 'homogenised' Asian races enables the government and the people to claim Singapore to be a cultural space that is constituted by the intersections of, respectively, the Chinese-Confucian, Indic and Malay-Islamic cultures" (Chua, 2005:184). Unifying the various ethnic groups is a set of principles or values privileged by the government. In Malaysia, the national identity is enshrined in the country's national ideology, called Rukunegara (pillars of the nation) that upholds five principles of belief in God; loyalty to King and Country; supremacy of the Constitution; primacy of the Rule of Law; and the importance of good behaviour and morality. In Singapore, a set of secular shared values (known as 'Our Shared Values') is promoted by the government in Singapore: nation before community and society before self; community support and respect for the individual; the family as the basic unit of society; consensus in place of conflict; and racial and religious harmony.

While both the governments share the principle of cultural pluralism through promoting an ethnic-national identity, they differ in their management of different ethnic groups. In Malaysia, the government advocates ethnic preference for the bumiputras and practises ethnically based affirmative action policies. Education is used to promote "Malay cultural, political, and economic hegemony while also endorsing multiculturalism and tolerance for the nation's Chinese and Indian 'minorities'" (Lincicome, 2005:199). The Malaysian government argues that preferential policies for the economically disadvantaged but numerically dominant Malays are a necessary component of the nation-building project (Brown, 2007). It argues further that this is necessary to undo the discrimination the Malays had suffered educationally and economically due to the British colonial education policies. Furthermore, it is argued that the competition among the ethnic groups would not be fair if one ethnic group already had a head start. By contrast, the Singapore government forswears any programmes for ethnically based affirmative action and prefers multiracialism, defined as "the practice of cultural tolerance towards the various communities; acceptance of differences in religious practices, customs and traditions of the different communities; and according each community equality before the law and equal opportunity for advancement" (Hill and Lian, 1995:31). The principle of meritocracy has been constantly used by the government to advocate that social mobility comes solely from one's hard work, regardless of one's ethnicity or background. However, some scholars have argued that the state policies have directly or indirectly favoured the majority ethnic Chinese population in Singapore (Hill and Lian, 1995; Ganuly, 1997; Lincicome, 2005). Hefner (2001:41) posits that the shared values are not "ethnically invisible" but are "based on the government's long-standing and selective reinterpretation of Confucian values in a manner that emphasises loyalty to the state and capitalist self-discipline".

Both the governments in Malaysia and Singapore leverage on education to achieve the twin objectives of promoting a national identity shared by all citizens regardless of ethnicity, and reinforcing separate ethnic identities as ascribed by the state. Schools are seen as ideal agents by both governments for social reproduction and transmission. The values, cultures, heritages, knowledge and skills of the society are transmitted to the next generation through the education system. Consequently, the philosophy and curriculum of the school are shaped by the worldview of the society (Tyler, 1975). Similarly, the citizenship curriculum reflects the tensions and contentions within a particular society due to the diverse cultural, historical and religious traditions (Lee, 2006). The next section looks at how the governments in Malaysia and Singapore aim to foster a united citizenship by promoting an ethnic-national identity through the school curriculum.

Fostering National Unity through Education in Malaysia

The Malaysian government aims to foster national unity based on an ethnic-national identity through the curriculum, especially through civics, history, moral education, and Islamic education. Civics has been made a compulsory subject for all pupils from Standard IV to Form III for a period of 40 minutes in a week beginning in 1961. In the introduction to the syllabus, the Ministry stated its recognition of Malaysia as a plural society and the need to build a nation that is united. The unity aimed at was one that sprung from the spirit of cooperation and harmonious relations. The Civics syllabus revised in 1976 bore the themes of Rukunegara that was formulated in 1970 and aimed to achieve its goals. The objectives of Civics were to: (a) foster the spirit of patriotism, (b) inculcate an attitude of tolerance toward other races and groups, (c) develop independence and self-reliance, (d) develop a positive attitude towards change, and (e) to inculcate good character. Basically the content of the curriculum encompassed personal attitudes and responsibility, duties and rights of Malaysian citizens, the national identity, and the government. Among the attitudes desired were mutual respect, cleanliness, punctuality, independence or self-reliance, industry and respect for all kinds of honest work, sportsmanship, appropriate use of leisure time, respect and obedience to rules and the law. The syllabus reminded teachers of their role in maintaining harmonious relations between students of the various ethnic groups by being role models. However, Civics was discontinued when the government introduced Moral Education in 1983, as will be discussed later. But it was claimed by parents and Congress of Teachers Union that due to the omission of Civics, the younger generation does not seem to be civic conscious, responsible, relate well across different cultures and also does not display understanding of national issues. Consequently, it was restored into the curriculum in 2005.

In addition to civics education, the ideas of citizenship and patriotism are also propagated through the subject of history. In 1978 (KPM, 1978) the syllabus stated that the purposes of history were to understand the national identity through knowledge of the nation's history; to foster the spirit of togetherness toward the nation as a single unit; and to foster a common memory of history as a framework for national consciousness among Malaysian citizens. It looked at the Malaysian history from the Malaysian perspective, in contrast to the old syllabus that looked at it from the British perspective. With the introduction of the Integrated Curriculum for Secondary School (KBSM) in 1989, the subject was made compulsory for all students until the fifth year of secondary school and the number of periods was also increased from two to three. It is also evident that the new history curriculum (KPM,

2000) emphasises several historical themes: ethnic harmony, Malay rulers, and the importance of the concept of power sharing through the Barisan Nasional (BN), the ruling party, and its leadership in ensuring political stability.

   In line with the emphasis on ethnic diversity, Moral Education (ME) was introduced for non-Muslims (non-Malays) while Islamic Education (IE) was intended for Muslims (Malays). ME for the primary school was introduced simultaneously with the implementation of the New Curriculum for Primary Schools in 1983 out of concern for the deterioration of moral values and indiscipline among teenagers, especially school-going children. In addition, it was felt that there was a vacuum in moral instruction for non-Muslim pupils. A recent syllabus (KPM, 1998:2) stated that the goal of the ME subject is "producing individuals of high morals through inculcation, internalisation and practice of noble values upheld by the Malaysian society". Specifically, ME is to enable students to behave in accordance with their moral values; to be aware of, understand and internalise the norms and noble values of Malaysian society; to think rationally based on moral principles, to make rational, moral and ethical decisions; and to consistently observe sound moral principles. Twelve moral values - cleanliness, mercy, moderation, industry, gratitude, honesty, justice and fairness, love, respect, public-spiritedness, modesty, and freedom - based on the various religions, traditions and cultures of the Malaysian society and consonant with universal values, were taught in the primary schools. The curriculum is spiral and special emphasis is given to daily practices that could develop into good habits. It is taught for three periods a week in the secondary school with four additional values - courage, cooperation, self-reliance and rationality - to the twelve taught in the primary school. In 2000 the ME syllabus was revised and the primary school curriculum was reorganised around values related to five areas: (1) self-development; (2) self and family; (3) self and society; (4) self and the environment; and (5) self and country (Curriculum Development Centre, 1999). Values relating to country or citizenship include respect and obedience to the King, leaders and country; respect for rules and law; love for the country and peace and harmony.

   If ME is the space for inculcating the 16 universal values for the non-Muslim students, those same values and more are supposed to be inculcated in Islamic Education (IE) for Muslim students. In fact the IE curriculum had evolved from one that highlighted only the theoretical concept of religion in the 1960s and 1970s to a concept of religion as a practical way of life in the early 1980s. This focus on principles of faith, worship, moral values and Qur'anic literacy was evident from the Primary Islamic Education syllabus first published in 1972. The school climate then did not reinforce religious beliefs through practices, hence, the negligence of the five daily prayers. For the secondary school, the curriculum underlined the study of the fundamentals of Islam, the Holy Qur'an, the Prophetic Traditions (saying and practice), Islamic History, Law, and moral values. The curriculum was criticised by scholars and non-governmental organisations because it did not portray the true broad expanse of Islam encompassing its political, economic and social systems, lacked moral reasoning and was traditional in approach. The curriculum was reorganised for it to be consistent with the educational reforms of 1988 for secondary schools. IE (KPM, 1988) was expanded to focus on four strands, namely proper reading and comprehension of the Qur'an (Tilawat al-Qur'an); science of the Islamic law (shari'ah); worship (ibadah) and values; and Islamic history (sirah) and civilization (tamadun). As a result of this new understanding, it is commonplace to find either a prayer room or a prayer hall in every national school today.

As mentioned earlier, the Malaysian government's vision of a hyphenated identity is based on ethnic preference for the bumiputras. While the government uses the curriculum to forge a national identity through specific curricular subjects, it also introduced affirmative action policies in education to rectify the economic imbalance between bumiputras and non-bumiputras, and to preserve Malay interests. This is carried out on the basis that eradicating economic disparities between the bumiputras and other ethnic groups is essential for nation building (Brown, 2007). The use of the bumiputra's special rights for the first time in education was introduced after the May 13th 1969 racial crisis. The underlying cause of this event has to be understood from the grievances of the Malays who had not been given equal opportunity for higher education. Before 1969 all the institutes of higher education and the universities (University of Malaya and Universiti Sains Malaysia) had English as a medium of instruction. Historically, the Malays were a deprived group with respect to English education because of physical inaccessibility due to the urban location of English schools, non-affordability due to Malay poverty, and the Christian orientation that alienated the Malays. English was considered an elite language and it divided between the rich and the poor across all ethnic groups. In addition, there were no Malay national secondary schools prior to 1958 which made it more difficult for the Malays to obtain education except religious education. This situation was not addressed by the government although Malay language was the national language. There was a wide gap between the major ethnic groups with respect to economic wealth and the number of professionals (Figure 1). Due to historical reason, the elite Malays were apparently trained only for the Malayan Civil Service. Thus, a time bomb had been created and it exploded during this event that saw the resignation of the then Prime Minister.

Figure 1: Distribution of Professionals in Malaysia, 1970 (percentage)

	Bumiputra	Non-Bumiputra	Others
Accountancy	6.8	73.3	19.9
Architecture	4.3	82.3	13.4
Engineering	7.3	84.5	8.3
Medicine	3.7	85.0	11.3

Source: Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-1985, Malaysia

As a consequence of this crisis, the government introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) to provide preferential treatment for the bumiputras. The supremacy of the national language was asserted through education by the gradual conversion from English to Malay language as the medium of instruction in all levels of National Schools with the exception of the National-Type Chinese and National-Type Tamil primary schools. Students enrolled in these primary schools are taught in their respective mother tongues – Mandarin and Tamil. The aspiration for a Malay and Islamic university by the Malay masses was finally met with the establishment of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia which has Malay language as its medium of instruction in 1970. However, the non-Malays had to make further sacrifices to address the economic imbalance due to the Malay lag in education. Other steps taken by the government under the New Economic Policy include the imposition of a quota system for admission to the university based on the racial proportion of 55:45 bumiputras to non-bumiputras; the establishment of special science residential secondary schools for the bumiputras, and the giving of overseas scholarships to

bumiputras to further their studies in science and technology. The last two steps serve as a strong incentive for the bumiputras to compete and excel in their studies, and to provide for the academic and human resources of the newly established university. However, in 2003 the quota system was revoked and study scholarships overseas have begun to be awarded to non-bumiputras. In fact the Private Higher Institutions of Education Act of 1996 allowed for the establishment of private universities and branch campuses of foreign universities to accommodate the increasing number of qualified students especially among the non-bumiputras.

Fostering National Unity through Education in Singapore

Similar to the case in Malaysia, the Singapore government uses the school curriculum to foster national unity by underscoring the ethnic-national identity for its citizens. To instil a common national identity based on the shared values, the Singapore government introduced an array of subjects to inculcate civic values and national loyalty through the years. Since self-government in 1959, the government has implemented Ethics in 1959, followed by Civics in 1963, Education for Living in 1973, and Good Citizen, and Becoming and Becoming in the 1980s (Chew, 1998). The underlying objective was for all students to learn about the history of Singapore and the civics duties for them to be good citizens. Students currently learn about citizenship values through National Education (NE) which was introduced in 1997. NE aims to develop in all Singaporeans national cohesion, the instinct for survival and confidence in the future (Ministry of Education, 2005). It sets out to promote greater understanding of different ethnic groups and religions by infusing citizenship values into the formal curriculum through subjects such as Civics and Moral Education (CME) and Social Studies, as well as outside the classroom via co-curricular activities and enrichment programs (Remaking Singapore Committee, 2004). A number of writers have pointed out that the rationales stated for primary and secondary CME syllabus focus on citizenship training (Tan, 1994; Chew, 1998; Tan & Chew, 2004; Tan & Chew, 2008; Tan, 2007; Tan, 2008a, 2008b). Through the five themes of 'self', 'nation', 'family', 'school', and 'society', students in primary schools are expected to be equipped with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to be loyal to the nation and contribute to the community. Likewise, the secondary school CME syllabus aims to "incorporate more concepts and contents that are relevant to meet the changing needs and future challenges of the nation" (Ministry of Education, 2000:2, as cited in Tan and Chew, 2005: 601).

Civic values are also promoted through Social Studies. Social studies in Singapore emphasises knowledge and understanding of national issues pertaining to historical, political, economic and social development of Singapore (Sim and Print, 2005; Nichol and Sim, 2007). According to the syllabus, the aims are to enable students to understand the issues that affect the socio-economic development, the governance and the future of Singapore; learn from experiences of other countries to build and sustain a politically viable, socially cohesive and economically vibrant Singapore; develop citizens who have empathy towards others and who will participate responsibly and sensibly in a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious society; and have a deep sense of shared destiny and national identity (as cited in Sim & Print, 2005:66).

The Singapore government also hopes to promote multiracialism by anchoring the identity of the Singaporeans in their cultural, linguistic and religious roots. The cultural and linguistic aspects are manifested in the bilingual policy for all government schools (Tan, 2006). Bilingualism in Singapore is defined not as

proficiency in any two languages but as proficiency in English which is recognised as the first language, and a second language, known as a 'Mother Tongue Language' (MTL). Three MTLs have been selected by the government for students in Singapore – Mandarin (Putonghua) for Chinese students, Malay for Malay students, and Tamil for most Indian students [2]. The Ministry of Education (MOE) in Singapore defines 'mother tongue' not by the language used at home or the first language learned by the student but by ethnicity. The government subscribes to the 'functional polarisation' of language (Pendley, 1983) where English is valued primarily for its economic contribution and the mother tongues for their cultural contribution. In other words, English is regarded as a neutral utilitarian language used in formal, controlling and specialised domains while the indigenous languages help the speakers maintain their ethnic identities through their cultural values and worldviews (Fishman, 1968). The former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong noted the link between the learning of one's mother tongue and the formation of one's ethnic identity: "To ensure that Singaporeans remain grounded in our ancestral Asian culture and values, we require our young to study their mother tongues in schools, be they Mandarin, Malay or Tamil" (Goh, 2004).

