

Citizenship Education: A Case Study of Curriculum Policy

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Abstract

In this thesis I argue that citizenship education was one of a range of domestic policies through which New Labour politicians imagined and sought to create the ideal citizen. It follows that in order to fully understand what happened to citizenship education policy under New Labour, it is essential to assess it within the broader political context. This is the first study to explore the connections between the political context of New Labour, the model of citizenship education which was promoted and the provision that developed in schools. Whilst most analyses of this area have characterised the policy as essentially communitarian, I argue that the model of citizenship education was broadly civic republican in character. I discuss the model and the tensions within it by considering (i) rights and responsibilities, (ii) active citizenship and (iii) community and diversity. I argue that the tensions in policy have often been replicated, rather than resolved, at school level.

I have sought to understand the implementation of citizenship education policy from the top down and from the bottom up. The top down account draws on previously published national surveys and the bottom up story is told through an in-depth case study of a single school. The school case study was constructed in collaboration with a group of student co-researchers, which provides a distinctive methodological perspective and an insight into how Citizenship has been experienced by young people.

Whilst the policy has failed to achieve all that was intended, there are important lessons to learn. I argue that future citizenship education policy should address the nature of the curriculum more explicitly by communicating aims and purposes more clearly, acknowledging the process of local interpretation, addressing the issue of subject status and connecting more explicitly with community-based opportunities.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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The students were a joy to work with. Whilst I hope the serious intent of this research is evident, the young people made the research enjoyable and stimulating. They embraced their roles as co-researchers with enthusiasm and brought insights to the research that have enriched my understanding. I felt it was necessary to embrace student voice as a part of my research, simply because it is an important principle, but the young people I met transformed this sense of duty into a thoroughly enjoyable experience. As the research process wore on through the years, my meetings with my co-researchers turned into the highlights of my schedule and I am grateful for the openness, diligence and sense of fun they brought to the task.

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Acronyms

BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BYC	British Youth Council
CELS	Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study
CVA	Contextual Value Added
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government (established as a central government department in 2006)
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families (government department with responsibility for schools and curriculum, 2007-10)
DfE	Department for Education (government department with responsibility for schools and curriculum, 1992-5 and 2010-)
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment (government department with responsibility for schools and curriculum, 1995-2001)
DfES	Department for Education and Skills (government department with responsibility for schools and curriculum, 2001-7)
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education (the most common examination taken by school-leavers at the age of 16 in England)
GTP	Graduate Training Programme (school-based initial teacher training)
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KS	Key Stage (KS1/2 = primary education and KS3/4 = secondary)
NCS	National Citizens Service
NCSR	National Centre for Social Research
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHS	National Health Service
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OfSTED	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PE	Physical Education
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education (the most common route for initial teacher training)
PMSU	Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2002-10)
PSHE	Personal, Social and Health Education
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
RE	Religious Education
SACRE	Standing Advisory Council for Religious Education
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (computer software)
SSAT	Specialist Schools and Academies Trust
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YPI	Youth Philanthropy Initiative

A note on Citizenship and citizenship

Where citizenship is used with a lower case 'c' I am referring to the general concept, rather than the school subject. Similarly citizenship education, as a general area appears consistently in lower case. Citizenship appears with a capital 'C' only where it refers to the national curriculum subject (and of course at the start of a sentence).

Introduction

Personal motivation

There are several personal reasons for identifying the precise focus for this investigation into citizenship education. Firstly in my professional career this is an area with which I have been involved since 1994, when I started teaching. I trained to teach Social Sciences and taught History and Sociology, with a tendency towards developing rather sociological historical analyses. In 1999 I attended a conference on the Crick Report and the future of citizenship education and found what I perceived to be the perfect vehicle for my interest in political and social education. Shortly afterwards I started work at the Institute for Citizenship, managing a project with schools to develop Citizenship projects in the curriculum. After three years focusing on citizenship education I moved on to work in a university, starting up a History with Citizenship PGCE course, which enabled me to continue my interest in developing History with a particular focus on social and political education. This investigation started as part of my continued exploration of citizenship education in that role and, as I have worked on this thesis, I have maintained my involvement in the citizenship education network in England, becoming Chair of the Council at the Association for Citizenship Teaching and editor of their journal *Teaching Citizenship*.

Secondly, Citizenship brings together several strands in my own academic history, in particular my commitment to inter-disciplinary approaches. My first degree was a joint honours programme in Politics and Sociology and here I enjoyed exploring the connections that could be drawn between the disciplines; I was particularly impressed by C. Wright Mill's approach to sociology as the intersection of history and biography. Whilst the variety of theoretical perspectives I explored through my studies were obviously individually valuable, there seemed to be an additional value in drawing on several perspectives to attempt to understand social phenomena. I pursued this interest in inter-disciplinary work by studying for a Diploma in Development Studies, which drew on Economics, Post-colonial Theory, History and Sociology; and then studied for a Masters degree in Colonial History which helped me to think afresh about related issues, especially exploring the significance of context, both historical and geographical. Subsequently, after moving to work in a university, I started teaching on undergraduate and post

graduate Education Studies courses, which engaged me in thinking more systematically about the broader education system and enabled me to draw again on historical, philosophical, political and sociological perspectives in my teaching.

These introductory comments indicate my long-standing interest in citizenship education, both as a part of my working life and as an area that benefits from the inter-disciplinary approach to academic study that I have so enjoyed. Clearly though, the particular focus developed in this investigation needs further justification and so in the comments below I locate this thesis within the broader academic debates concerning citizenship education.

Positioning the thesis in the wider literature

In the early stages of my study of citizenship education I read widely across a range of related literature. There is a growing literature on pedagogy, ranging from theory to classroom tips, but below I crudely characterise a variety of approaches adopted within the wider literature. As I note below, these categories are not meant to be mutually exclusive, rather each theme simply represents a focus or purpose; individual books or studies can, and often do, straddle several categories.

Justificatory literature focuses on making a strong theoretical case for citizenship education within broader models of democracy. Here the primary concern may be with the model of democracy to be promoted, and education is discussed because of its perceived supportive role. Examples of this approach are provided by Kymlicka (1995) who refers to the role of education in promoting his preferred model of multicultural citizenship, and Barber (2003) who discusses education as one strategy for embedding strong, participatory politics in society. Sometimes the focus is more directly on providing a persuasive case for citizenship as a concern for educators, for example Callan (1997) explores in some detail the type of education that will support liberal democracy. Brighouse (2006) provides a more discursive example of this literature and guides the reader through the problems with making citizenship education compulsory, before concluding with cautious support.

Definitional literature is predominantly concerned with seeking to construct or explore definitions of ideal forms of citizenship education. There is a clear link to the justificatory literature mentioned above, and there may well be overlap, for example Wringe (1984) includes a broad discussion of the nature of democracy and a fairly detailed discussion of the educational implications, along with examples of educational practices that might be appropriate. I have included it as a separate category because at least some of this literature focuses more narrowly on the nature of citizenship education, and therefore appears to be more accessible by, and targeted to, a teaching audience. An example is provided by Cogan and Derricott (1998) who promote a cross-cultural multi-dimensional model of citizenship education. Some of this literature also develops models of citizenship informed by specific political commitments, for example Alderson (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2008) discusses human rights; as do Osler and Starkey, albeit within a broader model of cosmopolitan citizenship (2003, 2005b); whilst Annette focuses more on active citizenship (2000, 2003), and Davies has written about the connections between global and citizenship education (Davies et al., 2005a).

International and comparative literature is helpful in developing a broader understanding of the possibilities for the construction and implementation of citizenship education. Clearly this category is also linked to others, but I have included it as a separate heading simply to draw attention to the fact that some case studies and analyses of practice are relevant even though they are specifically rooted in other contexts. In this category I am thinking of comparative work such as Osler and Starkey's survey for UNESCO (Osler & Starkey, 2005a) and Hahn's discussion based on five countries (1998); as well as work from particular regions, such as the European programme for promoting *Education for Democratic Citizenship* (Audigier, 2000, Bîrzéa, 2000, Dürr, 2004, Liégeois, 2005); and individual country case studies such as those included in the *Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy* (Arthur et al., 2008) as well as those published separately (for example, Ai, 1998 on Singapore, Ekholm, 2004 on Finland, McCowan, 2009 on Brazil).

Historical material is also useful for similar reasons to the comparative literature. For example, accounts of US projects from the 1950s (Meier et al., 1952) and of

English projects from the inter-war period (Happold et al., 1937) are useful as a source of ideas against to which to measure and understand contemporary developments, but are also valuable because of the light they shed on the connections between the specific type of citizenship education envisaged and the context in which such schemes arose. Derek Heater has documented the history of citizenship education in England very thoroughly (Heater, 2001, 2004). Additional material in England clearly also informs our understanding of the development of ideas which eventually became statutory under New Labour, for example Crick's ideas can be explored in his Hansard work (Crick, 1978) as well as his more recent publications. If one returns to his formative work on political literacy, it is also useful to be aware of the context in which these ideas were formed; Brennan (1981) for example, provides a useful reminder of how conflict models of politics rendered citizenship education radical and controversial. Brennan himself calls for transformative student democracy and dismisses anything short of that as a 'sham', and quotes White (1973b) calling for students to be taught how to alter or remove institutions. Little wonder then that he also quotes one peer as attacking the Politics Association as a 'socialist conspiracy' (Brennan, 1981: 12).

Finally, I categorise some publications as essentially *evaluative*, exploring the impact of specific projects and programmes, or simply measuring levels of knowledge and understanding. Examples include the IEA Civics Study (Torney-Purta & Klandl-Richardson, 2002, Torney-Purta et al., 2001), and Niemi and Junn's (1998) analysis of the impact of civics classes. In relation to the introduction of citizenship education in England, the National Foundation for Educational Research conducted a longitudinal survey (see for example Benton et al., 2008), which is discussed in some detail in chapter 4. Other small scale evaluations discuss specific dimensions of the Citizenship curriculum, such as participation (Davies et al., 2009), debate and discussion (Jerome & Algarra, 2005) or political understanding (Rowe, 2005).

Clearly any research in citizenship education must draw on these categories of existing literature, but the essential point I have drawn from them all reinforces the message I received from my own academic study before undertaking this work,

namely that any policy can only be properly understood within the political context in which it arose.

Whilst the focus I have chosen to pursue – citizenship education in England – may run the risk of appearing somewhat parochial, the need for this more contextualized approach was underlined by my reading of two accounts of the Crick Committee and the development of citizenship education. First, Kiwan's (2008) study included interviews with members of the Crick committee and tends to focus on the dynamics of the group and their eventual recommendations as being the most important factors in explaining why citizenship education was introduced. Kiwan includes a rather cursory discussion of the context, focusing only on the narrow political perspective of identifying the 'window of opportunity', which almost entirely follows Crick's own 'insider account' of how the policy process worked.

The second significant contribution is Pykett's work, which also focuses on the activities of the Crick committee but analyses this from a Foucauldian perspective, focusing on the concept of governmentality (Pykett, 2007). Pykett places her analysis of citizenship education within the broader policy discussions of civil renewal and immigration, but fails to explore in any great detail precisely what kind of citizen is envisaged within these broad discourses. In a later article Pykett (Pykett et al., 2010) also makes a strong case for the need to understand citizenship education policy in its context – locating it in a time and place. She rejects the tendency in justificatory literature towards universalizing normative approaches, and also criticises the evaluative literature for being too narrowly focused on educational impact without acknowledging the relevant political contextual factors which shape citizenship education. Whilst I share Pykett's commitment that, "sensitivity to context is central [and] this includes sensitivity to the fate of good citizen discourse in different times," (Pykett et al., 2010: 525) I believe her focus on the educational context alone prevents her from achieving a clear understanding of how England's citizenship education policy has developed under New Labour.

There have however been some attempts to analyse citizenship education within the broader political context of New Labour (Gamarnikow & Green, 2000, Kisby, 2009), which specifically focus on the contribution of this policy to the broader programme of creating social capital. I argue that the focus on social capital is itself too narrow, but I intend to build on this kind of approach, which is to say I aim to develop an analysis of citizenship education policy which is firmly embedded in an account of the broader political context in which it developed. Dunn and Burton have outlined the case for such an analysis in their discussion of the relationship between New Labour's communitarian foundations and the development of citizenship education policy, but they argue that there is a need for a study which connects the broad analysis of political principles to the actions of teachers (Dunn & Burton, 2011). This thesis aims to provide that study, although in doing so I will broaden the discussion from Dunn and Barton's concern with communitarianism to consider other influences that informed New Labour and the Third Way.

The structure of this thesis

The first chapter continues this discussion about a broad methodological approach to understanding citizenship education policy in the wider political context. It draws on a range of ideas from the literature on policy analysis and establishes a 'toolkit' to develop my analysis in subsequent chapters.

In the second chapter I draw on a range of literature relating to politics, policy and welfare reform to discuss the overall policy context in which citizenship education developed. This chapter is concerned with establishing a framework within which I can answer the following question:

Citizenship education policy:

Q1 What were the government intentions for citizenship education?

I consider three inter-related discourses, which together form the trope of the 'new citizen', who inhabits a powerful role in the construction and validation of a broad range of policy initiatives, especially relating to welfare reform. I argue that the 'new citizen' is constituted through discourses relating to (i) responsibilities as well as rights, (ii) active participation and (iii) the relationship between the individual and their community.

In the third chapter I directly apply the three discourses from chapter 2 to discuss the evolution of citizenship education policy through a more detailed analysis of two key policy documents – the Crick Report and the Ajegbo Review. This discussion tracks these discourses within the two reports and considers ways in which the discourses change, both in their own terms and in their relationship to one another. This chapter completes the analysis of the first question and extends it with a second:

Citizenship education policy:

Q2 How have government intentions evolved through the first ten years of citizenship education?

Question 1 is essentially answered through a literature review of material relating to analyses of New Labour policy, whilst question 2 starts with a document analysis, which is informed by the wider literature on citizenship education in England. These initial questions are used to establish a framework to inform the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4 considers the evidence from large scale surveys relating to citizenship knowledge and action and establishes some broad themes about the impact of citizenship education over the period of time with which we are concerned. The main question being addressed in this chapter is:

National implementation:

Q1 What do we know about the national implementation of citizenship education?

In addressing this question, the chapter sets the scene for a case study of practice in a single school.

In the fifth chapter I present a rationale for my case study methodology and data collection methods alongside a report on my piloting phase. The pilot study enabled me to experiment with some of the data collection methods that formed the basis of my main fieldwork, especially working with school students as co-researchers. This is followed by a case study of a secondary school, which is presented from the teachers' perspectives in chapter 6 and from the students' perspectives in chapter 7. The case study addresses the following questions:

School case study:

Q1 What does the school want to achieve through its citizenship education programme?

This first question addresses the formal statements in policy documents and the curriculum. Subsequent questions address the experiences of students and teachers:

School case study:

Q2 What are pupils' experiences of citizenship education?

Q3 What are pupils' understandings of citizenship education?

Q4 What are teachers' experiences of citizenship education?

Q5 What are teachers' understandings of citizenship education?

These school case study questions are the key questions that guide the primary data collection undertaken in this thesis.

The conclusion draws together these questions to consider the overarching question which drives the thesis:

Overall question:

To what extent does the citizenship education taking place in schools reflect the government's aims for the subject?

The conclusion draws together reflections on three themes running through the work. The first theme relates to my methodological commitment to working with students as co-researchers, and here I reflect on some of the issues arising from my research. The second is concerned with the overall political context in which citizenship education evolved, and here I address the overall question directly and consider the extent to which the political intentions were realised. The third theme in the concluding chapter considers the factors that have influenced the implementation of citizenship education, and in considering these I draw on all of my data, reflecting on the intentions of policy makers, the curriculum framework, the national picture and the school case study. This final theme enables me to make some recommendations about implementing a curriculum for citizenship education.

Summary of research questions

Citizenship education policy:

Q1 What were the government intentions for citizenship education?

Q2 How have government intentions evolved through the first ten years of citizenship education?

National implementation:

Q1 What do we know about the national implementation of citizenship education?

School case study:

Q1 What does the school want to achieve through its citizenship education programme?

Q2 What are pupils' experiences of citizenship education?

Q3 What are pupils' understandings of citizenship education?

Q4 What are teachers' experiences of citizenship education?

Q5 What are teachers' understandings of citizenship education?

Overall question:

To what extent does the citizenship education taking place in schools reflect the government's aims for the subject?

Chapter 1

Policy analysis

This investigation is concerned with understanding the nature of citizenship education policy in England and as such I set out, in this section, some of the ideas that underpin my approach to education policy analysis. This discussion is intended to clarify the approach taken in terms of how to define and analyse policy and to identify some specific starting points for the detailed analysis of citizenship policy that follows.

Trowler draws attention to the multifaceted process that influences the creation of education policy (Trowler, 2003). He argues that, in order to fully understand the evolution of a policy, we need to think about a range of factors. First we need to consider the nature of the evidence available about the issue. Second, we should consider the nature and content of educational research and expertise related to the issue. Third, we should think about the range of stakeholder interests, for example, the implications for parents, pupils, teachers, local government, but also crucially for the minister and civil servants. Fourth, we must be aware of the political considerations, for example, the popularity of the policy or of the government at the time, the relative political positioning of ministers within the broader political context, and the viability of getting a policy successfully adopted in the contemporary context. Finally, and linked to the tactical political considerations above, we should be aware of the deeper ideological commitments of the government, what might be called the more strategic political dimension, or, to use a phrase popularised by Estelle Morris, the “direction of travel” of government (BBC, 2006a).

Such an approach to policy can be applied to policy conceived as an object, what Ball (1994) describes as:

“a specification of principles and actions, related to educational issues, which are followed or which should be followed and which are designed to bring about certain goals.”

But it is also important to apply the analysis to policy conceived more broadly as a process in which conflict between policy makers and between them and policy implementers is negotiated (Ozga, 2000: 2). On this view, the researcher who sets

out to analyse policy must also be alert to the ways in which professionals interpret policy according to their own personal and professional commitments and in their own context. It is also important to remember that whilst there may well be a myriad of relevant actors' intentions which influence policy production and implementation, there is also an element of conflict, compromise and 'muddling through' (Trowler, 2003). Policy analysts should therefore be wary of overly neat and conceptually pure answers, as the reality is likely to be fragmented and often contradictory (Power et al., 2004: 457).

A starting point

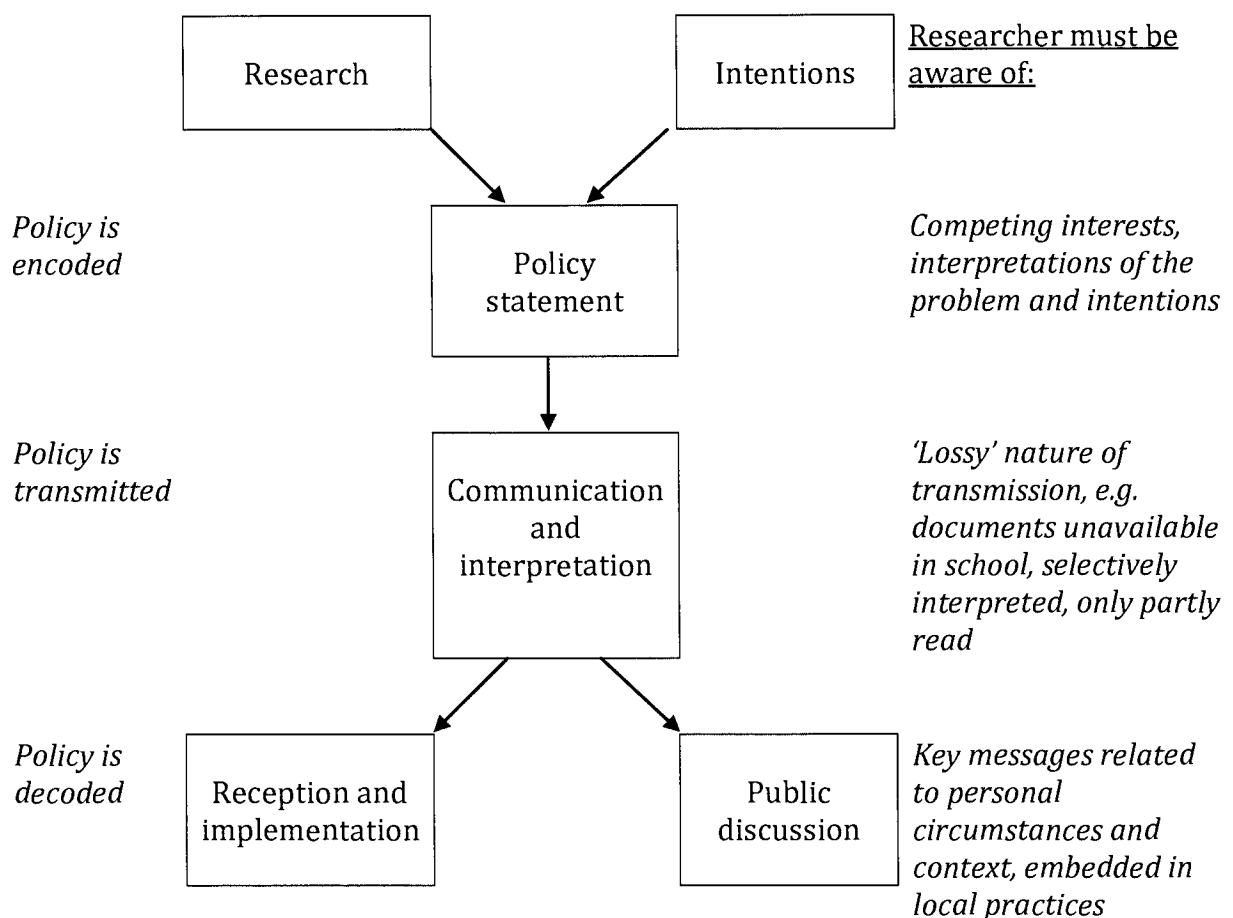
Pulling together these starting points one might represent the process in diagrammatic form (Figure 1). Codd (1988) identifies this particular diagram as representing a 'technical-empiricist' model of policy analysis which embodies the 'intentional fallacy' (a term borrowed from literary theory) by assuming that policy documents express 'intentions'. However, for the purposes of this investigation I contend that the diagram does include some useful key phases and focal points, which might form the basis of a policy analysis, after all, policy documents are not quite the same as objects of literary criticism, and should not be simply subjected to the same types of analysis. Codd quotes from Barthes, "a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning... but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash," (quoted in Codd, 1988: 239) in order to justify his own approach, which is to focus less on 'intentions' and more on "the differing effects that documents have in the production of meaning by readers" (Codd, 1988: 239). This focus on drawing attention to the interpretation and meanings ascribed to policies, seems an appropriate *additional* perspective to incorporate in policy analysis, but it is difficult to see how this can be justified as an alternative to a consideration of intention, even admitting that this is difficult to be certain about and may often incorporate multiple and contradictory intentions.¹

In this version of the model the final column notes some of the issues to which the researcher should be particularly attuned, in order to avoid imposing a simplistic narrative on a complex series of phenomena. That said, the diagram does

¹ This is a discussion I return to towards the end of this chapter, when justifying the 'toolkit' of approaches I have developed.

represent a top down perspective on policy, and it is important to bear in mind that this represents a rather simplistic approach to the flow of policy initiatives, which are seen as being shaped outside of schools initially and then actively responded to within schools. Despite the direction of the arrows in the diagram therefore, one has also to actively embrace a 'bottom up' perspective on policy, which recognises that policies are interpreted and re-interpreted at local level (Ball, 1994). This bottom up perspective also enables the researcher to recognise that schools are themselves complex institutions in which one is unlikely to encounter a single set of values, or responses to a policy (for an example of research relating to diverse interpretations of citizenship in schools see Leighton, 2004). Clearly it is impossible to provide a full account of the meaning and impact of a given policy if one fails to recognize the impact of these different responses.

Figure 1 – Simple 'technical-empiricist' representation of policy



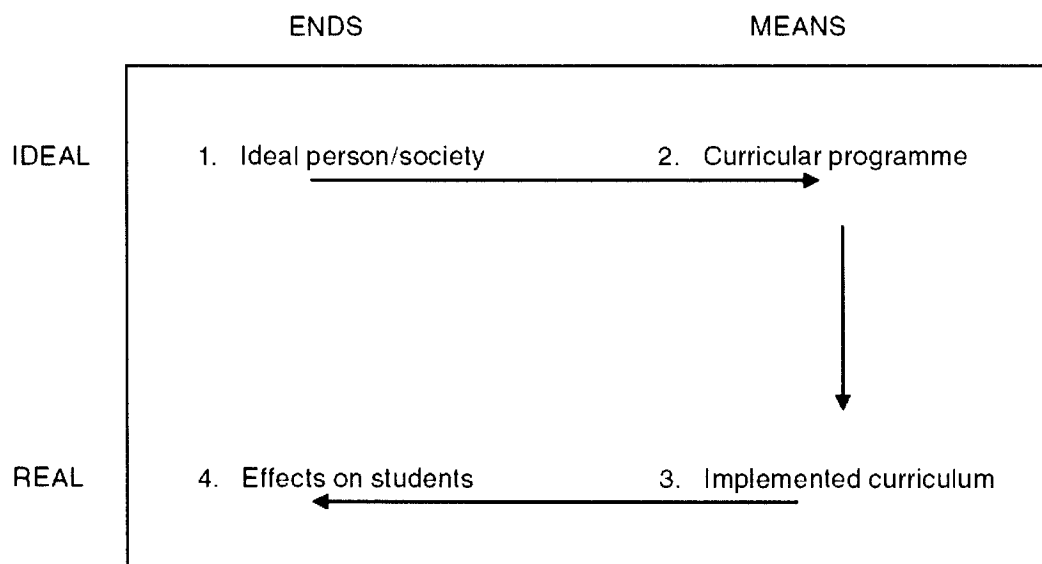
Adapted from Olssen, Codd et al. (2004: 61) and Trowler (2003)

Moving from the idea to the real

McCowan has developed a model for policy analysis which bears some similarity to this overview, but which focuses on the 'leaps' which are required to move between stages (McCowan, 2008). He argues that these leaps are of particular interest because they represent transitions between ends and means, and between models of the ideal to reality. This is represented in a simple diagram (figure 2), which develops a slightly different focus from that above, but which nevertheless retains the directional flow that was noted in figure 1.

McCowan developed this model to analyse the development of a citizenship education programme in Brazil. The first 'leap' concerns the transition between ends and means as the ideal vision of the 'citizen' is translated into curriculum structures and guidance. McCowan argues that democratic citizenship and participation are learned through the exercise of the same processes and notes that in his case study there is a 'separation' rather than 'harmony' because most of the teaching and learning activities were fairly traditional and didactic, as opposed to the interactive pedagogy proposed in the curriculum framework. Focusing on this leap allows one to assess the extent to which the guidance offered to schools achieves coherence and is congruent with the initial aims espoused by the policy initiators.

Figure 2 – McCowan's Curricular Transposition Model



(McCowan, 2008: 156)

The second leap represents the transition from ideal to real, as teachers interpret the guidance in their classroom practice (or not). In his case study, McCowan argues that this was particularly problematic in Brazil because of teacher disengagement and wider political constraints, which are related to a political climate in which teachers felt they were taking risks if they moved away from deliberate neutrality. This reinforces Ball's argument for recognizing teacher agency (Ball, 1994), and echoes Walkington and Wilkins findings that:

"Citizenship education is highly dependent on the particular teachers involved, and the compatibility or dissonance between their worldviews and that of the initiative" (quoted in McCowan, 2008: 162, Walkington & Wilkins, 2000).

This leap therefore encourages a focus on teachers' understandings of citizenship education, and their own accounts of what they are trying to achieve in their teaching.

The third leap is concerned with assessing the extent to which the teaching activities actually impact upon the learners. McCowan argues that in Brazil superficial teaching, which focused on knowledge about democratic systems and processes such as voting, led to superficial learning. He describes how a tendency to focus on the transmission of knowledge meant learners were more likely to have adopted the discourse of the project, without internalizing the new values with any depth (McCowan, 2008: 166). In interview, some learners commented on the traditional forms of teaching, which were at odds with the values being promoted (i.e. lecturing about democracy). There was also some evidence that the learners engaged with the programme as active agents and questioned the purposes and forms of education being promoted. Some of the young people felt the official messages in the programme did not fit with their own political perspective and were therefore sceptical. In exploring this leap one must focus on the 'received' messages about citizenship education and I will do this through interviews and discussions with young people to understand their experiences.

McCowan's model seems to be particularly useful therefore for drawing attention to the processes through which policy is implemented and to the active role of curriculum constructors, teachers and learners in interpreting the policy. It is especially useful, in an investigation such as this one, to remember the agency of

teachers and students in shaping, interpreting, selecting, and even ignoring aspects of policy according to their abilities, interests, experiences and beliefs.

The role of ideology

By contrast, Ozga focuses on the fifth element of Trowler's list of explanatory factors (above) and argues that we need to be much more explicit in our recognition of the ideological context in which contemporary education policy is being developed. She writes about the need to locate policy analysis in the contemporary context of the 'economizing' of education, through which "education becomes the acquisition of the appropriate mix of skills, and a technical consensus is built around concepts such as efficiency, quality and accountability... deprived of tension or debate" (Ozga, 2000: 56). This approach is echoed to some extent by Olssen, Codd et al (2004: 1-17) in their assertion that policy analysis should concern itself with the neo-liberal policy framework generally adopted by western states as part of their response to globalisation. Like Ozga, they focus rather more than Trowler does on the centrality of this ideological context. It follows from this position that one key task of policy analysis is to "illuminate how discursive practices and assumptions which operate supranationally come to effect specific national policy developments." (Olssen et al., 2004: 4). They take some care, however, not to overstate the actual erosion of state control, which accompanies some analyses of globalisation. Instead they argue that education becomes an increasingly significant policy arena through which the nation state seeks to protect its economic strength in the global economy. Therefore it is not so much globalisation per se, which shapes education policy, but rather the neo-liberal policies adopted by governments to deal with globalisation (Olssen et al., 2004: 13).

Given the importance of globalisation and the national political responses to this, Olssen, Codd et al. extend the framework of analysis in figure 1 (above) by seeking to explore the ways in which specific policies articulate with wider discourses. For them:

"Reading neo-liberal educational policy... requires an understanding of the various elements of the social structure and their intersections in the context of history. Policy documents are discursive embodiments of the balance of these dynamics as they underlie social relations at particular points in time... The meanings of policy texts... do not reside

unproblematically in the text itself as something to be ‘discovered’ or rendered ‘visible’, but in the relationship between the text and the social structure” (Olssen et al., 2004: 2-3).

They base their approach on Foucault’s own characterisation of critique as a method of enquiry:

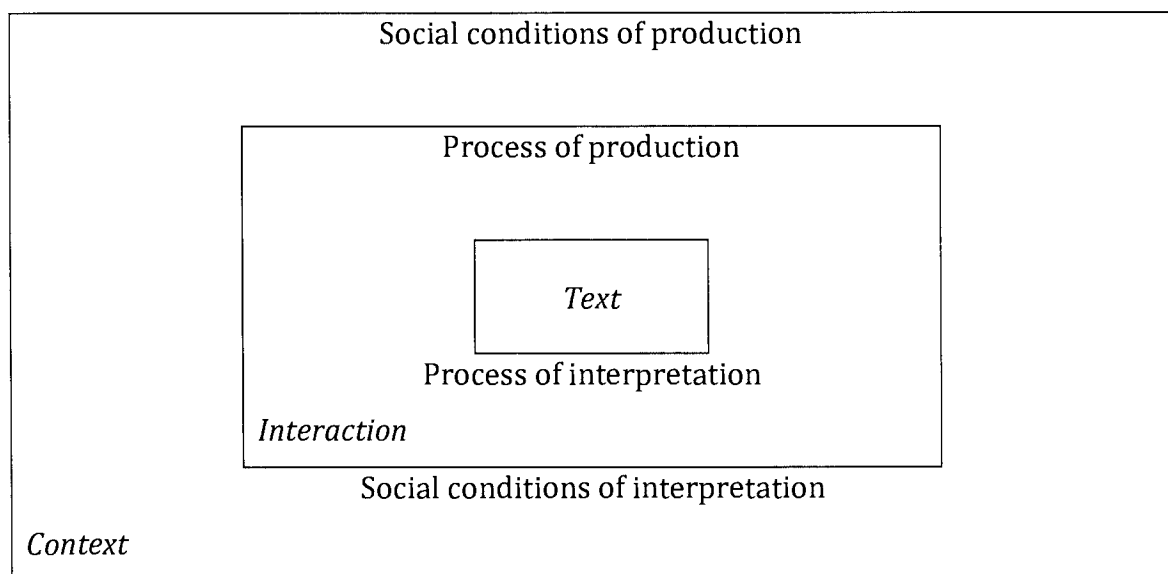
“A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought, the practices that we accept rest” (Foucault, 1988: 154 cited in Olssen, Codd et al: 40).

But they are also critical of Foucault’s tendency to focus on the analysis of broad discourse, at the expense of textual analysis. Here they turn to the work of Fairclough (1989: 26 cited in Olssen, Codd et al: 68), who argues that:

“In seeing language as discourse and as a social practice, one is committing oneself not just to analysing texts, not just to analysing processes of production and interpretation, but to analysing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures.”

This combination of levels of analysis can be represented in a diagram (Figure 3), in which the third level (social practice) represents an additional level of analysis to the process outlined in Figure 1. The analysis of the text, therefore must be embedded in an analysis of wider discursive practices (Ball, 2006 / 1993), and in turn these must be related to particular economic, political and institutional settings, within which discourse is generated (Fairclough, 1992: 71 cited in Olssen, Codd et al: 69).

Figure 3 Three dimensional conception of discourse



(Fairclough, 2001: 21)

In his analysis of New Labour's political language, Fairclough argues that the 'Third Way' is an important starting point for understanding New Labour and that it is "ongoingly constituted and reconstituted as a discourse in the documents, speeches, interviews, etc. of New Labour" (Fairclough, 2000: 9). This leads him to focus on extracts from speeches and policy documents to analyse the ways in which the Third Way project is being constructed, which exemplifies the focus on 'text'. Secondly, he treats the Third Way as "a creation in language, something that is constructed in discourse" (Fairclough, 2000: 9), which exemplifies the analysis of discursive practices. And thirdly, he acknowledges that any analysis of the language of politics and government must also be combined with a broader analysis of government action, which exemplifies the analysis of social practices in relation to the development of discourse (Fairclough, 2000: 11). In the chapters that follow I engage with these three levels: first I explore the Third Way and the development of citizenship discourses across government, second I consider the ways in which these discourses relate to specific examples of citizenship education policy documents, and third I consider aspects of implementation.

Ozga lists a series of questions which she has used in policy research and these complement the structure advocated by Olssen, Codd et al. In relation to the analysis of policy texts, I have adapted Ozga's specific questions (Ozga, 2000: 99) to arrive at the following generic questions to stimulate thinking about policy:

- What ideas and categories are presented regarding the policy area? Are they new? What is absent / silent in the account?
- Construction of narrative – what story is being presented here? What kind of story is it, what images are presented and are any of them new?
- What is the logic / discursive construction of the argument in the text?
- How does the text construct its subjects? How are teachers and learners constructed – individually and relationally?
- What does the text imply about the relationship between their subjects, community, society and the state? (p.99)

Ozga (2000: 95) also argues that the analysis of policy texts should shed light on the following aspects of policy:

- What are the sources of the policy? Whose interests does it serve; what is its relationship to global, national and local imperatives?

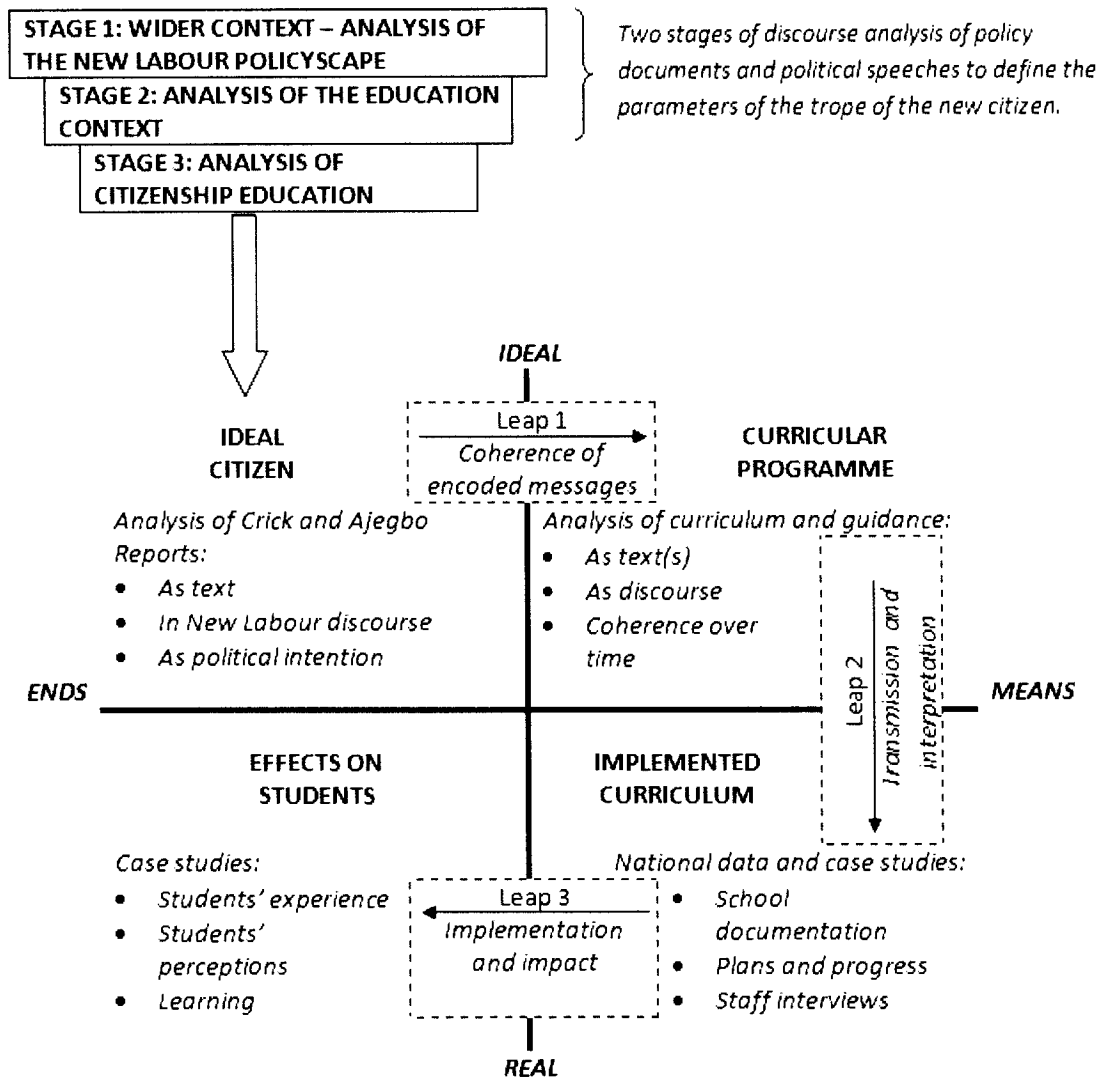
- What is the scope of the policy? What is it assumed it is able to do? How does it frame the issues and what are the policy relationships embedded in it?
- What are the patterns of the policy? What does it build on or alter, in terms of relationships? What organisational and institutional changes or developments does it require?

A 'toolkit' for analysing citizenship education policy

Whilst my discussion of citizenship education policy draws on the ideas presented here I do not set out to adopt an explicitly Foucauldian perspective in my analysis (following Olssen, Codd et al.), nor a critical theory perspective (following Ozga). Instead I take my lead from Ball who argues for a conceptual toolbox and a rather more eclectic approach to policy analysis (Ball, 2006 / 1993, 2007). In the following chapters I will first follow Fairclough's example by setting the scene for citizenship education by exploring the significance of citizenship for New Labour more generally. Then I consider the texts of two key policy documents to analyse change and continuity in government intentions for citizenship education. Finally I turn to consider the process of policy 'decoding' and 'reception' in more detail. Through these various approaches I aim to incorporate the valuable insights of each of the models described in this chapter into my analysis of citizenship education policy as text and discourse; aspiration and reality; object and process.

I have summarised these elements in the diagram below (figure 4), which is intended to synthesise the discussion above into a toolkit for analysing Citizenship in secondary schools in England. Following McCowan, I aim to interrogate the notion of the 'ideal citizen' as envisaged by the initiators of policy through an analysis of how the idea has been developed by politicians, and how it has been encoded in policy documents. As Pykett and her colleagues have pointed out, "a theory of the good citizen cannot... help but be contextual," (Pykett et al., 2010: 535) and the aim of this first phase is to explore both the ways in which the good citizen has been characterised and the connections between these attributes and broader New Labour discourses.

Figure 4 Toolkit for analysing citizenship education policy in England



Leap 1 – Encoding the vision in policy documents

The first phase of the research is concerned with identifying the nature of the ideal citizen envisaged in New Labour discourse and encoded in policy. In order to clarify the stance adopted in this phase I want to return to an earlier observation about Codd's work (1988) in order to clarify the role of discourse analysis in this toolkit. Codd imports the notion of 'intentional fallacy' from literary criticism to suggest that it is fallacious to assume one can explore the intention behind a policy, rather one should consider the interpretations reached by the various audiences and actors who negotiate the policy. There is a danger in this approach that the analysis of policy documents is reduced to little more than textual analysis and this represents a danger in pursuing post-structuralist insights too far. It seems to me that, whilst one may legitimately argue about whether art needs any more

justification than its creation *as art* (i.e. does the author's / creator's intention outside of merely creating art matter?), it is naive to transpose this thinking to policy and politics.

Having said that, one must recognise that policy analysis is enriched by borrowing from these approaches but it cannot settle for analysis at this superficial level only. The first point to make then is that policy certainly does serve a rhetorical purpose in the positioning and public performance of politics, and that aspects of literary analysis are helpful in shedding light on this aspect of policy. Secondly, policy also benefits from discourse analysis because policy itself is constituted by and through available discourses which are themselves constituted more broadly than in the realm of 'formal politics' through a range of social interactions. However, policy must also be understood as more than a particular articulation of positions within such intersecting discourses. The third point then is to recognise that policy also seeks to settle and assert a position, or at least accommodate in some way a range of positions, within a set of discourses with a view to promoting certain solutions and actions. This echoes Crick's (1982) views of politics as an eternal wrangling and the (temporary) settlement of legitimate differences. Policy is simply one way in which these *political solutions* are encoded and bring about *change*. Fundamentally this third point represents a challenge to the analytical perspectives inspired by a Foucauldian theorisation of power and returns to a different conceptualisation of power, which incorporates simpler notions of power residing within one's ability to secure action in others (Lukes, 2005).

It is important to recognise the process through which such policy is encoded, transmitted, decoded and implemented (which is open to misinterpretation and wilful reinterpretation). To recognise this process enables us to fall between the two extremes; on the one hand we avoid the accusation of pursuing a naive linear model of top-down implementation; whilst on the other hand, we reject the equally naive notion that political will and intention have no significance, a view which ultimately renders politics as mere cultural, symbolic activity. Instead this blend of bottom-up and top-down analysis recognises that in this process of mutual constitution policy does have profound effects on individuals, and individuals have similarly profound effects on policy. However, this process is not one in which the

power of policy makers and policy implementers should be mistaken as being equal (Hatcher & Troyna, 1994). In relation to citizenship, Smith has noted that:

“Citizenship laws... are among the most fundamental of political creations... They distribute power, assign status and define political purposes” (Smith, 1997).

In relation to education it is important to note that the New Labour government set out to reconstruct this process so as to maximise the chances that the government’s intentions would be implemented more thoroughly.

Barber, who took responsibility for ‘delivery’, describes this as ‘deliverology’:

“Supposing a minister promises, as David Blunkett did, to improve standards of reading and writing among eleven-year-olds. Implicit in this commitment is that, in one way or another, the minister can influence what happens inside the head of an eleven-year-old in, for example, Widnes. The delivery chain makes that connection explicit” (Barber quoted in Gunter & Chapman, 2009: 4).

Whilst this does not, indeed it cannot, break out of the basic relationship of mutual constitution of policy and people, it does seek to re-balance the relationship by reducing the room for manoeuvre of other actors. One returns, as one so often does, to Marx’s basic observation that individuals make their own history (exercise agency) but not in circumstances of their own choosing (within structural constraints). New Labour’s approach to ‘deliverology’ seeks to constrain the extent to which agents can exercise their autonomy in interpreting and implementing policy. It does so partly through influencing the discourses relating to professionalism, in which certain possible actions seem more or less desirable; and also through the implementation of direct control mechanisms.

Leap 2 – Transmission to and interpretation by teachers

Leap 2 is concerned with the coding and subsequent de-coding and re-coding that takes place between government agencies defining the curriculum and teachers making decisions about what to actually teach. One key issue during this transition is the way the broader vision for citizenship – essentially an idealised form envisaged through a variety of philosophical lenses and conjured into being through politicians’ rhetoric – becomes translated into a more prosaic school subject. Whitty et al. (1994) undertook extensive research into the ways in which schools were approaching cross-curricular themes in the 1990s in England, and as this was the most recent attempt to introduce citizenship education into schools in England, their observations are helpful in identifying an agenda for analysing this

translation from vision to reality.² Applying a conceptual framework based on Bernstein's (1971a) sociological analysis of curricula they suggested that the reasons for the failure of the cross-curricular themes was related to the principles which inform the construction and maintenance of the curriculum.

Most schools' curricula in the early 1990s, (as remained true during the early 2000s) were dominated by highly defined subjects with clearly articulated programmes of study. In Bernstein's terms the subjects were strongly classified and framed. Although schools were free to construct alternative approaches, few did. For pupils the distinction between subjects was further enhanced by different teaching methods, which established a unique set of *recognition and realisation rules* for each subject area. Through the rooms that are used, the equipment needed and the sort of discourse permitted and so on, pupils gain a very clear idea of what subject they are experiencing and the sort of knowledge and skills it involves.

The work of Whitty et al showed that there is much more to being a school subject than simply having a series of learning outcomes. Building on this theoretical framework to analyse the introduction of Citizenship as a subject, Adams and Calvert (2005) argued that Bernstein's ideas help explain why Citizenship can be described as a 'square peg in a round hole'. In one sense, by adopting some of the traditional characteristics of a curriculum subject, Citizenship sought to mould itself to the requirements of England's collection code curriculum, with a strong vertical organisation within schools, which they argued is as much due to a lack of shared discourse between subjects as it is to the assertion of a distinctive identity within subjects. On the other hand, many of the proponents of Citizenship (and some official curriculum guidance) continued to assert its potential to influence how young people see themselves as active agents in society and in the school community, which was represented in Crick's calls for cross-curricular partnership with other subjects. Adams and Calvert pointed out that this amounted to a

² The following section draws on material which was published as: Hayward, J. & Jerome, L. (2010) Staffing, Status and Subject Knowledge: What does the construction of citizenship as a new curriculum subject in England tell us about the nature of school subjects?, *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 36(2), pp. 211-225.

simultaneous embracing of the strong collection code and a desire for a more integrated approach, with horizontal links between subjects.

Turning more directly to the role of teachers, Sim notes that whilst policy makers often tend to envisage teachers as *conduits*, who will transmit policy into the classroom, in fact they may be better perceived as *gatekeepers* or *controllers* (Sim, 2008). On this view the teacher is a *curriculum agent*, whose practice “is intellectual, moral and inventive” (Parker, 1987, in Sim, 2008: 263). In her study of Citizenship teachers in Singapore, Sim found that some teachers adopted positions which were essentially *conforming* to the policy makers’ intentions, whilst others *reformed* the policy, through active reinterpretation. In his case study of enterprise education in Scotland, Deuchar described a similar process, in which:

“The teachers studied were perhaps beginning to ‘dress’ enterprise in a new set of clothes that resembled many of the characteristics of the Citizenship agenda, as a means of taking the edge off of the models of business enterprise education and profitability” (Deuchar, 2006: 544).

Deuchar notes that the freedom for teachers to make curriculum decisions in relation to Citizenship is circumscribed by wider policy constraints, such as the imperative to promote higher standards and the generally authoritarian approach to decision making in schools, but he also notes the significant ways in which they still exercise their role as curriculum agents. In some ways these countervailing pressures can actually create opportunities for agency, for example, in her study of teachers committed to global citizenship education, Schweisfurth found “the complexity of teachers’ work means that they constantly need to make judgements about where to spend their own energies, and the learning time of their students” (Schweisfurth, 2006: 49-50). This need to make individual decisions leaves significant power in the hands of teachers.

In the context of citizenship education in the curriculum in England, the minimal prescription in the programmes of study left plenty of scope for teachers to actively interpret the curriculum in ways that would make sense in their own context. As Crick explained it:

“The virtue of the order is that the generality of its prescriptions will leave the school and the teacher with a good deal of freedom and discretion, more than in the other statutory subjects” (Crick, 2000a: 118).

This was for two reasons: first he felt it would be inappropriate for the state (directly through the Department for Education or indirectly through the QCA) to be overly prescriptive in relation to politically or morally sensitive issues; and secondly he felt it was important for Citizenship to be interpreted in ways that responded to the local context. Given this, Citizenship teachers' own views about politics and Citizenship are likely to be significant in shaping their interpretation (Walkington & Wilkins, 2000).

Keddie's case study of a single teacher, whom she refers to as Mr C, demonstrates the potential of this freedom for a teacher who is fully committed to building on this foundation. Mr C is a political activist who uses his experiences around the world as teaching material, and who also creates opportunities for his students to engage in campaigns. Keddie notes that Mr C's personal commitment to promote equality and inclusion affects both his teaching style and decisions about what topics to teach, thus realising the transformative potential of citizenship education (Keddie, 2008). Keddie argues that because many teachers will not turn the Citizenship programmes of study into a transformative experience, this reflects a flaw in the curriculum and necessarily limits the impact of citizenship education. This criticism seems to rather miss the point, which is simply that teachers will exercise their agency in relation to the curriculum in ways which reflect their own personal beliefs, commitments and understandings. This has been illustrated by surveys of Citizenship teachers in England, which demonstrated that their personal scepticism about a political issue, for example in relation to patriotism, led them to resist 'promoting' messages with which they were uneasy (Davies et al., 2005b, Hand & Pearce, 2009).

As other studies have shown, different political beliefs tend to lead teachers to construct Citizenship rather differently. Leenders and her colleagues have demonstrated in their research in the Netherlands that teachers' own beliefs shape their classroom practice (Leenders et al., 2008) and Myers' research in Brazil demonstrates the impact of teachers' own political activism on their practice (Myers, 2009). Osler also notes other influencing factors in her small scale study of Citizenship teachers in England, for example she observes that the History

specialists she spoke to tended to focus predominantly on the national picture, whilst the Citizenship specialists tended to focus on local issues (Osler, 2010a: 17).

The main point of this research is simply that individual teachers are important because they define and re-define citizenship education in relation to their own understanding, their own decisions about what should count as a priority, and their own beliefs and experiences of Citizenship. Thus, chapter 6 will focus on teachers' views about their role and their understanding of Citizenship education.

Leap 3 – Implementation and impact on students

In this investigation I explore the perspective of young people through two forms of data. First, chapter 4 analyses some of the large scale surveys undertaken into young people's experiences of and attitudes towards Citizenship. Secondly, chapter 7 includes discussion of data drawn directly from research undertaken with young people in a school. In this research I have chosen to work collaboratively with young people as co-researchers, rather than treating them merely as the objects of a research programme.

The idea that research in schools can benefit from working with students as co-researchers or as researchers in their own right has gained credibility in the last few years. This acknowledgement sits comfortably within the broader development of what has been loosely termed Student Voice – a term which has been used to describe a range of strategies for promoting children's participation in decision-making in schools (Fielding, 2004a, Fielding, 2004b). The Ajegbo Review recommends the development of Student Voice as one of the strategies school should adopt to embed citizenship education in the life of the school (Ajegbo, 2007: 9). Rudduck has championed the development of student participation in school development (Flutter & Rudduck, 2004, Rudduck et al., 1996) and Hannam conducted research, funded by the DfES under Blunkett (Hannam, 2001), which concluded that pupil participation was at least compatible with (and possibly supportive of) high standards of academic achievement. Mary Kellett has trained primary school pupils as researchers and empowered them to identify areas for research in their schools. The publications arising from these collaborations illustrate how young people's involvement allows issues to emerge

which adult researchers may miss (Carlini & Barry, undated, Kellett et al., 2004). And during the course of the research reported in this thesis, the DCSF also issued guidance to schools, which promoted a range of strategies for developing pupil participation, including students as researchers (DCSF, 2008).

In relation to investigating the implementation of citizenship education in particular there are several benefits to be derived from recruiting young people as co-researchers. First, there is likely to be significant value in involving young people as active partners in the research process at the earliest possible stage, so that the research benefits from the young people's perspectives and understandings of citizenship education and the research strategies and instruments can be shaped by them. This is likely to be especially useful in relation to citizenship education where much terminology is school specific, for example, some schools might deliver Citizenship through PSHE or vice versa, others have created their own integrated programmes, such as 'personal development', which provide a vehicle for the Citizenship programme. Such an approach allows the research design to benefit from the kinds of in depth understanding usually available only to ethnographic researchers who are able to embed themselves in the research context for a significant length of time (Stark & Torrance, 2005). Kellett argues that whilst working with young people as researchers requires some training in research techniques, it does bring the benefit of their 'expertise' in childhood and the school context (Kellett, 2005a, Kellett, 2005b). By recruiting co-researchers from years 9 and 10 these student researchers are likely to have several years experience of the school to inform their conceptualisation of citizenship education.

Second, the active involvement of students in constructing research instruments is likely to ensure that questions are phrased in ways which will be understood by their peers. This is akin in some ways to conducting an on-going and immediate process of piloting in which questions are phrased and rephrased according to young people's own understanding, which is likely to make the questions more accessible and therefore more valid. This meets the criteria established by de Leeuw, who points out that a questionnaire should measure what it is supposed to

measure (construct validity) as well as being easily understood and unambiguous (de Leeuw, 2008).

