Citizenship Education in Commonwealth Countries

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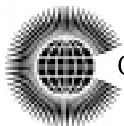

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Marlborough House
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London SW1Y 5HX
United Kingdom

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Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat

Edited by Ros Patching
Designed by The Pen & Ink Book Company Limited
Cover design by The Pen & Ink Book Company Limited
Cover photo: Commonwealth Secretariat/Kenroy Ambris
Printed by Hobbs the Printers, Totton, Hampshire

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Copies of this publication may be obtained from

Publications Section
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London SW1Y 5HX
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Fax: +44 (0)20 7839 9081
Email: publications@commonwealth.int
Web: www.thecommonwealth.org/publications

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN: 978–1–84929–071–5 (paperback)
978–1–84859–125–7 (downloadable e-book)

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Foreword

The Commonwealth Secretariat launched *Civil Paths to Peace*, a Report of the Commonwealth Commission on Respect and Understanding, in 2007. This was the outcome of a mandate given by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their 2005 meeting (CHOGM) held in Malta to look into causes of conflict, violence and extremism in Commonwealth countries. At the 17th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (17CCEM), held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Ministers discussed how education could contribute to enhance respect and understanding among its citizens and urged the Secretariat to focus its work on fostering education for Respect and Understanding based on core Commonwealth values, among other priority areas.

This publication takes forward the ministerial directive by reviewing the Secretariat's earlier work on citizenship education and possible subsequent revision or extension in relation to the current Commonwealth Mandate on Respect and Understanding as set out in the *Civil Paths to Peace* report.

The report takes the view that the solution to conflicts within the Commonwealth should be rooted in the association's agreed principles of human rights, democracy, gender equality, the rule of law and a transparent and accountable political culture.

This study assesses the place of citizenship education within the range of possible interventions for developing respect and understanding.

Citizenship education has been practised for many years in Commonwealth countries, yet interpreted and implemented in many different ways. National initiatives and small-scale local interventions are reviewed in relation to two key aims of social cohesion and strengthening democracy. Particular attention is given to the challenges of implementation and the problematic disjuncture between ideals and practice. These challenges are further explored through five case studies from Canada, England, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Vanuatu.

In addition, examples of best practice are discussed, relating to diverse work including North–South school partnerships, democratic schools, participation of ex-prisoners in post-conflict education and intercultural universities.

The report recommends new forms of political participation: an emphasis on non-sectarian, non-parochial education that expands rather than reduces the reach of understanding, and greater support to young people, who represent over half of the Commonwealth's two billion citizens.

The Secretariat renews its support to national governments in this respect, with particular attention to teachers and teacher education, and maintains support through the process of implementation, with careful monitoring and evaluation of interventions.

The report proposes that citizenship education should incorporate the following principles: teachers and students should be involved in the conceptualisation and development as well as the implementation of initiatives; teaching about democracy should take place in an environment that embodies democratic values; and there should be porous boundaries between educational institutions and experiences of participation outside.

Attention must also be paid to multiple levels including curriculum and pedagogy, the school environment, teacher education and the education system as a whole. Social justice in educational access must go hand in hand with the development of citizenship through the curriculum.

I hope Commonwealth countries will find this publication helpful in their endeavour to revitalise citizenship education programmes in their respective countries.

Ransford Smith
Deputy Secretary-General
Commonwealth Secretariat
February 2012

Summary

Commonwealth countries face a range of significant challenges in contemporary times, relating to conflict, HIV/AIDS, gender inequality, threats to social cohesion and disengagement of young people. The Civil Paths to Peace report in 2007 gave education a central role in promoting the 'respect and understanding' agenda across the Commonwealth and responding to these challenges. However, engaging education for these ends requires a sustained focus on the nature of educational processes. While expanding educational access is essential, research shows that attention must be paid to the content of schooling, since schools can promote as well as work against conflict.

This study assesses the place of citizenship education within the range of possible interventions for developing respect and understanding. Citizenship education aims to develop learners' capacities to participate in the political sphere, and to understand and defend their own rights and the rights of others. This report discusses a range of approaches, including Martha Nussbaum's proposal for promoting three qualities of critical self-examination, world citizenship and the narrative imagination (a form of empathetic understanding of others).

Citizenship education has been practised for many years in Commonwealth countries, yet interpreted and implemented in many different ways. National initiatives and small-scale local interventions are reviewed in relation to two key aims of social cohesion and strengthening democracy. Particular attention is given to the challenges of implementation and the problematic disjuncture between ideals and practice. These challenges are further explored through five case studies of Canada, England, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Vanuatu. Examples of best practice are then discussed, relating to diverse work including North–South school partnerships, democratic schools, participation of ex-prisoners in post-conflict education and intercultural universities.

In addition to its wider work with young people, the Commonwealth Secretariat undertook a range of actions from 2000–2003 to enable countries to develop national frameworks for citizenship education. This report recommends that the Secretariat renew its support to national governments in this respect, with particular attention to teachers and teacher education, and maintain support through the process of implementation, with careful monitoring and evaluation of interventions. More broadly, Commonwealth countries should foster initiatives promoted by communities and non-governmental organisations as well as national frameworks. Citizenship education should incorporate the following principles: teachers and students should be involved in the conceptualisation and development as well as the implementation of initiatives; teaching about democracy should take place in an environment that embodies democratic values; and there should be porous boundaries between educational institutions and experiences of participation outside. Attention must be paid to multiple levels including curriculum and

pedagogy, the school environment, teacher education and the education system as a whole. Social justice in educational access must go hand in hand with the development of citizenship through the curriculum.

Introduction

While there have been significant advances since the Second World War in global understanding and the protection of fundamental human rights, many people around the world still contend with conflict, discrimination, insecurity and poverty. In responding to these tragedies and challenges, education – in its many forms – is often granted a pre-eminent role. Faith in the possibilities of education was affirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that:

> Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups…
>
> (United Nations, 1948)

Perhaps nowhere is the pivotal role of education more eloquently expressed (gender insensitivity notwithstanding) than in the founding Constitution of UNESCO, which states that: 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'. In similar ways, education has been called upon to bring about social goals as diverse as economic growth, population control, social cohesion, sustainable development, peace, patriotic sentiment and political empowerment.

Such are the expectations on education that it seems almost destined to disappoint. In fact, the expectation of an economic miracle through investment in basic education in newly independent countries of Africa and Asia in the post-war period in many cases did result in disillusionment. Education is certainly not a 'silver bullet', an automatic and straightforward solution to easily defined problems. And yet, it can indeed be a miraculous tool, one that gets to the heart of human divisions and suffering, transforming them deeply, rather than scratching the surface.

The UNESCO Constitution is certainly right that peace (and justice) must be built first in people's minds. Yet it must not be assumed that this is a straightforward battle, either in terms of the fundamental moral and political positions to be promoted or defended, or in terms of the processes through which people's values are shaped. When considering the ways education might best support – and avoid exacerbating – hostility and mutual incomprehension, careful thought is needed as to the forms of education, the processes of teaching and learning, the educational providers and sites, as well as the ways in which education policies and practices are established.

This view of education – of its wondrous possibilities and inevitable limitations – underpins this report. The task here is to assess the role that education – and *citizenship education* in particular – can play in developing respect and understanding in Commonwealth countries, a platform emerging from the 2005 Heads of Government Meeting. Before assessing the notion of 'respect

and understanding' in question, there will first be a brief overview of the Commonwealth and its educational challenges.

Challenges facing Commonwealth countries

The 54 member states of the Commonwealth are distributed across six continents, including countries with vast land area like Canada to small island states such as Nauru, and cover the full range from high to low income and varying positions on the Human Development Index. As many as 26 Commonwealth states have a population of less than 1 million, while India alone has well over 1 billion. For the most part the Commonwealth states are united by the use of English, either as the sole national language or as an additional official language, and many share characteristics such as a parliamentary political system and other features of the British colonial legacy. Otherwise, the countries are extremely varied in their histories, cultures and geography.

While many of the challenges faced in the Commonwealth are global in their reach, a number of countries are affected disproportionately by them, such as southern African countries in relation to HIV and AIDS, and low-lying island states in relation to climate change on account of the risks of a rise in sea levels. In addition to environmental concerns, the 32 small states in the Commonwealth can also be politically and economically vulnerable, and reliant on good relations with neighbours. While the Commonwealth as a whole is underpinned by a strong commitment to democratic political systems and the rule of law, the member states have not been able to avoid internal disputes: of the 23 armed conflicts around the world in 2003, nearly half were in Commonwealth countries (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007). These conflicts – together with environmental disasters such as the 2004 Tsunami – in many cases lead to high numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees. Poverty levels are also high in a number of countries, being both a possible cause and result of these conflicts.

Even high income countries face significant challenges at the current moment. While increasing migration has brought a rich diversity to metropolitan centres, it has also led to resentment amongst existing inhabitants (particularly those on low income), and integration of new populations has had varying success. In countries like the UK, Australia and Canada, the significant challenge remains of building social cohesion around shared values that are inclusive of all different ethnic, cultural and religious groups. Challenges associated with ethnic and religious diversity can also be seen in many low and middle-income countries, such as India, Sri Lanka, South Africa and Kenya.

Governance is a key issue in many countries, both in relation to combating corruption and installing effective democratic institutions and processes. In recent years, a number of Commonwealth countries have emerged from military dictatorships to constitute functioning democracies, but these transitions are fragile and need continued efforts. As argued by Collier (2007), democracies require not only multi-party elections but also elements such as a free press and independent judiciary.

Marginalisation is also a key problem for countries across the income range, manifesting itself in a number of different ways. In its most explicit form, certain populations may be denied citizenship altogether, on account of their migrant or refugee status, their ethnicity or nomadic lifestyle. Even in cases in which official citizenship is granted, many groups remain excluded from effective participation in political processes and in economic and cultural activities on account of active

discrimination or their lack of relevant knowledge and skills. Education is, therefore, central to the marginalisation debate, as evidenced by the focus of the 2010 EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2010). Many groups are marginalised from access to formal education, or to education of quality, and this in turn leads to their marginalisation from the broader society, creating a cycle of exclusion that is not only a fundamental injustice in itself, but can also lead to criminality and conflict.

Educational initiatives in low and middle-income countries in the Commonwealth are largely focused on the global framework of Education for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals. Following the failure of the global community to meet the challenge of universal primary access in the decade following the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, a further set of goals was established in the Dakar conference of 2000. Most prominent of these is the requirement for universal primary education by 2015, but there are five other goals relating to early childhood education, youth and adult life-skills programmes, adult literacy, gender equality and quality of education.

Progress towards these goals in Commonwealth countries has been reviewed in the publication *Achieving the Goals – 2009* (Packer and Aggio, 2010). Of 40 Commonwealth countries on which data is available, over a third have achieved near universal enrolment, while in 19 countries more than one in 10 children of the relevant age group are out of school (see table below). Survival to the last grade of primary school is low even in some countries that have high initial rates (e.g. Zambia, India and Jamaica).

Adjusted net enrolment ratio (%) (2007 or most recent year)

Above 95%	Australia, Barbados, Belize, Brunei Darussalam, Cyprus, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, New Zealand, St Lucia, Seychelles, Sri Lanka, Tonga, Tanzania, United Kingdom, Zambia (16)
90–94.9%	The Bahamas, Jamaica, India, Malta, St Kitts and Nevis, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, South Africa (8)
75–89.9%	Bangladesh, Botswana, Dominica, The Gambia, Grenada, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, Vanuatu (12)
Below 75%	Antigua and Barbuda, Ghana, Lesotho, Nauru, Nigeria, Pakistan, Solomon Islands (7)

Source: Packer and Aggio, 2010

Increasing the rate of access in many countries remains a significant challenge, even in the context of the concerted push provided by the Education for All movement and its associated initiatives. Even when sufficient funds are in place, difficulties are posed by geographical factors (for example the remote areas of North-East Kenya), nomadic populations, HIV/AIDS and the competing demands on children's time, including paid as well as household-based work. Teacher shortages are a significant problem, and even when there are sufficient numbers, absenteeism and unsatisfactory teacher education reduce their effectiveness. Quality of education, therefore, remains a significant issue, even in countries that have achieved high rates of access.

Gender is a significant factor in many Commonwealth countries. The majority of those denied access to primary education across the world are girls (54%, according to the latest figures –

UNESCO, 2010), although the disparity is declining. The gender parity targets have been achieved in 36 Commonwealth countries, yet there are 13 in which girls are still disadvantaged at the primary level[1]. In some countries –particularly those in the Caribbean – enrolment rates for girls are higher than those for boys at the secondary level, representing a historical victory in terms of opening opportunities for females, but raising a new challenge of responding to the alienation of teenage boys from institutional education. Of course, it is important to remember that 'parity' is not the same as 'equality' (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2005), and there are many areas other than initial access in which discrimination on the basis of gender may occur, in relation to textbooks and the curriculum, school infrastructure and so forth.

Looking beyond primary level education, there are other significant challenges. A total of 18 countries[2], predominantly in sub-Saharan Africa, have less than 50 per cent of young children enrolled in pre-primary education. There is inadequate data on adult literacy, but for those 29 countries assessed, 12 are unlikely to meet the EFA targets. Sierra Leone is projected still to have a 52.5 per cent illiteracy rate for 15–64 year olds in 2015, with Mozambique on 50.7 per cent and Pakistan on 41.6 per cent. Enrolments in higher education have expanded rapidly, in many cases fuelled by new private sectors – yet equity and quality remain concerns. Morley's (2005) study of higher education in Commonwealth countries (focusing on South Africa, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda) showed that despite improving access rates, discriminatory practices impeded both women's career progress within universities and female students' learning experiences.

Countries in the Commonwealth with well-developed education systems still face a number of educational challenges. Persistent inequalities characterise even systems with near universal access, on account of the stratification of educational institutions, disparities in home support for learning and discrimination such as institutional racism. The curriculum also remains a battleground between different political and epistemological camps, and strains to respond to the social demands placed on it by government and other groups. Funding is also becoming a significant challenge in the context of the economic downturn, particularly in relation to the expansion of higher education systems.

Civil Paths to Peace

This study builds on *Civil Paths to Peace* (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007), the report of the Commonwealth Commission on Respect and Understanding. Specifically, it is a response to the educational challenges identified by the report, and a closer look at the ways schools and other educational settings can contribute to the broader task of fostering respect and understanding.

The Commission was set up following the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 2005, which via the Valletta Communiqué '… affirmed the importance of promoting tolerance, respect, enlightened moderation and friendship among people of different races, faiths and cultures' and declared the need 'to explore initiatives to promote mutual understanding and respect among all faiths and communities in the Commonwealth.' The Commission was chaired by the economist and philosopher Amartya Sen, and included a number of respected scholars, politi-

1 India, Swaziland, St Vincent and the Grenadines, South Africa, Tonga, Antigua and Barbuda, Cameroon, Mozambique, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea.

2 Of the 44 for which data are available.

cians and social activists from around the world. The report produced by the Commission was endorsed by Commonwealth leaders, and led to the Munyonyo Statement on Respect and Understanding, adopted in 2007. The respect and understanding agenda was further developed at the 17th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in 2009.

Civil Paths to Peace (hereafter, CPP) is a response to the dual scourges of group violence and terrorism in the contemporary world. As indicated by the title, the report is characterised by a commitment to *civil* action, although it is acknowledged that there may be a role for military intervention in some cases. The response to these scourges is the development of 'respect and understanding':

> The importance of understanding and respect lies partly in their intrinsic value – indeed they are indispensable parts of good living in peace and harmony with each other – but also lies in their contribution to restraining and removing the group-based violence and terrorism that have become such pernicious features of the contemporary world. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007: 5)

'Respect', according to CPP:

> is about acknowledging a common humanity, and a preparedness to treat everyone, no matter how different their world views, with the dignity they deserve because of humanity. (p.16)

CPP emphasises that the notions 'respect' and 'understanding' do not entail 'unanimity of substantive views of different people' (p.16). Nevertheless, respect does:

> demand trying to understand the points of view of others and why they are held, and appreciating the shared interests that people of diverse groups have in cultivating common objectives. (p.16)

This position corresponds to the idea of an 'overlapping consensus' put forward by the political philosopher John Rawls (1993), through which democratic societies containing multiple groups with different conceptions of the good are held together by agreement on certain common principles. This idea has substantial implications for educational settings, as will be explored further in this report.

The mode of action endorsed by CPP is the so-called 'Commonwealth approach', which 'involves a tradition of doing things through dialogue, where everyone has the right to speak, to be heard and to be consulted in coming to a common view' (p.17). This conception of consensus building is close to those of deliberation and deliberative democracy, ideas that have gained prominence in recent years as a counterpoint to the combative, majoritarian forms of democracy that often alienate minorities, divide societies and reduce political discussions to the 'lowest common denominator'. As will be explored through this report, education can contribute to deliberation in society both by equipping people with the skills and knowledge needed, but also by providing a space in which people of diverse groups can come together and interact.

One of the characteristics of CPP is its emphasis on multiple identities. It sees 'the truncating of identities down to a single category' (p.29) as a key cause of group violence – and this truncation is seen to have been spurred on by opposition to the homogenising forces of globalisation. While by no means opposing the practice of religion, it warns against reducing people to their faith:

> Whilst religious identities can be used in a very positive way, like for example instilling a moral code and way of living, stressing religious identities over and above other political and social identities can undermine efforts to strengthen civil society and community cohesion. (p.22)

Questions of religion are highly topical in educational circles, due to continuing debates over the teaching of religion in state schools, controversies over the use of religious dress and symbols, and the emergence of new faith schools, within both private and state sectors. There are strong disagreements over the desirability of faith schools in contemporary societies. For example, the separation of most young people in Northern Ireland into Protestant and Catholic schools was seen to exacerbate the conflict in the territory (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000) – although this view is not shared by all. For CPP, faith schools:

> may be problematic if the impact of these schools is that students learn to see the world in fragmented terms, with their faith identity setting them apart from others with different faiths or no faith at all. (p.64)

On the other hand, the report *Engaging with Faith*, stemming from the Commonwealth Foundation (2007) project on Improving Understanding and Co-operation between Different Faith Communities, provides a different perspective. This report encourages a stronger acknowledgement of the importance of religious organisations in service provision and the place of faith in people's lives as a means of bringing about development and mutual understanding.

Responses proposed by CPP to the disrespect and hostility that are seen to generate violence include governmental activities, but also other spheres of society such as the media and education. Specifically, the report puts forward seven recommendations: use of dialogue and multilateralism; commitment to civil paths – not to be displaced by military initiatives; addressing grievance and humiliation; political participation and inclusion; women's political participation; contributions of the media and communication; and education and the role of young people. This report will address the seventh of these recommendations, that relating to education and young people, although there will necessarily be engagement with the other six, given the centrality of education to promoting respect in these different spheres.

There are a number of roles education can play. One educational implication of the report is the need to challenge within schools contested theories such as the 'clash of civilisations', and provide an 'intellectual confrontation of confused and flammable readings of the world' (p.5). Education is also instrumental in allowing young people to develop awareness of their own multiple identities. The portrayal of history in school textbooks, and its treatment by teachers in class, also plays an important role in either exacerbating conflict or promoting reconciliation. Skills can also be gained for effective political participation – through which previously marginalised groups can gain seats at the decision-making table, and consequently feel stronger identification with the whole of society and endorsement of its political system.