The government also attempted to leverage on the religious heritage of the ethnic groups by introducing Religious Knowledge (RK) in schools in the 1980s. This approach reflected the state's conflation of ethnic and religious identities, a tradition that was started during the colonial times when the British recognised the Malay sultans as the guardians of the Islamic faith. The implementation of RK was motivated by the government's concern that the young in Singapore were influenced by negative 'Western' moral values. The government leaders claimed that industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation had led to increasing social problems and the abandonment of traditional ethnic values (Gopinathan, 1980; Tan, 2000). The government hoped that learning about the religions traditionally subscribed by the various ethnic groups in Singapore would help the young imbibe sound moral and civic values. RK was taught in all secondary schools from 1984 to 1989. Students had a total of six options: Bible Knowledge (in English), Islamic Religious Knowledge (in English and Malay), Buddhist Studies (in Chinese and English), Confucian Ethics (in Chinese and English), Hindu Studies (in English), and Sikh Studies (in English).

As RK was meant to support the moral values the Government wanted to inculcate in the young, there was a strong emphasis on RK's moral aspects. For example, the Ministry of Education (MOE) stated that Buddhist Studies aimed to help students "acquire the qualities of moral awareness, social responsibility and psychological maturity" (CPD, 1988:14). For Confucian Ethics, it was pointed out that pupils should know "the importance of self-cultivation, the different Confucian forms of life and the network of human relatedness". However, RK was withdrawn after 1989, due ironically to the fear of inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts. The government believed that the exclusive study of one religion by students had accentuated religious differences and led to proselytising by certain religious groups (Remaking Singapore Committee, 2004; Tan, 2008b). Kuo, Quah and Tong (1988) reported that the introduction of RK, especially Buddhist Studies and Bible Knowledge, had unintentionally attracted the young from especially Taoism to these religions. The teaching of RK also coincided with the broader trend of religious revivalism and shifts in the 1980s, and the government did not want RK to heighten inter-religious tensions and disagreements.

RK was replaced by Civics and Moral Education (CME) in 1992, and by National Education (NE) from 1997 onwards. That one of six messages of NE is the

preservation of racial and religious harmony testifies to the importance of multiracialism for schools in Singapore. To propagate an appreciation of one's ethnic identity as well as those of other ethnic groups, one of the modules for CME is Community Spirit where the aim is: 'Fostering a greater sense of belonging to and care for the community, as well as cultural and religious appreciation'. Specifically, the textbook states that the materials aim to help students learn the following (CPDD, 2001:33):

- the importance of maintaining unity in diversity by being aware of the beliefs and customs of the major racial and religious groups in our multi-cultural and multi-religious society;

- some aspects of the major systems of beliefs in Singapore and some common values that can be found in the teachings of these systems of beliefs;

- the significance of some festivals celebrated by various racial and religious groups in Singapore;

- some desirable attitudes and behaviour that promote harmonious living in our harmonious living in our multicultural and multi-religious society; and

- some ways of enhancing racial and religious harmony.

- Through CME and NE, the government continues to advocate ethnic and religious understanding and harmony for its citizens, thereby building up the ethnic-national identity of its citizens.

Curricular Challenges in Malaysia and Singapore

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the governments in Malaysia and Singapore take the promotion of an ethnic-national identity through education seriously. However, there are two main curricular challenges in the implementation of the curriculum to foster national unity in both countries. The first challenge is the need for a greater understanding and appreciation of ethnic issues. In Malaysia, the fact that ME is meant for the non-Muslim Malaysians and is taught separately from the Muslim Malays who are taught Islamic Education would not help in bridging understanding of similarities and differences of values among the various ethnic groups that could enhance mutual respect and toleration. Adding to this challenge is the limited interaction between the Malay and non-Malay students in National Primary Schools. The small number of non-Malay students in the National schools means that they are usually put in the same class, separate from the Malay students, to facilitate the scheduling of the class timetable for ME. The ME classes have also not helped non-Muslim students to understand and appreciate their own great cultural traditions, values and heritage because the approach adopted is more like 'values clarification' class. Some critics have mentioned the fear that what is being propagated is secular morality because the moral values taught are not based on any religious beliefs (Murthi, 1993; Hashim, 1996, 2002; Singh and Mukherjee, 1990). This is unsatisfactory as what most Malaysian parents desire are the teachings of their cultural and religious traditions and values for their children in schools.

Similarly in the case of Singapore, the curriculum is insufficient to help the students understand the various cultural and religious beliefs and practices. The 'phenomenological approach' has been adopted by the Singapore government in the teaching of religious knowledge in schools (Tan, 2008a). The purpose is to inform students about the various belief systems, and not to impart religious faith or induce religious experience to the students. This can be seen in the objective, neutral and

crisp way in which the religious beliefs and practices are introduced. Given the informational and emotionally detached treatment of religion under the phenomenological approach, it is questionable whether this approach is effective in bringing about moral conviction in the students. The other shortcoming of the curricular approach is the conflation of religious and ethnic contents in the curriculum. Religious knowledge is taught in the Secondary 3 textbook for Civics and Moral Education (CPDD, 2001). The terms 'religious' and 'racial' are used almost always together, and little distinction is made between the two. The conflation of cultural and religious beliefs and practices is also evident on the official NE website. For example, the website on 'Racial Harmony' lists the Chinese cultural practice of using chopsticks and celebrating Chinese New Year together with the litany of religious festivals such as Vesak Day, Deepavali, Easter and Hari Raya Puasa (Ministry of Education, 2002). In the description on the Hungry Ghosts Festival, the website explains that the Chinese believe that during the seventh month of the lunar calendar, the gates of hell are opened and all spirits are free to roam the earth and visit their living relatives for a month. This is inaccurate as not all Chinese subscribe to this festival which is more accurately described as a religious festival commemorated by Taoists who are not necessarily Chinese (Tan, 2008a).

Secondly, the curriculum in Malaysia and Singapore needs to encourage more critical inquiry and open deliberation – attributes which are important to develop a deeper understanding of inter-ethnic issues. In Malaysia, the existing school curriculum has not been designed to handle issues such as Special Malay Rights, the National Language, the Sovereignty of the Malay Rulers and the Internal Security Acts. Neither are the teachers educated to handle them. In fact, these issues are still considered sensitive and legally forbidden. The curriculum for history seems to brush aside certain past controversies that involved ethnic discord. Similarly for ME, the way the subjects are taught does not enhance reasoning skills and ME teachers more frequently employ the lecture method rather than student-centred pedagogies such as the 'community of inquiry' approach. Neither moral philosophy that exposes teachers to moral theories and reasoning, nor Islamic worldview to help understand the Muslim mind, is taught. Teachers themselves are also not consistently modelling the moral values taught in these subjects. It is arguable whether the promotion of 'national unity' is best served by glossing over those past controversies or by encouraging students to actively participate in the debates of the time. To nurture rational and enlightened citizens, these issues must be deliberated by the students especially those in the upper secondary and tertiary levels. It will not be sound to sweep important issues under the carpet because it will be like nurturing a time bomb. Waghid (2005:332) avers that "[i]f open deliberative argumentation cannot unfold in university and school classrooms, it reduces the chance of producing active democratic citizens who can one day enter and play a meaningful role in the public realm". However, the discussion of such concepts and values as freedom, rights, goods, justice and democracy are complex and philosophical, and has to be accompanied by empathy, compassion and good faith. Therefore, teachers ought to be trained to be literate and enlightened on these issues so that they can handle the discussion wisely in class.

Likewise in Singapore, the curriculum for CME is "training students to absorb pragmatic values deemed to be important for Singapore to achieve social cohesion and economic success, rather than moral education as the development of intrinsic commitment to and habituation in the practice of values defended on autonomous moral considerations and not mere national expediency" (Tan and Chew, 2004:597; also see Tan and Chew, 2008). While the CME syllabus for primary and even lower

secondary levels is salutary in guiding students to progress from Kohlberg's Level One to Two of moral development, there is no progression to the next level that is characterised by authentic moral motivation and reasoning where the motive is morally intrinsic (Tan and Chew, 2004). In fact, the CME's emphasis on pragmatism and relativism entails the sliding back to Kohlberg's Level One of acting on self-regarding motivation. Tan and Chew (2004) conclude that there is a need to encourage students to aim towards more Kantian considerations where one acts morally because of intrinsic reasons, and not purely because of utilitarian reasons stipulated by the state.

The common curricular problems faced in Malaysia and Singapore stem from their similar philosophy and approach towards citizenship education. In studying the citizenship values in Singapore, Malaysia and China, Kennedy (2004) reports that what is common in these three countries is the emphasis on the larger good (also see Tan, 2008c). He notes that "the emphasis for citizens is not so much the rights they enjoy but the responsibilities they have towards family and the community" (Kennedy, 2004:15). Consistent with the collectivist focus is the transmission approach for citizenship education in Malaysia and Singapore (Tan, 2008c). Such an approach constructs 'good citizens' as those who are fitted into an established social and value system for the sake of maintenance. To achieve this, well-defined knowledge is transmitted and desired values are inculcated (Lo and Man, 1996). This is contrasted with the reflective-inquiry approach that focuses on nurturing abilities necessary in the consensus building effort of a democratic society. These abilities include reasoning, deliberation, decision-making, and conflict-resolution in individuals. The transmission approach explains why the curricular contents and pedagogy in Malaysia and Singapore do not focus on promoting critical inquiry and open deliberation. It is a moot point whether this approach is sufficient for citizens of various ethnic groups in Malaysia and Singapore to learn and appreciate the cultural and religious diversities in their society.

Conclusion

The world has seen a shift from cultural assimilation to cultural pluralism. For example, the United States and England adopted a melting pot or assimilation policy in the eighteenth century till the second half of the twentieth century while Canada has employed the salad bowl or the pluralistic policy. However, towards the end of the last millennium, even the United States and England have shifted their position from cultural assimilation to cultural pluralism, and ethnic diversity became pronounced especially in educational content.

Against this international backdrop, a comparative study of Malaysia and Singapore illustrates the contrasting approaches adopted by governments to build a united citizenry through education. Using the concept of a hyphenated identity in Malaysia and Singapore, this paper pointed out that the states in both countries emphasise both the ethnic and national identity of their citizens. The Malaysian government promotes ethnic Malay interests through affirmative action policies in education, while the Singapore government advocates the principle of meritocracy. This paper further analysed the curricular challenges common to Malaysia and Singapore. It argued that efforts are needed to encourage the students to possess a greater sense of ethnic understanding and appreciation, coupled with a greater emphasis on critical inquiry and deliberation of ethnic issues in the curriculum. Our discussion also showed that while religion is more dominant in Malaysia through Islamic Education for Muslim students who are the majority in the country, ethnicity

plays a bigger role in Singapore where Chinese Confucian ideas such as collectivism are privileged by the state. In both cases, we witness strong state intervention in educational policies and curriculum to serve the national agenda. A continual and formidable challenge for plural societies such as Malaysia and Singapore is to unite the nation based on both ethnicity and nationality – a hyphenated identity that appears so attractive to multi-ethnic societies and yet is so fraught with tensions and contentions.

Correspondence: C HARLENE TAN AND ROSNANI HASHIM, Policy and Leadership Studies, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, 1 Nanyang Walk, Singapore 637616, Republic of Singapore. Email: charlene.tan@nie.edu.sg

NOTES

[1] Although this paper only focuses on the concept of ethnic-national hyphenated identity in Malaysia and Singapore, the authors are aware that there are other major issues that are pertinent to citizenship education in Malaysia and Singapore. For further readings on contemporary issues affecting Asia and the Pacific, such as the impact of globalisation on national identity; the relationship between democracy and citizenship education; and recent developments on citizenship curriculum in the region, refer to Lee, Grossman, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004); and Grossman, Lee and Kennedy (2008).

[2] Until the mid 1990s, Indian students in Singapore whose ethnic language is not Tamil have to choose either Tamil, Mandarin or Malay as their Mother Tongue Language (MTL). But these students found studying these foreign languages a great struggle and many performed poorly in the national examinations. In response to the appeal from the Indian community, the Singapore Ministry of Education recognises five Indian languages apart from Tamil – Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, and Urdu – as MTLs that can be taken at national examinations for these students.

REFERENCES

BENNETT, C.I. (1995) Multicultural Education Teaching and Practices. 3d ed. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.
BROWN, G. (2007) Making ethnic citizens: the politics and practice of education in Malaysia. International Journal of Educational Development, 27, 318–330.
CHEW, J.O.A. (1998) Civics and moral education in Singapore: Lessons for citizenship education? Journal of Moral Education, 27, 4, 505-524.
CHUA, B.H. (2005) The Cost of Membership in Ascribed Community. In Kymlicka, W., He, B. G. (eds.) Multiculturalism in Asia. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTRE (1999) Secondary School Syllabus Moral Education. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
CURRICULUM PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT DIVISION (CPDD) (2001) Civics and Moral Education. Pupil's Book, 3A. Singapore, Ministry of Education.
CURRICULUM PLANNING DIVISION (CPD) (1988) Guide Book for Principals on the Implementation of Religious Knowledge Subjects. Singapore, Ministry of Education.
ECONOMIC PLANNING UNIT (2006) Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010). Prime Minister's Department. Putrajaya, Government Printers.
FISHMAN, J.A. (1968) Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism. In Fishman, J. A., Gupta, D. J. (eds) Language Problems of Developing Nations. New York, Wiley and Sons.

GANULY, S. (1997) Ethnic Policies and Political Quiescence in Malaysia and Singapore. In Brown, M.E., Ganguly, S. (eds.) Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific. Cambridge, The MIT Press.

GOH, C.T. (2004) Speech by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong at the Chinese High School's 85th Anniversary and Hwa Chong Junior College's 30th Anniversary Dinner held at the Chinese High School on Sunday, 21 March.

GOPINATHAN, S. (1980) Moral education in a plural society: a Singapore case study. International Review of Education, 26, 2, 171-185.

GROSSMAN, D.L., LEE, W.O. and KENNEDY, K.J., (eds) (2008) Citizenship Curriculum in Asia and the Pacific. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

HASHIM, R (1996) Educational Dualism in Malaysia: Implications for Theory and Practice. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press.

HASHIM, R. (2002) Civics, Moral and Islamic Religious Education for Fostering Good, Deliberative Citizens: The Case Study of Malaysia. Paper presented at the International Comparison of Education on Citizenship and Civic Morality Research Seminar, The University of Tokyo, 16 February.

HASHIM, R. (2005) Balancing cultural plurality and national unity through education: the case of Malaysia. Educational Awakening: Journal of the Educational Sciences, 2, 1, 1-26.

HEFNER, R.W. (2001) Introduction: Multiculturalism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. In Hefner, R.W. (ed.) The Politics of Multiculturalism. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press.

HILL, M. and LIAN, K.F. (1995) The Politics of Nation Building and Citizenship in Singapore. London, Routledge.

KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN MALASIA (KPM) Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum (1978) Sukatan Pelajaran Pendidikan Islam KBSM [KBSM Islamic Education Syllabus]. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN MALASIA (KPM) Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum (1988) Sukatan Pelajaran Pendidikan Moral KBSM [KBSM Moral Education Syllabus]. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN MALASIA (KPM) Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum (1998) Secondary School Syllabus Moral Education. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN MALASIA (KPM) Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum (2000), Sukatan Pelajaran Sejarah KBSM [KBSM History Syllabus]. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

KENNEDY, K.J. (2004) Searching for Citizenship Values in an Uncertain Global Environment. In Lee, W.O. Grossman, D.L., Kennedy, K.J., Fairbrother, G.P. (eds) Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

KUO, E.C.Y., QUAH, J.S.T. and TONG, C.K. (1988) Religion and Religious Revivalism in Singapore. Report prepared for Ministry of Community Development, Singapore, October.