Third, the young people have access to other students in school and can collect data, for example through peer interviews, which would be time consuming for one researcher to collect alone, and which may benefit from a less formal peer to peer conversation, rather than a formal interview with an adult researcher unknown to students. The issues associated with establishing good relationships and eliciting relatively honest responses in such formal situations have been discussed at length in the literature (see for example Fontana & Frey, 2005, Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 268-73) and although enlisting students as peer researchers does not solve all the problems associated with influencing respondents, it does seem to solve some of the problems associated with the formality of interviews and the issues of power imbalances (Dunne et al., 2005: 35).

Fourth, the interpretation of data is likely to benefit from the student researchers' knowledge of the context, for example, they will be aware of the significance of teacher reputation and of other relevant issues, which may fall outside of the Citizenship focused data collection strategies adopted. In addition it seems a potentially useful process for the researcher to check their tentative interpretations with a group of student co-researchers, to gain feedback on the degree to which such interpretations or explanations appear to be valid or plausible from the perspective of the very people with whom the research is concerned. This has the potential to yield some of the benefits of checking for accuracy with respondents, or providing full feedback to all respondents for their comment (Denscombe, 2007: 201), but does not assume all respondents will be uniformly interested in such additional engagement.

Fifth, working with young people to encourage them to think critically about the collection and analysis of data has the potential to empower them as individuals in terms of their own critical citizenship skills, and potentially for further involvement in the life of the school. This is significant in relation to the ethical dimension of the research as the participants gain some educational benefit from

their participation (Kellett, 2005a) and the school at least has the potential to tap into a group of informed student researchers.

Finally such an approach honours the spirit of Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which promotes the involvement of young people in decisions that affect them (Alderson, 2008). This has led to some sensitive investigations of the ethical imperative to include children more actively in research and the need to address the power inequalities within research relationships (David et al., 2005, MacNaughton & Smith, 2005). Although this last point relates specifically to children's rights, it does reflect a broader debate in research ethics about the role of respondents in research. Some authors resist conceptualising people as 'subjects' of research and strive to view them as 'participants' in research (Fontana & Frey, 2003) and this has given rise to approaches to interviews, for example, which 'play' with the boundary between interviewer and interviewee (Dunne et al., 2005: 35). Given that this research project is concerned in part with young people's experiences and interpretations of citizenship education, it seems particularly significant that some young people should be actively involved in formulating and conducting the research to ensure that they are genuine participants.

Next steps

There are perhaps two main issues that emerge from this discussion and which form the basis of the rest of this thesis. The first is concerned with what the 'vision' was for citizenship in the New Labour government and what function it served (allowing for the fact that this will not yield a single answer but reveal a contested site for various competing political concerns). The second broad issue relates to what happened in schools. The first issue is dealt with in the next two chapters, and the second is dealt with in the chapters 4-7.

Chapter 2

New Labour's Citizenship Policy

New Labour, New Citizens

Through the theoretical foundations of the Third Way, and through the raft of reforms introduced by New Labour, it is possible to discern the construction of a 'trope' of the *new citizen* – a citizen who is capable of entering into productive relationships with other citizens and the state, and thus who enables the government to construct new solutions to various policy challenges. Significantly, this vision of the *new citizen* is normative rather descriptive, and so represents a political project in itself.

The term trope has been used variously within literary theory, anthropology and history (McClintock, 1995, Townsley, 2001, White, 1973a). Writing from an anthropological perspective Rapport and Overing argue that:

"The codification of experience as trope can be understood as a kind of hypothesis which is being brought to bear on an inchoate subject out of a need for more concrete identity and understanding" (Rapport & Overing, 2000: 49-50).

The use of the term 'trope' in this chapter is based on this tradition and below I argue that the trope of the *new citizen* serves as a metaphor which helps to explain many New Labour reforms, and which is constituted through the interplay of three related discourses. One of these discourses concerns the links between the individual and the state and is constructed in terms of the connection between *rights and responsibilities*. A second discourse, which might be seen in some ways as a sub-section of the first, is concerned with the relationship between citizens and other citizens, as well as citizens and the state, and explores the demands of *active citizenship and participation*. A third discourse relates primarily to relationships between citizens, and is concerned with the nature of *community and diversity* and has been increasingly associated with the term *community cohesion*. These discourses are discussed below and related to the emerging trope of the *new citizen*.

Whilst the balance between these discourses changed over the period of government I am discussing, and the focus within each discourse also adapted to context and audience, these broad discourses remained central to the way in which

New Labour presented itself and framed many of its policies. Having discussed these elements in the first part of the chapter, I briefly consider the ways in which they can be used to read education policy in the second part, before moving on in the next chapter to consider their influence on citizenship education policy.

New Labour and the Third Way

During their first two years in government, New Labour famously prioritised economic prudence but this was accompanied by a radical agenda of constitutional reform (Driver & Martell, 2006: 6-9), which included a raft of measures that would profoundly affect the nature of citizenship in the UK, including: devolution to Scotland and Wales (and eventually to Northern Ireland); the establishment of regional development agencies, as a possible precursor to some measure of regional devolution; a strategic authority and elected mayor for London; reform of the House of Lords; the Freedom of Information Act; and the incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into domestic law (Hennessy, 2000: 508-9).

Kennedy argues that the reform process was really only symbolically attractive as a means to signal 'modernisation'. On this reading Prime Minister Blair distanced himself from the Human Rights Act as soon as it became law, through fear of being linked by the media to the spurious cases the media expected to emerge once the legislation was enacted (Kennedy, 2004: 303). But Blair was less reticent about promoting big ideas such as the Third Way, which enabled him to present the New Labour government as distinctive and fresh, breaking free from old dogmatic traditions and free to forge new solutions to the problems facing the UK. On the simplest reading of the Third Way it represents a non-ideological, practical orientation to government, as Blair said, "a large measure of pragmatism is essential. As I say continually, what matters is what works to give effect to our values" (Blair quoted in Driver & Martell, 2006: 50). But the Third Way also provided a means for clarifying and presenting the values that would underpin government action.

The Third Way was given a more substantive definition by academics such as Giddens (1998), for whom the Third Way thesis responded to two significant

developments (Driver & Martell, 2006: 47). Firstly, during Margaret Thatcher's leadership, the mantle of 'radicalism' in British politics had shifted from Labour to the Conservatives. Secondly, the traditional 'emancipatory' politics, which was concerned with the redistribution of rights and resources, was being replaced by a type of 'life politics', in which identity and quality of life became key issues. This challenged old notions of the Left / Right political divide and made a Third Way essential if the Labour Party was to find a new radical politics. The substance of the Third Way therefore represented an alternative to the 'Old Left' model of classical social democracy, with cradle to grave welfare provision, a mixed economy, egalitarianism and a sense of collectivism on the one hand, and the Thatcherite or neo-liberal model of the other hand, with its focus on the welfare state as safety net, free market principles, acceptance of inequality and autonomous civil society. For Giddens the Third Way represented a new response to the social challenges of globalisation which moved beyond the New Right free market solutions to establish the legitimacy of a radical (interventionist) centre in a market economy (Driver & Martell, 2006: 47-8). On one reading, this agenda amounts to the recognition that the state is relatively powerless to control the increasingly globalised economy and therefore shifts its focus to changing society (Gamarnikow & Green, 2000: 95), in order to "secure insertion into a changing global division of labour... through the constitution of the welfare subject" (Morris, 2007: 39). This is significant for the analysis that follows because I argue that Morris' *welfare subject* is re-imagined as a *new citizen*. In this I adopt a similar position to that discussed by Taylor-Gooby in his book *Reframing Social Citizenship* in which he explores the connections between welfare reform and political conceptions of citizenship (Taylor-Gooby, 2009).

The Third Way embraced a new balance between the state, civil society and welfare. Fairclough (2000) demonstrates how the discourse of the Third Way shifted depending on time, speaker and purpose, but one might identify the following features as fairly constant: a radical centre of government, positive welfare, a new mixed economy, equality as inclusion and active civil society (Driver & Martell, 2006, Giddens, 1998). Early 'positive welfare' policies included welfare to work schemes as well as targeted tax credits to tackle the twin problems of welfare dependency and poverty. Even in his critical appraisal of the

government's record on income inequality, Giddens reiterated this essentially Third Way approach to such issues by declaring the new egalitarianism as being driven by the urgency to "invest in human and cognitive capacities that promote individual opportunity, rather than... reparation after the event" (Diamond & Giddens, 2005: 105). For Taylor-Gooby, these reforms form one half of the overall programme, on the one hand government sought to shape the behaviours of welfare claimants, whilst on the other welfare institutions were compelled to adopt managerial models which reflected practices in the private sector. Together, these reforms represent a thorough-going reconceptualization of the welfare state, and of social citizenship (Taylor-Gooby, 2009).

For Mouffe (2005: 56-60), the key problem with the Third Way project is that it rests on a conception of politics which is essentially consensual and post-political. The promotion of a form of politics capable of transcending the old adversarial politics rests on the theoretical eradication of the Left / Right (i.e. class) divide. Mouffe argues that this division is clearly not resolved and contends that the danger of the Third Way rests in its theoretical blindness to the systemic antagonisms which have profound impacts on national economies, social groups and individual life chances.

"By redefining the structural inequalities systematically produced by the market in terms of 'exclusion', one can dispense with the structural analysis of their causes, thereby avoiding the fundamental question of which changes in power relations are needed to tackle them" (Mouffe, 2005: 62).

What is left then is simply a 'social democratic variant of neo-liberalism' (Hall, 2003) in which the state seeks primarily to empower individuals to take responsibility for their own lives within free-market conditions, albeit one in which the worst excesses of the market have been curbed by symbiotic state interactions with civil society and business partnerships (Kivisto & Faist, 2007: 96-101).

Despite these criticisms, the supporters of the Third Way felt it offered a route to new solutions, as is illustrated by John Gray (1997), who had shifted from being a supporter of neo-liberalism, to an increasingly barbed critic (Klein, 1999), and who argued that the new substantive philosophy which would supersede the old Left / Right politics would not be a mere meeting in the middle of these two traditions:

“Our position is not a compromise between two discredited ideologies.

It is a stand on a new common ground...”

Significantly though Third Way solutions *were* often presented as occupying the middle ground, and it thus fulfilled an important presentational or rhetorical function, not least related to its power to apparently reconcile two separate Left / Right ideas. In an example of this Third Way rhetoric Tony Blair (quoted in Newman, 2001: 45) espoused:

“Patriotism *and* internationalism; rights *and* responsibilities; the promotion of enterprise *and* the attack on poverty and discrimination.”

This deliberate pairing of concepts to minimise the tensions and stress the prospects of reconciliation was dismissed by Lionel Jospin, then Prime Minister of France, as the “politics of in-betweenism” (quoted in Newman, 2001: 46).

This rhetorical use of the Third Way is exemplified by the use of the formula of presenting two discredited extreme policy proposals, against which a Third Way policy is contrasted. This serves to make the Third Way option appear reasonable and less stridently ideological. The following example is drawn from a 1998 policy document on welfare reform (Newman, 2001: 44-45):

Option 1: Privatisation of the welfare state safety net (New Right)

Option 2: Status quo with rising costs (Old Left)

Option 3: Opportunity instead of dependence, new partnerships (New Labour)

In this example we can also see some of the terms often used in New Labour policy rhetoric – opportunity (instead of equality) and partnerships (instead of state provision).

Rights and Responsibilities

New Labour approaches to rights and responsibilities drew on Third Way principles relating to an implied contract between the individual and the state, but they also connected to an important ethical tradition of Christian Socialism as well as elements of civic republicanism. The Christian Socialist tradition combines a commitment to equality (or at least equal worth) with a belief in individual responsibility, and as Deacon (2000) points out it is no coincidence that Tony Blair, Frank Field (as Minister for Welfare Reform 1997-8) and Jack Straw (as Home Secretary 1997-2001), all committed Christians, were in the forefront of the debate to establish a new moral basis for the welfare state. Deacon argues that this does not explain the reform agenda entirely, rather that it helps to set the scene for the

transference of ideas that had been developed by the US Democrats, and which Deacon refers to as “Anglicanised communitarianism” (Deacon, 2000: 11).

This had been a recurrent theme throughout Blair’s leadership (Deacon, 2000: 11), for example in a 1995 speech, entitled, ‘The rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe’ he spoke of the need to eliminate the “social evil of welfare dependency amongst able bodied people.” A year later in a speech in South Africa he declared:

“At the heart of everything New Labour stands for is the theme of rights and responsibilities. For every right we enjoy, we owe responsibilities... You can take but you give too. That basic value informs New Labour policy” (Deacon, 2000: 11).

We can see how this played out in housing through tenancy agreements specifying good behaviour as a condition of being housed (see Illustration 1), and in the welfare to work reforms:

“Our welfare system must provide help for those who need it but the deal that we are trying to create in Britain today is something for something. If we provide job opportunities we expect people to take them” (Blair quoted in Fairclough, 2000: 39).

In this rhetoric of a new contract between the state and citizens (a ‘New Deal’), and of a renewed social order, based on shared commitments and accepted duties, Deacon argues we can see clear echoes of Etzioni’s communitarianism (Etzioni, 1993). The communitarian tradition has been criticised for inevitably leading to majoritarian and coercive moral communities (Dunn & Burton, 2011) and Morris argues that in the transition from philosophy to practice, notions of voluntarism and mutuality have been replaced by contract (and one established by the state at that) as the main route to establish cohesive communities (Morris, 2007: 40).

Illustration 1 shows how the narrow rights and responsibilities of tenants are established alongside the broader expectation that tenants will participate in the management of provision through a compact, association, panels, liaison groups and a management organisation. In this small example we can see the application of discourses about the citizen’s responsible use of welfare resources and their broader responsibilities in relation to the management of such resources. Such an area of policy illustrates how the discourse relating to rights and responsibilities can be applied to clarify the ‘contract’ between the individual (envisaged both as a service user and as a citizen) and the state, in this case mediated through local government provision.

Illustration 1

Rights and Responsibilities in the Public Housing Sector

Being a good neighbour

- Control the volume of sound from radios, stereos and TVs, at all times of the day. Do not put these systems against shared walls. Place them on a rubber mat or carpet.
- Make sure you do housework or DIY at reasonable times of the day.
- Keep noise, in or near your home, right down from 9 pm to 8 am.
- If you have a dog, do not leave it barking constantly in the home, on a balcony, or out in the garden, and clear up any mess it makes.
- Warn neighbours when you are going to do something particularly noisy: drilling, hammering or having a party.
- Make sure your children think about how their playing habits might affect neighbours.
- Be quiet when you return home late at night. Don't slam car doors, hoot car horns, or shout to your friends.

Can I be made to leave my home?

Yes, but only if your tenancy has come to an end or if you do not keep to the terms of your tenancy agreement by, for example, not paying your rent or causing nuisance to neighbours.

Tenant participation

This is where tenants are brought in to join managers from Hackney Homes to discuss proposals for change and improvement to the housing service provided to tenants. We are actively working to build more ways for tenants in all areas of Hackney to have their opinions represented on a permanent basis... The Tenant Participation Team provides support, advice and training to resident groups. Each Neighbourhood has its own Tenant Participation Officer.

What is the Tenant Compact?

The Council and representatives from Tenant and Resident Associations have made a formal agreement about how tenants will be involved at the heart of decision-making about the housing services.

How tenants get involved

- Tenants' and Residents' Associations (TRAs).
- Neighbourhood Panels.
- Resident Liaison Group.
- Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs).

Source: www.hackneyhomes.org.uk/hhs-tenants-handbook.htm

For David Blunkett (who was responsible for introducing citizenship education into the national curriculum as Secretary of State for Education, 1997-2001), the

same theme is central to his personal political beliefs, but he sets it in the context of a civic republican philosophy in which:

“Citizens owe duties to one another as members of a world held in common, and *must* play a responsible part in public life... In performing these roles, citizens display civic virtue – actions and dispositions that express their loyalty to the community and their willingness to share in the responsibilities that flow from membership” (Blunkett, 2001: 18-19).

On this view, the commitment to shared responsibilities and mutual obligations is even wider than that envisaged by Blair in the quotations above, as Blunkett’s position also emphasises the duty to participate responsibly in the public realm, not merely the requirement to take individual responsibility.

Active Citizenship

One of the ways in which these broader concerns have influenced policy can be seen in the promotion of active citizenship (Clarke, 2005) and there were numerous programmes designed to explore and promote effective active citizenship in communities throughout the New Labour period of government. Some of these projects were produced through the Home Office (especially the Civil Renewal Unit) and then the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, for example:

- *Together We Can*³, a web-based resource for active citizens who want to affect change in their local communities,
- *Take Part* (www.takepart.org), an adult education resource to encourage active citizenship education,
- *Active Learning for Active Citizenship* (Mayo & Annette, 2010, Woodward, 2004), a project which included a report on how the government could better coordinate the learning that takes place through informal and voluntary participation, and a range of initiatives in the Department of Communities and Local Government to promote active citizenship and participation in local government and regeneration.

The following illustration demonstrates the breadth of government activity relating to the provision of opportunities for active involvement in the public realm and the related provision of education and training to enable people to take up those opportunities. It demonstrates how pervasive the idea had become, that government needed citizens who were capable of assuming responsibility within

³ This website has since been closed down

their communities and acting to bring about positive change, and also that the government should organise educational programmes to create this capacity.

Illustration 2 Government initiatives to promote active citizenship			
Department	Active citizenship	Strengthened communities	Partnership in meeting public needs
Home office	Active citizens active learning regional hubs Civic pioneers Year of the volunteer Citizenship day	Adventure Capital fund Community Cohesion Pathfinders Connection Communities scheme	Change Up Future builders
Office of the Deputy Prime Minister		National Community Forum Neighbourhood Renewal Fund Single Community programme (Community Chest, Community Learning Chest, Community Empowerment Fund) New Deal for Communities programme Safer and Stronger Communities Fund	Beacon Council Scheme Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders Local Development Framework (statement of community involvement) Local Area Agreements Local Strategic Partnerships
Department for Education and Skills	Citizenship curriculum Millennium Volunteers Young Volunteers Challenge	Community Champions Pathfinder Young Community Champions Local Network Fund	On Track programme Y Speak Consultation Fund

	Active Citizens in School (pilot programme)	Community Cohesion	
	Higher Education Active Community Fund		
	Go Givers		
	Foundation and Trust schools		
(Adapted from Jochum et al., 2005)			

The projects referred to above illustrate the range of approaches developed to create the empowered and sufficiently competent active citizens required to bear the burden placed on them by New Labour's policy prescriptions. Linking to the example of housing in illustration 1, McCormack has analysed how policy went beyond merely creating opportunities for tenants to participate in the management of their housing, but actually sought to educate them so that they could assume the responsibilities created, and take on active roles in making decisions about new forms of ownership and management (McCormack, 2011). This illustrates Pykett's thesis that the government assumed the role of the 'pedagogic state' to try to mould citizens (Pykett, 2010). Whilst some degree of welfare reform can be achieved by providing financial incentives and penalties, there is also a wider need to educate people, especially to encourage them to assume personal responsibility, at least in partnership with the state.

Duties and Expectations of Citizens

There is some tension between a commitment to promoting a culture of human rights as a universal values framework and a narrower definition of rights as privileges (McGhee, 2008). New Labour's preoccupation with moral and contractual discourses around rights and responsibilities (Fairclough, 2000) led to a situation in which "'rights' represent a privilege which has to be earned and as such [they] offer governments a valuable tool in the management of population and society" (Morris, 2007: 54). This was declared in the starkest terms by Gordon Brown in an article on 'earned citizenship' on the Downing Street website:

"for people coming to Britain, and wanting to become British, citizenship should depend upon actively entering into a contract

through which, by virtue of responsibilities accepted, the right of citizenship is earned" (Brown, 2008).

This particular example comes from the third New Labour term in office, but it does demonstrate one position within the rights / responsibilities discourse that has been present for the whole New Labour project. The demand that citizenship be earned as a valuable status in itself, as proof of one's membership of the community, sits comfortably within the tradition of communitarianism⁴. This logic was extended with the introduction of the concept of 'probationary citizenship' for some immigrants in the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Bill (Home Office, 2009).

McGhee (2008) has argued that there has been a tension throughout the New Labour period between the position that a commitment to human rights can provide a foundation for debates about citizenship, and a narrower position on rights being seen as earned, and therefore not simply universally applicable. He argues that the latter position has emerged more strongly as a result of increased security concerns and that the focus on security, anti-terror and anti-extremism has marginalised people who appear to opt out of 'mainstream' British society or values (especially Muslims) and that this in turn has led to a reigning in of 'rights' so they are defined within parameters derived from security concerns rather than in their own terms, or in relation to international rights documents.

The contractual discourse (Fairclough, 2000) has also been extended more widely than defining the rights and responsibilities of immigrants seeking citizenship. While rejecting any accusations of continuity between Conservative and New Labour policy in this area, David Blunkett (2001: 88) illustrated how this enhanced sense of personal responsibility impacts on discussions of the welfare state:

"Active welfare means two things. It challenges failed welfare policies by insisting that the individual should be actively involved in shaping his or her own solutions. This is partly a question of moral principle but also one of beliefs in human potential. Second, it requires government and communities increasingly to mobilise resources beyond the state to help individuals to take managed risks to improve their life chances.

⁴ What remained difficult for New Labour to explain, given the thrust of these discourses (which hold out the promise of recognition, membership, identity and fulfilment) is why some immigrants choose not to apply for citizenship status. This was recognised by Lord Goldsmith in his review of citizenship, which encouraged the government to reduce the application fee, so that it is cheaper to apply for citizenship soon after arrival in the country and the cost rises as time goes by. Lord Goldsmith (2008) *Citizenship: Our Common Bond* (Ministry of Justice).

This implies a new interface between individuals and the benefits or labour support system.”

Here then we see the implications, as we already noted, of the discourses of rights / responsibilities and of active citizenship. Citizens are required to be much more active, both in terms of making demands for high quality services, but also in negotiating solutions for themselves.

Andrews identifies another unacknowledged and unresolved tension here between the individualistic consumer-citizen, making demands of public services for him or herself and their family, and the public-minded citizen, who shares an interest in promoting good services for all (in the communitarian tradition) (Andrews, 2004: 7-9). Jordan argues a similar point, insisting that the initial focus on ‘choice’ as a means by which to improve standards has created unintended effects which both deny equal access (as patterns in access to public services tend to reproduce the existing patterns of social inequality) and create new social divisions (Jordan, 2005). Taylor-Gooby examines opinion poll evidence which suggests that over the long term, the individualistic focus of consumer-driven models of welfare is eroding the foundational values of reciprocity and inclusion which are required to maintain the legitimacy of the whole welfare system (Taylor-Gooby, 2009). Later models of public service reform (PMSU, 2006) attempted to balance this ‘choice’ with mechanisms for increasing ‘voice’ i.e. greater direct participation in local services and consultation, coupled with greater responsiveness on the part of the services, although it is unclear how these more fundamental tensions could be resolved as individuals use both choice and voice to engage with public services (Coffield et al., 2007). Butler and Robson’s study of the gentrification of parts of the East End of London illustrates the problem; they showed that whilst some families attempted to invest time and effort in their local school, others simply ‘played the game’ to negotiate access to the desirable schools, without necessarily producing any wider benefits (Butler & Robson, 2003).

Community and Diversity

As we have already seen, notions of the ‘community’ feature heavily, both in the politician’s rhetorical landscape and in the commentator’s analytical toolkit. Perhaps the most significant element of the discourse around community relates to the debates that emerged concerning race relations, multiculturalism and identity

- what came to be referred to as community cohesion. Although more obviously a concern during the second term of New Labour, in the aftermath of the Oldham, Burnley and Bradford riots and in the post 9/11 era, there were some significant developments in the first term of government (Toynbee & Walker, 2005). In 1998 the Home Office established a Race Relations Forum to advise the Home Secretary (Home-Office, 1998) and also introduced the Crime and Disorder Act, which established the concept of 'racially aggravated crimes' (McGhee, 2005: 95). The enquiry into the police investigation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence also made a significant impact on how racism was discussed and on subsequent legislation. The formal response included a welter of conferences and training to tackle institutional racism (McGhee, 2005: 16-18), and the new public duty "to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups" outlined in the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, 2000.

McGhee has analysed policy regarding racism, homophobia, Islamophobia and other examples of hate crimes and argues that New Labour's position could be characterised as an "intolerance of intolerance" within a diverse society (McGhee, 2005: 11). But as with the other examples of 'New Deals' we have mentioned above, McGhee also argues that there is a two-sided expectation at work here within a project of *cosmopolitanization*. On the one hand the rights and interests of minorities are being protected more vigorously, through what might be described as "protective inclusionism" (McGhee, 2005: 3). On the other hand, there is an expectation that communities thus protected will have less recourse to the defensive mechanisms of withdrawal into their own communities:

"It is not the effect of prejudice, discrimination and intolerance that is the target of cosmopolitan citizenship alone, rather it is the recourse to defensive monolithic cultures, traditions, identities and community formations that are the targets of this model of citizenship, which is dedicated to the promotion of dialogue between groups and across boundaries" (McGhee, 2005: 164).

The problem for McGhee is that this process has been too firmly focused on the minority groups themselves, and not sufficiently balanced by action to address prejudice in the majority community.

Whilst some commentators have accepted that the government's policies in relation to minority rights and anti-discrimination laws have been largely positive,

this is often contrasted with the approach towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants more generally. Lister, for example, wrote towards the end of the first term that, "exclusionary policies on asylum... serve to undermine a generally more progressive stance on 'race', as exemplified by the Stephen Lawrence inquiry and the strengthening of race relations legislation" (Lister, 2001: 429). Whilst asylum policies such as dispersal, detention centres and the withdrawal of benefits were criticised, both outside and within government (Burnett & Whyte, 2004, Spencer, 2007), policy seemed to evolve so quickly and to attempt to strike so many different chords that it is also possible to discern positive advances, for example in the official recognition that immigration has benefits to society and the economy (Spencer, 2007). The fundamental tension here was exemplified by Giddens (2002), who described the policy as one which sought to be "tough on immigration, but tough on the causes of hostility to immigrants" (quoted in Gilroy, 2004: 112). The problem for Gilroy was simply that the hostility toward immigrants seemed to be coming from ministers and MPs.

This tension (if not downright contradiction) can be partly explained within McGhee's analysis of cosmopolitanization, which requires that the numbers of immigrants be more firmly managed in order to make room for a more reasonable debate and the nurturing of better community relations:

"the heat of... emotions associated with immigration and asylum are being systematically cooled to allow the nation, in all its current diversity, to become more comfortable with its irrevocable diversity, through the tougher management of inward migration. This process is thus a... strategy dedicated to avoiding further disorder (dis-ease) in the social body through attempting to pacify 'Middle England' at the same time as attempting to draw established minority groups into the wider political community" (McGhee, 2005: 181).

The problem with this strategy has been exacerbated by the practical difficulties successive Home Secretaries had in managing and reforming the asylum and immigration system (Toynbee & Walker, 2005), and the inherent problems with attempting to conduct a debate about immigration in terms of numbers, which Spencer argues is almost certainly bound to fail (Spencer, 2007).

Whilst the debate continues about the overall intention and impact of the government's asylum and immigration policies, it is clear that these issues have provided a significant arena for the development of New Labour's citizenship

discourses. Through the debates about multiculturalism, diversity and social segregation it is possible to discern a broad discourse around the notion of community cohesion⁵. This is fundamentally concerned with how we should perceive ourselves as a political community and how we should maintain the boundaries between our newly defined selves and the 'others' who inevitably emerge from this process. As Blunkett (2001: 126-7) summed it up, "acceptance by residence, as well as nationality of citizenship, therefore must entail recognition and adherence to fundamental rights and duties." In other words, if people want to stay in the UK, let alone become citizens, they must accept the logic of that other New Labour discourse, which describes the links between rights and responsibilities. Similarly, the other key discourse discussed above, active citizenship, also has a role to play in this discussion:

"The UK has had a relatively weak sense of what political citizenship should entail. Our values of individual freedom, the protection of liberty and respect for difference, have not been accompanied by a strong, shared understanding of the civic realm. This has to change" (Blunkett quoted in McGhee, 2005: 165).

In this context it seems unsurprising that, having produced his report on citizenship education (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998), Bernard Crick moved with David Blunkett to the Home Office to apply his analysis of citizenship to immigration through his chairmanship of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration. Here the commitment to active citizenship and full participation in the public realm became part of the new core of citizenship – our new identity. This clarifies the meaning behind Blair's earlier call for "a new spirit in the nation based on working together, unity, solidarity, partnership. One Britain. That is the patriotism of the future" (1995, quoted in McGhee, 2005: 163).

But this third discourse around community cohesion does not simply represent a blend of the rights / responsibility and active citizenship discourses. It also incorporates a more substantial search for mechanisms through which a positive sense of belonging can be promoted. One function of talking about community cohesion is that language can become de-racialized, or at least rendered non group-specific, so that general assertions about communities, identity and belonging replace specific analyses or prescriptions in some policy documents

⁵ The promotion of community cohesion eventually became a specific duty for schools, but here one can see the broader context in which the idea developed.

(Worley, 2005). Worley illustrates her argument by reference to Asian communities, and especially Muslims, who, after the 2001 mill town disturbances, became the focus of 'community cohesion' programmes. She notes the slippage here between 'cohesion' and 'integration' in some policy documents, with overtones of assimilation, so that:

"British Muslim communities... are expected to show 'which side they are on', through an allegiance to a 'phoney' (Kundnani, 2005) construction of Britishness" (Worley, 2005).

In a speech about just this aspect of New Labour discourse, entitled 'Towards a Civil Society', Blunkett (2003: 15) indicated that this not just a slippage of vocabulary between policy makers but rather a deliberate running together of a variety of concepts:

"This increased diversity requires a new focus on civic integration... This is not an argument for assimilation. It is an argument for integration with diversity: neither a monoculture, nor segregation and endless difference."

Note here the classic Third Way construction of alternatives – integration with diversity both reconciles positions hitherto seen as incompatible and is offered as a more palatable alternative to monoculturalism or segregation.

As for the 'phoney' construction of Britishness, Blunkett also spent some time outlining what Britishness might entail. It should be defined through:

"Our shared values, our history of tolerance, of openness and internationalism, our commitment to democracy and liberty, to civic duty and the public space. These values, embodied in our great institutions – such as the NHS, the BBC, the Open University – tell a national story that is open to all British citizens. This vision of Britishness both embraces the diversity of our multi-national, diverse state, *and* unites us through our values, history, culture and institutions. It provides a shared framework for national and local identities" (Blunkett, 2005: 4).

Whilst Blunkett aimed to create an inclusive vision of national identity he does end up falling back on a rather predictable list of personal elements of Englishness, which could be celebrated on St George's Day, including a love of landscapes, poetry, traditional music, democracy, radicalism and English humour (Blunkett, 2005: 8-9). Whilst these may well form part of English history, they do seem rather nostalgic, and focused on a particular interpretation of culture, which is nearer to Gilroy's discussion of post-imperial melancholia (Gilroy, 2004), than to a vision of patriotism that might unite the diverse nation.

As one can see from the above discussion, the 'community cohesion' discourse includes several themes. They are united by the search for a core identity, which will provide the social glue to bind active citizens to one another and to the state. This search for community cohesion entails a desire for a process of social change, through which all citizens and their traditional communities evolve to embrace a new unified sense of citizenship. It therefore focuses in part on the processes through which such cohesion might be built and also frequently strays into the difficult territory of defining the substance of this new sense of identity. In part at least, this latter element represents an attempt to end the far right's monopoly over discussions of nationality and patriotism and to form a new civic nationalism (Jerome & Clemitshaw, forthcoming), but the desire to create an alternative political definition of patriotism does not eradicate the tendency towards nostalgic and even melancholic accounts of identity, more often associated with more conservative or even reactionary traditions.

A flexible and fluid approach

Through the range of examples considered above one can discern the *new citizen* at the heart of New Labour's political project. Within the broader context of re-imagining Britain and the role of the state, politicians were constantly imagining and re-imagining the ideal citizen who would take their productive role within the New Labour policy landscape, and make welfare reform work. This new citizen positively identified as a British citizen and accepted greater responsibility for their own welfare and the welfare of others in their community and beyond (Andrews, 2004). The new citizen was both assumed, as the rational user of welfare services, and also created, through the detailed prescription of policy reforms. However the trope of the new citizen can only describe the broad parameters of this imaginative process it cannot provide a definitive account of the model citizen. It is though, useful as an analytical construct for two reasons.

First, focusing on the trope enables us to identify areas that might be most fruitful in further exploration of New Labour's policies, for example the tension between rights and responsibilities and between this discourse and others, such as the security agenda, which is incorporated within what I have referred to as the community cohesion discourse. McGhee's (2008) exploration of these tensions has

highlighted the ways in which rights are re-interpreted, with a subtle shift from the possibility of a rights-based culture of given entitlements, towards one which views rights more as earned privileges, the boundaries of which are expediently established by the current needs of the community (of which security is deemed to be paramount). Whilst rights are always negotiated to some extent, and few can be absolute, this change of emphasis and increasing 'conditionality' (Deacon, 1994) demonstrate the tensions inherent in the communitarian roots of much of New Labour's thinking, where universal rights are difficult to combine with the primacy of the community (Talisie, 2005). So the trope provides a useful guide for exploring the main points of contention within the New Labour project.

Second, the trope is useful as a starting point when one is attempting to read any particular policy, or period of reforms. The particular type(s) of citizen imagined within policy helps us to locate that instance of policy formulation within the broader imaginative project of New Labour. In the following section I consider the trope of the new citizen in relation to education policy, and then in the following chapter use it as the starting point to read the (changing) formulation of citizenship education policy over New Labour's period in office.

Education as a context for citizenship policy

As has been noted above, the ideal citizen becomes implicated in public service reforms, both as an agent of change and as the object of changes. Partly because of the symbolic significance of education in the 1997 manifesto this particular service emerged as a key area to symbolise the drive to 'modernisation' (Ball, 2007).

Example 1: Educating the New Citizens

Given the economic arguments employed to underpin welfare reform it should be no surprise that, when we turn to New Labour's overarching vision of the purpose of education, we also see a significant response to the demands of the global economy as education is seen as a core element of economic policy (Stedward, 2000). Blunkett expressed this succinctly in a speech to the Institute for Economic Affairs in 2001 when he said, "the work of the DfEE fits with a new economic imperative of supply-side investment for national prosperity" (Jones, 2003: 144). The responses from the Department for Education to this 'economic

imperative' ranged from extending provision in the early years, to increasing access to higher education. Most education policies can be seen as fitting within a narrative of a "new age – the age of information and of global competition... in which the key to success will be the continuous education and development of the human mind and imagination" (extract from the 1998 Green Paper 'The Learning Age' in Edwards et al., 2004: 131). In the subsequent White Paper, we can see how this basic economic imperative connects with New Labour's broader policy discourses around citizenship:

"Lifelong learning can enable people to play a full part in developing their talent, the potential of their family, and the capacity of the community in which they live and work...It also contributes to sustaining a civilized and cohesive society, in which people develop as active citizens and in which generational disadvantage can be overcome" (Blunkett in the foreword of the White Paper 'Learning to Succeed' DfEE, 1999: 3)

Here we can clearly see the construction of the *new citizen*, taking responsibility for improving his or her own life chances through education, and through their action, improving their community.

Example 2: Citizens exercising choice and voice to improve schools

Levin described the ubiquity of market-led reforms of public services as a 'policy epidemic' (quoted in Ball, 2008: 39), which Ball argues is driven in part by international organisations such as the OECD, the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organisation, through their emphasis on open markets in goods and services (Ball, 1999, 2008). In relation to the education system, Ball's analysis identifies three 'policy technologies' – the market, managerialism and performativity (Ball, 2008). As Jones notes, such policies represented a direct link to the Conservative reforms from 1987 onwards (Jones, 2003:143-6) and it is in this period that the basic architecture of the system was established with the introduction of an element of parent choice, local management of school budgets, and increasing school autonomy from local authority control.

Within this framework, the central market-style element was choice and therefore diversity of provision was pursued as a matter of principle. Within schools, this manifested itself in the promotion of selection, streaming and setting (Jones, 2003: 158) whilst between schools it was reflected in the proliferation of different types of school, including the promotion of faith schools (Gardner et al., 2005),

academies (Beckett, 2007), and specialist schools (Ball, 2008). By 2007, 90% of eligible state funded schools had become a specialist school, academy or City Technology College (SSAT, 2007).

By providing parents with sufficient information to make informed decisions about the school they want their children to attend, and by forcing head teachers to respond to this demand (by attaching funding to pupil numbers), a quasi-market was maintained. This market based model was envisaged as providing a virtuous cycle for ensuring all public services are locked into a cycle of continuous improvement (PMSU, 2006). On this analysis, as Ball points out, education policy is “almost entirely subsumed within an overall strategy of public service reform” (Ball, 2008: 101).

The role of responsible parents in this cycle of improvement was noted in DCSF evidence to a Parliamentary committee in 2008:

“We want them [national tests] to enable parents to make reliable and informative judgments about the quality of schools and colleges” (David Bell's evidence to the Children Schools and Families Committee (House of Commons), 2008a: 14).

When asked about this by members of the committee, Jim Knight, the Minister of State for Schools and Learning, said:

“We explicitly want to move to a position in which parents choose schools, rather than schools choose parents” (Children Schools and Families Committee (House of Commons), 2008b: Q336).

And when pressed about the extent to which the system privileged some parents over others, he argued that all parents should consult league tables, read OfSTED reports, speak to their neighbours about local schools and arrange to visit prospective schools.

“However articulate parents are, and however much technology they have at home, those are the sorts of things that we expect them to do when choosing schools for their children” (Children Schools and Families Committee (House of Commons), 2008b: Q338).

Thus the responsible parent not only makes the right decisions for their own child, but by doing so plays a crucial role in driving education reform and improvement.

Example 3: Educating citizens for their responsibilities

This universal expectation of parents was broader than merely exercising sufficiently informed criticality in making school choice, it also extended into a

more general appeal to parents to support their children's education. David Blunkett included the following appeal in his Conference Speech in 2000:

"I appeal to parents to take their responsibilities seriously and think what is best for their child - what will help them best begin the process of learning and play, and how important it is for them to arrive at primary school with the confidence and social skills needed to make a good start. Education is a partnership in which parents have a critical role. We want them to engage much more in the education of their children than in the past" (Blunkett, 2000).

Where individuals failed to take their responsibilities seriously the government sought to take action to enforce the implied 'contract' between parents and state, for example, in the 2006 Education and Inspections Act the government extended parents' responsibilities to ensure their children attend school and behave appropriately. This built on previous legislation which had already led to over 5000 parents a year being taken to court for their children's behaviour, including truancy (Ball, 2008: 176).

Some local initiatives, such as the Education Action Zones, placed new relationships between schools, parents and local businesses at the heart of reforms. The following strategic aim from Newham's bid for EAZ status reflects how seriously these parenting deficits were taken:

"To turn parents and local communities into good consumers of education services, with positive attitudes towards schools and education, and to engage them actively in children's and community learning" (Gamarnikow & Green, 1999: 3).

The key word here seems to be 'turn', thus education policy is seen as having parents as one of the targets, rather than children or teachers. In his memoirs, Tony Blair reflected on some of the families who failed to live up to these basic expectations and argued that the minority of families which seem incapable of assuming such responsibilities require "gripping and seizing," he continued:

"To do that effectively their 'rights' need to be put into suspense, including the right to be a parent" (Blair, 2010: 645).

This demonstrates how far he had gone down the path of seeing rights as conditional on an appropriate fulfilment of responsibilities.

Of course, Blair put his case more strongly in his memoirs, partly because he was reflecting on an area of policy that he no longer controlled, and which had not been entirely successful. Whilst in government though, Ministers did pursue several strategies to tackle these problems – providing support as well as penalties. To

support parents who failed to meet the government's expectations, there was a range of additional measures including civil parenting orders, support through Sure Start schemes, Parentline and parenting classes (Ball, 2008: 177). As Blunkett expressed it:

“We need parents who are prepared to take responsibility for supporting their child's education and we need a culture which values education and demands the best” (Blunkett 1999 in Gewirtz, 2001: 365).

Gewirtz locates these aspects of policy in an historic tradition including the extension of health visitors to working class mothers and the Conservatives' *Parents' Charter* (Gewirtz, 2001: 366). She argues that the ideal parents from the New Labour perspective had the following attributes:

- (1) They are active consumers in the education market place.
- (2) They monitor and closely police what schools provide, intervening when necessary to rectify any shortcomings.
- (3) They possess and transmit appropriate forms of cultural capital.
- (4) They possess social capital – i.e. the social contacts, networks and self-confidence that enable them to exploit the education system to their children's best advantage.

According to Gewirtz, middle class parents tend to embody these attributes more than working class parents. Whilst one response might therefore be to dismantle the system which privileges such differences, she claims New Labour's response was to attempt to universalise these attributes (Gewirtz, 2001: 367). Echoing Mouffe's criticism (above) of the Third Way, Gewirtz claims that such a project is flawed because it ignores the socio-economic divisions underlying different patterns of engagement.

However, read within the broader project of the construction of the *new citizen*, who will assume new roles and relationships in society, these changes hold out the promise of ending the old social barriers and patterns of inequality. As Secretary of State for Education, Blunkett believed that such citizens, when taking advantage of services which were managed effectively, would end the 'excuses' for underachievement and breakdown social inequalities. In a speech in 2000 to the National Union of Teachers, he argued:

"There are cynics out there who say that school performance is all about socio-economics and the areas that these schools are located in.

No child is preordained by their class, gender, ethnic group or home life to fail" (Carvell, 2000).

This optimistic description of an education system which dismantles the obstacles to personal fulfillment serves to illustrate both how important education policy was to create the *new citizen* of tomorrow, and how crucial it was to devise compensatory policies to overcome the barriers that prevented this potential from being realized. Hence education policy also sought to tackle perceived parenting deficits through the 'responsibilization of parents' (Williams, 2004: 419), as well as challenging low aspirations, and the toleration of low achievement within the system. The practical effects of this raft of reforms is much debated within the literature, but what is unquestionable is the centrality of education as the route to a responsive, reflexive society in which *new citizens* take on a central role in creating and sustaining change.

Example 4: Schools strengthening communities and strong communities supporting schools

Within this broader project of re-building citizenship, there is one other aspect of education policy that is particularly relevant to the discourse on community cohesion and diversity, and that relates to the reinvigoration of faith schools under New Labour. On the one hand such a development has been justified as a belated extension of the established voluntary-aided system to all religious groups (Gamarnikow & Green, 2005). On this reading, even some sceptics have argued that it is better for the state to have some involvement with such schools, rather than to force religious groups to operate schools outside of the state system (Brighouse, 2005). Others though, have developed a stronger case for such schools, for example, Whitty's reading of research in the United States into Catholic schools indicates that, whilst much of the apparent higher outcomes is due to selection procedures, there is a residual effect, which he puts down to 'community', or social capital (Whitty, 2002: 119). This reading is echoed by Gamarnikow and Green (2005) who also point out how faith schools illustrate a more general commitment of the government to promote schools with a distinctive ethos, which may or may not be religious:

"At the heart of our vision for transforming secondary education is the ambition for every school to create or develop its distinct mission and ethos... Schools with a distinct identity perform best." (quoted from

DfES (2001) 'Schools: Achieving Success' in Gamarnikow & Green, 2005: 95)

Given the earlier discussion about the communitarian roots of much of New Labour's thinking, Annette's description of faith schools as embodying 'religious communitarianism' (Annette, 2005) is a useful way to think about the role of such schools.

Whilst justifications in the early phase of New Labour's period in government for extending faith schools might be couched within the language of 'rights' and 'standards', the disturbances in Bradford and other mill towns and the continued debate about Islamic extremism, meant that the policy inevitably reflected some of the tensions within this discourse. On the one hand commentators have argued that, contrary to some appeals to 'common sense', religious schools have not actually exacerbated the problems of segregation in society. By promoting the development of a secure identity, enhancing the life chances of children in deprived communities, and educating children in moral reasoning, it is possible to argue that faith schools serve multi-cultural societies well (Halstead & McLaughlin, 2005). Certainly Barker and Anderson (2005) argue that Christian education in Bradford has done more to ameliorate the social divisions there than contribute to them, and again point to the importance of broader social divisions and deprivation, which are often reflected in schools, rather than created by them. But Alan Johnson, as Education Secretary, became entangled in these tensions, when he attempted to force through legislation that would compel faith schools to enrol a proportion of students who were from other faiths and none. Whilst this has been common practice in many Christian schools, this attempt at compulsion attracted a strong response from many religious communities and eventually the policy was changed. The compromise solution led to a new duty for all schools to promote community cohesion (BBC, 2006b).

Summary

Whilst there is evidence that the three discourses, which constitute the creation of the *new citizen* trope, have had some resonances within education policy. I have not claimed that these discourses have driven education policy, but rather I have sought to illustrate some of the ways in which aspects of education policy have reflected these specific discourses. In so doing, I have sought to illustrate how

these discourses played a part in shaping solutions – education is seen as the route to creating *responsible citizens*; parents are re-imagined as *active agents* in their children's education and where necessary subjected to a process of *responsibilization*; schools are seen as sites of value and identity formation and given responsibility for contributing to community cohesion.

By turning next to examine citizenship education policy in some detail I hope to demonstrate how this aspect of policy reflects these three discourses much more thoroughly and how the development of policy over several years has reflected the ways in which these discourses have developed. In citizenship education one can discern the most explicit example of the state's attempt to imagine and then bring into being the new citizen at the heart of welfare reform.

Chapter 3

Citizenship Education Policy – Crick and Beyond

In this chapter, following on from the suggested strategies outlined in the earlier discussion of policy analysis (chapter 1) I will start my investigation of citizenship education policy with an analysis of two core texts. In the discussion of these texts I will consider the relationships between the key arguments and ideas in these texts and the three discourses discussed in chapter 2; these in turn will be linked to the broader social, political and economic context in which they occur. Here we explore the vision of the *new citizen* as it developed within citizenship education policy documents and, following McCowan, consider the ‘leap’ between ends and means as policy visions were translated into curriculum structures (McCowan, 2008).

There are relatively few key players in the official formulation of citizenship education policy, which makes this particular policy slightly easier to read than other more nebulous policies which were influenced by diverse groups with slightly different policy agendas (see for example the discussion of Education Action Zones in Power et al., 2004). The main two agents are Sir Bernard Crick and his ex-student, and then Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett. In terms of secondary school education policy, the main document to consider is the Advisory Group’s Final Report *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998), which was completed under the chairmanship of Crick and will be subsequently referred to as the Crick Report. This in turn gave rise to the amended national curriculum (QCA, 2000) and guidance from the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority⁶. As I trace the evolution of policy I will also consider subsequent guidance from the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED), and the Ajegbo Review *Diversity and Citizenship* (Ajegbo, 2007), which informed the production of new programmes of study for Citizenship (QCA, 2007).

⁶ The QCA published schemes of work, which were intended to provide teachers with models of how to interpret the curriculum, and several booklets of advice in the years following the publication of the National Curriculum Programmes of Study.

There are already several published accounts of the development of the Crick Report. Bernard Crick has written about the work of the Advisory Group and his intentions in 'steering' their work (Crick, 2000a, 2000b, 2003). David Kerr, who was seconded to the QCA as Professional Officer to the Advisory Group, has produced several articles which detail the work of the Committee and which offer commentary on the main recommendations and implementation challenges (Kerr, 1999, 2003, Kerr et al., 2008). David Blunkett discussed his intentions when introducing citizenship education in a book he wrote as he made the transition from the Department for Education to the Home Office (Blunkett, 2001). And more recently, Jessica Pykett and Dina Kiwan have separately conducted research with members of the Advisory Group, and used their data to discuss the various aims and interests reflected in the group (Kiwan, 2008, Pykett, 2007). From these accounts, and from the Crick Report itself, it is possible to identify a range of factors, which set the scene for the introduction of citizenship education:

- England was in a very small minority of democratic countries which did not have any formal citizenship education, so to some extent this was seen as an opportunity to correct an historical omission.
- A political opportunity was presented by Blunkett's appointment as Secretary of State for Education – he was known to have some sympathy for citizenship education.
- Some describe a sense of crisis, against which citizenship education might be seen as part of the solution. Echoing the sentiments in much of the discussion of the 'Third Way' (see discussion in previous chapter), Kerr described the context in which citizenship education was introduced in the following terms:

“This period of unprecedented and seemingly relentless change has succeeded in shifting and straining the traditional, stable boundaries of citizenship in many societies.” (Kerr, 2003: 2)
- Concern about perceived political apathy, reflected in low-turnout at elections.
- A more general disengagement from politics, especially among young people.
- A duty under human rights legislation to educate young people about their rights.
- Growing discussion of issues around citizenship, especially in relation to immigration and asylum.

Kiwan identifies three types of explanation which were offered by her interviewees. First, some respondents simply suggested there was a timely 'cocktail' of factors that precipitated the development. Second, some claim there was a 'trigger', akin to a media induced moral panic, which decisively shifted public perceptions to accept that schools should do something to address young people's anti-social behaviour, suggestions for such a shift included references to the Jamie Bulger case⁷. Third, some suggested that the fact that citizenship education was taken seriously at this time was as much to do with 'luck' as anything else, given that it is always difficult to predict when an issue would come to the fore (Kiwan, 2008: 26-8). Of course, it is impossible to construct a definitive statement to explain why citizenship education was introduced, but all of the factors listed reflect the issues discussed above in chapter 3, in relation to New Labour's wider policy agenda. The sense of society moving towards a new settlement in which the role of the state, and the relationship between the state and citizens, would change are at the heart of the discussion of the Third Way and are reflected clearly in the statements of members of the Advisory Group on Citizenship. As the quotation from Kerr (above) indicates, this change to a new settlement is also often seen as being bound up with a collapse, or at least erosion, of the status quo, what McLaughlin refers to as a "civic deficit" (McLaughlin, 2000).

Once the introduction of citizenship education had been agreed by government, it attracted to it a whole range of other justifications, reflecting the wide range of factors that were also seen as challenges for the *new citizen*. In Hansard, there are a range of references to citizenship education which claim it as the government's response to a variety of problems. For example, Charles Clarke, then a junior minister in the Department for Education, claimed it was about environmental education:

"Those ideas – the relationship between the individual, the environment and society – are at the core of our ideas for PSHE and citizenship" (Clarke, 20 July 1999).

⁷ The murder of toddler James Bulger by two ten year old boys took place in 1993 and attracted huge media attention and considerable public debate. Although the boys had been found guilty in November 1993, this respondent's mention of the case in relation to the Crick committee's work four years later illustrates to what extent the case was seen as totemic in representing a general problem of 'out of control' youth.

Similarly, when asked about plans to implement the McPherson Report recommendations on tackling institutional racism, then Home Secretary Jack Straw answered:

“My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Education and Employment is taking a number of steps aimed at promoting cultural diversity and preventing racism in our schools. Citizenship education, which will foster an understanding of cultural diversity in Britain, has a prominent place in the revised national curriculum” (Straw, 29 March 1999).

I turn now to a more detailed examination of the Crick Report and the Ajebo Review as the beginning of a broader discussion of the development of citizenship education policy. I have conducted an analysis of these texts to explore the ways in which the Report and Review engage with the three discourses of rights and responsibilities; active citizenship; and diversity and community cohesion. The Crick Report starts by quoting the terms of reference set for it by the DfEE:

“To provide advice on effective education for citizenship in schools – to include the nature and practices of *participation* in democracy; the *duties, responsibilities and rights* of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of *community activity*” (my italics Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 4).

This explains to a large extent why the text of the report has more to say about the first two discourses, than it does the third. Although, as I trace the development of the curriculum over the decade following the publication of the Crick Report, the shift between these discourses becomes apparent.

Rights and Responsibilities in the Crick Report and beyond

I first searched for the terms ‘rights’, ‘responsibilities’, ‘duties’ and ‘obligations’ within the text of Crick Report. Where terms appeared in combination, I counted this as a single incidence, so for example, the phrase ‘rights and responsibilities’ counted as one occurrence, as did the term ‘civil rights’ where it appeared alone. Using this system there were forty seven relevant phrases in which one or more of these terms appeared. The results of this analysis are summarised below.

A majority (88%) of the occurrences included the term ‘rights’, which left only 12% of all occurrences referring to ‘responsibilities’, ‘duties’ or ‘obligations’ alone. Half of occurrences including the term ‘rights’ paired it with ‘responsibilities’. The

Lord Chancellor's statement, which ended the main section of the Report summed up the tenor of many of these connections:

"Citizenship education must give people confidence to claim their rights and challenge the status quo while, at the same time, make plain that with rights come obligations" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 61).

This sentiment echoes the report's early discussion of models of citizenship in which the duties of participation were stressed:

"In the political tradition stemming from the Greek city states and the Roman republic, citizenship has meant involvement in public affairs by those who had the rights of citizens: to take part in public debate and... in shaping the laws and decisions of a state... We now have the opportunity for a highly educated 'citizen democracy'" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 9).

And in turn, this is clearly reflected in the statement of aims for the new curriculum for Citizenship, which the report phrased in the following terms:

"The purpose of citizenship education... is to... enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities, needed for the development of pupils into active citizens" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 40).

The links between rights and responsibilities are evident in the following table which summarises the report's recommendations for the curriculum:

Key Stage 1 expectations	know about differences and similarities between people in terms of... rights, responsibilities...
Key Stage 2 expectations	understand that there are various sources of authority in their duties
	understand the meaning of terms such as rights and responsibilities
	understand the meaning of terms such as... human rights
Key Stage 3 expectations	understand... the legal rights and responsibilities of young people...
	...with particular reference to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
	understand the general nature of legal aspects and responsibilities of other citizens
	understand the rights and responsibilities underpinning democratic society...
	...with particular reference to the European Convention on Human Rights
	Be aware of issues surrounding rights such as freedom of speech
	know about the Universal Declaration of Rights and why it was developed
	understand the meaning of terms such as... human rights

Key Stage 4 expectations	understand the meaning of terms such as... civil rights
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(Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 46-52)

It is notable that pupils are required to ‘know’, ‘understand’ and ‘be aware of’ aspects of rights and responsibilities. In relation to this dimension, the focus is clearly on knowledge. It is important though not to misrepresent the intentions of the report and in the sections on *skills and aptitudes* there are relevant references to a range of processes which are clearly related to rights and responsibilities. Most of these are more concerned with the kinds of skills one needs in order to assume the general duty of participation, which reflects Crick’s commitment that “children learn responsibility best and gain a sense of moral values by discussing with good guidance from the earliest age real and controversial issues and by having opportunities to participate and take responsibility” (Crick, 2000a: 128-9) (this will be considered below when we turn to the report’s treatment of active citizenship). But one could also read the recommendation that children in all key stages “use imagination when considering the experience of others” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 46-51) as being linked to an appreciation of the skills required to really understand individual responsibility to one another.