There has been considerable interest in the relationship between education and conflict in recent years, raising awareness of the negative role that schools can play in certain contexts, as well as positive responses. The 2011 *EFA Global Monitoring Report*, focusing on armed conflict and education, highlights the scale of the issue, identifying over 48 armed conflict episodes between 1999 and 2008 and estimating that 28 million children of primary school age are out of school in con-

flict affected countries (UNESCO, 2011: 23). Further, UN data reports that over 43 million people were displaced at the end of 2009, and that almost half of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) are under 18 (UNESCO, 2011: 25). Displacement exposes children and youth to the risk of extreme disadvantage in education and can also put pressure on host communities, presenting complex challenges to education provision as well as citizenship education.

Davies (2004; 2005) provides an extensive analysis of the relationship between education and conflict. While the roots of conflict are deep in societal structures and dynamics – relating to 'economic or class relations', 'gender relations' and 'ethnicity, religion, tribalism and nationalism' – education has a pivotal role in either exacerbating or ameliorating the situation. As Bush and Saltarelli (2000) point out, many conflicts in recent years have been civil rather than inter-state wars, and predominantly 'ethnic' in nature – although the underlying causes are multiple and complex. As well as the destructive effects of conflict on education – in terms of recruitment of child soldiers, loss of teachers' lives, the destruction of physical infrastructure and disruption of provision – there is also the influence of education on conflict:

> through the reproduction or amplification of inequality, exclusion and social polarisation; through the hardening of ethnic or religious identifications and divisions; and through its acceptance of dominant macho, aggressive, militaristic and homophobic masculinities. (Davies, 2005: 359)

This complex scenario requires a multifaceted response. As Aikman (2010) argues, responses to post conflict situations – which are often ones of severe poverty too – involve diverse dimensions relating to 'the school as a place; the school as a space for democratic relationships; and the school as an opportunity for wider social transformation' (p. 28). Power relations within the school must be addressed, as well as aspects such as violent masculinities that may have fuelled the conflict in the first place. Smith and Vaux (2003) also highlight the dangers of assuming that education is part of the solution, but also point to the positive role it plays in protecting civilians during conflict and in bringing about reconciliation and reconstruction afterwards. Bush and Saltarelli (2000: 33) emphasise that 'additive' approaches – whereby initiatives are simply inserted into existing practices – are unlikely to work, giving the destructive as well as constructive role of education. Instead, a 'transformative' approach is needed, that is, 'solutions that change the underpinning logic and structures of behaviour'.

CPP devotes a whole section to analysing the possible implications of respect and understanding for education. It highlights three principal aspects:

1. Educational participation
2. Extending the age reach
3. Educational content

Unfair distribution of educational opportunities is both a result and a cause of broader social exclusion, so widening educational participation can directly contribute to respect and understanding. Yet it is important to think beyond primary education, and extend educational access to early years, secondary and adult education. The third point is that the curriculum is key to the values underpinning respect and understanding. The report highlights both the aspect of 'teaching children about the cultural heritage of a range of ethnic and religious communities' as well as 'fundamental human values that transcend religion, cultural and ethnic boundaries' (p.62).

Education is key to both understanding and engendering respect for difference.

However, while both give a strong endorsement of education, neither CPP – because of its broader focus – nor the Munyonyo Statement on Respect and Understanding – because of its brevity – present extensive concrete proposals for education. The role of this report, therefore, is to draw out these implications for education in its many forms.

Promoting respect and understanding through education has two major aspects. The first relates to the concern raised in CPP that inequalities and the 'sense of being isolated from the mainstream community, can feed extremism and violence' (p.15). The educational implications here are that all groups must have access to education, and moreover to education of quality. (This point relates to the first and second aspects of education highlighted by CPP). However, it is important to go beyond equity of access to consider the nature of education. Just as schools can promote parochialism, mindless obedience and racism, so they can foster a broader critical understanding of the world, skills of deliberation and an openness and respect for other peoples. Given the extensive literature on expanding access in lower middle-income countries emerging from the priorities of the EFA movement, this report will focus primarily on the second of these questions. In particular, the focus will be on the role that citizenship education can play in responding to this challenge. Nevertheless, the two are strongly linked and neither universal access nor a curriculum oriented towards respect and understanding is sufficient on its own.

Aims and scope of the report

This report does not put forward a specific normative framework of citizenship or societal development. Nevertheless, the discussions are underpinned by commitment to values of global justice, cosmopolitanism, participatory democracy and critical reflection – values that also underpin the respect and understanding agenda. While models and ideals of citizenship are outlined in the chapter that follows, the primary focus in this report will not in fact be on understandings of citizenship, but on the educational experiences designed and enacted to achieve them. In this, there will be a particular attention to the problematic disjuncture between the intentions of educational initiatives and the realities of implementation. These discussions will be informed by the framework of *curricular transposition*, a model for understanding the challenges of converting a set of political ideals into an effective educational programme, as will be explored further in the following chapter (McCowan, 2009).

It will not be possible for this report to address all important aspects of the lives of children and young people, the many spheres in which they interact and the influences on them that shape their attitudes – aspects that may be fundamental to respect and understanding broadly speaking. The focus will be primarily on education, although including non-institutional occurrences. In addition, the report focuses principally on issues of curriculum, pedagogy and educational practice, rather than high-level policy and planning. Like the CPP, this report is focused primarily on Commonwealth countries, but is also attentive to 'the Commonwealth's role in directing attention to policy issues of general interest in the world, across regional boundaries' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007: 75).

The report is structured in six sections. Following the introduction, there is an outline of the concept of citizenship, its multiple orientations and the complexities of promoting political visions

through education. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the Commonwealth Secretariat's past work in this area – along with that of sister organisations. The panorama of current initiatives around the Commonwealth relating to citizenship education and associated areas are reviewed in chapter 4. This section includes an analysis of five country case studies (Canada, England, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Vanuatu) and the challenges they have faced in developing respect and understanding through educational initiatives, focusing particularly on the 'implementation gap' between policy and practice. Chapter 5 presents examples of best practice from around the Commonwealth and beyond, as well as a discussion of the potential of school linking. Finally, conclusions are drawn out and recommendations proposed for the ways the Commonwealth Secretariat can take this work forward.

Models of Citizenship and Civic Education

> No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as any manner of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee. (Meditation XVII, John Donne)[3]

This well-known reflection by the seventeenth century English poet John Donne is a timeless expression of the idea we should feel solidarity not just with our immediate relatives, clan or nation, but with the whole human family. These ideas have a philosophical formulation in the idea of *cosmopolitanism*. Yet what is the basis of the idea that we should feel care for and responsibilities towards all human beings? Is it not right that our responsibility should be restricted to those closest to us, our family and friends or perhaps to our village, city or nation? These questions are central to discussions of ethics more broadly, but have come to the fore with the increasing prominence of debates around the concept of 'citizenship' in recent years. Citizenship has become a focal point for a variety of reasons, including the increasingly diverse nature of many formerly homogeneous societies through migration, debates over the granting of official residents' rights to undocumented workers, as well as disillusionment with the conventional political processes and institutions and the consequent decline in voter turnout in some countries.

Citizenship may be sought after by individuals and promoted by governments, but its meaning and associations are diverse and sometimes contradictory. First, there will be an initial sketch of the scope of the concept, followed by a consideration of the multiple possible interpretations.

The concept of citizenship

Citizenship is a form of membership, relating specifically to the political sphere. In the contemporary world, the political units in question are primarily nation-states, although the term can be traced back to the city states of the ancient world. Membership of a polity can be simply a question of official status, with citizenship in this sense associated with the possession of a passport and involving a formal set of rights and duties. Yet citizenship can also involve, in Osler and Starkey's (2005) terms, 'feeling' and 'practice'. In this sense, it is not so much a question of having the official status of citizen, but of how one conducts one's life – hence common conceptions of 'being a good citizen'.

Citizenship is commonly identified with *democratic* citizenship, and while it is possible to be a

3 This is a modernised rendition of the original seventeenth century prose.

citizen of a non-democratic state, the concept indicates limitation of arbitrary power on the part of rulers, given that inherent in it is acknowledgement of the equality of all people (at least in some aspects) and some rights accorded to them. Within this skeletal definition, there are multiple conceptualisations of the notion, relating to diverse moral and political values. Citizenship involves a relationship between the citizen and other citizens or the state, and involves concessions and privileges on both sides. We can therefore observe differences in both the nature and extent of the rights and duties of citizens.

Rights and duties

One well-known classification of rights is that provided by T. H. Marshall (1950), who observed the historical emergence in Britain of first civil, then political and finally social entitlements. Civil rights in this sense refer to aspects such as legal protections and free speech, political rights to voting and standing as a representative, and social rights to education, health and welfare. Of these, the final category is the most controversial, and in most countries they have been very imperfectly realised to date. There are 'maximal' and 'minimal' positions on the extent of rights accorded to citizens (McLaughlin, 1992), with socialists advocating very extensive rights including social ones, and at the other extreme libertarians advocating the protection only of property rights.

However, it is not only a question of the nature and extent of the rights accorded to citizens, but also of the balance between these and duties. Conservative views tend to emphasise duties – the most extreme of these being to die for one's country – and models of citizenship weighted towards duties were prevalent in previous periods of history in which the balance of power between rulers and the populace was more obviously weighted in favour of the former. In the contemporary world, there are widespread concerns about an overemphasis on rights, based on the idea that people have forgotten their obligations towards others and are only concerned with their own gain.

Both positions of emphasising the obligations that citizens have without according them fundamental rights, and the so-called 'rights culture' in which people are concerned only with what they can claim from others, are problematic in their different ways. Yet it may well be that this separation of rights and duties is something of a misconception. If we accept the notion of universal rights – i.e. rights that all human beings can hold equally and simultaneously (setting aside for a moment the question of whether this is within a limited polity or across the whole world) – then there will always be obligations, those to uphold the rights of others. In this way, intrinsic to the notion of right is the notion of obligation. Understood in this way, the only notion required is that of human rights, with corresponding duties contained within them.

Positions based in a limited view of rights have been critiqued from a viewpoint sometimes termed 'civic republican', which emphasises the value of active political participation (Heater, 1999; Kymlicka, 2002). Inspired by the participatory democracy of ancient Athens (although acknowledging the limited distribution of the official status of citizenship in this historical period), civic republicanism sees political action not just as a citizen's right, but as a valuable and even essential part of life. These arguments for participatory democracy (e.g. Barber, 1984; Pateman, 1970) are highly significant given the very restricted participation that people have in practice in contemporary democracies, and the educational initiatives discussed in this report to a large extent are based on an aspiration to enhance participation in this way.

Other dimensions of citizenship

As stated in *Civil Paths to Peace*, according to 'a traditional liberal ... understanding of societal membership':

> The concept of citizenship is indifferent to group identity or identities – the idea of citizenship does not differentiate or discriminate between people with different identities, it looks at national belonging alone.
>
> (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007: 49–50)

The universalisation of citizenship alluded to in this passage had positive motivations and consequences in as far as it avoided restricting the rights of certain groups on the basis of their identity. Nevertheless, this aspect has been strongly criticised for its homogenisation of society, leading to a devaluing of differences held to be important, and a lack of attention to inequalities hidden behind universal entitlements. In this way, there has been extensive feminist critique of the notion of citizenship (e.g. Benhabib, 1996; Mouffe, 1992; Young, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 1997), as well as from other perspectives, and calls for an approach that both guarantees entitlements and allows space for relevant differences.

Other challenges to traditional conceptions of citizenship focus on the scope of the polity. In a descriptive sense, an exclusive focus on the nation-state has been challenged by the phenomenon of globalisation, and movements towards the supranational or transnational level, and down to the local. A number of nation-states whose borders were the result of disputes from colonial times have struggled to develop a viable national identity, and with the weakening of national sovereignty there has been a resurgence of local, ethnic or religious identification. A tragic manifestation of the fragility of the national space was the ethnic conflict that took place in Kenya after the disputed 2007 election, which led to the deaths of 1,500 people and the displacement of 350,000. Broader allegiances across national boundaries can take place on the basis of ethnic or religious identity via diasporas, or other forms of cultural identification.

At the same time, nationalist sentiment has in many cases increased in recent decades, either in association with the break-up of larger states (e.g. the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia) or as a reaction to the arrival of increasing numbers of migrants (Brock and Brighouse, 2005). Beck (2006) describes these as '*introverted* forms of nationalism which oppose the 'invasion' of the global world by turning inwards', although potentially leading to 'aggressive intolerance which is capable of turning on anybody or anything' (p.4, original emphasis).

However, the increasingly multicultural nature of metropolitan centres is also an opportunity for the creation of a less parochial conception of citizenship. Beck (2006) sees cosmopolitanism as an essential feature of a world that has been forcibly unified through developments in technology, communications and economic ties. Terrorism, war and the responses to war have all become borderless. And yet, the response must be 'cosmopolitan empathy', rather than the economic globalisation that is based on exploitation for personal advantage, or a recast and well disguised nationalism. He portrays the character of a Danish businessman met on an aeroplane – a 'world citizen' in the sense of moving freely between places and cultures, identifying with all and none, and yet who maintains parochial and xenophobic attitudes. This form of 'world citizen', one whose knowledge of other cultures and ability to move and communicate are used to further personal and national interests, is a dangerous 'twin brother' to a cosmopolitanism grounded in

global justice and empathy with all peoples. The economic global citizen is frequently promoted by governments through education systems – often to the detriment of education for global justice.

There is therefore a normative dimension to the move to the global. In this sense, identification at a global level is not just a consequence of the overwhelming tide of globalisation, but a moral commitment. This ethical position has a very long history, based in the idea that human beings are fundamentally one and equal, and that our moral and political obligations are to all people, wherever they may have been born. Cosmopolitan perspectives can take a number of different forms. Brock and Brighouse (2005) make a distinction between 'weak' and 'strong' cosmopolitanism, the former requiring '*some* extra national obligations' (original emphasis), while in the latter, 'there are no society-wide principles of distributive justice that are not also global principles' (p.3). As the authors point out, few cosmopolitans would defend a position of total impartiality to all peoples in the world, and most would accept that it is quite appropriate for our primary attention and responsibility to be to those close to us – family, friends and those in our local area. The point is that there is not a choice between total parochialism and total impartiality, and that it is possible to maintain a balance between local, national and global responsibility and action. There are, of course a range of positions to be taken on this continuum.

In accordance with cosmopolitan ideals, a number of educators, organisations and sometimes governments have proposed education for *global* citizenship (e.g. Davies, 2006; Marshall, 2007; Osler and Starkey, 2003). These initiatives encounter the obvious problem of the absence of a global state to which formal citizenship might correspond – and therefore relate to the 'feeling' and 'practice' elements of the Osler and Starkey (2005) scheme, rather than 'status'. When these initiatives are channelled through state education systems, there may be tensions with national interests, although theorists like Appiah (2006) are confident that different levels of identification (local, national, global) can be maintained simultaneously. In any event, while citizenship education might open the possibility of global allegiances and responsibilities, the current reality of the nation-state must be acknowledged, and educational interventions must also prepare students for this context.

Nussbaum's three capacities

One important theorist proposing a cosmopolitan view is the political philosopher Martha Nussbaum. In development studies, Nussbaum is best known for her contributions to the capabilities approach, along with Amartya Sen. This report, however, will draw primarily on the proposals for educational aims relating to citizenship. The most extensive formulation of these is found in the book *Cultivating Humanity* (1997), and relates primarily to a defence of the liberal curriculum in universities, although it can be applied to all forms of education.

In *Cultivating Humanity*, and elsewhere (e.g. 2002, 2010) Nussbaum proposes three overarching qualities: critical self-examination, world citizenship and the narrative imagination. The first is the ability to examine closely one's own assumptions and positions, and the arguments put forward by others, to be able to question and critique them, and put forward coherent responses. Philosophy courses are seen to be the ideal way of developing this form of criticality, although Socratic dialogue can be built into any subject. 'World citizenship' relates to the moral and political position advocated by the Cosmopolitans, but also entails particular forms of knowledge that enable one to function in an international environment. To this end, Nussbaum proposes devel-

oping broad knowledge of different cultures and countries, including language learning. Lastly, there is a narrative imagination, referring to 'the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story' (Nussbaum 1997: 10–11). Studying literature is particularly important in developing this quality, although all the arts and humanities have a role.

As stated above, Nussbaum's discussion in *Cultivating Humanity* relates to higher education, and specifically to the US context. For this reason, some of the specific recommendations for the curriculum are bounded by that context – for example, the 'culture wars' regarding the literary canon. Other aspects, such as the defence of a broad curriculum including arts and humanities, and resistance to a narrow technological focus, are relevant for all levels of education. One contemporary development of relevance here is the movement of government funding away from supporting arts, humanities and social sciences in UK higher education – a potential risk to the respect and understanding agenda that is being replicated in different ways around the world on account of current economic constraints.

The three qualities fit closely with the respect and understanding agenda. First, critical self-examination guards against the mindless bigotry that often underpins conflict, fuelled by prejudice developed through restrictive school curricula. Instead, a broad cosmopolitan vision is proposed, including a strong rooting in the learners' own community and culture, but also a knowledge of other traditions and places, and the ability to empathise and communicate with other peoples, and consequently respect and understand them. This agenda fits closely with the field of *intercultural* education (e.g. Gundara, 2000), which will be explored in empirical contexts in the later sections.

Developing these qualities in education is a significant challenge, both in terms of the emergence of appropriate pedagogies and the acceptance of the goals themselves. Nussbaum discusses the possible resistance to critical self-examination, given perceptions of 'disrespect' to deep-rooted traditions. As she states, 'it can seem insulting to demand an argument for some political belief they [parents] have long held and have taught their children' (p.18). However, beliefs and values that have been subjected to critical reflection are in fact stronger, and can be communicated to others in a way that is more conducive to an overlapping consensus. Criticality in this way underpins democracy, in that a capacity to reason is essential for entering into genuine dialogue with others and reflecting on courses of action.

The cosmopolitan and critical aspects of this framework will inevitably come into tension with the currents of parochialism/nationalism and conformism that have long characterised education systems – but this tension must be faced up to if we are to move towards respect and understanding. But how are these qualities, or indeed any form of citizenship, to be developed through education?

Citizenship and education

Education is related to citizenship in the first place since it is considered to be one of the fundamental rights of a citizen, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent international rights instruments, and in the national legislation of many countries. Yet there is another significant way in which the two are connected, in the sense of education as

a *means* to citizenship. In this way, individuals need education in order to exercise citizenship effectively in its different forms. When citizenship is engaged with as an aim of education, it is very often in the sense outlined above of attempting to foster positive dispositions amongst young people who already have the official status of citizen. There are cases, however, in which education becomes a requirement for citizenship in the 'status' sense, as with the 'Life in the UK' test, in which prospective British citizens are obliged to respond correctly to questions about society, its institutions and customs.

It is also useful to conceptualise the relationship in terms of the three ways in which rights link in with education (rights *to*, *within* and *through* education). First, there is the right *to* education, involving not only the provision of school places, but also attention to the specific needs of individuals and groups in accessing those places (Tomasevski, 2006; McCowan, 2010). In this way, nomadic groups in north-east Kenya require mobile forms of education, and the rural Quechua-speaking population of Bolivia requires mother tongue provision. Second, human rights must be upheld within the educational institution and experience, of particular importance here being the protection of children from physical and psychological abuse, and from sexual harassment, which in many countries also leads to a high risk of contracting HIV/AIDS (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007; Unterhalter, 2003; Wilson, 2004). Third, through education, young people must develop the capacities both to exercise their rights effectively, and to defend them in the political sphere. Rights are made effective when people have knowledge of them, and the skills and commitment to hold duty bearers to account.

