



House of Commons
Education and Skills Committee

Citizenship Education

Second Report of Session 2006–07

Report, together with formal minutes, oral and written evidence

*Ordered by The House of Commons
to be printed 21 February 2007*

HC 147
Incorporating HC 581–i to vii, Session 2005–06
Published on 8 March 2007
by authority of the House of Commons
London: The Stationery Office Limited
£0.00

The Education and Skills Committee

The Education and Skills Committee is appointed by the House of Commons to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the Department for Education and Skills and its associated public bodies.

Membership at time Report agreed

Mr Barry Sheerman MP (*Labour, Huddersfield*) (Chairman)

Mr Douglas Carswell MP (*Conservative, Harwich*)

Mr David Chaytor MP (*Labour, Bury North*)

Jeff Ennis MP (*Labour, Barnsley East & Mexborough*)

Paul Holmes MP (*Liberal Democrat, Chesterfield*)

Helen Jones MP (*Labour, Warrington North*)

Fiona Mactaggart MP (*Labour, Slough*)

Mr Gordon Marsden MP (*Labour, Blackpool South*)

Mr Andrew Pelling MP (*Conservative, Croydon Central*)

Stephen Williams MP (*Liberal Democrat, Bristol West*)

Mr Rob Wilson MP (*Conservative, Reading East*)

Powers

The committee is one of the departmental select committees, the powers of which are set out in House of Commons Standing Orders, principally in SO No 152. These are available on the Internet via www.parliament.uk.

Publications

The Reports and evidence of the Committee are published by The Stationery Office by Order of the House. All publications of the Committee (including press notices) are on the Internet at www.parliament.uk/edskills/

Committee staff

The current staff of the Committee are David Lloyd (Clerk), Jyoti Chandola, (Second Clerk), Libby Aston (Committee Specialist), Nerys Roberts (Committee Specialist), Lisa Wrobel/Susan Monaghan (Committee Assistant), and Susan Ramsay (Committee Secretary).

Contacts

All correspondence should be addressed to the Clerk of the Education and Skills Committee, House of Commons, 7 Millbank, London SW1P 3JA. The telephone number for general enquiries is 020 7219 6181; the Committee's e-mail address is edskillscom@parliament.uk

Contents

Report	<i>Page</i>
Summary	3
1 Preface	5
2 Introduction	6
The Crick Report	6
Motivations	6
What <i>is</i> citizenship education?	7
The value of citizenship education	9
Belonging and integration in the spotlight	11
Curriculum review—British history and diversity	12
3 Implementation	17
Quality and reach of citizenship education	17
Modes of delivery	19
Embedded and discrete provision	19
Participation and “whole school” citizenship	20
School councils and active citizenship	21
School councils as a statutory requirement?	23
Student training for school councils	24
The role of local authorities	25
Continuity across phases—a life-long citizenship education strategy?	26
Primary	26
Post-16	28
Training—teachers and leaders	29
Secondary initial teacher training and CPD	29
Primary initial teacher training	32
Leaders	33
The teaching of “controversial” issues	34
4 The Role of the DfES and Ministers	36
A “light touch” curriculum?	36
Policy coherence and intradepartmental working	36
Priority, leadership and clarity from Ministers	38
Specialist subject status	40
Conclusions and recommendations	42
Formal Minutes	48
Witnesses	51
List of written evidence	53

List of unprinted written evidence	55
Reports from the Education and Skills Committee, Session 2006–07	56

Summary

During our inquiry, we took evidence from many who were clearly convinced of the potential value of citizenship education to young people and to the communities they are part of. Yet, while inspiring programmes exist, and progress is being made, the quality and extent of citizenship education is still inconsistent across the country. This patchiness needs to be tackled head-on, and progress accelerated. This will require action from those on the ground, but also demands strong support from the DfES and Ministers.