LEE, W.O. (2006). Tensions and Contentions in the Development of Citizenship Curriculum in Asian Countries. Keynote address presented at the CITZED International Conference, Oriel College, Oxford, 23-27 July.

LEE, W.O. GROSSMAN, D.L., KENNEDY, K.J. and FAIRBROTHER, G.P. (eds.) (2004) Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong

LINCICOME, M. (2005) Globalisation, education, and the politics of identity in the Asia-Pacific. Critical Asian Studies, 37, 2, 179-208.

LO, L.N.K. and MAN, S.W. (1996) Introduction: Nurturing the Moral Citizen of the Future. In Lo, L. N. K., Man, S.W. (eds.) Moral and Civic Education. Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (2000) Civics and Moral Education Syllabus: Secondary. Singapore, Ministry of Education.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (2002) Available online: **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.** (accessed 2 February, 2005).

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (2005) National Education. Available online: http://www.moe.gov.sg/ ne/sgstory/mariahertogh.htm (accessed 2 February, 2005).

MURTHI, R.G. (1993) Moral Education in Malaysia: Will It Meet the Needs of Vision 2020? Project Paper presented for SIDEC Seminar, Malaysia.

NICHOL, N. and SIM, J. B-Y. (2007) Singaporean citizenship, national education and social studies: control, constraints, contradictions and possibilities. Citizenship Teaching and Learning, 3, 1, 17-31.

PENDLEY, C. (ed.) (1983) Language policy and social transformation in contemporary Singapore. Southeast Asia Journal of Social Science, 11, 2, 45–58.

REMAKING SINGAPORE COMMITTEE (2004) Changing Mindsets, Deepening Relationships. A Report of the Remaking Singapore Committee, Singapore.

SILLS, D.L. (Ed.) (1968) Assimilation. In International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol 1. New York, MacMillan / Free Press

SIM, J.B.Y. and PRINT, M. (2005) Citizenship education and social studies in Singapore: a national agenda. International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education, 1, 1, 58-73.

SINGH, J.S. and MUKHERJEE, H. (1990) Education and National Integration in Malaysia: Stocktaking Thirty Years after Independence. Kuala Lumpur, Pengajian Pembangunan Manusia, Institut Pengajian Tinggi

TAN, C. (2006) Change and continuity: Chinese language policy in Singapore. Language Policy, 5, 1, 41-62.

TAN, C. (2007) Islam and citizenship education in Singapore: challenges and implications. Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, 2, 1, 23-39.

TAN, C. (2008a) The teaching of religious knowledge in a plural society: the case for Singapore. International Review of Education, 54, 175-191.

TAN, C. (2008b). From moral values to citizenship education: the teaching of religion in Singapore schools. In Lai, A.E., (ed.) Religious Diversity in Singapore. Singapore, ISEAS Publishing.

TAN, C. (2008c). Creating "good citizens" and maintaining religious harmony in Singapore. British Journal of Religious Education, 30, 2, 133-142.

TAN, J. (2000) The Politics of Religious Knowledge in Singapore Secondary Schools. In Cornbleth, C. (ed.) Curriculum politics, policy, practice. Cases in comparative context. Albany: SUNY.

TAN, T.W. and CHEW, L.C. (2004) Moral and citizenship education as statecraft in Singapore: a curriculum critique. Journal of Moral Education, 33, 4, 597-606.

TAN, T.W. (1994) Moral education in Singapore: a critical appraisal. Journal of Moral Education, 23, 1, 61-73.

TAN, T.W. and CHEW, L.C. (2008) Political pragmatism and citizenship training in Singapore. In Grossman, D.L., Lee, W.O., Kennedy, K.J., (eds.) Citizenship Curriculum in Asia and the Pacific. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

TYLER, R. (1975) Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

WAGHID, Y. (2005) Action as an educational virtue: toward a different understanding of democratic citizenship education. Educational Theory, 55, 3, 322-342.

Teach and Diagnose Political Knowledge - Primary School Students Working with Concept Maps

DAGMAR RICHTER, *Technische Universität Braunschweig, Fakultät für Geistes- und Erziehungswissenschaften, IFDN, Abteilung Sachunterricht und seine Didaktik*

ABSTRACT *A quasi-experimental study examined whether concept maps can support primary school students' political education. In addition, whether concept maps are suitable for measuring political knowledge and diagnosing students' misconceptions was also investigated. The results are very promising: the use of concept maps appears to be of particular use to students who are not yet proficient in the German language because of their migration background. Concept maps also proved to be a positive test instrument in this study, as:*

– *they appear to exhibit a temporal stability without treatment,*

– *they make it possible to correctly identify students' misconceptions,*

– *they also make it possible to have differentiated diagnoses, even in the case of heterogeneous learning groups with significant differences in achievement.*

The State of Research

Politics has rarely been taught in German primary schools, although knowledge of politics is an important factor for democratic attitudes and active involvement (Richter 2007). There are only a few teaching materials for this subject and no impact studies comparing the different instructional methods with one another. Neither is there a great deal of empirical knowledge regarding what 7-10 year old primary school students know about politics, although there have been some larger studies in the last century (e.g. Moore, Lare & Wagner, 1985). To date, some qualitative research has been done (e.g. interview studies probing K-3 students' knowledge and thinking such as that conducted by Brophy & Alleman, 2006). The studies have an exploratory nature and are limited to a small number of cases. There are no quantitative studies which indicate generalisable results.

Moreover, there is a lack of suitable methods for diagnosing students' political concepts and misconceptions. In the international arena, smaller, domain-specific studies by Berti (Berti & Monaci, 1998; Berti & Vanni, 2000; Berti & Andriolo, 2001) have shown that it can be useful to pursue these elements in research. It was possible to use some results of these studies for the present study (e.g. Berti 2002 identified typical misconceptions regarding the institution of the police and detected

a lack of differentiation between rules and laws). However, it is possible that political cultural influences might limit comparability with teaching in Germany. For example, Berti found significant differences in conceptual knowledge between Italian children and those from the USA (see also Hahn, 1998, for comparison). Berti and Andrioli's study is one of the few intervention studies which measure the knowledge of students before and after tuition. According to this study, nine year-old children in follow-up tests displayed knowledge which otherwise was only detected among thirteen and fourteen year-olds (Berti & Andriolo, 2001: 368). And a study of Allen, Kirasic and Spilich demonstrated that previously acquired domain-specific knowledge increased memory capacity and enabled the children to recognize the important information in corresponding reports (for example, newscasts) and to draw their own conclusions (Allen, Kirasic & Spilich, 1997: 173).

Concept maps for political learning?

According to cognitive theories of learning, for each content domain, knowledge of key concepts and their interrelations is required:

> *Assuming that knowledge within a content domain is organized around central concepts, to be knowledgeable in the domain implies a highly integrated conceptual structure among those concepts.* (Shavelson, Ruiz-Primo & Wiley, 2005: 417)

It has been shown that even young children have concepts and knowledge structures (see Wellman & Gelman, 1998). Conceptual change theories assume that already acquired concepts of learners influences their further learning process. These concepts are termed pre-concepts. If they are to be expanded or differentiated in the learning process, this is termed as 'assimilation' according to Piaget (see Posner, Strike, Hewson & Gertzog, 1982) or as 'a weak conceptual change' according to Carey (see Carey, 1985). If learners' concepts are inadequate or incorrect then they are termed 'misconceptions', 'prior beliefs' or 'alternative frameworks' (see Wodzinski, 1996). Misconceptions have to be relinquished or re-structured in the learning process and a radical conceptual change must take place (Carey, 1985). The significance of pre-concepts for successful teaching outcomes could be demonstrated in various domains of knowledge.

There are also relevant qualitative studies for concepts in the field of political learning (e.g. Wade, 1994). But there are still many questions. Which measures are required in the classroom so that learners can transfer their pre-concepts into factually suitable concepts nevertheless remains an open research question. A pre-requisite is however that the pre-concepts of the learners are known. If you are hoping to survey the concepts of learners, it must be clear how they are contextualized for them:

> *The meaning of individual terms is only deduced from their value within the entire conceptual framework of the theory.* (Sodian, 1998: 633)

If knowledge questions concentrate on isolated facts, such as most multiple choice questions do, they are not suitable for investigating conceptual knowledge. But concept maps can survey the connections between concepts.

> *To measure the structure of declarative knowledge […] multiple-choice tests fall short and concept- and cognitive maps provide valid evidence of conceptual structure.* (Shavelson, Ruiz-Primo & Wiley, 2005: 415)

Concept maps have been used in pedagogical instruction and research since the 1980s (Novak & Gowin, 1984).

> *A concept map can be regarded as a type of graphic organizer that is distinguished by the use of labelled nodes denoting concepts and links denoting relationships among concepts.* (Nesbit & Adesope, 2006: 415)

Concept maps are used to structure knowledge and give a graphical representation of structured knowledge. They show how different concepts of a domain relate to one another. The relationship is expressed by a linking line (usually a uni-directional arrow) with linking phrase (labelled line). The smallest unit of a map – two concepts (nodes) and their relationship (labelled line) – is called a proposition.

In terms of learning theory, concept maps are related to the hierarchical memory theory of Ausubel. Learning takes place through the assimilation of new concepts and propositions into already acquired concepts and propositions which have a hierarchical structure (Ausubel, 1974). According to this theory, Novak and his colleagues established the term 'concept map' (Novak & Gowin, 1984). Since then they have frequently been used as means of constructive learning and of collaborative learning (Cañas et al., 2003).

Meta-analyses of concept map research indicate that concept maps are suitable for both diagnosing declarative knowledge and also for supporting learning during tuition (see Nesbit & Adesope, 2006). For assessment, there exist referent-free methods and referent-based methods (see Chung, O'Neil, Bewley & Baker, 2008). Thus, it was possible to show the objectivity, reliability and validity of referent-based methods in the diagnosis of knowledge in the natural sciences (Yin & Shavelson, 2008, Stracke, 2004). Moreover, it has been shown that young children can also use the mapping method (Gallenstein, 2005).

To date in Germany, concept maps have not been used to teach politics. Often, it is argued that political concepts are 'different' from concepts in the natural sciences. Political concepts are often qualified as 'poorly defined' and 'arbitrarily interpretable'. Social scientific knowledge can show context-dependent multiplicity of meaning. This knowledge thus appears to be more contingent than knowledge in the natural sciences. Nevertheless, in social scientific concepts there is a defining core that describes the 'essence' of a concept. This particular feature of knowledge in the social sciences must be taken into account by the construction and the evaluation of concept maps.

In closed formats of concept maps, the concept terms (nodes) and selected linking phrases are given to the students. In close formats there is no ambiguity of meaning because all possible interconnections (linking phrases) are predetermined and have to be selected by the students. If more than one predetermined linking phrase is possible between two nodes, they will be equally rated as correct.

The design of the research project

The study of the political declarative knowledge of primary school students and the use of concept maps in lessons was carried out with two central questions:

- Are concept maps a suitable instrument to measure political knowledge and identify misconceptions?

- Is there a significant difference in the learning success of classes taught with and without concept maps?

Tuition was carried out with 3rd grade primary school students and on average the students were nine years old. A total of eight classes in four schools participated in the project. The topic of the teaching unit spread evenly over a number of six lessons was: 'Rules and laws - how do they differ?' (see Richter, Burda & Lindemann 2008). The central specialized concepts to be learned were: law, citizens, parliament, delegates, chancellor, police, court. Four classes belonged to the experimental group and they received worksheets with mapping tasks. The other four classes belonged to the control group. Their worksheets contained exercises comparable in terms of content, but no mapping exercises. However, the control group practised the mapping method on off-topic examples. The lessons were given by the regular class teachers. Only the introduction to the mapping tasks and the tests were carried out by specially trained personnel. Furthermore, the trained personnel observed the lessons. The contents and teaching methods were consistent throughout the study. There was no further standardisation of the lesson.

The students were tested before and after the teaching unit. First, they had to create a concept map matching the specialized concepts of the lessons. The students were given both linking phrases and concept terms to construct a map. The concept maps of the students were compared with a reference map and statistically evaluated with the software program MaNET (2002). The weighted correspondence coefficient C3w has proven valid for measuring knowledge in scientific domains (see Stracke 2004). Along with right and wrong relationships, it also takes into account the number of linking lines in the test map in relation to the right number of linking lines in the reference map. The values are plotted on a scale of -1 (no agreement with the reference map) to +1 (exact agreement).

Second in the test, they had to answer four multiple choice questions. The questions were taken from a test for first graders, i.e. for children between six and seven years of age (Deth et al. 2007). These questions were evaluated already by Deth. Because primary students usually don't have any lessons in civics the questions can be used also for third graders. The four questions serve as an alternative measuring tool for knowledge.

During the lessons, randomly selected students from the experimental classes were asked to explain their concept map and especially how they came to it. We wanted to know whether they were able to reflect the mapping task on a meta-level.

The study has a quasi-experimental design, i.e., the results cannot be generalized. Internal validity was achieved by having identical pre- and post-tests. The content validity of the reference map for the test took place through an inter-subjective examination with colleagues. Reliability was examined by test repetition (retest reliability). It shows that the concept map exhibits temporal stability between two measures.

A total of 174 students participated. The number of students who participated in both the pre- and post-test was approximately the same (n = 77 in 4 experimental classes; n = 76 in 4 control classes); more girls (n = 85) took part than boys (n = 68).

Measuring political knowledge with concept maps

The first reference map was constructed referring to the subject of the six-hour teaching unit: Rules and laws - how do they differ? It is shown in Figure 1.
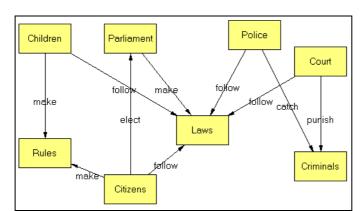
Figure 1: First reference map for the pre- and post-test

Several teachers and students collaborated in the construction of the reference map. First a preliminary map was constructed and tested with third-graders. It was restructured and tested again several times. Good concept maps are a result of many revisions (see Novak & Cañas 2008). The final version of the reference map was revised by colleagues (expert map).

In a preliminary lesson the students practised the mapping method on off-topic examples. For the actual mapping task, the students were given the nodes and the linking phrases. Processing time for concept map was limited to 15 minutes. Another ten minutes were taken for the four knowledge questions. Because of different reading competencies of the students the questions were read aloud to them by the trained personnel.