Knowledge, skills and values

Promoting citizenship through education involves developing particular knowledge, skills and values in students. So for example, we may see that democratic citizenship requires people to have knowledge of existing laws, electoral procedures as well as current affairs and political theory; skills of textual interpretation, public speaking and debate; and the values of tolerance, collective decision-making and public engagement. For different conceptions of citizenship, these attributes will be correspondingly different.

Yet how do we develop these qualities? The 'knowledge' element is the bedrock of traditional schooling, but can also be acquired through independent learning with books, the internet and other sources of information. Skills are distinct in that they require actual practice of the activity, rather than solely abstract understanding, and therefore some of these can be developed in a classroom context – e.g. analysis of texts, oral communication – and others, such as campaign organisation, cannot. Values are the most complex of the three, since it is hard to determine the extent to which these can actually be 'learnt', particularly after early childhood, and the means by which this might happen. Learners' values can be influenced by 'exhortation' (being encouraged or coerced by a teacher), 'exemplification' (following the example of the teacher's behaviour), or 'reflection' (clarifying one's own values and considering those of others). While there may be a place for all of these, and all serve important pedagogical roles, none is a certain or predictable method of developing values.

Even if it were possible to identify effective means of changing people's values through education, there is still a question mark over whether it is in fact desirable to do so, given the need to respect people's existing beliefs, and the uncertainties surrounding the values to be promoted. As a com-

promise, we might settle for a form of 'overlapping consensus' (Rawls, 1993), through which we allow for a diversity of values among students, but promote certain common values allowing us to live harmoniously together and enable the human flourishing of all.

Neutrality and bias

'Adjectival educations', such as citizenship and associated areas like human rights, have been greeted with a good deal of resistance around the world, in part because they are seen to be 'politicised', and are therefore challenging the objectivity and impartiality believed to underpin a 'good' education. Certainly, it is essential for education to be open and guard against indoctrination. Yet this does not mean cleansing education of all political content. One of the contributions of the Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire was his insistence that education cannot be neutral:

> There never is, nor has ever been, an educational practice in zero space-time – neutral in the sense of being committed only to preponderantly abstract, intangible ideas. To try to get people to believe that there is such a thing as this…is indisputably a political practice, whereby an effort is made to soften any possible rebelliousness on the part of those to whom injustice is being done. It is as political as the other practice, which does not conceal – in fact, which proclaims – its own political character. (Freire, 1994: 65)

Education, therefore, will always have political implications, whether that is through touching on political topics in discussion, or by forming fundamental attitudes relating to social relations, hierarchies and so forth. However, the essentially political nature of education does not mean that we can dismiss worries of bias and indoctrination. In relation to this, Roberts (1999: 20) makes an important distinction between '(a) transmitting a political or moral view and (b) doing this in a dogmatic way'. While we can certainly not avoid the former, all efforts must be made to avoid the latter, and students should be allowed to form their own views in dialogue with the teacher and other students.

Within citizenship education, the treatment of controversial issues has been the subject of considerable debate (e.g. McLaughlin, 2003; QCA, 1998). This question is particularly salient in those contexts in the Commonwealth that are currently experiencing conflict or which have experienced it in the recent past. Controversial issues may involve interpretations of history, views on particular cultural practices or the policies of governments or supranational agencies. Addressing these issues in the classroom presents significant challenges to teachers, faced as they are with a juggling act between their own views, the views of the state or education authority and those of the students.

The report (QCA 1998) underpinning the introduction of Citizenship in the National Curriculum of England and Wales is useful in this respect. It distinguishes between three different approaches that teachers can take:

- 'neutral chairman': allowing the pupils to express their diverse views
- 'balanced': presenting alternative viewpoints to those already expressed
- 'stated commitment': making one's views explicit, but encouraging pupils to decide for themselves.

Each of these approaches may be appropriate in different contexts. The stated commitment approach will usually be suitable for older learners, but for young children may serve to stifle expression of independent views. The balanced approach is a useful way of promoting understanding of views that may be marginalised in a particular context, but would clearly be inappropriate in the case of certain issues (for example, in presenting an argument in favour of ethnic cleansing). A neutral chairman approach will often be the best way of allowing students to express themselves and to understand each other's views, but may need more teacher intervention if a diversity of positions is not being expressed.

Sites of citizen learning

Classrooms

Citizenship education can occur in a number of different spaces. Classrooms are the most obvious of these, given the institutionalised nature of learning in the contemporary age. While it would be very dangerous to limit citizenship learning to the classroom environment, there are significant opportunities that schools and universities provide. First, formal lessons are an ideal space for acquiring relevant knowledge of society, relating to history, human geography, political institutions and current affairs. Important skills such as critical analysis of texts, writing position papers and public speaking can also be developed. Classrooms are also key to *deliberation*, the central feature of participatory democracy. Through debating real issues, or through simulations, students can develop their abilities to present their arguments and listen to those of others, engaging with others in the process of respectful dialogue. In the context of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, coeducational school (along with other forms of diversity) this discussion will be a real experience of engagement across difference.

The school as a whole

However, it is clear that the development of citizenship must go beyond the four walls of the classroom. Empirical research (e.g. Morris and Cogan, 2001; McCowan, 2008) – as well as common sense – tells us that the promotion of democratic citizenship in the curriculum is unlikely to be successful if the broader environment of the school is unsupportive, or at worst contradictory to, those messages. In this way, the *ethos* of the school, along with its approach to curriculum and pedagogy must reflect the aims of democratic citizenship (Ghanem, 2004). As shown in research on the 'hidden curriculum', the procedures and the rituals of schools are imbued with political significance, and (although it is hard to provide convincing empirical evidence) are likely to influence student attitudes and behaviour. The most cogent account of the significance of educational practice for political development is that of Paulo Freire (1972; 1994), who argues that political empowerment must start with treating students as subjects and not objects of the learning process, and involve their active participation in the development of curriculum and organisation of educational activities.

In recent years there has been a burgeoning of activity – of both an academic and practical kind – in relation to participatory, democratic schools. These initiatives, current examples of which are outlined in the following section, involve the inclusion of students in decision-making (such as through student councils), the development of a safe and caring environment respecting the rights of students and teachers, and the development of learner-centred pedagogies.

The wider society

Schools have an unpromising history in terms of democratic practice, and as argued by Davies (2005), in the present age are more likely to be net contributors to conflict than beacons of peace. The reality of violent, authoritarian schools, and the broader undemocratic education systems in which they are inserted, might tempt us to abandon formal education altogether as a site for the development of democracy and mutual understanding. Nevertheless, it would be unwise to ignore schools, given their centrality in contemporary society in the lives of children and young people, leaving us with the challenging task of transforming them rather than seeking alternative avenues.

Having said this, citizenship education should not be confined to schools and other educational institutions. In fact, there are strong arguments to suggest that development of capacities for political understanding and action can only be developed with at least some experience of participation outside the institution. Schools – and particularly universities in the form of 'service learning' (e.g. Annette, 2005; Boland, 2006) – sometimes provide opportunities for students to engage in volunteering activities in local communities. However, while these are valuable activities both for the students and the community, engagement in society should also involve specifically political activities (i.e. based in a conception of citizens' rights and justice, rather than charity). There are significant constraints on schools facilitating this kind of activity – given their understandable reluctance to be perceived as party political or engaging students in controversial or dangerous activities (Westheimer and Kahne, 2000) – but campaigns, letter writing, debates and even protests are highly important for young people in their development of understanding and skills.

'Adjectival' educations

Thus far, this report has relied on the term 'citizenship education'. However, there are a number of different names that can be given to this kind of work within and outside schools. Subjects commonly found on curricula around the world that have some relationship to respect and understanding include:

- Citizenship education
- Civic education
- Civics
- Education for global citizenship
- Political education
- Human rights education
- Peace education
- Life skills
- World studies
- Development education
- Global learning
- Education for sustainable development
- Environmental education

'Citizenship' and 'civic education' are largely synonymous, although the term 'civics' tends to be associated with more traditional approaches, focusing on knowledge of the constitution and political institutions. Some of these curricular areas have particular foci – such as human rights, peace

or the environment – while others are promoting a particular political vision, such as that of global citizenship. Yet they share a number of common features, in that they aim to promote qualities seen to be essential for individuals and society, but ones that are not given sufficient attention in the general curriculum. Frequently, these adjectival educations jostle for space within an already crowded curriculum, and for the most part lose out to the so-called 'core' subjects of maths, science and first language.

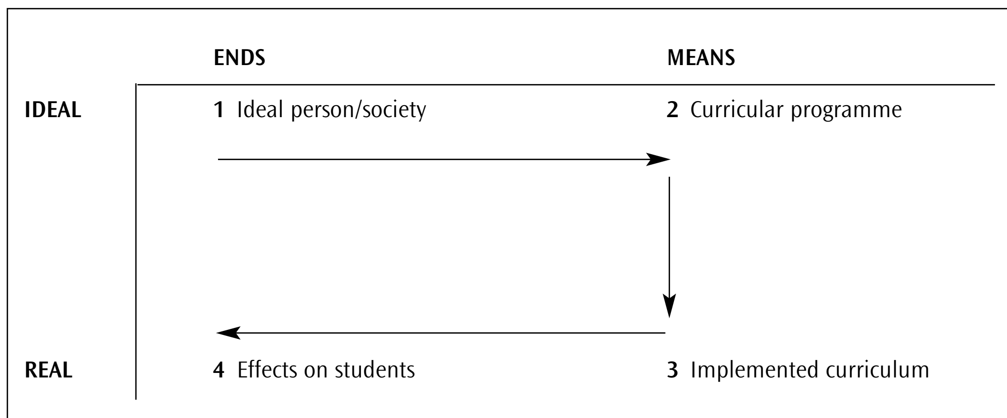
The struggle over curricular space is strongly related to the question of assessment. One of the challenges of promoting citizenship – and associated areas – in the curriculum is that it tends to be given less importance by teachers and students if it is not formally assessed and does not carry weight in terms of grades and certification. There are cases in which citizenship does lead to formal qualifications (there is a GCSE award in the UK for example), but there are significant challenges in assessing the subject, particularly in relation to the experiential aspects.

This study will refer to a number of these curricular areas in the sections that follow, although given the constraints of space will not be able to do justice to all of them, with the focus principally on those relating to democratic participation and civic values.

Curricular transposition

As seen at the start of this section, there is a multiplicity of different conceptions of citizenship that may be promoted within schools, ranging from conformist nationalism to critical cosmopolitanism. The kinds of activities associated with citizenship education can also take a variety of forms, from lecturing to problem solving, community work and mock trials. Yet what is the link between these activities and the underlying conceptions of citizenship? Are there certain activities that logically follow from certain conceptions, or is it necessary to conduct empirical research to verify the associations? If we can identify effective activities, will they always produce the desired form of citizen?

These difficult questions motivated the development of the *curricular transposition* framework (McCowan, 2008; 2009). This framework aids understanding of the transitions that an educational initiative makes between its fundamental aims, its curricular programme, its implementation in practice and the effects on students. The movement between these four stages is shown in the graphic below:



All initiatives are based on a set of ideals or aspirations, whether these are conscious and explicit or not. Some form of curricular programme is constructed in response to these ideals, and is then implemented in practice (although there may not be a straightforward linear chronology here). Between these different steps, there are likely to be inconsistencies and constraints, given the difficulties in developing coherent educational programmes and bringing them about in practice. Common obstacles in implementation include financial constraints, a restrictive political environment and teacher resistance or misunderstanding (although, as will be argued later, initiatives should not be implemented *through* teachers at all). Finally, there is the step of bringing about particular changes in students' attitudes and abilities, which is an unpredictable undertaking given the possibility of students interpreting and reframing the intervention in a number of ways. There are, therefore, challenges posed by each of these steps – here termed 'leaps'.

These 'leaps' are hard to negotiate for two reasons. First, in order to develop appropriate practice at a particular stage it is necessary to have considerable knowledge and understanding about teaching and learning, and information about the conditions under which it will take place. So, for example, there are always challenges faced by curriculum developers in identifying effective pedagogical practices, particularly so in an area as challenging as citizenship. Second, there are elements of uncertainty and unpredictability in all human activities, but particularly in educational interactions. In this way, learners may not absorb the messages transmitted through education, however clearly and effectively they are presented, or they may develop learning not originally intended. Far from being a problem, this can be seen to be the beauty of education – if indeed we are engaging in *education* and not a narrow form of mechanical *training*.

Thus far, this framework appears rather abstract, and divorced from the actual experience of teaching and learning citizenship. Yet it has an important practical function in highlighting key problems and misconceptions surrounding the promotion of citizenship through education, and indicating a particular way of moving forward. As outlined at the start of chapter 1, governments and other influential authorities often look to education as the saviour of society, laying at the school gates a particular set of goals to be delivered (stage one in the curricular transposition framework). However, achieving goals involving fundamental moral and political values is very difficult, particularly when those implementing and receiving the education have not been involved – and may not even endorse – the initiative in question. As will be seen in the case studies that follow, successful citizenship education requires a more organic development of educational work from the practices of teachers and learners: top-down or outside-in programmes are deeply flawed in this sense.

Citizenship Education in the Work of the Commonwealth Secretariat

> Today, I add my small voice to what I hope will become a groundswell of protest from a mature citizenry against a destructive, ethnically polarized political culture which has been entrenched for too long and which threatens to plunge us into civil disorder. Stop fanning the flames of ethnic antipathy in exchange for votes... For the sake of beauty, fragility, the astonishing creative potential of our New World Civilization, let us be mature enough to... recognise and respect differences, to seek healing, to build bridges, to honour and appreciate diversity.
>
> (University of the West Indies lecturer quoted in Ellis et al. 2002: 2)

Overview

A variety of organisations exist in support of the Commonwealth's mandate and priorities, all of which are tasked in their various capacities with carrying forward the Commonwealth's core values of 'democracy, freedom, peace, the rule of law and opportunity for all' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011). Some of these organisations support an agenda for respect and understanding with explicit programming, working from policy level to support governments in the development of national curriculum frameworks for citizenship education, to grassroots level initiatives training communities in good governance. Other Commonwealth agencies and initiatives promote intercultural understanding implicitly by bringing people across cultures and nations together through the universal languages of film and literature or through sports. These agencies cover citizenship initiatives not only through a variety of sectors including education, governance and culture, but also work from global levels with activities such as international youth forums, to national and sub-national levels. With this broad range of activities related to the promotion of respect and understanding across organisations, sectors and levels, citizenship education in the Commonwealth is an active area and serves as a major cross-cutting theme for programming. Commonwealth agencies also have an abundance of youth related programming, demonstrating a commitment to civic engagement of young people across the world. Given that half of the 2 billion people in the Commonwealth are under 25 years old, citizenship education, whether implicit or explicit, represents a window of opportunity to influence a world of active citizenship and peace for the next generation. This chapter provides an overview of some of the initiatives, research and other forms of engagement with citizenship education of the Commonwealth Secretariat and its sister agencies.

Policy and planning for citizenship education through formal education

Mainstreaming the relevant knowledge, skills and values through the formal education system is one critical and sustainable avenue to educating the next generation in both local and global citizenship. The Commonwealth Secretariat implements technical support and policy development programmes prioritised by Commonwealth Heads of Government. Their mission as a 'force for peace, democracy, equality and good governance; a catalyst for global consensus-building; and a source of assistance for sustainable development and poverty eradication', implies that they are key advocates and actors for citizenship education. The Commonwealth Secretariat also works in support of global initiatives for education and peace building including the Millennium Development Goals, Education for All, and United Nations Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

Over the last decade the Commonwealth Secretariat through its Social Transformation Programmes Division has supported initiatives to strengthen national education systems' effective delivery of citizenship knowledge and skills through policy, curriculum, pedagogy and school management. In 2000, the 14th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers identified citizenship education as a key priority, noting that 'The use of education to promote values of democracy, human rights, citizenship, good governance, tolerance, etc., as espoused by the Commonwealth in its key declarations of principles should be strengthened' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2000). Following this direction from its constituents, the Commonwealth Secretariat launched an initiative to 'assist member countries develop a framework through which they could prepare and share relevant resources for an innovative approach to citizenship education' (Osman and Leibowitz, 2003: 3). Central to this initiative was the reconceptualisation of citizenship education, moving from standard civics education to a broader notion of citizenship as a dynamic, constantly negotiated process based around the three pillars of heritage, multiculturalism and citizenship education. As the then Secretary-General put it:

> I would argue that we have a two-dimensional matrix for good citizenship in the modern Commonwealth. Along one axis we have the dynamic forces of heritage, multiculturalism and citizenship… Along the second axis of my two-dimensional matrix we have the paths or channels of tolerance, liberation and celebration.
>
> (McKinnon, 2001)

The initiative also promoted the development of citizenship education policies and planning frameworks that unified national priorities and strategies. In the following years the Commonwealth Secretariat supported a number of Commonwealth governments to develop policy frameworks for citizenship education through a consultative process.

To this end, the Secretariat initiated 'an exploratory study in Small States of the Caribbean to examine the extent to which Government-led and non-government education programmes and activities support, enhance and implement Citizenship Education' (Ellis et al., 2002: 2). In March 2002, two search conferences were organised in Guyana and in Trinidad and Tobago. These Caribbean states share a similar challenge of a diverse population in which ethnic divisions have historically been exploited for political gain. Differing levels of access to education between the ethnic groups are also a source of social exclusion that undermines a sense of equal citizenship and exacerbates tensions. Within schools, obstacles to citizenship education include a traditional emphasis on academic subjects and a low priority given to the affective domain.

The two publications emerging from this initiative (Paul, 2002; Ellis, 2002), unlike the later publication on Sierra Leone, are not blueprints for future citizenship education provision, but overviews of current activities. The studies assess the diverse providers of citizenship education, their conceptualisations and curriculum approaches, and put forward recommendations for action. Common issues and concerns emerging were as follows (Ellis et al., 2002):

- Programme delivery: the need for collaboration between government and NGOs, given scarcity of resources
- The 'hidden' curriculum: the need to move towards more open methods
- The teacher's role: centrality of the teacher as role model
- The political culture: the need for the broader society to support unity and celebration of diversity

Following the Caribbean conferences, a seminar was held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in April 2002 in order to discuss a framework for 'heritage, multiculturalism and citizenship education'. The seminar brought together educators from a number of southern African countries as well as Canada and the UK, involving discussion of the principles of the framework as well as its application to the specific contexts of each of the countries (Osman and Leibowitz, 2003). The seminar put forward a series of recommendations, principal of which was the development of a common framework for citizenship education for Commonwealth countries. A particular conception of citizenship was not however, endorsed, the position being that 'Citizenship education can be defined as everything for any country; it is not committed to any political system'. However, requirements for critical thinking and human rights education were included. In relation to the curriculum, a whole-school approach was adopted, with infusion across the range of subjects, although history and religion were seen to have a key role. The recommended learning outcomes were as follows:

- Political literacy
- Co-operative learning
- Conflict resolution
- Recognition of cultural diversity
- Critical awareness of one's history
- Solidarity
- Religious tolerance and respect

As can be seen, these learning outcomes correspond closely to the orientations of the later Civil Paths to Peace report.