When done well, citizenship education motivates and inspires young people, because it is relevant to their everyday lives and concerns. Sir Keith Ajegbo has recently recommended that the citizenship curriculum be amended to have a closer focus on issues of identity, diversity and belonging—and the Government has accepted his recommendations. We support this move. There is a good case for increasing the level of attention paid to such issues. As the Government takes forward the recommendations of the Ajegbo report, it will be crucial that it develops concrete plans as to how it will equip those teachers and lecturers to deal with the teaching of often challenging issues on the ground.

The approach to citizenship education to date has been a “light touch” one, allowing schools and other settings a very high degree of freedom in terms of delivery. More needs to be done to communicate with leaders, teachers and lecturers—especially in settings which have not made much progress to date—about the approaches that are working in other institutions. This is particularly true in respect of information on ‘whole-school’ (or college) approaches, and building in opportunities for active citizenship. In so doing, the Government has a difficult balance to strike between promoting and sharing successful models, while at the same time avoiding the suggestion that “one size fits all”—it is essential that programmes are locally-owned and relevant to the particular context.

Development of the workforce is crucially important to the success of citizenship education. The subject is still new, and as such a specialist citizenship education cadre is still developing. The expansion of the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) citizenship certificate programme to which Ministers have committed, is welcome, but CPD should not be considered as a substitute for the more extensive training gained during a one-year PGCE course. The number of initial teacher training places for citizenship education needs to be protected from any further reductions, and in the medium term, numbers on these programmes should be increased in tandem with efforts to ensure that trainees are employed in teaching roles that fully use their skills.

School Councils

School—or student—councils often play a central part in citizenship education. The Government has been supportive of them to date, and we welcome this. Currently, they are not statutory, but the Government should consider making them so, while at the same time avoiding tight prescription of the form they should take, or the ways in which they should operate. There should also be advice on the importance of situating councils within the wider citizenship education programme, and on ensuring participation and ownership

among the whole school population—not just an elite group.

Departmental focus on citizenship education

Improving the quality and spread of citizenship education is also dependent on it being given sufficient priority at the departmental and Ministerial level. At the time of its introduction, citizenship education enjoyed strong personal support from within Government. This was crucial to its establishment and acceptance as a discipline. Four years have passed since then however, and we are concerned about the possibility of a waning of interest at a stage when much of the hard work in terms of implementation still remains to be done. To some, citizenship education's aims, objectives and methods remain opaque, and difficult to grasp. There is a need for a clear public narrative from Ministers on what citizenship education is setting out to achieve, and why it is considered important. Additionally, the DfES needs to send a clear signal that citizenship education is valued as much as other national curriculum subjects—one way of doing this would be to allow schools to apply for a first specialism in citizenship education.

Citizenship education strategy

Currently, there is an absence at the national level of a truly lifelong citizenship education strategy—which joins up primary, secondary, tertiary, adult education and training. Worthwhile citizenship education is taking place in all phases of education, yet it is hard to see these activities—particularly those in further, higher and adult education - as belonging to a coherent programme, with common aims and purposes. Such a strategy needs to be developed by the DfES in co-operation with other Government departments active in the citizenship arena—for example, the Home Office, the Department for Constitutional Affairs, and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport.

1 Preface

1. The Committee began its inquiry into Citizenship Education in October 2005. We took evidence from a wide range of organisations and individuals involved in developing and implementing citizenship education programmes across a wide range of settings—including schools and further and higher education.

2. In the course of this inquiry, we took evidence from Professor Sir Bernard Crick; Ofsted; Keith Ajegbo, then Head teacher of Deptford Green School; Hampshire County Council; the then- Learning and Skills Development Agency (now Learning and Skills Network); the Citizenship Foundation; the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority; the Association for Citizenship Teaching; the Carnegie Young People’s Initiative; School Councils UK; the National Youth Agency; the British Youth Council; the United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education; the Church of England Board of Education; the Association of Muslim Schools UK; the Catholic Education Service; the Commission for Racial Equality; Professor Linda Colley; Professor David Conway; Dr Dina Kiwan; Lord Andrew Adonis, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Department for Education and Skills; Archbishop Vincent Nichols; the Muslim Council of Britain; the Jewish Free School, Brent; Grey Coat Hospital School, Westminster; Guru Nanak Sikh School, Hillingdon.