To improve the comparability of student maps and reference map, nodes leading to off-topic links were deleted (see Figure 2). So the nodes 'Children' and 'Rules' were deleted for the scoring with the software. They lead to off-topic links like 'citizens make children'. Also, with the labelled links 'make' and 'follow,' they lead to unclear propositions (for example, both 'children make rules' and 'children follow rules' are correct).
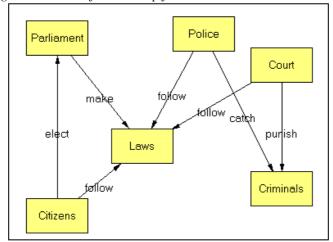
Figure 2: Final reference map for the tests

The statistical evaluation (with MaNET and SPSS) shows a significant increase in knowledge. The analysis shows that the C3w values are scaled in intervals, but the distribution is not a normal distribution (data not shown). Therefore the median, the mode and the percentiles of the C3w values have to be considered (Table 1). The median shows a clear increase from 0.09 in the pre-test to 0.39 in the post-test and also the mode and the percentiles show a significantly higher value:

Table 1: Statistical analysis of the C3w of concept maps

		C3w, Pre-test	C3w, Post-test
N	Valid	153	153
	Missing	0	0
Median		.0857	.3905
Mode		- .03	.54
Spread		1.38	1.38
Percentile	25	- .0667	.2381
	50	.0857	.3905
	75	.2381	.5429

In this study, the differences in quality between different concept maps became clear when the values of the weighted correspondence coefficient C3w exhibited a difference of at least 0.15 points. Figures 3, 4 and 5 show some examples of the maps made by the students. They show correctly and incorrectly labelled links as well as missing links and the different values of the weighted correspondence coefficient.

Figure 3: Example of a concept map where the value of the weighted correspondence coefficient C3w = 0.39

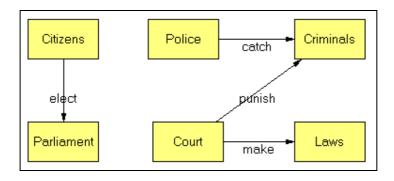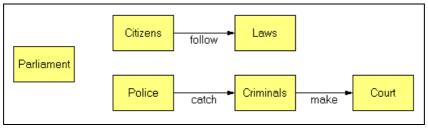*Figure 4: Example of a concept map where the value of the weighted correspondence coefficient C3w = 0.24*

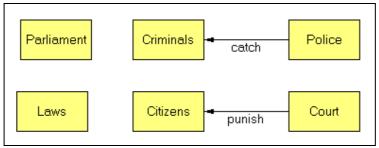*Figure 5: Example of a concept map where the value of the weighted correspondence coefficient C3w = -0.03*

Table 2: Scores of the multiple choice questions

N = 153	mean	standard deviation	Skewness	
Scores Pre-test	2.96	1.186	-1.099	.196
Scores Post-test	3.37	.938	-1.731	.196

Table 3: Distribution of answers to the knowledge questions (in percent)

Question 1: In Germany, who has the most to say, to decide? Is it the…

	King	Mayor	*Chancellor*	don't know
Pre-test	12.1	20.6	*64.8*	2.4
Post-test	2.5	16.0	*80.9*	0.6

Question 2: How does one become a decision-maker? By having…

	a lot of money	a lot of power	*a vote*	don't know
Pre-test	9.7	3.0	*84.8*	2.4
Post-test	3.1	0	*93.8*	3.1

Question 3: What do you think politicians mainly do?

	They train for a soccer team	*They help decide about the country and watch out for it*	They regulate traffic	don't know
Pre-test	2.4	*85.5*	6.7	5.5
Post-test	0	*94.4*	3.7	1.9

Question 4: What do you think happens in a vote? Does it mean…

	…that every (all) citizen(s) (=adults) can decide together about some-thing, such as who should watch out for the country?	…that only one person decides what will be done, such as who should watch out for the country.	…that everyone has to hand over money.	don't know
Pre-test	*60.0*	29.7	2.4	7.9
Post-test	*71.0*	19.8	1.2	8.0

Concept maps for diagnosing misconceptions

Concept maps are very suitable to identify misconceptions. 'Typical' misconceptions of third-graders (n = 165) in the pre-test of this study are:

- 'Police punish criminals' (56 students)
- 'Citizens make laws' (27 students)
- 'Courts make laws' (10 students);
- 'Police make laws' (22 students);
- 'Citizens elect laws' (13 students).
- 20 students did not link the node 'law'.

Overall, approximately ninety students, or 55% of those who participated, had no conceptions about the term 'law' or they had misconceptions. Twenty nine students made false associations with the term 'parliament' in the pre-test and 52 made none (49% overall).

Nine students chose 'children elect parliament.' It cannot be determined in this instance whether these students were familiar with the concept of children's parliaments and thus made a correct association.

In the post-test, there was a significant decrease in these misconceptions. But there were still some misconceptions left. 'Police punish criminals' was still held by 13 students.

A comparison of teaching with and without concept maps

What kind of difference is there in terms of learning success between the experimental and control classes? The difference in the weighted correspondence coefficient C3w between post- and pre-tests can be used as a measure of learning process in the present study (see Borz & Döring, 2006: 552). In all statistical tests there were better C3w values for the experimental classes.

Table 4: Values for the experimental and control classes of Schools 1 to 3*:

	Group affiliation	N	Average value	Standard deviation	Standard error of the average value
Value difference	Experimental group	58	.3586	.26278	.03450
	Control group	58	.2032	.28184	.03701

* School 4 was excluded because of high values in the pre-test in the experimental class.

The t-test of the means of the C3w values gives an effect size of 0.6 and a test power of 90%. The correlations between group affiliation and the variable 'value difference' are, at the level of 0.01 (1-sided), highly significant ($p < 0.001$) but, however, weak ($r = 0.28$).

By comparison of the results of the individual schools, the significant success in learning of the experimental class in School 1 is particularly noticeable:

Table 5: C3w values of individual schools

	Experimental class (Eclass) and Control class (C class) number of students		C3w Pre-test Median	C3w Post-test Median
School 1	E class	N = 22	-.0310	.3905
	C class	N = 19	-.0667	.0857
School 2	E class	N = 16	.1214	.4262
	C class	N = 20	.0857	.3905
School 3	E class	N = 20	.1798	.6952
	C class	N = 19	-.0667	.2381
School 4	E class	N = 19	.5429	.6952
	C class	N = 18	-.0667	.4083

For the experimental class in School 1 the median shows a clear increase from -0.03 in the pre-test to 0.39 in the post-test. For the control class in this school the median shows only an increase from -0.06 to 0.08. This school has a very high proportion of students from a migration background who have language and reading deficits and poor socio-economic environments (a high proportion of their parents receive unemployment benefits). Only a few students in this school speak German as their mother tongue.

It seems to be that visually supporting the political learning process through diagrams, i.e. concept maps, is of particular assistance for students with language and reading deficits. This assumption is also strengthened by a former study of Amer (1994) and in the presented study by the evaluation of audio files for 'thinking aloud'.

Randomly selected students from the experimental classes were asked to explain their concept map and how they come to it. The audio files were transcribed and coded according to typical characteristics (see Chi 1997; Heine & Schramm 2007). These also showed significant differences in achievement amongst individual students. In School 1, the students found it difficult to verbalize their mapping activities, which may be because of their comparatively poor knowledge of German. However, most students of the other schools were also not able to describe their approach at a meta-level. They were comfortable with talking into the recording device (without being asked, they gave their names and indicated the concept maps to be described). Nevertheless, most students only repeated the labelled links of their maps. They didn't give reasons why they linked two concepts. Often the students used redundant formulations which were not actually reasons but which looked like reasons because of the words chosen ('because', 'as', 'thus'). They didn't reach a meta-level, i.e. construct a narrative chain with several propositions for 'running through' the map and expressing interrelationships. A narrative chain was only rudimentarily constructed in four cases. At the same time, these students had good results with the mapping in the pre-test and very good results in the post-test with both the mapping and the knowledge questions.

The verbal analyses did not give much information. Presumably the task to report on their actions while mapping was too difficult for many third graders. According

to Hasselhorn (2004: 23), between the ages of eight and ten there is a marked increase in executive metacognitive functions. A highly structured and guided interview may possibly lead to more comprehensive statements by the learners.

Gender issues had no value, even after the numbers were weighted (the gender ratio of this study deviated slightly from the statistical mean).

Conclusions

The results of this study show that concept maps are appropriate for measuring political conceptual knowledge. This can be done by graphical evaluation, but also by statistical analysis of the C3w values. Unlike knowledge questions, concept maps make it possible to diagnose different performance levels with just one task, this means one concept map. The same task is suitable for both low-achieving and high-achieving students. Ceiling effects did not manifest themselves in this study. Therefore, they represent a good diagnostic method for heterogeneous learning groups with large differences in capability. This is particularly advantageous when there is scant knowledge of how much the test subjects already know.

The concept maps of the present study confirmed the hypothesis that certain misconceptions are held by children in primary school. Further, the maps clearly (and very effectively) identified several new misconceptions. It is important for (statistical) evaluation that the concept maps are limited to specialized knowledge, so that the clarity needed for the evaluation can be achieved. Double meanings in concept maps can nevertheless be used as subjects of clarifying discussion during learning phases.

With the results of this study, it is safe to assume that the use of concept maps is helpful in teaching civics. Mapping tasks are one of the cognitively activating methods for which generally better learning outcomes have been determined (cf. Mayer 2004). Concept maps structure knowledge. The greater clarity established hereby contributes to the quality of the lesson (cf. Klieme & Rakoczy 2008).

Many students enjoy working with the concept maps. This motivation may further influence the learning outcome. At the end of the lesson, some students said:

I liked the concept maps, because we learned a lot from them.

and:

It's easy to see there the words we've learned.

Correspondence: DAGMAR RICHTER, Technische Universität Braunschweig, Fakultät für Geistes- und Erziehungswissenschaften IFDN, Abteilung Sachunterricht und seine Didaktik Bienroder Weg 97, 38106 Braunschweig, Germany. E-mail: d.richter@tu-bs.de

REFERENCES

ALLEN, G. L., KIRASIC, K. C. & SPILICH, G. J. (1997) Children's Political Knowledge and Memory for Political News Stories. Child Study Journal, 27, 163-176.

AMER, A.A. (1994) The Effect of Knowledge-Map and Underlining Training on the Reading Comprehension of Scientific Texts. English for Specific Purposes. 13 (1), 35-45.

AUSUBEL, D. P. (1974) Educational psychology: A cognitive view. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

BERTI, A. E. (2002) Children's understanding of society: psychological studies and their educational implications. In Näsman, E. & Ross, A. (eds.), Children's Understanding in the new Europe (S. 89-107). Stoke on Trent, Trentham Books.

BERTI, A. E. & ANDRIOLO, A. (2001) Third Graders' Understanding of Core Political Concepts (Law, Nation-State, Government) Before and After Teaching. Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs, 127, 346-377.

BERTI, A.E. & MONACI, M.G. (1998) Third graders' acquisition of knowledge of banking: restructuring or accretion? British Journal of Educational Psychology, 68, 357-371.

BERTI, A. E. & VANNI, E. (2000) Italian Children's Understanding of War: A Domain-Specific Approach. Developmental Science, 9, 478-496.

BORTZ, J. & DÖRING, N. (2006) Forschungsmethoden und Evaluation für Human- und Sozialwissenschaftler. 4th edition. Heidelberg, Springer Verlag.

BROPHY, J. & ALLEMAN, J. (2006) Children's Thinking About Cultural Universals. Mahwah, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

CAÑAS, A.J., COFFEY, J.W., CARNOT, M.J., FELTOVICH, P., HOFFMAN, R.R., FELTOVICH, J. & NOVAK, J.D. (2003) A summary of literature pertaining to the use of concept mapping techniques and technologies for education and performance support (Report to The Chief of Naval Education and Training). Pensacola, FL, Institute for Human and Machine Cognition.

CAREY, S. (1985) Conceptual change in childhood. Cambridge, MIT Press.

CHI, M.T.H. (1997) Quantifying qualitative analyses of verbal data: a practical guide. The journal of the learning sciences, 6 (3), 271-315.

CHUNG, G.K.W.K, O'NEIL, H.F., BEWLEY, W.L. & BAKER, E.L. (2008) Computer-Based Assessment in Support of Distance Learning. In J. Hartig, E. Klieme & D. Leutner (Eds.), Assessment of Competencies in Educational Contexts (p. 253-276). Washington & Göttingen, Hogrefe & Huber.

DETH, J.W.V., ABENDSCHÖN, S., RATHKE, J. & VOLLMAR, M. (2007) Kinder und Politik. Politische Einstellungen von jungen Kindern im ersten Grundschuljahr. Wiesbaden, VS Verlag.

GALLENSTEIN, N.L. (2005) Never Too Young for a Concept Map. Science & children/ National Science Teachers Association, 43 (1), 44-47.

HAHN, C. L. (1998) Becoming political. Comparative perspectives on citizenship education. New York, State University Press.

HASSELHORN, M. (2004) Individuelle Lernvoraussetzungen zwischen sechs und sechzehn Jahren: Allgemeine und differentielle Entwicklungs-veränderungen. In C. Aeberli (ed.), Lehrmittel neu diskutiert (S. 11-25). Zürich, Avenir Suisse.

HEINE, L. & SCHRAMM, K. (2007) Lautes Denken in der Fremdsprachenforschung: Eine Handreichung für die empirische Praxis. In H. J. Vollmer (eds.), Synergieeffekte in der Fremdsprachenforschung: Empirische Zugänge, Probleme, Ergebnisse (S. 167-206). Frankfurt a.M. u.a., Lang [Reihe Kolloquium Fremdsprachenunterricht].

KLIEME, E. & RAKOCZY, K. (2008) Empirische Unterrichtsforschung und Fachdidaktik. Outcome-orientierte Messung und Prozessqualität des Unterrichts. Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, 54 (2), 222-237.

MaNET (2002) MannheimResearchCompany Software, Mannheimer Netzwerk-Elaborations-Technik.

MAYER, R.E. (2004) Should There Be a Three-Strikes Rule Against Pure Discovery Learning? The Case for Guided Methods of Instruction. In: American Psychologist 59 (1), 14-19.

MOORE, S.W., LARE, J., WAGNER, K.A. (1985) The child's political world: A longitudinal perspective. New York, Praeger.

NESBIT, J.C. & ADESOPE, O.O. (2006) Learning With Concept and Knowledge Maps: A Meta-Analysis. Review of Educational Research. 76 (3), 413-448.

NOVAK, J.D. & CAÑAS, A.J. (2008) The Theory Underlying Concept Maps and How to Construct and Use Them. Technical Report IHMC CmapTools 2006-1 Rev 01-2008, Florida Institute for Human and Machine Cognition. Available at: http://cmap.ihmc.us/Publications/

NOVAK, J.D. & GOWIN, D.B. (1984) Learning how to learn. New York, Cambridge University Press.

POSNER, G.J., STRIKE, K.A., HEWSON, P.W. & GERTZOG, W.A. (1982) Accommodation of a scientific conception: Toward a theory of conceptual change. In Science Education, 66, 211-228.

RICHTER, D. (Ed.) (2007) Politische Bildung von Anfang an. Demokratie-Lernen in der Grundschule. Bonn, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

RICHTER, D., BURDA, S. & LINDEMANN, E-M. (2008) Regeln und Gesetze – wie unterscheiden sie sich? In Geiss, H. & Richter, D. (eds.), Demokratie verstehen lernen. Elf Bausteine zum politischen Lernen in der Grundschule (S.33-50). Bonn, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

SHAVELSON, R., RUIZ-PRIMO, M. & WILEY, E. (2005) Windows into the mind. Higher Education, 49, 413-430.