The Social Transformation Programmes Division also engaged in intensive work in Sierra Leone. Visits were undertaken in 2001 and 2002 leading to the development of a curriculum framework for the country (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2004). The backdrop against which this initiative was developed is an extreme one of a decade of violent conflict, the destruction of the education system and the traumatising of large proportions of children and youth through direct involvement in violence and sexual abuse. The broader challenge facing the country is highlighted in this passage:

> A number of African countries, including Sierra Leone, have given themselves very

> progressive constitutions, and yet they are continuously caught in endless and costly internal conflicts. One of the lessons of this is that it is not easy to internalise values enshrined in constitutions policy documents. (p.22)

The task of the framework, therefore, is to promote these values effectively in young people. The approach involves both the elements of 'a multi-disciplinary standalone programme' and infusion throughout the curriculum (p.12). The curriculum proposals involve the following elements:

- Peace education
- Human rights
- The constitution
- History
- Arts, culture and sport
- Religion education

Teaching strategies involve dialogue and debate, promotion of role models, experiential learning and the use of role play and projects. Elements of peace and reconciliation are also strong in the framework, in light of the recent conflict. There is a strong emphasis on patriotism and national sentiment, again explained by the need to heal the wounds of the civil war. Attention is also paid to equity, with enforcement of non-discrimination policies in schools, particularly in relation to gender, with the promotion of positive role models for girls. The framework proposes a delivery mode that is 'differentiated and yet centrally co-ordinated' (p.63). It therefore involves collaboration with a number of different agencies such as the Anti-Corruption Commission, and its syllabus on 'ethics and corrupt practices'.

A further conference was held in London in July 2002, the Pan-Commonwealth Roundtable on Citizenship Education in Small States. Delegates were invited from a number of countries – including Botswana, Cayman Islands, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Jamaica, Mauritius, Namibia and Northern Ireland – 'many of which have been experiencing a resurgence of social tension, conflict and violence based on ethnic, religious, cultural and partisan political differences' (pp.4–5). Emphasis here was placed on small states of the Indian and Pacific oceans, given the previous attention provided to Africa and the Caribbean. The roundtable made the following recommendations for curriculum content:

- Mother tongue instruction and multilingualism
- Values relating to HIV and AIDS
- Gender
- Environment
- Special needs and disability
- Religion
- Social justice and human rights

Recommendations were made for a 'holistic approach', one 'which would foster links and interactions between schools and the wider community and civil society' (p.14). Citizenship education could be treated as a separate subject or infused, but the 'infusion' model was preferred to 'integration', since in the former the subject teaching is enhanced through the citizenship content. While Ellis et al. (2002) recommend 'the monitoring and evaluation of programmes to ensure the sustainability of initiatives' (p.13), the work of the Commonwealth Secretariat in this case

did not include follow-up research. The initiatives relating to national citizenship education frameworks ended in 2003, following a programme rationalisation conducted as an outcome of the Commonwealth Education Ministers Meeting.

There are, however, more recent initiatives in similar areas. Amongst current programming towards citizenship skills through formal education is the Secretariat's 'Model Human Rights Curriculum for Commonwealth Law Schools'. In addition the Secretariat has signed a Collaboration Agreement (2009–2012) with the Commonwealth of Learning to work together in a number of programme areas. Following the recommendations of the Commonwealth Commission on Respect and Understanding the two organisations will be involved in:

- Facilitating the development and offering of innovative materials on the themes of Civil Paths to Peace by seven Commonwealth Higher Education Institutions;
- Encouraging young people from across the Commonwealth to link community-based activities (e.g. short video or audio clips) about respect and understanding to a common website (Commonwealth of Learning, 2011).

Addressing marginalisation through access to both formal and non-formal education

As important as curricula for respect and understanding in schools is addressing equitable access to schooling for all children and building an inclusive learning environment. Inclusion of marginalised groups in schools can serve to promote values around diversity and can also help to break cycles of exclusion that fuel long term conflict. Where access to schooling has not been possible, non-formal education opportunities can help bridge the gap to improve the livelihoods and life skills of disenfranchised groups. Currently the Secretariat supports a variety of programmes towards inclusive education opportunities. Based on the findings of a multi-country study on 'Gender Analysis of Classroom and Schooling Processes in Secondary Schooling', pilot action projects were run in India, Malaysia, Seychelles, and Trinidad and Tobago to address boys' underachievement and girls' under-attainment in schools. Findings from these pilot projects were published as an Action Guide on making schools more gender responsive (Atthill et al., 2007).

The Secretariat has also supported skills-based education in communities affected by conflict. In Northern Uganda, former child soldiers and youth affected by the 23 year civil war received rehabilitation and training in a range of practical life skills. The Northern Uganda Youth Development Centre was established to by the Commonwealth Secretariat in partnership with the Government of Uganda to reinforce reconstruction and reconciliation efforts in the region. The Secretariat also supports access to education through all phases of emergency, and has amongst its publications a handbook on *Achieving Education for All: Good Practice in Crisis and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (Williams, 2006).

The Youth Ambassadors for Positive Living programme engages youth from all over the world in educating one another and their communities about HIV and its prevention. The programme also provides HIV positive youth with a supportive environment to exchange experiences. Youth Ambassadors are trained to participate in a variety of public forums to 'assist young people in overcoming fear, ignorance, prejudice and discrimination related to HIV/AIDS. They also help in demystification and reverse stigmatisation process'.

Further study: citizenship education at the tertiary level

There are a few Commonwealth agencies devoted to tertiary education, all of which support an agenda towards respect and understanding. The Institute of Commonwealth Studies is a post-graduate institution in the UK devoted to the study of the Commonwealth, housing an interdisciplinary and practice-oriented human rights MA programme. The Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit (CPSU), a think tank based at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, specialises in issues of Commonwealth policy including globalisation, democracy, civil society and human rights. The Commonwealth Scholarships programme has supported over 26,000 individuals from across the Commonwealth to continue their higher education overseas, promoting intellectual cross fertilisation. Commonwealth awards are disproportionately supported by the UK, Canada and New Zealand, but in recent years India and Malaysia as well as a handful of African and Asian countries have begun hosting Commonwealth scholars (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2009).

Promoting citizenship education through civil society

Besides the variety of ways in which citizenship education can be promoted through formal and non-formal education from primary through tertiary levels, the role of civil society in fostering mutual understanding and civic participation is critical. The mandate of the Commonwealth Foundation is to 'strengthen civil society, thereby advancing Commonwealth values and programme priorities related to democracy and good governance, respect for human rights and gender equality, poverty reduction, and sustainable, people-centred development'. One key area of their work is on citizenship and participation. The Foundation supports training for civil society organisations on governance and related issues and has produced a variety of handbooks for use by facilitators, civil society organisations or government offices to guide good governance. The publications include *Citizens' education action learning guide, Citizens and governance toolkit*, and *Civil Society Accountability Toolkits* for Belize, India, the Pacific and Uganda. The People's Forum, also supported by the Foundation, is a platform for civil society organisations to raise issues and set agendas for change. Notably, the 2009 Commonwealth People's Forum Civil Society Statement calls upon member states 'to recognise that education offers a key means of strengthening social capital and can serve peace building by encouraging tolerance of difference'.

Promoting respect and understanding through arts and sports

Besides civics and education on global issues, cultural activities can play a powerful role in bringing people from disparate backgrounds together and encourage cultural exchange. The Commonwealth Foundation promotes intercultural understanding through its Culture and Creativity Programming, supporting international arts and literature. For example, the Foundation works to support and promote film within and across Commonwealth countries. Amongst its initiatives is support to 'burgeoning festivals in member countries where films from elsewhere in the Commonwealth are showcased'. The Foundation's work is in keeping with the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which forms the basis of its work in promoting inclusive policies on culture. The Royal Commonwealth Society also sponsors programming in the arts with its annual Youth Commonwealth Competition in photography, writing and film. The Commonwealth Games Federation holds the Commonwealth

Games every four years bringing athletes together from across the Commonwealth. Reflecting an increasing interest in the potential for sports to promote international understanding, the Commonwealth Sports Ministers Meeting 2008 Communiqué:

> Noted with interest the launch of the final report of the UN Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group entitled Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations for Governments and agreed to consider the report recommendations and the development of action plans.

The Communiqué also notes that 'Youth policies should draw together key departments at national and local level – education, health, sport, gender, culture, law and order, social inclusion – to ensure an integrated youth sport strategy'.

Youth Participation in building a better world locally and globally

A recognition of the importance of youth participation and education cuts across all Commonwealth agencies, many of which support programmes specifically designed to engage young people in both global and local issues. In particular a variety of youth conferences, forums and summits bring youth from across the globe together to give them a taste of how high level debate and decision-making amongst world leaders happens. These formats give young people a chance to learn about global issues and in some cases give them a voice in the political process.

Two platforms for the voices and perspectives of young people are sponsored by the Commonwealth Secretariat. The Youth Caucus is a network covering 54 countries, with representatives from each region of the world forming a caucus with full participatory rights at the Commonwealth Youth Ministers' meetings. The Commonwealth Youth Forum is a meeting of young people from across the Commonwealth who meet prior to the annual Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGMs) to discuss critical issues. Their views are presented to the Heads of Government through an official communiqué.

The Royal Commonwealth Society holds annual Commonwealth Youth Summits across the regions of the UK, as well as a national summit in London, designed to bring young people together to work on global issues. The Youth Summits also include a simulation of the CHOGMs, with young people playing the roles of heads of state or foreign ministers to debate key issues. The themes for 2010 included the Millennium Development Goals, Health and Education for All. Likewise CPSU supports an annual Summer Youth Conference which aims to 'engage young people on contemporary Commonwealth themes such as good governance, sustainability and development'. In 2010 its theme was 'Global Diversity and Equality'. CPSU has also run a 'Commonwealth Clubs' project for secondary schools, developing links and fostering understanding between teenagers in different countries.

The Commonwealth Secretariat Youth Programme supports a variety of initiatives related to youth development, including training in vocational skills and in youth development work and small grants with training in entrepreneurship. The Commonwealth Games Federation also caters to youth involvement through the Youth Games which bring together youth from across the Commonwealth to compete in sports and athletics.

There are, therefore, a range of relevant activities relating to citizenship being promoted by the Commonwealth Secretariat and its sister organisations. However, more concerted efforts at promoting citizenship within basic education are needed, renewing the positive initiatives established from 2001–2003. The most effective forms of involvement that can be engaged in by the Secretariat will be explored in the sections that follow.

Chapter 4

The Diversity of Citizenship Education Provision in the Commonwealth

Part 1: Overview of provision across the Commonwealth

Citizenship education across the Commonwealth shows considerable diversity, as might be expected given the significant differences in the member states. Given that all education has civic implications – whether or not these are made explicit – to provide a comprehensive review of the effects of schools and education systems on citizenship would be a considerable undertaking. Instead, this section will focus on conscious attempts to promote various forms of citizenship via the curriculum, whether through taught subjects or other educational experiences. In this, it will focus primarily on government initiatives within formal schooling – as these are the initiatives that the Commonwealth Secretariat can influence most directly – although it will also cover some work undertaken by community and non-governmental organisations, and non-formal contexts. Instead of attempting a comprehensive coverage of countries, this review presents some snapshots of policy and practice from around the world, so as to highlight the key dynamics and trends.

Much of the literature on citizenship education focuses on the aims of the provision, providing either normative or descriptive accounts of the underlying political principles and the overarching goals for change in society. Indeed, it is essential that we have a full and open debate on the civic aims, especially since these have historically been implicit in most education systems, and in some cases consciously hidden. However, it is equally important that attention is paid to the experiences and effects of implementation. Promoting citizenship through education is a highly uncertain business, and sustained attention to the conditions under which citizenship education may and may not be successful is essential. Sometimes students strongly resist citizenship education, and the effects of initiatives can be the opposite of the intentions – as seen in Fairbrother's (2003) research on Hong Kong and China. The literature on the implementation and effects, however, is severely lacking, and in some cases completely absent. This section will, therefore, provide an overview of literature on citizenship education in Commonwealth countries, including those studies relating to implementation where they are available.

One area in which there is substantial literature is on the political perceptions of young people. Political scientists (e.g. Almond and Verba, 1963; Goel, 1975; Huntington and Nelson, 1976; Milbrath and Goel, 1977; Niemi and Junn, 1998) have aimed to establish links between educational background and factors such as voting intentions and participation in political action. For the most part, however, these studies tell us little about the nature and content of education beyond years of schooling, and therefore little about the influence of citizenship education or broader civic implications of education.

The most ambitious empirical study relating to citizenship education is certainly that of the Inter-

national Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Torney-Purta et al., 1999), which reviewed provision in 24 countries, and then a survey of nearly 90,000 14-year-olds in 28 countries (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). While the study was not able to draw firm conclusions about the effectiveness of citizenship education, there was a clear indication that – in addition to other factors such as home literacy resources – an open climate for discussion in the classroom was strongly linked to civic knowledge. Hahn's (1998) comparative study also points to the positive effects of an open classroom environment. Nevertheless, the content and nature of education and its relations with citizenship learning remain obscure in many of these large scale studies. This brief review will therefore include smaller scale qualitative studies assessing curriculum and classroom practice as well as the broader surveys.

The initial part of the review will group initiatives in relation to two key areas:

1. Strengthening democracy
2. Social cohesion

These are two principal goals around which contemporary citizenship education initiatives are constructed. Naturally, they are not mutually exclusive, and most initiatives involve some aspects of both. Indeed, it seems clear that social cohesion must be established through a genuine deepening of democracy, rather than through an exclusive and falsely homogenising allegiance to the nation.

The second part of the chapter will provide five case studies from different regions of the Commonwealth, and diverse forms of state: Canada, England, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Vanuatu. These cases highlight the aspects of social cohesion and democratisation discussed in the first section, and provide important lessons for understanding of effective implementation.

Strengthening democracy

As outlined above, empirical research has shown a strong link between general education and civic engagement. For example, Evans and Rose (2007) show that in Malawi there is a clear association between level of schooling and endorsement of democracy, even in the absence of a conducive democratic backdrop. Recent events in Zimbabwe also indicate that general education – despite not being aimed at political empowerment – has provided students with the tools they need to provide critical resistance to authoritarianism and construct a democratic alternative.

Looking beyond general education, traditional 'civics' courses are also motivated by the need to promote participation in a democratic society, focusing on the development of knowledge of the constitution and political institutions. In Tanzania, civics (or *Eilmu ya Siasa* in its Kiswahili name), has been taught since independence in secondary schools (Brock-Utne, 2002). In the Nyerere period, the subject was focused around ideas of *ujamaa*, African Socialism and Education for Self-Reliance, and importantly was taught through the medium of Kiswahili – in itself an important nation-building tool. Civics courses of this sort have been very common around the world, appearing in different forms in newly independent countries and in those undergoing transition to democracy (such as countries in Eastern Europe). Nevertheless, even in relation to the knowledge element of citizenship, there is evidence that coverage is precarious. A study of four Commonwealth countries (India, Northern Ireland, Zimbabwe and Botswana) carried out by Bourne et al. (1997) showed general ignorance of UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), and only in India knowledge of national human rights frameworks.

Democracy can be strengthened in the absence of a democratic school system, or indeed a democratic political system. However, while it may be possible to develop knowledge, skills and even dispositions for democracy even in the context of an authoritarian system, that does not mean that a democratic system is not more conducive to these ends. Following Dewey (1916), many acknowledge that democracy is something that must be lived, even in the case of children. Furthermore, having a say in one's schooling can be seen as a right of the child – as affirmed in the articles relating to participation in the 1989 UNCRC. Yet the idea of democratising a school is one that faces significant challenges and even brings significant resistance on the part of teachers, parents and others. As Torney-Purta et al. (1999: 31) states:

> [E]xpectations that teaching styles will become more democratic and that power will devolve to students within schools have been met with considerable ambivalence among many who are responsible for civic education in developed as well as developing democracies.

There have been a number of historical examples of democratic schools, such as the Just Community Schools inspired by Lawrence Kohlberg in the USA, St. George-in-the-East Secondary School in 1940s London, as well as contemporary examples such as the Democratic School of Hadera in Israel and Summerhill School in England (Engel, 2004; Fielding, 2007; Gribble, 1998; Power et al., 1989). However, many of these schools have had particular conditions, such as being private, or by having a significant degree of autonomy within the public system, allowing them to be more experimental. Democratisation is far more challenging in any conventional state school tied to the expectations of the broader system. The initiatives in Commonwealth countries reviewed below to a large extent are functioning in the context of an extremely unfavourable backdrop.

A common form of democratisation of the school space is through a student council or parliament. One example is the *Baraza* originating in Starahe School in Kenya in the 1960s. The Baraza is a whole school assembly held once a week at which the students can express views and present demands and complaints to the headteacher in a spirit of openness and co-operation. As Otiato Ojiambo (2009: 113) states:

> Here, students are given a total parliamentary immunity to say whatever they like without fear of reprisals from their teachers, prefects, or fellow students, against whom complaints are made. Students, for instance, can call in question the conduct of the student leader (prefect) – and the prefect concerned must defend his actions and submit to public discussion… . No subject is prohibited, including the school director's conduct.

The Baraza bears some similarities to the 'meeting' at Summerhill School. It has since been adopted in other schools in Kenya and at a secondary school in Norfolk, England after a visit from students from Starahe (Involver, 2010). Otiato Ojiambo's view on the effects of the Baraza is overwhelmingly positive, although there is not evidence to show that meaningful participation extended to the whole of the student body – a concern present in much research on student councils (Davies and Yamashita, 2007; Morris and Cogan, 2001; Whitty and Wisby, 2007). Another point is that while many of Starahe's pupils have subsidised fees, it is an independent school with high academic standards, and greater challenges might be seen in a mainstream government school.

Students' participation, however, is most effective in the context of broadening community participation generally. This is the approach taken by the People's Action Forum in Zambia, as documented by Chiwela (2010), an organisation that promotes greater participation in school governance in order to ensure accountability. However, while significant progress has been made in challenging fears of 'anarchy' and enhancing participation, implementation was uneven across the schools. At one school:

> The adults emphatically pointed out that they had children's full participation. On further enquiry, this was actually found to mean that once parents and teachers had made decisions, the children took part in implementation, for example ferrying sand to the building site. (Chiwela, 2010: 64)

Participatory bodies at the fringes of the school system can also be influential, as shown in Bhattarai's (2010) study of children's clubs in Nepal, which have been effective in reducing and finding alternatives to corporal punishment in schools. A radio programme run by children in Ghana has allowed them to raise issues surrounding HIV/AIDS and street children, and enabled dialogue with politicians (Manful, 2010). This form of participation, therefore, serves a dual function in allowing for the personal development of the children but also bringing children's views into the public sphere. The Children's Parliament in Rajasthan, discussed by John (2000), also shows an increase of direct influence on children over their education, as well as an opportunity for developing political understanding and skills. The parliament, comprised of 6–14-year-olds selected by their peers, has given rise to the establishment of 'Night Schools', where young people can study without giving up their day work. Nevertheless, significant constraints on the ability of the parliament to bring meaningful change were observed.

Democracy, therefore, in its broadest sense is fostered by general education, in that even the most minimal forms of participation require literacy and some knowledge of basic politics. And yet, the deliberative democracy undergirding the respect and understanding agenda requires real experiences of democratic relations and consensual decision-making. As can be seen, a number of efforts have been made in this regard, although the challenges remain substantial.