3. In the course of the inquiry we were very fortunate to be able to visit three schools: the Blue School in Wells, Nailsea Community School, and Gatton Primary School in Tooting. We learned a great deal from these visits, and would like to extend our thanks to our hosts. We are grateful for assistance with this inquiry from our Specialist Adviser, Professor Geoff Whitty, Director of the Institute of Education.

2 Introduction

4. Citizenship education was introduced into the school curriculum in 2002. This inquiry was motivated by a desire to assess progress four years on—and six years on from the point where schools were encouraged to begin planning for its introduction. During the inquiry, many of those who gave evidence to us were clearly convinced of the potential value of citizenship education both to young people themselves, and to the communities they grow up in. Our principal aim and intention has been to examine the barriers that exist to successful implementation, and to suggest what needs to happen to ensure that the inspiring experiences enjoyed by what is probably still a minority of young people can become a realistic expectation for all.

The Crick Report

5. In July 1997, the Labour Government pledged in the White Paper, *Excellence in Schools* to strengthen education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy. Following this, an Advisory Group on Citizenship was established, which Professor Sir Bernard Crick was asked to head. The final report of the Advisory Group—*Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*—was published in September 1998. The report advocated a three-pronged approach to citizenship education, covering: knowledge and understanding; skills of enquiry and communication; and participation and responsible action. The Advisory Group’s detailed proposals on the form and content of a National Curriculum for citizenship were largely adopted by the Government and the subject became compulsory in September 2002 for secondary schools, at which time it also became part of the non-statutory framework for primary schools.

Motivations

6. Along with greater engagement with the formal processes of democracy, many hoped the introduction of citizenship education would lead to positive changes in young people’s attitudes, behaviours and dispositions—leading for example to lower levels of disengagement and anti-social behaviour, as well as increased participation in the formal and informal institutions of society. Some also suggested that it would play a role in bringing about improvements in the life of the school—for example, less bullying—as well as higher attainment levels.

7. Dr Dina Kiwan of Birkbeck College, University of London, told us that her research suggested those who were involved in the introduction of citizenship education saw the move as motivated by a number of factors. These were, in decreasing order of importance: the political apathy of young people; society in moral crisis; democratic crisis/low voter turnout; legal changes (eg Europe and the Human Rights Act); diversity and immigration issues; a move away from a “standards-driven” approach to education; and finally, a renegotiation between “citizen” and “state”.¹

What is citizenship education?

8. Citizenship education during the compulsory phase of education has a clear basis in the statutory National Curriculum for citizenship at secondary level, and the non-statutory guidelines for citizenship and Personal, social and health education at primary level. There are three key strands to the National Curriculum for Citizenship. They are:

- *Knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens.* This includes coverage of issues including: legal and human rights; national, regional, ethnic and religious differences in the UK; key characteristics of parliamentary and other forms of democracy; the world as a global community (including information about the role of supranational organisations such as the EU);
- *Developing skills of enquiry and communication:* This includes learning to think about topical political, spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues, problems and events by analysing information and its sources; learning to take part in discussions and debates; and
- *Developing skills of participation and responsible action:* This includes negotiating, deciding and taking part responsibly in school or community activities; reflecting on the process of participating.²

9. The DfES further describes three key aptitudes and behaviours that citizenship education is designed to encourage. These are:

“Social and Moral Responsibility: Learning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and each other;

“Community Involvement: Learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service; and

“Political Literacy: Learning about the institutions, problems and practices of our democracy and how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge”.³

10. From the outset, the DfES has deliberately adopted a “light touch” approach to citizenship education, allowing schools a very high degree of freedom in terms of delivery, avoiding prescriptive models. For example, when the curriculum was launched, guidance stressed that citizenship could be delivered as discrete units, during special “citizenship days” where the regular timetable was suspended, in an embedded form through other subjects such as history, geography or even maths, or any combination of these methods. Additionally, provision could take the form of organised activities which encouraged active participation; for example, working with local community organisations to achieve an identified goal, such as the improvement of local play facilities or other community services.