SODIAN, B. (1998^4) Entwicklung bereichsspezifischen Wissens. In Oerter, R. & Montada, L. (eds.), Entwicklungspsychologie. Ein Lehrbuch (S. 622-653). Weinheim, Psychologie Verlags Union.

SPSS for Windows, Rel. 15.0.1. (2006). Chicago: SPSS Inc.

STRACKE, I. (2004) Einsatz computerbasierter Concept Maps zur Wissensdiagnose in der Chemie: Empirische Untersuchungen am Beispiel des Chemischen Gleichgewichts. Münster, Waxmann.

WADE, R.C. (1994) Conceptual change in elementary social studies: A case study of fourth graders' understanding of human rights. In Theory and Research in Social Education, 12 (1), 74-95.

WELLMAN, H.M. & GELMAN, S. (1998) Knowledge acquisition in foundational domains. In Kuhn, D. & Siegler, R.S. (eds.), Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 2, Cognition, Perception, and Language (5th edn.) (S. 523-574). New York, Wiley.

WODZINSKI, R. (1996). Untersuchungen von Lernprozessen beim Lernen Newtonscher Dynamik im Anfangsunterricht. Münster, LIT Verlag.

YIN, Y. & SHAVELSON, R. J. (2008) Application of Generalizability Theory to Concept Map Assessment Research. In Applied Measurement in Education, 21 (3), 273-291.

An Ecological Approach to Global Education

DIETER SCHMIDT-SINNS, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn (now retired), Germany*

ABSTRACT *Living in the global age demands a kind of civic education that promotes awareness of the main issues humankind is actually facing: the climate shift, overpopulation, hence pressure on resources, pollution, scarcity of fertile soil and clean water. As the historical dimension will be helpful for understanding, the paper follows the continuous hominid dependency upon their various environments and their reactions from the beginning six million years ago. This essay aims to elaborate the implications for citizenship teaching in order to contribute to political literacy.*

Introduction

Teaching in the global age should not neglect the process of globalization, a procedure which has lasted much longer than the world-wide economic concentration we have been facing since the early nineties. By defining globalization consequently as the history of human expansion over the planet, we may achieve knowledge together with insights helpful for better understanding actual crises. We will find out that, during the millions of years of humankind's past, it was their relationship towards nature which determined their fate. Early humans had to be constantly aware of that dependency; even in historical times it was not before the scientific revolution and the enlightenment, that is to say in the modern age, that humans believed they could master nature.

Recent findings in two fields of research: paleoanthropology and genetics, will enable the teacher to handle the roots of the human race as a subject closely connected with ecology; an interdisciplinary approach will be indispensable. As the majority of the teachers will not be familiar with all the topics relevant, the essay is dwelling on factual information; goals and objectives will be recommended. Methodical advice shall not be given, so that teaching can be adjusted to the preconditions, such as age, knowledge and available textbooks or other learning material, of the different learning groups. Cooperation across school subjects is advisable; social studies, civics or a comparable subject for political learning should structure the course. The internet may provide additional information both for teachers and students. Project teaching will best serve the goals.

Humans, a Product of their Environment

The vital importance of the environment is clearly shown at the very beginning of the progress towards the human race. Ten million years ago, when Africa north and south of the equator was covered with a dense rain forest, a long lasting climate shift thinned out the edges of these woods. This change and the formation of the East African Rift Valley resulted in more open environments, grasslands with scattered trees and bushes, where the ability of upright posture, which would have been useless in a primeval forest, conveyed an evolutionary advantage: Far sight, made possible by standing upright, was helpful for security, and when walking upright, the hands would be free for transporting, even throwing. In the ecological situation described, the first pre-human beings apparently existed in the north of modern Chad seven or six million years ago. For more details see Leakey, (1994), Reichholf, (1997), Schrenk, (1997).

Millions of years passed with the occurrence and extinction of various primate species. In spite of rising numbers of fossil finds and promising results of genetic research, details of human evolution have remained controversial, but without any doubt it was initiated by that specific environment. The hominids' way of life "was a life of extreme intimacy and dependency upon all of nature" (Leakey/Levin, 1996:142). In the very sense of the word, we are a product of our early environment.

Another global climate shift towards lower temperatures about two and a half million years ago meant a challenge for the various existing pre-human species of the genus Australopithecine. Their still mainly vegetarian diet hardened; their evolutionary reaction either consisted of a strengthening of the chewing apparatus which was the reaction of the Australopithecines, or of the usage, precisely speaking of the systematic production of stone tools to crush their food. Their sharp edges also allowed an easier opening of the animal corpses to reach the flesh. The capability of tool production is attributed to the species Homo habilis and / or Homo Rudolfensis, marking the rise of these first true humans. Thus, it was technical skill which gave primeval humans an immense advantage over all other hominids, resulting in a growing independence of their environments (Schrenk, 1997:73).

It had been a long journey from the first primates able to walk upright to these early humans. During these three and a half million years, they had succeeded to complete their food with meat, at first mostly carrion. This intake of proteins promoted the growth of their brains, a fact which supported their survival in those open landscapes. A vital prerequisite for existence in such an environment was a close co-operation within their communities of maybe ten to twenty members against animal foes or hominid rivalling groups. Such behaviour demanded and promoted a rigid collective identity, a quality which, during those millions of years, was selected through the process of evolution (Schöneberg, 1987:43). This age-old genetic heritage was to be used and cherished by social and religious élites even in historical times in order to strengthen their respective ethnic or religious communities. From the first historical epochs in Mesopotamia in the 4th millennium BC to our days, the past of humanity is characterized by innumerable struggles and wars, which do have their roots in that stone-age mentality.

Global Expansion

The first step to globalization of the species was done by Homo erectus who will have left Africa nearly two million years ago. They had invented a multipurpose tool, the hand-axe, and apparently had learned to control fire. They were taller than

their predecessors, their brains had been augmenting over the millennia, and they could even endure the ice age climate in Europe. As descendants of this species, we find the Neanderthals around 200,000 years before our time, specialists for survival under ice age conditions, endowed with brains even larger than those of modern humans. Although they are rightly considered to belong to the Homo sapiens family, their existence came to an end by the arrival of the so-called Cro Magnons or modern humans on the European stage, who also had originated in Africa some 190,000 years ago. In the Near East, they can be traced 80,000 years back, and the two species or subspecies will have coexisted close to each other for thousands of years. This coexistence, however, did not result in a union of the two races but in the extinction of the older species around 27,000 years before our time, a process of which the true reasons have yet to be ascertained. According to genetic research, the genetic samples of the two species do not have much in common, so that the sexual contacts we have to presume may have produced but sterile offspring, if any. Apparently the two species were already genetically too remote from each other for interbreeding; a comparison to the relationship of horses and donkeys suggests itself. We have to accept the disappearance of the Neanderthals as a striking example of evolution: the superior species remained. Their members will have had better clothing, better housing, and will have practised more skilful hunting, so that their communities could have been larger. For a number of paleoanthropologists, it is even doubtful if the Neanderthals disposed of a differentiated speech, which seems to depend upon a specific gene (Reichholf, 1997:163), a deficiency disastrous for co-operation, particularly for hunting or fighting.

The dependence of the hunter-gatherers upon the resources nature offered lies at hand, but it has to be stated that even their way of living could have severe impacts on their environments. Apparently, modern humans, mainly after the invention of the spear-thrower as well as bow and arrow, were extremely successful hunters; their appearance in America and in Australia, possibly as early as some 40,000 years ago, resulted in the extinction of numerous large animal species. In the Americas, for instance, elephants, camels, lions, and horses disappeared, while Europe, above the extinction of the Neanderthals, suffered similar losses.

Implications for Teaching

The history of the human genus, so far, may not have been a topic in the guidelines for schools, although it can easily be defended. If education has to provide qualifications for future living, as Saul B. Robinson stated (Robinsohn, 1972:44), the topic of an ecological history of the species should be obligatory for schooling at the beginning of the 21st century. Sustainability of a world people can live in is the political task of our time, and by looking back on the ecological past students by comparison may gain a better understanding of the present situation.

Primeval history suggests several judgements: For 97 percent of the human past our species lived a nomadic life as hunter-gatherers (here we have left out the even longer phase of pre-human existence in African savannas). Survival depended upon rigid solidarity within social groups and readiness of aggression towards others; the concept "we and the others" has persisted for ethnic, national, and religious communities to our days. The innumerable struggles and wars in human history cannot be explained otherwise. The knowledge of these age-old dispositions should open up understanding for behaviour and enhance more peaceful attitudes. Stone-age mentality, once obligatory for survival, is disastrous in an atomic age. This insight ought to be an overall learning goal.

"Weltbürgerliches Bewusstsein", a conscience of global citizenship, should result from the fact that we all belong to the same species, the only one among several pre-human and human species which survived. The same objective has long been on the agenda of reflective educators: Derek Heater, among others, advocates a world citizenship, adding: "Universal fraternity may well be essential for human survival" (Heater, 1990: 187-189). Empathy with other ethnic, religious, and social groups is an ability needed to achieve that mentality.

We are all Africans by descent. The roots of civilization are to be traced not in America nor in Europe, but were accomplished by black people in Africa. Two abilities apparently promoted the ascent of humankind: the production and usage of tools and the disposal of energy in the form of fire, abilities which have been specified to an incredibly high level, accompanied by great chances and unforeseen risks in the 21st century. On the secondary level, students may discuss the pros and cons. But the early phase of human existence may well be a topic for children of the primary level.

The Invention of Agriculture

The end of the ice age, about 11,000 years ago, radically changed conditions for hunting and gathering societies. The wide grasslands in the northern hemisphere, vital for their game, gave way to dense forests. On the other hand, global regions endowed with plenty of sunshine and water existed, where plants and animals which could be domesticated were found. We do not really know if it was population growth that led to the invention of agriculture, or if it was that invention which allowed a considerable increase in population (Diamond, 1998:123) For centuries, the first steps towards systematic agriculture consisted in taking care of still wild plants. The final establishment of an agricultural way of life, the "Neolithic Revolution" according to Gordon Childe, was a long lasting process realized independently in several regions on earth. It started about 8,000 b. C. in the so-called Fertile Crescent, reaching in a wide arc from the town of Jericho close to the Jordan River over the south-east of modern Turkey well into the Iranian highlands. Several kinds of wheat, sheep and goat apparently laid the basis of agricultural breeding in that region. Mesopotamia proper, Egypt, China, the Indus valley, and certain territories in the Americas followed.

Ecologically speaking, agricultural production meant a radical change for humans and their environments. Nomadic life was given up, woods had to be cut or burnt down to gain arable lands, and the straining toil on the fields meant a cultural shock: Humans had indeed been expelled from paradise, as hunters are estimated to have been active not more than four hours per day to care for their food. On the other hand, farmers produced a surplus of nourishment so that structured societies with nobles, priests, artisans, and soldiers could develop. It was in the course of the 5th and 4th millennia that the first known process of this kind was initiated by the Sumerians. They intruded into the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, they dried swamps, built towns, irrigated their fields with the help of a sophisticated canal system, and finally invented cuneiform characters as the first kind of writing in order to control trade and the deliveries of the farmers. Here we are faced with the first advanced civilization on the globe. The town of Uruk, in the middle of the 4th millennium, already had up to 50,000 inhabitants.

The sensitivity of agricultural societies soon became apparent: Artificial irrigation, required in tropical and subtropical climates, will invariably result in salinization of the soil. This is why wheat, the crop preferred in Mesopotamia

around 3,000 b. C., had to be totally replaced by the less valuable barley, which is more tolerant of salt, by 1,700 b. C. (Amery, 1976:83). Other regions suffered even more serious distress. Egypt, in an extremely favourable position through the annual rise of the Nile covering their fields with fertile mud, could not escape the global climatic catastrophe around 2,200 BC. The floods set out for years and the ensuing famine became so severe that the farmers murdered their priests and a general upheaval put an end to the Old Egyptian Monarchy. Archaeologists even found traces of cannibalism in the graves of the time (BBC exclusive, broadcasted by Vox TV, 10th December 2001).

The agrarian society of China has existed continually for more than 5,000 years to our days, but was repeatedly stricken by famine. The Indus civilization concentrated around the towns of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa may have collapsed because of lack of water after widespread deforestation of the land. In general, erosion and a continuous deterioration of the soil have to be considered as a token of agrarian societies. Further examples in the history of mankind will have to be named below.
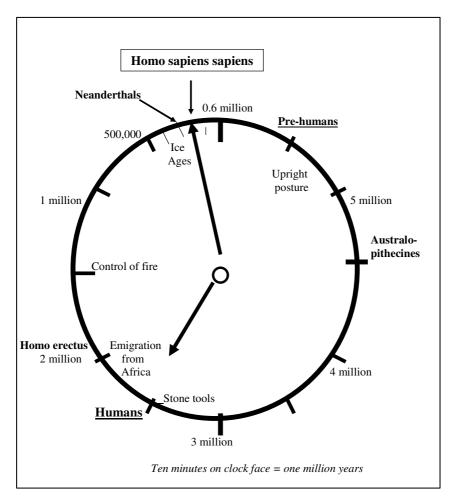
Implications for Teaching

The characteristic traits of the new mode of production have been demonstrated above: farming and its consequences must indeed be considered as a cultural revolution, the first economic revolution of humankind. In the beginning, the material resources were still confined to stone and wood; metal became widely used not before the 4th millennium. The students should find out the parallels and the differences of those first advanced civilizations and the present. The sensibility of any agrarian society regarding natural change, caused by human action or not, will be understood, the crises and catastrophes once regional, nowadays in many respects global, shall be compared.

The German educator Wolfgang Hilligen, as early as 1975, named 'Chancen' and 'Gefahren', opportunities and risks, as criteria for selecting curricular elements meaningful for life; he mentioned the ability of self-destruction, sustainability of the conditions of life, and global interdependence as vital issues (Hilligen, 1975:196). During the lessons, teachers and students may cooperate demonstrating the chances and the risks of the invention of agriculture. On the one hand, this new mode of production laid the basis of civilization: fixed residence, cities, states, population growth, the art of writing, advanced technologies for constructing temples, canal systems and irrigation of the fields. But natural disasters were permanently threatening, deterioration of the soil and erosion were unavoidable, population growth resulted in fights for resources, especially arable land. War became a continuous token of human history.

Most students will not be aware of the immense periods of time having passed during the course of hominid evolution. It can best be illustrated by the teacher using an imaginary face of a clock on which ten minutes represent one million years, see Figure 1. The oldest pre-human fossil finds are dated back about six million years. The 5,000 years of human history proper cannot be depicted proportionally by this scale. All the dates given are approximate. The facts are taken from Schrenk (1997).