Social cohesion

A number of high-income Commonwealth countries such as the UK, Australia and Canada have engaged education systems to address the perceived fragmentation of society on account of accelerating immigration. As Sears (2010: 198) states:

> Almost universally, democratic jurisdictions are wrestling with the question of how civic education can build a strong sense of attachment to the common good without regressing to its assimilationist past.

The existence of distinct ethnic or religious groups is also a challenge for the education systems in many other countries such as India, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Fiji and Malaysia – in fact mono-ethnic states are the exception rather than the norm around the world.

The building of unity from diversity takes a number of forms, but primary of these is through allegiance to some 'higher' entity, usually the nation. The development of allegiance to the nation state (along with the formation of employment skills for national bureaucracy) is a principal

founding objective of national education systems generally speaking (Green 1990). In the case of most Commonwealth countries, the systems developed during the colonial period, so allegiance was to the British Empire. Rituals such as the singing of the British national anthem, the presence of the Union Jack and the reciting of an oath of allegiance, amongst others, were common in schools across the British Colonies (Hirshberg, 1998; Reid and Gill, 2010; Sears et al., 1999). With independence, attention turned to the new nation-states, and the need for new forms of allegiance, particular in the context of often very diverse populations formed through in some cases relatively arbitrary border lines, particularly in Africa.

Reid and Gill (2010) show the historical movement in Australia from a British identity to one slowly opening up to new migrants from southern and eastern Europe and Asia, and reconciliation with the indigenous population. In reaction to this process of opening, through the first decade of the twenty-first century the Liberal/National party coalition attempted to move away from multiculturalism, instigating a National Framework for Values 2004. The standalone subject of civics, considered to be dry and boring, had been subsumed from the 1960s into the broader 'social studies', but concerns over low levels of civic knowledge had led to a new civics project called 'Discovering Democracy' developed in the late 1990s. The view in Reid and Gill (2010) is that despite its progressive title, there is little attention to diversity or active citizenship, although Davies and Issitt's (2005) study of citizenship textbooks shows that materials associated with the discovering democracy initiative did engage with some issues of diversity, relating to indigenous Australians and gender. Nevertheless, there is a constant tension between the reality of diversity in the country and reactionary efforts to unify around a constructed homogenised identity, one which is increasingly hard to sustain in the globalised age.

As in Australia, citizenship in New Zealand has been strongly linked to that of Britain, and according to Hirshberg (1998), in the absence of an abrupt break with the colonising power, the country has struggled to develop a distinctive identity or active political engagement. As in many other countries, citizenship has in the post-war period been part of social studies, but in this case with a more global orientation. While lacking a specific component in the curriculum, there is coverage of key political questions across the years, although importantly, attention to the civic is squeezed out in the later years due to exam pressure.

However, Hirshberg (1998) makes little mention of the Maori population, or of the challenges of including all segments of society within a common inclusive citizenship. The exclusion of minority groups from the national conception of citizenship is a common phenomenon, particularly in the context of countries facing a perceived or real external or internal threat, and consequently with a need to develop a strong sense of unity. This is the case of Pakistan, in the view of Dean (2010). Despite the founding ideals of the country of civic equality of all peoples, regardless of their religion or ethnicity, through the decades a more exclusive nationalist Islamic identity – involving 'gender apartheid' – was promoted by the government. These notions have been consciously promoted through social studies and Pakistan studies in the curriculum, as well as through school activities such as assemblies, inculcating deference to authority. The authoritarian nature of the education system, and the dependence of teachers on textbooks, also militate against the development of democratic citizenship.

The quest for social cohesion is even more urgent and complex in contexts of recent conflict, particularly civil war. In the last few years the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies

(INEE) has become a key player in humanitarian response and has through influential member agencies such as UNICEF and Save the Children promoted a baseline of Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, which includes standards and indicators on access for all as well as culturally, socially and linguistically relevant curricula. The work of the INEE as well as the Global Education Cluster represent a positive trend towards greater co-ordination between relief agencies and integration of inclusive, rights-based approaches to emergency programming. The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme is just one among many education in emergency initiatives; it has been piloted in multi-ethnic refugee camps in Kenya and Ghana, amongst other countries, and has been regarded as highly successful in providing training for NGOs, youth and community members on conflict resolution strategies (Allen et al., 2009).

In light of the fact that education has often been instrumental in causing and sustaining the conflict, the need for change and the difficulties associated with it are increased. In Northern Ireland, much attention has been focused on the development of integrated schools as a response to the conflict, given the tradition of separate schooling for Catholic and Protestant children. The first integrated school was established in 1981, and has been followed by more than 50 others at primary and secondary level, although only 6 per cent of students currently attend this form of school (McGlynn, 2009). While research has shown evidence of positive impact of integrated schools on attitudes and promotion of a less sectarian outlook, practice across the different schools varies, with only some tackling difference head-on, and addressing issues of equality and discrimination. (In contrast, England has been increasing the number of faith schools, leading to concerns over threats to social cohesion, and a process of 'sleepwalking to segregation', in the words of Trevor Phillips, chair of the UK Commission for Racial Equality). Histories of separate schooling also characterise other sites of conflict, such as Cyprus (Koutselini, 2008) and Sri Lanka – discussed below. Recent research by Lall (forthcoming) in Pakistan has shown how school type in a segregated system (in this case a socio-economic rather than an ethnic segregation) is a key determinant of conceptions of citizenship.

There have been a number of attempts in Northern Ireland to introduce a citizenship component into the curriculum as a response to the conflict. The curriculum areas of 'cultural heritage' and 'education and mutual understanding' were introduced in the Education Reform Order of 1989. These developments were seen to have had limited impact on account of the challenges of infusing the content across the curriculum, lack of training of teachers and avoidance of controversial sectarian issues (Smith, 2003). While care over the treatment of sensitive issues is essential, their absence from the curriculum altogether can be dangerous, as highlighted by Weinstein et al. (2007) in relation to Rwanda:

> there was a moratorium on the teaching of history since 1994, and since official government policy is to repress Hutu–Tutsi difference in favor of a Rwandese identity, the history and traditions of the groups may not be acknowledged. In Rwanda, the question is whether suppression of these identities will result in a unified civic identity or lead to an underground adherence to ethnic difference that ultimately might result in renewed violence.

The new curriculum area of Local and Global Citizenship became a statutory requirement in Northern Ireland in 2007. While this represents a significant opportunity for schools, there are ongoing concerns about its conceptualisation and implementation at the school level (McEvoy,

2007). Other approaches oriented around children's rights are put forward in McEvoy and Lundy (2007) and Lundy (2007), representing a coming together of the concerns for social cohesion and democratisation.

Cunningham (2011) addresses the situation of schools in Northern Uganda, in the context of the conflict resulting from the insurgency of the Lord's Resistance Army from 1986 and the resulting displacement of 90 per cent of the population of the region, as well as abductions of children and other atrocities. The government's response of establishing 'patriotic clubs' and providing official speeches in schools in order to enhance national unity is seen to have 'a worrying militaristic element', and 'to equate peace with order', as well as being linked to coming election campaigns. Some opportunities for active participation are provided by the prefect system, although the existence of prefects to some extent can be seen to militate against the development of horizontal democratic relations and deliberation.

The young people surveyed in this study did have some knowledge of rights, particularly social rights, but interestingly this knowledge came not from the school, but from external sources, particularly NGO work via the radio. Secondary schools have an optional subject of 'political education', but in general coverage is weak, and even this optional subject is being withdrawn. Cunningham (2011: 11) states that:

> While NGOs responded to the urgencies of the conflict and post-conflict situation, and have been successful in sensitising people to the idea of rights, this approach is not sustainable in the long term. Indeed there is evidence that the pressure on time and resources has resulted in a superficial approach that is in danger of creating a backlash... . It is necessary for comprehensive human rights knowledge to be firmly built into the taught curriculum.

Education, therefore, seems ideally placed to address the challenge of social cohesion – given its potential to bring diverse groups together and break down barriers of ignorance and prejudice. In this way, the 'world citizenship' promoted by Nussbaum (1997) relates to the diverse groups within a nation as much as between nations. However, as can be seen in the cases above, transforming a divisive and often segregated school system towards understanding and celebration of diversity is far from straightforward. There will now be an analysis of five country case studies, highlighting different aspects of these goals of democratisation and social cohesion, and the challenges of implementation.

Part 2: Case Studies

This chapter presents five country case studies, providing thumbnail sketches of the different contexts for citizenship education amongst Commonwealth countries and regions, as well as recent initiatives and issues. Although these countries are remarkably diverse in history, geography and culture, common challenges for citizenship education emerge across the world. Each is grappling with education's critical role in reconciling multiple ethnic, cultural and sometimes even national identities, exacerbated in many cases by tensions between use of national and local languages. The case studies also demonstrate the difficulty of balancing national policies and imperatives for citizenship with local practices and priorities – pointing to both the opportunities and challenges that decentralisation poses to citizenship education. Finally, the cases illustrate a ubiquitous gap

between policy and practice, and the difficulties of integrating meaningful citizenship curriculum beyond traditional civics into mainstream education systems – an issue that will be analysed in further detail in the chapter's conclusion.

Canada

All countries face issues relating to national identity, and even apparently homogeneous societies often hide histories of forced assimilation and conscious construction of unity. Yet Canada more than most is highly complex in terms of its composition. In Kymlicka's (1995) terms it is both a *multi-nation* and *multi-ethnic* state, comprising both diverse nations cohabiting within the borders of the state, and more recent migrant groups from around the world. This diversity presents obvious challenges to citizenship education, but as shown in the literature on the subject, also significant opportunities for the development of new multicultural approaches.

The earliest inhabitants of the area that is now Canada – commonly called First Nations, or aboriginal communities – comprise approximately 3.8 per cent of the population according to the 2006 census. There has been strong pressure by these groups for recognition as nations within the federation, and for self-government. The settler population is divided into English-speaking and French-speaking communities, the latter concentrated in the province of Quebec. There is strong separatist sentiment in Quebec, with the last referendum for independence in 1995 being narrowly defeated by 51 per cent to 49 per cent. There are other minorities of significant size, such as Ukrainians and Chinese. Partly as a result of the accommodation of English and French speaking communities, Canada is a highly decentralised state, with most power held in the provinces. Education is exclusively in the remit of the provinces, with the federal government having only a very marginal input.

Another complexity in terms of citizenship identity is the relationship with Britain, historically very strong, with Canadians considered British subjects until 1947, and continuing to have dual citizenship until 1976 (Sears et al., 1999). In more recent years, proximity to the USA, and the recent North American Free Trade Agreement, has brought unavoidable influences from the south. In the view of Sears et al (1999: 121), however, Canada is unlike the USA in possessing a certain elitism in its political tradition, with 'little faith in popular sovereignty'. Citizenship education, in this way, has been motivated not only by concerns surrounding national identity, but also by the need to enhance political engagement. As in Australia and the UK, there has long been concern about the lack of civic knowledge amongst young people in Canada (Davies and Issitt, 2005).

There have been a number of initiatives addressing key issues of diversity, social cohesion and intercultural understanding. The Multiculturalism Act was passed in 1988, and curricula across all provinces now emphasise multiculturalism. One important aspect of this multiculturalism relates to language. According to Sears et al. (1999), one success of the country has been to make the younger generations comfortable in both English and French, and the teaching of native languages and studies relating to the First Nations is also increasing.

The federal government has shown considerable interest in recent years in developing initiatives relating to national citizenship, but due to its peripheral role in education has struggled to fulfil these aims. Sears (2010: 201) argues that the federal government's participation is essential, given that:

> It is the only level of government with the ability to generate a national conversation about citizenship and citizenship education and the resources to support substantial capacity building in the field.

Given the decentralisation of the education system, there is therefore inevitable diversity in citizenship education initiatives across the different provinces. As in many countries, civics and citizenship most often appear as part of social studies, as is the case in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia, although in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia the civic content is delivered through history and geography (Schweisfurth, 2006; Sears, 2010). One distinctive element is the emphasis on taking other perspectives – an element that recalls Nussbaum's notion of the 'narrative imagination'. The Alberta social studies curriculum, for example, involves students in adopting Aboriginal and Francophone perspectives on key issues as a means of developing understanding and respect (Sears, 2010).

Davies and Issitt's (2005) study assessed citizenship textbooks in Ontario. Civics was introduced in September 2000 in the province as a compulsory course for grade 10 (ages 14–15), organised into three strands: informed citizenship, purposeful citizenship, and active citizenship. Contrary to the broader aims of multiculturalism and global awareness, their findings point to a more conservative focus on knowledge of the Constitution and parliamentary democracy, and promotion of patriotism (although they are careful to qualify their claims in relation to the representativeness of textbooks across the country, and the relationship between textbooks and classroom practice). One of the textbook passages they quote reads: 'Canadians just don't seem to understand what a great place this is ... You must be willing to show that you love Canada' (p.402). Patriotic rituals were also observed in the account of Sears et al. (1999), with the singing of the national anthem compulsory in Ontario schools.

As in most contexts, more research is needed on implementation. Sears et al (1999: 128) stated a decade ago that, 'There is little evidence as to what actually goes on in Canadian classrooms, the effectiveness of particular programs or what students know or are able to do'. The authors, nevertheless, surmise:

> Although evidence from the official curricula indicates that conceptions of citizenship education have moved toward much more activist and inclusive ones, we suspect that the actual practice of citizenship education in the nation's classrooms remains closer to the older, more conservative models of the past. (Sears et al., 1999: 130–131)

A view close to the chalkface is provided by Schweisfurth (2006), looking at teachers' work with global citizenship in Ontario schools. Mainly working in the field of social science, these strongly committed teachers managed to integrate global citizenship material into their classes and extracurricular activities, with material about landmines, fair trade and environmental impact amongst other topics. This form of work is highly challenging, given that global citizenship is fairly low on schools' lists of priorities, and in the context of a 'long period of creeping teacher demoralization' (p.49). The teachers were supported by the availability of specialist courses at the University of Toronto (OISE), for example the module on Community and Global Connections. According to Schweisfurth (2006: 45), this module 'helped to give students the confidence to promote the GCE [global citizenship education] agenda, even where the official curriculum ignored

or obscured the issues'. It also allowed teachers to involve themselves in a network of like-minded professionals, providing inspiration and the possibility of sharing resources.

However, there are broader challenges to be faced. One problem encountered in many countries is that citizenship, and social studies generally, is being marginalised by the 'hard' subjects of technology, maths and science. Neoliberal policies in education, focusing on narrow vocational skills and standardised testing also militate against the presence of citizenship in the curriculum. Significant tensions between ideals of global citizenship and competing goals underpinning the education system have been identified by Richardson and Abbott (2009). As they state:

> The radical disjunction between developing perspectivity and world-mindedness on one hand and preparing students to compete in the global economy on the other certainly supports the idea that global citizenship education continues to struggle between two competing ideologies. (p.385)

This kind of tension has been observed elsewhere (e.g. in relation to higher education initiatives in England [McCowan forthcoming]), and challenges the notion that there might be a win-win relationship between the goals of promoting a sense of global justice and knowledge and skills for global employability.

England

> 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. (QCA, 1998: 7–8)

These are the ambitious aims of the 'Crick Report', produced by the Advisory Group on Citizenship on request from the UK government. Citizenship had never been taught explicitly in the curriculum before, but at the behest of the New Labour government, the subject was introduced in 2002, largely following the recommendations of the Report. Interest in citizenship was spearheaded by the Minister of Education of the time, David Blunkett, motivated by civic republican ideals of political participation, as well as more conservative visions of community volunteering. The development of these qualities was particularly pressing, given the 'worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life' (QCA, 1998: 8), low voter-turnout and broader social concerns over anti-social behaviour and challenges to social cohesion posed by increasing immigration.

Minority ethnic groups make up approximately 10 per cent of the total population in the UK (although as much as 40 per cent in London), and the numbers are rapidly rising, as are those of mixed-race groups. There has also been significant migration in recent years from the countries newly admitted to the European Union. While far-right parties do not command widespread support in the UK, the British National Party which opposes immigration is growing, and from all of the political parties there are concerns over social cohesion. Furthermore, there are four territories within the UK (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) each with distinct national

identities. On account of this – and because of differences in educational policies in these jurisdictions – this account will focus solely on England.

The citizenship provision recommended by the Crick report has three strands:

1 Social and moral responsibility
2 Community involvement
3 Political literacy

These strands reflect the diverse makeup of the advisory group, and indeed the competing concerns of different groups in society more broadly. The third of these, inspired by Bernard Crick's earlier work with colleagues in the 1970s (e.g. Crick and Porter, 1978), was the most critical in the sense of providing the ability to challenge the *status quo*, while the first relates to more conservative conceptions of citizenship as duties to community and nation. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the charged nature of the material, introduction of citizenship was criticised from both the left and right, with commentators like Flew (2000) and Tooley (2000) 'exposing' its left-wing bias, and others criticising its conservatism, its neglect of diversity, race and gender, and the lack of space for critique of the existing system (including the capitalist economic system, the monarchy etc.) (Gamarnikow and Green, 1999; Garratt and Piper, 2003; Gillborn, 2006; Harber, 2002; Osler and Starkey, 2001). Following the Ajegbo report (DFES, 2007), a fourth strand was added relating to 'Identity and diversity: living together in the UK', although this in turn has been critiqued for its inadequate conceptualisation of a multi-cultural society in the globalising world (Osler, 2008).

From 2002, citizenship in the curriculum has been a legal requirement of schools for Key Stages 3 and 4 (pupils aged 11 to 16), and a non-statutory requirement at Key Stages 1 and 2 (pupils aged 5 to 11). This provision can occur in the form of a standalone subject, or appear together with Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) or be embedded across the curriculum – in practice approaches to integration in the curriculum are diverse across schools (Aguilera, 2008).

The dramatic introduction of citizenship into the curriculum has spawned a considerable media debate and a large body of literature, mostly focused on the need (or lack of need) for the subject, and on its overarching aims. Results from the IEA study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) (conducted before citizenship had been introduced into the curriculum) suggested that UK students were less patriotic and had lower levels of knowledge of democracy and government than their European counterparts. Kerr (2005), however, argues that the media reports were misleading, and focused unjustifiably on simplistic international comparisons. One finding of the study was that young people were more engaged with forms of public engagements such as 'charity work or non-violent protest marches' (p.34) than conventional forms of party political activity.

In terms of implementation, the most extensive study is the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) run by the National Foundation for Educational Research. This government-funded project combines quantitative and qualitative gauges to assess the progress of the new citizenship provision from 2001–2010, tracking a cohort of pupils aged 11 to 18, the first to receive the statutory entitlement. The findings (Keating et al., 2009) suggest that there has been significant progress in the embedding of citizenship during this period, but that there is considerable unevenness between schools, and some institutions in which there is not effective provision. Citizenship is increasingly being delivered as a discrete timeslot, although very often through PSHE, and the

evidence shows that students often confuse the two subjects. While there may be some positive synergies, the dangers of identifying the two are highlighted by Davies and Issitt (2005: 400):

> In England the inclusion of very many matters relevant to individual young people, including health, personal finance, helping others and charities, suggest that a very broad-based focus on personal responsibility is being promoted… . The personal is foregrounded at the expense of a sharper political awareness.

Another significant challenge relates to assessment (Richardson, 2010). While there is now a GCSE qualification in citizenship (the short course was introduced in 2003), most students do not complete a formal assessment, and indeed there are significant challenges in assessing many of the affective and active aspects of the subject. In the context of high-stakes testing and the competitiveness between schools due to published league tables, the lack of summative assessment is likely to diminish the importance attached to it by students and teachers. Another problem relates to teacher education. While the CELS study shows a specialist cadre of citizenship teachers gradually emerging, 2008 survey data indicates that over half of citizenship staff have not received any specific training.