2 Adapted from National Curriculum Online Key Stage 3 Curriculum, www.nt.uk.net/

11. To a large extent, the principle of this guidance stands, although subject reports on citizenship from Ofsted and from other sources now frequently suggest that an approach that chooses one method only is likely to be less successful than one that takes a more comprehensive approach. The “light touch” approach has led to a wide variety of practice on the ground. We say more about the consequences of this approach in section three of this report, which focuses on implementation, and in section four, which focuses on the responsibilities of the DfES, its associated bodies, and ministers.

12. At the post-16 level, citizenship education is not defined by a National Curriculum as such. The impetus for post-16 work was the second Crick report, *Citizenship for 16–19-year-olds in Education and Training*, which was commissioned by the Government in 1999 and was published in 2000.⁴ While supported at the national level by a co-ordination and development unit run by the Learning and Skills Network (LSN), and curriculum guidance from the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, programmes in the post-16 phase are by nature voluntary and highly flexible, with a strong emphasis on responding to the local context.

13. During our inquiry into Citizenship Education, the discipline often seemed quite difficult to define. There are three main reasons for this: firstly, citizenship in itself is a complex and contested concept—with many different perspectives on what is most important for its effective development and expression; secondly, and as discussed above, schools, colleges and others have been allowed a greater degree of freedom in developing their citizenship education programmes than is the case with any other subject. In consequence, this has meant that different institutions have legitimately (and some would argue, necessarily) taken very different approaches to delivery, so “citizenship education” in one context can look very different than in another.

14. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, citizenship education is often described as a “subject plus”—an indication that it differs in important ways from other curriculum subjects. Chris Waller of the Association for Citizenship Teaching offered his own perspective on what this meant in practice:

“I think there has been a realisation that the goal of citizenship is something that is different, as indeed [Sir] Bernard [Crick] set out in his original intent about a massive change in the way in which society functions and how young people particularly engage with society. The realisation set within that is that this is not just another subject that is to be taught, like a different version of maths or science or English, but something that impinges upon the whole way in which schools function and it is about a bridge between young people, their schools, their families and their communities and that means there needs to be a much more sophisticated response to this.”⁵

15. As has been argued by many during the course of our inquiry, citizenship education is about more than knowledge—it is a skill which can be developed and applied only

4 Further Education Funding Council/Department for Education and Employment, *Citizenship for 16–19-year-olds in Education and Training: Report of the Advisory Group to the Secretary of State for Education and Employment*, 2000.

5 Q 83

through active participation. At their best, good citizenship education programmes clearly involve whole school action—including engagement with local, national and global communities, and the exploration of new, more participative forms of school or college management. We say more about this in section three, on implementation, below.

The value of citizenship education

16. At the beginning of our inquiry, we asked Professor Sir Bernard Crick whether he thought the introduction of citizenship education was producing tangible benefits. He told us that he thought it was “too early to judge” the relative success or otherwise of citizenship against the original aims, noting that no cohort had experienced citizenship education throughout an entire school career—or even through an entire secondary school career.⁶ This seems to us a crucial point.