Figure 1: Hominid Evolution

Early Europe

From the point of view of the still thriving Near East, Europe was just an insignificant appendix during these centuries; the Phoenician "ereb", "Europe", meant "the dark lands". The way of life of hunter-gatherers prevailed there up to the 6th millennium BC, but this period experienced another climate shift with warmer temperatures resulting in an ecological catastrophe: Large shelves of ice in the polar region melted, the level of the ocean rose, and in the south-east, where the Sea of Marmara is nowadays connected with the Black Sea, the former land-bridge collapsed. For months, immense waters poured into the plain destroying all the settlements in their way. Mythological tales of the Deluge may recall this event. There had been widespread agriculture in that region practised by Indo-European farmers. Many of them escaped and moved north, the first ecological refugees we know of. They introduced their domesticated plants and life-stock into Europe, thus for the time around 5,400 BC, agricultural activities can already be ascertained in the Rhineland.

For farming, primeval woods had to be cleared, which was frequently done with the help of fire. In this manner, the fertility of the soil could be improved but for a

short time, so that the people were forced to practise a kind of migrating agriculture. No doubt the mode of production of hunter-gatherers was still partly practised. Invaluable information concerning the life in the late 4th millennium was given through the find of a body in the alpine ice layers several years ago, called the Similaun-man. He was armed with a long bow of yew wood, a flint dagger and a hatchet made of copper, an equipment characterizing the transitional period between the stone age and the time when bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, became the preferred material. Besides, the mere fact that the ice has returned that body after more than five millennia, may be taken as a sign of global warming in our time.

As early as the middle of the third millennium, the first advanced European civilization developed on the isle of Crete. An agriculture mainly relying on grain, olives, wine, and fish was developed and led to a community the palace ruins of which are still being admired today. Supported by a well equipped fleet, the Cretans reigned supreme in the eastern Mediterranean for a long time. But in the 2nd half of the 17th century, an eruption of the volcano Santorin, situated at a distance of more than a hundred miles north of Crete in the Aegean, caused the first tsunami in history we know of, accompanied by immense plumes of ashes and gases. Scientific research in the Greenlandic ice shield has proved a sudden rise of sulphur acid in those years. The formerly flourishing culture was deadly stricken and afterwards occupied by Mycenaean warriors from the Greek mainland. Here we are confronted with an impressive example of a civilization collapsing after ecological disasters had undermined their economic base.

The Classical Civilizations: Greece and Rome

Since the 1st millennium BC, written sources are available reporting human relationship to nature and its consequences. The scarcity and growing deterioration of the soil and the ensuing population pressure can be discerned, for population numbers increased in spite of the problems. This was especially true for classical Greece: The hilly and originally wooded country had been transformed into fruitful land by terracing the hills, but heavy erosion had been the consequence. In an impressive report Platon relates:

> *The soil, broken off the land above, is gliding down continuously and disappears in the deep. …All the fat and juicy earth is gone, only the naked skeleton of the land has remained …* (Platon, 2006:16)

The Greeks tried to overcome their ecological difficulties in various ways. During the 8th century BC, migrations began that led the settlers to the coasts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean as far as later Marseille; historical literature has named this expansion positively 'Greek Colonization', but it was caused mainly by the need for land, and there are hardly any sources describing the reactions of the native populations. Indeed these migrants were better organized and better equipped than the African fugitives trying to reach the coasts of Mediterranean Europe in our days.

Another measure to reduce population pressure was the attempt to limit the number of children. The Greek poet Hesiod recommends, "You should have only one son to keep your father's house." A cultural preference of homosexuality may have served the same goals (Radkau, 2000: 20 and 342).

The metropolis Rome presented all the characteristics we have to expect in a capital of an advanced civilization. Its population will have reached up to 900,000 at

the time of Caesar and about one million a hundred years later. Their nourishment could only be secured by boat. That is why all larger towns in antiquity were situated at coastlines or river banks. Immense amounts of grain had to be shipped to Rome from the provinces of Egypt and Africa. Within the city, noise and bad air were hardly endurable. Whenever possible, the upper class fled to their villas in the country so that Seneca blamed them for covering the seashore with their houses, and he asks critically: "Is the demand for roses in winter not an unnatural desire?" (Seneca, 1965:122,8). Outside the Stoa, however, we rarely find such an ecological awareness.

Implications for Teaching

Through studying the ecological situation of antiquity, students should understand that the great step forward in the course of history was not a genuine achievement of Europeans, but taken over from farmers living in territories more beneficial for agriculture. Their migration had transferred knowledge and equipment from Asia Minor and the Black Sea area via the Balkans and Greece into Eastern Europe and farther on.

The information acquired regarding life in antique towns will foster the insight of general problems caused by advanced civilizations. Not only the burdens but also a respective awareness occasionally may be found. Tertullianus, one of the Early Fathers, comments about 200 AD:

> *We have become a burden for the world. The elements are becoming scarce, hardship is increasing, all the people are complaining that nature might not sustain us any longer ...* (Tertullianus, 1933:30)

Students may infer that all our actual ecological difficulties already existed in the course of human history. It will be helpful to make them find out in which respect the so-called post-industrial civilization has reached an incomparable stage.

The Rise of Medieval Europe

At the beginning of the Middle Ages, Central Europe presented rather a poor image compared to the advanced civilizations in the south: The barbaric invasions had left many regions devastated, only few towns of minor size existed, struggles between Germanic tribes among each other and against nomads from the steppes continued. Thus the environment did not have much to suffer from overpopulation nor exhaustion of resources, yet one thousand years later, the greater European regimes were among the leading powers on the globe, both economically and militarily. This rise needs explanation.

When searching for reasons of economic power in agrarian societies, we may find explanations by analysing the agricultural conditions of the territories in question. Europe had received most of the animals and plants that had been domesticated in the Near East: cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs, all sorts of grain, fruit, and vegetables. Rye and oats had been introduced comparatively late (Diamond, 1998:143); in Southern Europe, the more valuable wheat containing more proteins was the classical corn. In the north of the Roman Empire, farmers had widely taken to rye, for it was easier to manage and produced larger crops so that it became the food of the poor. The favourable mixture of cattle breeding which produced enough dung with an agriculture that did not demand irrigation improved living conditions

in the course of the centuries; the same is true for the usage of the iron plough and the introduction of water mills. Population numbers rose, towns were growing, powerful kingdoms based on feudalistic structures arose, trade was increasing. In the long run, the peasants had learned to handle wheat which became the leading grain, and the monasteries were successfully taking part in clearing the woods for fields and in the production of all kinds of food, including beer and wine. Thus at the height of the Middle Ages, around the 11th and 12th centuries, we discern a flourishing economy on an agricultural basis (Montanari, 1999:42 and 68; Moore, 2001:73). This progress allowed a considerable increase of military power. The knights were equipped with strong and well bred horses and heavy iron armour, permitting them to carry out successful crusades in Eastern Europe, Spain, and the Holy Land.

Severe setbacks, though, could not be avoided. At the beginning of the 14th century, a temperature shift resulted in widespread starvation in various European countries. "Repeated waves of humidity …rotted harvests and flooded rivers" and "doomed the people of Western Europe to a series of famines". For the two years following 1315, "the European grain harvests were completely destroyed" (Gore, 1993:67). But a greater disaster was yet to come. The Tartars were besieging the town of Kappa on the Crimean peninsula which was held by the Genoese. When they failed to overcome the fortifications and the plague broke out in their army, they catapulted infected bodies into the town and thus, in 1347, gave the first known example of biological warfare in history. The consequences were immense. Too late had the Genoese realized the danger. They left Kappa for their native city, and from there the pestilence spread all over Europe, killing about one third of its population (Radkau, 2000:185).

Still, Europe did not collapse. On the contrary, 150 years later, European regimes were ready to conquer the world. Four centuries before that time, this continent had rightly been regarded as rather uncivilized; both the Chinese Empire and Islamic caliphates controlled much larger territories and had attained advanced civilizations with high technical standards. Under these circumstances, European expansion over the globe must appear astonishing. The American scientist Jared Diamond has found a simple but clear answer: "The fact that the history of different peoples developed in different ways is not the consequence of biological differences but the result of different environments." (Diamond,1998:32). Diamond points to the favourable prerequisites for agriculture in Europe named above and the technical improvements that had caused European superiority in economic and military affairs.

The Chinese and the Mayas

For an ecological approach to history, such arguments might be seducing, but we should not be convinced too fast. China, for example, operated a successful agriculture too; its technological standards were high as is shown by the early inventions of paper, gun powder, and the compass. Huge fleets had been sent to the coasts of India and East Africa in the first half of the 15th century; Chinese captains are even said to have reached the American coasts. But all of a sudden, all naval endeavours were stopped by the Chinese court and the respective equipment was annihilated. The reasons for that turn of policy remain in the dark; Diamond who relates these facts does not offer any convincing argument. His only explanation is that a certain faction at the court had succeeded to stop these expeditions (Diamond, 1998:510). There is no doubt that the Chinese would have been able to colonize parts of the world as the Europeans indeed did. As the material prerequisites were

given for both sides, a difference of mentality remains to explain the issue, and here we find a bundle of arguments. Through their religion, the Christians were obliged not only to expand their creed all over the world but even to dominate it (1. Moses I, 28). Apart from these incentives, a traditional scientific curiosity and, not to forget, the rush for gold have to be counted as strong motives. Lacking such attitudes, Buddhist self sufficiency will have easily kept Chinese explorers at home. Compared to these arguments, the American scientist cherishes a surprisingly materialistic approach, pretending that history should be practised purely as a natural science (Diamond, 1998:521). We should understand that historical research demands more than geographical and biological constituents.

When comparing Europe with the Americas, Diamond's approach is more convincing. The basis of native American agriculture was rather scarce, as several large animal species had been made extinct by their ancestors. Thus horses, for instance, had to be reintroduced by the Spaniards. The American natives depended upon dogs, guinea-pigs, turkeys and, restricted to the Andes regions, the llama, as animals apt for domestication. They met with a somewhat richer offering of various kinds of plants, but overall less valuable than the Asiatic and European specimens. We have to name maize, potatoes (in the Andes) and tomatoes, beans and cocoa. Several peoples, however, succeeded in developing advanced civilizations endowed with large towns, the art of writing, and sophisticated calendars based on precise astronomical observations.

The fate of the Mayan society deserves special mention under ecological aspects. Repeatedly, archaeologists have found cities that apparently had been left quite suddenly with convincing explanations lacking. As Mayan history comprises more than ten centuries, the factors that have to be studied are manifold. The following facts can be ascertained: the Mayan territory, extending from the Yucatan peninsula south to the Pacific coast, lacked larger rivers or lakes and depended mainly on annual rainfalls. Wells, especially in the more populated southern parts of the region, had to reach rather deep to meet ground-water. The period between 250 and 900 AD is considered as the classical era of Mayan history. During these centuries, the country was widely deforested, became overpopulated, and finally there was hardly enough fertile soil to nourish the farmers' families and the expanded noble class. Consequently, continuous struggles and extremely cruel wars between towns, villages, and provinces occurred, as no ruler had succeeded to unite the country. Modern scientists have been able to recognize several periods of severe drought: around 760, twice during the 9th century, and shortly after 900, a date marking the collapse of the Mayan society. No inscription after that date has been discovered, which does not mean that the Mayas as a people were extinct, but population numbers had dropped dramatically and their civilization had collapsed (Diamond, 2005:199; Radkau, 2000:34).

The fate of the Mayas demonstrates an ecological breakdown in a typical way. At the beginning, they will have found enough fertile soil, probably in a favourable climate situation with sufficient rain being stored by extensive forests. The expansion of the people may be assessed as peaceful, and the population grew in this prosperous situation. This state of affairs may have lasted for centuries. Population growth, however, resulted in deforestation, exhaustion of the soil, and increasing scarcity of resources. Repeatedly, their situation was aggravated by serious droughts. Famine, struggles within the society and wars with neighbouring tribes invariably followed, until civilization came to its end. Following this pattern, many a society in global history has broken down. Diamond has described them: the Anasazi in New Mexico, the Polynesians on the Easter Island, and, under specific conditions, the

Vikings in Greenland (Diamond, 2005). For the once prosperous and fertile Near East, Diamond declares an "ecological suicide", whereas Europeans prospered, for they had been lucky to live in a less sensitive environment (Diamond, 1998:509).

The New Age is characterized by European colonization of large parts of the globe. Caravels, artillery, horses, and iron-armoured soldiers, frequently accompanied by an unbelievable audacity, were the sources of that expansion – Franzisco Pizarro for instance had less than 200 men available to conquer the realm of the Incas, disposing of thousands of warriors.

Implications for Teaching

At this point of the teaching project we have in mind, the class will have to deal with a phenomenon historians like to call the European 'Sonderweg', the particular progress of Europe in the world. "The question of the special way of Europe is vital for European self-comprehension", says the historian Christian Meier (Meier, 2002:42). At a time when the western way of life is widely and rightly criticized, this self-comprehension should become a goal for students in Europe, not to forget in Northern America and Australia. Meier goes on pointing out that the naïve pride on some of the results of European history easily leads to a feeling of superiority and the belief that the whole world should come to be like the West.

Like Diamond, Meier emphasizes geographical explanations for Europe's rise: the moderate climate, the abundance of water - all favourable prerequisites for agriculture, the richness of iron ore, and other resources. But he goes further demonstrating the particular traits of European history from the Greek city-states to the Roman Empire and the rise of European monarchies during the Middle Ages. The material prerequisites do not deliver sufficient answers. Greek rationality started the rise of science, the concept of democracy disputed monarchical and aristocratic rule, even traditional religion was questioned. The Roman Empire made steps towards the rule of law. Medieval scholasticism enhanced debating philosophical and theological issues. These traits of European thinking might become topics in class for a better understanding of Europe's role in the world, although by introducing these aspects of intellectual history the teacher will be expanding the ecological theme proper.

Natural Science and the Industrial Revolution

The recognition of the world as a globe was followed by a boom of natural science. The philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626), Lord Chancellor of the British Crown, has to be named as one of the first and most typical representatives of the new way of thinking. He intended to analyse nature by slicing it ('dissecare naturam') (Dilthey, 1949:152). For the first time in the history of humankind nature should be conquered by the systematic use of experiments; the outspoken goal of modern scientists like Bacon and René Descartes was indeed the domination of nature. This new philosophy attempted to exchange the traditional dependence on nature for the illusion of controlling it:

> *A mechanistic philosophy of life was to become the universal and exclusive philosophy from the 17th century to our days* (Habermas, 1971:35)

Early attempts to realize a rational attitude towards nature can already be traced in classical Greek philosophy, but their goal was pure knowledge, whereas the final aims of modern thinking have been utilitarian. The economic application of this epistemology was realized through the Industrial Revolution, the second fundamental break in human history after the invention of agriculture.

It is true that the scientific age has improved conditions of life tremendously. In the production of all kinds of goods, a ruthless but effective competition set in to produce better, cheaper, and faster. All spheres of life were included in that race. Industrialization, starting from England in the second half of the 18th century:

> *has inaugurated a permanently expanding economic system, whose most important global trend has been a continuous growth that basically was not even interrupted by wars or catastrophes* (Wehler, 1969:17).

It is that very growth within the limited system of the earth which causes problems of global relevance.