One important aspect of the development of citizenship is student participation in decision-making in the school context. While the Crick Report stopped short of making school councils obligatory, it did provide a strong endorsement for them. These councils – in effect *student* rather than *school* councils – are becoming increasingly common across schools in England, although research indicates only limited success in terms of enhancing democratic participation (Baginsky, 1999; Davies and Yamashita, 2007; Taylor, 2002; Whitty and Wisby, 2007). Issues include the restriction of participation to a small group of already strongly engaged students, and the limitation of discussions to relatively trivial subjects. Indeed, one of the significant limitations of all citizenship provision in UK schools is the backdrop of a highly undemocratic curriculum and education system generally, in which not only students but also teachers have very little say.

While citizenship had not been taught explicitly in schools in England before 2002, there were long traditions of human rights education, development education and associated subjects, on which citizenship could draw (e.g. Bourn, 2008; Starkey, 1994). NGOs including Action Aid, Amnesty International, CAFOD, the Fairtrade Foundation, Oxfam and many others have been active in creating materials for schools relating to the global dimension, conflict and human rights, as have the Development Education Association and individual teacher advisors working through the DFID/British Council/VSO Global Educators initiative. Given the problematic nature of central government involvement, it is likely that engagement of NGOs, community organisations and particularly committed teachers, parents and students themselves will be key to effective citizenship provision in the future.

South Africa

Since its first democratic election in 1994, South Africa has emerged as one of Africa's most vibrant and promising nations, exhibited by its tremendous success as host of the recent FIFA World Cup. However, despite its dramatic social transformation over the last decade and a half, South Africa still bears the legacy of apartheid, remaining a nation of deep disparities. The country is Africa's economic powerhouse attracting migrant workers from neighbouring countries

with its well developed private sector and infrastructure, yet poverty and unemployment remain extremely high. In the last few years South Africa dropped a number of places to 129th on the UN's global Human Development Index (HDI) mainly due to the impact of HIV/AIDS on life expectancy (UNPR 2009). Amongst the many priorities for the government in establishing social justice and equity is a focus on advancing the values that the new South Africa is built upon through citizenship education. In a public address the former President Nelson Mandela (2008) encouraged young South Africans to promote the nation's founding values: 'As future leaders of this country your challenge is to foster a nation in which all people irrespective of race, colour, sex, religion or creed, can assert social cohesion fully. Mindful of your own challenges you must continue to promote the principles of relentless freedom and democracy…'. Here he also summarises the complex task for citizenship education in South Africa: the need for social cohesion amongst the country's ethnic, religious and linguistic groups (there are 11 official languages) in the face of social and economic challenges, as well as a lack of experience with democratic processes. Citizenship education has been seen as a critical activity since the country's inception and features in South African policy and planning, especially in the formal education system.

The South African Constitution, adopted in 1996, overturns the discriminatory legal code of the apartheid era and is based on principles of democracy, rights, responsibility and reconciliation, which serve as the underpinning for the country's development. The Department of Basic Education (DoBE) is mandated to implement the Constitution's requirement that 'education be transformed and democratised in accordance with the values of human dignity, equality, human rights and freedom, non-racism and non-sexism' (DoBE, 2010). Specifically, the goals and strategies to transform the education system are laid out in the 2001 Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy. The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) echoes the prioritisation of democratic values:

> At the centre of its vision are learners who will be inspired by values of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, life and social justice. The curriculum seeks to create a lifelong learner who is confident and independent, literate, numerate, multi-skilled, compassionate, with a respect for the environment and the ability to participate in society as a critical and active citizen. (DoBE, 2010: 13)

Citizenship education in schools is currently delivered as one component of *Life Orientation*, along with 'Personal well-being', 'Recreation and physical activity' and 'Careers and career choices'. The same vision and values thread through other policies related to the regulation of educators and teacher education.

South Africa then has remarkable coherence in the vision and mandate for education as a transformative force for social cohesion and equity from the Constitution down through a variety of education policies. However, the idealistic vision laid out in policy documents is foundering in classroom practice. A variety of recent studies (Chisholm and Leyendecker, 2008; Hammet and Staeheli 2009; Hunt 2010) show that educators and learners across the South African spectrum are struggling to put the vision of the RNCS into practice at all levels of the education system. Hammet and Staeheli (2009: 2) note that 'Almost all respondents were concerned that the ideas presented in the citizenship education curriculum were too abstract and did not match well with learners' experiences in everyday life'. Hunt (2010) found that principals, teachers and students all struggled to implement aspects of citizenship education, and Robinson's (2003) study on

teacher educators found that they too are struggling to implement policy directives related to preparing teachers to take on new approaches to education in schools.

The gap between policy and practice is not unique to South Africa, and appears to be the product of a complex of competing factors:

- **Multiple interpretations of citizenship education discourse and practice**
  As Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008) point out, South Africa's environment is complicated by various layers of competing discourses noting that 'international, national and local discourses jostle alongside one another in the same school' (p. 196). Influenced by local level culture and contexts, education actors at different levels of the system interpret the importance, content and pedagogies associated with citizenship education differently. For example the 2001 Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (p.4) noted that 'Infusing the classroom with a culture of human rights is an imperative'. Ironically, a survey has shown that no less than 78.4 per cent of educators believe 'the government puts too much emphasis on human rights, which leads to problems in our classroom'.
- **Material contexts are not conducive to citizenship education**
  Most South African schools are struggling for material as well as human resources, and both students and teachers frequently come from disadvantaged backgrounds marked by poverty, unemployment and insecurity. In these contexts citizenship education is sometimes perceived as a low priority, irrelevant or even problematic: 'social issues frame the delivery and reception of education… Furthermore, lessons about equality in environments where inequality is written into the fabric of the school and the community presents a gap between ideal and reality that learners are quick to pick up on' (Hammet and Staeheli, 2009: 7).
- **Change in educators' perspectives and practices is slow**
  Fundamentally, implementation of the vision of the Revised Curriculum requires paradigm shifts in educators, including teacher educators and principals, and in teachers' perspectives on learners, especially on their participation and practice in classrooms. 'Almost all educators felt they lacked training and support in delivering citizenship education lessons' (Hammett and Staeheli, 2009: 8). Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008: 203) note that '[Changing classroom practice] requires understanding and sharing the meaning of educational change, providing for adaptations to cultural circumstances, local context, and capacity building throughout the system'.

In many ways the policy-practice gap in South Africa reflects the tension between long term vision and ideals and immediate needs in a resource constrained environment. Although South Africans are struggling to support citizenship education in their schools, the recent boost from hosting the FIFA World Cup was hailed as a 'psychological triumph' for the country by the Secretary General of the country's largest trade union, Cosatu (Mail and Guardian, 2010). Despite the many challenges still to be faced, Nelson Mandela's appearance at the World Cup final served as a landmark of the remarkable progress the country has made since he took office in 1994. Although citizenship education cannot transform social inequality overnight, it remains a critical area for education and civil society if South Africa is to grow into and advance the gold standard in democracy set by its Constitution.

Sri Lanka

Amongst South Asian countries Sri Lanka is distinguished by relatively strong human development indicators and good progress towards most of the Millennium Development Goals. With literacy rates above 95 per cent, strong gender parity indicators and notable success in reducing infant and maternal mortality, Sri Lanka's development picture reflects the government's long standing commitment to social services (UNDP and NCED, 2005). Particularly remarkable is Sri Lanka's track record in education. The government has supported free compulsory education since 1947 and enrolment rates for both girls and boys are high at 88 per cent and 90 per cent respectively (Ministry of Education, 2007). However, despite these apparent signs of progress, Sri Lanka's development has been severely hampered by a decades-long ethnic conflict, in which tens of thousands of lives have been lost. The warring groups, the Sinhalese and Tamils, are divided by ethnicity, religion and language. The conflict centres on the Tamil minorities' demands for rights, representation and autonomy. Although military engagement was mainly restricted to the North and East of the country, its impact has been felt across the island, debilitating the economy, restricting civil rights and inflaming politics. In fact, Sri Lanka's positive human development indicators frequently exclude data from the conflict affected regions, and therefore have produced a somewhat distorted picture of the country's progress. The war between the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam and Sri Lankan government forces finally drew to a close in 2009, leaving thousands displaced from their homes and a long road ahead to recovery and national reconciliation.

Sri Lanka's relatively high levels of education appear not to have played a role in deterring conflict, rather aspects of the formal education system may have inadvertently contributed to prejudice and distrust between Sinhala and Tamil communities. Efforts by the Ministry of Education to institute education for social cohesion and tolerance as part of the 1997 education reforms have foundered on a variety of structural elements in the formal education system. One serious issue is that Sri Lanka's education system is segregated by language of instruction. This means that Sinhala children from the ethnic majority go to Sinhalese medium schools, while minority Tamil children attend Tamil medium schools. Integrated schools do exist in urban centres, but they are not the norm. All Sri Lankan children are supposed to learn Sinhalese and Tamil as well as English, but in practice learning of second and third languages is not effective due to shortages of appropriately skilled teachers (NEREC, 2004). The systemic lack of opportunities for children from the two communities to live and learn together is a serious hindrance to efforts to build a pluralistic society. In addition Sri Lankan textbooks still tend to be culturally biased or passively omit historical aspects of the conflict (Cardozo, 2008: 24). A 2004 study of civic education in Sri Lanka also found that 'under-representation of minority groups in national-level education institutions' (NEREC, 2004) undermines public confidence in national policy agendas. The 1997 reforms, though well intentioned, may have also struggled to take hold since their effective implementation would have required transformations in perspectives on social cohesion on the parts of teacher educators and teachers – in reality teacher development for social cohesion was sporadic (Cardozo, 2008). Additionally the tsunami in 2004 and resurgence and intensification of the conflict from 2006 onward waylaid further progress of these critical reforms.

Despite a climate of tight controls on social dialogue concerning the conflict in recent years – Sri Lanka was rated one of the most dangerous places in the world for journalists in 2009 (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010) – civil society organisations have continued to promote peace

education outside the bounds of the formal education system. The National Peace Council of Sri Lanka has been active in the promotion of adult peace education, supporting workshops across the country on topics such as non-violent conflict resolution, understanding the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and peace building through power sharing. The organisation also has a number of innovative ways of reaching school age children, one of which is the use of human rights quiz competitions amongst Advanced-level students in a variety of districts around the county. Likewise Sri Lanka Unites: Youth Movement for Hope and Reconciliation is a youth organisation that aims to 'be a symbol for, and an example of, the powerful potential of united Sri Lankans to work towards sustainable development, peace and prosperity' (Sri Lanka Unites, 2010). Amongst a variety of activities designed to bring youth of different ethnicities together, Sri Lanka Unites sponsors an annual 'Future Leaders Conference' bringing together students, teachers and volunteers from different parts of the country to promote intercultural understanding and post-conflict healing.

Now that the war is effectively over the Sri Lankan government has a critical window of opportunity to build lasting peace, working towards the resettlement and recovery of conflict affected areas as well as ensuring that reconciliation and social cohesion are promoted across the island. The Ministry of Education has developed and begun implementation of two new policy frameworks in peace education as well as inclusive education. However, they may need to consider how to address the structural barriers that foster segregation rather than pluralism if real progress is to be made. Additionally the climate for open social dialogue must improve if Sri Lanka is going to become a more inclusive democratic nation.

Vanuatu

The small island states of the Pacific, with their ethnic diversity and complex layering of indigenous and introduced political and social structures, present complex challenges for citizenship education. Over the last decade citizenship education has become part of an agenda for improved governance in the region. The Pacific Plan, a regional co-operation agreement endorsed by leaders at the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in 2005, sets out the following vision:

> Leaders believe the Pacific region can, should and will be a region of peace, harmony, security and economic prosperity, so that all of its people can lead free and worthwhile lives. We treasure the diversity of the Pacific and seek a future in which its cultures, traditions and religious beliefs are valued, honoured and developed. We seek a Pacific region that is respected for the quality of its governance, the sustainable management of its resources, the full observance of democratic values and for its defence and promotion of human rights… . (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2007)

This vision for the Pacific, emphasising inclusion and good governance, implies a strong role for citizenship education, and indeed many recent initiatives in the region reflect increased attention to the role of both formal and non-formal education in fostering social cohesion and civic knowledge. For example the Centre for Citizenship Education based in Tonga supported by the Commonwealth Foundation has initiated a Pacific Islands Citizenship Education Capacity Building Programme. In Fiji the National Initiative on Civic Education is working towards civic education for adults with a similar programme at work in schools. These programmes show the developing interest around citizenship education in the region; however, a closer look at the case

of Vanuatu reveals the complexity around conceptions of citizenship in the Pacific and the implications for education.

The Republic of Vanuatu shares many features typical of small island states in the Pacific, geographically fragmented over an archipelago of some 82 islands and having a remarkably diverse population, evidenced by over 100 indigenous languages spoken across the country. Vanuatu is the third poorest country in the Pacific according to the Human Poverty Index; inequities in access to and quality of basic services and infrastructure are exacerbated by geographical fragmentation between the urban centres of Port Vila and Luganville and the rest of the island group. Vanuatu has a long and rich history which has resulted in a blend of cultures. The indigenous ni-Vanuatu are made up of diverse Melanesian ethnicities, whose complex traditional social and political structures prevail at the local level, 'varying from island to island and even from village to village' (UNDP, 2010: 4). In addition to its indigenous diversity, despite independence from joint rule by the British and French in 1980, Vanuatu still carries the legacy of colonialism, as reflected in the influence of Christianity and the three official languages, Bislama (a creole made up mostly of English), English and French. Vanuatu's unique mix of customary and colonial cultural forces implies several challenges for citizenship education, raising fundamental questions of how views of citizenship are to be reconciled between national and local perspectives and how citizenship education might contribute to balancing multiple cultural, linguistic and political influences.

Vanuatu's formal education system reflects a struggle to mediate economic disparities as well as diverse cultural influences found across the island group. Children's access to education, deterred by school fees, uneven provision and the absence of a compulsory education policy, is a major concern with primary enrolment at 74 per cent, and secondary at only 32 per cent (Ministry of Education, 2006). However, the issue of access has been prioritised, with the Ministry of Education recently announcing a free and compulsory education policy and the intention to eliminate school fees by 2012 (Government of the Republic of Vanuatu, 2010). The education system still bears the marks of colonialism, with a dual school system with English and French as the languages of instruction. The Vanuatu Education Sector Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2006) notes that 'the heritage of the dual education colonial system has not worked to build strong literacy skills, pride in vernacular languages, or bilingualism... The dual system is expensive, unsustainable, divisive, and inequitable' and advocates for a single, multi-language system which will be more inclusive and sustainable. The Strategy document as well as Prior et al.'s (2001) report both comment on the need for the recognition and inclusion of vernacular languages and traditional ni-Vanuatu culture in the national curriculum, noting 'sustainability and the Vanuatu way: respect for language, culture, history and indigenous knowledge' as a cross cutting issue for education.

Amongst Vanuatu's islands, traditional community based governance under the leadership of Chiefs has become conflated with modern political structures causing confusion around roles, responsibilities and channels of authority. 'There is therefore a need to strengthen governance linkages to achieve better communication and co-ordination between communities and formal government institutions' (UNDP, 2010). Inclusion of women in the political process is another key issue in Vanuatu and across the region, with women under-represented in local and national government. Access to information and literacy rates on remote islands are poor and so many citizens do not have a clear understanding of Vanuatu's national political system and their role in it,

reducing public accountability on the part of government officials. Transparency International, Vanuatu, with the support of the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF), runs a citizenship education initiative designed to increase public awareness on the state's system of government, as well as citizens' rights and responsibilities. The intended outcomes for the project are to encourage active citizenry and increase transparency and accountability in decision making processes. Transparency Vanuatu has conducted citizenship education workshops in remote island communities, produced civic resource guides in Bislama and also produced radio programmes for broadcast.

In Vanuatu, like many Pacific states, issues of access and cohesion are exacerbated by the geographic spread of islands. However, the more complex issue for citizenship education is that of reconciling multiple cultural influences, tradition and modernity, national and local. The formal education system, on its way to addressing access issues, has yet to find ways to balance multiple cultural influences to promote social cohesion and civic knowledge. Prior et al. (2001: 15) summarise the dilemma for Pacific states this way: 'until a nation defines itself and has a coherent and agreed vision(s) of its past and of its future, its education system will reflect this lack of direction'. This process of self-definition can come from as well as result in efforts towards citizenship education that engage citizens of small island states like Vanuatu in dialogue.

Conclusion

If a common challenge can be drawn from the country case studies presented in this chapter, it is the significant gap between policy and practice, the struggle to implement change. There is substantial writing about the aims and orientations of citizenship education, and a range of studies about students' political views and action. Yet the relationship between these two remains obscure. To what extent do citizenship education programmes actually achieve their goals of producing democratic citizens? Studies from around the world are inconclusive, with McAllister (1998) in the context of Australia arguing that civics courses add little to general education, and Niemi and Junn (1998) showing a significant effect amongst US students. In any event, these large scale studies tend to use very imperfect proxies that encompass neither the subtleties of education practice nor the complexities of political understanding and action. Qualitative studies can illuminate some of these more subtle aspects, but are necessarily smaller in scope. Certainties, therefore, are few and far between when it comes to the effects of citizenship education.

Nevertheless, as reflected in the country case studies, we can identify some of the factors that consistently emerge as significant in either enabling or constraining the development of citizenship through education. First, teacher involvement and ownership in the initiative is essential, in relation to the curricular transposition framework, so as to bridge the gap between the ideal curriculum and the implemented curriculum. As shown in Schweisfurth (2006), teachers can drive forward an initiative even in unfavourable circumstances when they feel committed to it, are linked together in networks and have some freedom to adapt it to their understandings and values. Second, pedagogy and the management of the school must reflect the democratic aims of the initiative. Furthermore, the education system as a whole will ideally embody the same aims too – with empirical research (e.g. Richardson and Abbott, 2009) highlighting the problematic disjunctures between citizenship in the curriculum and narrowly instrumental systems based around high-stakes testing. Third, citizenship learning will be enhanced by a democratic envi-

ronment outside the school, supporting the aims and allowing for experiences of direct participation. As Hahn (1999b: 235) shows in her account of the effectiveness of student councils in Denmark:

> Student councils decide how to spend their sizeable budgets, as well as elect representatives to the school council and make many decisions that affect the student body… . The many opportunities that Danish students have for democratic participation in their schools occurs in a wider cultural context in which their parents participate in decision-making bodies at work and in which national referenda are commonplace.

There are significant challenges relating to the changing of dynamics at the national level and the democratisation of the system as a whole, given entrenched habits and vested interests. At the school level, embedding participation can also be difficult. As stated above, while some students are well motivated and equipped to participate, it can be hard to extend participation to the whole student body. The same is true of different schools in the system, with disadvantaged students less likely to have opportunities for democratic participation. As Hahn (1999a: 593) observed in the USA:

> Interestingly, three middle school teachers in different urban schools with largely African-American populations commented that it was difficult to teach about democracy and freely expressing an opinion when the atmosphere of the school works against that. They said that, although they encouraged their students to speak out, many of their colleagues told students to be quiet, listen and take notes or work on drill sheets at their seats.