There has been some criticism that the Crick Report tended to see citizenship as an outcome of a trajectory or preparation, rather than a current status for young people (Alderson, 2000a, Biesta & Lawy, 2006). To explore this I considered references to children’s rights and also looked for phrases which clearly implied citizenship education as a preparation for the future. The results of this analysis indicate that there is some tension within the report about young people’s status as current citizens, or future citizens. There were three explicit references to children’s rights, all of which were included in a lengthy quotation from a submission by the British Youth Council (BYC):

“[The curriculum] should look at children and young people’s rights and responsibilities as citizens... [The curriculum] should also look at the law and the justice system and how it relates to their rights and responsibilities... We believe that the most important issue facing young people as citizens is their lack of knowledge about... their actual rights and responsibilities as citizens.” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 19-20)

Whilst the wording itself is from the BYC, the quotation is endorsed by the Advisory Group as essentially summarising their intentions. It is significant therefore that these references explicitly acknowledge the existence of children's rights and responsibilities as they presently affect them, rather than merely as preparation for future citizenship. Alderson points out the significance here, of the fact that the BYC extract was the only evidence cited from a youth organisation (Alderson, 2000a).

In contrast to the implications of the BYC quotation, there were four references to rights, which focused on them as something to be developed for adulthood. One of these was a direct quotation from legislation, one was part of an argument for post 16 citizenship education. The other two were slightly ambiguously worded but were included in this category simply because they implied pupils would become citizens, as distinct from becoming better at exercising their current citizenship status. One example appeared in the recommendations section:

“there should be a DfEE Order setting up the entitlement and this shall... include the knowledge, skills and values relevant to... the duties, responsibilities, rights and development of pupils into citizens” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 22).

The final example is taken from the section on aims:

“The purpose of citizenship education... is to... enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities, needed for the development of pupils into active citizens” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 40).

These latter references certainly lend some weight to Alderson's assertion that the Crick Report “tends to see democracy as a set of mainly abstract ideas and adults' systems instead of activities in schools which can raise strong feelings about how to share responsibilities, resources and power fairly” (Alderson, 1999: 195).

Crick has subsequently explained the importance of rights within a citizenship education programme, but also stressed that rights alone could not be (in his opinion) a sufficient underpinning for such a project. He pointed out that the report dealt with this complex debate by “always linking rights with duties, or rights with responsibilities” (Crick, 2000a: 127). This clearly resonates with the ways in which rights and responsibilities have been used in broader policy discussion by New Labour politicians. In the quotations from the previous chapter it is possible to discern a preoccupation with citizens recognising the

responsibilities government wants them to assume within a broader reform of welfare policy.

For Crick, the rejection of rights as providing the foundations for citizenship education was rooted in an historical appreciation that “free citizenship preceded any clear idea of human rights” (Crick, 2000a: 127). This reflects his earlier work, *In Defence of Politics*, in which he saw politics as a process, which was a fundamental part of human nature, and which should be embraced in its own right and defended against other ideologies that seek to encompass it (Crick, 1982). One of Kiwan’s respondents felt that they and others had moved Crick to some extent on the issue of rights and that they became more prominent in the final report than the interim one, but this interviewee recognised that whilst rights had a higher profile in the final report, they were certainly not fundamental to the conception of Citizenship it presented (Kiwan, 2008: 66).

Whilst Crick’s published arguments go some way to explain why the tension is unresolved within the Crick Report (i.e. between children as having and realising rights now, and simply learning about them), it does leave the problem for later interpretation, and also misses the opportunity to focus on school organisation as a key way in which rights and responsibilities can be explored through real experience (Alderson, 1999, Alderson, 2000a, Osler & Starkey, 2005b).

The Ajegbo Review represents a slight shift in this aspect of the debate in that it explicitly recommends that schools should do more to ensure that “pupil voice is heard and acted upon” (Ajegbo, 2007: 9). It is interesting to note though that the Review makes fewer references to rights (in its 126 pages) than the Crick Report (in its 88 pages)⁸. Ajegbo only refers to ‘rights’ alone 14 times and to ‘rights’ paired with ‘responsibilities’, ‘duties’ or ‘obligations’ only four times (Ajegbo, 2007). Most of the references to rights are to specific pieces of legislation. There are many more references to ‘responsibilities’, ‘duties’ and ‘obligations’ alone (31 overall), but these are overwhelmingly related to school or government duties, with only three references to young people’s or citizens’ responsibilities. To some extent this

⁸ Because the Ajegbo Review includes fairly detailed schemes of work in the appendices I have omitted these from the searches, as this would distort the findings and may give the impression that these terms were more widely spread throughout the Review.

reflects the differences in the brief of the two reports (Ajegbo was asked to review diversity and identity specifically) but it also reflects a change in style between the two reports. Whereas the Crick Report reads like a summary of judiciously selected evidence from a wide range of interested parties, which makes a case for citizenship education and then rather technically defines the shape for such a policy, the Ajegbo Review bears the imprint of being led by a head teacher who is more engaged with the legal and practical aspects of managing the curriculum and broader school systems to achieve certain ends.

In the only substantial discussion of rights in the Ajegbo Review, the authors criticise some of the ways in which rights have been conceptualised in the QCA schemes of work.

“Unit 3 on Human Rights, for instance, proposes that by the end of the Unit, most pupils will ‘know that the Human Rights Act is underpinned by common values’. Whilst it is important that human rights are recognised as essential to understanding citizenship, it does not explore whether these are universal common values, or whether these are common values for the UK. So what is not clarified is the distinction between an *individual* with human rights – underpinned by common values for all human beings; and being a *citizen* – with rights based on being a member of a nation state. It is not clear how these common values are distinctive to citizenship in the UK context, in contrast to other nation-state settings. There must be a clear and explicit rationale of how human rights relate to citizenship” (Ajegbo, 2007: 94).

Here then we see an exploration of some rather technical definitional dimensions to rights becoming significant precisely because the focus of the Ajegbo review is on identity and belonging. These issues will become more relevant when we come to consider the third discourse (below), but here it is useful to note how this change of emphasis changes the official perception of the job that needs to be done, when teaching rights. Under Crick there is knowledge to be learned about the rights people have; under Ajegbo it becomes more significant that young people understand the source of those rights – especially where the source can serve the purpose of providing some sense of unity, that is, where rights spring from the very fact of our belonging within the British state. As the authors conclude this discussion, “the motivation for citizens to participate in society is logically predicated on a sense of belonging, or ‘identification’ with, the context where they are participating” (Ajegbo, 2007: 95). Ajegbo thus assumes that, if young people understand how the rights they enjoy spring from their membership of British

society, they will be more motivated to become involved in their society. This is questionable and it seems at least arguable that, whilst a sense of belonging is part of citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2005b), that sense might emerge from interacting with others in the public realm, rather than preceding such participation. Klein has argued, in another context,⁹ that hearts and minds are easier to win over through action and behavioural change, rather than seeking to change attitudes first (Klein, 1993: 129). The assumption that we need to make the teaching of values and attitudes a priority does however fit comfortably into the broader political discourse promoted by Gordon Brown who argued in 2006:

“When we take time to stand back and reflect, it becomes clear that to address almost every one of the major challenges facing our country... you must have a clear view of what being British means, what you value about being British and what gives us purpose as a nation” (Brown, 2006).

Despite the fact that the Ajebo Review had relatively little to say in relation to the discourse on rights and responsibilities, the QCA review of the programmes of study for Citizenship did make some significant changes. Structural changes in the key stage 3 curriculum meant that every subject had to be defined in terms of processes and concepts first, and therefore the specific knowledge for each subject is relatively less important. Whereas rights and responsibilities were mentioned in the first programmes of study, this was elevated (from September 2008) to one of three core concepts underpinning the whole of the programme of study for Citizenship¹⁰.

Active Citizenship in the Crick Report and beyond

The initial report of the Crick committee characterised citizenship education as being based on three strands – political literacy, social and moral responsibility and community involvement (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 63). The central place of community involvement in the final report should therefore cause little surprise, although the argument for this strand in relation to the suggested curriculum is weaker than may have been expected. A majority of the references to

⁹ Klein’s discussion is about how to affect change in teacher attitudes and practice in relation to tackling racism.

¹⁰ The others are ‘Democracy and Justice’ and ‘Identity and Diversity’. These core concepts and the processes are intended to provide a clear framework through which teachers should interpret the knowledge they include in lessons.

'action' and 'participation' linked the terms with 'community'. This tendency to link active citizenship with community clearly resonates with the civic republican beliefs of Crick, and seems particularly appropriate to the earlier discussion of communitarian influences on New Labour's approach to citizenship. In its exploration of the type of community action that should be promoted, the Report argues in favour of volunteering and community service, although it also acknowledges that "voluntary and community activity cannot be the full meaning of active citizenship" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 11).

References to community participation and active citizenship also reflected the tension noted above with regard to whether citizenship education concerned young people as citizens, or young people being prepared for citizenship. The BYC submission placed more stress on young people's role as active citizens by calling for a curriculum which covered "practical skills that enable young people to participate effectively in public life," although the statement also acknowledged that roles do also evolve as children become adults and argued that part of the task of the citizenship curriculum would also be to "prepare them to be full citizens" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 19).

Perhaps one of the best known and certainly one of the most widely used quotations from the Crick Report makes the point about the centrality of active citizenship very clear:

"We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 7).

This focus was maintained through most of the document and in section 5, *The Way Forward*, active citizenship was reiterated as "our aim throughout" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 25). Similarly in section 6, *Spelling It Out*, the purpose of citizenship education was clearly related to increasing the "knowledge, skills and values relevant to... participative democracy," promoting "the development of pupils into active citizens," and "establish[ing] the value to individuals, schools and

society of involvement in the local and wider community” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 40). This central theme was reiterated by the Lord Chancellor, who provided the ‘last word’, in which he emphasised the civic republican belief that, “the path to greatest personal fulfilment lies through active involvement in strengthening... society” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 61).

Such a call to action responded to a construction of some sort of crisis. In relation to this discourse the Crick Report referred to evidence submitted by *Citizenship 2000*, a group of citizenship and education organisations, which argued that:

“Citizenship education is urgently needed to address this historic deficit if we are to avoid a further decline in the quality of our public life and if we are to prepare all young people for informed participation... This will not happen unless there is a firm political and professional commitment to citizenship education” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 14).

The report discussed a range of evidence about the lack of engagement of young people in politics and their general lack of knowledge about, or interest in, politics. However, even within the report the evidence of such a crisis is not unequivocal and brief reference is made to a 1997 study by the Trust for the Study of Adolescence, which found that a majority of their sample of young people had been involved in political or community action in the previous year (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 15). Weller discusses other survey data which focuses on young people’s ‘non traditional’ participation, and stresses that one needs to acknowledge what young people do (petitions, campaigns), that is of a political nature, as well as what they do not do (join political parties, vote in elections) in order to gain a full appreciation of young people’s citizenship engagement (Weller, 2007: 34). This echoes Annette’s earlier discussion of research into young people’s participation, which led him to conclude that “young people, while having an antipathy to politicians and formal politics, do see civic participation as a meaningful political activity” (Annette, 2000: 80). Indeed a later inquiry, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, found evidence to suggest that this pattern was becoming a more general characteristic across society (Power Inquiry, 2006).

There is a debate about whether the perceived problem reflects a general decline over time, or simply represents a feature of the political life cycle of citizens, who ‘grow into’ traditional politics (Watts, 2006, Weller, 2007). The Crick Report

acknowledged this debate but concluded that whilst “things may not be getting dramatically worse, they are inexcusably and damagingly bad, and could and should be remedied” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 16). What is apparent is that (i) the Report’s authors were responding to what they perceived as a serious deficit among young people; (ii) that their solution was premised on a civic republican commitment, in which active participation in the public realm is central; and (iii) that the text included many references to active citizenship, participative democracy and community participation. The Committee’s consultation also indicated that “there was a widespread feeling that learning about citizenship should be active and participatory and should involve participation from members of the wider community” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 76).

Given the centrality of this dimension in the Report, the recommendations were surprisingly ambivalent in this regard:

“We also discussed whether service learning or community involvement... should be part of a new statutory Order for Citizenship education... However, we have concluded not to ask for their inclusion in a statutory Order at this time, mainly for fear of overburdening school and teachers” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 25).

This is reflected in the recommendations, which tended to focus on the values, knowledge and attitudes to support active citizenship, rather than on the direct experiences of active participation. Crick explained this in a later commentary on the work of the Committee:

“The Report strongly recommended pupil participation both in school and in the local community as good practice, but not to be part of the statutory order – ‘value added’ if you like. We thought we were being politically prudent... and the classroom curriculum was enough, we thought, for starters... But the Secretary of State sent word to the working party who were drafting the consultative order (civil servants, QCA, teachers, advisers) that actual participation could be mandatory, if we cared so to recommend... Without the experiential, participative side of citizenship learning, some schools could turn... the brave new subject into safe and dead, dead-safe, old rote-learning civics” (Crick, 2000a: 119).

This reflected Blunkett’s commitment to civic republicanism, as explored above in relation to New Labour’s more general policy discourses, in which “citizens owe duties to one another... and *must* play a responsible part in public life [and...] engage actively in the life of the political community” (Blunkett, 2001: 18, my emphasis). This position also fitted comfortably within somewhat older guidance

from the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers' recommendation that "democracy is best learned in a democratic setting where participation is encouraged" (Council of Europe, 1985 in Osler & Starkey, 1996: 181-3). This intervention by Blunkett certainly reinforces the impression that citizenship education was introduced in large part because of his tenure in the Department for Education and Employment. Without this compulsory element, as Crick says himself, the subject would have likely been turned into a 'safe and dead' area of the curriculum.

Despite what we might call a 'wobble in confidence' in the Report over the extent to which teachers would be able to assume responsibility for providing active citizenship experiences, Crick has subsequently written about the nature of experiential learning he considers most useful and relevant. In one example of how this call to action can be misunderstood, he describes a school which claimed to be doing an active citizenship project by enabling a group of pupils to plan a party for old people in a residential home near to the school. The young people negotiated with the staff, bought provisions and organised entertainment. On the face of it this seems to demonstrate participation, but this is not, according to Crick, what active citizenship is about (Crick, 2002b). In considering what could have transformed the project into active citizenship he suggests:

- A prior investigation into the complex policy area of health care, and provision for the elderly.
- An investigation into why some of the residents were being cared for in a state funded institution, and whether the level of funding was adequate.
- Representations to the relevant public authorities.

In essence, what would be needed is some knowledge base, in order that the situation is understood. Indeed it is the notion of young people being 'informed' which marks Hart's distinction between genuine participation and non-participation, which is deemed to consist of tokenism, decoration or manipulation (Hart, 1992). It may be a harsh reality for some schools, but, according to Crick, the fun party at the 'old folks home' might be valuable for all sorts of reasons, but it is not valuable as part of the citizenship education programme in the school.

This distinction is especially important in the light of debates about the erosion of social capital in some modern societies (Putnam, 2000). One might want to encourage young people to participate in the project outlined above because (a) they will get to know groups within the community; (b) they will build relationships with people from another generation; (c) they may feel the satisfaction of a job well done and enjoy helping out; (d) it may also serve to boost their sense of self esteem and their appreciation of others. Through these outcomes the project may build 'bridging social capital' (Putnam, 2000) and therefore it may play a part in the school's overall vision for developing citizens. Annette (2008) outlines at least four different ways in which the term 'community' is conceptualised in citizenship education, and in his terms such projects may be useful for their connection to the community as a place or neighbourhood; and even to some extent with the communitarian inspired notion of community as a normative ideal, in which relationships of duty and respect connect us; it may also draw on community as a source of cultural identity, but it does not demonstrate participation in the community as a political ideal, at least not in the civic republican tradition espoused by Crick.

In this example one can discern a potential area of confusion, one which seems to be built into the whole project of creating Citizenship as a national curriculum subject. On one view there is a broad sense in which good schools promote good citizenship, through providing opportunities for young people to gain experience of working with others in respectful and productive ways. Kisby (2006) has attempted to analyse citizenship education primarily as an attempt to recreate or strengthen social capital, similarly Gamarnikow and Green (2000) draw attention to the similarities between a model of citizenship for promoting social capital and that proposed in the Crick Report. Even Crick acknowledged the value of everyday associations in his major work, *In Defence of Politics*, where he argued that politics is an essential element of what it is to be human:

"The more one is involved in relationships with others, the more conflicts of interest, or of character and circumstance will arise. These conflicts, when personal, create the activity we call 'ethics'... and such conflicts, when public, create political activity..." (Crick, 1982).

From this perspective such 'public interactions' could be seen as the bedrock of political education, and there is no obvious reason why the joint effort required to

negotiate and organise the party for elderly people discussed above would not fulfil these criteria.

Crick was first and foremost a political philosopher and, as we have seen, declared himself a civic republican, one of the hallmarks of which is the Aristotelian commitment that fulfilment comes through political participation (Crick, 2002a). For Crick, in his note to clarify the nature of active citizenship, there is a tendency to focus on overtly 'political' issues, often those linked to policy or party political debates, rather than adopting an approach which sees public interactions as political. This more expansive definition seems to be more compatible with his general account of politics (Crick, 1982) and there are other reasons provided by contemporary political philosophers for returning to this broader definition. Perczynski (1999) has written about *associative democracy*, as a form of democratic theory linked to civic republicanism, in which democracy is seen as being embedded within the interplay of different associations, which are formed by citizens interacting according to a range of interests. In turn this connects to Habermas' conception of the ways in which people participate in the public sphere (Habermas, 1999: Ch.9), and of the significance of participation in 'New Social Movements' (Habermas discussed in Morrow & Torres, 2002: 137-40). For Habermas, the nature of the interactions between citizens in the public sphere seems more important than the purpose of those interactions. The mere fact of coming together, of engaging in deliberative acts, of perceiving ourselves in relation to others is a key element in sustaining democracy. Similarly, Iris Marion Young's discussion of democracy seeks to give "prominence to processes of discussion and citizen involvement in the associations of civil society" (Young, 2000: 40). This strong theme in thinking about democracy, often described as *the deliberative turn* (Dryzek, 2000), indicates that there may be some merit in promoting the skills and attributes for democracy through experiences of interacting with others in the public sphere, which could include the school.

These arguments about social capital and the different theoretical perspectives on the value of *association* indicate that the activities and ends themselves may not have to be overtly *political* to promote citizenship, at least not in the way Crick's note implies, indeed this may also be perfectly compatible with a broad

commitment to civic republicanism (Cunningham, 2002). If we expand our notion of relevant experiences to recognise that democracy is lived in the acts of coming together to discuss, resolve and take action we derive a significantly different agenda for school based citizenship education. This agenda is actually closer to Dewey's understanding of the purposes of education and the link to experiential learning, as he put it:

“Is it not the reason for our preference [for democracy] that we believe that mutual consultation and convictions reached through persuasion, make possible a better quality of experience than can otherwise be provided on any wide scale?... Personally I do not see how we can justify our preference for democracy and humanity on any other ground”
(Dewey, 1997 / 1938: 34-5).

This strengthens the argument that the foundations of education for democracy might best be established by focusing on the experience of getting along together, and by engaging in meaningful deliberation rather than by a premature induction into public policy debates.

To some extent, the Crick Report acknowledges the value of such activities, but as we have already seen, he also demands more of experiential learning activities that are to count as ‘citizenship education’. Crick’s stance in relation to this definitional problem strengthens the interpretation that citizenship education policy aims primarily towards the creation of the ideal new citizen, rather than simply as an attempt to build social capital. This reflects Crick’s linking of citizenship education to the broader policy context in which the government was attempting a shift from *state* responsibility for welfare, towards *community* and *individual* responsibility (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 10).

There is then, still a tension between the definition of politics, which focuses on the process of working with others to achieve ends within the public sphere (the example above of students organising a party and negotiating with others to achieve their goals seems to fit this definition) and an expectation that such activities, to count as Citizenship, must at least touch on relevant questions of policy or governance (which is implied by the additional questions with which Crick wants the students to engage). Significantly for schools, this move to a narrower definition of active citizenship as requiring a connection to issues which are somehow defined as more political than others rules out many of the

opportunities for participation that can be readily identified in schools. This tension, unresolved in Crick's own writing, manifested itself in subsequent advice from government agencies responsible for interpreting and clarifying the curriculum.

Wood has explored the ways in which such agencies subsequently issued slightly different advice concerning what would be acceptable as active citizenship. The Qualifications and Curriculum Agency (QCA), which was responsible for writing and providing the framework for assessing the Citizenship curriculum, provided advice and guidance which Wood (2006: 31) argues, focused on the 'helpful' citizen, more than the political and critical citizen. This requirement to define 'minimal' responses was also evident in the guidance of the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED), the government inspection service, which helped to set the benchmark for what was acceptable in practice. Whilst it upheld the focus on participating students being 'informed', the recognition of letter writing or publishing conclusions on a school website as active citizenship, was seen as setting a workable minimal entitlement for all students (Wood, 2006: 33). Indeed in one extract from an OfSTED report, the judgement seemed to directly contradict Crick's efforts to explore the links between political literacy and real action by apparently accepting a fairly minimal example of pupil engagement in the classroom as an example of active citizenship:

"The third stand of citizenship, the skills of participation and responsible action, has been developed well in some schools through the use of discussion and other methods, including role play and collaborative working in the context of citizenship knowledge and understanding" (Ofsted, 2004a: 3).

This shifting emphasis illustrated a continuing lack of clarity in this crucial aspect of citizenship education.

Turning to the Ajebo Review, there is again a stark difference to the way such issues were discussed in the Crick Report. Whereas Crick included 45 references to community and a variety of terms directly linked to participation or activity, the Ajebo Review included only three such phrases. There are 15 references in total to terms relating to participation (24 in Crick) and 35 linked to action (12 in Crick), although only 16 of these referred to personal actions undertaken by students or citizens and 19 referred to actions in other spheres, for example curriculum

activities, leaders' action and actions undertaken by the government. As in the earlier discussion of rights, Ajegbo therefore addressed himself more than Crick, to the school leaders and implementers of citizenship education policy.

Despite these apparent differences, the Ajegbo Review does indicate there was a substantially shared vision with the Crick Report, in relation to active citizenship. This was most obviously evident in the vision statement Ajegbo establishes at the beginning of his report:

“In five years, for all schools to be actively engaged in nurturing in pupils the skills to participate in an active and inclusive democracy, appreciating and understanding difference” (Ajegbo, 2007: 1).

The Review also shared some of Crick's assumptions that active citizenship must be grounded in knowledge development:

“In many schools teachers do not sufficiently anchor and integrate work on developing pupils' skills to knowledge and content; and there is evidence that some 'active citizenship' projects are insufficiently grounded in relevant knowledge and understanding.

Currently in Citizenship, issues of identity and diversity do not tend to be linked explicitly enough to political understanding (of legal and political systems) and active participation” (Ajegbo, 2007: 8).

To a substantial extent therefore, Ajegbo reinforced the original conceptualization of active citizenship. This continuity was also reflected in the key processes in the new national curriculum programmes of study, which still included 'taking informed and responsible action' as one of the three key processes¹¹, much as the original Citizenship programmes of study included 'participation and responsible action' as one of the prescribed skills.

Community and Diversity in the Crick Report and beyond

This third broad area of policy discourse was not a main focus of the Crick Report, partly because it was not included explicitly in the terms of reference and partly because this area emerged as increasingly significant over the New Labour period. When thinking about how the discourse emerged over the early years of the first term it is important to remember (as discussed in the previous chapter) that, although the inquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence became a defining moment in thinking about the government's responsibility for tackling racism, the report (MacPherson, 1999) was not published until the year after the Crick Report.

¹¹ The other two are 'critical thinking and enquiry' and 'advocacy and representation'.

Therefore, although citizenship education later came to be discussed in relation to the government's response to Macpherson's discussion of institutional racism (see for example Straw, 29 March 1999), it did not feature in the Report itself. Similarly, the disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, which came to be seen as key events requiring some form of government response, did not take place until 2001. The 9/11 attack on the World Trade Centre, which had a huge impact on the way government conducted debates about community relations and sparked a wave of Islamophobia in much media coverage, similarly happened in 2001 and so it is significant to recall the somewhat more innocent age in which the Crick Committee met to discuss the nature of citizenship and citizenship education.

Despite the early years of New Labour being characterised by a less urgent need to confront issues of cultural diversity, racism and community relations it would be naïve to think these issues were not already established as part of the New Labour agenda. In the introduction to his review of New Labour's sustained attack on 'intolerance', McGhee argued:

"The Third Way ideals of increased equal opportunities and personal responsibilities through the facilitation of active citizens in active communities are implicated in wider strategies of attempting to achieve commonality, of moving to and finding 'common ground' in relation to the shared values and standards of an emergent citizenship for a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-faith Britain" (McGhee, 2005: 12).

This argument clearly incorporates the three related discourses, which have formed the basis for this analysis, into the broader project of creating *new citizens* for new times ahead.

It is also essential to remember that as well as reconceptualising the ways in which existing British residents saw themselves, their relationship to the state, and to each to other, the government was also involved in a series of significant policy discussions relating to immigration and asylum. These were concerned with the most basic elements of citizenship – residency rights and status. Thus, whilst aspects of New Labour's policy discussions related to forging a new and positive perception of citizenship in Britain, other aspects related to policing borders, keeping some people out and eventually treating them in very different ways than we had witnessed in the UK before. The concerns with 'bogus asylum seekers' and 'benefit fraudsters' had already entered public discourse by 1998, and the White

Paper of that year led to legislation which introduced compulsory 'dispersal' around the country, which had the twin effect of denying asylum seekers access to community resources already established by earlier migrants, and introducing immigrants to many communities around Britain which had little or no experience of dealing with new arrivals. This inevitably had an impact on public discussions relating to race and diversity (Spencer, 2007) in which "'host' peoples attempt to preserve their way of life, standard of life and / or identity" (Sivanandan discussed in McGhee, 2005: 68).

These contextual factors are useful reminders of the context in which the Crick Report was published and of the discourses within which it was produced. In beginning to analyse the report itself I searched the document for references to several related terms: 'cohesion', 'community', 'ethnicity', 'diversity', 'minority', and 'identity' (and terms derived from these). Taken together, there are seventy nine references to these terms. Interestingly, given how the term 'community cohesion' came to be commonly used in subsequent years, this phrase was not used once in the report, although the Citizenship 2000 group's evidence referred to a decline in 'civic cohesion', which citizenship education should address (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 14).

Of fifty nine references to community, ten were concerned with improving links between schools and their communities. The same number was also related to an explicit discussion of the place of communities within a broader model of politics, which might loosely be described as 'communitarian', and which clearly resonates with the earlier discussion of the Third Way philosophy. These references included clear attempts to lay out the theoretical stance adopted within the report in relation to the role of communities:

"Government is attempting a shift of emphasis between, on the one hand, state welfare provision and responsibility, and on the other, community and individual responsibility" (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 10).

Such references also included examples of evidence submitted to the Advisory Group, which spelled out the ways in which citizenship education should take account of communities and equip young people with attributes (and knowledge) to participate effectively. The following quotation is taken from a submission by the Hansard Society:

“Young people... should be encouraged to take pride in themselves and the communities to which they belong” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 20).

Such sentiment echoes discussion in the literature about the nature of democratic virtues which citizenship education should seek to inculcate (Kymlicka, 2002).

Several of the references to community also drew links to discussions about diversity and the reality of living together in a multicultural society. For example, the section on Key Stage 1 expectations set out the expectation that 5 to 8 year olds should:

“Know where they live, in relation to their local and national community, [and] understand that there are different types and groups of people living in their local community” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 47).

More significantly, in relation to the subsequent debates about multiculturalism, the need to create a common sense of citizenship was a recurrent theme in the Report. The Citizenship Foundation’s evidence expressed the concern that “the greater cultural diversity and the apparent loss of a value consensus” means that, “‘Cultural diversity’ raises the issue of national identity” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 17). The Report’s response was to affirm that:

“A main aim for the whole community should be to find or restore a sense of common citizenship, including a national identity that is secure enough to find a place for the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities and religions long found in the United Kingdom. Citizenship education creates common ground between different ethnic and religious identities” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 17).

The report began to explore the implications of a concern with identity for the curriculum and in the following extract suggested some specific content that could usefully be studied to provide young people with the required information to understand their own identities:

“Matters of national identity in a pluralist society are complex... we all need to learn more about each other. This should entail learning... about the European, Commonwealth and global dimensions of citizenship, with due regard being given to the homelands of our minority communities and to the main countries of British emigration” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 18).

This final phrase has been identified as particularly problematic by some critics, who argue it betrays a set of assumptions which is effectively mired in a mindset which views multicultural Britain as essentially them and us; that is, indigenous Britons and immigrants. This interpretation was further reinforced by the

following extract, which sat uneasily within mainstream discourses about Britain as a multicultural society.

“Majorities must respect, understand and tolerate minorities and minorities must learn and respect the laws, codes and convention as much as the majority - not merely because it is useful to do so, but because this process helps foster common citizenship” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 17).

As Osler and Starkey pointed out it was difficult to reconcile these quotations with conceptions of multiple and hybrid identities, and one is left with a vague impression that the report conceived all minorities as being similar, and that one dimension of this similarity was that their values somehow appeared to be at odds with the law-abiding values of the ‘majority’ (Osler & Starkey, 2000).

Osler and Starkey criticise the Crick Report as having a “somewhat colonial flavour” and being “somewhat patronising” in its terminology (Osler & Starkey, 2000: 7). Referring to the absence of explicit references to racism, Osler concludes that:

“The writers of the report either consider the subject too controversial to include in the school curriculum, or... they themselves are victims of a culture in which institutional racism is so powerful, and so ingrained, that it is invisible to those who do not experience it directly” (Osler, 2000b: 31).

In a similar vein to the criticisms levelled at Crick by Osler and Starkey, Olssen argued that the Crick report, “tends to ignore racism, multiculturalism, and any sophisticated understanding of how the politics of difference might inform citizenship education” (Olssen, 2004: 188) and “largely fits within an assimilationist political framework” (Olssen, 2004: 185).

These criticisms included a range of issues from the language and tone of the Crick report, to the more substantial omission of a discussion of racism and diversity, which in turn led to the absence of such issues from the recommendations. Whilst to some extent this might appear to damn the report, both Osler and Olssen recognised that the model itself was robust enough to provide a vehicle for developing anti-racist, multicultural and inclusive citizenship education. Olssen concluded that whilst the report may well have ignored racism “it need not do so, at least on the grounds of theoretical coherence” (Olssen, 2004: 188). Olssen’s solution was to enrich the Crick text with the more nuanced understanding of diversity embodied in the Parekh Report (Runnymede Trust, 2000), and Osler

and Starkey argued that one could develop an anti-racist citizenship within the existing Crick model. They argued that, whilst “the concept of racism is absent from the Crick Report... with its emphasis on political literacy, the report does provide a key tool by which citizenship education programmes might be transformed to enable young people to confront and challenge racism” (Osler & Starkey, 2000: 15), this was the essence of Crick’s own defence of his position, as we shall see.

References to racism within the report tended to be concerned, as we noted with rights, with ensuring that young people should acquire an understanding of the phenomenon, which he took to mean an understanding of the terminology and the nature of ethnic diversity. Whilst this fell short of the expectations of his critics (Osler, 2000a), Crick defended his model of citizenship as robust enough to provide a vehicle for inclusive citizenship education. In essence he argued that effective citizenship education would result from a balance of the three strands in the report (social and moral responsibility, political literacy and community participation), and he was overtly sceptical about the prospects of “full frontal” assaults on racism, which he felt were likely to be “inflammatory – just what the racist white lads will look forward to in classroom discussion” (Crick, 2000a: 134). Instead he argued that, “the need for citizenship arises from far broader considerations than anti-racism, and true citizenship has no place for racism and provides a secure framework against its recurrence” (Crick, 2000a: 132). For Crick, looking at citizenship and citizenship education in the round, the challenge was, “to cure the disease as a denial of free and equal citizenship, not constantly to battle with the symptoms” of racism (Crick, 2000a: 132).

Crick maintained that his model of common citizenship could accommodate multiculturalism, and went on to refute some of the criticisms levelled against him:

“To demand full acceptance rather than toleration is to demand assimilation rather than integration, a single common culture rather than, what we have long had, a pluralist society. The practices of a common citizenship hold together real differences of national, religious and ethnic identities to the mutual advantage of minorities and majorities alike” (Crick, 2000a: 135-6).

As we have seen, four years later Olssen still accused Crick of being essentially “assimilationist”, but this seems rather harder to maintain in the light of this more

sophisticated argument. Indeed, Osler and Starkey largely conceded the same point when they wrote, “there may be elements of a national identity which all might share, but this core identity might be supplemented so that individuals might identify with the nation in a variety of ways” (2000: 12). It seems that the debate on this point simply revolved around the nature and extent of this ‘core’ identity. This is an issue that goes to the heart of contemporary political philosophy and citizenship theory, for example Michael Walzer explores the limits to the individual construction of identity (Walzer, 1997), Will Kymlicka discusses the extent to which states can make demands from minority groups with distinctive values that are in tension with the majority (Kymlicka, 1995), and even Rawls’ justification for establishing a minimum common mutual commitment can be seen as significant for this debate, insofar as it establishes bonds between people simply on the grounds of shared status as members of a polity (Rawls, 1971). Given Crick’s avowedly civic republican stance, we should not be surprised that his vision of citizenship was one which relied on a strong shared civic identity, although as such it faced the same challenges as New Labour’s later policy statements about identity and belonging (discussed in chapter 2).

A final criticism I shall consider in this section concerns Crick’s preference for promoting a rather abstract model of citizenship, from which citizenship education is derived. Crick’s three strands share some similarities with Marshall’s classic conceptualisation of citizenship rights, which he described under three headings – civil, political and social (Marshall, 1964). One criticism levelled at Marshall was that he did not pay sufficient attention to the role of agency - the political processes that led to changes in rights (Kivisto & Faist, 2007: 51-6). Similarly some commentators have argued that the discussion of citizenship in the Crick Report seems remarkably disengaged from the real experiences of citizens in Britain. The seeds of this criticism are already present within the final report, which acknowledges that some of the respondents in the consultation process referred to “communities of great ethnic diversity and to communities where much of the population felt disenfranchised...” (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 78). As we have seen, Osler and others criticised this failure to engage more directly with the experiences of inequality (Osler, 2000a) and Faulks took up the point later by arguing that “the main weakness of the Report is its failure to tackle the issue of

structural disadvantage and its implications for equal citizenship” (Faulks, 2006b: 128). Whilst it is certainly the case that one can fit debates about structural inequality into the Crick framework if one wants to, it is equally the case that Crick did not place such concerns at the heart of citizenship himself.

One might argue, as did McLaughlin, that because of the limitations of space and the need to create a clear framework, the Crick Report cannot really be criticised on these grounds. This view rests on Crick’s own argument that the framework existed for educators to do what they wanted with, and that the exhortation to consider controversial issues invited educators to engage in critical interpretations (McLaughlin, 2000: 552). However, one might also argue, as did Gillborn, that the failure to be more explicit rendered citizenship education a mere ‘placebo’, which would do little more than cover up aspects of the institutional racism experienced by many black people in Britain, not least in schools (Gillborn, 2006). Both Gillborn and Faulks have drawn attention to the tensions between citizenship education and broader education policy under New Labour. In pursuing a market-oriented solution to schooling they argue that education policy extended and consolidated educational inequalities along the social dividing lines of class and ethnicity (Ball, 2008, Faulks, 2006b, Gillborn, 2006).

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the abstract model of citizenship discussed in the Crick Report left some major issues unexplored in relation to thinking about the experience of citizenship for members of different communities in a multicultural society. It is equally clear from the growing significance of political debates around identity and belonging that this became an area that would be tempting for politicians to return to – and this became the main focus of the Ajegbo Review, which was given the following remit:

- review the teaching specifically of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity across the curriculum to age 19,
- in relation to Citizenship, explore particularly whether or not ‘modern British social and cultural history’ should be a fourth pillar of the Citizenship curriculum (Ajegbo, 2007: 14).

The review sought to sidestep the politicians' rhetoric regarding Britishness, indeed one of the bullet points in the summary at the start of the Review reports that many of those consulted were uneasy with the term (Ajegbo, 2007: 8); instead the Review favoured a discussion of identity and diversity in Britain. Thus it avoided the controversial task of identifying Britishness and British values, which has been subsequently pursued by the Ministry of Justice through a nationwide consultation on the governance of Britain and the nature of Britishness¹². Starkey has argued that, despite the criticisms of Crick (discussed above) and academics' calls for a more thorough analysis of identity and diversity, it was actually the security agenda which has led the government to review this area of citizenship education policy (Starkey, 2008). This resonated with the broader policy developments (noted above) in which general notions of 'community' gave way to a sharper focus on belonging and identity, criticisms of multiculturalism and the promotion of community cohesion. As Cantle has argued *faith* in particular "will play an increasingly important role in determining identity and has been something of a political obsession since 9/11 and the London and Madrid bombings" (Cantle, 2008: 25).

This context is borne out in the Ajegbo Review text, which included 29 references¹³ to cohesion (27 in relation to community cohesion and 2 in relation to social cohesion) whilst the Crick Report included just one reference to 'civic cohesion'. The Review made clear connections between teaching about citizenship and diversity and the Education and Inspections Act (2006), which imposed a duty on schools to promote community cohesion. It also made reference to the notion of community (not linked to cohesion) in a variety of ways. Within 104 references to community or communities it is used as a suffix to the following terms: local, religious, subject, school, whole, wider, global, white, Muslim, traveller; and as a prefix to the terms: representatives, leaders, languages and relations. Clearly this variety illustrates a difference with the Crick Report, which tended to use the term community in a more philosophical sense, to reiterate the civic republican roots of

¹² This was available at the time on a dedicated website <http://governance.justice.gov.uk>.

¹³ I have included all the text in the Review except for the schemes of work in the appendix. Because some key terms were repeated in these schemes, I felt including these would distort the overall totals.

Crick's vision or to simply refer to 'local community/ies', without specifying what they might be.

As one would expect, given the brief of the Review, there are many references to identity and diversity and other related terms.

- There are 107 occurrences of the terms 'ethnic' or 'ethnicity'.
- The terms 'diversity' or 'diverse' are used 350 times.
- 'Racist' or 'racism' occur 34 times.
- The terms 'minority' or 'minorities' are used 45 times.

Whilst it avoided promoting a particular view of Britishness through schooling, and recognised the problems with pursuing this, the Review did argue that it was important for government to think about how a common and inclusive sense of citizenship could be fostered:

"What is evident is that in order to acknowledge diversity effectively, the curriculum needs to provide resources that promote 'collective identities' and challenge ideologies that build the social constructs of 'the nation' and 'national identity' to the exclusion of minority groups" (Ajegbo, 2007: 38).

In practice, as well as avoiding direct engagement with the notion of Britishness, the Review also sidestepped the debate about the extent to which government and schools should seek to promote a common 'core' civic identity and tended to focus on the inadequate nature of many schools' current provision in relation to teaching about diversity. The following quotation from a pupil in one of the schools the Review consulted provided a clear summary of the position adopted by the Review's authors:

"We don't learn about different people in the UK, we just learn about people with different cultures around the world" (Ajegbo, 2007: 41).

There was a strong assumption running through the Review that learning about one's own identity (much is made of the notion of multiple identities here) and the diversity within the UK (at local, regional and national level) are the most important areas for action. One of the key concerns therefore was that many schools appeared not to engage with the notion of diversity as it is played out in real people's lives within the UK as a whole and within the local area served by the school.

In pursuing this point the Review criticised the paucity of teaching about black and multiethnic UK history and the 'lip-service' approach adopted to Black History Month (Ajegbo, 2007: 41). It also developed a theme about the absence of opportunities for white children to reflect on and value their own identities. In the third 'key finding', at the beginning of the Review, attention was drawn to the conclusion that "some indigenous white pupils' experience of identity issues in the curriculum is that they have negative perceptions of UK / English identities" (Ajegbo, 2007: 6). This theme was developed throughout the Review and several quotes from pupils were used to illustrate the problem:

"We spoke to one white British pupil in Year 3, for instance, who, after hearing in a class discussion how the rest of the class came from countries such as the Congo, Portugal, Trinidad and Tobago and Poland, said that she 'came from nowhere'" (Ajegbo, 2007: 30).

"A girl in one of our case study schools said, 'I do feel sometimes that there is no white history. There's either Black History Month or they do Muslims and Sikhs. We learn about that but we don't learn about white people, so we feel a bit left out as well'" (Ajegbo, 2007: 30).

"You're bored with it, you're just British" (Ajegbo, 2007: 31).

"I'm not from a Caribbean country or an exotic country or even France or Spain. I'm from nowhere like that, I'm just plain British" (Ajegbo, 2007: 31).

In responding to the feelings of the pupils quoted above, the Review's authors argued that:

"It makes no sense in our report to focus on minority ethnic pupils without trying to address and understand the issues for white pupils. It is these white pupils whose attitudes are overwhelmingly important in creating community cohesion" (Ajegbo, 2007: 30).

This is an important formulation as it does imply that the main obstacle to community cohesion lies within the white British population's lack of understanding of diversity and in their lack of a positive ethnic identity. This led to the recommendation that:

"Teachers need to be able, in different contexts, to promote the identities and self worth of indigenous white pupils, white working class pupils, mixed heritage pupils and minority (and sometimes majority) ethnic pupils, and at the same time to be aware of religion and the multiple identities we all live with" (Ajegbo, 2007: 66).

As noted above, the Review tended to focus on building self esteem for one's own identity and a deeper understanding and appreciation of the identities of others. It also argued that a critical awareness of how we construct multiple or hybrid

identities is important. The Review did not quite state it so boldly, but one is left with the impression that somehow a positive personal identity, combined with an understanding of the complex process of identity construction and an awareness of how this process plays out in other people's lives, should lead to increased community cohesion. On this reading it appears that the common citizenship to be achieved through this process is actually an appreciation that we are all involved in the same struggle to construct our identities and that we can respect one another for the different ways in which this process plays out. This logic is reminiscent of the Commission for Integration and Community Cohesion's discussion of multiple identities, which asserts that research in Northern Ireland suggests that "people with more complex and multiple sources of identity are more positive about other groups, more integrated and less prejudiced" (discussed in McGhee, 2008: 102).

Cantle argued that we need to go further than merely learning about ourselves and one another and stated that one of the tenets of community cohesion was that such an understanding should be learned through "strong and positive relationships... developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods" (Cantle, 2008: 188). This was reflected to some extent in the Ajebo Review's recommendation that schools should develop 'linking' programmes to enable pupils to work with others in different contexts and learn from and with them (Ajebo, 2007: 63).

The Review tended to focus almost exclusively on the nature of identity but it did not engage with other social and economic dimensions to the lived experiences of different communities (Jerome & Shilela, 2007). There was one single reference to 'inequalities' in the entire review and that occurred in a discussion of why 'anti-racist' education went into decline. Anti-racists were described as "keen to provide the politically correct explanation of why colonialism and imperialism have resulted in a world in which racism, class inequalities and sexual oppression are ubiquitous around the world... they became easy to lampoon because of their insistence on white guilt and political correctness" (Ajebo, 2007: 26). Leaving aside the accuracy of this caricature of anti-racists and their demise it seems significant that this should be the only reference to inequality. In the following section the authors argued that whilst these "old hierarchies" must not be ignored,

we have entered a new period in which Eastern European immigration has stopped immigration being seen in simple racial terms, and in which white working class boys' underachievement has emerged as a particular problem and religion has become more significant (Ajegbo, 2007: 27).

Gilroy has argued that the most significant source of alienation and marginalisation experienced by some people in Britain in the period under discussion was not the differences in identity and values but was actually the erosion of traditional forms of welfare and the market oriented policies initiated by the Thatcher governments and continued under the banner of the Third Way by Tony Blair's governments (Gilroy, 2004: 135). One does not have to share this view entirely to recognise the validity of introducing elements other than values and identity to the analysis of contemporary citizenship and community relations. Indeed, in the same year as the Ajegbo Review was published, the Commission on Integration and Cohesion published its *Interim Statement* which acknowledged these insights and recognised, as Ajegbo did not, that:

“Integration and cohesion policies cannot be a substitute for national policies to reduce deprivation and provide people with more opportunities: tackling inequality is an absolute precondition for integration and cohesion” (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007: 21).

This demonstrated that reports undertaken for the government *could* engage with this dimension and that difference need not be reduced to the realm of identity and values. This seems to suggest that although the Ajegbo Review did tackle issues of identity and diversity in a more thorough-going way than the Crick Report, and advised teachers much more explicitly about what constitutes good practice in this area, it is nevertheless vulnerable to some of the same criticisms levelled at Crick – that the issues of difference were not sufficiently related to the reality of inequality (see for example Faulks, 2006b). This absence inevitably leads one to question the extent to which such accounts of citizenship education sufficiently accommodate the real experiences of citizens.

The implications of this kind of approach can be seen by comparing an early draft version and the final published version of the revised Citizenship programmes of study (as part of the new National Curriculum for 2008). The text below was not published by the QCA but was circulated between members of the working party

and represents the consensus achieved at the end of the first day of discussions¹⁴. It is perhaps telling that this early draft produced by teachers, other educationalists and QCA officers in February 2006, acknowledged that in Citizenship pupils should learn about racism and inequality as part of the required knowledge and understanding:

Identities and communities

- The diversity of national, regional, religious, and ethnic identities in the UK, and the need for mutual respect and understanding in communities, and ways of *challenging racism and inequalities*.
- Britain as part of Europe and the world as a global community and the political, social, environmental and economic *impact of global inequality*, and the importance of sustainable development (personal records of working group minutes, my emphasis).

In this version of the programme of study, the concept of inequality was foregrounded. Some on the working group felt that this emphasis was important, both because it described the reality of our society and because a citizenship education programme which fails to acknowledge the reality of citizens' lives seems likely to be seen as an irrelevance. This draft was revised through an additional re-drafting process within the QCA and DfES and in the programme of study published for further consultation on the QCA website (www.qca.gov.uk) early in 2007, the relevant text had been revised in such a manner as to minimise the reality of inequality. The re-drafted programme of study required teachers to teach pupils about:

- The *shared* values and changing nature of UK society, including the diversity of beliefs, cultures, identities and traditions,
- Reasons for migration to, from and within the UK and the impact of movement and settlement on places and communities,
- The UK's role and interconnections with the European Union and the rest of Europe, the Commonwealth, the United Nations and *the world as a global community* and the political, economic, environmental and social implications of this.

The final version for implementation from September 2008 included some slight rephrasing but the meaning was largely unchanged – significantly references to inequality were absent in the key stage 3 programme of study, although the term was used in relation to global inequalities in key stage 4. There were also additional requirements, which derived more or less directly from the Ajegbo recommendations, and which were outlined in a sub-section of 'key concepts'

¹⁴ I was a member of the working group and it is significant to note that the initial redrafting took place a full year before the publication of the Ajegbo Review, indicating that some changes in relation to diversity and identity were already being considered.

where 'Identities and diversity: living together in the UK' was explained as including learning about the complex and changing nature of identity, diverse communities in the UK and the links between them, global connections and community cohesion. As we noted with the Crick Report, whilst it is possible to interpret the form of words in a critical manner, it is also easier not to. What is obvious from these changes is that citizenship education was much more clearly drawn into the wider policy nexus promoting 'community cohesion' and the debates about 'identity' the government was pursuing in relation to Britishness.

Summary

Crick and Ajegbo illustrate the ways in which official conceptions of citizenship education developed over the decade from 1997 to 2007, and provide some clarification of the purposes of the Citizenship curricula in 2002 and 2008. The three discourses, which combine to define the 'new citizen', were constant themes in the schemes of work and were more clearly identified as key principles in the 2008 version of the curriculum.

Thus it is clear that official conceptions of citizenship included a commitment that pupils should appreciate their rights and their responsibilities as citizens, although there was some confusion about quite how this should play out in relation to issues of school governance. Although Student Voice and school councils were endorsed by the DCSF they were not statutory and so learning about rights and responsibilities would remain, for many pupils, a preparation for citizenship rather than a direct experience. The commitment to active citizenship participation was also a clear area of continuity and marked the Citizenship curriculum out from other subjects as particularly challenging for schools to implement fully. Consequently we have seen how the QCA clarifications and inspection guidance have in some ways minimised the expectations, in order to make them more manageable for schools. Finally we have explored the ways in which discourses of community and community cohesion have developed. Here one can see most clearly how citizenship education policy has been influenced by shifting conceptions in government about diversity and identity, and about citizenship and belonging.

The new citizen represented in the 2008 curriculum was expected to understand the complex processes through which individuals construct their sense of self through multiple identities and through a critical appreciation of this process they were expected to come to respect others on the same journey and learn to live with the differences that emerge. They should also endorse a shared core of values to sustain community cohesion and a sense of Britishness, although in reality they would have to wait for further clarification on what exactly this would entail. In a small research project undertaken with student teachers, there was some evidence that many schools opted to *explore* notions of Britishness in the light of the Ajebo Review, rather than set out to teach any explicit model of identity (Jerome & Clemitshaw, forthcoming).

In thinking about McCowan's (2008) framework for policy analysis, there were some very clear and consistent elements in the government's model of citizenship. There were also some tensions and limitations evident in the conception of the ideal citizen, which were reproduced, and sometimes exacerbated, in the curricular framework and guidance.¹⁵ Whilst the impetus behind the construction of the new citizen was clear, the precise formulation was less so and in the following chapters we turn to consider how such issues were interpreted in schools.

¹⁵ The inclusion of active citizenship in teaching and assessment frameworks does make the English policy less problematic than the Brazilian one analysed by McCowan. In his case study he noted a clear contradiction between the democratic content of the curriculum and the traditional teaching methods adopted for 'transmitting' the content. In England the existence of active citizenship in the curriculum held out the possibility of greater 'harmony' between ends and means.

Chapter 4

Implementing Citizenship Education – the National Picture

In 2010 two key reports were published by the Department for Education, which shed some light on national developments since the introduction of citizenship education. This brief chapter discusses the key findings, by way of providing some overall context for the detailed case study that follows. Both reports were produced by the National Foundation for Educational Research, the first represented the culmination of an eight year longitudinal evaluation project, tracking the impact of citizenship education in England (Keating et al., 2010); and the second provided a national snapshot for the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Nelson et al., 2010). These provide significant additional measures of impact to complement the more usual Ofsted reports, which tend to be rather focused on what schools do, rather than the impact it has (Ofsted, 2004a, 2006, 2010).

Limitations of the research design

Before discussing the findings, it is important to say something about the design of these two surveys, as there are some issues that will affect how one might interpret their conclusions. The research questions for the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) were:

- Have young people's citizenship practices changed over the course of the study (2003-2009)?
- What factors (educational and other) shape young people's citizenship outcomes?
- What changes should be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its potential for effectiveness?

The study drew on quantitative data from a cohort of young people who were tracked from year 7 (11 years old in 2002-3) to year 13 (18 years old in 2008-9); and an additional survey of 2,500 students across 300 schools every two years. This was accompanied by a qualitative case study approach to look more closely at 12 schools during the research period, which incorporated interviews with managers, classroom teachers and students.

Whilst the longitudinal element was the most anticipated aspect of the research it has been flawed in practice by two limitations. The first is an editorial decision which means each annual report focuses on a particular theme, and the final report makes no attempt to present a holistic appraisal of the research, and one has to refer back to previous thematic reports to see complementary aspects of the data. The main limitation though appears to be linked to a declining participation rate throughout the life time of the project. In the original survey 18,583 11 year old pupils responded, but eight years later only 1,325 18 year olds remained in the survey. The report authors give no indication of how or why the numbers reduced, nor is there information on the characteristics of the students who dropped out of the research. Whilst much of the data analysis focuses on the relationships which can be established between various background and experiential factors and outcomes, there must remain the possibility that the 93% of young people whose views are not represented by the end of the research could have very different experiences and views in relation to citizenship and citizenship education. One suspects there is a bias in the 7% who chose to continue their involvement, both in terms of their attitude towards citizenship education and their continuing with schooling. The authors do not appear to have isolated these 1,325 respondents and compared their answers with earlier responses; instead the overall cohort averages at the beginning and end of the research are reported. Therefore conclusions drawn about the changes over time must be seen as problematic and less conclusive than they appear.

The ICCS report for the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) follows an earlier international research project, the International Civic Education study (CIVED) (Kerr et al., 2002). The research utilises questionnaires, largely consisting of multiple choice responses and focusing on three main areas (Nelson et al., 2010: 6):

- Content dimension – incorporating four domains: civic systems; civic principles; civic participation and civic identities.
- Cognitive dimension – incorporating two domains: knowing and reasoning/analysing.
- Affective-behavioural dimension – incorporating four domains: value beliefs; attitudes; behaviours and behavioural intentions.

Because of the timings of these two IEA projects, the publications provide another useful source of information about young people's citizenship learning and attitudes before and after the introduction of citizenship education in the national curriculum in England. Unfortunately, the usefulness is slightly reduced due to some basic changes in methodology, for example, multiple choice questions in the ICCS research had the option of 'don't know' removed, and final results are reported as proportions of valid responses, omitting questionnaires with no response, thus inflating the numbers reported in the ICCS survey compared to those in the CIVED report. Also, the students in the sample for the ICCS survey were on average 8 months younger than the original CIVED study, and answered the survey in year 9 as opposed to at the beginning of year 10 (Nelson et al., 2010: 5). Nevertheless, the surveys cover some similar issues, which enables one to identify some relevant comparisons, and there are a small number of questions where the wording has been retained (Nelson et al., 2010: 10).