17. Throughout evidence-taking, we have heard inspiring accounts of cases where citizenship education is making a positive difference to individuals, the life of the school, or to the wider community. Most of this evidence has been based on personal experience. Dr Dina Kiwan spoke for many of those of whom we asked similar questions when she said:

“I do not think there is any strong empirical evidence which says that if we introduce citizenship education into schools we will get these certain educational or societal outcomes. My belief in citizenship education, which I guess is not based on research evidence, is the sense that it gives people a sense of empowerment and that they are connected with their larger community and they are empowered to make a change and contribution to their society. I would say, yes, I do think citizenship education has a place in our educational system, but, I am afraid, that cannot be supported by research evidence at this point.”⁷

18. One area where witnesses have reported benefits is behaviour and attendance. Early on in our inquiry, we took evidence on an approach to citizenship education which had been taken in the Hampshire local authority area. John Clarke, representing the council, explained that the introduction of a Unicef-supported programme called Rights, Respect and Responsibilities had been associated with improved behaviour and fewer instances of bullying.^{8,9} Similarly, the Nuffield Foundation point to case-study evidence suggesting that citizenship education programmes can be used a ‘hook’ to attract and retain young people at the post-16 level:

“In the post-compulsory phase, citizenship has been used effectively as a core for courses which aim to attract young people, who have failed at school for a wide range of reasons, back into education. Kingston College’s Pathfinder course is one example of the use of citizenship to restore young people’s confidence particularly through

6 Q 17

7 Q 397

8 Q 65

9 In written evidence, John Clarke notes that academic evaluation of the Rights, Respect and Responsibility (RRR) programme has been carried out by Canadian academics. This showed that where schools had implemented the work seriously, a range of improved outcomes had followed, including better behaviour, less bullying and fewer exclusions (see Ev 12).

active participation. These students are often following a GCSE course in the subject.”¹⁰

19. Others have told us that they suspect quality citizenship education provision can have a positive impact on overall attainment. Keith Ajegbo, then Head Teacher of Deptford Green School, told us that in his opinion, the two were most probably positively linked:

“The bottom line was we felt that by giving children a greater sense of their rights, their self-esteem and hopefully making them more responsible, we would raise achievement. We have done insofar as over the four years we have moved from 33% to 54%, five As–Cs. While you cannot say it is only through citizenship, it is some evidence that we have more participation in good learning in the school. There was also a lot of evidence that those pupils are committing less crime out of school. There is a lot of evidence to suggest that if you are working towards good exam results, because you feel that is going to further empower you, then you are less likely to get involved in things out of school. I think there will be a correlation”.¹¹ [...] “My personal view is that providing children with a voice, certainly at Key Stage 4, engaging them in what they are doing and making education relevant, is the way to break the plateau of achievement which we are beginning to arrive at.”¹²

20. It is apparent that an academically rigorous and truly conclusive body of evidence on the effects of the introduction of national curriculum citizenship education is still some way off. Currently, the National Foundation for Educational Research is contracted by the DfES to monitor the long-term impacts of the introduction of citizenship education, through its Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study project. The aims of this study, which began in 2001 and will run until 2009, are to “assess the short-term and long-term effects of citizenship education on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of young people”.¹³ It will follow a cohort of 18,000 young people from the ages of 11 through to 18 and will also survey their teachers.

21. It is too early to say with any degree of confidence whether citizenship education is producing the wide range of impacts originally hoped for. Initial evidence from small-scale studies and the experience of individual institutions is promising but on its own not enough. A large-scale study is being undertaken by the National Foundation for Educational Research to look specifically at this issue. This project needs continued strong support from the Government and a sustained involvement and progress reports from Ofsted.

22. We have heard anecdotal evidence of cases where citizenship education programmes appear to have been positively correlated with raising attainment. We are clear that citizenship education has value in and of itself, and recognise the risks of seeing it as ‘just another school improvement strategy’. There is nevertheless a strong case for more systematic research into the link between the quality of provision and attainment levels in

10 Ev 215

11 Q 68

12 Q 81

13 Ev 254

general, the results of which may prove an effective way of selling citizenship education to the small proportion of school leaders who still see it as an optional extra. **As far as we are aware, there is currently no research underway to examine the links between citizenship education and general attainment; we recommend that the DfES should remedy this.**

Belonging and integration in the spotlight

23. Since the publication of the Crick report and the introduction of National Curriculum citizenship education, several tragic events have occurred—including the terrorist bombings on London’s transport network on the 7 July 2005—which have in some quarters been interpreted as a sign that society is coming unstuck at the edges and is increasingly lacking ties that bind all citizens together.