A further problem highlighted by Bhattarai (2010) concerns the burden on children's time of participating in decision-making bodies. While it might be considered a valuable learning experience, and therefore a good use of time, attention must be paid to balancing different activities in school, particularly in the context of a crowded curriculum, and what is in many countries a short school day.

Lastly, and perhaps most challengingly, there is the opposition of teachers to learners' participation (particularly when those learners are children), and even the opposition of parents (as seen in a number of the accounts in Cox et al., 2010). The support of adults is more likely when they themselves have been involved in decision-making, i.e. when teachers have meaningful participation in educational decisions, and parents in decisions over community development. These challenges, however, are not insurmountable, as the inspiring examples of best practice outlined in the next chapter are testament.

Intervention, Innovation and Inspiration

Introduction

This chapter highlights examples of best practice in the development of respect and understanding. Most do not come under the label 'citizenship education' as such, but represent innovative ways of working towards political empowerment and intercultural understanding, and so share the same aims. There is also an extended discussion of school linking at the start, given its potential importance for respect and understanding. The examples are diverse in terms of the countries represented, with some taken from outside the Commonwealth – countries such as Kuwait and Mexico – since it is important to maintain awareness of practice elsewhere in the world, and learn from it. There is also substantial diversity in terms of the level of education, with some examples taken from school level and others from higher education and adult learning, as well as diversity in the provider and form of education, involving governmental and non-governmental initiatives in formal and non-formal education. Most of the examples involve transformation of the curriculum or educational environment, but importantly in some cases also involve extending access to marginalised groups. Needless to say, this is not an exhaustive account of best practice, and many other cases (such as UNICEF's child friendly schools) could also have been included.

The cases provided here are mostly small-scale, and future implications may involve expansion to provide a broader reach, although not necessarily, with a multiplicity of localised actions often being an effective course of action. Furthermore, these cases are bounded by their own specific contexts, and cannot be easily replicated elsewhere. The conditions that make possible the establishment of intercultural universities in Mexico or dialogue between ex-prisoners in Northern Ireland simply may not be present elsewhere, or it may be that in other contexts of racial discrimination or ethnic conflict another form of response would be more appropriate. Nevertheless, the fact that replication might be difficult or inappropriate does not mean that the cases have no relevance for others. Significant learning about possibilities and constraints can be gained, and more importantly the inspiration and commitment from knowing that change is possible.

School linking

School linking, global school partnerships, or North–South school partnerships as they are variously referred to, have over the last decade increasingly gained visibility and recognition as a means to improve children's engagement with the world they live in. School linking puts schools in different countries in partnership, giving students and teachers opportunities to work jointly on projects designed to 'motivate young people's commitment to a fairer, more sustainable world' (DFID, 2010). In the past, school linking programmes were associated with fundraising for schools

in developing countries, but in recent years the emphasis has shifted from inputs to integrated curriculum and learning outcomes. School linking today is also facilitated by the internet and communications technologies which have transformed the ways in which children and teachers across the world can teach and learn together.

Examples of how schools pursue partnerships vary. The partnership between The Marches School and Technology College in the UK and three schools in the Soshanguve Township in South Africa (Thakalange JS, Ruabohlele JS and Echibini) has lasted for ten years and has included a number of student and teacher exchange visits and regular correspondence between students. 'After a visit to the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg with the three head teachers, The Marches School teachers have been able to share the real life experiences of the South African teachers in their lessons on apartheid and African history' (Link Community Development, 2010a). The Lancaster Girls' Grammar school in the UK's link with Vidya Devi Jindal School brought about a Year 8 exchange of albums of drawings and photographs of students dressed up as various teenage stereotypes from the two countries to contribute to their investigation of stereotyping and inclusion. The project has also fostered closer contacts between Lancaster Girls school and the local Hindu and Muslim communities.

School partnerships are intended to 'develop the knowledge, understanding, values and attitudes of young people and the wider community as informed and responsible global citizens who are effective in taking decisions about making a difference to the world' (Link Community Development, 2010b). Amongst the benefits of school linking is the promotion of learning through a range of topics with an international dimension including global development issues (the Millennium Development Goals for example), social justice and equity, diversity, globalisation and interdependence, sustainable development, and peace and conflict. Most organisations facilitating school linking emphasise jointly constructed projects that are integrated into curricular outcomes; exchange visits for students and teachers are also common. A recent study on North–South school partnerships notes that school linking can have a significant impact on teachers' professional development as joint projects stimulate collaboration and innovation within and between schools (Edge et al., 2009: 11). The study also suggests that direct contact between the schools has an especially catalytic effect in deepening the quality of school partnerships: 'Exchanges are the cornerstone of partnerships and the turning point for learning and engagement' (Edge et al., 2009: 107). Ultimately the quality of school partnerships comes down to leadership, commitment and good communication on both sides.

Much of the momentum around school linking in recent years has come from its endorsement and promotion by the UK's education and international development strategies. School linking programmes were once promoted on an ad hoc basis by grassroots non-governmental organisations, but over the last decade have become increasingly institutionalised and centralised as a key element of the Department for Education and Skills 'International Strategy for Education' (DFES, 2004), with policy and funding support from the Department for International Development (DFID). There are currently over 2,000 schools in the UK with links to 56 countries across Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean (DFID, nd) facilitated by a wide range of organisations underwritten by DFID, including the British Council, Link Community Development, Plan and Oxfam. In addition the Global Gateway, an international website under the Department for Education, facilitates partnerships between schools and educators across the world. These UK-led

initiatives have in turn generated interest in the area of school partnerships internationally. In 2006, Commonwealth Education Ministers affirmed their support 'to encourage and promote school to school links and at other levels of the system as a means of fostering mutual understanding and to improve the quality of learning outcomes' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2006), and as many as 76 governments have signed up as strategic partners in school linking through the Global Gateway.

School linking programmes are generally thought to have a positive influence on teachers and students in participating schools. In the UK a new study on the impact of global learning shows that 'Without an opportunity to learn about global issues in school, over a third of the population (34%) are neither involved in, nor interested in getting involved in, any form of positive social action. Amongst those who have learnt about climate change, poverty or world politics and trade at school, this figure drops to around one in ten (9%, 12% and 12% respectively)' (Hogg and Shah, 2010: 3). However, the Edge et al. (2009: 18) study shows asymmetrical responses in the North and South when it comes to the specifics: for example 66.7 per cent of Northern schools compared with 88.6 per cent of Southern partnership leaders found higher levels of participation and engagement amongst students involved in school linking projects, and 49 per cent of Northern schools versus 85 per cent of Southern schools found significant changes in students' academic behaviour. These differences are likely to reflect the considerable gap in innovative teaching and learning, resources and global exposure available to most schools in developing countries.

Although school linking represents a significant tool for children across the world to learn more about and from one another, there is still ground to cover in equalising the partnership between the North and South and in promoting South–South linkages. School partnerships are playing a key role in the UK's agenda for international engagement and global citizenship education in its schools, however many Commonwealth governments have yet to institutionalise a response to the growing phenomenon. Given the higher rates of engagement and impact on schools in the South indicated in Edge et al's (2009) study, Commonwealth Ministries of Education could do more to maximise the benefits of school partnerships for their own schools by developing relevant supportive policies and strategies covering curriculum and capacity building.

Modelling the World: The Model United Nations at School

(Laura Johnson)

> I think it opens their eyes to the complexities of things. And, you know, when you're in High School, you think of everything in black and white, and I think that Model UN helps the process of seeing shades of grey...
>
> (Model UN Organiser, interviewed in July 2009)

Model United Nations programmes are simulations of discussions within the United Nations (UN). Students take on roles as nations' representatives, research foreign and domestic policies of those countries and participate in formal debates and informal dialogue to attempt to 'resolve' international problems and global concerns such as conflict, poverty, gender violence and environmental issues. One inter-school programme in the UK, for 13 to 18 year-olds, separates the 300 or so participants out into committees of around 30 students relating to agencies of the United Nations such as UNESCO and UNICEF. The objective for each committee within the one- or two-day con-

ference is to co-operatively draft and sign a UN resolution regarding the topic under discussion. Experienced students take on the organising roles in the conference: once the conference is underway, there is little adult involvement. Model UN programmes run across the world, with large international conferences taking place in cities as diverse as Belgrade and Beijing, New York and Nairobi. They can also happen on a smaller scale: a classroom of students can undertake a Model UN simulation using only a few resources, namely country 'placards', a stopwatch/timer and a makeshift gavel.

The aim of the programme is to increase students' international knowledge and to develop their research, debating and negotiation skills, as well as building their confidence. By taking on the role of a diplomat from a country other than their own, students develop empathy and respect for persons and cultures and absorb a new, more formal, method of interacting with each other and resolving conflicts based on 'decorum'. That said, the Model UN is not an unproblematic educational activity. It can be regarded as promoting a Western centralised system which has limited authority in today's world of grassroots and internet activism. It can also be seen as a competitive and perhaps even elitist activity, although the programme aims to dispel this image by focusing on state schools and providing accessible resources that can be implemented across schools as part of basic curriculum provision. Despite these and other problems, the student response to the programme has been overwhelmingly positive. Meeting students from different backgrounds, strengthening leadership skills and gaining a sense of the complexity of global challenges can be a powerful motivator for students to undertake more research and to start working together to reinterpret and remodel the world.

> Model UN has taught me that you won't be able to get anywhere… just being really selfish and only listening to what's going on in your head and not listening to everyone else. (16-year-old Model UN Student Participant, interviewed in July 2009)

Children in Conflict: a case study of Gujarat, 2002

(Beena Jadhav, Zakia Soman)

In 2002, the Indian state of Gujarat was witness to violence unprecedented since independence. It was one of the worst examples of religious strife and hatred between communities, leading to the deaths of innocent women, men and children and mindless destruction of property following the burning of the train at Godhra on 27th February in which 59 people returning from Ayodhya [karsewaks] were killed. What followed was a series of mass revenge killings of innocent persons belonging to the Muslim community. The police looked away and the administration chose to remain quiet and at some places supported the mayhem. Over 100,000 people were rendered homeless and forced to take shelter in relief camps put up by religious leaders.

ActionAid supported the relief and peace campaign led by Citizens' Initiative. The peace campaign was called Aman Samudaya. We deployed volunteers in all relief camps to provide psycho-social counselling, legal support, livelihood support etc. The worst sufferers under the circumstances were women and children. Children were always overlooked as a group. We started education for children below 15 in various relief camps. Young volunteers, particularly girls, were specially trained on the spot to work with children to engage them in creative exercises that would help to overcome trauma. Writing, story-telling, painting, drawing and singing were some of the

activities regularly carried out in the camps. Curfew lasted for over eight months and the camps became the school as well as the home for these children. A year later, when peace returned we continued our association with these children by supporting 74 of them through annual fellowships received from the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. This took care of their school fees, tuition fees, uniforms, books etc. We gave preference to children of single mothers and girls. The support also included 20 children of the Hindu *karsewaks* who were killed in the train at Godhra. Children from both communities came together to celebrate festivals like Independence Day annually and also participated in an atmosphere of harmony and communal amity. Over 300 children from vulnerable families were sent to different schools where their studies were sponsored by community donors. The engagement has continued to date through counselling mothers for continued education and support by schools such as partial waiver of fees.

Intercultural Universities in Mexico

(Fernanda Pineda)

Since colonial times, educational projects were often aimed at mainstreaming Mexican indigenous peoples into the dominant culture. The history of resistance and activism to counteract assimilationist education in Mexico has been long and complex, yielding to transformations of educational policy – a phenomenon observable throughout many other Latin American countries. Since 2003, Mexico has been addressing a multicultural nation via the creation of intercultural universities (IUs). Presently there are 10 throughout the country. The IUs have been designed to be open to all, indigenous and non-indigenous students, though the proportion of indigenous students is intended to be around 70 per cent. A quota system is in place to ensure at least 20 per cent Mestizo participation.

In brief, the IUs seek to acknowledge the diverse voices of Mexico, and to create spaces so diverse social actors integrate the indigenous and rural communities into the dynamics of the modern world in an inclusive, respectful and intercultural manner. Educating intellectuals and professionals committed to the development of their people and their regions is part of the IUs' mission. In brief, the IUs model seeks to foster research on language, culture and regional development, with the goal of 'reevaluating, revitalizing, and consolidating the languages and cultural expressions of our original communities' (Casillas Muñoz, 2005: 1), and to explore 'alternative routes to foster development stemming from the values and traditions that have characterised [the indigenous communities]' (Casillas Muñoz, 2005: 1). It also seeks to facilitate students in the 'appropriation' of their own academic formation by strengthening the knowledge and revaluation of students' roots first, and equip them 'to become active agents of transformation of their surroundings' (Casillas Muñoz and Santini Villar, 2006: 22). Finally, it seeks to draw back those sociopolitical elements that make aboriginal languages and cultures vulnerable.

The IUs project represents a landmark in the education system of the nation, addressing at the educational policy level an age-old debt to the original populations of Mexico. The processes is arduous and not free from challenges, but as Schmelkes (2009: 8) points out, the IUs 'are one way of responding to both historical and more recent demands by indigenous people'.

Distance Learning For Long-Term Refugee Youth in Thailand

(Barbara Zeus)

For youth trapped in Southeast Asia's largest protracted refugee situation along the Thai–Burmese border, further education opportunities upon graduation from camp-based secondary schools are bleak. Many young people do not know much about life outside the camps, and leaving the camps to study at university remains a distant dream for most. Competition for scholarships to study abroad is high and such programmes are controversial not least due to socio-cultural challenges, financial costs and the loss of human resources for refugee communities.

Thanks to a committed group of people and modern online learning technology, tertiary degree programmes have found their way into the refugee camps. The Australian Catholic University has pursued a participatory approach when determining refugee communities' needs and students' subject preferences. Over the last few years, young refugees have studied Business, Theology and Liberal Studies. Australian learning and teaching materials have been adapted to suit the socio-cultural context of the refugee camps. The programmatic approach combines online learning with face-to-face teaching from visiting tutors and on-site tutorial support to motivate students and help them improve their academic English and study skills.

Through the online courses, students have been able to access information, develop skills and knowledge and obtain an internationally-recognised qualification which had earlier seemed beyond their grasp. With their advanced English, IT, research and leadership and management skills, graduates have found employment with NGOs and community-based organisations dealing with a variety of issues from educational provision to human rights. Most importantly, the degrees have had psychological, life-transforming and empowering impacts as students self-confidently engage in direct dialogue with local and international stakeholders in policy- and decision-making processes. Generally, courses help students develop transferable skills and prepare for a yet uncertain future that may include repatriation to Burma, resettlement to a third country or local integration within Thailand.

Worldwide, there are some 15 million refugees who spend on average 17 years in exile. It is estimated that less than one per cent of refugees have access to higher education. A general lack of research on refugee higher education goes hand in hand with widespread reluctance to invest in such programmes. Distance education in particular remains relatively unexplored as a tool for the inclusion of marginalised learners at higher levels. The case described proves that such programming is possible and can have positive, empowering impacts on students and their communities.

Human Rights Friendly Schools

(Sam Mejias)

Amnesty International's *Human Rights Friendly Schools* project is a new global human rights education initiative currently being implemented in its pilot phase in 14 countries around the world by the organisation's International Secretariat, with the support of national Amnesty sections in each participating country. Amnesty International is using this approach to support its wider mission to promote a global culture of human rights. Conceived as a whole-school approach to human rights education, the project sets an ambitious agenda for participating schools to incor-

porate ten core principles, developed from key international human rights instruments including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, into four areas of school life – governance, curriculum, extra-curricular activities and school environment – and into community relations. In each participating country, a national Amnesty International section has partnered with one secondary school to develop and implement a one-year action plan to begin transforming the school into a human rights friendly community. Amnesty defines a human rights friendly school as a place in which all are included and encouraged to take part, regardless of status or role, and where cultural diversity is celebrated. A human rights friendly school ensures that equality, dignity, respect, non-discrimination and active participation are at the heart of the learning experience and present in all major areas of school life. In the United Kingdom, the project is being implemented in a comprehensive secondary school in the Southall area of London.

From Prison to Peace: learning from the experience of political ex-prisoners

(Lesley McEvoy)

As in other transitional societies, the curriculum in Northern Ireland plays a significant role in addressing the conflict and its legacy. Since past curricular initiatives, such as Education for Mutual Understanding, were recognised as having very limited success, due to their avoidance of controversial issues and in particular a lack of acknowledgement of the political nature of the conflict, the statutory subject 'Local and Global Citizenship' attempts to 'up front' issues central to the conflict and the transition to peace. However, to date, the delivery of citizenship education in schools has not resulted in substantial engagement with past violence and the harder realities of conflict transformation. 'From Prison to Peace: learning from the experience of political ex-prisoners' aims to provide schools with a mechanism to deal with these difficult issues.

The initiative arose out of the genuine desire of politically motivated former prisoners to demythologise their involvement in the conflict and the prison experience, in the hope that this would deter young people from engaging in violence and direct them towards positive participation in their communities. Representatives from each of the five main political ex-prisoner support groups (that is republicans and loyalists who were former Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), Official IRA, Irish National Liberation Army, Ulster Defence Association and Ulster Volunteer Force prisoners) worked to produce an educational resource and DVD for use in the citizenship curriculum. The resource, based on the narratives of fifteen former prisoners, focuses on the circumstances which influenced individuals in their decision to become involved in the conflict, and on the prison experience and its impact, before concentrating on encouraging young people to learn from the positive contribution made by political ex-prisoners to conflict transformation and community development.

In addition to demythologising the conflict, the political ex-prisoners involved in this initiative also hope that young people can learn from the way in which they, as former enemies, can engage with each other in the pursuit of a stable peace. This engagement is based, not on false notions of friendship, but on the capacity for individuals to show 'political generosity' to one another through recognising the rights of the other to an expression of their identity and their right to pursue their political aspirations. As one political ex-prisoner states: 'It doesn't make me any less of a loyalist to recognise that republicans have a point of view that's legitimate for them'. To this end, the initia-

tive also involves loyalist and republican ex-prisoners jointly facilitating workshops and discussions with young people, helping them explore the contours of the conflict and its effect on society.

The impact of this work remains to be seen. But what is already apparent is that some teachers are welcoming the refreshingly honest approach to this aspect of the curriculum, typified by the quotations taken from the resource below, and the genuine motivation of these individuals to engage young people in peace-building.

> I don't feel the need to apologise for what I've done but I will take responsibility for what I've done. But everything has changed now. The Peace Agreement has changed things. The use of force depends on the level of oppression and what other ways there are to end the conflict. It may be slow and frustrating but it's better than the alternative.
>
> (Republican political ex-prisoner)

> The clear message we want to be sending young people is we've been there and done all of that. Nobody needs to go through all that. There's other ways now. We need to educate them and teach them about communication, negotiation and compromise. If they can be helped to be confident and proud of their own history and culture they don't need to be afraid of anyone else's. (Loyalist political ex-prisoner)

Struggles for Democratic Education: A Kuwaiti Teacher's Mission

(Rania Al-Nakib)

While the Kuwaiti government has stated its commitment to education for democratic citizenship, it has yet to lay out explicit aims and outcomes and to provide necessary teacher training. It has also failed to address the largely undemocratic structure of the national school system and the lack of student participation. In short, Kuwait's educational system is in direct conflict with its democratic aspirations.