The Impact of Citizenship Education

The key finding in the CELS report was that more citizenship education was positively associated with improvements in a range of citizenship outcomes. Positive outcomes were more likely where a number of conditions were met:

1. Citizenship education took place in discrete timetabled slots comprising more than 45 minutes per week,
2. Specialist teachers developed the curriculum they were teaching,
3. Citizenship was formally examined,
4. Students experienced citizenship consistently throughout their schooling (Keating et al., 2010: vii).

This adds significant detail to the Ofsted report from the same year, which also noted that students' citizenship entitlement was more effectively met in schools that had regular citizenship lessons rather than one-off events, such as suspended timetable days (Ofsted, 2010). The CELS report stated that the impact was greatest in relation to personal efficacy (young people's sense that they could make a difference and influence others) although there were also improvements both in intentions to participate in the future in elections and community groups, and in present levels of participation, for example in school elections, signing petitions, and raising money for charities (Keating et al., 2010: v-vi).

Of particular interest for this thesis, given the focus on the potential difference between teacher intentions and student perceptions, the report authors employ a measure of student's *received* citizenship education, rather than data collected from teachers and school leaders about the amount and quality of Citizenship *provision* in their schools. They state that using teacher reports of Citizenship, analysis reveals little impact on outcomes, but using young people's perceived level of citizenship education there is indeed some impact between levels of citizenship education received and citizenship outcomes (Keating et al., 2010: 48-9). This also resonates with some of the findings in the ICCS report, where head teacher reports of an ethos supportive of diversity are occasionally negatively correlated with positive citizenship outcomes.

In the CELS research young people who said they received a lot of citizenship education tended to have higher scores in relation to future voting intentions and to broader measures of political and civic participation than those who said they received little or none. This difference held across the longitudinal research as long as there was a lot of citizenship education in the year of the survey, in other words, it had to be sustained otherwise the impact tailed off quite quickly. Strangely perhaps, given this, the positive relationship between Citizenship and self efficacy did not persist into the final survey, when respondents were 18 years of age. The report authors simply note this and do not seek any explanation, but it may be possible that the much smaller cohort has had an impact.

It is also interesting to note that there was a higher level of reported citizenship education in schools with higher levels of free school meals – in other words, children in schools serving poorer communities tended to experience more citizenship education. This finding echoes one of Mead's conclusions from an analysis of OfSTED reports on Citizenship provision in secondary schools. Having examined the comments made in 'outstanding' reports and those in 'inadequate' reports, he concludes, "we get the feeling that pupils in socio-economically disadvantaged communities only need more Citizenship knowledge in order to improve their behaviour and attitudes in lessons" (Mead, 2010: 51). In other words, the school context changes the nature of the citizenship education being

commented on, with poorer children in lower performing schools being seen as in need of pro-social citizenship education, whilst more affluent children in higher performing schools tend to be described in more general terms as ‘good citizens’. The findings in the CELS study certainly hint that teachers may also be making the decision that poorer children have more need of more citizenship education, although there are of course other factors that may come into consideration when making such curriculum choices.

The penultimate annual report from this research project focused on reported school provision, rather than student outcomes, and indicates that the characteristics of ‘successful’ Citizenship schools were still found in only a minority of schools (Keating et al., 2009). The data relating to the three success factors above indicate that:

1. Whilst the numbers of schools providing discrete Citizenship lessons on the timetable had increased over time, it was still delivered alongside PSHE in most schools.
2. Whilst the Citizenship exam was growing, it was still taught in only a minority of schools.
3. In at least half of schools Citizenship was taught by someone who had received no training.

Thus the main conclusion from the CELS research seems to be that citizenship education *does* have a positive impact, where it is delivered under certain circumstances, but those circumstances do not prevail in most schools. Therefore the implementation of citizenship education has had a limited impact across the country *because* it has had a patchy implementation.

Young People’s Knowledge

Overall the levels of knowledge appear to have fallen between the initial CIVED survey and the ICCS one (Nelson et al., 2010: 35). However, the report authors attribute this in part to the fact that younger students responded in the ICCS survey in England. In questions relating to civic knowledge English students scored above the international average across 38 countries, with England being ranked 15th for ‘analysing and reasoning’, and 19th for ‘knowing’ (Nelson et al., 2010: 26). In relation to understanding civic participation, England was ranked 7th, which the

authors speculate could reflect the focus on active Citizenship in England's national curriculum. Young people in England also scored more highly on questions relating to civil institutions (ranked 10th) than those relating to state institutions (ranked 19th). The results were rather different in questions relating to what is described by the ICCS researchers as 'civic principles' where England ranked 22nd in questions about equity, freedom and social cohesion (Nelson et al., 2010: 27-8).

Perhaps the most significant finding in relation to these questions is the positive correlation between young people's civic knowledge and positive support for democratic principles. The report authors favour the interpretation that gaining knowledge may lead to greater support for these principles and, whilst proving causation remains more difficult than correlation, this does seem to be supported by the CELS research, which demonstrated the positive impact of substantial specialist citizenship education. This is also in line with previous work completed by Niemi and Junn, who found that civics teaching in the US was positively linked to improved knowledge and attitudes relating to democracy (Niemi & Junn, 1998).

Young People's Views on Social and Political Issues

The CELS research also tracked young people's attitudes towards certain citizenship issues. Here there is what the authors refer to as a "hardening" of attitudes towards immigrants and other social issues (Keating et al., 2010: 29). The report does not always put the findings into the broader context of attitudes in the adult population, but these comparisons are useful for understanding the significance of the findings. This can be illustrated with reference to two areas, where attitudes are said to be hardening.

Example 1 Refugees

The proportion of CELS respondents agreeing that 'Britain does not have room to accept any more refugees' rose by 20% (comparing respondents answers at 11 years of age with those at 18) but was less than 50% overall. The national Citizenship Survey shows that between 2006-10 there was a consistently high number of adults (76-78%) who believed immigration should be reduced (over half said 'by a lot') (DCLG, 2011: 16). This might indicate that the young people in the research project change their opinions as they grow older, but are only really coming into line with the prevailing attitudes in the country.

Example 2 Benefits

Similarly, there has also been a 30% increase (from 28% to 58%) in those agreeing 'the government should cut benefits for the unemployed to encourage them to find work'. The British Social Attitudes Survey shows adult attitudes to such policy areas have also changed over the Labour period in office, with an 8% rise (between 1998-2009) in the number of people saying single parents of school age children should work; and 25% stating they would be prepared for single parents to lose all benefits if they refused to attend a job centre to look for work, and a further 57% agreeing to benefits being cut (NCSR, 2010). The survey (between 1994 and 2006) shows an increase of 12% in the proportion of adults who believe poverty is caused by individual laziness, an 8% reduction in those attributing it to social injustice and a 20% decrease (between 1985 and 2006) in the proportion believing the state should spend more on welfare payments to the poor (Taylor-Gooby, 2009: 176-7). This example also seems to suggest that there may be a combined effect at work, with attitudes changing as respondents get older, but effectively simply moving closer towards the opinions of the adult population.

This claim of "hardening" attitudes caught the attention of journalists in the media coverage of the evaluation report (see for example Bailey, 2010), however the comparisons with other social surveys indicate that the attitudes among the young people are moving generally in the same direction as broader social trends. This said, the faster rate of change is compatible with the view that young people are shifting their opinions more quickly as part of their political maturation. One should also note that questions of unemployment benefits or levels of immigration and asylum are specific policy areas and are genuinely open political questions. It is possible that a citizenship education programme in schools might not engage with these specific areas at all, as the exact policy areas covered in lessons is a decision for teachers, rather than a curriculum requirement. Where discussion on these issues does occur it is likely that Citizenship teachers would approach them in the spirit of informed discussion, rather than attempting to promote a specific partisan approach. Even if teachers were to set out to promote their own political opinion in these policy areas, opinion polls show that, whilst the teaching

profession has tended to favour Labour, the numbers doing so has declined rapidly between 2005-10, so the opinion of teachers is far from uniform (Vaughan, 2010).

More interesting perhaps are the questions relating to areas where one would expect teachers to teach about the core content (the rule of law and human rights) and to take a definite values stance in support of the principles. Here students take a firm stand in relation to values, for example when asked whether “people should obey a law, even if it violates human rights” one of the biggest shifts occurred in the research with a 38% increase in negative responses (22% of 11 year olds – 60% of 18 year olds), i.e. 60% of respondents put the defence of human rights principles above the narrower principle of being a law-abiding citizen. Thus the sound-bite of hardening attitudes glosses over other data in the report which shows some other interesting developments in attitude.

The ICCS research also included questions about attitudes towards principles, such as democracy and here there is some ambiguity in the responses, which seem to have an in-built tendency towards agreement. Hence, whilst 90% or more of respondents agree that people should be free to express their political opinions, to protest against laws they perceive to be unfair and that political rights should be respected; 69% also believe that the government should control the media when there are threats to national security and 58% agree the police should be able to hold suspects without trial (Nelson et al., 2010: 47). Clearly such responses beg more questions than they answer. Whilst there is general support for some of the core ideas associated with democracy such as freedom of expression, media diversity, free elections etc there is also significant support for government intervention, which might be seen as threatening such fundamental freedoms. The range of responses indicates that the young people surveyed do not hold an absolutist stance in relation to such freedoms, and are willing to compromise in certain circumstances, but the reasoning behind these decisions is not investigated in this research. Ultimately one is left to assume young people are balancing individual general rights and collective security in specific circumstances, although there must remain a possibility that they simply hold contradictory views on related issues.

When asked about trust, the young people in the CELS surveys had high levels of trust in teachers rising from approximately 60% to 80% (between being 11 and 18 years old), and low levels of trust in politicians (20% of 11 year olds said they did not trust politicians at all, rising to 33% of 18 year olds). Whilst the authors speculate on a process of hardening attitudes as respondents get older, they also note it is likely that these changes merely reflect broader trends in society, where, for example, trust in politicians markedly declined in this period, especially in 2009 following scandals relating to MPs' expense (Ipsos-Mori, 2009). The national Citizenship Survey shows that in 2010 trust in parliament returned to levels similar to the previous decade, with 2009 as a low point, however, this survey showed that consistently over the previous decade only around a third of the population said they trusted parliament a lot or a fair amount (DCLG, 2011: 10). The ICCS data supported this view of young people's trust but also demonstrated a consistent gap between Christian and white students' responses on the one hand and members of minority ethnic groups and those with a religious belief other than Christianity on the other hand, with the latter groups demonstrating consistently lower levels of trust in a range of institutions (Nelson et al., 2010: 108).

This difference in trust in public institutions indicates that there are some significant differences between groups of young people, in terms of how they relate to and experience Citizenship. However, these differences are not always simple and clear cut, for example there was overwhelming support in all ethnic groups (around 90%) for statements such as 'I am proud to live in England', and 'I have great respect for England' (Nelson et al., 2010: 56). In comparison with other European countries, the English cohort of young people was also more likely than average to support equal rights for minority ethnic groups. However, they were less likely than the average to support the rights of immigrants and here there was a significant gap between native English respondents and non-native young people, with the former group being less likely to support the rights of immigrants (Nelson et al., 2010: 73).

Young People and Participation

Eighteen year olds have good intentions with regards to their future participation with around 70% in CELS saying they intend to vote in elections, raise money and

volunteer in the future (Keating et al., 2010: 26). In the 2009 ICCS survey 72% said they intended to vote in national elections (68% in 1999) however, actual participation rates in elections are far below this – there was a 44% turnout for 18-24 year olds in 2010 (Ipsos-Mori, 2010). In addressing this disparity the CELS authors rather pessimistically maintain that the persistent under-representation of young people at the polls indicates this is a “habit set to last” rather than a phase that young people pass through (Keating et al., 2010: 4). In fact the broader evidence indicates that this is not the case at all, as young people have been consistently less likely than older people to vote, indicating that when they become older they do indeed vote in greater numbers (Office for National Statistics, undated). The gap between young and old voters has varied over time but analysis of the 2010 election indicates that whilst the gap remained, the turn-out increased more markedly for 18-24 year olds (7% higher than 2005) than for all other age groups (Ipsos-Mori, 2010).

In the CELS longitudinal cohort, the final year’s data looked at participation rates among 18 year olds, who had been through secondary schooling since the introduction of citizenship education. The data tells us as much about changes over the period of adolescence as it does about the impact of citizenship education, with many measures dipping towards the end of secondary school. For these 18 year olds the most common form of political participation is signing a petition (59%), with other forms of activity being much less common – attending a public meeting or rally (15%), campaigning with others (12%), contacting an MP or councillor (11%). Perhaps more significantly, 29% reported they had participated in none of these political activities. These low figures are reflected in independent national surveys of citizenship activity, which continue to indicate that young people participate less than other age groups (Taylor & Low, 2010).

Clearly though, remaining in school or college is a significant factor, as 48% of CELS respondents said they had taken part in fund-raising activities in school, whilst only 28% said they had done so outside of school, work or training (Keating et al., 2010: 22). Participation in school councils rose for those staying on in school or college with 52% of 18 year olds reporting they had voted in school council elections, compared to 41% of 16 year olds and 45% of 11 year olds (Keating et al.,

2010: 20). Whilst the majority of students report participating in some sort of civic activities in school (voting, standing for election, supporting good causes), very few continued such involvement outside of school, with between 10-20% reporting involvement with political or environmental organisations or campaigns. Counter-intuitively such involvement is negatively correlated with civic knowledge, indicating that those with higher levels of civic knowledge are less likely to be politically active outside of school (Nelson et al., 2010: 94).

The exception to the generally low levels of out of school engagement is young people's involvement with fund raising campaigns, where 46% reported involvement (although for some their involvement was over a year before the survey, indicating this is not a regular commitment). Almost two in five reported some form of involvement in voluntary community groups, a figure which may also lend some support to the hypothesis that young people's engagement tends not to be overtly political (Nelson et al., 2010: 88, Weller, 2007). This may reflect levels of interest, or feelings of low efficacy. In relation to efficacy, only 42% agreed that they have political opinions worth listening to (Nelson et al., 2010: 82) and in relation to interest, 59% rarely or never spoke to parents about political issues, and 68% rarely or never spoke with their friends about political issues (Nelson et al., 2010: 90).

Positive intentions to participate were generally correlated with high levels of civic knowledge and parental interest in social and political issues (Nelson et al., 2010: 96). However, overall the data indicates that activities such as voting and volunteering are supported much more highly than more 'activist' forms of citizenship such as joining a political party, campaigning, and attending meetings, which reflects the patterns in the general population (DCLG, 2011: 7). This reflects a tendency evident in both research projects for young people to hold a more holistic definition of citizenship than merely political participation (Nelson et al., 2010: 50-2). The two most commonly supported characteristics of good citizenship were 'working hard' (94% agreed) and 'obeying the law' (93%), whilst voting (79%) was seen as equally important to more general commitments such as promoting human rights (77%) and protecting the environment (79%). Despite the low levels of trust young people have in politicians, 81% of ICCS respondents

maintained that 'respecting government representatives' was an important characteristic of the good citizen. These findings would suggest that notions of the 'good citizen' still hold out over the 'active citizen', which in turn reflects Crick's discussion of the prevalent tendency to favour a de-politicised account of the 'good citizen' (Crick, 2000a: 2).

As this data demonstrates, there is more support for forms of involvement which are relatively undemanding but despite these figures the ICCS report's authors strike an optimistic note in their interpretation of this data:

"Pupils need to be given opportunities to participate in school and class decision-making processes and to take an active part in school life. Whilst it is important for schools to stress the importance of future adult engagement in political life, it is not imperative that pupils are encouraged to take part in too much out-of-school activity at the age of 14. It seems much more advantageous to pupils to develop an understanding of democratic process and of decision making through the secure environment of their schools and classrooms" (Nelson et al., 2010: 112-3).

This is an argument which one may or may not support, but it certainly reflects the reality that opportunities for involvement are more easily provided *within* schools. Taken together with young people's propensity for low-demand forms of participation, this may well explain the low rates of out of school participation. The actual participation rates for 18 year olds are considered in the CELS report discussed above, and these data indicate that levels of community engagement increase between the ages of 14 and 18, providing some support for the optimistic interpretation.

Conclusion

Both research reports provide evidence for the broad hypothesis that citizenship education has failed to have a significant impact across the nation as a whole. Whilst the IEA data demonstrates relative stability in attitudes in the decade 1999-2009, the one significant shift seems to be in the downward trend in young people's civic knowledge across many countries, although in England this apparent decline may in fact be explained by the fact that the 2009 survey questioned younger students than the 1999 one. The ICCS researchers present this as a positive outcome for England, as these younger students have effectively achieved similar levels of knowledge to older students a decade ago. However, to qualify this

finding one also has to bear in mind that the older respondents in 1999 had received no statutory citizenship education, whilst the students in the 2009 survey had received at least three years citizenship education in some shape or form. The CELS research indicates that this may be explained by the poor quality of provision in many schools.

Looking at these findings from a slightly different angle, there are some positive outcomes to this research. The authors of the ICCS report return to the significance of civic knowledge repeatedly in their analysis, as it is positively correlated with a range of factors including democratic beliefs, tolerance and in-school participation rates. And CELS indicates that appropriate citizenship education can influence levels of knowledge and these related outcomes. In simple terms, the mere introduction of citizenship education into the curriculum has not had an appreciable impact, but the grassroots implementation in some schools has. The problem then becomes one of implementation at school level.

At the same time, both research reports demonstrate that one should be cautious about the kinds of expectations many people have expressed of citizenship education. Bernard Crick was one of the most optimistic about the potential for citizenship education to “change the political culture” of the country, whereas what we seem to be observing is that young people’s attitudes towards social and political issues and their patterns of engagement continue to reflect the prevailing trends in society at large. This is reflected in the ICCS data which shows a low commitment amongst English young people to European institutions; and the CELS and ICCS data which demonstrates relatively negative attitudes towards immigrants and low levels of trust towards politicians.

In previous chapters we have established the significance of three discourses related to the new citizen – rights and responsibilities, active citizenship and community cohesion. Whilst the research reviewed above has not been based on these themes it is possible to conclude something in relation to each. In terms of rights and responsibilities, young people seem to generally support equality and rights connected to democratic principles – the right to free speech, to access free media, to choose one’s leaders in free elections. They also tend to accept the

importance of voting as a responsibility in democracy, with high numbers claiming they intend to vote. However, in specific areas of policy, or in specific contexts, many are also willing to suspend or severely limit these freedoms, for example by supporting the arrest and detention of suspects and government control of the media in the name of national security. Such opinions are not untypical of those held by adults in society at large.

In relation to active citizenship, it appears that young people overall favour low-demand forms of participation, and even in school minimal forms of engagement are favoured, for example voting in class elections and donating money. Whilst significant numbers of young people claim they are willing to vote (70% plus intended to vote in both reports), the general election data for 2010 indicates actual turnout remains significantly short of such figures. Similarly, actual and intended participation rates outside of school remain low for 14 and 18 year olds, indicating that good intentions and good habits established in school do not necessarily lead on to high levels of community involvement. This evidence needs to be seen in relation to other pressures on children, and so perhaps we should not be surprised that relatively few teenagers are politically active in their communities, given the pressures on them to attend school or college, succeed in examinations and prepare for work or further study. The ICCS authors certainly favour this interpretation, and refocus their analysis on the significance of school to induct young people into some form of active citizenship. Here though the results are perhaps not as positive as one might expect with half of students still failing to engage in minimal forms of participation such as voting in school elections or contributing to fund raising efforts.

Finally, in relation to community cohesion and diversity it appears that there is general unanimity that tolerance of diversity can sit alongside a positive identity with the vast majority of respondents feeling some positive identification with England or Britain. However, the ICCS data indicates that in some areas, especially attitudes towards migrant communities and trust in public institutions, citizenship may be experienced differently depending on ethnicity and religious belief. There is some evidence here that white young people and those from Christian backgrounds are more negative in relation to migrant rights and more likely to

trust public institutions, whilst those from minority ethnic backgrounds are more positive about immigration and less likely to trust such institutions. Again, these findings echo differences in our society at large.

Here then we can begin to see some of the issues arising from the national evaluation data. Whilst there is some evidence that the quality of provision has been improving and that high quality Citizenship teaching has a beneficial impact on young people, there is also evidence that the impact is not uniform in all three areas central to the policy. In addition, there is much evidence to suggest that the practicalities of implementation of the subject at school level have hampered the overall impact of this policy. In order to gain a better understanding of the processes of implementation and the ways in which teachers and young people understand Citizenship, I now turn to a case study of a school, where the focus will be on teachers' and students' experiences and interpretations of the subject.

Chapter 5

Developing methods – a rationale for research strategies and conclusions from piloting

Introduction

This chapter combines a discussion of the methods chosen for the research with a report on my experiences in a school that allowed me to pilot some approaches to constructing a case study. I have presented the discussion of methods and methodology alongside the discussion of my experiences of piloting certain approaches because I used the opportunity to research in the pilot school to work in an exploratory way – Robson refers to this approach as conducting an ‘exploratory case study’ as opposed to conducting a pilot study in the way the term is traditionally understood (Robson, 2002: 185). I had some ideas about how I would conduct the research, especially in relation to getting started with student focus groups, as I was hoping some of these students would stay involved as co-researchers in some way. However, I did not plan questionnaires in advance as I wanted to give the students as much freedom as possible to tackle the issues they wanted in the way that seemed best to them. Given the flexible and open-ended way I approached this phase of my research it would be difficult to disentangle the discussion of methods from the process that led to their development and so I have organised this chapter to reflect this. First I present a brief discussion of the ontological and epistemological stance adopted in the case study and then I introduce the broad aims I established for the piloting phase. This is followed by a brief overview of the pilot school and ethical considerations. I then discuss the methods that were used before presenting a discussion of the data. The chapter ends with a review of the piloting phase aims and looks forward to the main case study.

Both the pilot school and the main case study school were chosen because they were deemed to be strong examples of institutions which had taken Citizenship seriously, and where it was likely I would be able to engage with respondents who had substantial experience of Citizenship. I was influenced in this decision by Michael Apple who argued at a citizenship education conference that researchers should consider where to spend their time wisely, and that there was much to

learn from schools where one could study success (Apple, 2008). This felt like an approach that was politically worthwhile, and also pragmatically important, as I was primarily interested in using the case study element of the research design to explore the Citizenship related experiences of participants in schools, not in accounting for the absence of such experiences. This approach was therefore influenced by the positive attraction to understand what was happening in schools where Citizenship was being taken seriously, and the negative motivation to avoid engaging in what has been called 'misery' research, where researchers spend time explaining why something is not happening (McLaughlin, 2008). Given that I work in a university that has a network of schools which help to train new teachers in Citizenship, I approached three schools I judged to be potentially valuable case studies. This was on the basis that substantial citizenship education was happening, that there were specialist teachers, and that the work they did was generally deemed to be of a high quality. Two of the three schools were able to accommodate the request to participate, one as a pilot school (discussed in this chapter) and one as a full case study (discussed in chapters 6 and 7).

Ontological and epistemological stance

The commitment (discussed in chapter 1) to involving students as fully as possible in the research reflects a broader position in relation to the ontological stance adopted in this research. In the case study school I am interested in finding out how citizenship education policy has been experienced, and the subsequent meanings that have been ascribed to it by students and teachers. These interpretations are personal constructions and I aim to gain an understanding of citizenship education policy from the perspective of those who experience it. This focus reflects the very first 'trick' Howard Becker includes in his book *Tricks of the Trade*, in which he explains that many concepts which might cause definitional headaches for researchers only actually make sense within the context of the networks that give the concepts meaning (Becker, 1998: 1-3). His example of ethnicity illustrates how the term, which cannot be read as a simple scientific description of certain physical attributes, actually sustains its meaning through the meanings ascribed to it by people who define themselves and others by their ethnicity, or simply use and accept the use of the term. In a similar way, Gumperz

has argued that “signs have meaning only by virtue of being taken to stand for an object by some interpreter” (quoted in Blommaert, 2005: 43, Gumperz, 2003).

Lincoln and Guba draw attention to another aspect of research that acknowledges the constructed nature of social reality. In relation to the task of educational evaluation:

“In any circumstances the truth might be but a single truth – but evaluators are certain not to find it. What they can find are multiple truths, multiple understandings, some contradictory to others” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 77 quoting, Stake, 1977).

Such research clearly falls into the tradition of interpretivist research, in which the researcher seeks to discover the sense people make of their experiences, rather than seeking to discover some objective reality, which is taken to exist independently of people and their meaning-making activities. But, whilst this meaning-making leads us to focus on the interpretations people construct, indeed the tradition is referred to as ‘social constructivism’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 82), we must also be aware of the context within which such meaning is constructed, and the way in which this influences and ultimately provides parameters for such interpretations.

As a consequence of this understanding I have opted to use a case study approach to provide sufficient scope to acknowledge the context for the experiences and the meaning ascribed to these experiences. The defining characteristic of the case study is that the case is a naturally occurring phenomenon (Yin, 1994) and that it enables the researcher to explore the interconnections between the various parts – how one feature affects another (Denscombe, 2007). Lincoln and Guba (1985: 359-60) argue that case studies provide the best approach to reporting naturalistic enquiries because they can have the following attributes:

- The case study is the primary vehicle for inquiry which focuses on respondents’ constructions.
- It builds on the reader’s tacit knowledge of schools and, by providing enough information about the specific context, enables them to receive a measure of ‘vicarious experience’.
- The style of a case study can accommodate the reality of the interplay between the researcher and the respondents.

- It provides the reader with an opportunity to probe for internal consistency, contributing to trustworthiness.
- It provides 'thick description' which enables the reader to judge transferability to their own context.
- Finally, case studies provide a grounded assessment of the context.

However, as Stake reminds us (2005), case study itself is not a method and so additional decisions need to be made concerning the most appropriate methods to realise the potential advantages listed above.

In addition, the idea of discourses, which has shaped the earlier analysis of citizenship education policy in previous chapters, retains its significance in the field work phase of the research. People construct meaning from their experiences, at least in part, in dialogue with the range of current discourses available to them (Edwards et al., 2004). I have argued that citizenship education was devised to construct a new citizen, and that this new citizen is constituted by a number of related discourses. As these ideas are embodied in the programmes of study for Citizenship, one would expect them to play some part in the ways that teachers have conceptualised the subject and students have experienced it. Through engaging with these discourses, whether that engagement is conscious or unconscious, supportive or challenging, they are likely to play a part in the meanings that teachers and students are making of citizenship education. But, because schools are also sites where other discourses are significant (for example standards and added value (Ball, 2008), ability (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000) and teacher professionalism (Ball, 2003) to name just a few), citizenship education will also be interpreted in relation to these other discourses. School and the school curriculum come with their own sets of meanings, created through and sustaining a diverse range of discourses, and citizenship education cannot be understood as separate from these. Thus I approached the research with some starting points but in the knowledge that I would have to draw on a wider conceptual toolkit than has been hitherto discussed, simply to make sense of the meanings people have constructed from their experiences of citizenship education within their specific school contexts.

Stake argues that there is some tension between the commitment to conduct a single case study, from which the reader can judge relevance to their own situation, and the process of constructing case studies for comparative purposes. He argues that the themes identified by the comparison actually dominate the reader's interpretation of each individual case and that this therefore distorts the case as a holistic account (Stake, 2005: 457). Following from this argument, the pilot school will not be treated as a contrasting case study, for comparison with the main research site, rather it will be used to help me acclimatise myself to the ways in which people talk about and experience Citizenship, so that I have a heightened sense of awareness to engage in such discussions during the main phase of data collection.

There are two studies which have provided inspiration for the approach adopted here. First, Ball's account of life inside a comprehensive school, which provides insight into the ways in which the comprehensive ideal was experienced in day to day reality (Ball, 1981). Second, although Gillborn and Youdell (2000) do not adhere strictly to the conventions of presenting case studies, their work provides a model of the power of using a limited number of cases. Their account of the 'A to C economy' in secondary schools draws on data collected from in-depth investigations in just two schools but their analysis is powerful in illuminating the unintended consequences of policies designed to raise expectations and achievement.

The findings from these two pieces of research are compelling, despite the limited number of cases studied. Bassey argues that such findings are best described as 'fuzzy generalization' (Bassey & Pratt, 2003), which is to say that they should be read as outlining probable relationships between variables, rather than implying absolute causation, or scientific rules. On this view, insights become more compelling the more they are corroborated by several case studies, but case studies which seem to refute the trends observed do not falsify the previous interpretation, rather they invite us to think again about the level of generalizability or the relevant contextual factors. Pursuing a slightly different line, Stake has discussed the potential of readers to identify with the case described and to draw their own conclusions about transferability or generalizability to contexts

known to them (Stake, 2005). As Thomas (2007: 59) points out, definitive generalizations are difficult to conceive in the social world not least because of contingency and agency, and so, following Yin (1994) and reflecting the interpretivist stance outlined above, I do not expect to be able to draw generalizable conclusions from my pilot or main case study, rather I aim to construct accounts which have been described by Bassey as 'story-telling' case studies (Bassey, 1999, Bassey & Pratt, 2003), which combine description with analysis. These will be illuminative of the complexities of interpreting, implementing and experiencing policy and reflect the specific nature of the contexts within which policy is implemented, as well as the discourses which are drawn on in the process of meaning-making. There is no expectation that the case study will yield a single narrative, as the context and the discourses available will be experienced and interpreted differently by different people within the same school.

Aims of the piloting phase

The piloting phase of this research project was not intended to trial the precise methods to be used in the main phase of the research. Instead, the piloting activities were selected to provide me with an opportunity to explore a range of issues and approaches that might be useful in some form in the main data collection phase. The areas I wanted to explore were:

(a) Young people's participation in the research process.

Strategies were developed which would provide me with experience of working with young people in a variety of ways to help ensure that students' perspectives were represented. I wanted to use this approach to provide me with an insight into the kinds of issues that the young people themselves felt would be relevant to their peers in the school. This was also vital in addressing one of the main strands of my research, which aims to elicit some understanding of their experiences and understanding of citizenship education.¹⁶

My aim in the piloting phase in this regard was to *clarify the role of pupils as co-researchers in the main phase of my research.*

¹⁶ I have outlined a rationale for this aspect of the methodology in chapter 1.

(b) Quantitative data analysis.

Given that I wanted to be able to say something about the experiences of pupils across the school, it was important to build in a strategy for collecting data from large numbers of pupils. A questionnaire was developed to collect information in relation to the issues that emerged from the in-depth discussions with small groups of pupils. I felt it was important to collect data that could be analysed to search for patterns and varied experiences and attitudes within the student population.

My aims in the piloting phase in this regard were to *become familiar with a range of statistical tests using SPSS, and trial a range of approaches to constructing questions.*

(c) Interviews and qualitative analysis.

In my approach to constructing an in-depth case study of a school, which reflects the complexities of the context, qualitative data will be important and I used the piloting phase to construct a range of ways to collect this data. I set out to trial different approaches to designing questions and activities to elicit responses from adults and pupils. Each of these required a different technique for organising and analysing the data.

My aims in the piloting phase in this regard were to *become familiar with a range of activities and questioning techniques and to trial approaches to support the analysis of qualitative data.*

(d) The implications of the case study approach.

Simply put, the pilot phase enabled me to develop a more concrete understanding of the nature of case study research. The challenge would be to reflect on the extent to which the variety of approaches employed to collect the data would enable me to describe the case of the school and begin to think about the ways in which citizenship education was being implemented and experienced.

My aim in the piloting phase in this regard was therefore simply to *explore the extent to which the variety of methods used enabled me to construct a convincing case study of the school.*

Of course, in addition to these methodological aims, I also set out to test the extent to which I was able to adequately address the research questions I had identified. The following questions are those sub-questions which form the basis of the school based research:

(Q1) What does the school want to achieve through its citizenship education programme?

(Q2) What are pupils' experiences of citizenship education?

(Q3) What are pupils' understandings of citizenship education?

(Q4) What are teachers' experiences of citizenship education?

(Q5) What are teachers' understandings of citizenship education?

Before I outline the methods which were used to achieve these aims and attempt to answer the research questions, I outline some relevant information about the pilot study school, my involvement with it, and the ethical considerations of piloting this work.

School context and nature of my involvement

In this report I shall refer to the pilot school as the Heath School. It was identified because I had a good professional relationship with several members of Citizenship teaching staff. I have supervised trainee teachers there for a number of years and collaborated on several projects with the head teacher. The school was chosen as a good case study because it is widely regarded as being an excellent Citizenship school, and yet the head of Citizenship is also realistic that they have some way to go to implement the full breadth of the schemes of work for Citizenship.

The school is a large secondary (over 1200 pupils) with a sixth form of over 200 students, fewer than 2% of the pupils have identified special needs. It does well in OfSTED inspections and consistently has results which are well above the local and national average, for example in 2006 67% of pupils gained 5 or more GCSE A*-C grades including maths and English, whereas the local authority and national average was 45%. Nevertheless, the government measure of key stage 2 to 4 contextual value added indicates that the school's success largely reflects a high

achieving in-take¹⁷. Whilst it may not add significant value in terms of GCSE outcomes, the school prides itself on its distinctive commitment to international links and, as well as offering the International Baccalaureate in the sixth form, it also runs a wide ranging programme of international visits and exchange trips for all pupils.

The head teacher teaches Citizenship. The Citizenship coordinator in the school is also responsible for coordinating the international trips and visits programme. The other Citizenship teacher I interviewed also trained in the school as a Citizenship specialist and at the time of my pilot she had been given the new role of key stage 3 Citizenship coordinator. In year before the pilot study was undertaken the PSHE programme in the school, which included Citizenship units, was re-named 'Citizenship' to reinforce the profile of the subject in the school.

Ethical issues

At the time of the piloting, in addition to the working relationships I had with staff at the school, the institution where I worked also had a partnership agreement with the school. This made it important that I clarified that this research had to be seen as completely separate from the other contacts I had with the school. My first contact was with the head teacher, who had liaised with other university researchers in the past and was thus likely to be able to be a useful gate-keeper. He agreed that I should contact the Citizenship coordinator to discuss the research. In order to negotiate a role that would be helpful to the school I agreed to feedback the results from the questionnaire to loop back in to the school's own review and evaluation of their Citizenship provision.

Maintaining this separation of roles was difficult in some regards, and one of the unresolved issues I have as a result of this experience is how to provide full feedback to staff at the school, when some of it is about named members of staff. In this regard I made a decision to feedback some of the data from the questionnaires, but only provided very informal feedback on the focus group discussions I held

¹⁷ 1000 is the norm, at which point the school produces the key stage 4 outcomes which were predicted on the basis of key stage 2 results. A variation of 6 points is equivalent to one grade in one GCSE. The school's CVA score is 997.3 and, whilst the variation of - 2.7 represents less than half a grades difference, this does indicate that the school, on this measure, does not add value.

with pupils, where pupils spent a considerable amount of time discussing the relative merits of members of staff. In terms of the need for me to build a relationship with the pupils, this seemed important for them, as their impressions of the Citizenship units were very closely bound up with their relationships with the teachers responsible for them. However, it did make it slightly uncomfortable for me and I had to manage my role in the conversations carefully, trying to avoid appearing to make any judgements in response to pupils.

In relation to the involvement of pupils I agreed with the head teacher that it would be adequate to ask them for their consent to be involved in the project, and I therefore did not communicate with parents. This decision was taken because it was felt that conversations about teaching and learning were not particularly unusual activities and that involving students in the evaluation of aspects of the curriculum is a fairly regular feature of school activity. In addition, I believe the age of the students involved meant they were able to adequately understand the nature of the project and exercise their own judgement about whether they would like to be involved. Neither the teachers, nor myself, implied there was any expectation that they should participate and I regularly reminded participants that they could leave the research group at any time. In the event, no-one chose to end their participation because the sessions were also fun and the students gave every impression of enjoying the chance to be involved and have their voices heard. In addition I made a case to the students and to the teachers that participation did in fact help to promote Citizenship learning, in relation to developing students' understanding of aspects of the Citizenship curriculum and developing enquiry skills.

The focus groups only involved year 10 pupils (14-15 years old) and the Citizenship coordinator identified pupils who would be interested in the meetings. The participants should have received a short briefing letter along with the invitation to attend the meeting but this did not always happen in advance. I therefore took along extra copies of the letter to each meeting and made it clear that it was not compulsory to participate and that they could drop out at any time. I also explained that although we would discuss the questionnaire together, discuss the findings and feedback to teachers, this was part of my own research. I

recorded the conversations but reassured pupils that this was for my purposes only and the details of the focus groups would not be disclosed to members of staff in the school.

Because the questionnaires were being used by the school for their internal evaluation purposes, I distributed these to pupils through the tutor system. I did not provide a lengthy explanation of the purposes of the research and, as the results were anonymous, did not judge it necessary to gain consent. A brief introductory text explained the purpose of the questionnaire, and made it clear that participation was requested but not required.

Methods

The data collection activities started towards the end of the summer term and so the pilot focused on year 10 as the group in the school that had experienced most citizenship education (year 11 were involved in examinations). The following approaches were adopted:

(1) Focus groups, with up to six pupils at a time. These were intended to provide some in-depth indication of pupils' understanding of Citizenship and their experiences of the subject.

(2) Questionnaire across year 10. This was designed by participants in the focus groups, to test out their interpretations and investigate aspects of provision that seemed significant to them. This was also designed to enable me to ascertain the extent to which the focus group's opinions represented the range of opinions throughout the year.

(3) Staff interviews. Two specialist Citizenship teachers were interviewed to provide some insight into how Citizenship was developing in the school and to explore their understanding of the subject.

The overall purpose of this approach was to collect a variety of opinions and experiences, to build up a multi-layered view of the development of citizenship education in the case study school. Each of these strategies is discussed in more detail below.

(1) Focus groups

Three groups of year 10 students were recruited by the head of Citizenship, who I shall call Mary. Mary chose two groups of students she thought would be enthusiastic and who might enjoy being involved in the research process. I also met with a third group (10Yb), identified by Mary, which included a selection of students who she felt would be less enthusiastic. This group included one boy who was described by Mary as being very difficult in the class, non-cooperative, disruptive but very clever.

Small groups were recruited because this is likely to make the participants more at ease than a one to one interview, but also because there is likely to be some value from the interaction and discussion between participants. There is some evidence to suggest that the optimum number in such groups is around six, and this was used as a guide for the piloting groups (Lewis quoted in Cohen et al., 2000: 287).

In the initial meetings with each group students were asked to undertake two activities focusing on their understanding of democracy. The first activity involved a ranking exercise, choosing the most important aspects that might help people live together in a democracy. These statements were formulated to correspond to six themes, which had been identified from a literature review. Each theme included a pair of statements, one which referred to individual characteristics, the other of which referred to collective or government level characteristics (appendix 1). The purposes of this activity were to break the ice, encourage students to start talking about democracy and citizenship, and to identify whether there were any common ideas among participants about the nature of democracy. This reflects the approach adopted by Osler and Starkey (2005b: 96-98), who involved students in a range of activities to encourage them to reflect on aspects of citizenship and identity.

After this initial activity I scribed for the group as they attempted to come to a definition of 'democracy'. I encouraged them to explore and clarify terms, and to revise each other's suggestions, until they came up with an agreed definition. The

purpose of this short activity was to identify what characteristics seemed to be of most significance to the group.

After these introductory activities the discussion focused on students' experiences of citizenship education at the Heath School. Although I aimed to keep the conversation fairly fluid and to pursue answers and ideas that seemed significant, I organised initial questions under four headings. This model was adapted from The Canadian Institute of Cultural Affairs' *Focused Conversation* method (Nelson, 2001). This model is based on planning a clear sequence of questions to enable students to reflect and be more analytical in their responses. The main premise of this approach is that the questions are organised according to the following categories, which are then dealt with in sequence:

- Objective: dealing with data and sensory observation.
- Reflective: related to personal reactions and associations.
- Interpretive: about meaning, significance and implications.
- Decisional: concerned with resolution.

(Nelson, 2001: 3)

Whilst this strategy has been devised primarily as a tool for teachers, one of the recommended uses is as an evaluation tool, and so it appeared to have some merit in this context. The first phase of questioning ensures that the group has established the parameters of the experiences they are discussing. The second phase enables participants to re-engage with these experiences, through focusing on personal and emotional responses – an important stage in processing experiences in order to gain insight and learning (Boud et al., 1985). Dealing with this level of response explicitly in one section of the discussion also enables the discussion to move on to other matters, and this helped to signify the change in focus to interpretive questions, through which the students were asked to think about why citizenship education had been organised in the way it had. The final phase provided students with room to think about how citizenship education might develop in the future, thus ending the evaluation discussion with a positive focus, but also enabling me to identify what seemed to be the most important aspects of provision to date.

I have listed the initial questions I devised under each of these four headings in appendix 2. By explaining the purpose of each phase in the discussion I aimed to combine flexibility with this process structure. If the students understood the kind of information I was looking for, I was prepared for us to explore this with supplementary questions and opportunities to expand on or respond to each others' ideas.

(2) Questionnaire

The questionnaire was discussed in the second meeting with 10Ya and 10X. This meeting followed a fairly loose structure:

- Feedback on the key themes from our earlier discussion.
- Students brainstormed areas they felt they would like to know more about, and ideas they felt should be tested out.
- We had a discussion about what kinds of questions we might use, relating to each area. For example, do some questions have a finite number of responses, indicating multiple choice questions would be suitable; do others require a more open ended response?
- We drafted some questions that could be used in the questionnaire.

This workshop was repeated separately with each of the two groups and I collated and edited the suggestions, to ensure that there were some questions from each group. Because of the limited time we had available, this process was not as detailed as has been suggested by researchers developing young people's own research skills (Kellett, 2005a, Kellett et al., 2004), but the discussion did focus on the link between questions, answers and the kind of data we wanted to generate. We agreed that we would include multiple choice questions wherever possible, and the groups spent some time thinking of likely responses and categories of answers, to help with the coding and collating phase.

In addition to the questions identified by the students I included a section to collect biographical data from respondents, to support later analysis, including basic information on gender and ethnicity. This section also focused on hours of television watched and regularity of reading newspapers. These two questions were based on those included in the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Report on civics (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). I also

included a short sequence of questions based on a questionnaire in *Inclusive Schools, Inclusive Society* (Richardson & Wood, 1999: 59) which gathers information on school climate, through asking about students' feelings about the school and their teachers.

The questionnaires were distributed to year 10 students via registers and tutors were asked to collect and return completed forms. The questionnaire is reproduced in appendix 3.

(3) Interviews

In this pilot two teachers were formally interviewed. Mary and Jenny both spend most of their timetabled time teaching Citizenship and have responsibility for the school's formally identified Citizenship provision. I have not sought to interview other teachers, who are only marginally involved in citizenship education, nor have I talked to teachers who are sceptical about the subject. This was partly a pragmatic response to the time restrictions available. It does however limit the extent to which I am able to make generalisations about the attitudes of staff in the school, and therefore qualifies my answers to research questions Q4 and Q5.

Building on the structured approach used with the student focus groups, I developed a framework of questions to use as the basis of interviews with teachers (Nelson, 2001). This is reproduced in appendix 4. Interviews were conducted on a one to one basis, and were recorded with a digital voice recorder. I then transcribed the interview and analysed the data to identify any key issues that emerged. This process was partly determined by the small sample in this pilot, and so the interviews were fairly easily compared. Having read carefully through each transcript I highlighted phrases and points which were key organising themes for each of the respondents, for example, by differentiating between main arguments and illustrations. I then read through the annotations I had made and looked for connections between ideas (Drever, 1995). For each interview, this process led to a relatively small number of key ideas, which were used to summarise the data and illustrate the similarities and differences in these teachers' perceptions of Citizenship.

Summary of pilot school data

A full report was prepared following the analysis of the data but for reasons of space I will provide a short summary of some of the main themes emerging from this pilot school data. It appears that there is a significant synergy between the international commitment of the school, the commitment of the head of Citizenship to international issues and the experiences of students. This was clearly an important dimension to Citizenship at the school, and one which appeared to be successful in so far as students enjoyed it and talked positively about their learning. In relation to the three discourses related to the trope of the new citizen, the picture was far from official conceptions. Mary, the Head of Department, was primarily motivated by the transmission of knowledge as an essential preparation for adult life (i.e. future citizenship) and did not draw particularly on any of the key discourses that shaped the policy; indeed she was partly resistant to the increased focus on community and community cohesion. The other teacher, Jenny, focused more on the pastoral dimension to citizenship education, which might be seen as fostering some sense of belonging within the class and school, but which does not fit particularly strongly within Ajegbo's demands for a more robust engagement with identity and community, nor with Crick's view that participation must be overtly political.

There were opportunities in the school for active citizenship, for example there was a successful Fair Trade group as well as another small group of volunteers working with Jenny when I met her. However, students in the survey of year 10 indicated limited opportunities to put their Citizenship learning into practice. The survey and focus groups also demonstrated there was some scepticism toward the school's attempts to incorporate student voice through a school council structure. In relation to rights and responsibilities, this did form a key part of the Citizenship provision, but although the students enjoyed this, there was little in the focus groups to suggest an acceptance that responsibilities were equally important to rights.

What did emerge quite strongly from the focus groups and the teacher interviews was the importance of general attitudes of teachers towards students and vice versa. Students were heavily influenced by the perceived 'expertise' of teachers

and by their ability to engage and convince them of the value of the subject. Teachers in turn had different attitudes towards students with Mary demonstrating some frustration with the deficits she perceived in the students (at times she seemed to characterise many students as incapable of working effectively), this led her to accept that, at least on occasion, she would be teaching against significant resistance. Jenny on the other hand appeared to have a much more optimistic reading of students and was keen not to draw distinctions between groups of students. In some regards though, she also operated with a deficit model about the ability of students to develop pro-social behaviour without her interventions through Citizenship classes. This finding resonates with Kelchtermann's (2007) policy study in which he focused on the role of teachers' self perception and their own personal theory of learning as key determinants of their responses to policy.

Evaluation of methods and issues for the main case study school

In this section I will reflect on the aims I established at the start of the chapter in relation to my methods.

(1) Clarify the role of pupils as co-researchers in the main phase of the research.

Overall this part of the pilot study was successful and illustrates some of the advantages and possible disadvantages of working with students as co-researchers. Whilst the activities I used worked well in relation to eliciting a range of responses, there was an issue about organisation and time commitment that limited the involvement of the students in this instance. It would have been useful to have had time to consult with students on the draft of the compiled questionnaire before it was distributed, for example, and to have reviewed a pilot of the questionnaire with them. As it was, the planning workshop was so close to the end of term that I had to issue the questionnaire without further consultation or piloting.

One effect of this is that I do not feel the students gained as much as I had hoped from the workshops. Whilst participants seemed to enjoy the process and the opportunity to be involved in the research, I had hoped that they would also leave the experience with some deeper understanding of research methods.

Similarly, I had discussed the usefulness of holding a joint feedback session, in which the students and I could present some of the key results to members of staff. It proved too difficult to find a date to hold such a session, which was unfortunate, both because the students had been keen, and because the exchange between staff and students would have been a further useful source of data for my case study. This was exacerbated by the nature of the school, as many students relied on buses and trains to get home and so had little flexibility about meeting before or after school. This also meant that the school lunch time was already seen as a busy time for many of the students with a range of lunch time activities running every day.

Having developed some more realistic expectations about the forward planning concerning dates and time commitments, I was able to plan the case study research phase more carefully to train student co-researchers in relevant methods and techniques and ensure time was scheduled to review the draft questionnaire and feedback to senior management. The following section outlines the schedule I devised for the data collection in my main case study school. I evaluate this aspect of the research in chapter 8.

- *Meeting 1 – Introductions and initial focus group*

I prepared a briefing document for the students to take away, and an agreement to sign about the ethical dimension to the research (appendix 5). We started the workshop with a card sort activity in which the students were asked to rank certain statements relating to the notion of the good citizen. This served to break the ice and get the conversation started. It also enabled me to gauge what kinds of ideas emerged as being significant for the young people. I built on the pilot experience by simplifying the cards to make more of the ice-breaker role. In the second part of the workshop I facilitated a more general conversation about Citizenship in the school, and guided the students through questions about their experiences, broadly following the structure used in the piloting phase – starting with what they had experienced, and moving on to what they felt and thought about this. I asked students to glue down their card selection and retained copies of their papers from the initial activity, I also recorded this meeting and summarised the plenary

discussion about the activity and transcribed the exchanges in the subsequent discussion.

- *Meeting 2 – Planning questionnaire*

In the second meeting I provided some training input on questionnaire design and the group brainstormed themes to explore in the questionnaire (appendix 6). We then divided up topics between pairs, who wrote initial drafts of questions. These were then trialled across the pairs and final wording was agreed. Because so much of this workshop was conducted in smaller working groups the main record of this meeting is the final wording of the questionnaires (appendix 7) and the field notes I wrote.

- *Distribution of questionnaire*

The school was holding a drop day where students spent time in tutor groups on cross-curricular issues, including some activities relating to the school's self-review processes. This proved the ideal opportunity to distribute the questionnaires and so these were sent out to tutors, to administer as part of the day's activities. There are approximately 700 students on roll at the school, but year 11 were not formally part of the review day, so the questionnaire could have reached approximately 560 students across years 7-10. We received 289 complete questionnaires, giving a completion rate of approximately 50%. The results from closed questions were collated in SPSS and summarised in graph form for the next student meeting. Later, the qualitative responses were typed up to enable more detailed analysis, but as this was more time consuming, this data was unavailable to the student researchers.

- *Meeting 3 – Planning interviews*

In the third meeting we reviewed the results of the questionnaire and I provided some training input on interviews (appendix 8). We discussed what issues arose from the questionnaire results, which could be fruitfully explored in interviews. Students were also issued with digital voice recorders and invited to practice interviewing one another to get a feel for the process and the technology. A series of questions was devised within the group and students formed into three small groups and agreed to trial the interview schedule. As with meeting 2, this active workshop

was not recorded but the interview schedule (appendix 9) provides a record of the discussion, as do my field notes.

- *Meeting 4 – Review of preliminary interviews*

We met again to discuss how the initial interviews were progressing and to share feedback about the interview process. This led to some ideas being shared to help make the interviews more useful, specifically to encourage respondents to open up more and elaborate on answers. I recorded this discussion and transcribed it for analysis.

- *Interviews*

The student researchers recorded 27 interviews with students from years 7-10. These were conducted by student interviewers working in small groups. Each interviewee was interviewed in a quiet room which was made available for this purpose.

- *Meeting 5 – Review meeting*

In this student meeting, which ran across two lessons, we discussed the findings from the interview process. In this discussion the student research group discussed their general impressions from the interviews, as well as individual responses which stood out for them. The digital voice recorders were then returned to me and I was able to transcribe the 27 interviews for further analysis. In the second part of the meeting we focused on what key messages to feedback to the senior management group in the school. Students were provided with graphs from the questionnaires, and identified which seemed the most important to feedback. They also drew on their interview data to write additional commentary to accompany the quantitative data. This discussion was recorded and transcribed for later analysis.

- *Preparation of PowerPoint*

After the meeting I pasted the graphs the students had selected into a PowerPoint presentation and typed up the captions and recommendations they had agreed in the meeting. I circulated this by email to the student researchers (appendix 10).

- *Final meeting – Presentation of findings*

- The student research group presented their findings to the senior management team, including the new head teacher and the head of

Citizenship. The meeting served two main purposes, neither of which was centrally concerned with my own data collection. First, the presentation served as a final goal for the students, and the delivery of the presentation acted as a point of closure for their participation. Secondly, the feedback was offered to the school as the quid pro quo for access to the school for data collection purposes. In this respect the event was successful in that the senior management team discussed the model of student-led evaluation of curriculum areas as a potentially powerful means to self-review the school's provision.

(2) Become familiar with a range of statistical tests using SPSS.

I used several statistical tests and techniques (Mann-Whitney Rank-Sum tests, t-tests and cross-tabulations) to search my data for correlations between biographical data and questionnaire answers (George & Mallery, 2006). Unexpectedly, I found no significant patterns in the data (I searched for correlations between gender, ethnicity, hours of television viewing and likelihood of reading newspapers on the one hand and all of the questions relating to experiences and opinions about citizenship education). These patterns were absent despite additional measures I took to ensure categories with some small numbers, such as ethnicity, were sufficiently large for comparison, in this case by aggregating sub-categories to form larger groupings. I opted to collect less of this data for the main case study.

(3) Trial a range of approaches to constructing questions in questionnaires.

In interviews with the teachers it appeared that the admissions route for students may have been significant, and this has led me to conclude that I should have asked a question about this. In terms of constructing questionnaires, this reflects the importance of being alert to the school context, and thinking about the kinds of variations one is likely to encounter as being significant in that context. In the main case study school this was less of an issue and so was not relevant.

The questionnaire employed a mix of closed and open-ended questions and it was useful to work through possible answers to multiple choice questions with the student focus groups, although as already noted, it would also have been useful to

pilot this with other students before using the questionnaire with the whole year group, to ensure that we had the range of answers and wording as clear as possible. For example, although most respondents seemed to engage with a question about types of active participation, it still seemed problematic in retrospect as all responses were weighted as having equal value, whereas some were very considerably easier to achieve than others. In the main case study I left such questions open and did not attempt to pre-empt active citizenship questions with multiple-choice responses.

The open-ended question about the school's motivations for teaching Citizenship was very useful in providing an overview of the range of responses. It was significant that about 1 in 8 chose to identify negative or external reasons (e.g. statutory responsibility) in their answers, and this is not something the focus groups or I had predicted in our conversations. This indicates the need to conduct wider surveys beyond the focus groups, which, consisting as they did of volunteers, were likely to attract students with a positive experience of, or interest in, Citizenship.

In the main case study survey the main conclusion I drew was that there should be opportunities for students to explain their responses, thus ensuring a balance between quantitative and qualitative data.

(4) Become familiar with a range of activities and questions to elicit qualitative data.

The focus groups were useful in collecting a significant amount of data that provided me with insights on a range of related issues. The activities worked well as ice-breakers and introduced the students to the focus of the workshop. However, the experience also introduced me to the three problems Merton identified in relation to group interviews (1956 in Fontana & Frey, 2003: 73):

- The interviewer must keep one person or a small group from dominating the group.
- The interviewer must encourage recalcitrant members of the group.
- The interviewer must obtain responses from all members of the group to ensure the fullest coverage of the topic.