Among the issues we have to assess are the various forms of energy needed for keeping the system running. Originally, humans were restricted to the power of their own muscles. One and a half million years ago, the control of fire lit by wood had been added, the usage of which led to environmental impacts through intentional deforestation after the beginning of agriculture. This may have been serious for limited territories as we have seen, but the woods were at least renewable. The strengths of domesticated animals, mainly donkeys, horses and oxen, later camels, elephants and llamas, were employed in various regions. All these resources would have been insufficient to launch industrialization; pit-coal, natural gas, finally atomic energy had to be used. The impacts of coal burning which produces carbon dioxide and the safety issues of atomic energy are well known and need not be explained in detail. Global warming of 2 to 5 degrees centigrade within our century is foreseen, and until now no safe permanent deposit of atomic waste has been found.

The Present and the Future

The increase of energy needs is but one item of growing industrialization. The Club of Rome, as early as 1972, published a study on the ecological situation of humankind (Meadows, 1972). Five items were analysed in a computer model: population numbers, supplies of resources, pollution, industrial production per head, and food production per head. Population growth and the increase of pollution were found to be exponential, and all items investigated were interrelated. In short, the study predicted a serious crisis, if not a collapse of human civilization, for economic and ecological reasons, the critical period beginning around 2030, unless strict political decisions to reduce population growth, pollution, and exploitation of resources would be carried out internationally. A most radical change of mentality would have been unavoidable to realize those demands.

We are approaching that date. How do we have to assess the results of the team inaugurated by the Club of Rome today? We have to remember that the warnings of the study were not meant as a prediction, and without any doubt a general public awareness concerning the situation of the planet has set in. Corresponding actions and change of behaviour, on the other hand, have been rare. This is why the results

of that study, which has been refined by further research of the same authors, are still valid.

The second half of the 20th century experienced a dramatic competition of two economic systems. Unfortunately, both of them used the same methods to improve the well-being of their citizens, namely the augmentation of their means of production, without regarding the ecological costs which might ensue. An unprecedented acceleration of scientific knowledge and its technological realization, mainly within the capitalistic societies, accompanied the process. Thus the west has won the race, which has permitted the system labelled 'Free Market Economy' to initiate the modern form of globalization. Al Gore, former Vice President in the Clinton administration, has called it "humankind's assault on the earth":

> *Free market capitalist economics is arguably the most powerful tool ever used by civilization…The victory of the West…imposes upon us a new and even deeper obligation to address the shortcomings of capitalist economics as it is now practiced* (Gore, 1993:25 and 182).

Similar warnings of scientists and philosophers are manifold. Balance ought to be aspired, including even the reduction of certain economic activities, but the neo-liberalistic obsession of growth determines political and economic thinking: Even when faced with an annual growth of the Gross National Product of less than two percent, economists are afraid of a crisis. The tremendous inequalities between western and non-western countries are intensifying the tense global situation. Hans Jonas states:

> *It is true that we live in an apocalyptic situation, that is to say before a universal catastrophe, if we let things go as they are. The overdeveloped scientific, technical and industrial civilization is the source of our distress. We should recall the Baconic programme, namely founding knowledge upon the domination of nature and using that knowledge for the improvement of the human fate. Its dynamic success resulted invariably in an excessive production and consumption. Any society would have been subdued regarding the real unexpectedness of the achievements, as no society consists of sages.* (Jonas, 1984:251)

The philosopher's comments may be completed by the words of Richard Leakey, a scientist scrutinizing not only the past of humanity but also the history of the globe. After relating five events of terrestrial history which apparently led to the extinction of various forms of life, the last one exterminating the dinosaurs 65 million years ago, he ends: "For the sixth extinction, however, we do know the culprit. We are." Leakey/Lewin, 1996:254)

Leakey is not sure that this extinction will really happen. The ecological scientist Jared Diamond also allows humans a good chance to overcome the present difficulties; he is "cautiously optimistic" (Diamond, 2005:643) His reason for hope is based on his supposition that we do not suffer from insoluble problems, our dangers not being out of control as they were made by ourselves. Considering both the worldwide ecological situation and the course of global politics, I am sorry to say I cannot agree.

The world finds itself in a situation comparable to that of the Mayas twelve hundred years ago. Population growth is out of control, although its acceleration is

slightly reducing. Resources are diminishing, primeval forests are widely being cut down, clean water is becoming scarce, deterioration of the soil, mainly through erosion and drought, is widespread. The deserts are expanding. Pollution, both chemical and radioactive, is hardly controlled. The future development of the climate is uncertain and may become disastrous. The inequalities between western societies and the poor countries in southern parts of the globe are not diminishing but growing. We have already begun to face the clashes and wars for resources which marked the end of the Mayan culture.

Conclusion

Responsible teaching in the present global situation is a challenging task, for a kind of catastrophic didactics would not be advisable. Methodically helpful will be the fact that the students are personally concerned by the results of present and future behaviour of man towards nature, so motivation should easily be attained. If that concern should not be felt, teaching ought to promote it.

One of the central goals of learning should be an ecological awareness resulting from basic knowledge of environmental issues; the historical dimension depicted above will be helpful for better understanding the present through comparison. The insight in the unprecedented situation of mankind at the beginning of the 21st century will invariably follow. The criteria for selecting curricular elements meaningful for life suggested by Wolfgang Hilligen, 'opportunities and risks' (Hilligen. 1975:196) can serve as guidelines for the preparation of the project. The interconnectedness of the world issues should become apparent for the students, as "the environment…is the natural security issue of the early twenty-first century," and "future wars and civil violence will often arise from scarcities of resources such as water, cropland, forests, and fish" (Kaplan, 2000:42. We would like to add: energy.

For members of western civilizations, the study of the human past should lead to reducing the widely but unreasonably felt superiority of the European-American culture. The cradle of mankind and its early achievements, as the invention of tools and the control of fire, lie in Africa, the first advanced civilizations based on the invention of agriculture are to be found in Mesopotamia and Egypt, Europe's contributions to global civilization have been considerable but late, their military and economic superiority for some centuries had been made possible by ecological advantages, and the fundamental risks mankind is facing result from an economic system created by the Europeans.

The facts and issues briefly outlined in this essay may open up a wide field of activities for teachers and students in civic education; textbooks and internet provide detailed information. The ups and downs of the ecological situations including the climate will be discerned, together with the more or less successful human reactions in the past. Today our scientific and technological means are incredibly advanced, but human civilization is more sensitive than ever before. And the crisis is a global one.

Correspondence: DIETER SCHMIDT-SINNS, Max Ernst Weg 11, D-53340 Meckenheim, Germany. Email: dschmisi@aol.com

REFERENCES

AMERY, C., (1976) Natur als Politik. Die ökologische Chance des Menschen. Reinbek, Rowohlt.

ANDERSON, L. (1979) Schooling and Citizenship in a Global Age: An Exploration of the Meaning and Significance of Global Education. Bloomington, Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University.

DIAMOND, J. (1997) Guns, Germs and Steel. The Fates of Human Societies. New York, Norton & Company. The quotations are taken from the German edition (1998) Arm und Reich. Die Schicksale menschlicher Gesellschaften. Frankfurt/M., S. Fischer.

DIAMOND, J. (2005) Collapse. How Societies Choose to Fall or Succeed. New York, Viking. The quotations are taken from the German edition (2005) Kollaps. Warum Gesellschaften überleben oder untergehen. Frankfurt/M., S. Fischer.

DILTHEY, W. (1949) Grundriß der allgemeinen Geschichte der Philosophie. Frankfurt/M., Vittorio Klostermann.

GORE, A. (1993) Earth in the Balance. Ecology and the Human Spirit. New York, Penguin Books.

HABERMAS, J. (1971) Zur Logik der Sozialwissenschaften. Frankfurt/M., Suhrkamp.

HEATER, D. (1990) The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education. London and New York, Longman

HILLIGEN, W. (1975) Zur Didaktik des politischen Unterrichts Vol 1, Opladen, Leske & Budrich.

JONAS, H. (1984) Das Prinzip Verantwortung. Versuch einer Ethik für die technologische Zivilisation. Frankfurt/M., Suhrkamp.

KAPLAN, R. D. (2000) The Coming Anarchy. In O'Meara P., Mehlinger H. D., Krain M. (eds.) Globalization and the Challenges of a New Century. Indiana University Press.

LEAKEY, R. (1994) The Origin of Humankind. New York, Basic Books.

LEAKEY, R. and LEWIN, R. (1996) The Sixth Extinction. Biodiversity and its Survival. London, Phoenix.

MEADOWS, D. L. (1972) The Limits to Growth. New York, Universe Books.

MEIER, C. (2002) Von Athen bis Auschwitz. Betrachtungen zur Lage der Geschichte. München, C. H. Beck.

MONTANARI, M. (1999) Der Hunger und der Überfluß. Kulturgeschichte der Ernährung in Europa. München, C. H. Beck.

MOORE, R. L. (2000) The First European Revolution c. 970 – 1215. Oxford, Blackwell. The quotations are taken from the German edition (2001) Die erste europäische Revolution. Gesellschaft und Kultur im Mittelalter. München, C. H. Beck.

PLATON, (2006) Kritias. Werke VIII 4. Göttingen, Vandenhoek & Ruprecht.

RADKAU, J. (2000) Natur und Macht. Eine Weltgeschichte der Umwelt. München, C. H. Beck.

REICHHOLF, J. H. (1997) Das Rätsel der Menschwerdung. Die Entstehung des Menschen im Wechselspiel mit der Natur. München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

ROBINSOHN, S. B. (1972) Bildungsreform als Revision des Curriculum. Neuwied, Luchterhand.

SENECA. L. A. (1965) Epistulae morales. Briefe an Lucilius. Reinbek, Rowohlt.

SCHÖNEBERG, U. (1987) Gruppenpsychologische Hintergründe der Fremdenangst und Fremdenfeindlichkeit. In Ausländer und Massenmedien. Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung v. 253, Bonn.

SCHRENK, F. (1997) Die Frühzeit des Menschen. Der Weg zum Homo sapiens. München, C. H. Beck.

TERTULLIANUS (1933) De Anima. Translated by J. Waszink.

WEHLER, H. U. (1969) Bismarck und der Imperialismus. Köln and Berlin, Kiepenheuer & Witsch.

Book Reviews

Citizenship in Contemporary Europe

Michael Lister and Emily Pia. Published 2008 by Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

This timely exploration of developing ideas and practices in citizenship in Europe, set in the context of globalisation, migration and changing patterns of welfare, is cogently argued and lucidly written. It offers both a comprehensive and authoritative survey of the field with a stimulating and provocative analysis, and is highly recommended reading.

Lister and Pia view citizenship as a dialogic relationship between the individual and the political community, and explore this within the setting of the European Union, which – as they demonstrate throughout their narrative – provides an extraordinarily rich setting in which to unpick trends and consider contemporary developments. Integration in Europe, mass migration, postnationalism and changing patterns of political participation provide the setting in which the authors tease out the relationship between normative concepts of citizenship – what citizenship should entail in terms of participation, right and duties – and empirical studies of the actual relationship between individuals and their political communities – how people really behave politically in the context of these changes.

The book thus divides into two parts: a section on theories of citizenship, followed by a section on empirical questions about citizenship in practice in Europe.

They begin their theoretical analysis from a definition of core citizenship as the relationships between rights, duties, identities and participation. From this, they describe the development of contrasting models of citizenship – liberal individual, communitarian, republican – as a dialectical set of responses. Though they trace their analysis back to Locke, most of their discussion focuses on more recent theorists, including an excellent integration of the work of John Rawls. Many readers of this journal may find some of this familiar territory, but the clarity and conciseness of the presentation makes it both a checklist, summary and introduction to the field. They are particularly good on the contradictions and incompatibilities of the various models. The second chapter challenges universalistic views of citizenship by considering issues of inclusion and exclusion, focusing particularly on the position of women and members of minority ethnic groups, many of whom challenge the dominant discourses of citizenship as white and/or male. The discussion moves in chapter three to the decoupling of rights from nationality in postnational citizenship and the discourse of human rights – an area in which the European Union presents some highly distinctive, if not unique, characteristics.

The second section takes four key pragmatic areas to consider the practice of citizenship in Europe. Political participation is examined in the context of the presumed 'democratic deficit', with a critical examination of aspects of the civic culture, rational voter choice, and alternative forms of political participation and expression. The cross-European examples usefully contrast important cultural variations within a general west-European social model. (Most of the data and

discussion is drawn, the authors say for pragmatic reasons, from the pre-2003 expansion of the Union.) The second focus is on social welfare and its relationship to citizenship, which has been a particularly significant characteristic of modern citizenship since the days of T H Marshall – and, of course, the model of 'social Europe' has been one of the important defining characteristics of the Union. On the basis of much empirical data, they conclude that the social welfare model in Europe has not suffered great retrenchment (yet), and the challenges that this would pose for European citizenship remain in the future. The third focus is on the challenges mass migration bring to concepts of citizenship and belonging. OECD data is used to clarify types of migration and the meaning of terms. Case studies of policy changes in the Netherlands, Germany and Italy show the complexity of responses and introduces a discussion of the securitisation of migration. The implications for citizenship, particularly in terms of the rights and duties afforded to non-citizens, are analysed. The final chapter in this section examines in detail the development of European citizenship per se, contrasting the postnationalism of Soysal with Derrida's aversion to the very concept of a community.

The authors conclude that citizenship in Europe is now "marked by diverse, cross-cutting, complex and frequently contradictory policies and trends … the decline in formal participation dovetails with increases in formal participation and the development of transnational, European, networks of activists and campaigners" (p. 196).

This book should be of use to a wide range of academic and professional readers. Its concise arguments and clear prose mean that it will be accessible to undergraduates, its analysis and range will stimulate postgraduates, and it will also be a useful reference on the academic's bookshelf.

Reviewer: Alistair Ross, Director, Institute for Policy Studies in Education, London Metropolitan University, London, England. Email: a.ross@londonmet.ac.uk

Citizenship Education: The British Muslim Perspective

Nader Al-Refai and Christopher Bagley. Published 2008 by Sense Publishers, Rotterdam/Taipei

Hegel, in his commentary on *Antigone*, refers to political demands and religious convictions as the 'two highest moral powers'. In their book, Al-Refai and Bagley propose that any tensions between these powers may not be a source of trouble for many young British Muslims, particularly those going to Muslim schools.

Opinions regarding the place of schools with a religious, particularly Muslim, character in a liberal democratic society are sharply divided. Recent years have seen works examining the issue in broad and multi-faceted manner (Burtonwood, 2006; Gardner, Cairns, & Lawton, 2005; Parker-Jenkins, Hartas, & Irving, 2005). Al-Refai and Bagley's approach is to engage with one important aspect of the debate – the relationship between citizenship and religious education – in a single faith tradition, Islam. In so doing, the book draws upon theoretical discussion regarding 'Islam and citizenship' and presents findings of a qualitative research that explores views of Muslim students and teachers about citizenship education.

In the initial chapters the authors situate their work in broader framework of the impact of globalisation on nationalism, identity and citizenship, calling for a cosmopolitan citizenship capable of mediating between national traditions and alternative forms of identity. It is argued that educational institutions must carry responsibility to contribute towards this ideal. It is in this context that the book seeks to examine how citizenship is being taught to Muslim children in Muslim as well as state schools.