However, during a case study of a state secondary school carried out in 2009–2010, I met Tahani. A Kuwaiti teacher, Tahani conscientiously seeks to create alternatives to the status quo in her classroom and school. She strives to educate her students democratically and with full recognition of their rights despite the undemocratic national curriculum and the confining walls of the school buildings. Despite exam pressures and restrictive policies from the Ministry, she does not hesitate to put the national textbooks aside and have her students dictate the curriculum. Tahani, comfortable relinquishing her power to her students and respectful of their voices, yields impressive results. There are no typical lessons with writing on the board and rote question and answer sessions in her classroom. Every unit is completely student-led and action-based – from demonstrations outside the administration offices demanding a cafeteria to the design and implementation of a 'Relaxation Oasis' on campus. These activities, though seemingly benign to administrators who gave them the green light, are hugely significant, symbolic, and, for Kuwait, radical. Kuwaiti schools are designed with minimal student-centred space. Classrooms are set up in rows with the teachers at the front. There are no cafeterias, common rooms, or other spaces for students to congregate. Furthermore, education is largely confined to within school grounds, and interaction with the community is minimal. Tahani's classroom was designed in co-operation with her students, and she is also often heard advocating a 'school without walls'. However, bound by the walls, she constantly brings the community to her students, from bus drivers to MPs.

Tahani is passionate about listening to students and involving them in every aspect of school administration and policy-making. Not content with the tokenistic school council at her own school, Tahani worked with a human rights lawyer outside of school hours and pay, drafting a proposal for a student council that would work with the Ministry of Education. The Ministry promptly declined the proposal, beseeching Tahani, 'Please do not open the students' eyes.' Fortunately, she chose not to heed the advice and continues to do just that everyday.

Conclusions and Recommendations

> The central dilemma for education in divided societies lies in the way its schools engage with issues of difference. The historical role of education systems has been to promote social cohesion either by inculcating children into the national community through a process of assimilation, or by preparing them for their appropriate station in life within the ordered hierarchy of society, or, perhaps more often, both at the same time. Conflict arises when elites have to work hard to maintain a position of domination or when oppressed groups see a possibility of change; violent conflict emerges when there are no alternative routes to prosecuting these claims. What then of the role of education?
>
> (Gallagher, 2009: 5)

As highlighted by the *Civil Paths to Peace* report, humanity is at a crossroads at which we can either continue down the path of the advances in the upholding of human rights, intercultural understanding and global peace that have been made since the Second World War, or revert to a situation of intolerance, hostility and injustice. Education is pivotal in avoiding a retreat into mutual distrust and barbarism, and beyond short-term reconstruction, can sow the seeds of lasting peace with justice. And yet, as Davies (2004; 2005), Harber (2004) and others point out, schools are as much implicated in the initiation and maintenance of warfare as they are in building peace in contemporary times. As Davies (2005: 2) states: 'One myth is that education is generally beneficial and that more education is therefore even more beneficial'. Instead of assuming that the expansion of education systems taking place under the auspices of Education for All will inevitably lead to economic advancement, democracy and the rule of law, close attention is needed to the nature of that education, the experience of schooling and the distribution of opportunities in the education system.

This report has provided an overview of existing theoretical and empirical knowledge about citizenship education, and explored current provision in Commonwealth countries. It has also reviewed previous work carried out by the Commonwealth Secretariat, with a view to providing recommendations for future action. The main focus of this report has been on the complexities of *implementation* of citizenship education, an aspect that is frequently sidelined in favour of debates over the desirability and conceptualisation of citizenship in the curriculum. In reality, both of these aspects require widespread debate in society and sustained attention.

Citizenship education has traditionally maintained a focus on the nation-state, aiming to galvanise loyalty and transmit knowledge about political structures and processes to enable citizens' participation in voting and other limited forms of public engagement. This focus has been challenged in recent years by the phenomenon of globalisation, along with displacement of peoples and the inevitability of interaction at the global level and down to the local. However, the move

away from the nation-state is not only a response to current economic and political realities, but also an ethical ideal, moving away from parochial interests and xenophobia towards an identification with and care for all human beings. While citizenship education must continue to prepare people for local and national participation, it must not in doing so foster competition or indeed conflict between nations, or between groups within the nation, and must maintain the global as the fundamental moral unit (even in the absence of a global government).

One compelling vision for citizenship education can be found in Nussbaum's (1997) three qualities of critical self-examination, world citizenship and the narrative imagination. These qualities – fitting closely with the recommendations of *Civil Paths to Peace* – provide a basis for young people to understand their own and others' culture, to be able to critique but also be sympathetic to ideas different to their own and to have a strong commitment to upholding justice both in a local context and in the world as a whole.

However, the world is full of wonderful ideals that cannot be brought to fruition. Education is often handed the responsibility of bringing about a wide range of social goals, some of which are entirely unrealistic or outside the capability of an educational venture. Citizenship education can make a real and lasting influence on respect and understanding, but only if close attention is paid to the realities of educational practice. Education is not a chemical formula that once identified can be reproduced successfully in any time and place. It involves unique interactions between teachers and students – human beings with their own beliefs, idiosyncrasies and contradictions. In the language of the curricular transposition framework, there are challenging 'leaps' that must be undertaken in conducting successful educational interventions. Citizenship education must both engage these participants directly in the development of curricula, and also acknowledge the uncertainty, unpredictability but also the creative spontaneity of any pedagogical encounter. These reflections will underpin the more concrete recommendations that follow. First, there will be an outline of general recommendations for Commonwealth countries in the development of citizenship education programmes. Second, there will be recommendations for the work of the Commonwealth Secretariat specifically.

Recommendations for citizenship education in the Commonwealth

The following are recommendations for the development of citizenship education provision in countries across the Commonwealth. These recommendations are directed at national governments, but also apply to other levels of government, supranational, non-governmental and community organisations, and those directly involved in the education process, namely teachers, teacher educators, students and communities. Naturally, citizenship education should not be uniform across all contexts and across time, and these recommendations do not constitute a blueprint to be implemented universally. Different countries will have particular concerns – whether they be inclusion of migrant communities, ethnic conflict, corruption, electoral apathy etc. – and provision must address these distinct challenges. Responses must also be appropriate to local contexts – and indeed must be formulated by the participants in those localities. The recommendations, therefore, are intended as guiding principles to inform local formulations. In acknowledging diversity, we are not forced into a relativist position in which all universal ideals must be abandoned. It is essential that we adhere to ideals of global justice and maintain a critical scrutiny of all cultures and contexts based on robust ethical commitments.

Three principles will underpin the areas of action:

1 **Teachers and students should be involved in the conceptualisation and development as well as the implementation of initiatives**

There is both a pragmatic and a principled rationale for this requirement. First, however well-designed national guidance or curricula may be, ultimately educational practice will only be effective if teachers understand and endorse the frameworks in question. Likewise, students' engagement in the initiative, and therefore their meaningful learning, will be enhanced if they have some involvement in its design (in dialogue with teachers and others). The leaps from ideal programme to implemented curriculum, and then to the effects on students, can only be bridged by unifying the underlying principles and involving all stakeholders. Teacher (as well as teacher educator) and student participation are most effective in the context of broader community participation too. Beyond these pragmatic rationales, it is consistent with the goals of democratic citizenship that those participants in education are considered to be *subjects* of the process, rather than *objects* of initiatives designed by others (Ghanem, 2004).

2 **Teaching about democracy should take place in an environment that embodies democratic values**

Empirical research (e.g. Morris and Cogan, 2001), shows that students are conscious of the mismatch between the messages promoting democracy they are receiving and the undemocratic functioning of schools. Furthermore, participatory bodies such as student councils are an opportunity for developing key knowledge and skills. Schools are unlikely to be perfectly democratic institutions – and there are justifications for some coercion, particularly in the case of young children – yet there are considerable strides that can be made towards democratisation.

3 **There should be porous boundaries between educational institutions and experiences of participation outside**

Schools and universities provide extensive opportunities for the development of key citizenship qualities, particularly when diverse groups are brought together to engage in deliberation. However there are some qualities that can only be developed through real experiences of participation. Opportunities should be provided for young people to engage in political debate and action outside their educational institution, with space to discuss and reflect on those activities afterwards within the school. Particular moments – such as post-election, or in emergencies – may be particularly important in terms of strengthening citizenship or peace education.

Spheres of action

Four spheres of action will be addressed here: curriculum and pedagogy; the school environment; teacher education; and the structure of the education system. This is not to say there are not other relevant areas, and clearly citizenship values and action must be integrated into all aspects of educational policy and practice.

A Curriculum and pedagogy

Much discussion on citizenship curriculum revolves around the question of whether it should be a discrete subject or instead integrated or infused throughout. There are advantages to each: with a discrete subject coverage is assured, and yet an infusion model makes use of the opportunities

provided by distinct subjects, and avoids the compartmentalisation of the civic. Ideally, then, curricula will combine some dedicated time to addressing issues of democracy and politics, while in addition bringing out the civic relevance of each discipline. Nussbaum (1997), for example, highlights the importance of engagement with literature and the arts as a means of developing empathy and understanding for others. In terms of a discrete subject area, there are important overlaps between citizenship and human rights education, development education and education for sustainable development, and these areas should acknowledge common ground, while maintaining their distinctive foci (Bourn, 2008; Huckle and Sterling, 1996).

The exact content to be delivered will of course vary from context to context, but will necessarily involve elements such as human rights, political institutions and processes, and the workings of supranational organisations. Young people's participation around the world is evident in forms of action such as campaigns, but not always in conventional party politics (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). This finding has important implications for the provision of citizenship education, as schools must find ways to engage with the real political interests of students. Furthermore, they must not assume ignorance or lack of engagement. In research carried out in Brazil (McCowan, 2008), students described by the citizenship programme facilitators as being disengaged from the initiative turned out to be actively engaged in youth movements and to have a sophisticated political understanding. Their lack of engagement in the programme was not due to apathy, but to opposition to its narrow focus on voting rather than a broader conception of political action.

So as to avoid dry transmission of constitutional structures, schools should aim to engage with topical issues, such as the referendum discussed by Hirshberg (1998), which allowed for significant political conscientisation of the population in New Zealand. As seen in chapter 4, a particularly important area is the treatment of history, particularly in post-conflict contexts, and broad involvement of diverse groups so as to develop interpretations acceptable to all groups is necessary. Furthermore, history teaching is pivotal to broader attitudes to war, as Davies (2005: 363) states:

> In the history curriculum, the teaching of peace and non-violence is mainly rhetorical, theoretical and sporadic. In contrast, the teaching about struggle, war and violence is historically grounded, well illustrated and well fitted into the context of the development of civilisation (Najcevska, 2000). Children are mentally prepared for war this way.

The pedagogy used for citizenship education must also be in harmony with the stated goals, embodying the ideas of respect for persons that underpin democracy. As Paulo Freire (1972) argued, the development of active citizens who are *subjects* of political processes must begin with students being subjects of pedagogical processes, rather than mindlessly absorbing content (the so-called 'banking education').

Last, attention is needed to the role of assessment. The phenomenon of 'the tail wagging the dog' – with tests determining instead of monitoring learning – cannot be ignored, and in many cases a formal assessment qualification will raise the status of citizenship. At the same time, great care must be taken not to allow citizenship to become another discipline with a set of discrete items of knowledge and skills to be mastered, while ignoring the centrality of affective, relational and active elements that may be hard to measure. Creative forms of assessment relating to deliberation and community involvement should be developed.

B The school environment

As discussed above, human and children's rights must be assured not only *to* and *through* education, but also *within* education. Some of the best practice examples given in the previous chapter showed how it is possible to create safe and rights-respecting environments in schools that allow all students to flourish. This form of environment involves effective leadership, and attention to the relations amongst staff members, between staff and students, and amongst the student body. Schools, for example, must provide facilities that are appropriate for girls as well as boys, and must ensure that discipline is maintained without the use of physical aggression. In responding to the challenge of conflict in the Commonwealth, it is particularly important to challenge violence in schools, and the roots of conflict in violent masculinities.

Student councils and other participatory bodies involving teachers and community members are an important opportunity both to develop knowledge and skills, and to exert a real influence on the functioning of the institution. This kind of meaningful participation can enable students to develop a sense of 'school efficacy' (Kerr, 2005), which can lead to a broader sense of 'political efficacy'. Significant challenges, however, are involved in extending participation in these bodies beyond a small group of motivated students, and in responding to resistance to increasing influence of children on the part of teachers and community.

C Teacher education

The centrality of teacher education has been seen in the cases above – such as that of Sri Lanka, in which reforms were hampered by a lack of attention to the development of teachers. In countries such as the UK in which the component of citizenship has recently been introduced into the curriculum, there is an urgent challenge to train teachers for this area. Courses for citizenship specialists should be developed, in conjunction with infusing civic elements into all teacher education. However, this is not just a question of developing subject-related and pedagogical knowledge in teachers, but also of embodying the democratic values within the teacher education course itself. Teachers will be able to create democratic and rights-respecting environments in their schools more effectively if they have experienced it themselves. Examples of democratic and empowering teacher education courses can be found in the Landless Movement in Brazil (McCowan, 2009), and the Rights Respecting Postgraduate Certificate in Education at London Metropolitan University (Jerome and Bhargava, 2009).

Teachers and teacher educators should also be involved in an ongoing collective enquiry and debate about the meanings of citizenship. As highlighted by Schugurensky and Myers (2003), teachers are themselves involved in a process of lifelong civic learning. The concept of deliberative democracy comes into play here – in that dialogue about the aims and means of citizenship education should take place at and across every level of the system – leading to a 'seamless enactment' of citizenship (McCowan, 2009). Research in Zimbabwe (Gomez, 2010) has shown how educational change depends on 'shared meaning' (Fullan, 2007), with teachers and teacher educators fully involved in the inception and formulation of programmes. Dialogue and exchange within the education system, with curriculum developers, policy makers, teacher education and school level actors engaged in this way, will bring coherence and combat the fragmentation within the system that results in failure of curriculum and policy reform.

D The structure of the education system

While this study has focused primarily on the role of citizenship education in developing respect

and understanding, of equal importance is the backdrop of the education system as a whole. There is little point in promoting messages of tolerance, respect and equality through the curriculum if the distribution of educational opportunities embodies discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity or social class, or fails to include those with disabilities or HIV/AIDS. As highlighted in the introduction, respect and understanding require both attention to access and to the content and nature of education. Students must as far as possible be instructed in their mother tongue, both because it will normally allow for more effective learning, but also because in the context of a multi-ethnic society, multilingual education is an important instance of respect for diverse groups. Representations of social groups in textbooks must promote equality and avoid negative stereotyping on the basis of gender, social class or ethnicity.

Education institutions are an excellent opportunity for engaging in sustained dialogue with diverse groups, and to develop a strong understanding of other cultures through respectful interaction. For this reason, integrated community schooling is ideal for developing respect and understanding in society. Segregated schools on the basis of religion, gender or ethnicity may be justified in particular instances in which the mainstream system is failing to ensure the learning and cultural integrity of a particular group, but only if those schools share an expansive and non-separatist vision.

Inequalities between educational institutions also need to be addressed. Privileged schools often have the most effective citizenship provision, thereby widening the gap in civic knowledge and the ability to influence decision-making. Marginalised communities that have been engaged in political struggles can have high levels of civic understanding – as can be seen in the stronger engagement with citizenship in a former black school in South Africa than its privileged white counterpart (Crowe, 2010). Nevertheless, public schools serving impoverished communities will often need extra support in their citizenship provision.

Lastly, governments must make efforts to ensure that the civic is not squeezed out by economic imperatives. Reid and Gill (2010), for example, highlight the negative effect on the civic potential of schools of the increasingly individualist and competitive culture in Australia, exacerbated by government education policy. An exclusive focus on skills for employment will lead to an impoverished vision of humanity, one in which individualism and materialism will push co-operativism and human values to the sidelines, and will undermine the possibility of a just and equitable society. The predominance of high stakes testing and international competitiveness through league tables can only exacerbate the undermining of civic and moral values, and of social cohesion. Furthermore, Davies (2005: 359) argues that ‘the selection functions of education in most countries contribute to competition and fear, easily played on by those seeking to instil hatred or to urge acceptance of aggression’. Peace building, therefore, involves transforming the whole orientation of the education system.

While it is impossible for this report to address all of the spheres of society in which political understanding and values can be developed, it is essential to remember that citizenship education must not be confined to educational institutions, or even non-formal programmes. As Juma (2001) showed in her study of HIV/AIDS in Kenya and Tanzania, pupils learn as much about the pandemic from sources outside as inside the school, and teaching about it within schools can take place even in the absence of formalised support. As stated above, experiences of volunteering and real political participation – in addition to simulations – are indispensable in citizenship learning.

Cultural activities, sports and museums amongst other educational experiences are also potentially important arenas for the development of citizenship.

The work of the Commonwealth Secretariat

The Commonwealth Secretariat should renew its focus on citizenship education, an area in which there was significant activity in the first part of the last decade. The Secretariat has carried out valuable work in uniting diverse stakeholders and groups within particular countries (e.g. the 2002 search conferences in the Caribbean), promoting broad popular participation, as well as bringing together representatives of different countries for sharing experiences. More sustained support for these initiatives, however, is important so as to enable them to move beyond the development of a viable framework and ensure effective implementation across the education system and beyond.

Most children are educated in national, public school systems, so this should remain the primary focus in terms of a citizenship entitlement. Governments, therefore, should be supported in developing national frameworks, while allowing for regional diversity. The Secretariat should also continue its valuable work in forging partnerships between countries to share responses to common challenges. In particular, the Secretariat can aid in providing continuity between governments. As Davis and Issitt (2005) argue, the successful implementation of citizenship education in Australia is largely due to the fact that the work of the Civics Expert Group continued despite the change of government in 1996. While national co-ordination in provision is important, there is also considerable merit in a wide diversity of providers, as this can lead to greater experimentation and innovation, and attending to different needs. Attention is also needed to localised innovations that can be scaled up across the system. Non-formal educational experiences in addition to schools and higher education institutions are also key sites for the provision of citizenship education.

Beyond direct interventions, the Secretariat should also extend the reach of its research in citizenship. It is essential to monitor closely the progress of the national frameworks developed, developing impact assessments, and paying attention to the full range of educational arenas, age groups and change over time. In addition to evaluation of interventions, broader research addressing civic participation, the views of young people, the experiences and effects of educational interventions and documenting innovation are also important. Secretariat publications – such as the works published on citizenship education in 2002–2004 – should also be more widely disseminated, to the policy-maker, practitioner and researcher communities.

Finally, given the close relationship between citizenship in the curriculum and social justice in relation to distribution of educational goods, the Secretariat should develop synergies between its work relating to access and that relating to the promotion of respect and understanding. A just education system in itself will enable positive relations between different social groups, and avoid fostering the feelings of resentment and exclusion that fuel conflict and extremism.

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Citizenship Education in Commonwealth Countries

Commonwealth countries face a range of significant challenges in contemporary times, relating to conflict, HIV/AIDS, gender inequality, threats to social cohesion and disengagement of young people. The 2007 *Civil Paths to Peace* report gave education a central role in promoting a 'respect and understanding' agenda and responding to these challenges.

This study assesses the role that education – and *citizenship education* in particular – can play in developing respect and understanding. Citizenship education aims to develop learners' capacities to participate in the political sphere, and to understand and defend their own rights and the rights of others.

The book outlines the concept of citizenship, its multiple orientations and the complexities of promoting political visions through education. These challenges are further explored through five case studies of Canada, England, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Vanuatu, and through examples of best practice from around the Commonwealth and beyond.

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

ISBN 978-1-84929071-5