I would also add a fourth problem, concerning the need to regulate the conversation. After the first workshop I noted in my field notes that it had been rather difficult to manage, with students tending to interrupt one another and finish off each other's sentences. In the second one I was more explicit about setting rules and asking quieter students to contribute so this seemed fairly easy to correct. It was evident that a pecking order emerged quite quickly in the group (Michell, 1999), but by encouraging turn-taking, asking individuals to respond and occasionally breaking the group into pairs everyone was encouraged to participate.

I was less sure at the time about the success of using the *Focused Conversation* method (Nelson, 2001). It felt somewhat contrived and I think the technique might need some more concrete shared experience or stimulus as the focal point. The problem seems to be that the objective phase of questions elicits a range of responses about different aspects of Citizenship. In the staff interviews this was interesting, in that it was useful to identify what themes emerge in this first set of responses. These tended to recur throughout the interview. For the students their experiences were so mixed and wide ranging that it did not seem to lead to such clarity. On the other hand though, this structure did seem to help me manage the group interviews in different stages and move on from emotional responses, i.e. to mark an end the conversation about teachers in order to move on to discussions about the subject itself. It may be more useful to think about this sequence of questions but within different themes, which are identified in relation to the school context. For example, in the Heath School, it would have been useful to talk about the international dimension in terms of Nelson's four levels of question, and then move on to talk about Citizenship lessons, and then extra-curricular events. Some of these themes could be identified through preliminary analysis of school documentation.

For the main case study I decided to opt for a less structured, rather than more structured approach to these initial questions. Because I had more opportunities to speak to student co-researchers, it was easier to allow the conversation to run on, and then to re-focus on other issues in subsequent meetings if necessary.

(5) To trial approaches to support the analysis of qualitative data.

I coded open-ended responses, and relied on developing a sense of the data by repeatedly reading only those related answers from all the questionnaires. I also relied on a fairly intuitive approach to identifying themes within each of the interviews. Writing full transcripts was useful in ensuring I was very familiar with the data (I sent the transcripts to the interviewees for checking but received no amendments), and then I read each interview and annotated the margins, highlighting key phrases and ideas. Then I read just the annotations and identified a smaller number of themes from each interview. This process bears some similarity to the advice offered by Drever, who discusses the ways in which categories emerge from raw data (Drever, 1995: 64-9). In deciding how to present the information I compared the lists of headings and identified key areas of similarity and difference. This process was therefore conducted at least two analytical steps away from the actual data (in the form of the transcripts). I then returned to the transcripts to identify relevant areas of text to illustrate the themes and draw out key points of similarity and difference. Finally I re-read the interviews and my account of them to ensure that there were no key omissions or misrepresentations. This process was manageable because I was working only with two interviews, but the principle seems useful in future work.

The analysis of the activities in the focus groups was similar although the fast pace of the students' conversations and the fact that they often talked over one another made it impossible to produce a full transcript. For each of these tapes I reviewed the recording and made lists of topics covered and main points raised. I then returned to the tapes and transcribed some short sections for use in the report.

The analysis of the card sort enabled me to compare responses across groups. This seemed to yield some interesting data about the preoccupations of the students when they came to define citizenship and democracy. In order to make the comparison between groups I had to classify students' rankings into basically 'top' and 'bottom' halves. Whilst this helped me to clarify the results, I also had to be aware that the difference between these categories is just one ranking position, and so I had to be careful not to read too firm a conclusion into these findings, especially where responses tended towards the bottom of the top, or the top of the

bottom. In the final analysis this way of dividing up the cards seemed to be too complex for the task and did not ultimately help in the discussion of data – many of the tentative conclusions drawn from the ranking activity were challenged in the subsequent conversations, where more nuanced understanding became evident. Therefore this activity was simplified in the main case study.

In the main case study I also included more open ended questions in the survey and the approach to data analysis here is discussed in appendix 11.

(6) Explore the extent to which the variety of methods used enabled me to construct a convincing case study of the school.

I have organised my brief comments in this section under the research questions.

(Q1) What does the school want to achieve through its citizenship education programme?

In this particular school there had been a considerable drive to clarify the role of Citizenship, and so there was an identifiable formal vision for Citizenship, as a principle on which the school was based. There is a clear view of the school as one which was driven by values, which were closely aligned with Citizenship, and the formal Citizenship curriculum was seen as a point within in the curriculum where these values were articulated. The change of head teacher seemed to be an important boost to the status of Citizenship, although this was still in the process of making an impact.

(Q2) What are pupils' experiences of citizenship education?

(Q3) What are pupils' understandings of citizenship education?

The students' focus groups provided me with a wealth of data on their experiences of Citizenship. This was the focus of much of the work, and I think this is inevitably the case, given that it is easier to talk about and reflect on what has happened than to speculate on what has not. It is obviously difficult for students with no comparable experience to think radically about alternative interpretations of their subjects. With regard to this final point I suspect I could use the group discussions slightly more rigorously to explore the connections between the students' ideas about democracy and citizenship and their own teaching. This did happen in some

ways, but I could have been more explicit about setting up a follow-up activity to analyse this.

(Q4) What are teachers' experiences of citizenship education?

(Q5) What are teachers' understandings of citizenship education?

The interviews clearly addressed both these dimensions but the obvious limitation here was due to the small number of interviews I conducted. My views of Mary and Jenny's non-specialist colleagues were entirely defined by their perceptions of them. It would obviously be valuable in the main phase of the research to include shorter interviews with a wider sample to identify to what extent this characterisation is accurate, and what range of responses might lie within such a broad group.

Overall I felt the methods used enabled me to describe the formal, student and staff perspectives on citizenship education in the school, although the restricted scale of the pilot phase obviously limited the extent to which I can claim to represent the whole school. In reality I have described the small Citizenship department within the school. Whilst I attempted to involve more teachers in the main case study school, I had a poor response, and so the same limitations apply.

Looking ahead

The previous discussion clarifies how the main data collection phase built on the pilot study. The main difference was in the level of student participation, but in most regards the approaches trialled in the Heath School were replicated, albeit with the minor alterations indicated, in Oak Park School, which is the main focus of my case study. These findings are presented in the next two chapters.

Chapter 6

Oak Park School and the Citizenship Department

Constructing a case study

I identified Oak Park School as a good school in which to conduct the research through discussions with a colleague responsible for a Citizenship teacher training programme in my university. The school was reportedly one of the best schools in the region with a substantial Citizenship curriculum in place, it made the GCSE available to all students and employed several specialist Citizenship teachers. I made one preparatory visit to the school to negotiate the research project with the Head of Citizenship, and was able to make six subsequent visits to collect data to inform the construction of this case study. The research strategy I developed was broadly in line with the conclusions I drew in the previous chapter. In outline it included the following forms of data collection activities:

1. Collection of policy documents relating to Citizenship to enable me to answer my first research question about the school's vision for Citizenship.
2. I interviewed three Citizenship teachers in the department. Although I invited other teachers to participate in the research no-one else agreed, which means this is effectively a case study of the Citizenship department in the school.
3. A student questionnaire (years 7-10) to enable me to gather data from as many students as possible relating to my next research questions relating to students' perceptions of Citizenship and their experiences of the subject.
4. These questions were also addressed by peer interviews conducted by a group of student co-researchers.¹⁸
5. These co-researchers also functioned as a focus group at various stages of the research to help identify key issues.

This chapter provides a brief overview of the school and the Citizenship department and then considers the data from the first two sources. The next chapter is concerned with the students.

Oak Park School

Oak Park is the only state secondary school serving the small town of Oakton in the South East of England. In the 2001 census¹⁹ the town population was 21,000 and

¹⁸ I outlined the research activities involving the students in the previous chapter and the findings are reported in chapter 7.

other data showed the population was relatively affluent. There was low unemployment, relatively low rates of migration (96% of residents were white and 92% were born in the UK), a relatively high socio-economic profile (49% of residents were in intermediate or professional employment categories compared to the national level of 36%), and 82% of households lived in owner-occupied housing (national level 71%).

In terms of GCSE outcomes the school had a mixed record in the years preceding this research. The number of students achieving 5 or more GCSE grades A-C (including English and Maths) improved between 2007-10 from 27% to 53% and the Contextual Value Added (CVA) measure improved from 965 to 1009, demonstrating the school achieved a significant turnaround²⁰. In 2007 the school was one of 638 schools in England²¹ that had fallen below the government's minimum target of 30% gaining 5 GCSE grades A-C (including English and Maths), but in 2010 it was identified by the government as one of the 100 most improved secondary schools in the country. In that year (the year during which the data for this case study was collected), there were 800 students enrolled, the number of students with an identified special need was slightly higher than the national average and the number receiving free school meals was slightly lower.

Citizenship in the school

The Citizenship department was one of a small number of departments entering almost all students in key stage 4 (KS4) for a compulsory GCSE exam. Despite this policy of universal entry for the Citizenship exam, whilst the school as a whole seems to have struggled to achieve overall outcomes comparable to national averages, Citizenship outcomes have been significantly better. In 2009 and 2010 73% of students gained a grade C or above in Citizenship, compared to English (71% in 2010 and 66% in 2009), and maths (59% in 2010 and 49% in 2009). One can also compare the school's results in these exams against the national attainment in each subject: in 2010 Oak Park's students achieved higher than most

¹⁹ The data presented is drawn from the Census Profile for the town, but this is not referenced to ensure anonymity. Similarly data about the school is drawn from a range of on-line publications but has not been referenced to avoid identifying the school.

²⁰ The norm is 1000 and CVA scores below 1000 indicate students achieve less well than similar students in other schools, whilst scores over 1000 indicate students do better than the average.

²¹ There are approximately 3200 secondary schools in the country, putting this school in the bottom fifth for GCSE scores.

students being entered for Citizenship across England (national average A-C for Citizenship was 56% compared to Oak Park's 73%), comparable figures for English are 63% national / 71% school; and for maths 56% national / 59% school. This comparison demonstrates not only that Citizenship attainment is fairly high in the school, but also that standards achieved in Citizenship appear to be relatively high when compared to those achieved in other schools around the country.

The head teacher who oversaw these improvements was in post from 2004-10 and was superseded by a member of his senior management team during the academic year 2009-10. The vision for the school for this period included a clear commitment to Citizenship, and one of the three points which summarised the school's mission included the aim for every student to become "responsible and successful citizens." The incoming head reiterated this commitment in her first letter to parents when she committed to sustaining an inclusive community school with "participation and active citizenship at the heart of all we do".

Given this firm commitment, it was surprising to discover a lack of organisational stability for the Citizenship department in the school. The interview with Chris, the Head of Department demonstrated that, despite the support of the head teacher, Citizenship had variously been located within a faculty with other Humanities subjects, functioned as a stand-alone subject department, been line managed alongside PE, and was being returned to the Humanities faculty in 2010-11, where Citizenship was being combined with RE and PSHE in a single timetabled slot. The Citizenship teachers in the school had different perceptions of these changes, as is illustrated in the interviews discussed below. In this brief overview of the school, it is worth noting however, that even with supportive head teachers, subject specialists and GCSE success, the issues around curriculum identity and status were still being dealt with at Oak Park and that Citizenship had still to find a settled curriculum home.

The Head of Department indicated, during conversations throughout the period of data collection, that the school's evolving policy on Community Cohesion had influenced the way that Citizenship was seen. In this regard it is significant that her own post was changing and she was moving on from her middle management

(curriculum leader) responsibility to take up a role in senior management, combining Community Cohesion, work experience and careers. Chris characterised her new role as combining the community outreach work she had developed with the outgoing head teacher's responsibility for "doing the stats" (23/2/10)²².

Reading citizenship policy documents

The following discussion is based on my interpretation of several policy documents provided for me by the school. The first two were attributed to the Head of Department (*Citizenship and PSHE Policy* and the *School Council Policy*) and the third (*Equality, Diversity and Community Cohesion*) was attributed to the Head Teacher. The policy documents were analysed to identify the ways in which the school characterised citizenship education – its nature and purpose and the ways in which it was linked to other policies in the school. Braun et al.'s work in secondary schools illustrates the complexity involved with studies of how schools 'do' policy work (Braun et al., 2010). They draw attention to the intricate work involved in writing school policy, as external policy documents are received, de-coded, discussed, connected with other initiatives and local knowledge of the context, and re-coded in a form which is intended to inform subsequent developments in the school. Starting with these policy documents therefore enabled me to think about the formal institutional responses to citizenship education policy, and in doing so illuminated what I described in chapter 2 as 'leap 2' from curriculum guidance to school practice.

Oak Park's formal account of its Citizenship provision is currently recorded in a document called the *Citizenship and PSHE Policy*. I accessed this document in April 2010, but it had a footer indicating it was due for review in January 2009. The fact that this was still a current document indicated that there had been no recent review of the policy, and this seemed to be confirmed by the headings listed in the assessment section, which did not reflect the 2008 revisions to the national curriculum. The first observation to make therefore about how the school interpreted Citizenship policy is that some of the external changes in the

²² Some quotations are drawn from field notes, written up shortly after each visit to the school. These are therefore approximations of the actual conversations and are indicated by the bracketed dates of the conversation. All other quotations are taken from the formal interviews, which were recorded and fully transcribed, and are therefore verbatim reports.

curriculum had not been implemented which would indicate that, at the policy level at least, the Citizenship reforms have not had a significant impact on the vision for Citizenship. In one sense, this would seem to favour an interpretation that the school had developed its own vision for citizenship education and was using the programmes of study to support it, rather than re-shaping policy around the curriculum. Whilst this might indicate that the school is likely to achieve some consistency, it also provides evidence that there is disconnect between changes in government policy and the corresponding policy statements in school.

The *Citizenship and PSHE Policy* set out the school's key stage 3 (KS3) plan, which was delivered in a weekly lesson plus additional events. The lessons covered "crime, culture and diversity, sex education and the environment" and although these topics clearly combine PSHE and Citizenship topics there is no clear differentiation between the two subjects. In key stage 4 (KS4) all students study the short course GCSE, where topics included "responsibilities in the workplace, globalisation, fair trade and the criminal justice system." Reference was made to mapping Citizenship across the curriculum, although this cross-curricular approach was not mentioned by any of the staff in interviews. In thinking about the ways in which actual provision is developing in the light of this policy overview it seemed significant that, in the year after the case study data was collected, the school website no longer listed Citizenship as a subject in the KS3 Curriculum Plan. Instead PSHE, Community Participation and Cultural Diversity were listed as examples of "enrichment" activities, and Citizenship and RE were listed as subjects which students *may* also begin studying and which lead to short course GCSE. Citizenship remained part of the core curriculum at KS4, although it was also combined with PSHE, sex education, careers, enterprise and work experience. This implies that, whilst the formal policy statement remained consistent, there were changes related to subject identity and status.

The *Citizenship and PSHE Policy* connects the subjects to students' own interests and experiences, real life issues, and "activities that can help not only their school and local community but as far out as the global community". It also mentions the skills of investigation, critical thinking, discussion and the "skills to challenge stereotyping". In relation to the three discourses promoted in official policy about

citizenship education one can see here the emphasis on community and active citizenship, but nothing relating explicitly to rights and responsibilities. The school's vision is effectively one rooted in a commitment to being a community school, and the value of Citizenship is seen in the subject's potential to connect with the young people's lives and experiences and engage them in their community. Whilst the global community is mentioned, it is also qualified by the phrase "as far out" which serves to underline that the global connections are distant from the young people. Whilst on one level it is geographically true that local is close and global can be distant, the geographical reading sits uneasily with the conceptual implications of a deeper understanding of the interconnections that exist between people regardless of geographical location. An approach to the global dimension which focuses on interdependence is more likely to establish the global community as just as real a context for action as the local community. This approach echoes that described by Osler in her research with teachers where she found a tendency to start local for what appear to be sound pedagogic reasons, but then remain local for pragmatic reasons, with occasional forays into a depoliticised global community (Osler, 2010a).

In its engagement with the discourse of community, relating as it does to identity and diversity, one may also note a tendency to view problems as personal rather than political in the discussion of stereotyping. The document states that Citizenship and PSHE will equip students with "the skills to challenge stereotyping and assumptions and make decisions based on education and fact." The clear assumption here is that stereotyping arises from ignorance or error and that all students would want to eradicate it. This glosses over the possibility that prejudice exists for other reasons and for some this may be a political choice. The final statement in the policy takes a slightly different perspective and states that, "above all it equips our young people with a respect to view positively the difference in others, whether they arise from race, gender, ability or disability." This is an interesting construction in that the language obfuscates the nature of the intention. In the same way that challenging stereotyping is described as a *skill*, respect is seen as something with which students can be *equipped*, rather than a personal commitment or orientation they can adopt for themselves. It seems the language employed in the policy document takes the political problems of respect and

prejudice and turns them into neutral educational aims – developing skills and providing young people with the equipment required to view the world in certain ways.

The limited notion of community is also reflected in the document's account of GCSE coursework, which is described as being linked to a community event and the examples given are (i) running a Macmillan coffee morning (raising money for a cancer charity), (ii) planning mufti days (non-uniform days, usually run to raise money for charity) and (iii) taking an active role in assemblies to raise awareness of issues that affect them. Only the third option opens the possibility of action akin to campaigning, and this reflects the statement in the opening section that Citizenship enables students to "participate in activities that can *help*..." (my emphasis).

The Head of Citizenship also produced the *School Council Policy* and she focused on the connection between taught Citizenship and this method of student involvement in many of our conversations. There were annual elections, which were conducted with proper ballot boxes, time out of lessons for voting, and the results were counted and announced by a local council official. Those elected to represent their peers received training to support them as they assumed their responsibilities and there were procedures for de-selecting representatives who failed to fulfil their role. The school council was described as providing a democratic forum where "issues of concern to students can be discussed *in order to improve life*" at the school and where "activities can be organised for students *in order to benefit* the school community and the wider world" (my emphasis). This statement of purpose echoes the emphasis, discussed above, on activities which are *helpful*, and therefore reflects Crick's account of the *good* citizen (helpful and compliant) as opposed to the *active* citizen (critically informed, politically engaged and seeking change).

This interpretation is supported by the examples provided within the document. There are several clauses in the policy relating to procedures to ensure the school council can hear issues from their peers (open forums, comment boxes, minuted meetings with standing items, feedback to assemblies) but the requirement to

survey the student body was reserved for “any major whole school decisions that arise, for example the colour of paint for the corridors.” This was the only specific example of an issue the council might deal with, and the fact that this example was used to illustrate how the council might be involved in *major* decisions, indicates perhaps that it was not envisaged that the group would be involved in anything much more significant than the colour of paint. This tendency to limit the agenda of school councils is well documented (Whitty & Wisby, 2007), although other research provides evidence that school councils can be effectively involved in “the core business of the school, which is teaching and learning” (Davies & Yamashita, 2007: ii).

The third policy document, *Equality, diversity and community cohesion*, was attributed to the Head Teacher²³ and aimed to establish a proactive approach to discrimination (Osler & Starkey, 2005b)²⁴. The policy established the curriculum as one significant area for action and in doing so it expanded and clarified the points made above in relation to the *Citizenship and PSHE Policy*. In confronting prejudice and discrimination in the school the policy stated “we are aware that low self-image and ignorance can cause prejudice and stereotyping” and therefore it sought to promote action through “positive educational experiences and support for each individual’s point of view... to promote positive social attitudes and respect for all.” The policy then makes it clear that whilst all curriculum areas have some responsibility, Citizenship and PSHE have a major role to play. Later, in the section dealing with rewards and sanctions this issue is revisited. Here, the policy recognised that where unfair, unjust or discriminatory acts take place, and where the perpetrators “committed the act without intending to cause harm or were themselves subject to unkind treatment by the victim, then a teaching intervention should be considered a priority, under the express understanding that no repeat of that type of behaviour would be tolerated again.”²⁵ Where the act has been committed purposefully, then sanctions “may apply.” This discussion goes further than the *Citizenship and PSHE Policy* document and confronts the possibility of

²³ Although it has been amended to reflect the school context it appears to draw heavily on a template for a school policy – an Internet search for some of the early phrases turns up many similar examples from different schools.

²⁴ Osler and Starkey discuss the need for such policies in the wake of the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry and the tone of this policy statement appears to indicate a progressive stance being adopted.

²⁵ This text appears to have been developed in the school and does not appear to be part of the template.

wilful and deliberate prejudice, but it is still focused on the potential of education to promote positive outcomes for all – victim and perpetrator alike.

In pursuit of such positive outcomes teachers were encouraged to teach in a manner which pays “due regard to the racial and cultural sensitivities of all members of the class,” and to select resources that reflect the diversity of the wider community, which is an acknowledgment that the actual school community is not very diverse at all. As the head put it, although “the school *benefits* from having a small number of staff and students from other backgrounds... the small level of ethnic diversity within the local community” means the school must aim to “reflect the cultural diversity of the wider community to promote awareness and understanding.”

The policy establishes an explicit link between the PHSE and Citizenship curriculum in particular and the school’s commitment to tackling racism. It is limited though in the way in which it envisages such discrimination, and it describes incidents which are clearly examples of bullying or poor behaviour from one individual or group towards another. Thus the policy is limited to discussing how to deal with incidents which arise through ignorance, or where one might say the victims of discrimination were themselves “unkind” in the first instance. Thus racism and other forms of discrimination are seen, in the school context, as examples of unkindness, and as such are dealt with like other low-level behavioural problems which arise when children fall out or argue, albeit with a stern warning that future incidents will not be tolerated. Other forms of prejudice relate to the “sensitivities” of minority ethnic children in the classroom, thus the policy aims to avoid offending these sensitivities. This is weaker than asking teachers to include children and reflect diversity in their teaching because children should feel included in all aspects of school, and the appeal to some children’s sensitivities seems to place the problem with these *sensitive* children, rather than the potentially excluding curriculum or teacher.

Thus the policy deals with two forms of prejudice or discrimination – individual behaviour and cultural representation. In focusing on these dimensions the policy is similar to the previous documents in that the political roots of inequality in

society are ignored. There is nothing here about how the school will tackle the fact of structural socio-economic inequality or the unequal distribution of power, instead diversity is something to be celebrated, and prejudice is seen as something arising from ignorance or oversight, and occasionally by wilful unkindness. It is thus rendered amenable to teaching solutions, and Citizenship takes its place as the curriculum area where much of this teaching will take place. As we have already seen the *Citizenship and PSHE Policy* commits the Citizenship department to do this by dispelling ignorance through teaching relevant facts and critical thinking skills about diversity and aiming to equip young people “with a respect to view positively the difference in others.” Thus whilst the policies link up in an admirably comprehensive manner, the overall approach towards diversity and discrimination is one which avoids critical political interpretations in favour of re-defining the issues until they are amenable to relatively straight forward teaching. This interpretation reflects Fisher’s argument that the Citizenship agenda in schools tends to promote a way of thinking in which “individualised understandings of success are reinforced whilst the complex processes of exclusion are neglected” (Fisher, 2011: 53).

This seems to provide some support for Gillborn’s claim that citizenship education may act as a placebo and thus enable teachers and schools to appear to take action whilst failing to tackle fundamental issues related to inequality (Gillborn, 2006). As discussed above in chapter 3, whilst the Citizenship programme of study *could be* interpreted as providing a space to engage with the nature of inequality, this set of school policies indicates that it is also possible to interpret Citizenship in a way that avoids such a critical perspective. Whilst the Ajegbo Review set out to clarify this area of Citizenship, its focus on diversity and identity rather than inequality meant that such interpretations could remain unchallenged. As we shall see when we turn to the data collected from teachers and students in the case study school, this lack of critical engagement with inequality and prejudice is consistent from policy to classroom practice.

Interviews

Having said something about the ways in which Citizenship has been discussed and defined in the school, I now turn to the three Citizenship teachers in Oak Park

School, and to a consideration of how they describe their own practice, what this reveals about their understanding of Citizenship and how this reflects the issues raised in the school's policy documents. During the data collection phase of this research I initiated several informal conversations with teachers at the school, and these were recorded soon after each visit, in my field notes. The bulk of the following discussion is based on formal interviews I conducted with the Citizenship teachers:

- Chris was the Head of Citizenship. She had taught at the school for nine years, and had recently been appointed to a senior management role leading Community Cohesion. Chris was employed originally as an unqualified teacher and the school funded her to complete a degree and a graduate training programme to achieve qualified teacher status. She had only taught at Oak Park School and had run Citizenship since its inception. As well as teaching Citizenship she taught Health and Social Care.
- Penny was the other main Citizenship teacher in the department. She had been teaching at the school for four years; she completed part of her teacher training placement at the school and had subsequently only worked at Oak Park. As a result of the changes happening during the period of data collection Penny resigned from the school shortly after this interview was completed. As well as teaching Citizenship she also taught Health and Social Care and Sociology.
- Katrina was coming to the end of her first year working as a teacher. Like Penny, she completed part of her training at the school and was then employed. She had already handed in her resignation by the time of the interview, to take up a position in another school. She taught predominantly Humanities but was considered part of the Citizenship team, although this only accounted for about a third of her teaching timetable.

Penny and Katrina were interviewed together and Chris was interviewed immediately afterwards on the same day²⁶.

As with the pilot study, the interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. The transcriptions were then annotated to indicate connections between them, and to

²⁶ These interviews lasted approximately an hour each and took place towards the end of my time in the school, after I had built up a fairly good idea of the school's provision and the students' experience,

identify significant themes. This was done partly by looking for connections to the three discourses being considered in this analysis, and partly through applying some of the questions identified by Ozga, discussed in the chapter 2 on policy analysis (Ozga, 2000). In essence these relate to how the text (interview transcript) generates a narrative, what drives that narrative, what significant ideas feature in this narrative, and which ideas are marginalised or absent. In addition, Ozga urges the analyst to consider who features in these accounts, how subjects and agents are constructed, how they relate to one another, and how individuals and groups of people relate to institutions, the community and state. The themes which emerged from this analysis are:

1. Personal background
2. Subject and status
3. Young people
4. Parents
5. Community and diversity
6. Active citizenship
7. Rights and responsibilities
8. Teaching and learning

These headings are used to provide a structure for the following discussion.

1. Personal background

As we noted in chapter 1, the experiences and beliefs of Citizenship teachers play an important role in influencing the decisions they make about implementing citizenship education, and therefore on the kinds of Citizenship experienced by children and young people. Each of the interviews therefore invited the teachers to say something directly about how they had come into Citizenship teaching.

One of the strong connections to emerge from the interviews is that each of the teachers was trained at Oak Park School and then employed there. One might expect therefore that the appointments were made on the basis that there was a positive connection between the individuals and the school. Chris was employed by the school originally as an unqualified teacher of Health and Social Care in the sixth form. Once she was employed in that capacity, the school supported her while she undertook a course in one of the local FE colleges which led to a degree in

Professional Studies and Education, followed by a Graduate Training Programme (GTP) in the school to gain Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). These courses are funded for particular subjects, and in order to gain QTS via this route Chris was trained as an English teacher. One of the hallmarks of this employment-based route to training is that it is mainly based in the employing institution, with a very short additional experience elsewhere. Having qualified at Oak Park, Chris assumed management responsibility for PSHE, and thus took responsibility for Citizenship when it was introduced into the curriculum. When asked to describe herself Chris mentioned her nationality (British), her values (equality and fairness in the world), her roles (mother, wife, and hard worker) and her belief in young people. She is also white, although she did not discuss this.

Penny is a white British woman who described herself as “nothing interesting but a bit of Belgian”, in this she echoes some of the children quoted in the Ajegbo review (Ajegbo, 2007), who struggled to see white Britishness as anything other than an absence of ‘interest’, and for whom ethnicity is something that they lack. She gained a degree in American Studies, which she described as being “about politics and everything, and travelling abroad and meeting different cultures.” She completed a Citizenship PGCE course and then took up her post at the school. She drew explicitly on this background to discuss her teaching, for example when discussing why the school seems so successful in engaging students in politics, she made the connection to her own personal experience:

“I think one of the reasons that it’s so politically aware is that I campaigned for Obama and I met him, and so the students respond to that so if you’ve got stories and stuff you’ve done they’re really interested. And Amnesty International... I’m a member of that and often I’ll bring in stuff for them to do and they love that, they love that.”

Her ambivalence over her cultural / ethnic identity is also reflected in the discussions around equality and diversity in the interview. The interplay with her colleague, Katrina, becomes particularly interesting, as the discussion below indicates.

Katrina described herself as black British with Jamaican heritage and completed her degree in Sociology. She also identified her experience as a youth worker and peer mentor as significant in shaping her approach to Citizenship. She particularly drew on her Sociology education as an important influence, and this was reflected

in the approach she adopted to her discussion of the subject, inequality, and society in general. This extract makes the point, in that she introduced an explicit discussion of the social class of the children and concluded by relating this to her own identity as a sociologist:

“In terms of the whole class thing [P yeh]²⁷ it’s kind of, it’s difficult for them to understand but it is such a great area generally [P yeh] probably my sociologist coming out, it is such a great area anyway.”

Katrina was also positive about her experience of teaching in the Humanities. Whilst it appeared from the interview that she was originally employed to teach Citizenship, the role changed to include a majority of time in Humanities subjects, which she said helped her to “become a better person” [24/5/10] and to develop a deep respect for these other subjects. This was also evident in her interview where she drew on examples of her History teaching, as well as Citizenship classes, to illustrate the significance of students’ interest in Citizenship related topics.

2. Subject and status

Given that the interviews coincided with negotiations concerning the Citizenship team’s relocation within the Humanities faculty it is not surprising that this emerged as a significant theme. There was a marked difference though in the opinions and strength of emotional response. Chris, as head of Citizenship and recently appointed senior manager clearly felt that the changes could be taken in her stride, and that they would represent a temporary inconvenience. Penny and Katrina were more frustrated by the changes.

First, there was a fear that the identity of Citizenship would be lost as it became part of a new combined subject, especially one identified as PSHE. This new development was seen as particularly frustrating by Penny because it was interpreted in a longer time frame, in which she had seen several other changes to where Citizenship fitted into curricular structures:

“The one thing that has been an issue with Citizenship is that we’ve been pushed around... Since I’ve been here we’ve been part of Humanities, PE, our own faculty, Performance and Personal Development which is Drama, English, no Drama, Maths, PE now and now we’re going back to Humanities and we’re sort of changing... We don’t know whether we’re coming or going some of the times... it’s really quite difficult.”

²⁷ Squared brackets are used within quotations to show where the other interviewee interjects

The frustration was echoed in a later part of the interview when Katrina picked up the theme again:

“The respect isn’t there for the subject and I think that’s why it’s been batted from bat... [P from pillar to post] from pillar to post and kind of, yeh, you just take away the name, give it something else but you can still teach what you’d like to teach... But you need to give the subject the respect that it deserves and the kind of... Yeh, but it’s not the vision anymore.”

What seems interesting about this discussion is the recurrent issue of where Citizenship fits into broader curriculum structures. One might assume that the introduction of a new subject into the school curriculum would be initially difficult, but thereafter, each school would achieve its own solution. This school case study illustrates in quite stark terms what an on-going problem this can represent, even where Citizenship as a subject is felt to have enjoyed the patronage of the head teacher.²⁸

The move to Humanities was seen as particularly problematic in terms of the relative status between the subjects within that faculty. As Penny continued:

“I’m going to be the only Citizenship teacher, specialist, and they have three Geographers, and not everyone does Geography but everyone has to do Citizenship and not everyone has to do History but everyone has to do Citizenship, and yet they don’t visualise that they just think anyone can teach it and what we’ve seen is that those classes that don’t have a Citizenship teacher or someone that actually enjoys the subject, because you don’t have to be a Citizenship teacher to enjoy it or value it, those classes suffer so much... And yet GCSE, all the year groups are going to do GCSE but they don’t value that, and it’s a full GCSE but they don’t value it, so if they don’t value it the kids aren’t going to value it.”

It is evident that, despite the relative success of Citizenship with the students, Penny still felt somewhat marginalized within the school and a little beleaguered. This played out in rather concrete terms in the disparity between teaching loads, which leads to a significant assessment burden – here it is worth noting that Penny taught seven GCSE classes and that the Citizenship course included 60% coursework / controlled assessment, all of which had to be marked by the class teacher. This amount of GCSE teaching and assessment is unusually high.

²⁸ This pattern of changing organisation, management, curriculum location, and delivery pattern was also evident in some of the NFER longitudinal research case study schools, see for example Keating, A., Kerr, D., Lopes, J., Featherstone, G. & Benton, T. (2009) Embedding Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in England (2002-08): Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study Seventh Annual Report (DCSF Research Report 172)(London, Department for Children, Schools and Families).

Penny was also worried that Citizenship's status was being threatened as part of the whole school's commitment.

"Although the Head has said she is keeping the vision which is Citizenship focused I've been told that it's not going to be kept, so... that it is going to be changed for September, now I don't know if that's true..."

Here the changing place of Citizenship in the curriculum was linked to rumours that the new head teacher would be downplaying the role of Citizenship in the whole school. And these rumours were themselves linked to broader political speculation about the future of the subject under a Conservative Secretary of State for Education. Michael Gove had visited the school during the election campaign and had been asked about his views on Citizenship. Penny put her speculations about the head teacher in this context by insisting:

"The Conservatives admitted themselves that without Citizenship politics would not have been as popular or prominent and that it wouldn't have been as successful as it has been this year, umm but they're very, they're very driven by the classical subjects such as History and Geography and they think that the students need them..."

So for these two young teachers there was a sense of status anxiety operating at several levels. First, they did not feel their efforts were being recognised in the school. Teaching seven exam groups is certainly an unusually onerous task, and Penny felt this was not being recognised by colleagues, especially senior management. Second, Citizenship's identity was being lost, as the teaching was about to be subsumed into PSHE. Third, as the staff move into the Humanities faculty, there was resentment and distrust related to the fact that there were more specialist staff in the other Humanities subjects, whilst Citizenship remained a subject which was perceived not to require specialist staff. Fourth, there was a suspicion that the new head teacher would downplay the role of Citizenship in the whole school, and therefore marginalize the subject further. And finally, there was a fear that Citizenship would lose ground to other Humanities subjects under a new government.

By contrast, Chris, the Head of Department, struck a very different chord when she reflected on the journey of Citizenship within the school's curriculum. She felt that Citizenship had made the journey from lack of status to full acceptance:

"It just kind of snowballed, like I say, it was luck, it was hard work obviously at the time and it's doing something that was considered not to have a place in the curriculum, that was quite tricky professionally to

deal with, umm, and then of course came the more, you know, the better teaching and learning side and, you know, we had clear schemes of work, we had short-term, mid-term, long-term plans in place and we suddenly became like any other subject in the school, like any other foundation subject and we got accepted... In this school, I feel like we have a place like every other subject and I think we couldn't have said that four years ago and I think that's great."

For her then, Citizenship had already achieved a level of recognition and parity, which Penny and Katrina felt had yet to be achieved, and which was becoming unachievable.

In relation to the move to a Humanities faculty, Chris recognised this was not ideal but given the other structural changes, through which Citizenship had flourished, she felt it was not an insurmountable problem:

"What's interesting is that I think Citizenship has always been its own department it's kind of been one of the subjects that has literally moved around the faculties... because it's flexible but Penny and I, who lead on Citizenship, we work, we know what we're good at and that's what we do, and whilst we'll work within any old faculty we know, we stand by what we teach and we're quite, we're very proud of what we've done and I suppose we're very keen to make sure the work we have done doesn't get undone when changes are made. So for example at the minute the introduction of PSHE is becoming statutory in 2011 that puts us in a position where we have to share our curriculum time so for Penny and I it's about going, you know, this isn't the end of the world but how are we going to make sure we don't lose the impact that we have through having to teach PSHE? And I think it's survivable, you know it's, it's built its foundations and I think you know if it has a year where we have to share our time with PSHE, possibly RE, then I think we can survive that. I don't know if it's the best thing for the subject, I'd like to have seen it gather more momentum, but you've got to work within the restrictions that you have as a school."

Here then is a much more positive picture of the changes about to unfold in the school. Whereas the two younger teachers felt beleaguered by an array of negative developments, Chris was able to interpret these as just short term set-backs, and as further examples of how the changing curriculum context required Citizenship to adapt in order to survive and thrive. There was a definite sense in her responses that Citizenship had achieved parity with other subjects, and that this was embraced by (most) teachers and students, and therefore issues of faculty or curriculum structure were seen as less problematic.

Penny and Katrina's concerns echoed those in the wider literature about Citizenship. Katrina argued that the school should continue with discrete

Citizenship lessons and build up the assessment so that students could get a full GCSE, and Penny argued for greater recognition of subject specialist knowledge, or at least of teachers who are willing to invest time and effort to support citizenship education. These were the three main characteristics of effective citizenship education outlined in the final evaluation report discussed in chapter 4 (Keating et al., 2010) and they also resonate with earlier OfSTED reports, which argued for more discrete provision and higher status assessment (Ofsted, 2006). The reasons for this may well be related to Bernstein's analysis of curriculum codes (Bernstein, 1971a), which indicated that the status of subjects is related to the strength of their collection codes, i.e. the extent to which there are clear, shared expectations and markers of what constitutes the subject, including specialised knowledge, routines and staff. As we saw in chapter 1, Bernstein's analysis has been used on multiple occasions to analyse the fortunes of citizenship education, in relation to cross curricular themes in the early national curriculum (Whitty et al., 1994) and the more recent implementation of Citizenship as a subject (Adams & Calvert, 2005, Hayward & Jerome, 2010). This evidence would suggest that Penny and Katrina's concerns were well founded.

They were certainly real enough for them both to have left the school by the end of the academic year in which the interviews were conducted. Penny resigned in anger at the changes and then looked for another post; Katrina had already been offered a job in another school by the time the interviews took place. In addition, as we have noted, Chris was moving on into a wider senior role in the school, meaning the department was due to lose almost all of its subject specialists.

3. Young people

Three key themes emerged when these teachers talked about the young people they taught. First they discussed the students' maturation as they proceeded through secondary school, second they talked about the differences between individuals and groups and how they engaged with Citizenship and third they considered where the school was situated and the impact this had on the young people's experiences and outlook.

In relation to children's changing attitude towards Citizenship, the teachers emphasised slightly different dimensions. Katrina and Penny argued that the students became more engaged in Citizenship and increasingly independent as they went through the school. For Katrina this was exemplified in the school mock election, where younger students tended to vote for the Conservative Party, whilst older students tended to vote for the Liberal Democrats or Labour. When asked to explain this she speculated that,

"The younger a student is, the more influenced they are by their parents and this is a Tory seat, this constituency is blue through and through, therefore the students at this school, the younger students might have gone home and said, 'Oh, we're doing a mock election, who should I vote for?' whereas the year 10s and 11s who kind of are, they're more free thinking."

Chris shared this opinion and agreed that one of the ways young people demonstrated their independence was through supporting a different political party or policy from their parents.

For Katrina, this political maturation was reflected in the way students engaged with Citizenship classes too. She was confident in asserting that the older students were much more supportive of the subject than those in key stage 3:

"And I think that... what's unique about this school is that Citizenship, for the majority, for the most part of the year, the KS4 students, it's an important subject for them because they see it as a tool into kind of, you know, like voice their opinion, kind of being heard, being active in their community, all of those kind of things. It's an important subject to them, for them."

This sits slightly uneasily with Chris' responses when asked if there were any children who were more difficult to engage in Citizenship:

"The older ones are obviously a bit harder to reach, if you haven't got them early on it's quite difficult to get them later on and the older ones are more difficult as well in the sense that Citizenship slips down their list of priorities, like when they're young, like [years] 7, 8, 9, 10 it's really important to them, like, they love the subject, they get engaged in it and then suddenly it becomes all about academic achievement and they forget... they don't pick it up again, you know..."

Nevertheless, there was a sense in all the answers that older students were able to engage in different ways. Penny described the difference this made to her role in the classroom:

"By year 11 also most of them are challenging each other so you're kind of the observer and now and then you have to go 'OK we really need to

stop there because we need to move on'... obviously they have feelings and emotions that they want to discuss or opinions."

The examples Penny and Katrina shared about exceptional teaching moments were also drawn from their experiences with the older students. Penny discussed Mark, a year 11 boy, who had established his own charity, with Penny and Chris as trustees, and which had already started providing part time youth work in the area and was currently bidding for a full time youth worker and a dedicated building.

"He is so excited about it the whole time and it's really good to see how he's come out of his shell. He's not the brightest kid in the class but he's showed such commitment and dedication that he's already found a route in life where he wants to go and loves Citizenship."

Here one can see the connections between Citizenship in school and the desire to enable young people to become active members of their community. In doing so, both Penny and Chris have been willing to go beyond the remit of teacher and take on the responsibilities of trustees for Mark's charity.

Katrina gave an example more rooted in the classroom, but still linked to the potential of Citizenship to be transformational in some way. In a lesson on international aid, some girls raised the issue of immigration, and expressed their opinion that people should go back to their own countries if they were not happy in the UK. A rather quiet and shy boy intervened:

"He put his hand up and he said 'it's attitudes like this that started the holocaust movement, it's people, individuals with views like this that started the mass genocide of a whole race of people' and it was, it was so, it was like a goose pimple kind of a moment, he doesn't say boo to a goose this boy and he is very, very conservative... And these girls you know are loud as you can get and he put his hand up and students in the class, you know they started clapping and they were so excited. He said this is what is wrong with our country today because you don't see the bigger picture and he kind of, he started to get on his soapbox a bit, but I didn't want to say what he had to say I wanted to see how many of the students would sit by and just listen to what was going on because that is more worrying for me, the students that kind of think this is OK, yeh I agree with her, as opposed to saying something and he did say something and I was so proud at that moment. It's not to do with me, you know obviously that's his parents, but you know it was such a goose pimple moment... I'll never forget that moment because it's so true."

Katrina's goose pimple moment was linked to the fact that the boy spoke up against strongly expressed dominant positions (the "loud" girls) and in many ways the boy's action is an archetypal act of citizenship (Isin & Nielsen, 2008). It is

telling that in the same interview Katrina reflected on Niemoller's famous poem, which she has taught in her History class:

"First they came for the communists and I did not speak out because I was not a communist.

Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak out because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew.

Finally, they came for me and there was no one left to speak out"

(Quoted in Ishay, 2008: 217).

It reflects perhaps how we weave together stories about ourselves and our practice, that the boy is described in terms that resonate with the powerful message Katrina had been teaching through Niemoller's poem. However, the "goose pimple moment" is one that appeals to the ideal Citizenship moment, as it implies a breakthrough, a moment of real engagement with an individual – education as transformation rather than simply remembering or understanding. On her presentation, the breakthrough is significant not simply because someone questioned the easy anti-immigration views of one of the girls in the class, but because it represented a more profound discovery of a voice and a confidence to use it, and a refusal to be cowed by the vocal, dominant group.

All three teachers drew on stories about individual students to justify their enthusiasm for the subject, and in doing so they relied on a contrasting group of students. This is just the other side of coin – once one draws attention to the outstanding individuals, one makes certain intimations about the crowd from whom they stand out. Whilst in the extracts discussed above there was a positive sense that most students supported Citizenship in the school, there was also a shared discourse between these teachers about the challenge of teaching these particular children, and that was largely related to their characterisation of Oakton as a place to grow up.

Chris drew a distinction between students who had travelled abroad and those who had not, and she characterised the latter group as being impoverished by their lack of broader experience. She appeared to see Citizenship as a subject where she could, to some extent, address that gap in their experience and educate them to have a wider perspective. The following extracts draw on this central theme:

“I think, you know, if you’ve got a child who spends a lot of their time travelling with their parents they kind of have a citizenship type education through travelling... but then if you’ve got children who never leave the village in which they live it’s nice to teach them about the big wide world... and it’s the ones that don’t [travel] who kind of never look outside of where they live, they’ve got no perspective in life about where their role is and how lucky, whatever, they are...”

On this reading then, Citizenship is a partial antidote to the parochialism of living in Oakton. A ‘citizenship type education’ implies a level of global awareness and an ability to appreciate one’s own position in a world marked by inequality and diversity.

Citizenship is also required to make up for another source of ignorance:

“There are other children who, you know, I suppose the hardest to reach are the young people who have fixed views and whose parents have fixed views and there is a fear I suppose from their side of change and embracing multiculturalism and anything different in life, they’re the harder children to reach.”

Whilst the initial reference is to “fixed views” as the problem, it is apparent that it is the *views* rather than their *fixedness* which are deemed to be problematic. Hence multiculturalism, change and anything different are conflated here as being rejected by some young people (partly because of their parents), and this was linked to some extent to the nature of Oakton, where one does not encounter significant diversity. Whilst these children may well present a challenge, there is also an opportunity for Citizenship to function as an ameliorative intervention. Chris acknowledged that for some students (those with parents who take them abroad and who talk to them about the news round the dinner table) there may be less justification for citizenship education, but for those who do not have these advantages, Citizenship lessons can go some way to compensating for the perceived deficit.

Katrina and Penny referred to this parochialism as living inside a “bubble” and saw one of their main teaching tasks as improving the students’ “understanding about what goes on outside of this bubble.” Penny pointed out:

“It’s called a valley for a reason, it’s a very small town [K laughs]... they have arguments between who lives up on the hill and who doesn’t.”

And Katrina continued:

“And Cranmore²⁹ is like, ‘Oh my god, it’s like hell, it’s the worst place you could go to’, that’s as diverse as it gets, and, ‘we can’t go to Cranmore,’ and for me, I’m like, Cranmore? What are you talking about? But that is as diverse as it gets for them and it’s a bad area and it’s really rough... A lot of them are from like kind of middle to... [P middle class] middle classes or like, upper working class kind of, that kind of bracket where their, their kind of understanding of, you know, what deprivation is and what poverty in the UK is about is very, very, very, very kind, kind of [P slim] slim and narrow.”

Here one gets the distinct impression that these children are being positioned very differently from their teachers. Katrina was bemused by the intense localism in Oakton. There was a clear divide between herself and her experiences of Cranmore, and her students, who were caricatured as being afraid of the urban, multicultural suburb on their doorstep.

In chapter 1 I discussed research about the ways in which teachers construct their own political views about Citizenship and bring these ideas to bear on their practice, and the views discussed here seem to illustrate some strong teacher perceptions being brought to bear on conceptualising Citizenship in Oak Park. In chapter 4, I noted Mead’s research (2010) in which he argued that OfSTED have adopted different agendas for Citizenship, depending on the nature of the schools being inspected. Those schools with poor results and struggling with poor pupil behaviour received reports which tended to discuss Citizenship as a mechanism for regulating behaviour and promoting better relationships in the school; whilst those schools with higher grades tended to receive more general comments about Citizenship provision. This implies that education professionals (teachers and inspectors) interpret Citizenship in specific ways in response to their interpretation of the school context. Whilst Mead noted this could be linked to measures of school effectiveness (which are often aligned with socio-economic status); it is also possible to interpret the teachers in Oak Park as having identified parochialism as a problem in this school, and then formulating Citizenship as an educational response. Whatever the nature of the flaw to be corrected, the significant observation seems to be that Citizenship may be being used to address perceived social problems in the school. This in turn reflects a broader dimension in New Labour’s citizenship policy (see chapter 2) relating to what has been called

²⁹ Cranmore is a fictional name for the nearby outer London suburb, which is two rail stops from Oakton. It has a BME population of 40%, and whilst it feels very urban compared to Oakton, it has lower rates of unemployment, poverty and crime than the London average.

the 'responsibilization' or 're-moralization' agenda (Manley Scott et al., 2009). It also indicates one significant reason why we might expect Citizenship to vary between schools.

4. Parents

The discussion above has already made allusions to the ways in which the Citizenship teachers at the school perceived the parents. In Katrina's account of the students' political maturation, one measure of success was that the children departed from their parents politics, although she also recognised that, in the example of a boy standing up against prejudice, parents could also provide a moral compass for their children – she attributed his actions to his parents rather than her teaching.

For Penny parents were there (as are friends) to be questioned as one becomes more politically mature. She also discussed them as a source of transport for the children who were otherwise trapped in Oakton because of the poor bus service.

In her conversations about children Chris initially divided parents into two broad categories: they were either the source of valuable citizenship educational experiences (conversations round the table and travel); or the source of fixed opinions, which are antithetical to the inclusive multiculturalism being promoted by the school. But, chiming with the optimistic interpretation discussed above in relation to her colleagues, Chris also believed that even these parents could be converted to value citizenship education. She explained that she and the other Citizenship teachers always spent a few minutes explaining Citizenship to parents at open evening and,

“actually what we get from that is a very positive response and we get an awful lot of, I wish I'd been taught that at school, this is a really exciting subject, and what often happens is that we get, say, students from year 9 whose parents come to see us and they'll say things like, we really love Citizenship, you know ever since they've been doing Citizenship we have to watch the news and we always have a debate at the dinner table so I think parents are seeing you know a positive side to it.”

Chris perceived the requirement for students to discuss Citizenship in school as having a ripple effect into their homes, thus at least some of the parents who may not have given their children these valuable experiences, may be drawn into doing

so. Whilst acknowledging that Citizenship “doesn’t matter” to some parents who are only interested in the core subjects, she also said that she thought it would eventually just “become part of the world we live in” and that she could help to bring this change about by explaining the subject and encouraging parents to get involved.

Whilst parents were characterised by teachers alternatively as sources of educational support, and potentially as obstacles to citizenship education, they were wholly missing as active partners. This omission is underlined by Vincent and Martin’s account of how parents have been involved systematically in education as partners elsewhere (Vincent & Martin, 2005). Whilst Chris mentioned the Parent Staff Association, and spoke about her conversations with parents, none of the teachers interviewed talked about parents being involved in citizenship education in a more systematic way. This is perhaps even more surprising given that Chris talked consistently about the school’s identity as a community school.

5. Community and diversity

When discussing the students, Oakton was seen as a limiting factor, but all three teachers also spoke positively about ‘the community’ and the relationships between it and the school. Because of her role in senior management, and the length of time she had spent in the school Chris had the most to say about the connections between the school and community. In reflecting specifically on community connections, Chris claimed the small size of Oakton and the school were beneficial, in that she could “organise lots of active projects without it getting out of hand.”

“I think a community school has been evolving for the last four or five years, what’s interesting is that it’s not a government initiative that we’ve suddenly had to take on I think we have been building up to this through the work we have been doing in Citizenship and I think we pride ourselves on being at the heart of the Oakton community and I think people [staff]... believe in the work that I do and the Citizenship team do.”

When the focus was on the community, as opposed to the individual students and their parents, Chris adopted a slightly different emphasis. When discussing students’ experiences, she stressed the role of Citizenship in providing vicarious enriching experiences to teach about “the big wide world”. But when asked to reflect on the community in relation to Citizenship she spoke about the value of

local connections and opportunities, and actually denigrated, to some extent, the global perspective:

“And I suppose having a good relationship with the local community, the local police, means that we are more likely to tackle issues that affect young people from a sort of a multi-agency approach I suppose. But I also think that it’s important that, as much as we can, we get the kids out, and that the local community come in, and that where possible we use local data... It’s very tempting to go national or global on it and I think as much as you can you need to keep it as, you need to keep it as local as you can, because then it’s real to them you know. Like we get kids involved in carnivals and you know setting up stalls and getting them active.”

In her interview Chris did not resolve the tension between these two different sets of ideas. In theory there is an approach, advocated by the development movement’s mantra of ‘think global, act local’ which resolves these ideas, or at least connects the tensions within one world-view, but Chris did not explicitly connect these two approaches, and instead she alternated between advocating Citizenship as a celebration of community connections, and as the aspiration to move beyond parochialism.

In this we can observe some of the tensions discussed in chapter 2 in relation to broader policy developments. As McGhee (2005, 2008) points out the government simultaneously sought to value the strong communities which act as communities of identity, whilst also developing concerns that such communities act to exclude others. Thus the government alternated between policies which sought to strengthen communities, and those which sought to build bridges between different communities. These approaches clearly existed in tension with one another – a tension McGhee described as leading to a desire for a form of *cosmopolitanization*, in which strong communities of identity also embraced diversity and tolerance as core constituent values. This issue might be seen to arise from within the communitarian roots of some of New Labour’s thinking on community policy, as there is an unresolved issue about the nature of the community to be embraced in such a philosophy (Kymlicka, 2002). Given the primacy of the ideal of ‘community’, it is significant that the level of analysis remains somewhat contested (Annette, 2008), and so references to community can be interpreted as neighbourhood, nation or political arena. In chapter 3 we saw how these tensions were unresolved at the policy level and remained the subject of controversial debate among academics. Chris’ interview reflects these same

tensions and indicates that rather than being resolved at the local level, they may simply continue unabated and thus lead to potentially contradictory impulses in schools.

Her account of how the school's success was achieved was very much focused on small scale change at the local level. An example of participation she returned to several times (both in the interview and in other conversations) was her recollection of a painting project:

"The first thing I ever did was allowed a group of year 11s to paint my classroom and it suddenly just changed, they painted these flags on the ceiling and, everybody that then entered into my room, it was quite interesting that the year 11s had painted it, and why had they painted it, part of their active citizenship project, we want to do that Miss, that sounds really... and it just kind of snowballed."

This incident was clearly significant to Chris, and it seems likely that this accounted for the fact that the Student Voice policy (discussed above) referred to the colour of paint in the corridors as a 'major decision'. In this way, Chris saw herself as not just building connections between the school and the Oakton community, but also contributing to a sense of community within the school.

"It started off in engaging people in taking action and engaging them in charity work and, and what that did at the time was it worked alongside where the school was at, at the time, alongside, you know, having a new head teacher coming in, and it didn't work because I made it work, it worked because the timing, everything fit nicely together and the young people were looking for a sense of identity and belonging and their place in this school, and what their role was and what I offered them was something a little bit exciting and enriching and they all jumped on the bandwagon and it fell from there really."

Katrina had a different emphasis, for her the main issue the school needed to address was not related to the students' sense of identity, rather it was about how they perceived others.

"Going back to the key concepts of Citizenship, I think in this school the understanding of not necessarily identity, but diversity in this school, I think is a major issue because that kind of understanding of the fact that not all immigrants that come to this country [P- yeh] are illegal immigrants... it's impossible if you are a member of the EU [laughs] you know, to be an illegal immigrant because your, you... it's kind of that understanding of diversity that a lot of the students here kind of don't understand."