24. Allied to this, there has been renewed public and political scrutiny of the concept of “Britishness”, and debate on the issue of whether a shared British identity and British values should be more vigorously promoted as a “uniting force” for society. Inevitably, this has led to equally intense debates about what constitutes “Britishness” and what British values really are. In 2006, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, made two speeches calling for the promotion of a reinvigorated British identity, based on common values. Speaking to the Fabian Society in January 2006, he said:

“[...] it is to our benefit to be more explicit about what we stand for and what are our objectives and that we will meet and master all challenges best by finding shared purpose as a country in our enduring British ideals that I would summarise as—in addition to our qualities of creativity, inventiveness, enterprise and our internationalism, our central beliefs are a commitment to—liberty for all, responsibility by all and fairness to all.”¹⁴

25. In parallel there has been much controversy over the concept of multiculturalism, with some—notably Trevor Philips of the Commission for Racial Equality—arguing that multiculturalism as commonly understood is not always helpful because it privileges cultural difference and underplays the shared values which cut across Britain’s ethnic and religious groups. Most recently, the Archbishop of York, John Sentamu, has called for a more nuanced approach to shared values and difference:

“Our cultural identity and difference must be balanced with a clear understanding of a shared humanity and membership of one world. [...] We need other human beings to help us be human. We are made for interdependence, for complementarity. Our commitment as communities to promote understanding and justice will create harmony longed for by all [...]. Multi-ethnic harmony isn’t the absence of conflict between different ethnic groups in the UK.”¹⁵

26. The DfES say in written evidence that:

14 Speech by Gordon Brown to the Fabian Society, *The Future of Britishness*, 14 January 2006. See also speech to the Labour Party Annual Conference, 25 September 2006.

15 Quoted in Newsquest Media Group Newspapers press notice “*Saris ‘not way to harmony’*”, 1 February 2007.

“Citizenship education is key to building a modern, cohesive British society. Never has it been more important for us to teach our young people about our shared values of fairness, civic responsibility, respect for democracy and respect for ethnic and cultural diversity. [...] [it] remains a dynamic subject which responds to issues concerning society and how these come about.”¹⁶

27. It is hard to disagree with this statement. While we recognise that citizenship education is about more than issues of integration and social cohesion, it does have at its heart a commitment to enabling young people to participate fully in a democracy, and ultimately, securing a cohesive and inclusive society. In particular, it has a role to play in developing the skills for effective community relations, in developing shared identities, and safe ways in which to express difference. We explore this issue further in the following section on the curriculum review of British history and diversity, and in section three with regard to teacher training.

Curriculum review—British history and diversity

28. On 15 May 2006, Bill Rammell, Minister of State for Higher Education and Lifelong Learning, announced that the DfES was commissioning a review of National Curriculum citizenship’s coverage of diversity issues and how modern British cultural and social history might be incorporated into the citizenship curriculum. At the same time, he also announced a review of university teaching of Islam. These announcements were made during a speech to London South Bank University about action the Government was planning to take based on the review of the events leading up to the July 2005 London terrorist attacks.¹⁷

29. The Minister subsequently announced that he had invited Keith Ajegbo, then head of Deptford Green School, to carry out the review, which would look at:

“[...] how the National Curriculum is covering diversity issues to meet the needs of all pupils. It will also look at how we can incorporate modern British cultural and social history into the citizenship curriculum within our secondary schools.”¹⁸

The review group’s report was published on 25 January 2007. It made a range of recommendations relating to the teaching of diversity across the curriculum. Specifically with regard to the proposals to incorporate more British social and cultural history into the curriculum, it concluded that:

“A fourth “strand” should be explicitly developed, entitled *Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK*. This strand will bring together three conceptual components:

- Critical thinking about ethnicity, religion and race.
- An explicit link to political issues and values.