The book carries a lengthy discussion of citizenship in the Islamic context. As the work acknowledges, the modern notion of citizenship cannot be found in any of Islam's primary sources. Interpretive efforts to harmonise traditional Islamic teachings and modern citizenry are thus inescapable. The authors do so by identifying elements in Muslim legal and theological thought that can contribute to the discussion of citizenship from a Muslim point view. These include: status of Muslims living in a Non-Muslim country, the concepts of the Ummah, the Shahada and the 'Ahd and the obligation for involvement in society. The concept of *maslaha* (public interest) could have been added to the list.

The later part of the book presents the research at the heart of the book. The main research question guiding the project is "how do Muslim schools deliver the citizenship curriculum, in comparison with schools in broadly similar geographical areas which have a mix of Muslim, Christian and non-religious pupils" (p. 93)? Five Muslim secondary schools and five state and Christian faith schools were included in the research. Questionnaires, interview and observations were used to collect data.

Overall, the findings indicate that Muslim schools in the sample are actively teaching citizenship education within what they see as an Islamic framework. The students generally make a close link between religious education and citizenship seeing both of them as concerned with morality, attitudes towards the other and personal and social issues. The students' responses indicate that they place a high value on religion both as an identity marker and a moral compass.

While the book's goal and approach are laudable it has some limitation, of which two merit mention. First, the argument could have been strengthened through an engagement with philosophical tensions between the obligations of modern citizenship and the demands of faith (Rosenblum, 2000); what happens when the Will of God does not match the Will of people? To say that this never happens is to avoid engaging with realities such as the decision of several young British Muslims to fight for the *Ummah* and against the British Army in Afghanistan. Such tensions may be resolvable, but not engaging with them exposes a lacuna. Secondly, the book leaves an impression that the Muslim community in Britain has a singular understanding of citizenship. Only incidentally does one get a glimpse into the differences of opinion that exists among Muslims. In the presence of historical as well as contemporary diversity among Muslims, the book's claim about what Islam has to say about citizenship often appears strained.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, the book is a welcome addition to an emerging field of study that deals with the ways in which schools are engaging with their various expectations.

REFERENCES
BURTONWOOD, N. (2006). Cultural diversity, liberal pluralism and schools: Isaiah Berlin and
     education. London: Routledge.
GARDNER, R., CAIRNS, J., & LAWTON, D. (2005). Faith schools: Consensus or conflicts? London:
     Routledge-Falmer.
PARKER-JENKINS, M., HARTAS, D., & IRVING, B. (2005). In good faith: Schools, religion and
     public funding. Aldershot: Ashgate.
ROSENBLUM, N. L. (2000). Obligations of citizenship and demands of faith: religious accommodation
     in pluralist democracies. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Reviewer: Farid Panjwani, Doctoral Candidate, University of Oxford, Oxford and
Senior Instructor, Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations, Aga Khan
University, London, England. Email: Farid.panjwani@aku.edu

Educating Citizens for Global Awareness

Nel Noddings (Ed.). Published in 2005 by Teachers College Press, New York, NY, USA

Nel Noddings' edited collection, Educating Citizens for Global Awareness, is one of the many recent contributions to the burgeoning field of education for global citizenship. In the introduction Noddings reflects on the different areas of educational studies that comprise global citizenship, including social justice, protecting the earth, diversity, and peace education. She makes the case that global citizenship is a more holistic frame for facing pressing world problems and interdependence that have been exacerbated by globalisation. This working definition is primarily a personal reflection on what she considers to be key issues relevant to citizenship in a global age. It's important to note that this formulation is neither exhaustive nor especially innovative. From a scholarly perspective, one key question is whether the concept of global citizenship provides any new meaning or consequence for educators or if it is just another educational trend that lacks substantial import. Although it does present several challenging and insightful perspectives, ultimately Noddings' volume does not provide a very satisfactory answer to this question.

The book contains seven chapters, each written by a leading scholar or practitioner. Chapter one (McIntosh) addresses the affective dimension of global citizenship with heavy reference to gender education. The author associates the idea of a global citizen with habits of mind, heart, body, and soul that work together to preserve a network of relationship and connection across lines of difference and distinctness. Chapter two (Smith and Fairman) argues for the importance of integrating conflict resolution skills into academic content. Throughout the chapter, the authors provide real-life anecdotes to emphasise the need for the integration of the skills into the curriculum rather than have them as stand-alone approaches such as electives or extracurricular activity, supporting this with evidence. In chapter three (Noddings) discusses the human connection to place from four different perspectives: political/psychological considerations, environmental aspects, the connection between local and global citizenship, and human flourishing and place. Chapter four (Ladson-Billings) focuses on citizenship and diversity, critiquing current civic education in schools and stressing the difficulty of achieving citizenship for all students with the present system. The fifth chapter (Thornton)

presents the significance of incorporating the internationalist perspectives in the existing U.S. high school social studies curriculum by educating teachers for internationalism. Chapter six (Nash) examines the importance of helping secondary students become more globally aware and religiously literate citizens by addressing religious pluralism through classroom dialogue. The final chapter (Carlsson-Paige and Lantieri) considers the role of schools in preparing young people to see themselves as part of the world in addition to their neighbourhood, community, or country.

Educating Citizens for Global Awareness introduces different approaches to educating students for global citizenship and global awareness by putting together the work of leading scholars and practitioners in the field. The authors are able to approach this issue primarily by anecdotes of real-life experiences from the field. A strength of the book is that it is likely to appeal to practitioners interested in strengthening international education and extending citizenship education although it is not itself an applied volume. However, as is (too) often the case with edited books, the chapters do not provide a coherent vision and were in many instances disconnected. The Ladson-Billings chapter in particular seems out of place with its focus on identity politics within the U.S. and its lack of attention to diversity in an international context. Furthermore, for a book about global education, the chapters are surprisingly limited to the U.S. context and to English-language scholarship.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the book is that it lacks a clear working conceptualisation of global citizenship education that is rigorously grounded in the philosophical and empirical scholarship. As a result, it is difficult for readers to come away with a better idea of what global citizenship education is and how it differs from existing practices in well-established educational fields such as conflict resolution and place-based education. Our main concern is that such an approach will render global citizenship as just another educational fad to be discarded when the next one comes around. If one believes, as we do, that citizenship education should be fundamentally transformed to respond to the ways that people increasingly hold transnational and global forms of consciousness (see Tomlinson, 1999, p. 205), then global citizenship as an educational practice needs more extensive development. Despite these shortcomings, this book succeeds in addressing sensitive issues that are a result of the process of globalisation and in raising a number of provocative questions about their implications for schooling.

REFERENCES
TOMLINSON, J. (1999) Globalisation and Culture. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Reviewer: John Myers, Assistant Professor, University of Pittsburgh, USA. Email: myersjp@pitt.edu; Hana Addam El-Ghali, Doctoral Candidate, University of Pittsburgh, USA. Email: hae5@pitt.edu

Human Rights and Service-Learning: Lesson Plans and Projects

Kristine Belisle and Elizabeth Sullivan. Published 2007 by Amnesty International USA, New York, NY and Human Rights Education Associates, Cambridge, MA, USA.

This book of lesson plans and service-learning projects provides an important contribution to human rights education. Connecting service-learning with human rights education can help to foster students' understanding of the fundamental rights that all human beings are entitled while simultaneously engaging students in social and political action. Designed for both novice and experienced educators the manual offers an innovative framework to teaching and learning that helps to support and protect human rights principles and values of all people.

The first section of the manual introduces the reader to human rights in general, exploring its historical context and the underlying tenets issued in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (*UDHR*). It also includes three examples of introductory human rights lesson plans. The second section provides information on service-learning, suggestions of how to organise a service-learning project, a project checklist, and a reflection guide. These first two sections are intended to acquaint educators with the fundamental components of human rights and service-learning so that they will be able to conduct the activities in the book with their students. If the goal is a basic introduction this section is adequate. For educators to fully appreciate the potential of service-learning for human rights education, however, a substantive understanding of the characteristics that underlie quality service-learning is required: engaging students in discussion and dialogue on issues that are important to them; fostering the types of learning activities and interactions that cultivate critical thinking and problem-solving; and supporting the development of skills that will enable students to critique, analyse, and formulate their action plans. Approached in this way, service-learning can serve as a powerful learning methodology where students work and learn together to understand and address human rights issues.

Section three presents over 20 lesson plans and service-learning projects across five human rights topic areas: Environment, Poverty, Discrimination, Children's Rights to Education and Health, and Law and Justice. Each topic area includes a brief introduction to the issue, human rights lesson plans, and two options for service-learning projects. For example, the introduction to the Poverty topic discusses the *Universal Declaration of Human Right*'s statement guaranteeing every person's right to an adequate standard of living, explores some key poverty concerns, and presents worldwide poverty statistics. The lesson plan for this topic introduces the general concept of human rights to students followed by a more specific lesson plan on poverty and human rights. The first service-learning project option examines the conditions that are needed to provide people with adequate housing. The second option examines how poverty impacts freedom of speech and assembly. Included in each activity are the objectives of the lesson, the curriculum link, time allotment, materials, and procedures. To contextualise the issue one-page reading handouts accompany each activity. An excellent set of online human rights resources is available. A two-page overview helps the reader understand how the activities relate to one another and how they fit within the book's human rights educational framework.

The manual is intended as a guide and the authors encourage educators to combine the lesson plans and develop their own service-learning projects. Yet, only a few resources are offered to advance educators' understanding of quality service-learning, what makes it successful, the components that distinguish it from other teaching methodologies, and how they can use it to effectively foster students' understanding of, and involvement in, human rights issues. The inclusion of a broad array of service-learning materials and online resources is critical. The availability of these resources can further educators understanding of the possibilities of service-learning so that they create the type of human rights service-learning experiences where students become active and engaged learners expressing ideas that are respected and listened to; develop a sense of positive belonging and membership built on acceptance, trust, and respect; work together in a collaborative manner on issues that they care about; and gain the necessary participatory and leadership skills that will enable them to address human rights in their schools, communities, and across the globe.

This book brings together a range of lesson plans and service-learning projects that address crucial human rights issues confronting the world today. My disappointment about the availability of resources to advance a more sophisticated understanding of service-learning for human rights education should not dissuade educators from using this book. Rather, readers should be encouraged by the potential of the book for innovative teaching. Human Rights and Service-Learning is a valuable resource for educators interested in exploring the possibilities of human rights and service-learning.

Reviewer: Gary Homana, Doctoral Candidate, Education Policy Studies, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, USA. Email: ghomana6@umd.edu

Regardless of Frontiers: Children's Rights and Global Learning

Don Harrison. Published 2008 by Trentham Books Ltd., Stoke on the Trent, England

Global education materials produced by international development non-governmental organizations (NGOs), often known as charities, are highly regarded, yet often mistrusted by teachers. In *Regardless of Frontiers: Children's Rights and Global Learning*, author Don Harrison brings together his vast experience as both a teacher in the formal education sector and as an NGO-based global educator who has worked in the development field. He does this with a level of thoughtfulness and skill that should assuage some of the fears of educators wanting to introduce the global dimension to their classrooms and raise the bar for those who produce global education materials. In this short, yet comprehensive book, Harrison proposes a method of teaching about global education and children's rights through a learning exchange methodology that is child-centred.

The book uses Harrison's own experiences working with children in local (United Kingdom) and global (Cameroon, Malawi, Peru, Malaysia) settings as examples of what a rights-based model for children's learning can look like. The premise is that children must be consulted about the representations of their lives and experiences in learning materials in order to avoid the propagation of negative

images and stereotypes, particularly of children from economically poor countries. The articles of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* provide the standards that the learning materials about children have to meet.

The book is very timely considering the surge of interest and support for school linkages in the UK. The Department for Children, Schools, and Families, for example, encourages schools to engage in exchanges and both the Department of International Development and the British Council provide incentives through awards or access to funding. However, as many have pointed out, the implementation and execution of these linkages, particularly those between schools from economically and culturally different regions, is fraught with challenges. Harrison finds the UK's citizenship curriculum to be an appropriate medium for rights learning (p. 6) in that the curriculum may balance out the *Convention*'s lack of emphasis on the concomitant responsibilities. He demonstrates his belief that the articles of the *Convention* on education "provide teachers with a top-down recipe for teaching about peace, tolerance and justice issues today" (p. 67).

In *Regardless of Frontiers*, Harrison emphasizes that along with the above-stated goal of authentic child participation and representation in the resources, a successful learning exchange requires careful planning and attention to the equality of the exchange as a mutual learning experience. Further, learning exchange across language frontiers needs to have carefully developed methods for communication (p. 45). In an effort to demonstrate how these recommendations can be implemented in practice, Harrison provides examples of how to set up a teacher-moderated exchange of visual representations produced by the students and numerous examples of how these pictorial-based conversations can unfold. He also includes complementary activities designed to assist in the development of multiple literacies and suggestions as to how educators can evaluate these activities. The final section of the book provides examples of activities and a selection of NGO-based resources that will assist teachers in introducing a rights-based, global education framework to their classroom.

Harrison is quite candid about both the limitations of the learning exchange methodology he proposes and of NGO-produced global education materials more generally. For example, even if the learning exchange is met initially with great enthusiasm by the students, their interest often fades after the first exchange, so teachers must work at keeping the exchange relevant in the classroom. Importantly, he also addresses teachers' concerns about NGO-produced global education materials, which are often taken up by teachers based on their trust in the NGO's philanthropic principles. NGO's charitable acts, he concedes, do not necessarily translate into sound educational material. As a response to this predicament, Harrison puts out a call to readers to develop a "Global Mark", which could provide a recognized standard for materials guaranteeing that "the people represented have had a say in the representation process" (p. 53).

In *Regardless of Frontiers* Harrison has demonstrated that the curricular mandate to create global citizens of our students necessitates a pedagogy that highlights the authentic participation and exchange of learning between children. More specifically, he successfully highlights the crucial role of international development NGOs in their ability to support these school exchanges through their relationships with children and communities from around the globe.

Reviewer: Nadya Weber, Doctoral Candidate, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, CA. Email: nadya.weber@utoronto.ca

Notes for Contributors

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

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

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

All material must be submitted in Microsoft MS Word format, as intended for publication. Tables and captions should appear within the text. Tables should be numbered by Roman numerals and figures by Arabic numerals. Captions should include keys to symbols. The editor will not normally accept figures. However, if they are absolutely necessary they should be submitted in a finished form suitable for reproduction at the size that will be used in the published version of the article and in any case not to exceed 125mm in width. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) should be used as a guide for spellings. Permissible alternative spellings should follow the OED, eg verbal forms which can end in –ize or –ise should be given the –ize form.

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

HAHN, C. L. (1999) Citizenship: an empirical study of policy, practices and outcomes. Oxford Review of Education, 25, 1&2, 231-250.

McLAUGHLIN, T. (2003) Teaching Controversial Issues in Citizenship Education. In Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (eds.) Education for Democratic Citizenship: issues of theory and practice. Aldershot, Ashgate.

RATCLIFFE, M. and GRACE, M. (2003) Science Education for Citizenship: teaching socioscientific issues. Maidenhead, Open University Press.

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