This is one of several points in the joint interview where Katrina raised issues related to ethnicity and racism. However, on several occasions Penny's reaction

was to de-racialize the nature of the observation, for example, here Katrina was clearly opening up the distinction between EU citizenship and free movement in the context of the debate about immigration and the xenophobia she felt was often present in her classroom (“we always have discussions about immigration in my lessons, we always come back to immigration”), but Penny’s next comment reverted to an easier more comfortable criticism of the children’s parochialism:

“Even accents, I mean, Gemma [a student teacher] came to our school and she kind of had like a London accent and they couldn’t get their head round it at all, they’d be like, they’d copy what she said, and I said, that’s how the kids speak where I come from, I said, you know, they drop their T’s, we’ll do that next year, we’ll catch up with the pace, with the kids [laughs]... sorry...”

They both drew on a range of examples from their teaching to illustrate the work they undertook in relation to diversity, including lessons about the lived experiences of British Muslims to tackle Islamophobia, and watching Hotel Rwanda to teach about conflict, the UN and human rights. This latter example was used to encourage the students to appreciate how conflicts may make it impossible for people to stay where they are, and to try to develop empathy for people who have to claim refugee status or who decide to migrate elsewhere. In trying to explain how she tackled this, Katrina expressed the difficulty she felt:

“I try not to suppress any of their opinions, I try to challenge, I don’t always challenge, I then ask a question to the rest of the class, what do you think of this opinion, do you think this is always the case what are other cases I try to umm challenge [P develop thinking] develop, yeh, I try to challenge... that one... that I can see, that I think is quite narrow minded or really, you know, quite negative views of the world around them, I’ll try and challenge it, but umm, what is it, you know, we’ve got time constraints, there are always things... I try not to, I really, really try not to umm get too much involved... some things are quite extreme in terms of their views and you try and challenge, try to get them to re-think, think about what they’re actually saying, do they actually mean what’s just come out of their mouth or are they, they haven’t through it through properly.”

This is one of the least coherent sections of her interview, and the uncompleted phrases indicate a lack of certainty, which presumably stems from a lack of clarity about how to tackle this in the classroom. It appears that Katrina felt that suppressing students’ opinions would not be appropriate, and so she is left to challenge opinions, but this is then qualified and applied only to extreme views. This gives some idea of the difficulties involved for a young, inexperienced teacher

trying to open up these issues and, having opened them up in the classroom, trying to bring them to some purposeful resolution.

These teachers' understanding of the local community and their account of diversity also touched on issues of class and socio-economic status. Katrina pointed out that the school's lack of diversity included socio-economic status as well as ethnicity, and Penny reflected on this in relation to the minority of students who did not share in the general affluence of the local area:

"And those students who do have that deprivation, you don't tend to, they don't tend to discuss it because they've got their own issues... and also they don't want to share because the rest of them either come from big houses or..."

Here the students from poorer families were presented as somehow cowed by their poverty and unable to articulate their experience. But Penny went on to argue that this was partly also due to a general lack of awareness of class:

"And there isn't that understanding, when we were children there was that understanding there was working class, there was middle class, there was upper class, there was all of that and there hasn't been obviously the Labour government they're more about being equal, and so obviously that's pushed it out, but when they watch East Is East they have no idea about social class and stuff like that, and something that's really obvious to us."

This theme, reflecting on students' general ignorance in relation to class, was also echoed in Katrina's comments:

"The students in this school particularly they kind of don't get that some people actually don't have any money at all, why can't they just go and buy some new shoes or some new clothes, they don't get that actually some people can't because you know there is no money, there is no money, it's that kind of, the... free school meals in this school is less than 10%, or less than, I don't know what the, I don't know the percentage at all, but it's it's very small in proportion to schools that are just in the direction of London."³⁰

These comments are also interesting in that the children were described once again as limited by their own experiences. They lack the ability to understand the nature of diversity, partly because their school is generally homogenous, and

³⁰ This latter section is interesting because it betrays the fact that Katrina has a definite view of the school and its socio-economic profile, but she acknowledges that this is not rooted in factual knowledge. Her lack of knowledge about the actual proportion of students in receipt of free school meals does not interfere with her ability to make an argument about the students' families. In fact, the 2007 OfSTED report for the school indicates that the proportion of students eligible for free school meals is only just below the national average, although of course this is likely to be considerably lower than the outer London boroughs with which Katrina draws the comparison.

partly because they lack the critical understanding required to put their own experiences in the broader context of Britain as a whole.

Given the emphasis in the school policies on the need to dispel ignorance about diversity and teach to support inclusion, it seemed reasonable to ask to what extent the teachers tackled these areas of ignorance in their teaching. In the conversation with Katrina and Penny, they agreed that class was not explicitly taught at all in the Citizenship curriculum:

“I think it’s more implicit [P yeh], I always try and refer back to it... implicitly, but it’s not explicit in, this is... this is what real poverty, you know is like, or this is a diverse, diverse... you know what I’m saying?”

This is important because in the preceding comments these two teachers had generally agreed that the students’ understanding of class (and diversity in general) was limited, and Penny argued that the minority of students from poorer families felt alienated because of their socio-economic status. This would seem to be a legitimate area for teaching then, both to address the lack of knowledge, and to attempt to build a more inclusive ethos. The Ajegbo Review argued that many teachers taught about diversity (largely religious and ethnic diversity) but often failed to engage with the lived experience of diversity. In this example, there seems to be a lack of attention paid to both the knowledge dimension, and to the lived experiences of students and others.

After Chris had raised issues relating to identity and multiculturalism, I asked her about the extent to which this area was covered in citizenship education. Her answer reflected the approach adopted above in relation to class:

“Well I mean, I suppose I’d like to think that through the teaching and learning it umm it embeds those sort of core skills of tolerance and of, umm, of understanding of open-mindedness, and I don’t think it necessarily directly deals with those issues but I think for education if people make informed choices then so be it, but I think when informed choices aren’t made that’s when assumptions... are made, am I making myself sort of... [interviewer clears throat, well...] I’m just saying I don’t think it directly deals with, I think it’s too, it’s a very difficult subject to directly deal with but I think through the skills, learning Citizenship through the type of education that you’re giving, the using the right material umm you’re building up understanding and like I say tolerance, yeh... [interviewer umm, do you...] from a non personal umm, I think with young people you’ve got to be careful to, to whilst making it a real situation, taking it away from them as well and giving them some more global issues to look at, and allowing them to have that

understanding of tolerance and blah blah blah, and then using those skills to reflect maybe on more local situations or...”

Chris was struggling in this answer to articulate her response, and her lack of confidence is evident in the pauses, the way she asks if she is making sense, and in the use of phrase ‘blah, blah, blah’ which indicates that she feels perhaps she is reverting to clichés or listing meaningless phrases. In fact, her answer clarified to some extent the assumptions underpinning the school’s policy statements about the role of teaching in this regard – Citizenship was seen to be valuable not because it tackled the issues directly, but because it built a general outlook, and a set of skills for critically thinking about social issues, which if successfully taught, could be applied to specific situations, such as those relating to diversity. In fact this is more or less the approach supported by Bernard Crick (as discussed in chapter 3) who encouraged teachers to avoid “full frontal” assaults on racism, and to see citizenship education in the round, as having the capacity to “to cure the disease as a denial of free and equal citizenship, not constantly to battle with the symptoms” of racism (Crick, 2000a: 132).

However in adopting this approach it is equally clear that the school’s Citizenship provision fell short of the Ajebo Review’s recommendations that teachers should pay attention to the lived experience of diversity in the UK. These teacher interviews indicate that the tensions in policy and academic circles about the relationship between Citizenship and community cohesion (discussed in chapter 3) are also reflected in the classroom. Earlier in this chapter I argued that teachers appeared to have identified social problems and then interpreted Citizenship as a means to correct the problems. In the discussion above it appears that the teachers had identified some specific issues relating to socio-economic status and other forms of inequality as areas for Citizenship to address, but they appeared to be reticent to follow this diagnosis through and to use Citizenship to tackle the issues head on. Their reticence seems all the more remarkable when one considers the views of the students themselves (discussed in the next chapter) who seem quite keen for Citizenship to engage with some of the issues more directly.

6. Active citizenship

I asked Chris to reflect on how her understanding of Citizenship had developed since the subject's introduction, and the active dimension emerged very strongly in her response:

"Initially my understanding was probably very, very small... I think, obviously it was to try and make people, in my understanding at the time, was to try and make people good citizens, engage them in their community and you know I suppose raise, you know, political apathy, to try and get people, literally, engaged more and to give them a level of education that allows them to do that."

When she discussed how her thinking had developed over the years, Chris argued that she had come to appreciate the broader agenda for citizenship education:

"It was bigger than that, it's not just about knowledge is it? It's about giving them an experience and I think initially what came across was this is what they've got to learn and I think it takes... when you've got a subject like Citizenship it's actually very different from lots of subjects in the sense that it's very active. And I think initially it was another subject with another load of knowledge that we've got to teach and over time I think what's become really clear is that it's not just the teaching and learning, it's all the other things that go along side it."

As with the discussion of diversity above, this answer also reflects the tensions within Citizenship policy, which have been discussed in earlier chapters, both in relation to the nature of active citizenship (chapter 2), and in relation to the nature of the school subject (chapter 3). Chris described the tensions between knowledge and action and implied that, as she has become more familiar with the subject, and become more confident in leading Citizenship in school, she has developed the active dimension. In this it appears active citizenship is different to identity diversity in that Chris felt she had moved to a resolution – she wanted to promote a more active model of citizenship rather than a narrower knowledge based model.

Chris's earlier significant experiences were often apolitical and related to student voice, for example painting the classroom. When asked about the kinds of experiences she planned into the curriculum, Chris offered a much richer variety of experiential learning opportunities, including:

"kids forming a pressure group on something and you know trying to campaign for change... kids forming a trade union and we give them fake scenarios and they get together and they campaign, umm, we do... voting, we have writing to MPS, we have... lots of different bits and pieces going on."

These opportunities were planned into schemes of work, and most of these half termly plans ended in some form of active application of the learning. Inevitably,

many of these involved writing in class, but this demonstrates the ways in which teachers have to work within the constraints of the school curriculum.

Teachers were also willing to work beyond the curriculum in a variety of ways. All three members of staff mentioned a student led project to establish a local youth club. Here Penny described what happened:

“I have a student in year 11 who is one of the founding members of a charity... and they are a youth group created by youths, individuals, all young people, and myself and Chris have become a trustee... He’s showed such commitment and dedication that he’s already found a route in life where he wants to go and loves Citizenship... so that’s always good...”

This was clearly a significant undertaking for all involved, and whilst the impetus for the action came from the student, the teachers’ agreement to undertake the legal role of trustees was also necessary as part of the formalisation of the project into a charity. Chris explained that the student had secured local authority funding for a part-time youth worker and negotiated access to an existing building, but was lobbying now for a full-time youth worker and dedicated building for this local provision. Whilst such projects are unlikely to characterise the formal Citizenship provision, it is noteworthy that the student had felt able to engage with the activity, and that the teachers had been prepared to invest the time and additional effort outside of their formal roles to support this programme. This illustrates that the commitment to active citizenship runs across a broad spectrum of activities, from minimal classroom engagement (writing letters, role plays etc) to significant opportunities to influence the community in enduring ways.

This spectrum of activities in the school also included other forms of participation, and Chris saw participation in broad terms:

“I think we are lucky in that we have active community members who like to engage in Citizenship – we are the only department in the school who has its governor regularly coming in and talking to the kids. And through external, through other agencies we manage to bridge the gap between the school being a separate entity in comparison to the local community so for example the youth service, allowing them in means they meet their remit and we get that kind of, the gap minimised between what goes on outside of school and inside school. Getting kids engaged and stuff... But I also think that it’s important that, as much as we can, we get the kids out, and that the local community come in.”

Whilst some of the activities Chris outlined in her interview were explicitly political, for example trips to parliament and meetings with the local MP, she

located these within a broader concept of constructive engagement with community activities, so that setting up stalls for the local carnival, investigating local statistics, discussing crime with police officers, engaging with youth workers, participating in simulations of political activity, and engaging in real campaigning are all cited as examples of active citizenship. This is perhaps a much more communitarian concept of citizenship than the narrower 'political' engagement advocated by Crick, and the overlap between active citizenship and discussion of the community, community links, and the school as a community school were important in defining the agenda for Chris.

7. Rights and responsibilities

Although rights and responsibilities have been identified as one of the key discourses relating to the formulation of citizenship education policy at government level, and in the national curriculum, this was relatively marginal in the interviews. Those references which emerged were largely related to responsibilities, rather than rights, which is not uncommon among teachers (Howe & Covell, 2010). The formal language of schools, particularly in relation to behaviour policies, often favours talk of responsibilities, and the development of individual responsibility is clearly a key theme given that educational success is often attributed to individuals taking responsibility for themselves. Katrina introduced the theme in her interview:

“...what is your responsibility as a citizen of the UK, or what is your responsibility as a citizen of Oakton, or of the school in terms of you need to, if you're not part of the problem then you're part of the solution (sic). I teach history about the Holocaust at the moment and there's a fantastic poem³¹ that was written at that time umm, about, like if you don't stand up for the trade unionist you don't... I'm not sure, I can't remember the poem off the top of my head or who wrote it, however the students can then, they, they're bringing Citizenship in there because they're like... if you are not part of the solution then maybe you are part of the problem and being a bystander, linking it back to bullying, persecution, prejudice, all of those kind of things...”

Katrina's statement focuses on responsibility, and particularly on the individual's moral responsibility for their actions (or inaction) in society.

Because the topic failed to arise spontaneously in the joint interview with Penny and Katrina, in my interview with Chris I asked her about rights and

³¹ This is the Niemoller poem, reproduced above.

responsibilities more directly. Her initial response echoed the line developed above in relation to teaching about diversity:

“I think rights and responsibilities underpins a lot of the work we do rather than we teach it explicitly, we teach it through everything.”

Chris then turned to specifics and, like Katrina, focused on responsibilities:

“As a school we have, you know active student voice, we have active student leadership, you know we have kids engaging in level 1 youth work. We are definitely at a stage where we are getting young people to take responsibility, not just for their school but for their local community and for what happens with young people in the local community umm, and that’s a time thing, it’s nothing I could specifically say we did this and that changed that it was just over time they feel that they can take on responsibility, they have a positive impact.”

I returned to the question again and phrased it more specifically, asking Chris to explain to me what she hoped students would understand in relation to their rights and responsibilities by the time they left the school.

“Well, I think definitely to know their rights in every sense of the word, umm, it’s diff..., umm without listing ideas I think it’s quite difficult to, you know I’d like them to know their rights in the law, I’d like them to know their rights in politics, you know and in terms of their responsibilities I’d like them to leave with a sense of an understanding that, you know, rights come alongside responsibilities and that they have a role to play in the world in which we live and from the very small scale from having a responsibility in the family to having a responsibility to the world.”

Whilst there was a greater awareness of the specific rights young people have in this answer, there was a quick return to the responsibilities agenda, which in turn moved quickly from the specific to the general. As we have seen with several other themes in this chapter, this notion of young people growing into adult responsibilities also reflects the model of the ‘good citizen’ about which Crick was so disparaging (2000a: 98).

8. Teaching and learning

Many of the comments discussed above relate to the teachers’ understanding of teaching and learning in Citizenship. All three teachers were optimistic about the potential of citizenship education to make a difference, as Chris put it, Citizenship holds out the possibility of:

“Getting people engaged in the world in which they live and a part of it and being positive... I like engaging kids in politics and helping to potentially shape the future of the country just by educating young people.”

There was a clear belief that this could be achieved through a combination of classroom activities and whole school (and beyond school) activities promoted by the teachers. Whilst, as we have noted above, some of the important issues were left for 'implicit' coverage, there was also a commitment to use Citizenship classes to engage directly in some controversial issues. The teachers all reported drawing on a range of local, national and international case studies to stimulate discussion about conflict and rights and responsibilities. The point of these discussions was summarised by Chris who argued:

"I just think that Citizenship deals with a lot of issues where if you don't deal with them in the classroom, umm assumptions grow, myths grow and then they're too old to get rid of those."

There was a sense in all of these interviews that school represents an opportunity to engage children in conversations that they might not ordinarily have, and to develop greater sophistication in their understanding of difficult political and ethical problems. There was also a clear expectation, as was evident in the responses discussed in relation to community and active citizenship, that this enhanced understanding should lead to a propensity to action.

The two younger teachers talked about the challenges posed by discussing these ethical dilemmas in class. They felt a tension between the desire to open up difficult issues for discussion and the subsequent pressure on them to maintain order and a respectful ethos in the classroom. It was evident though that they were aiming for a self-regulating classroom, and they felt that as students got older, they came to play a part in resolving these tensions. One suspects that part of this argument's appeal is that it provides a resolution to the problems for Penny and Katrina which is congruent with their overall faith in participation. If the answer to the problem of student participation is that the students regulate themselves, the tension therefore is ultimately resolved by the young people's own responsible participation. It seems unlikely that this self-regulation could replace the occasional need for teachers to intervene and to 'manage' the discussion to some extent, but it is important to note how the teachers sought a resolution which retained the central tenets of participation intact.

The strength of that faith is evident in Chris's statement on the matter:

"I'm a true utter believer that raising participation levels will raise attainment, because I think if people have any kind of emotional

responsibility to their school, to their teacher, then I think you've got a child who wants to please, who wants to do well for themselves, for other people, I also think you've got... citizenship."

Here one can perceive a strong communitarian ethos binding together the disparate elements. Participation was not just perceived as an end in itself (although elsewhere Chris argued that it should be valued in and of itself), it is also useful because the participation created a sense of responsibility to others. In social capital terms, this might be seen as promoting bonding social capital, creating stronger connections between people (Gamarnikow & Green, 2000). This is expressed partly through the young person coming to understand that others have expectations of them, and so they want to succeed both for their own fulfilment but also because they want to fulfil others' expectations. This constitutes a fairly complex model of how Citizenship might support broader educational goals, and also resolves any tensions that might arise on other readings of Citizenship, for example, some might assume that greater Citizenship expectations may generate more opportunity for conflict between groups of students and between students and teachers. On Chris's reading, the various elements hang together through a harmonious set of connections.

Conclusions

These interviews illustrate the complex ways in which these three teachers have constructed their own understanding of Citizenship. In some important ways they resonate with aspects of the political agenda which informed the development of the Citizenship curriculum. But these teachers also espouse views which are at odds with some aspects of the official model. Broadly speaking one can discern a general tendency towards a communitarian model of citizenship, and there is a significant focus in this school on developing Citizenship as part of a broader project in which the school aspires to be a community school, which implies internal developments to ensure a sense of community within the school, and a closer set of links between the school and other institutions, agencies and individuals outside. Whilst this falls short of the civic republican model, it does connect with other aspects of the model presented in the Crick Report, which adopted a rather general philosophical stance on the nature of citizenship, as opposed to a detailed engagement with the inequalities which shape citizens' lives. In Oak Park School, there is a tendency to treat 'the community' as a rather

homogenous entity, whilst the other aspect of this discourse – diversity – is often left implicit. The teachers are able to articulate some strong views about the students' experience and understanding of diversity, but they are less likely to either explicitly engage with this as the main content of a lesson, and they also often demonstrate a lack of confidence about how to deal with it when these issues arise within the class.

In relation to rights and responsibilities, whilst policy makers would be pleased with the general tendency to focus on responsibilities, they might be less impressed by the fact that Citizenship does not appear to be informed by a particularly clear conceptual model of the nature of those responsibilities, nor of the link between rights and responsibilities. In many ways the views of these Citizenship subject specialists do not appear to be significantly different to those generally espoused by teachers, where it is not uncommon to find a rather vague concern with the broad concept of one's moral responsibilities towards others (Howe & Covell, 2010).

Finally, in relation to active citizenship and participation, the school does appear to offer an impressive variety of opportunities for young people to get involved. As with the broad approach to community, these activities seem to be more aligned with a communitarian model than with the more focused civic republican model favoured by Crick. Participation seems to be valued more because of the connections it achieves between individuals, and between them and the community, than for its contribution to political literacy. Hence, starting a youth centre and painting a classroom appear as archetypal examples of valuable activities. Although the teachers also cite other examples of activities, which are more overtly political, there appears to be no imperative to enhance or interrogate these other non-political experiences, to turn them into political literacy learning opportunities.

The account presented in this chapter illustrates the ways in which official policy has been received and actively re-interpreted and enacted within the school. Through the simple fact that some policy documents have not been updated in the light of the Ajegbo Review and the subsequent revisions of the national curriculum,

this process demonstrates a time lag, or even what Trowler referred to as a 'lossiness' inherent in the policy process (Trowler, 2003). In this way potentially significant policy developments may simply fail to have an impact on schools. The struggle for status and curriculum identity also demonstrates the structural constraints which have an impact on the implementation of curriculum policy. The detailed account of teachers' sense of the subject, and what they do in the name of the subject also reveals that there is still significant agency for these individual teachers to shape the subject, through the messages they convey through Citizenship, the opportunities provided for the students and the content which is included or excluded. The next chapter considers the students' experiences of the subject, and in turning to how the subject has been experienced by young people, we can examine the extent to which these teachers' views have had an impact. We can now say something about what teachers think they are doing, but the next question is what impact does this have on the students?

Chapter 7

Student Perspectives

In this chapter I turn to the data collected from the students at Oak Park School. I worked with a group of student researchers, who had been approached by Chris, the head of department, and who had agreed to work with me. In this chapter they are referred to as Mary, Amelia, Tony, Robert, Shelley, John and Claire. Their role was both as a focus group, and as co-researchers. The research schedule for this aspect of the data collection was outlined at the end of chapter 5. In the following discussion I present some of the themes to emerge from the data.

1. Teachers
2. Topics
3. Justifications for Citizenship
4. Rights and responsibilities
5. Active citizenship
6. Community and diversity

For the sake of simplicity, in the references below, I have referred to teachers by an initial, and for ease of comparison, the teachers referred to in the previous chapter by first name are referred to by their initial, hence Mrs C is Chris, the head of department, Miss P is Penny and Miss K is Katrina, both trained as Citizenship teachers, although they also teach outside of the subject. Miss D and Miss H are not Citizenship specialist teachers and both declined the invitation to participate in the research directly.

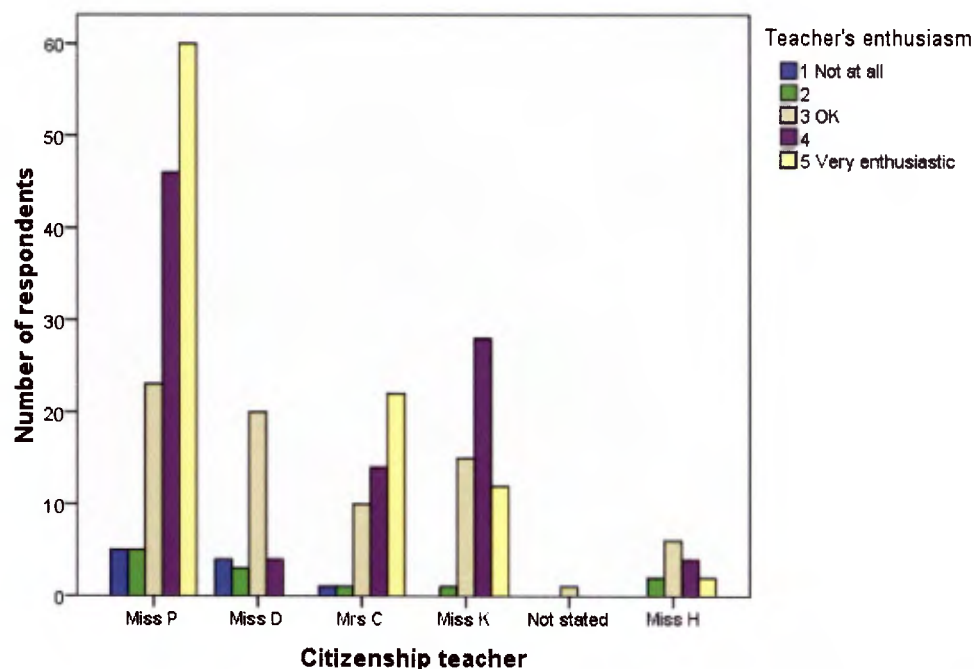
1. Teachers

As with the pilot one of the first issues to emerge was the importance of the teacher with whom students associated the subject. This was vividly illustrated when I asked Robert in one of the student meetings what came to mind when he thought of Citizenship and he answered, "When I think of citizenship education I think of Mrs C and world peace for some reason..." Subsequent discussion about what made some teachers better than others identified their level of enthusiasm for the subject and so in the questionnaires students were asked, "How enthusiastic would you say your Citizenship teacher is about the subject?" Figure 1 demonstrates the strong connection between the students' perception of teacher

enthusiasm and the specialism of the teacher. The graph shows that the three specialist teachers are perceived by students to be more enthusiastic than the non specialist teachers. Students were asked to rate their teacher's level of enthusiasm on a scale of 1-5, with 3 representing a fairly neutral 'OK' and 4 and 5 being positive. Miss P, whose timetable is largely made up of Citizenship teaching, and Mrs C who runs the Citizenship department, were rated 4 or 5 by 76% and 75% of their students respectively, whilst the comparable figure for Miss K, the newly qualified Citizenship teacher was 71%. The non-specialist teachers were rated significantly lower, with Miss D being seen as enthusiastic by 13% of her students and Miss H by 43%.

Figure 1

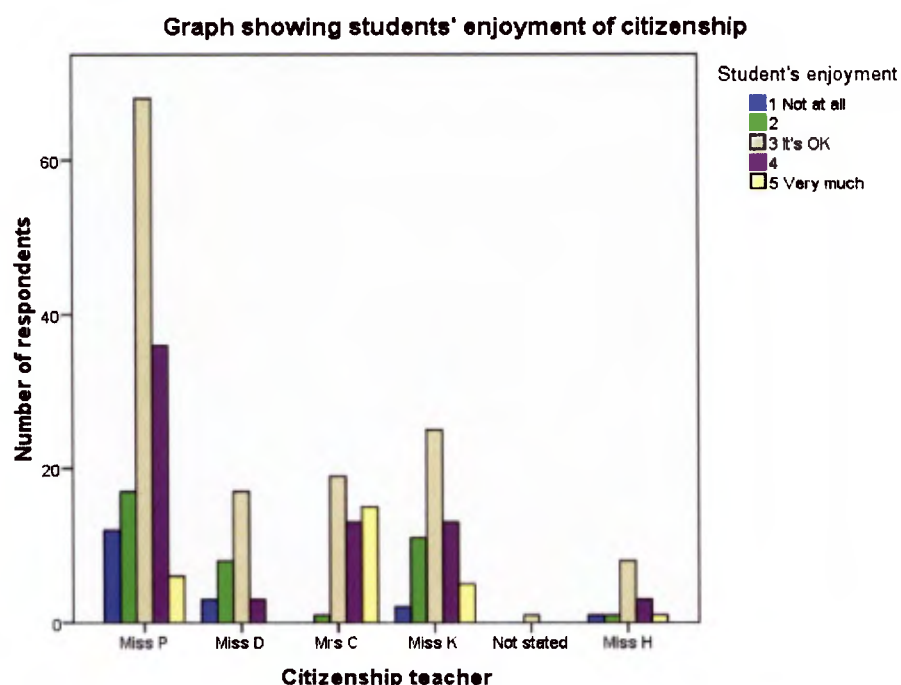
Graph showing students' perceptions of their teachers' enthusiasm



There was a clear assumption in the discussions of the student focus group that enthusiasm was linked to students' own appreciation of the subject, so a further question asked simply, "Do you enjoy Citizenship?" Overall there was some disparity between the two questions, as only a third said they enjoyed the subject (rated 4 or 5), 48% said it was OK, and 19% indicated they did not enjoy the subject (rated 1 or 2). Figure 2 shows the results of this question and it is clear that Mrs C is the only teacher for whom a majority of students (58%) say they positively enjoy their Citizenship lessons, and perhaps more importantly there is only one person who says they do not enjoy Citizenship with Mrs C. Whilst the

most popular response is that the subject is 'OK', there are also significant numbers of students who say they do not enjoy the subject at all.

Figure 2



However, as Figure 3 indicates, there is still a correlation between those two variables³². Here it is apparent that the majority of students who say they enjoy Citizenship also rate their teacher's level of enthusiasm highly.

The questionnaire also included questions about the quality of the teaching ('How well do you think Citizenship is taught?') and the extent to which students felt the subject was going to prove useful to them ('Do you think Citizenship will benefit you in life?'). 65% of respondents felt that Citizenship would benefit them and only 13% disagreed, with the remainder indicating they had no opinion. In relation to the quality of teaching, 39% agreed it was 'OK' and a further 48% indicated it was taught well or very well, with 13% indicating it was not well taught. Figure 4 shows that there is some link between these two variables – students who believed the subject was well taught appear more likely to perceive a benefit to the subject. In both questions, Mrs C stands out from the rest of the Citizenship teachers: in relation to the quality of teaching, 67% said she taught well or very well, and in relation to the perceived benefit of Citizenship, 85% of students taught by her

³² Kendall's tau b test yields a moderately high correlation value of 0.432, which is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed)

agreed they would benefit from studying Citizenship. Most of the other teachers were generally in line with the average, except Miss D, a non-specialist, whose teaching was rated very low, with only 27% giving the highest grades.

Figure 3

Graph showing the relationship between students' enjoyment of citizenship and their perceptions of teachers' enthusiasm for the subject

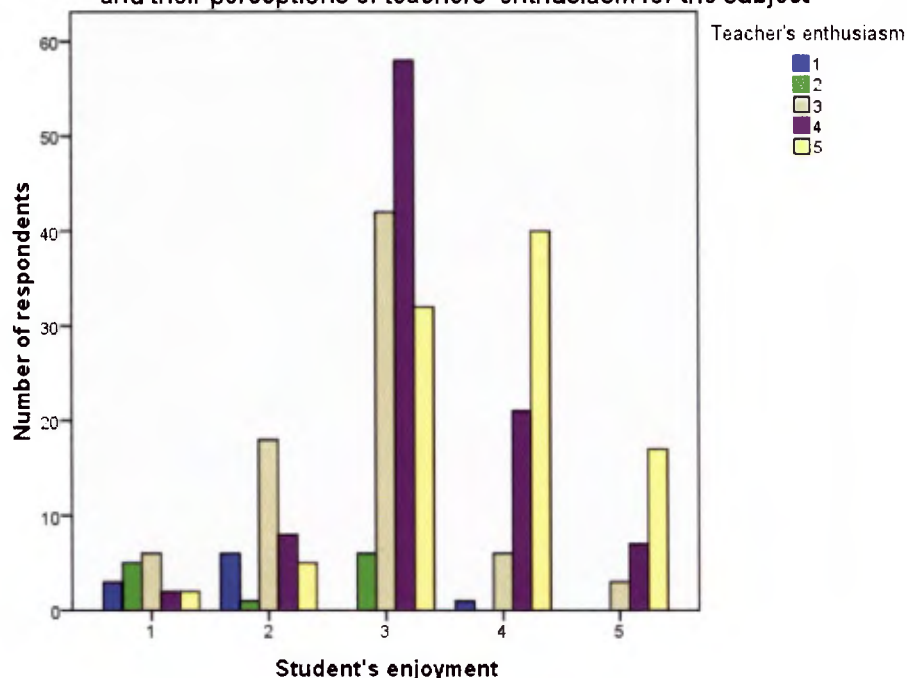
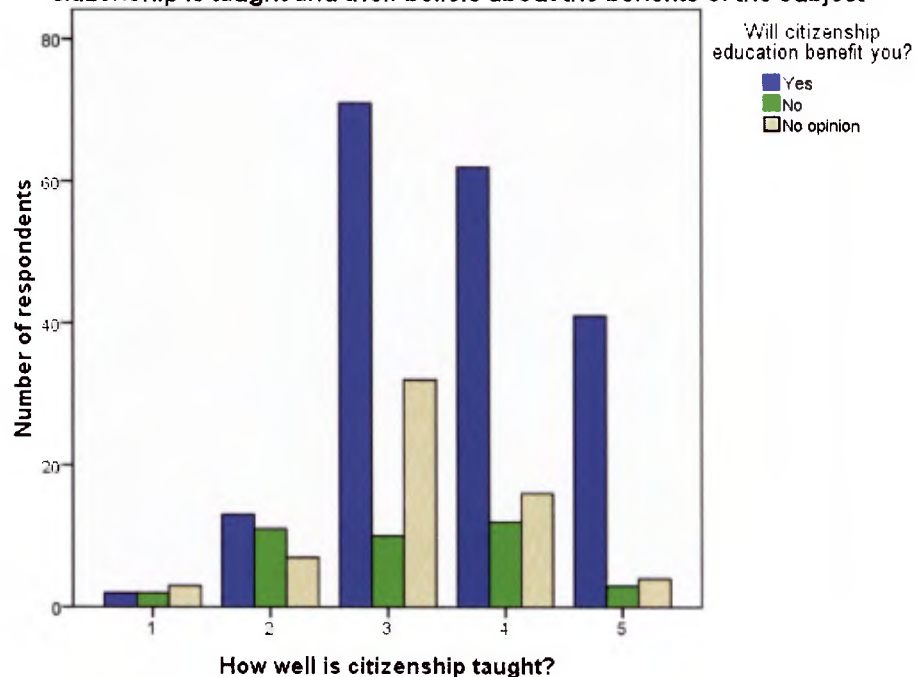


Figure 4

Graph showing the relationship between student's perceptions of how well citizenship is taught and their beliefs about the benefits of the subject



These findings provide qualified support for the hypothesis that the teacher makes a significant difference to how the subject is perceived. This was reinforced in all the conversations between members of the student research group. In the first meeting, as students were discussing what makes Citizenship so enjoyable, one member of the group said “I think that’s down to Mrs C because you can tell she really, really cares about it... She’s like really passionate about it and it kind of rubs off” (Shelley, Meeting 1). The strengths of Mrs C are underlined by contrasting her qualities with other teachers. Amelia notes, “Our English teacher, he has helped our levels a lot but he doesn’t respect you... you know he’s raised our levels from like 5c to 7 but he’s just not respectful and that’s when you don’t enjoy the lessons” (Amelia, Meeting 5). In the interviews students were not asked explicitly to comment on their teachers but two people did make relevant comments, with one intimating that respect and control were an issue for another Citizenship teacher: “Miss P is OK but it’s hard because loads of people don’t listen to her” (Interviewee 3, year 8). Another student drew the connection between changing attitudes towards Citizenship over time, and the change of teacher: “It’s improved so much, like drastically, year 7 and 8 were so basic we kind of did it in primary school and the teacher was crap... but year 9 Citizenship, it involves you a lot more and I prefer that” (Interviewee 27, year 9).

This data complements the wider research discussed in Chapter 1 and the case study data discussed in Chapter 6, which demonstrated that teachers have a significant impact on shaping the subject in the classroom. The data collected from the students indicates that the teacher is also one of the most important factors in determining the extent to which the subject is valued by students. The school case study certainly reflects the NFER connection between specialist teachers and positive outcomes and it illustrates that one of the reasons for this may simply be that specialist teachers can make the Citizenship lessons more enjoyable and bring a greater sense of enthusiasm for the subject.

2. Topics

For the students in the research group, several strands had coalesced to make year 9 Citizenship better than previous years. This led them to assume that Citizenship simply got better as one progressed through the school, however, the student

questionnaire, revealed a more complicated picture - whilst year 9 seems to mark a high point in the school, year 7 results are also fairly high, and year 8 and year 10 seem to be characterised by less positive responses. For the students in the research group though they associated year 9 Citizenship with a coincidence of better teaching, more engaging lessons and more interesting topics.

The students in the focus group believed year 9 was better simply because the topics covered were more interesting than years 7 and 8. Reflecting on his experience of year 7, Tony recalled, "the only thing I enjoyed in year 7 was contraception, babies and stuff... that was the assessment, making posters about contraception." Amelia also shared some of her interview data, relating to teaching about animal rights in year 7. It is interesting to note that all of these topics – animal rights, sex education, personal problems – are not Citizenship topics, that is they do not relate explicitly to the programmes of study for Citizenship. This might indicate that year 7 is actually weighted towards PSHE topics, and it is these that are remembered as being of less interest. Exploring why the year 9 topics seemed to be of greater interest, it became apparent that more obvious Citizenship content is cited:

"When you go up through the years you learn about stuff that you can be more involved in, like politics, you can vote for who you want to run the country when you are 18, and that's the sort of thing, when you get into the details of it, that we're interested in" (Tony, Meeting 5).

This point about being able to appeal to growing personal interest was picked up later in the discussion:

"What they end up doing is like taking people who are actually by year 9 already interested in politics, they enhance their thing by taking them on trips and stuff but if you took them on trips in year 7 then they'd become interested a lot quicker and then you'd have a lot more people who are interested" (Mary, Meeting 5).

Here then, Mary built on Tony's argument that politics is more inherently interesting because it connects with students' real lives and interests. She argued that this was not merely a reflection of maturity, enabling teachers to engage with different topics, and instead suggested that an earlier opportunity to engage with the more serious side of Citizenship would enable people to get switched onto the subject sooner. This echoes the case made by Alan Sears when he argued that there is evidence to suggest young people are both more interested in, and more able to

engage with, complex Citizenship concepts than teachers are often willing to acknowledge (Sears, 2009).

3. Justifications for Citizenship

In the questionnaire, students were asked why they thought the school taught them about Citizenship. The questionnaire provided no further prompts, and students were given a blank box to write their answer into, and these responses were grouped together to identify similarities between them. They provide one way of gauging students' overall understanding of the nature and purpose of Citizenship. In the pilot school for example, where the school ethos embraced an international dimension, many of the student responses reflected this. Given the head of department's very strong focus on community – she referred frequently to Oak Park school as a community in its own right, and as a community school – one might expect this to come through in the data. In fact, only four responses (out of 230 which could be coded) talked about 'community' explicitly, and two of these linked it to other themes, such as rights or the wider world. This is very low, given that more than this (13 respondents) gave frivolous or negative responses to the question, such as "because they want to try and kill us with the most boring stuff this school has to offer" (Respondent 83). In fact what emerges is a rather general understanding of Citizenship, the most frequently cited reasons were coded as *preparation for life* (59 responses) and *how the world works* (56 responses). After these the number in each category becomes relatively small, with the third most frequently mentioned category being *global issues* (25 responses³³) and then *knowledge about politics* (17 responses).

The category *preparation for life* reflected a number of responses which used this or very similar phrases. Some students also referred to the subject as providing

³³ There was some difficulty allocating responses between the two categories of *how the world works* and *global issues* because of the frequent and vague use of the word 'world' to indicate society in general. This is why I have chosen to retain the vagueness in the category title, because it does reflect the nature of the responses. However, I felt it was important to create a 'global' category in addition because some uses of the word did imply a more specific meaning. For example one response stated "it is important know diffrent that happen in the world or about pollatics so that we then now more about the world" (Respondent 43) which was coded as *how the world works* rather than as *global issues*. By contrast the answer "so we know more about the world and the countries" (Respondent 182) was coded as *global issues*. In order to try to simplify the process I coded each answer once, in an attempt to capture the main idea, which does mean subsidiary mentions of other factors (politics for example in response 43) are not reflected in the coding, as the main category was deemed to be *how the world works*.

help with employment, although almost none of the responses spelled out exactly what the connection to employment might be. A few of these responses will serve to illustrate the kinds of ideas that were referred to:

“To prepare you for life so you can understand how our world works and understand everyday life” (Respondent 44)

“For us to know more about the decisions we will have to make when we are older” (Respondent 56)

“To help you to know about life and what will happen when we get older” (Respondent 214)

This notion of school preparing young people for life is a common trope, and reflects expectations of schooling as a functional institution for the socialization of youth into society. This carries with it implicit assumptions that young people are *not yet* members of society, and thus limits the type of citizenship that might be deemed suitable. On this assumption, citizenship education is education to prepare young people for a future citizenship status, rather than a process in which young people are viewed as citizens in their own right during their time in school. Of course, this is a question of degrees, rather than absolutes, but it does seem significant that so many of the young people in this survey have used these ideas to justify citizenship education, rather than to approach citizenship education as being essentially about the here and now. By contrast, only three students gave an answer which was predominantly about themselves as active citizens and only one of these was unequivocal about their current status as an active citizen, for them the school teaches Citizenship, “so you can help and make a difference” (Respondent 110).

The other most popular category was coded as *how the world works* and includes a range of assertions about the potential value of citizenship education. Some of these already reflect the mindset discussed above, which relates citizenship to a future status, and therefore positions citizenship education as part of the preparation for this role:

“So when your older you can understand why and how things are changing” (Respondent 96).

“So you know more when your older” (Respondent 161).

“So we are aware of everything around us, when we are adults, it gives us common sense” (Respondent 239).

But others are less specific about time, and indeed about precisely what it is that is being learned:

“To learn more about society and life in general” (Respondent 184).

“To educate us in the real world with media and stuff” (Respondent 213).

“So we know about the world around us and issues that may affect us” (Respondent 288).

In the vague terminology they use, it appears that many of the students espouse a view of Citizenship which is akin to some form of life skills lesson, where the aspiration is a broad general knowledge, somehow associated with the kind of general knowledge and skills that might be useful in adult life. Students wrote about ‘real life’, ‘everyday things that affect you’, ‘stuff we should know’, ‘the world around us’ and the ‘outside world’.

There are some similarities between these popular categories of response in terms of how they establish a distance between citizenship and citizenship education. Whilst those answers that position citizenship as a future concern clearly insert a temporal break between school activities and real citizenship, other types of response seem to insert a form of spatial break between school and real citizenship. Hence these are still essentially models of citizenship in which citizenship education is perceived as a preparation for activities which will happen elsewhere. “Society and life in general”, like “the real world” and the “world around us” are implicitly contrasted with the school, which it follows is a place for citizenship education, but not for citizenship. In Kerr’s terms (Kerr, 2000), these students seem to see citizenship education not so much as education *through* citizenship, but rather education *about* citizenship and *for* citizenship, a citizenship which is in turn defined as part of out-of-school life.

In the following three sections I turn to the three main discourses which constitute the ideal new citizen. It is important to remember when reading the data below that whilst there were some clear indications about the nature of Citizenship in relation to these three discourses, there were also some unresolved tensions. At the end of chapter 3 I drew some conclusions about the type of citizens that might be promoted through the Citizenship curriculum. There was a tension between

seeing Citizenship in school as a reflection of young people's current status, and as a preparation for a future status. As we have seen in the discussion about students' own justifications for the subject, it appears that for many students in Oak Park school, Citizenship was about their future role rather than their current one. This has implications for their learning about rights and responsibilities, and their experience of active citizenship, which are considered below. There were also unresolved questions about community and diversity, for example there was a clear intention that Citizenship should promote a form of collective identity to strengthen the ties underpinning our democratic society, but there was no clear guidance about exactly what might constitute that shared identity. In chapter 6 the teachers discussed this area at length and I concluded that the unresolved tensions in broader debates about this issue remained largely unresolved in the school. Whilst teachers wanted to promote a better understanding of diversity and an expanded sense of identity they seemed reticent about tackling these issues head on, and largely fell back on notions of embedding implicit messages in their teaching rather than teaching about them explicitly. The third section below will enable us to ascertain the extent to which the young people in the school felt they were being given opportunities to engage with and think through these issues.

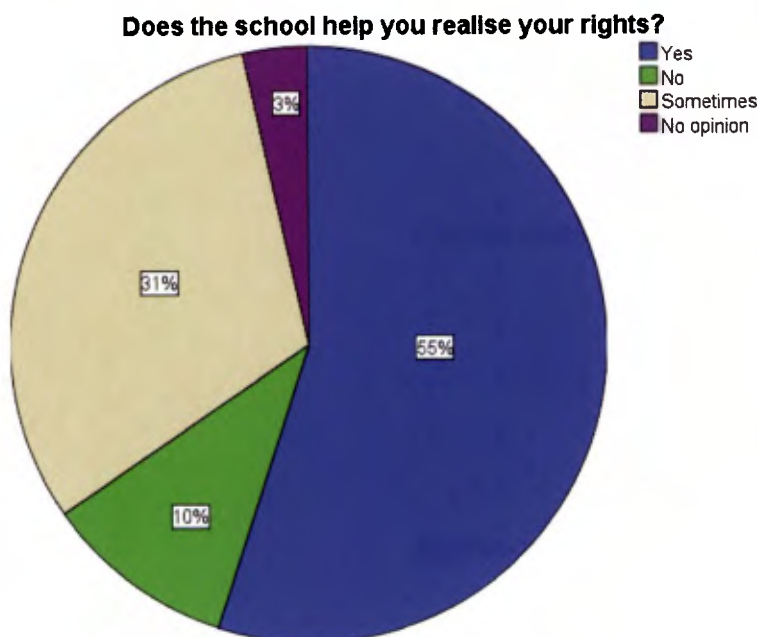
4. Rights and responsibilities

In the initial meeting of the student research group, there was some ambivalence about the importance of rights. The students were split into two smaller groups and asked to rank a series of statements about what constitutes 'a good citizen'. The main purpose of this task was to start a citizenship focused conversation but I also asked each group to record their rankings for later analysis. One of the students justified his ranking with the following reflection on citizenship:

"Being a good citizen is mostly personal, you know about helping somebody... or like telling somebody, like, such as police, if you see something going on, or somebody being robbed, or somebody stealing then I think you should tell the police" [Robert, Meeting 1].

Despite their recognition that rights and responsibilities were moderately important, albeit not absolutely central to citizenship, the general discussion that followed this activity, and which was relatively unstructured to elicit their experiences of citizenship education, did not include rights or responsibilities at all.

Figure 5



In the questionnaire, students were asked if the school helped them to realise their rights³⁴. The results (figure 5) indicate a very large majority who believe the school has helped them to know about their rights. This was reflected in the interviews too, and it was evident that many students felt they had learned about rights through their Citizenship lessons:

“Before I was just like, some people would say oh that’s my right I have the right to do that and some people don’t actually know what they are but I do now” (Interviewee 3, year 8).

Although a few students were unable to name any specific rights when asked for examples, most were able to give one or two, for example the right to education, freedom of speech, privacy, voting, food and water, life. Some also demonstrated a less sound grasp of their actual rights by referring to rather vague ideas, such as the right to be free or even very specific examples which are not rights, such as the right to clean clothing.

One student had confused their rights with advice about good behaviour and qualified his own right to freedom of speech in a novel manner:

³⁴ There is an obvious problem with the use of the word ‘realise’ in this question, and in a later question about responsibilities. In the workshop designing the questionnaire, the students and I discussed the idea of asking about rights and responsibilities and in this case I decided on the final wording as I was preparing the questionnaire. The word is ambiguous, and I have assumed that it was interpreted as meaning ‘realise what they are’ rather than the more active sense of ‘realising them through action’. Partly because of this, rights and responsibilities became focus questions in the follow up interviews, to enable the student researchers to explore students’ understandings of the terms in greater detail. In the interviews respondents were asked for examples of rights and responsibilities.

“Right to speak when spoken to or whatever it is” (Interviewee 25, year 9).

Others indicated that they had begun to develop their thinking about rights in a slightly more sophisticated manner, but were still struggling to achieve a clear understanding. In answer to the question, ‘what sort of things have you learned about your rights?’ one person answered:

“You can’t take other people’s property, the right to live, the right to freedom of expression” (Interviewee 2, year 8).

But when asked whether she agreed with them all³⁵, she expanded:

“Some of them yeh, but it’s kind of weird how they sort of like overlap each other.”

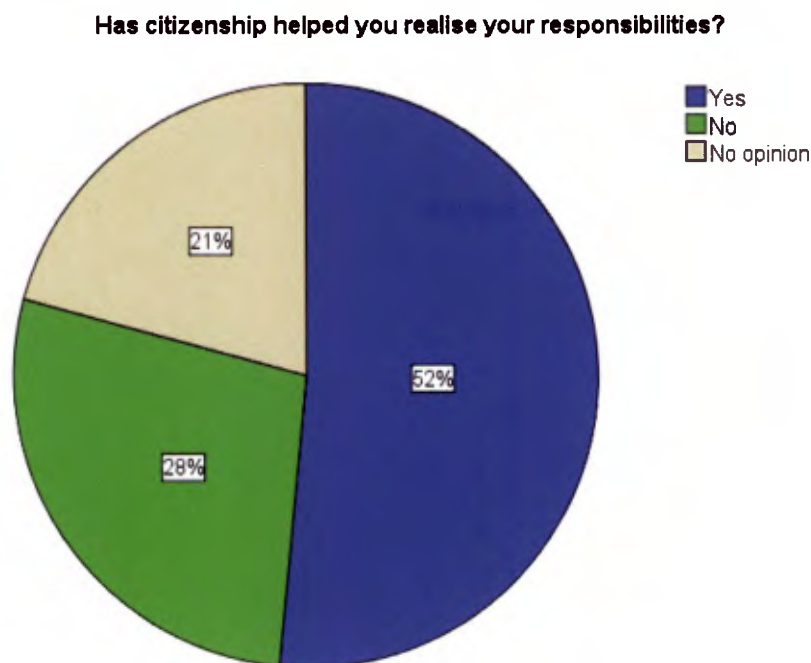
There is a sense here that the student has remembered some of the rights learned in lessons, but has not developed a related conceptual understanding of rights. She is unable to positively articulate the essentially linked nature of rights (Starkey, 2007), nor is she able to engage in the debate about how rights are limited in the perpetual search for a balance between an individual’s rights and between different people’s rights (Alderson, 2008). On this reading rights are social, i.e. an individual claiming his or her rights simultaneously accepts and acknowledges the equivalent rights of others, which leads logically both to a sense of how one’s rights are limited and to an associated sense of obligation to others. One might argue that this is too complicated for a year 8 student to understand, but one should not underestimate the understanding already evident in a 12 year old who is able to think about this problem for herself, and to notice the ‘weird’ nature of these overlapping rights.

In relation to responsibilities the questionnaire dealt with these slightly differently. Students were first asked what responsibilities they had in the school, then they were asked whether Citizenship had helped them to realise their responsibilities (see figure 6), and finally they were asked about the most important responsibilities of citizens in Britain. There was some notion of progression in the sequencing of these questions, with the first one being an open-response question about themselves and the second being a closed question about the role of Citizenship lessons in developing their understanding. The research

³⁵ I think this subsidiary question highlights one of the values of working with students as co-researchers – I would not have thought to ask if someone agrees with a list of rights, which I take to be self evidently agreeable. Clearly though, the student interviewer felt this was a relevant question and in turn received an interesting and valuable answer.

group and I felt the third question, another open response question, would be more likely to be answered if the respondents had thought about responsibilities in the preceding two questions, whereas coming to this general question cold may have made it more difficult to answer. In the event, students were much more likely to answer the third question if they answered yes to the preceding one.

Figure 6



Because the question reported in figure 6 was concerned with Citizenship classes and had a reduced number of answers available it is not easy to make a direct comparison with the earlier question about rights and the school. However, one notable observation about this question is that 21% expressed no opinion – much higher than those with no opinion about rights (3%). This might imply that students were less clear about responsibilities than about rights, and the other data supports this interpretation. Indeed one should not be too surprised at this finding, given that responsibilities are much more difficult to pin down than rights. Although some writers have produced useful syntheses (Osler & Starkey, 2005b: Ch.9), they are not generally codified in the same way rights are, and there is no commonly accepted language for talking about them.

When asked about their responsibilities in school, there were a range of responses, which indicated that most students were able to reflect on specific responsibilities they felt they had. However, 98 students (34%) did not provide a response at all,

or said they had no responsibilities, which indicates that not all students are confident with the terminology of responsibilities. Many of the responses related to conventional good behaviour in school, for example following the rules, behaving on trips and in the classroom, looking after pens and equipment and tidying the class at the end of lessons. There were also some answers acknowledging a slightly wider definition of good behaviour, which embraced a social dimension, for example looking after younger students and being a role model. Some students wrote about formal roles they had undertaken in the school to achieve this, for example as representatives on the school council, prefects or peer mentors. Whilst some talked about their responsibility to reflect well on the school, to make the school look good to outsiders, others were much more personally focused and said their main responsibilities were to work hard and succeed at school.

When it came to thinking about the general responsibilities of citizens, 101 students did not provide any answer and of the 188 responses, they were largely related to the model of good citizenship, as opposed to Crick's ideal of active citizenship. Many responses were focused on being a compliant, law-abiding citizen, paying taxes, respecting others and helping people. 13% of responses mentioned voting, but there were few other forms of action mentioned, apart from actions relating to safeguarding the environment, for example recycling and avoiding littering. The list of responsibilities suggested by students paints a portrait of largely pro-social young people who understood, broadly speaking, what is necessary for a harmonious society and there was a strong sense of mutual obligation, commitment to other people's welfare, and an awareness that everyone has a potential contribution to make to a healthy society. This might well be characterised as community cohesion, and some of the suggestions included welcoming newcomers, keeping our surroundings tidy, looking out for others, helping others in need, and protecting others. As one student summed it up: "to keep world peace and help the elderly" (Respondent 56).

The combination of the high numbers not answering these questions, plus the vagueness of some of the responses, led us to include questions about responsibilities in the interview schedule. Here, the pattern was generally

confirmed. Whilst most of those who answered said they had learned about rights and responsibilities in Citizenship, several were unable to give an answer at all when asked for an example of a responsibility. This was an interesting feature of the interviews – immediately after failing to give a response about their responsibilities, interviewees confirmed that they had indeed been taught about rights and responsibilities. Their inability to describe one responsibility they had did not shake their confidence that this was a topic they had learned about.

Those who were able to say something about their responsibilities largely spoke about their personal responsibilities, for example to tidy their bedroom, babysit younger siblings, or walk the dog. A few gave other more general answers, such as ‘taking part’, or ‘being kind’. Only one explicitly connected his example of a right to education, with his responsibility, to educate himself.

The student researchers were aware that the level of understanding of rights and responsibilities among the students they spoke to was variable. In the de-brief meeting, following the interviews, one of them pointed this out:

“They knew about human rights but some of them struggled to know any off by heart...I mean like simplify it down, like right to education” (Shelley, Meeting 5).

Mary mentioned that some students had in fact mentioned privacy, which she assumed was because of what she referred to as the ‘Facebook scam’. I asked what this was about and Shelley picked up the story:

“Well there’s been this Facebook scam, where the school can access our Facebook they can phone up Facebook and ask to unlock our Facebook and I think that’s because certain things have been going on, but like they’re accessing random people’s ones” (Shelley, Meeting 5).

