

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 Staraha 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 Staraha (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 Staraha'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' (Hammett 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.