“And that is private, that is our right to privacy... because I got into trouble because I wrote something about Miss L [the new head teacher] and she made me come and talk to her about it” (Mary, Meeting 5).

“Yes, it’s child protection... but if the school is worried they’re supposed to go to the child protection officer in the school... they can’t just do it themselves” (Claire, Meeting 5).

In some ways this exchange showed a fairly sophisticated understanding of the concept of rights being applied to a difficult current situation. The final contribution in particular demonstrated an ability to balance a general right (to privacy) to another (to protection) but recognise there are systems and agencies

set up to deal with the conflict. Here the students adopted a clear critical stance about the way in which the head teacher appeared to act as the final arbiter in the case, and to arrive at a solution which the students felt had failed to recognise their right to privacy at all. Now of course one might question Mary's original action – to publish information about a teacher on Facebook, without considering the teacher's interests in the matter – but the point to make here is simply that these students, in this particular example, were able to think about rights in a fairly sophisticated way, recognising that rights need to be balanced, and that there are agencies for this arbitration process.

Overall, the findings in relation to rights and responsibilities are ambiguous. One of the most striking features is the lack of response from many of the respondents. In the initial student focus group, the subject was largely absent; in the questionnaire, over a third of students did not provide an answer at all; and in the interviews, questions about responsibilities in particular elicited several prolonged silences, or admissions that respondents had nothing to say. And yet, there is an overwhelming sense that students have learned about rights and responsibilities in Citizenship classes. Whilst this teaching had resulted in some awareness of the kinds of rights people have, there was little evidence that this had resulted in a higher level of conceptual awareness about rights per se. In relation to responsibilities, the ideas the students had are largely related to issues of personal morality, and large numbers of responses relate to compliant and pro-social behaviour. Now, clearly there is considerable value to young people demonstrating an understanding of their social role in creating community cohesion, but as noted above, there is little evidence here that these young people are moving beyond a simple model of the good citizen, and embracing a more expansive sense of themselves as active citizens.

5. Active citizenship

The research covered several dimensions relevant to active citizenship. First, the discussions within the student research group touched on active learning and out of school learning, which seemed to motivate the students involved and gave them an opportunity to apply their learning in a new situation. Second, the research explicitly focused on formal forms of civic participation, for example actual voting

in school elections and intention to vote in general elections. Third, the research considered broader forms of community activity and asked students to share information in relation to their community involvement.

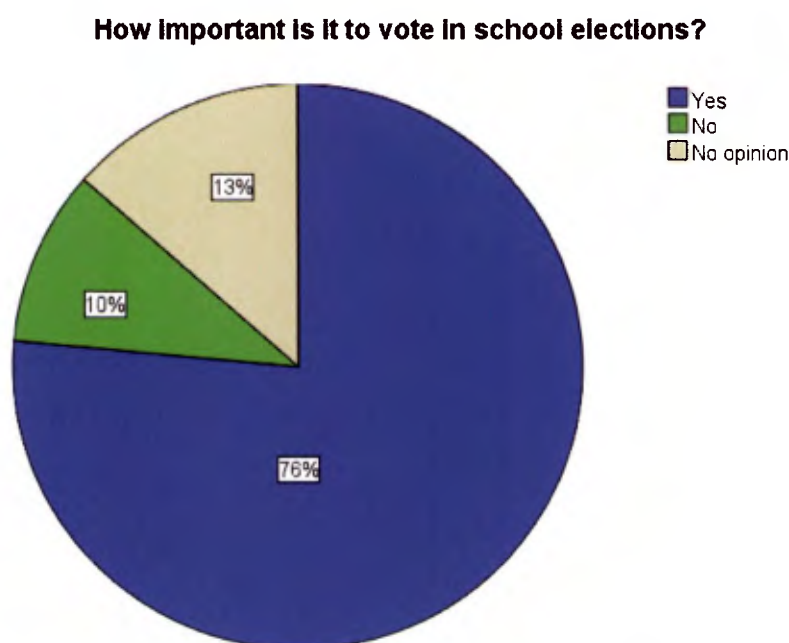
One recurrent theme in the data relates to the youth club in the local area, which was mentioned by staff in interviews as being particularly significant. As discussed in the previous chapter, teachers had agreed to become trustees for a charity set up by students to establish some new local youth provision. Several of the student researchers discussed this project, and several of the interviewees also mentioned the club, both in terms of it being an example of citizenship in action, and also a place where they felt they could participate in community activities. It appeared from these answers that this project was having a broader impact across the school and was generally fairly well known as a school Citizenship project, as well as being used by students of different ages.

In the initial meeting with the student research group there was a significant difference between a generally positive attitude towards this type of involvement in the local context, and a more sceptical attitude towards formal citizen participation, such as voting. All the students in the initial meeting agreed that voting was one of the least significant indicators of 'good citizenship' and in the discussion about this decision they developed two arguments to support their opinion. First, they argued that voting was ultimately a personal decision and therefore it would not be appropriate for anyone to question it. Second, some of the group argued that because of the high number of people who had little understanding of politics, it was better to allow them to opt out of elections – they felt this was actually the most responsible decision someone could make, as opting out of elections was felt to be more appropriate than casting a vote whilst being ignorant of politics and the parties' manifestoes. This initial discussion seemed interesting then in that the students were able to articulate and defend a coherent argument about active citizenship which embraced taking responsibility for improving local conditions, but which also seemed to adopt a fairly ambiguous stance in relation to participating in elections.

We will start with a discussion of the questionnaire results in relation to this relatively narrow point about elections, and then move on to the broader issue of community participation. Students were asked if they thought it was important to vote in school elections (it is supposed to be compulsory in the school), and secondly if they thought they would vote in a general election once they turned 18 years of age, they were also given space to explain this latter answer. Figure 7 shows that a clear majority (76%) believed it was important to vote in school elections, with very few (10%) expressing the opinion that it was not important.

Whilst the majority in every year group (years 7 – 10) believed it was important, there was some correlation with age, and the number agreeing fell each year from a high of 86% in year 7 to 63% in year 10³⁶. There was also a difference between boys and girls, with girls being slightly more likely to agree (83% for girls and 70% for boys) and less likely to disagree (4% for girls and 16% for boys)³⁷.

Figure 7



There was relatively little discussion of the school council in the student interviews and in considering why this was the case, the student researchers felt that it was because the council had a relatively low profile.

³⁶ The Kendall's tau-b correlation coefficient was a relatively low 0.158, which is still significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed).

³⁷ The Kendall's tau-b correlation coefficient for gender was lower than that for age, 0.122, which is only significant at the 0.05 level (2 tailed).

“No-one really mentioned it... [the school council] do do stuff, but I think they don't really do anything that really stands out to us” (Student researcher³⁸, Meeting 5).

This led quickly to a discussion of an example which the student research group felt quite strongly had brought the school council into some measure of disrepute:

“One incident that happened, was that you know this new uniform, yeh, we all voted on what school uniform we wanted, and we went for stuff like blue jumpers, black skirts and black trousers and we got red kilts [laughter from others in the group] and basically our opinion was totally ignored, even though [the school council] was promised that what we said would really matter... and it was a massive thing... Mr P [the old head teacher] and Mrs C had an argument about it [Tony – did they?] yeh, she tells me everything” (Mary, Meeting 5).

This provides an interesting counter-balance to the very positive story presented by Mrs C in her interview and it also highlights the difficulties in working with school councils. This example illustrates a trap identified by a range of authors and practitioners in this field. Starting from a theoretical perspective, analysing Article 12 of the UNCRC, Lundy has drawn attention to the need to incorporate listening and responding into any system for realising student voice (Lundy, 2007), and starting from more practical concerns, Trafford has identified the same requirement for any head teacher who aspires to introduce an element of student democracy into their school (Trafford, 2008). Here the value of such advice is underlined, as the experience of being asked and subsequently ignored has left a lasting impression that the school council was not effective.

This interpretation is supported by the exchange that followed this example:

“Student voice – there's nothing underneath it” (Billy, Meeting 5).

“Student voice, there's nothing there, because we don't have a voice... Like, I don't actually know anything that [the school council] is involved in... but I think that's to do with Miss L [the new head teacher] as well, you know I don't think she cares about [the school council] as much” (Shelley, Meeting 5).

“I don't think they take [the school council] seriously really, it's like it's a joke in a way” (Amelia, Meeting 5).

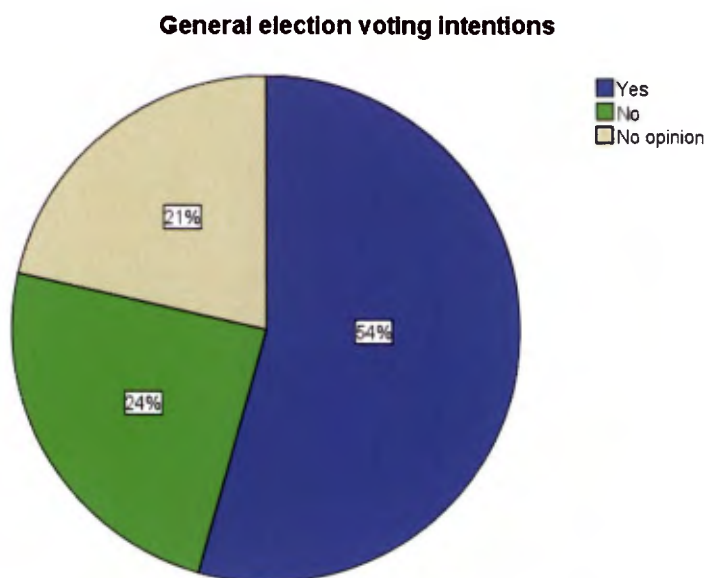
It is noteworthy that citizenship education was not necessarily tainted in this discussion, because student voice / the school council was seen as separate from Citizenship, and because Mrs C was seen as someone who was championing student voice in the school as a whole, representing the spirit of Citizenship

³⁸ It is sometimes difficult to identify who is talking from the recording of the session, because students talk quickly over each other.

beyond the confines of the Citizenship class. Of course, the lesson that was learned from this was that she had failed in this significant example, and therefore the overall place of students and student voice remained a limited one in these students' understanding of the school.

When we come to consider general election voting intentions the picture was slightly different. Figure 8 shows that only just over half the students intended to vote, and of the remaining students they were almost equally split between those who had no opinion and those who had no intention of voting. This figure is much lower than the larger surveys of young people's voting intentions, which were discussed in chapter 4. Indeed these figures are nearer the actual turnout figure for first time voters. This unexpectedly low figure does seem significant given that Citizenship lessons were generally so well received by many of the young people and that they generally enjoyed their learning.

Figure 8



Those who said they would vote gave many reasons to justify their answer. Only very few mentioned narrow self interest (to get benefits) or specific policies (to elect a government which would not go to war). Most made general points concerning the importance of voting as the main way we get to have a say in who runs the country and they also mentioned the importance of voting for the general good of the country and the need to help choose a government which would

improve things. There was some evidence from the interviews that Citizenship had helped students to think about their voting intentions:

“Yes, now I know how to vote... and what to look out for in a political party” (Interviewee 8, year 11).

“If you didn’t have Citizenship then you wouldn’t know how to vote or what to do” (Interviewee 11, year 8).

Clearly this kind of connection was intended by policy initiators when they introduced Citizenship, and tackling voter apathy occurred in many justifications for the subject. However, the case study data indicated many students did not make such a connection.

Of those students who said they would not vote (24%), there were a range of reasons given. Some reflected the media caricature of the apathetic youth and simply said they could not be bothered, or were not interested in politics at all; others said they didn’t understand politics well enough to make an informed decision. Several others gave a variety of reasons for their scepticism about politics and elections, with some saying elections do not really make much difference; one saying that they just did not like the competition between politicians; and some dismissing politicians as a group:

“All the government parties are crooks and just lead the country into debt! The government are a load of CROOKS!! - with no experience of what is like to live as a real average citizen” (Respondent 145).

“Because the Government are stupid making unrealistic laws and sending our troops into Afghanistan and the citizens don’t want them there” (Respondent 76).

These types of response indicate that it was not simply apathy that led these young people to say they were unlikely to vote, but for many of them, the decision not to vote was actually the result of a level of political literacy. They had simply decided that they knew enough about politics and politicians to believe that they were untrustworthy, and therefore it probably would not matter much which politicians were elected to power. This research was conducted in the aftermath of the MP’s expense scandal, and this had obviously fuelled some of the scepticism, but there were other reasons given as well, indicating that this willingness to dismiss politicians had more complicated causes. It also demonstrates that effective citizenship education can enhance political literacy, but does not necessarily challenge the political scepticism that many people feel as a result of their

knowledge. The problem of voter turnout then is deeper than mere apathy and often reflects a more active and determined rejection of politics.

Turning to the broader dimension of active citizenship, in the planning meeting to discuss the interview questions we spent some time discussing the right terminology for what Crick called 'community participation', and the students felt that the phrase 'getting involved in the community' would be sufficiently understandable to use. Thus, students were asked if Citizenship provided them with the chance to get involved in the community, and secondly if they felt they had sufficient opportunities. The question about Citizenship also included space for examples and these indicated that the question was sufficiently well understood as the answers were all relevant. Figures 9 and 10 present the overall findings from these two questions, which shows that this is one of the least well developed dimensions of students' experiences.

Although the charts look similar, it is not the case that students selected the same answer in both questions. There is a correlation between the two³⁹, but it is far from indicating a straightforward duplication of response. The relatively small number of students agreeing to these two questions illustrates the difficulties involved for the school in setting up opportunities for genuine community involvement for large numbers of students. In fact when one turns to the examples provided by the 83 students who said that Citizenship had provided them with the chance to get involved in the community, one gains an appreciation of just what varied activities had been planned within the Citizenship programme. Several types of participation came up repeatedly, involving the youth centre and voluntary work in an old people's home. However, other examples that were mentioned by one or two students reflected a much wider range of active projects, these included: visits to parliament, visits to 11 million (the Children's Commissioner's office), eco-schools, fund-raising, army cadets, sports clubs, a party in the park and even clearing the graveyard. This range indicates the Citizenship department was facilitating a range of opportunities for engaging students in community based projects, although the general nature of some of the

³⁹ The Kendall tau-b correlation coefficient was a relatively low 0.155, which is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed)

examples might lead us to question the extent to which they all enabled students to apply specifically Citizenship knowledge and skills.

Figure 9

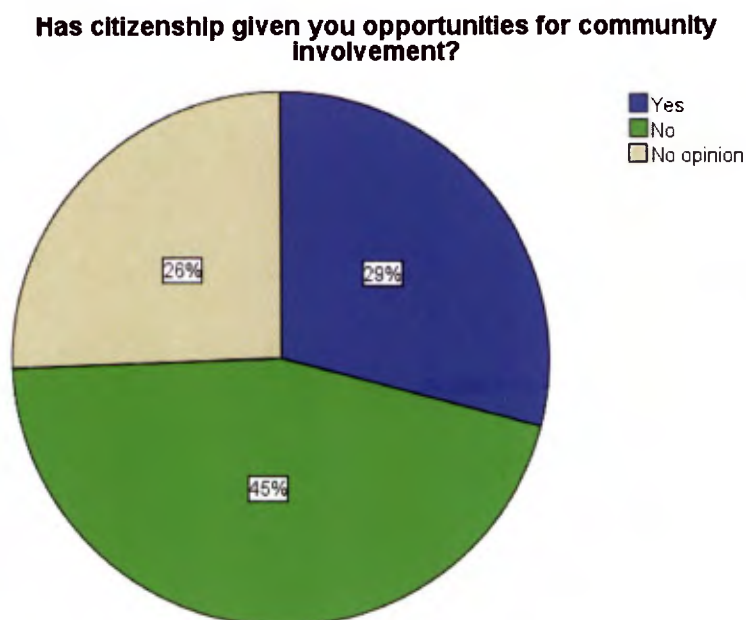
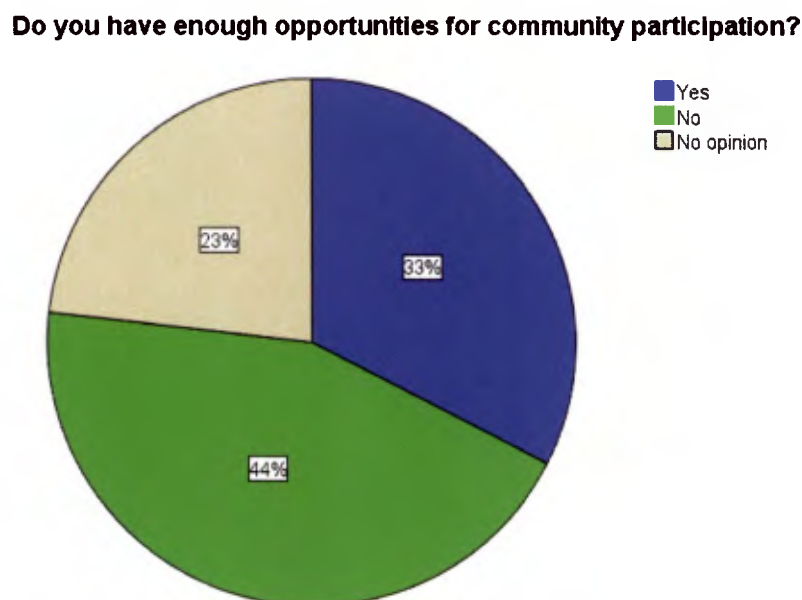


Figure 10



Some of the practical issues relating to such planning are hinted at in the interviews. Some active projects are much more easily planned into lesson times, so the Youth Philanthropy Initiative (YPI), for example, requires students to make a case for funding to go to a cause they want to support. This kind of project

directly links to the skills of advocacy in the programme of study for Citizenship, and can be seen as a self-enclosed project, which is relatively easy to build into lessons:

“... because of the YPI – charities... we can help our community and it’s fun and active” (Interviewee 23, year 9).

Another student indicated that the requirements of the GCSE course also provided a useful structure for ensuring that everyone had some form of active citizenship experience:

“We had to do active citizenship for our coursework so we had to get involved in the community” (Interviewee 6, year 11).

However, as we have seen in previous chapters, some teachers have begun to argue that the GCSE requirement is actually fairly limited, and that the kinds of experiences that are accepted by the examination boards are not particularly demanding or active and may in fact be fairly superficial (Wright, 2011). This might be reflected in the following comment in response to a question exploring whether Citizenship had helped to promote community engagement:

“I don’t think it has, like we did the games and another group did the community thing down the valley, so we had different things to do” (Interviewee 17, year 10).

This appears to indicate that the teacher has had to organise groups in order to manage the active citizenship dimension, and that some groups end up doing more community based activities than others.

Whilst it is evident that the Citizenship department in the school planned and facilitated a wide variety of opportunities for community participation, the students seemed to feel they would like more. This demonstrates one of the enduring challenges to implementing Citizenship in a way which promotes the active dimension envisaged in the programme of study – the logistics of community involvement are simply very demanding. The other data in this section demonstrates that even when Citizenship is taught by well qualified teachers and is generally perceived positively by students, there is only a very weak correlation between these factors and future voting intentions. Given that Oak Park was a school with well established Citizenship provision, it seems significant that voting intentions should have remained so much lower than can be seen in other surveys, and this at least signals the possibility that more Citizenship will not necessarily mean more voters, although it may lead to better informed non-participation.

6. Community and diversity

The discussion of active citizenship has touched on the community and diversity discourse in so far as it is concerned with the community as a context for active engagement. In this section we consider some of the comments students offered relating to their local community before turning to focus more explicitly on the issues related to diversity. The questionnaire did not ask any questions directly about diversity, but the theme emerged from the student research group's discussions and was raised during the interviews.

As we saw from the discussion of the teachers' perceptions, Mrs C felt very strongly that, as a community school, Citizenship and community cohesion go hand in hand. She was a strong advocate of the idea that Citizenship should promote stronger links between the school and the community, and between the students and their community. This was reflected in one of the contributions in the very first meeting with the student research group:

"It's for us to get involved in community stuff, because we do involve a lot of the community, like when we're doing like voting the polling station is always in the school so it's kind of like the centre of the community and I think they try and teach us stuff based around community... and I think all the things they teach us are mostly relevant to us" (Amelia, Meeting 1).

Whilst this particular example perhaps overstated the significance of the school hosting the local polling station during elections (this is a common arrangement) it did nevertheless reiterate Mrs C's point about the centrality of the school to the community. The point Amelia made in relation to being taught about the local community was also reflected in some interviews, where students felt this was valuable. One boy said he did not feel very involved in the community but that Citizenship made him think about doing so, "because it kind of explains that the community is important," (Interviewee 1, year 8) whilst another agreed, "it's taught me about my community and how it works" (Interviewee 8, year 11). However, by the end of the research other students were voicing more sceptical arguments:

"I think as a whole school we should do more for our local community... because we *claim* to be this school that loves... that is at the heart of the community... but we don't actually do anything that actually helps our local community" (Claire, Meeting 5).

The school clearly does do something about community links, but the force of this student's views reflects that, for her at least, the rhetoric has outstripped the reality.

Racism

By the time of our final meeting the students appeared to be discussing their ideas quite freely which was reflected in the informal ways in which they talked about race and diversity.

"I can understand why a teacher would stop a student, because if you go into racial things, then yes it would have to be stopped [Robert: but it's still their opinion and you have to hear it out] but no, you can't... they should have their opinion to a certain extent, but you can't like go into racial... like all black people should be banned from the country or something, [Robert interrupts with inaudible comment] see Robert, that's what I'm saying... you can't shout out... if you say like I don't like the Conservatives because I don't agree with their policies or something, you can, that's an opinion... but if you go into a whole racial or some sort of discrimination sort of thing, you have to stop it there because you could offend people and they could get upset about it" (Tony, Meeting 5).

This echoes a point raised in the first meeting, that racism appears to serve as a marker for unacceptable behaviour. Students understand that this is an area where they may not go. This attitude was evident in the questionnaire results when students were asked if they thought teachers should sometimes stop students from expressing themselves during discussions in the Citizenship classroom. Whilst three quarters of students said this should never happen, many of those who said they thought it was acceptable cited being offensive as a common reason why students should be stopped from speaking, and the only specific examples of such behaviour mentioned racism.

Amelia used the discussions about race and religion in the student research group to share some of her personal experiences. Her only account of her own ethnicity occurred in the middle of a story about her father, where she noted "he's not white or anything," which indicated a hesitance in the way she described herself. Here it was captured in this slightly odd formulation 'or anything' which seemed to soften the otherwise very clear sentence, and therefore somehow diffuse the statement that her father was not white. In an earlier meeting, when we were planning the questionnaire, Amelia said it would not be adequate to simply ask students to

indicate whether they had a religion, because “I’m a Muslim, but there’s a scale: normal to extremist. We need to ask a question about where they are on the scale” (Amelia, Meeting 2). I noted this in my research journal as it seemed to indicate defensiveness about her identity. There is a similar discomfort about the following story, which Amelia recounted in one of the student research meetings:

“Certain people like Cara, I know she’s only joking when she turns round and calls people a Paki because that’s like, what she does [Robert – can she really talk?... her calling people a Paki...] no, she only calls her friends, so we know, and so like she names us each a different name, it is offensive, like for a stranger, they would turn round and punch her in the face... but because like, we’re her friends we sort of know, but if someone said something like that in class, they would be in massive trouble...” (Amelia, Meeting 5).

On one reading, this reflects the ways in which taboo terms are often used informally among young people, even so there seems some discomfort about being called a “Paki”, even in jest – as Amelia points out this would attract a punch in the face anywhere else. But on the other hand it seems significant that the person who used these terms also appeared to be from a minority ethnic group, which might indicate this was an attempt to reclaim these harmful words.

To explore this possibility I mentioned the example of the reclaiming of the word ‘nigger’ and illustrated it with examples from my own teaching, where I had to discuss with some black students whether they could use the word (which was widely used within their friendship group) within the school. This elicited the following response from Tony:

“Black people, it really annoys me, like they call each other nigger and they don’t get told off for it, and then if we say it, we get, we get, well we get expelled from the school, that’s how seriously they take it [Robert – a black person is allowed to be racist to a white person] yeh, exactly and we’re not allowed to do that and they just play the black card... they bring the whole history back and say, you used to use us as slaves” (Tony, Meeting 5).

This exchange between Robert and Tony is interesting because of the way several related ideas come cascading together. First Tony has misunderstood my example, which could be the fault of my explanation, but I think it is actually related to a simplistic reading of equality, which asserts that everyone must adhere to exactly the same rules at all times regardless of difference, rather than with regard to relevant differences. Robert then moves the conversation to another point entirely by arguing that a black person can get away with racism towards a white person,

which is clearly different from the previous point in which a black person uses a word which is usually seen to be derogatory to black people. This then elicits another different point from Tony, when he claims not only are some black students allowed to be racist to their white peers, but they also play the race card, thus somehow pushing the burden of white guilt onto Tony and Robert's (white) shoulders. This kind of reasoning is discussed in Hewitt's study, 'White Backlash', in which individual stories about racial antagonism are interpreted as examples of white students being treated more harshly than minority ethnic students when those in authority become involved and punish the white students disproportionately (Hewitt, 2005). What is interesting about the comparison is that Hewitt's discussion focused on poor, white students' perceptions in the racially charged atmosphere of Greenwich in the shadow of Stephen Lawrence's murder and an active local BNP. Robert and Tony were in a relatively affluent, semi-rural, predominantly white area, yet the same perceptions persisted.

Amelia chose to respond to this complaint of unfair perceived treatment with a more concrete example:

"Sometimes like, they don't take punishment too far, like my brother, when he was in the school, someone was really... they were friends and they fell out and he decided to be really racist to him in front of the teacher and the teacher decided not to do anything, and so other students went to the Head of Year and complained and finally something happened, he got a day in isolation and I thought... what he said it wasn't reasonable, and in a way, I'm not saying everybody should be really punished, but they should know that if they go out into the streets and just start walking down the High Street and turnaround to say like an Indian person and say like oh here you Paki and punch them in the face..." (Amelia, Meeting 5)

"[Interrupting] Maybe that should be a lesson in Citizenship, err racial discrimination or something" (Tony).

"... You should have lessons in, actually, racism" (Amelia).

"That should be a lesson in year 7, that's the sort of relevance I'm talking about in year 7" (Tony).

By providing this example from her own family's experience of the school, Amelia effectively undermined the point Robert and Tony had been making about white students somehow being at a disadvantage, and asserted a clear counter example where a minority ethnic student had suffered from racist abuse, but where the teacher had chosen not to treat it as a racist incident. Tony's swift agreement that

something should be done indicated that the first exchange with Robert does not represent his view entirely.

Returning to the subject later, two other student researchers began to think about the importance of their context in this debate:

“The school is mainly white and we’re always going to have... because we’re in Oakton, and it’s like, the best we can do is tell them that it’s wrong I guess, yeh” (Mary, Meeting 5)

“I think sometimes it’s hard for people in like places, like small communities, because like if you’re somewhere in London, you’d have a different like opinion, but I think it depends like where you are to teach racism. Racism can be taught quite easily if it’s in a multicultural place where it’s an everyday thing to see different people, yeh sometimes I think people dominate” (Shelley, Meeting 5).

In terms of the main focus of this research – exploring students’ experiences of citizenship education – what seemed pertinent was the revelation that these students said they had not experienced any lessons about racism. There was ready agreement in the research group that the school should teach about racism and explicitly reinforce an anti-racist message through Citizenship, indeed the student researchers identified this as one of their recommendations to the senior management team when they presented their findings (appendix 10). It is particularly interesting that this appeared not to be a feature of the school’s planned provision given that the policy documents, discussed in the previous chapter, positioned racism as an issue for teaching rather than discipline. However, it does indicate that the teachers’ reticence to teach about inequality head-on (which emerged from their interviews) has indeed had an impact on the students, who felt this was an omission.

Multiculturalism

The research group’s discussions of the questionnaire results and about racism and the school led them to identify this as an area for further investigation in the interviews. Consequently they agreed to approach the subject by stating that England is a multicultural country and asking participants how that affected them, with possible follow up questions asking for people’s opinions about the advantages and disadvantages of multiculturalism. Several themes emerged from these responses.

The most common theme was a rather positive sense that young people had the chance to learn from others about their culture and to broaden their friendship circles to include people who were different to themselves.

“Umm, you can make friends out of your culture and you can learn more about their cultures which is good for RE” (Interviewee 5, year 11).

“We are in a diverse society and we learn about each other... we have better ideas of culture like food and religion” (Interviewee 7, year 9).

“You get to meet new people” (Interviewee 9, year 10).

These comments reflect the most frequent type of response, far more frequent than those who merely noted that multiculturalism was a fact of life, and those who implied that multiculturalism gave rise to problems.

Of those who cited specific disadvantages or who volunteered problems associated with multiculturalism, one mentioned that it is difficult to make friends with people from different cultures, another complained that having to be constantly aware of diversity “becomes a bit too much all the time” (Interviewee 19, year 9), and another complained that the English were not allowed to wave their flag. One is worth quoting at greater length:

“Well there’s some people from other countries that have caused havoc in our communities if you know what I mean [laughs] you know the tubes blowing up, you know that’s the disadvantages, the advantage is that [laughs] we’ve got them working in corner shops” (Interviewee 25, year 9).

This interview was interesting because the interviewee was a friend of the interviewer and she clearly adopted a playful approach to the whole interview, for example using silly voices for different answers, especially when she was giving an extended or reasoned answer. It is difficult to read this extract in that context, and my sense from listening to the recording is that this reflected an exaggerated perspective that she was adopting for the interview, however, she was not presenting this answer as the opinion of someone else entirely. I therefore read it as a reflection of her own understanding, but expressed in a way that is intended to gain some comic effect – hence the frequent laughter whilst she is talking. The laughter is not reciprocated though, and clearly laughter also works in conversation as a way to sugar the pill, and de-emphasise the potential offensiveness of what is being said. Whilst this answer presents these views in a particularly stark light it does reflect other aspects of the responses more generally

– she was not alone in referring to corner shops and ethnic restaurants, nor in linking diversity to immigration.

Some of the other answers also conflated ‘multicultural society’ with ‘immigration’, with several respondents referring to our overcrowded country, foreigners and people who come to our country, for example:

“Yes... it affects me because it shouldn’t just be like me talking to people from Britain you should be talking to people from all over the world to see what their culture is like... Some people are rude... once there was this person came from a different country and that person was quite rude to me and I thought not everyone can be nice from other countries” (Interviewee 12, year 7).

“We get people who are not meant to be over here” (Interviewee 22, year 9).

As interviewee 12 implies, the connection between immigration and a multicultural society does not necessarily mean that children have negative views about people, but it does reinforce the binary division between ‘us’ (presumably white, English) and ‘them’ (multicultural Britain), as opposed to a more inclusive understanding, which simply accepts that ‘we’ are multicultural.

Where negative viewpoints were more evident, the respondents often mentioned employment, and these answers also fed off a ‘them’ and ‘us’ view of the world, which allows the conclusion that ‘they’ are taking ‘our’ jobs.

“I mean, there are less jobs available, but that’s it really” (Interviewee 5, year 11).

“Disadvantages, they take jobs of ours” (Interviewee 23, year 9).

“...of course it’s becoming very crowded in England but I don’t think that’s a problem, people need to get out of their country and that’s OK and people need jobs because everyone deserves the right to have a job and not to be discriminated against because they’re not from England” (Interviewee 26, year 9).

Unlike direct racism, this does seem to be an area the students have learned about in Citizenship classes. In our initial meeting, one of the research group explained how she had engaged with this area of debate:

“It’s a bit like when we did the topic on asylum seekers, loads of people thought, oh yes, people coming over and stealing our jobs, and then we kind of like, because we gained a better understanding we were like, oh wait, that’s not entirely true. And I think it does help... it’s not there to

change people's opinion – your opinion is whatever you think" (Shelley, Meeting 1).

However, by the end of their interviewing phase, the research group seemed rather disillusioned with the answers they had heard, and with the lack of understanding that seemed to be evident in much of their data.

In their discussion of this section of the interviews, the research group had the following exchange:

"I think people almost had, like an almost racist thing when it came to what are the disadvantages of them being here" (Claire, Meeting 5).

"It's like parents have said to them, they've taken our jobs, they've taken our jobs" (Mary).

"... ignorance..." (Claire).

"I've sort of come to that conclusion where everyone's racist nowadays" (Robert).

"You could tell their opinion had been influenced by someone else because if you like said, why do you think that, they'd be like, oh I don't know... like it's almost like... I don't know if it's the media or stuff like that..." (Claire).

These young people were clearly sensitive to some of the ways in which everyday racist assumptions inform many of the comments they heard during interviews.

They also remarked on the unexpectedly high number of references to take-aways and restaurants. Their engagement with this reflected their sense that there was something significant here, but also their inability to describe and analyse it fully:

"To be fair, not in a racist way, that is a really good thing, because people are accepting other cultures because they are eating their food, because otherwise if they weren't accepting them they would sort of say they wouldn't eat their food" (Claire, Meeting 5).

Once again, Amelia, as the only member of the research group to identify herself (albeit hesitantly) as a member of minority ethnic group, brings some clarity to the discussion:

"I watched this documentary... and it was like a racist one and it was about this, two really like, there was two Pakistani people, they were married and they were like journalists and this 10 year old kid was walking up to this lady, running around her with his bike, like pushing her, punching her, like beating her up and I thought that's like a bit shocking... but that's not to say that he won't still go and eat Chinese and Indian food, that they haven't accepted the culture because they don't believe it's right for them to live there" (Amelia, Meeting 5).

Through this story Amelia makes a powerful point, that underlying racist assumptions can remain intact whilst a superficial engagement with cultural diversity is apparent. Because she is more attuned to the ways in which these assumptions have affected her and her family, she can highlight some of them for the others in the group.

From the above discussion it is evident that the student researchers felt there was a combination of ignorance, misunderstandings and negative attitudes that amounted to a kind of everyday low-level racism that was not being tackled by the school's Citizenship provision. Whilst some members of the group felt that they had personally benefitted from lessons where immigration, the Taliban and Islam were discussed openly, they recognised that this was largely due to their teacher, and was not a systematically taught element of the citizenship education programme. They recognised that the responses of their peers in the interviews indicated there was some need for a more explicit approach to this area.

"I think like if religion were taught it would get over the terrorism thing and people would more understand that it's not just Muslims that are terrorists, you know there was that abductor guy going round taking the kids... all the parents in my little brother's school were going round their little kids saying any guy who is coloured who is like, who doesn't look normal and he's not from England you have to stay away from him and not go near him...and my dad, he's not white or anything, and my mum felt really sad that my dad would feel uncomfortable going to pick my brothers up, and I think that's really out of order that someone could say that to their children and think it's right, so I think if more religions are taught it can get over that terrorism and racism thing" (Amelia, Meeting 5).

Amelia's comments came after a lengthy discussion about the school's RE provision, and there was general consensus that religion was not taught in a way that interested students, nor which engaged with the real lives of people in Britain.

Conclusions

The majority of students felt that Citizenship was well taught by teachers who were largely perceived as enthusiastic about their subjects. The exception was related to teachers who were not specialist Citizenship teachers, and here the students' responses were more negative. Nevertheless, two thirds of students said they felt Citizenship would benefit them in later life. These benefits were often rather general, and the most frequently cited reasons were related to two broad

purposes – preparation for life and learning about the wider world. It was also evident that the boundaries between Citizenship and PSHE were blurred and many of the examples of topics discussed by students related to PSHE guidance more than Citizenship.

In relation to the three main discourses, there was a mixed picture. Whilst many students were able to say something about rights and responsibilities, these responses reflected a largely apolitical conception of rights. This was especially so for responsibilities, where examples were often drawn from lists of personal chores. This is clearly an area where the reality is falling short of the policy makers' intentions. Whilst students report having 'done' rights and responsibilities in class, there is little evidence in their responses that they have any clear understanding about this area, and certainly no evidence that there is any significantly political / conceptual understanding being developed through the Citizenship lessons.

When asked about active citizenship, there appeared to be a desire for more opportunities to engage in community activities. This reflected the practical difficulties in providing opportunities within a school structure. Even so there was some evidence that individual projects could be harnessed for several different types of Citizenship learning, and the school's involvement in the local youth club illustrated how teachers were trying to use this as a resource for different kinds of participation and classroom learning. Given the difficulties inherent in planning community based learning there is a need to make the most of in-school opportunities for active engagement and participation. Whilst the teachers spoke highly about the school council, the students perceived it as problematic. The older they got, the less likely they were to think voting in school elections was important and there was also evidence of some scepticism about the extent to which the school management really wanted to listen to the student voice.

In relation to community and diversity the student research group became increasingly uncomfortable as they became aware of the low level racism that was evident in their interviews. Whilst many students were able to talk in general terms of the benefits of multiculturalism, there was a tendency to elide multiculturalism with immigration. The student researchers felt quite strongly that

the Citizenship curriculum should more proactively tackle prejudice and discrimination in lessons.

Overall then, Citizenship in Oak Park School did seem to provide a space for young people to talk about rights and responsibilities, to participate in active citizenship projects and occasionally to raise issues relating to immigration and diversity. However, the young people's participation in this research indicates that this has not led to any clear or coherent model of citizenship being promoted. Most students see Citizenship lessons as preparation for life outside or after school, and there is a stronger sense of the 'good' citizen than the critical active citizen emerging from the student responses. Key elements of the intended Civic Republican model are missing, or only partially present, and thus voting intentions and a commitment to political engagement receive relatively low levels of support. In the final chapter I discuss some of the underlying reasons for this.

Chapter 8

Conclusions – To what extent does the citizenship education taking place in schools reflect the government's aims for the subject?

In this final chapter I divide my comments into four sections. I start with a reflection on the experience of working alongside student researchers to investigate citizenship education. Section 2 provides a summary of the thesis and concludes that the implementation of Citizenship has not been wholly successful in relation to the government's aims. In the third section I reflect on some of the reasons for this, and make some observations about the nature of curriculum innovation. In the final section I draw together some recommendations for policy development in the future.

Thinking about student researchers

I outlined the rationale for working with student researchers in chapter 1, and the reasons partly related to the potential insight to be gleaned from working with young people and partly to a values commitment to recognise students' voices. Ball's recent work (Ball, 2010), which I refer to below, is theoretically impressive and interesting because of the focus on what teachers actually do when they enact policy, but it remains fundamentally flawed because the young people are largely absent. Whilst he and his colleagues do a good job of exploring teachers as both the object and agent of curriculum policy, the young people, when they do appear, appear as objects, that is to say they have policy done to them. To this extent, students are still too often 'the missing voice' in education research (Cook Sather, 2002). By contrast, as Bland and Atweh have argued, if we really want to understand phenomena in education we need to listen to student voices, and engaging the students in research about these issues not only provides us with the opportunity to listen to them but also holds out the possibility of connecting them to activities aimed at improving education and their experiences within school (Bland & Atweh, 2007: 339).

My rationale for the approach adopted was based on six principles:

1. Young people can act as ethnographic researchers.
2. Young people can design child friendly research instruments.

3. Young people have easy access to respondents.
4. Young people can bring insights to the interpretation of data.
5. Research serves an educational purpose for the young people involved.
6. Research honours Article 12 of the UNCRC and recognises student voice.

In the following comments I will address each of these briefly, and use them to reflect on the experiences in the schools.

1. Young people can act as ethnographic researchers

Entering the pilot school and my case study school I was aware of the limitations of the time available to me as an outsider to try to get to grips with the complicated relationships and ways of working in the schools. Recruiting a group of young people who knew the ropes, understood the subtle status issues between subjects and teachers, and who had experienced the ethos of the school enabled them to act as ethnographers, in a way that I could not. Bland and Atweh discuss this aspect of working with students in the following terms:

“By attending to the voices of... students as presented through their [research] participation, schools have obtained an insider perspective on student issues and the ways in which their policies and practices impact on students. For instance, statements made to... student researchers about racism and teacher attitudes towards indigenous students... were very unlikely to have been made to teachers” (Bland & Atweh, 2007: 343).

These advantages also seemed apparent in my own research, and interestingly, they became most apparent in the later conversations about racism and diversity. It was useful for me to see the ways in which the young people struggled to interpret their interview data, and also struggled to articulate this in the research group, and ultimately I felt this gave me an understanding of the ways in which young people in the school engaged with the issue and experienced race.

Ethnography usually seeks to develop an insider perspective and to gain data from natural settings which provides some sort of access to the shared cultural meanings of the group (Punch, 2009:127). Given that the students were already insiders, they had access to the setting and to the shared meanings of the school already. One of my roles through the research group's discussions was to help them to think afresh about what they knew, saw and heard. One illustration of the value of this approach emerged in their discussion of the differences between teachers. The students spent much time discussing their teachers, especially the

change of head teacher, and their different experiences of Citizenship teachers became very significant in their discussion of Citizenship. This had not occurred to me before embarking on the field work, thus my appreciation of the role of teachers in shaping students' perceptions was almost entirely due to the way I constructed the research around opportunities for young people to talk relatively freely.

The recruitment of the young people is an issue that I feel I did not entirely manage effectively. In both the pilot and the case study I liaised with prospective researchers through my contact teacher and thus when I met them there had already been an important selection process, to which I had not been party. In both contexts however, although I worked with mostly enthusiastic young people, there was some diversity in their opinions towards aspects of Citizenship, and they were able to talk to other students in the school who represented a wider diversity of views.

2. Young people can design child friendly research instruments

It was more difficult than I imagined to maintain the interest of the case study co-researcher group in the nuts and bolts of designing questionnaires and interview schedules. This was partly an issue of time, but also related to the formality with which I introduced this aspect of the work. In the pilot school (discussed in chapter 5) I kept these sessions fairly informal and we worked through questions and discussed issues relating to the construction of multiple choice answers, or coding open responses as they arose. Inspired by Kellett's account of training young children fairly formally in research methods (Kellett, 2005a), when I came to the case study school I adopted a more formal approach, and prepared a handout for each practical session, which I think made the workshops look and feel more like lessons. Whilst the students were interested in devising questions, they were less interested in the precise formulation than the pilot group had been.

Whether this reflected my approach to teaching, or the fact that the case study research group were younger than those in the pilot school, the knock on effect was that I had to devise some of the final wording as I typed up the questions to fit on the space available in our questionnaire. Because of a practical problem with

email communication (another perennial problem I have discovered when working with schools) the time allotted to piloting was not used effectively and so one or two glitches in the phrasing of questions were retained (discussed above in chapter 7). Whilst the input of students on this occasion did not render the questionnaire design foolproof, it did reduce the number of problems in the research instruments. The wording which worked less well was almost entirely devised by me, whereas the questions devised by the students worked well. This was particularly evident in the interviews, where some of the research group became quite adept at phrasing and re-phrasing questions and asking follow up questions to make sure they collected data they felt was useful.

3. Young people have easy access to respondents

There is little to say in relation to this other than to confirm that the combination of a flexible Citizenship teacher who allowed the students to use some lesson time to conduct interviews, and the students' access to other teachers (to ask permission to take students out of class) and their access to other students meant they were able to conduct interviews fairly informally in a fairly tight timescale.

But the issue of access was not merely linked to the availability of fellow students for interview, it was also evident from many of the recordings, that interviewees were often much more at ease with the student researchers than I would have expected them to be with me as an adult from outside the school. Some of the exchanges felt very informal, and there was joking and laughter, which freed up the conversation. Having said that, the student researchers did report finding it more difficult to get young pupils to open up beyond short answers, and this was an area we began to discuss during our de-brief in the middle of the interview period.

This research experience has convinced me that this dimension of the work was indeed an advantage, but I feel that it would be beneficial to have longer to get to grips with the practicalities of interviewing. In this project, there was a time restriction imposed by the number of lessons the students could miss, but their discussion indicated that they were very aware of the issues arising in interviews and were able to adjust their style appropriately. In some cases, for example, interviewers re-phrased questions, provided examples to prompt respondents into

elaborating on short responses and made the interview feel more discursive than interrogative.

4. Young people can bring insights to the interpretation of data

I summarised the questionnaire data in graph form for the students and they identified what they considered to be the most important issues to feed back to the school's management, and which issues they felt should be explored in greater detail in interviews. It was particularly useful to me to hear what sense they made of the numerical data, for example, as an outsider once one has noted that there are differences between year groups in terms of how much students enjoy the subject, it is difficult to know exactly what to make of it. The student researchers developed hypotheses, related it to their own personal experiences of year 7 and year 9, and tested their ideas out in interviews. To this extent it was helpful to get immediate responses to data, which were able to roam beyond the confines of the specific questions asked.

5. Research serves an educational purpose for the young people involved

Although, as I have noted above, the students seemed less interested in learning formally about research methods, they did appear to benefit from the discussions. I explained to them and their teachers that one of the planned benefits of participation would be that the project would help them to reflect on Citizenship and develop skills of advocacy, as defined in the Citizenship programmes of study. It certainly appeared to me that the students were able to engage with increasing confidence in interviews, and were able to present their views cogently to the management group in the school. The reflections recorded in chapter 7 also indicate that the student researchers seem to have been able to organise and express their thoughts in relation to aspects of citizenship with increasing clarity through the research.

6. Research honours Article 12 of the UNCRC and recognises student voice

Because the research project in the school culminated in the students presenting their findings and recommendations to the school management group, this did enable them to formulate and express their opinions on Citizenship education. As part of their presentation, they were also able to report back on some levels of

dissatisfaction they felt, which were also evident from interviews, relating to the ways in which the school council had been operating. Thus in both the pilot school, and the case study school, the students were able to express their opinion of the mechanisms that existed to enable them to express their opinions in the school – a process one might refer to as meta-student voice.

Overall I feel the methodology adopted was useful, and although flawed because of the practical limitations of this particular time-limited project, provides a valuable framework for future work on policy implementation in schools, particularly curriculum policy. In her response to the students, the head teacher of the case study school indicated that she felt there was some benefit in this approach to curriculum review and that she would like to explore the model further. Of course, the student researchers were already well aware that the important decisions about merging Citizenship with PSHE and relocating it to a broader Humanities faculty had already been taken ahead of their presentation of the findings. Therefore I would not claim that this project substantially altered the balance between management decisions and student voice in the school. I do feel however, that the methodology adopted offers the potential of involving young people in reviewing their school experiences in ways which can avoid them being co-opted into managerialist procedures (Cook Sather, 2007). Ultimately the extent to which this potential is realised depends on the goodwill of the adults involved, and the seriousness with which they treat the findings and recommendations. This echoes Lundy's argument that for student voice to have a meaningful impact, others have to listen and act on what they have heard (Lundy, 2007). The approach adopted supports the wider evidence that involving young people as active agents in educational research enables them to think through the issues and articulate a message that has value to them and to others in education; the rest of the process is in the hands of school management (Osler, 2010b).

Thinking about citizenship education

Having reflected on the process of conducting this research I now turn to the substantive conclusions about Citizenship and in particular to the overarching research question, re-stated at the start of this chapter. It has been the contention of this thesis that at the heart of the Labour government's domestic policy agenda

there was a core set of ideas about the role of citizens. Whilst the analysis of exactly what attributes and actions would characterise this citizen developed over time, and varied slightly between different departments and politicians, chapter 2 outlined a number of observations, which are summarised below.

Rights, Responsibilities and Participation

Whilst the government enshrined citizens' rights in UK legislation with unprecedented clarity, there was an emphasis on responsibilities. Conceptualisations of citizens' responsibilities were influenced by an attempt to define a Third Way approach to welfare reform, and thus embodied a mixture of personal responsibility for one's own welfare and that of one's family; and a larger responsibility to become a responsible consumer of welfare services, and to form part of a virtuous cycle in which consumer-citizen choice and voice would drive service improvements. This dimension to talking about responsibilities took on a moral tone, and reflects a communitarian and Christian Socialist tradition within New Labour. However, thinking about responsibilities also extended into participation in the civic realm and informed a range of initiatives inspired to empower people to become active citizens. This strand of thinking reflected a civic republican influence in New Labour thinking, which was particularly espoused by Crick and Blunkett in the Department for Education and the Home Office.

Community and Diversity

At the root of the philosophical traditions mentioned so far sits the notion of the community – sometimes perceived as a moral community from which citizens derive their rights and responsibilities, and sometimes a polity through which individuals realise their potential. Thus the relationship between citizen and community became significant as a site of policy work. Thinking about the relationships between individuals and communities and between separate communities inevitably generated tensions, especially in the wake of the acts of terrorism and civil unrest during the Labour government's second and third terms. This led to a recognition that whilst individuals construct their identities from the resources available to them in the communities they feel they belong to, politicians wanted to promote an additional layer of identity, which would more proactively bind the British together. The language shifted away from a community of

communities (where public funds supported internal community strengthening initiatives) and towards a national project, where communities were open to one another and where individuals' hybrid identities would include a variety of allegiances, including to the nation (where public funds supported bridge building projects between communities).

A Vision for Citizenship Education?

In education policy we have seen that these influences were evident in the policy documents which have sought to shape citizenship education and we have also seen, in the transition from Crick to Ajegbo discussed in chapter 3, how the emphasis shifted from the initial focus on rights responsibilities and active citizenship within communities towards a more overt concern with mutual understanding, bridge building between communities and a greater emphasis on identity. If one were to attempt to simplify these agendas one might characterise Crick's vision as being largely informed by an abstract *political philosophical model* of Britain as a polis with active citizens engaging with one another regardless of social differences; whilst Ajegbo's more *sociological model* recognised the socially constructed nature of identity and sought to encourage citizens to engage with others with regard to their differences. Regardless of this significant shift in emphasis however, Ajegbo was careful to stress that he aimed to add a dimension to Crick's original model of citizenship education, rather than replace it entirely. In fact all the major elements of the initial Crick curriculum stayed in place and were simply added to with a more explicit requirement to teach about identity and diversity.

From Vision to Reality

Having surveyed the debates about these agendas and examined the evidence about citizenship education in practice, we are able to say something now about what happened to the vision in reality, and what impact it had. In short, did the imagined new citizen emerge over the decade in question?

The most important evidence in this regard was considered in chapter 4 and indicated that where citizenship education is taken seriously in schools it does have a positive impact on how young people feel about citizenship and their

intentions to participate. However, the broader discussion of the national evidence demonstrated that the government's intentions have not been generally met and there have been minimal changes in attitudes or knowledge in the period overall. Crick's rallying cry to make citizenship education the path to change the political culture of the nation has not been achieved. The survey data indicates that, over the period in which Citizenship was introduced, young people have become less respectful of politicians, are no more likely to vote, and whilst there are significant numbers of young people who are 'active' there are relatively few who are politically active, or active in the civic realm.

But perhaps the overall picture should not be a surprise – education has never taken on the role of political revolutionary agent. As Bernstein urged us to remember, education cannot compensate for society (Bernstein, 1971b), and there may well have been more than a measure of hubris in some of the claims made for citizenship education in the early days. The first reason for Citizenship's failure to have the intended impact relates to the difficulties of implementing curriculum change. On the national level there was still a great variation between schools in the quality and extent of provision and in my local study the reasons for some of this variation are evident. These issues are discussed in more detail in the following section.

The second reason why curriculum innovation may not lead to wholesale predictable changes in citizenship may relate to the fact that schooling is only one source of formative influences on young people. It may simply be more likely that education plays a supportive role in either reinforcing existing social values and norms, or supporting changes during periods of transition in broader society (Anderson, 2006). Following this line, one might expect the impact of citizenship education to more effectively mirror the overall impact of New Labour's broader attempt to construct new citizens. Simply put, if the overall project failed to take hold in the broader political culture, it seems unlikely that schools would be able to buck this trend entirely. Although this aspect has not been tested specifically in this research, the case study revealed that teachers (chapter 6) and young people (chapter 7) talked about other factors outside of school as being important in shaping young people's attitudes. The opinion poll evidence discussed in chapter 4

also indicated that significant shifts are taking place in society in relation to attitudes towards citizenship.

If one views the policy of citizenship education from these two perspectives, then the mixed picture that emerges is far from a policy failure, rather it illustrates the variety of ways in which policy chimeras encounter the complexities of social reality and are shaped and re-shaped by circumstances. I turn now to consider what the preceding analysis suggests about the process of curriculum reform, and what lessons emerge that could inform future developments in relation to citizenship education.

Thinking about citizenship education as an example of policy implementation

In this section I explore some of the issues arising when politicians take a contested construct such as citizenship and attempt to fit it into a school curriculum. I discuss these conclusions under three sub-headings:

- Staff and school variation
- Subject status
- Curriculum policy

Staff and school variation

1. Teachers create their own vision

The teachers in this study all had rather different ideas about what Citizenship was, and what it was for. In a subject such as Mathematics, this might be acceptable, because ultimately there are some relatively uncontested knowledge and skills to teach, and these can be tested in national assessment regimes. In Citizenship, where everything is inherently more contested and contestable, there is value I think in working through some of the key debates and in clarifying what positions are desirable. One teacher I spoke to felt political knowledge was important in and of itself, another felt that a feeling of self-worth and inclusion was vital, and another that a sense of community should drive their work. Clearly these different starting points will shape their interpretation of the curriculum they encounter, the teaching style adopted and thus shape the experience of the subject for young people.

The NFER surveys at the beginning of the implementation of Citizenship indicated that whilst the vast majority of teachers claimed they understood the purpose of the new subject, very few had read beyond the very short programme of study (Kerr, 2003). Given that this document did nothing more than list areas of knowledge and skills to be taught and made no attempt to explain why, or to put it into a broader context of policy, social change, or broader educational reforms, one must assume that the teachers' certainty reflected either a lack of concern about the broader purpose, or a happiness that they had constructed their own meaning from it. Certainly this latter interpretation is supported by the conversations I had with teachers during this research.

2. School ethos influences the vision

In the schools I visited this connection between Citizenship and school ethos was positive, which presumably reflects the fact that both places were selected because the subject was taken seriously. The head of department in the case study school was also responsible for community cohesion policy, and she clearly interpreted Citizenship as one dimension in that broader policy. Similarly, the head of Citizenship in the pilot school was also coordinator for the international dimension and saw it as one part of a broader commitment to engaging students with the wider world. These joint responsibilities thus reflected the ethos of the schools, and such positions seem to signify the seriousness with which each school approached Citizenship. In each school this strong link to the ethos was also evident in teacher talk and in policy documentation, demonstrating a consistent approach to aligning Citizenship with the ethos. The extent to which this was apparent in the experiences of the students however was varied, for example in the pilot school everyone knew that the school had a strong international ethos, indeed that was why many of the children were there, but whilst many students in the case study school were aware of a claim to be a community school, they were less clear what this meant and less likely to identify this as a defining characteristic of their Citizenship provision.

3. Teachers respond to the local context

All the teachers I spoke to made generalisations about the young people in the school, often linked to judgements about their parents or local area, and these informed their views about what kind of citizenship education was suitable. In the case study school there was some consensus in the department that children lived in a local 'bubble' and that Citizenship could broaden their understanding of the society around them. In the pilot school staff had different views on the nature of their students but spoke about citizenship as a response to the deficits they perceived.

Subject status

1. The struggle for curriculum space

It seems clear that what Crick called the 'strong bare bones' of the programmes of study, were not sufficiently strong to provide a consistent shape to citizenship education in schools. This reflects the weak conceptualisation of the practical implications in the Crick report and the failure to robustly address some of the issues relating to implementing Citizenship in a crowded curriculum (Hayward & Jerome, 2010). There is a continuing tension between the broader idea of citizenship education and the narrower project of Citizenship as a school subject, and the latter has certain rules and expectations attached. As mentioned in chapter 1, according to Bernstein these rules are important in school because they determine the status of a subject, the resources available and clarify the unique contribution of each lesson. Citizenship education was introduced into a strongly classified existing curriculum, in which clear boundaries exist between subjects, which are themselves reinforced by specialist training and subject associations, and by a widely accepted pecking order, in which Maths, English and Science enjoy greater status and resources, especially curriculum time. The bare bones approach, and the ambivalence about whether Citizenship joined other subjects in the timetable as an equivalent subject (albeit one which would inevitably be lower down the pecking order) or whether it could be delivered through or alongside other subjects, replicated many of the problems which had been noted in earlier, failed cross-curricular initiatives (Whitty et al., 1994).

The NFER longitudinal evaluations clearly record the debate about whether citizenship education should happen in specialist classes or through other classes, and eventually evidence emerged (as we saw in chapter 4) that discrete provision was more likely to have successful outcomes. But, in many ways the lack of certainty was difficult to overcome, and still at the end of the first decade of implementation many schools did not have discrete provision. The case study school reflected this uncertainty in two ways. Firstly the staff interviews demonstrated that the subject had still not achieved any sense of stability within the curriculum, and not only had it been clustered into departments with an ever-changing group of other subjects, but even at this late stage was about to be merged with PSHE within a broader Humanities faculty. Secondly the confusion was also evident in the students' responses, as many of the examples of Citizenship lessons they cited were actually unrelated to the Citizenship programmes of study, instead often drawing on content associated with PSHE.

2. The impact of becoming a subject

The issue of status is not easily resolved because the transformation of citizenship education into a tightly defined school subject also seems to bring with it certain other restrictions. There is a risk of a trade-off between the broader aspirations of citizenship education and the narrowing influence of conforming to curriculum constraints. School subjects are taught in discrete time slots, and in Citizenship this was rarely more than one period a week, and was often less. In the case study school, even with a short course GCSE in Citizenship, formal Citizenship classes ended at the end of year 10, to ensure they did not encroach on the core business of getting higher status GCSEs in year 11. But the problem of being squeezed by higher status subjects is not the only one. Being a subject in the curriculum means adhering to the general requirements for being inspected like any other subject and that requires a focus on the evidence of learning, which hardened in OfSTED advice into a focus on the quality of written work in Citizenship (Ofsted, 2004a, 2006). Similarly, at the beginning of the implementation phase Crick called for the subject to avoid text books, but publishers and educational organisations set about producing text books to accompany the school subject status. Research into these text books indicates they tend towards relatively low-level tasks and stay within fairly limited and conservative conceptions of citizenship (Davies & Issitt, 2005).

Being a subject therefore comes with other expectations, and once one places text books, exercise books, a teacher and 25 students in a classroom, the experience of school Citizenship is already to a large extent defined for the students.

The foregoing demonstrates the kinds of pressures that came to bear on Citizenship as it became a school subject, but it is important to recognise that in the case study school many of the students thought Citizenship lessons were actually rather different to this characterisation. Whilst we have already noted that, in Bernstein's terms, the curriculum into which Citizenship was introduced was highly classified, with a strong collection code, there nevertheless appears to be significant scope for teachers to exercise some discretion about what and how to teach, and this indicates that the subject is not necessarily strongly framed. It appears that, despite the presence of several mechanisms of control (text books, OfSTED, examinations), teachers and students still found space to engage in discussion about citizenship issues in ways which were engaging and responsive. The student research group spoke repeatedly about the ways in which their Citizenship classes were different because they did not feel undue assessment pressure and because there was a productive focus on discussion as a major teaching strategy. These students recognised however, that this placed demands on the teacher and as the data shows, only one teacher appeared to be exceptional in the students' eyes.

3. The challenge of community participation

The other important aspect of this process of becoming a school subject relates to the most distinctive element of the programmes of study – the entitlement to some form of active citizenship. School subjects are largely designed to be self-enclosed and are often associated with specialist spaces. Science, the subject, is conducted in science laboratories, as is real life science; PE is conducted in the gym or field, which is where people conduct their normal sporting activities. Citizenship, the school subject, is largely conducted in rather plain rooms whereas the exercise of active citizenship is envisaged as taking place in the public realm – in the community. In short, schools are simply not generally designed to engage routinely with out of school, real life community activities. Where they do so, they are often specific projects, either defined by a specific time frame or a specific group of

young people. But one could argue that to do full justice to the requirement for participation, Citizenship demands more routine access to community based experiences. This was reflected in the description of Citizenship as both a 'subject and more than a subject' (Ofsted, 2006) but this poses very basic organisational problems for schools.

The NFER national surveys (discussed in chapter 4) illustrate the problem both in the low levels of participation children record in their responses, but also unwittingly in the fact that the researchers range far beyond what would normally be considered a 'citizenship' act. Similarly, although it is evident from the case study school that teachers spend a significant amount of time and effort organising out of school experiences for students, the questionnaire data illustrates that a third or fewer say they participate in community activities or that the school has provided them with sufficient opportunities for this. And those examples offered in the questionnaires and interviews reflect a wide range of activities, few of which exemplify the kinds of actions normally identified as active citizenship, for example, participation in after school clubs and sporting activities.

Curriculum policy

Blunkett has given some indication that he became aware of some of these problems:

“Perhaps, looking back, we should have been more ‘directive’ – we opted for a light-touch rather than making it plain that we wanted Citizenship taught in all schools and that was the law” (Blunkett, 2009: 3).

And this may well be one of the conclusions to draw from the implementation of citizenship education, although it is not inevitable that this is the only interpretation arising from this analysis. In essence it seems there are two routes a government can take in determining curriculum policy. The first is to embrace what Ball has referred to as the 'writerly' nature of some policy (Ball, 2010, Bowe et al., 1992) and allow teachers the space and freedom to tailor the curriculum to their context. On this reading, the government intention behind citizenship education might simply be to promote greater discussion of citizenship, and enhance young people's understanding of citizenship and politics. It could not seek to promote a particular form of citizenship, because the local interpretations would be diverse and reflect competing and contradictory views. Government

would therefore have to withdraw to some extent from specifying what the purpose and shape of Citizenship would be and accept a multiplicity of forms of Citizenship and citizenship education. There are some recent curriculum policies which might be seen as falling into this category, for example the introduction of Personal Learning and Thinking Skills (PLTS) left teachers with significant scope for determining how the area could be defined, where it would fit within the curriculum and broader life of the school and who might teach it (Braun et al., 2010).

The second approach is to follow Blunkett's instinct, and is reflected in the 'deliverology' ethos he established at the Department for Education. On this reading, the government might decide to close down the possibilities for interpretation as far as possible and to render citizenship education much more of a 'readerly' policy (Ball, 2010). In their discussion of Ball's early use of these distinctions, Hatcher and Troyna argued that by controlling assessment, and thus determining the content, curriculum policy was much more determined by government than first appeared to be the case to Ball (Hatcher & Troyna, 1994). Ball has recently characterised much of curriculum policy in these terms, especially where the curriculum area is closely aligned with the Standards debate, which is seen as providing a master-narrative through which all decisions must be justified (Ball, 2010).

Whilst the levers of control (assessment and OfSTED) were used to enforce a degree of conformity with other school subjects, they were not obviously used to reinforce the key ideas that had informed the original vision for Citizenship. Thus OfSTED guidance reflected the nature of being a 'respectable school subject' as much as it dwelled on the distinctive nature of active citizenship learning. Similarly, whilst the GCSE exam specifications eventually included 60% of assessment linked to active citizenship, the requirements of such action were ill-defined and allowed young people and teachers to conspire in demonstrating minimum compliance, rather than exploring genuine action (Wright, 2011). If one were to adopt a 'deliverology' perspective and thus seek to exert greater control over the subject it would be necessary to ensure these levers of control were more clearly aligned with the policy vision for Citizenship. Otherwise it seems inevitable

that the general discourse of 'Standards' will determine the key messages that shape implementation at school level.

Recommendations

In reflecting on the data reviewed and the discussion above I would identify several recommendations.

(1) Staffing and status

The NFER data discussed in chapter 4 and the student data presented in chapter 7 demonstrate that specialist teachers make a significant difference to the quality of citizenship education. It is essential that government, when thinking about how to promote citizenship education, should rigorously address this dimension of implementation. Given this it seems significant that teacher training has failed to supply enough specialist teachers for each secondary school in England (Hayward & Jerome, 2010). Similarly, school managers should note that without such specialist teachers, many students will feel they are wasting their time, and the potential benefits of the subject may well be lost. Whilst school management may make the judgement that this is not a priority for staff development (because OfSTED and other quality assurance systems do not address it explicitly), there should be greater awareness that the time and money spent on non-specialist citizenship education is not the cheap option, but is actually loading the odds against the subject having any real value at all.

In relation to the subject's status, whilst the NFER conclusions discussed in chapter 4 make the point that high profile assessment of Citizenship promotes better outcomes, there was some evidence in the student data from my case study (chapter 7) that students were actually appreciative of the fact that their Citizenship teachers were not overtly focused on GCSE scores, unlike other subjects. This holds out the possibility for schools that students may not necessarily need to have everything of value translated into GCSE systems to be valued. This chimes with Osler's work with young people, where she found many secondary students were able to articulate the ways in which exam pressure affected staff and students, and to critique this (Osler, 2010b).

(2) Central or local control

The government should be clearer on what is non-negotiable in citizenship education and what is open to local interpretation. Blunkett and Crick were clear on some features which were closely aligned to civic republicanism, but this was not followed through in detail. It would be possible to align OfSTED regulations and exam specifications with a clear national curriculum, to ensure greater coherence. I suspect though, having seen in chapter 6 how teachers in the case study school interpreted Citizenship in the light of their own values, that teachers would always re-interpret the curriculum to introduce some inconsistencies. This may well be the case where the vision of Citizenship is overtly politicised, and linked to wider policy reforms which are genuinely debatable political issues. This was certainly the case in research I undertook with student teachers in relation to teaching Britishness, where they eschewed models of teaching to promote particular models of identity (Jerome & Clemitshaw, forthcoming).

The alternative would be to formalise procedures around the local interpretation of the curriculum, and to embrace the inevitable variability that would arise from this. Whilst Blunkett favoured the tightening of control, Crick argued that policy makers should accept the ‘postcode lottery’ as a concomitant of local accountability and responsiveness.

“To hell with the post-code lottery argument, I say; diversity is a price worth paying for liberty, community and local democracy” (Crick, 2010: 24).

It may well be that embracing such local variation would require a new form of local accountability, perhaps through a Citizenship version of the local SACREs that determine appropriate Religious Education content.⁴⁰ Schools have demonstrated that they are able to work beyond the confines of the school itself to fulfil broader responsibilities, not least through the Community Cohesion policy, and such local boards may well build on these approaches.

(3) Curriculum in context

Any government initiative which seriously sets out to ‘change a political culture’ (as the Crick report claimed, discussed in chapter 3) should take seriously the

⁴⁰ This suggestion derives from a conversation with Karl Sweeney, a local authority advisory teacher for Citizenship, PSHE and RE and a member of the Council for the Association for Citizenship Teaching.

constant cry for joined up government. I have argued above that it would be naive to expect a single hour a week in the secondary school curriculum to achieve this, and this is especially so when one acknowledges the logistical constraints faced by teachers trying to plan active citizenship experiences (as seen in chapters 6 and 7). It would seem inconsistent if the Cameron government were to undermine the curriculum contribution to replace it with a community based National Citizens Service (NCS) (Cameron, 2009), and it would be more coherent to align the NCS with school Citizenship to ensure the experience connected with the school's efforts to provide active citizenship experience.

Schools are well positioned to provide a basic entitlement to learning *about* citizenship, and may well be able to provide some opportunities for learning *through* citizenship experiences. But young people have varied needs and varied opportunities to learn through citizenship experiences and schools cannot meet them all (as was evident in chapters 6 and 7). If some young people need more opportunities for responsible participation organised outside of the limited options available to them in their normal lives (as the head of Citizenship in the case study school argued in chapter 6), it would make perfect sense to have a broader suite of opportunities on offer. This provides an opportunity for NGOs and education charities to provide wider opportunities than could be provided by schools alone (Davies et al., 2009), but there are also implications for local authorities as well as the NCS organized at national level. Given the scale of the challenge it would seem unlikely that one school-based initiative could provide sufficient educational experiences to help all young people in their journey towards full citizenship, but schools could be well placed to act as a conduit to other forms of provision in local communities.

A final thought

The introduction of Citizenship as a new subject in the national curriculum has provided a fascinating case study, both of a government's efforts to shape the ideal citizen, and of the nature of curriculum reform. The decade long struggle to understand, initiate and improve Citizenship in schools has provided us with some useful insights into both the political project and the school subject. If the government is serious about deepening our democracy through promoting

citizenship then I believe these insights should be addressed seriously. Whilst it is important to establish a clear vision for citizenship which can demand popular support, it is also worth noting the apparent receptiveness of teachers and young people to a broadly communitarian model, which emphasises good behaviour, moral responsibility and helping others. However, as the preceding discussion indicates, the practicalities of curriculum reform also require clear thought about how to create a subject with status, a framework which responds to local conditions and a clear connection to wider community experiences. Whilst we should remain cautious about the impact of a single educational reform, there is evidence from national research that, when taught well, Citizenship can help young people develop a sense of efficacy and the case study reported here indicates that there is an appetite for citizenship education among teachers and many young people. Therefore there are grounds for remaining optimistic that citizenship education could contribute to a broader political project to support democratic citizenship.

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Appendices

- Appendix 1 Ice-breaker ranking activity from the pilot study
- Appendix 2 Focus group questions from the pilot study
- Appendix 3 School survey from the pilot study
- Appendix 4 Interview schedule for teachers from the pilot study
- Appendix 5 Ethics and consent in the case study school
- Appendix 6 Resources for student workshop on questionnaires in the case study school
- Appendix 7 Oak Park Citizenship questionnaire from the case study school
- Appendix 8 Resources for student workshop on interviews in the case study school
- Appendix 9 Students' interview schedule from the case study school
- Appendix 10 Final presentation to the Senior Management Team by the student co-researchers in the case study school
- Appendix 11 Additional discussion of data analysis

Appendix 1
Ice-breaker ranking activity
 Used as initial task in pilot study

Theme	Individual Focused Statement	Collective Focused Statement
Identity	(a) Everyone feels free to express their own beliefs and identity	(b) Everyone feels they belong to society as a whole (i.e. Britain)
Democratic values	(c) People generally try to follow the law	(d) People are punished equally if they break the law
Rights and responsibilities	(e) Individuals know their rights and how to claim them	(f) The government recognises people's rights and tries to meet them
Involvement – participation and attitudes to participation	(g) People get involved in their local community, places of work or schools to help improve things	(h) People vote at every election
Political literacy – knowledge	(i) People understand how decisions are made that affect them in their school or community	(j) People understand how laws are made and how government works
Deliberation	(k) People understand what is going on around them and discuss issues with others	(l) There is a variety of opinions and beliefs in the media

Appendix 2

Focus group questions

Used as starting point for pilot focus group discussion.

What does this school do to help pupils learn about these issues?

- Which lessons are most important?
- What do you learn?
- How is the learning organised?
- How do teachers know what you want when decisions are made in school?

How do pupils feel about this work?

- What do pupils enjoy most about this aspect of their learning?
- What was the best citizenship lesson you had?
- What is the worst thing about it?
- How do you feel about citizenship education?
- Do you feel listened to?

Why do you think the school organises it in this way?

- What do you think the point of this is for you?
- What is the point for the school?
- Why do you think decisions are made in the way they are?

What would you change?

- What do you think is the most important thing to keep?
- What would you change about WHAT you are taught?
- What would you change about the HOW you are taught?
- Would you change anything about how decisions are made?
- How effectively do you think you are being prepared for democracy?

Appendix 3

Pilot school survey

Heath School Year 10 Citizenship Education Survey

This questionnaire has been designed by several students in your year, working with a researcher from the local university. The students will meet in September to plan feedback to staff. We would appreciate it if you could take a few minutes to complete these questions and hand the sheet back to your tutor.

Citizenship education

In this section tick one box only for each question (1-4)

(1) What was your <u>favourite</u> part of citizenship this year?	<input type="checkbox"/> Politics	<input type="checkbox"/> Economics
	<input type="checkbox"/> Global Issues	<input type="checkbox"/> Human Rights
(2) What was your <u>least</u> favourite part of citizenship this year?	<input type="checkbox"/> Politics	<input type="checkbox"/> Economics
	<input type="checkbox"/> Global Issues	<input type="checkbox"/> Human Rights
(3) What is your <u>favourite</u> method of learning in citizenship?	<input type="checkbox"/> Textbook task	<input type="checkbox"/> Watch video
	<input type="checkbox"/> Teacher using PowerPoint	<input type="checkbox"/> Small group activity
	<input type="checkbox"/> Class discussion	<input type="checkbox"/> Using computers
	<input type="checkbox"/> Individual research	<input type="checkbox"/> Visiting speakers
(4) What method is the <u>most commonly used</u> in your citizenship lessons?	<input type="checkbox"/> Textbook task	<input type="checkbox"/> Watch video
	<input type="checkbox"/> Teacher using PowerPoint	<input type="checkbox"/> Small group activity
	<input type="checkbox"/> Class discussion	<input type="checkbox"/> Using computers
	<input type="checkbox"/> Individual research	<input type="checkbox"/> Visiting speakers
(5) <u>Why</u> do you think the school teaches you about citizenship?		

Getting involved

(6) Have you ever given money to a fund-raising event in school? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(7) If you answered 'yes' to question (6), did you know where the money was going? ☐ Yes
☐ Sometimes
☐ No

(8) Do you participate in any of these activities? ☐ Buy fair trade chocolate or food
Please tick all the options that apply to you ☐ Sign petitions
☐ Volunteer to help charities / groups
☐ Sponsor people fund-raising for charity
☐ Recycle
☐ Switch off lights and sockets to save electricity
☐ Other (please say what)

.....

.....

☐ None of the above (please say why)

.....

.....

.....

(9) Did you enjoy the UN day? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(10) Do you feel you learned anything important from the UN day? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If 'yes' what was the most important thing you learned? If 'no', explain why?

Student Voice

(11) Do you think Student Voice is changing?

- ☐ It's improving
- ☐ It's the same as before
- ☐ It's getting worse

(12) Did you vote for your class representative?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

(13) (a) If you answered 'yes' to question (12) please tick the factors that influenced your vote.

Please tick all the options that apply to you

- ☐ Popularity of candidate
- ☐ Capability of candidate
- ☐ For a laugh
- ☐ Felt pressure from others in group
- ☐ Only one person stood for election
- ☐ Other reason (please say what)

(b) If you answered 'no' to question (12) please say why.

.....
(b)
.....
.....

(14) Do you think representatives who are selected to sit on Student Voice should receive any of these privileges?

Please tick all the options that apply to you

- ☐ Access to a special room at break
- ☐ Access to sport equipment at breaks
- ☐ Lunch pass to get to front of queue
- ☐ Badge
- ☐ No privileges
- ☐ Other (please say what)

.....

(15) If you could change one thing about Student Voice, what would it be?

You and school

In this section tick one box only for each question

	Strongly Agree	Partly Agree	Partly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(16) By and large the teachers seem to like me				
(17) I feel I am making good progress at this school				
(18) The school shows respect for students of all races and cultures				
(19) I have never been bullied or insulted because of my race or culture at this school				
(20) The teachers give me respect				

About you

(21) Please select your gender		<input type="checkbox"/> Boy	<input type="checkbox"/> Girl
(22) Please select the box that nearest describes your ethnicity		<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Other ethnic group</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> White UK	<input type="checkbox"/> White and Black Caribbean	<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese	
<input type="checkbox"/> White Irish	<input type="checkbox"/> White and Asian	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	
<input type="checkbox"/> White European	<input type="checkbox"/> White and Black African		
<input type="checkbox"/> White other	<input type="checkbox"/> Other mixed		
<u>Black/Black British</u>	<u>Asian / Asian British</u>		
<input type="checkbox"/> Caribbean	<input type="checkbox"/> Indian	
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Black	<input type="checkbox"/> Bangladeshi	
<input type="checkbox"/> African	<input type="checkbox"/> Pakistani		
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian			

(23) Do you read newspapers?

☐ Every day

☐ At least once a week

☐ At least once a month

☐ Never

(24) How much television do you watch on an average school day?

☐ None

☐ 2-4 hours

☐ Up to 2 hours

☐ Over 4 hours

(25) Do you think you will vote in the general election when you are old enough?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Don't know

Appendix 4

Pilot school interview schedule for teachers

Objective questions – what is happening?

- Tell me about the introduction of citizenship in your school
- What do you think was most familiar to the school and which elements have been new?
- Which teachers have been affected by citizenship education?

Reflective questions – how do you feel about it?

- How have you felt, personally, about the way citizenship education was introduced in your school?
- Has it got better over the last few years?
- What are you most happy about?
- Does anything upset you about the way your school teaches citizenship education?
- Are there any problems for the school in implementing citizenship?

Interpretive questions – why is this important?

- Why do you think the government introduced citizenship education?
- What do you think are the benefits (if any) of citizenship education for your school as a whole?
- What do you consider to be the most important element of citizenship education in the school?
- How might pupils benefit from the introduction of citizenship education?
- Do you think pupils stand to lose out in any way from the introduction of citizenship education as a statutory part of the curriculum?
- To what extent do you think the school promotes democratic citizenship?

Prompt here on:

Curriculum, culture and community

Knowledge, attitudes, skills, identity, democratic values, rights and responsibilities

Active participation, collaboration in learning, debate and discussion

- What do you think is the relationship between democracy and citizenship education?

Decisional questions – what next?

- What single development would you like to see in relation to the school's citizenship education programme?
- What do you think teachers would like to happen?
- What do you think pupils would like to happen?
- If you were starting from scratch again, what would you do differently? What would you keep the same?

Appendix 5

Ethics & Consent in the Case Study School

SCHOOL AGREEMENT

This outline summarises the agreement between the researcher, head of citizenship and head teacher.

Students as co-researchers

The head of citizenship will recruit a group of students to participate in the following activities:

Workshop (1) a focus group (1 March, 11.30)

Workshop (2) setting up a questionnaire (23 March, 09.50)

Questionnaire to be distributed as part of 'Drop Day' on 30 March and collected by the researcher for collation on 1 April

Workshop (3) analysing the results and identifying issues for interviews (26 April, 10.00)

Workshop (4) debriefing pilot interviews and planning for main interviews (11 May, 08.30)

Workshop (5) discuss finding and main evaluation conclusions (17 May, 14.00)

Workshop (6) complete presentation and prepare verbal report to staff (24 May, 10.00)

Ethical considerations

Students will be invited by staff to participate and given the opportunity to withdraw from the groups at any time. Invitation to confirm / withdraw consent will be reiterated at every meeting.

Interviews with staff

It would also be useful for the researcher to have the chance to conduct some interviews with staff involved in citizenship education. It would be useful to meet formally with citizenship teachers twice during the research, ideally during dates when the researcher is in school conducting workshops with students.

In addition, the researcher seeks permission to make a general approach to all staff and speak to some who are not directly linked to citizenship provision.

Ethical considerations

All staff will be asked to participate and alerted to their right to withdraw at any time. Full transcripts of interviews will be sent to interviewees to ensure accuracy. Inaccuracies will be corrected. Later amendments / additions will be added as footnotes to the transcripts.

In addition, the final school case study will be sent to the head of citizenship, who will be asked to comment on the interpretation and analysis of data collected. Any substantial differences of interpretation will be noted in the final account to enable the reader to understand the different perspectives.

Access to documentation

In order to conduct some background research into the school's provision the researcher also requires access to citizenship documentation, for example department handbook, development plan, self-review, schemes of work, meeting minutes, and a copy of the school development plan and any whole school policies directly related to citizenship.

Outcomes

The outcomes for the school would be:

- (a) Skills development for pupils involved and capacity building for student research
- (b) Evaluation report submitted to citizenship department

The primary outcome for my research would be a case study within my PhD thesis, in which the school will be anonymous. In any future publications (possibly a book, probably academic journal articles / conference papers) the school will be anonymous and measures taken to ensure that it will not be possible to identify the school or staff.

Signature

Date

Researcher:

Head of Citizenship:

Head Teacher:

Students' Research Briefing

What is the project about?

Citizenship education is a relatively new subject in the curriculum and this project aims to find out how it is being taught, what young people think about it and how they would like it to develop.

Why you?

Mrs C has chosen several students to participate in this project. This is because we need people who have been at the school a while, who understand some of the issues and who might be interested in helping out.

What will you do?

I will meet with you a total of six times this term and next. In the first meeting we will discuss your thoughts about citizenship and your experiences of citizenship education at Oak Park School. We will then design a questionnaire for distribution across the school and conduct some interviews with other students. I will pull together the results and then work with you to report back to Mrs C and the citizenship department.

What are the benefits?

The school benefits because this will help it to review how effective its citizenship programme is.

You will benefit because you might learn something about collecting, analysing and presenting information. Hopefully this will also be an interesting project for you at the end of term. All participants will receive a certificate from the university recognising your help.

Ethical agreement

When we work together we must agree to be respectful of others in the research group and listen to one another. Whilst we may question the judgements and points of view of people within the group we must always try to do so politely and in a manner which is unlikely to upset someone personally.

If we discuss other people (other students and staff) we must agree that the conversations we have as researchers should not be repeated outside of the meeting. Where issues arise we should report them anonymously in the report back to staff.

If any member of the group discloses some information which causes the university researcher or other members of the group to question their safety or well-being, the issue will be reported to the senior teacher with responsibility for child protection. Similarly, if any other student discloses such information, we must ensure they know the information will be passed on to this teacher. At all other times participants in the group must be prepared to maintain confidentiality and not discuss the names of people who become known to us (within or outside of the research group) during this research project.

You can withdraw from this project at any time.

I hope you agree to join the project and look forward to working with you,
Lee Jerome
London Metropolitan University Researcher

Appendix 6

Resources for student workshop on questionnaires

Thinking about questionnaires...

Why use a questionnaire?

The most obvious reasons include:

- To find out what is happening across the school or year group
- To find out what people think about an issue

But questionnaires can also be used to look for patterns and connections between data, for example:

- Do boys and girls have different responses?
- Does age have an effect on the likelihood of enjoying citizenship classes?

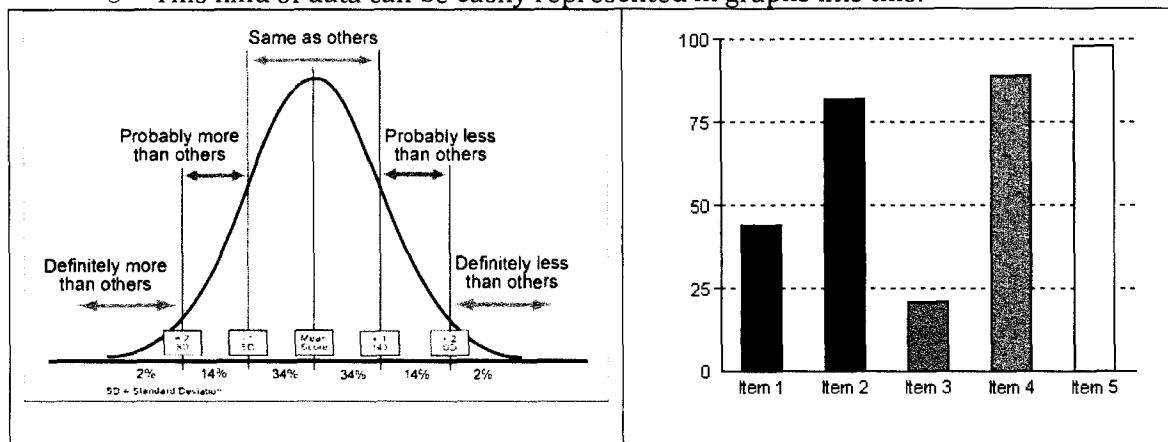
This second type of use requires very careful planning with regard to the kind of questions you ask – you need to collect data on all the aspects you think might be relevant.

What kind of data will a questionnaire give us?

There are two types of data in research:

1. Data which is represented by **numbers**

- 50% of respondents said 'yes' 45% said 'no' and 5% said 'don't know'
- This kind of data can be easily represented in graphs like this:



2. Data which is more complex and **open ended** needs to be analysed in different ways, for example:

- If we asked people to list what they thought of maths, we could try to turn the data into numbers by putting the responses into categories we come up with ourselves e.g. (a) People who like it and succeed; (b) People who like it but struggle; (c) People who hate it but succeed; (d) People who hate it and struggle; (e) People who don't feel strongly; (f) Other views.
- Or we can resist the urge to turn the responses into numbers and just deal with the answers they gave. Here we might focus on what kinds of ideas emerge from people's answers – what kinds of issues influence what they think. The answers might, for example, mention employability, access to further education courses, the need to be numerate, personal enjoyment etc.

We do not need to turn every response into a number in order to do something with it. But analysing open ended answers does take longer – you need to read through every word, several times.

What questions can we use?

This depends on the kind of data you want:

1. **Numbers** are best generated by **closed questions**, for example:

What year group are you in?	Y7 Y8 Y9 Y10 Y11
How much do you like maths?	Very much 1 2 3 4 5 Not at all
Should Art be compulsory?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> No opinion

2. **Open ended** data requires **open ended questions**, for example:

What is your favourite thing about school?

Why do you think the school teaches everyone art?

Avoiding bad questions...

Several things go wrong with questionnaires:

- People don't understand what the question means.
- People give you the answer they think you want to hear, because they don't want to rock the boat.
- The question is actually two questions.
- The question doesn't give the person answering it the option they want to choose.

What's wrong with these questions?

- a. What do you think of maths and how useful it is?
- b. Do you agree that maths is important?
- c. Why is maths the most important subject in school?
- d. Why do you like the school?
- e. Which is your best subject?
- f. What sport to enjoy most: (i) Tennis (ii) Rugby (iii) Swimming

As well as careful planning, it is important that we test out the questionnaire to make sure people complete it in a way that gives us useful data. This process is called **piloting** and it enables us to correct any errors before we use it.

Who do we ask?

You can ask everyone in a relatively small group, but as you get to bigger groups (or populations) you have to choose a **sample**. Although the sample is fewer people than the **population** you are interested in, it has to be chosen carefully if you want to claim you can talk about the whole population from your smaller sample. For example, if you wanted to talk about the whole school but only chose year 7 in your sample, this would not help you to say anything **reliable** about older students. Similarly it would be difficult to speak about the school as a whole if your sample only included 10% boys but the school population was 47% boys.

Population size	Sample
10	10
30	28
180	123
1 000	278
1 000 000	384

Planning Oak Park's Citizenship Questionnaire

Two starting points:

1. What do we want to report back to the school management?
2. What do we want to know more about?

Under the second main question I am interested in what students think about:

- a. Rights and Responsibilities
- b. Their role in their local communities
- c. Active citizenship
- d. Diversity

So I would like us to include some specific questions about these issues.

There were also several issues you raised in our first meeting, which might be worth exploring in more depth:

- Voting seemed relatively unimportant to you
- The relative enthusiasm of your citizenship teacher was important
- You mentioned the importance of subject specialism for teachers
- The type of discussion you have in citizenship was distinctive
- The variety of activities in class kept you interested
- The relevance of the subject was important
- The way you have to review your own opinion made it personally challenging
- The fact that there is 'no wrong answer' made it easy / enjoyable
- The fact that citizenship is not driven by the exam made it more enjoyable and less stressful than other subjects
- The opportunity to put citizenship into action was important
- You felt that there were changing perceptions of citizenship as pupils progress through the school
- The moral element to citizenship education helped to keep you on the straight and narrow
- You felt the school had a central role in the community

It may be worth having two sections:

1. Questions about the teaching of citizenship in school
2. Questions about what students think about citizenship issues

What do you think about this?

What is the most interesting area to explore?

What do you think is worth asking?

Appendix 7

Oak Park Citizenship Questionnaire

Section 1 – Citizenship Education

(1) Who is your citizenship teacher?

(2) How enthusiastic would you say your citizenship teacher is about the subject?

Not at all			OK		Very enthusiastic
1	2	3	4	5	

(3) Do you enjoy citizenship?

Not at all		It's OK		Very much
1	2	3	4	5

Please use this space to explain your answer

(4) Do you think citizenship will benefit you in life?

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> No opinion
------------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------------

Please use this space to explain your answer

(5) How well do you think citizenship is taught?

Not well		OK		Very well
1	2	3	4	5

(6) Do you think there should be more citizenship lessons?

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> No opinion
------------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------------

(7) Do you have any suggestions about how citizenship could be improved?

(8) Do you believe teachers should stop pupils from expressing their views sometimes during class discussions in citizenship? ☐Yes ☐No ☐No opinion
Please use this space to explain your answer

(9) Do you feel there is pressure on you to do well in citizenship assessment and / or exams? ☐Yes ☐No ☐No opinion

(10) Why do you think the school teaches you citizenship?

Section 2 – Citizenship Beliefs

(11) Do you feel you can express your views about political issues in school? ☐Yes ☐No ☐Sometimes ☐No opinion

(12) Do you feel the school helps you realise your rights? ☐Yes ☐No ☐Sometimes ☐No opinion

(13) Do you think it is important to vote in school elections? (e.g. for House Captains, DSD) ☐Yes ☐No ☐No opinion

(14) Do you think you will vote in the General Election (for the government) when you are 18? ☐Yes ☐No ☐No opinion

Please explain your answer

(15) Has citizenship given you the chance to get involved in the community? ☐Yes ☐No ☐No opinion

If yes, please give examples

(16) Do you feel you get enough opportunities to get involved in the community? ☐Yes ☐No ☐No opinion

(17) What responsibilities do you have as a student at de Stafford school?

(18) Has citizenship helped you to realise your responsibilities? ☐Yes ☐No ☐No opinion

(19) What do you think are the most important responsibilities of citizens in Britain?

(20) What do you think is the most important political issue that needs to be solved today?

Section 3 – About you

This section will help us to analyse your answers and present the findings.

(21) What year group are you in? ☐Y7 ☐Y8 ☐Y9 ☐Y10 ☐Y11

(22) Are you a boy or a girl? ☐Boy ☐Girl

(23) How would you describe your ethnicity?

E.g. White Irish, Black British etc.

.....

(24) (a) Do you have religious belief? ☐Yes ☐No

(24) (b) If yes, please state what religion you follow.

.....

(24) (c) If yes, please say how regularly you attend a place of religious worship. ☐Never ☐Rarely

☐ At least monthly ☐ At least weekly

Appendix 8

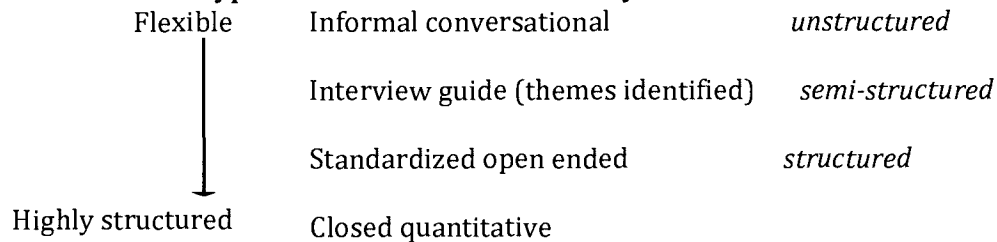
Resources for student workshop on interviews

Interviews as a method for collecting data

Generally interviews are easy to do, but complicated and time consuming to analyse...

Obviously the most important element in your planning will be **what do I want to know?** We will discuss this when we look at the questionnaire results. Once you know what you want to find out there are several decisions to make.

Decision 1 – What type of interview schedule will you use?



Decision 2 – What role will you adopt in the interview?

- Think about your role, how directive?
 - Minimal comments, nods, smiles
 - Reflecting on remarks
 - Probing remarks
 - Linking back to earlier ideas
 - Introducing new topics
- Think about how long you leave before commenting / asking another question
- Agree in advance about confidentiality

Decision 3 – How will you analyse your data?

- They need to be transcribed i.e. written down (or at least sections of them), this takes TIME!
- Think about relevant additional information to add to the transcription e.g. body language, tone, pauses, emphasis, other events / interruptions
- Check transcripts with interviewees if possible
- Everyone in the group should know how they are going to do this. There are some suggestions on the next page.

Decision 4 – Who will you interview?

- This may relate to the issues in the questionnaire data – you may want to explore some opinions in greater detail
- There will also be practical issues about getting access to people in other classes – you will probably have to approach some people through teachers

Decision 5 – Where will you interview people?

- It is important to know where and when you can have access to a quiet room.
- Presumably most interviews will take place during break time, so negotiate a meeting place where you know you have access to a suitable place.

A few tips for successful interviewing

Before the interview

- Make sure you have your recording devices ready – check how it works and check the battery!
- Make sure you have the interview schedule printed and ready
- Make sure you check the room is quiet (and unlocked)
- Make sure you have paper and pens to keep some notes

During the interview

- Start the recording device before you start talking (otherwise you may forget!)
- Start by explaining the research to the person you are interviewing
- Have the focus for your interview written down so you can remind yourself what you want to know
- Try to jot down brief notes / keywords too – these can be helpful to refer back to as you talk and are also useful if something goes wrong with the recording
- If using semi-structured interviews stay focused on the answers and ask for more detail or clarification if you are unsure or think there is more interesting detail
- At the end of the interview remember to thank your interviewee

After the interview

Some suggestions for analysing the interview:

1. Listen repeatedly to the whole
2. Count frequencies of words / phrases
3. Note patterns
4. Cluster items / ideas into classifications or themes
5. Link data to relevant theory or ideas you already gained from the questionnaires
6. Identify links between ideas
7. Organise and re-organise parts
8. Identify underlying themes / concepts / assumptions
9. Code text, for example label bits to do with teachers, bits to do with the curriculum etc
10. Writing summaries / themes

Appendix 9

Student Interview Schedule

These questions were used as the basis of the peer interviews conducted by students in the case study school.

1. What year group are you in?
2. Tell me about your experience of citizenship education in school?
3. Has Citizenship improved your level of knowledge about politics?
4. Has Citizenship changed your ideas about politics? If so, how? Why?
5. Has Citizenship affected the way you think? How? Why?
6. Does Citizenship provide you with the knowledge you need to be able to make a decision when you are old enough to vote?
7. Do you think Citizenship will affect you later in life? How? Why?
8. Can you give an example of a right you have?
9. Can you give an example of a responsibility you have?
10. Has the school made you aware of your rights and responsibilities?
11. Has Citizenship got you involved in the community? Why? How?
12. Do you think community involvement is a good thing? Why?
13. Do you feel it is your duty to help people who are less well off than you?
14. Do you think religion has an impact on your views in Citizenship?
15. Britain is a multicultural society. How does this affect you? What are the advantages and disadvantages?
16. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about Citizenship?

Appendix 10

Final Presentation to Senior Management by Student Researchers in Case Study School

Slide 1

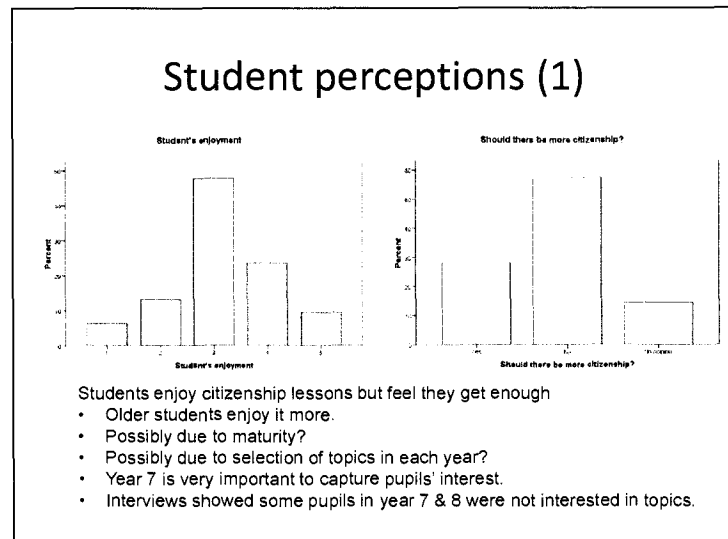
Researching Citizenship at Oakton

Slide 2

How we collected data

- Questionnaires on Drop Day with 300 responses to gain an overview.
- 25 follow up interviews to gain more depth.

Slide 3



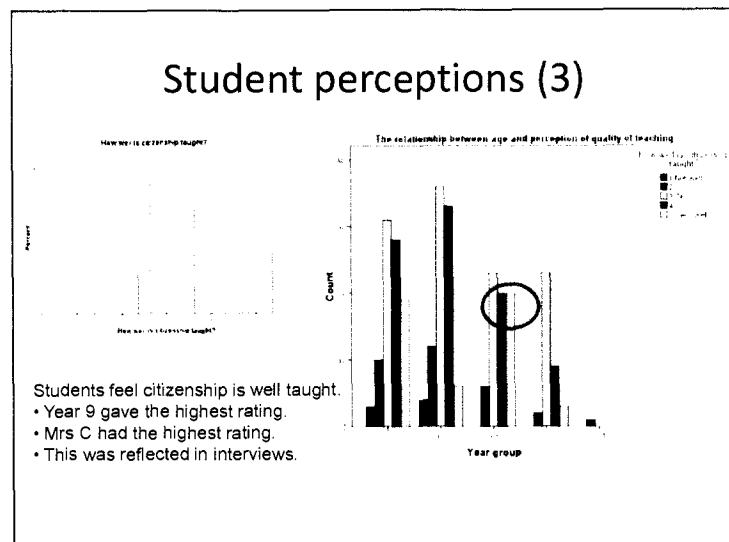
Slide 4

Student perceptions (2)

Recommendation 1

Citizenship department should review the choice of topics covered in each year, to try to engage younger students more.

Slide 5



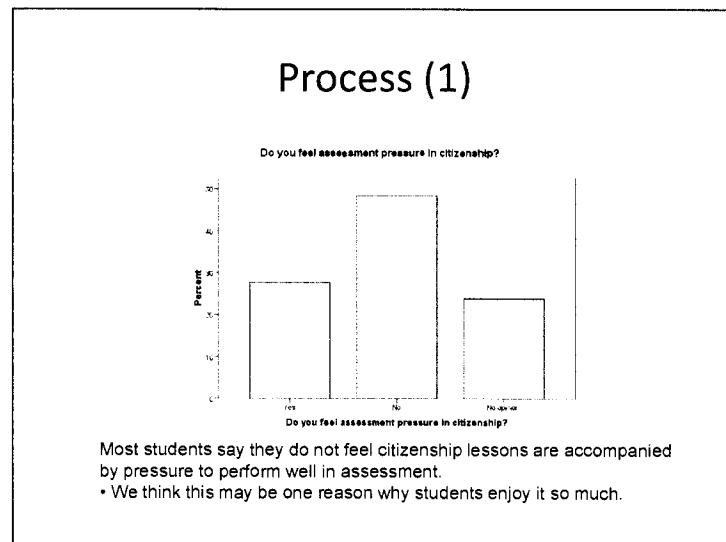
Slide 6

Student perceptions (4)

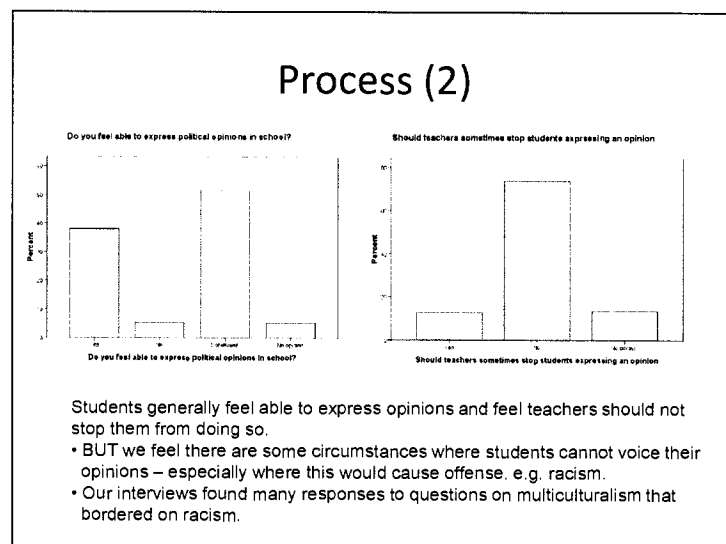
Recommendation 2

Students appreciate specialist teachers and believe they teach the subject well.

Slide 7



Slide 8

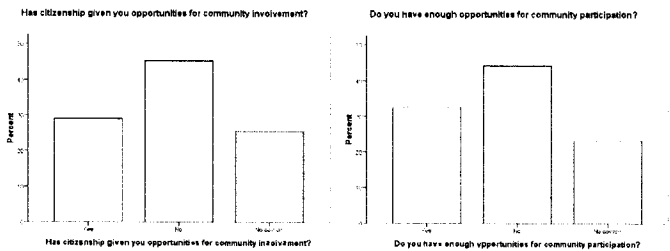


Process (3)

Recommendation 3

We feel that the school could teach about diversity and racism more systematically to raise awareness of what is and is not acceptable.

Process (4)



These two questions show no difference between school and general opportunities for community involvement.

- Approximately a third believe they have enough opportunities to participate.
- Interviews showed us that participation is valued by many, even those who are not actively engaged.

Process (5)

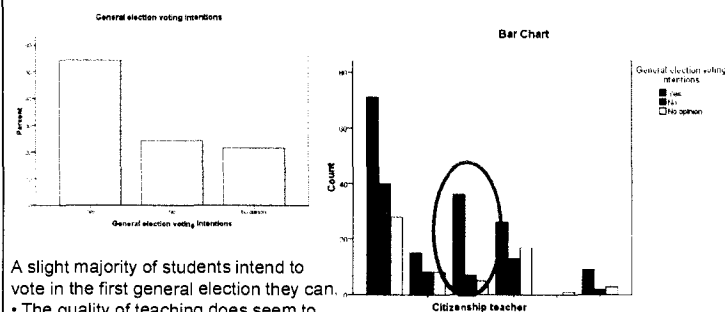
Recommendation 4

Review the placement of opportunities for community participation across all years.

Recommendation 5

Develop more opportunities for direct involvement in the local community.

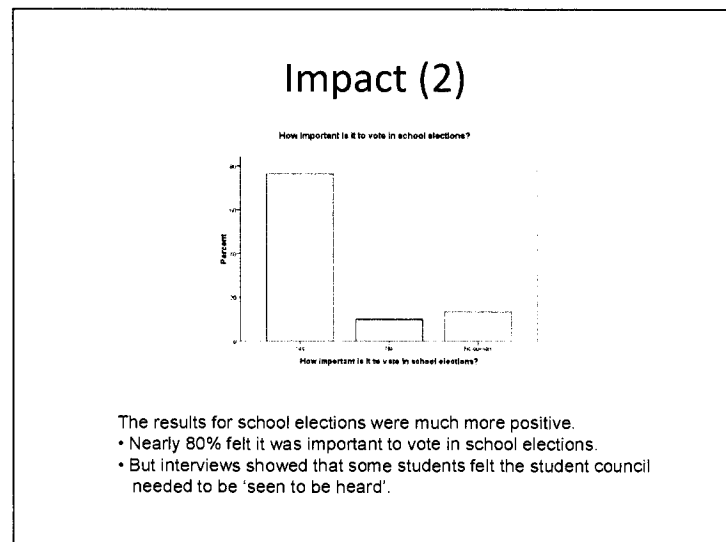
Impact (1)



A slight majority of students intend to vote in the first general election they can.

- The quality of teaching does seem to be related to higher voting intentions.
- Almost a fifth have no opinion.

Slide 13



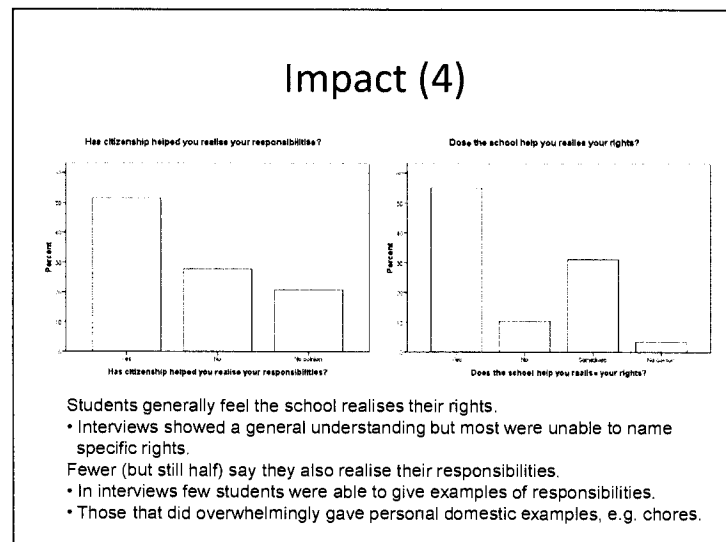
Slide 14

Impact (3)

Recommendation 6

The school should communicate more effectively about what the student council does and achieves.

Slide 15



Slide 16

Impact (5)

Recommendation 7

The school should consider the balance between focusing on *individual* rights and responsibilities and *political* rights and responsibilities.

Appendix 11

Additional discussion of data analysis

Whilst the main data analysis strategies discussed in the chapter 5 were continued in the main case study, the design of the survey in Oak Park did enable me to collect more qualitative data from 290 respondents across years 7-10. The nature of the data collected was slightly different for each question and I illustrate the ways in which I managed the data in this appendix.

Question 4 Do you think citizenship will benefit you in life?

This question included a closed response (Yes / No / No opinion) plus an open text box after the text 'Please use this space to explain your answer'.

In this example all the surveys that were returned included a response to the closed question. 189 students answered 'yes' and I read through their written explanations several times to enable me to get a feel for the kinds of responses that featured. From this I added additional columns to the results spreadsheet to code the kinds of explanations the students gave. In this example there was a fairly wide array of types of answer:

1. Learning about the community
2. Learning about diversity
3. Increasing prospects for employment
4. Promoting good citizenship
5. Personal benefits
6. Learning about government and politics
7. Preparation for life
8. Learn to resolve problems
9. Learn about rights
10. Learn specific skills
11. Learn specific knowledge
12. Learn how the world works

Some answers included several types of response, for example:

Respondent 9: 'because it helps you learn about the world we live in and how to work in a group' was coded as 10 & 12

Respondent 55: 'In jobs and life to understand different cultures and religion' was coded as 2, 3 and 7.

The object of this method of analysis was to look for recurrent themes across the responses. The categories were not developed to serve as mutually exclusive headings, for example some responses were coded as 11 if there was mention of a specific issue that students felt they were learning about (e.g. the environment, war, poverty) whilst they were coded as 6 if they mentioned learning about politics and government (which is ultimately just another particular type of issue), which clearly implies that 6 is a sub-set of 11. However, the main purpose of the analysis was to develop some sense of what types of issues emerged most commonly and which were relatively infrequently mentioned, not to develop a comprehensive way to classify all possible responses. If the environment had been mentioned more I would have included that as a separate category as well, thus category 11 functions as a general category for responses which referred to knowledge but which were not frequently mentioned by others. What emerged most obviously in this particular answer was how commonly students offered answers that were related to some notion of 'being prepared for life' or which mentioned 'the world' or 'the wider world'. This analysis was therefore simply a device for gaining a clearer impression of the recurrent ideas in the 290 responses, which is why the discussion of data does not subject the data to any further analysis than to note the frequency with which these ideas were mentioned.

Question 10 Why do you think the school teaches you citizenship?

The approach for analysing this question was similar to that used for question 4, in that answers were coded in relation to a number of categories. The categories were identified after reading all the responses, and I continued to devise new categories until I could assign a code to every complete response (there were 227 complete responses). Many of the ideas from question 4 were repeated, but because of the neutral phrasing this question also elicited more negative responses (15 and 16). The categories were:

1. Example of active citizenship
2. So we know about our community
3. So we understand diversity
4. So we know about the environment
5. So we learn about global issues
6. Because it's good for us
7. So we know about government
8. So we know about the law
9. So we understand the news
10. To help us prepare for life
11. So we understand our responsibilities
12. So we understand our rights
13. So we learn specific skills
14. So we learn how the world works
15. Negative responses (e.g. to bore us, as a punishment)
16. Because it's a requirement

Answers were assigned to the 'best fit' so for example answers about pollution and recycling were counted in category 4 alongside responses which used the word 'environment'; and category 8 included respondents who said Citizenship was to teach about the law and one who elaborated and said this was so that people would follow the law. As with question 4, the objective was to determine which types of response seemed to be mentioned more frequently than others, rather than to determine a system of classification that would serve any other purpose. This was simply a means to aggregate the data for further description.

Quantitative analysis

The closed questions also enabled me to conduct a series of tests for correlation between various factors. As discussed in chapter 5, these tests were carried out using SPSS and I checked for correlations between all the biographical factors (Age, Gender, Ethnicity, Religious belief) and all the closed questions in the survey. I also tested for correlations between several of the closed questions, especially where the student co-researchers felt there may be a connection, for example, between a respondent's level of enjoyment (question 3) and the degree to which they consider the subject was well taught (question 5). The most significant findings are reported in the main text.