16 Ev 157

17 Speech by Bill Rammell to London South Bank University, *Community Cohesion*, 15 May 2006, <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/speeches>

18 *Ibid.*

- The use of contemporary history in teachers' pedagogy to illuminate thinking about contemporary issues relating to citizenship.¹⁹

30. We took evidence throughout our inquiry, which ran concurrently with the Ajegbo review, on the proposals as we understood them—namely, that the citizenship curriculum may be augmented to include more elements of British cultural and social history, in the context of a concern to strengthen a shared sense of belonging; and that diversity issues may need to be covered more adequately in the school curriculum, including in citizenship education. Broadly speaking, our findings support those of Sir Keith Ajegbo.

31. Witnesses often expressed passionate views when we asked them whether they would support changing the curriculum so that it had more of a focus on British cultural and social history—particularly if this was used as means of engendering a sense of national belonging. Raji Hunjan of Carnegie Young People Initiative, argued that a focus on Britishness *per se* may be misplaced and unhelpful, risked isolating some young people who may not define themselves principally as “British”, and would also obfuscate the current worthwhile focus on experiential learning and participation:

“It is then more experiential learning, which I completely agree with, it is about ensuring that the views of young people can positively feed into decision-making. I think that the Government would be better off supporting that and supporting young people to understand their rights and responsibilities as active citizens, rather than forcing them to think about issues of Britishness, which conflicts with other ways in which they might see themselves.”²⁰

Others stressed practical concerns as well as ideological ones. For example, the Association for Citizenship Teaching wrote to us after the announcement by the Secretary of State, saying that adding a “fourth pillar” of British social and cultural history was unnecessary and risked overburdening teachers:

“Careful study of the Citizenship Programme of Study at Key Stages 3 and 4 and also the Crick report would support the contention that there is already enough flexibility in the current curriculum to address the concerns of ministers. The current curriculum was clearly designed to address matters of justice, human rights, fairness and also to enable discussion about identity, rights, respect and responsibility. As such an additional leg is not required—especially one that would require another set of complex and as yet undefined information to be learned by the citizenship teacher and imparted to the pupil. Things are not as simple as Bill Rammell implied in his speech [...] in terms of diversity and identity ACT would contend that Citizenship is already enabling discussion about being a citizen in Britain without imposing definitions of Britishness”.²¹

32. Some took a more positive view on the proposal to focus more closely on British social and cultural history in the curriculum but showed variation in respect of whether they thought the citizenship curriculum in particular was the correct place for this. Also, they

19 Sir Keith Ajegbo *et. al.*, *Curriculum Review: Diversity and Citizenship*, January 2007, DfES, p 12

20 Q 206

21 Letter from Association for Citizenship Teaching to Lord Andrew Adonis, copied to the Committee, not printed.

differed in respect of what they saw as the ultimate aims of such a move. Professor Linda Colley of Princeton University told us:

“It seems to me that what we are dealing with is not just a matter for schools. People in all societies, at all times, tend to need a narrative, I think, a story to tell themselves which puts their short, individual life in a wider, more meaningful context, and the need for such a narrative is enhanced if you come from a disruptive background, or if you live in a time of immense change. In the past, in this country, we had a very strong narrative [...]. A lot of these modes of implanting a narrative in the people of these islands either no longer work or they do not operate very powerfully, if at all. [...] if we do not think about tailoring a [new] narrative that works, that can encompass the many different peoples that live in these islands then the danger is, of course, that they may go out and find their own narrative which is not one we will find very happy.”²²

Professor David Conway of Civitas told us he was in favour of reintroducing a strong, narrative version of history into the school curriculum, which did not shy away from emphasising the historical achievements of Britain and which would provide a common source of identity for all students:

“[T]here is a deeper commonality, a commonality of interest, and a nation, a political society, [it] is one where the common ground and the common good and the common interest take primacy. This is what needs to be purveyed by means of citizenship education. This historically was what was done through British narrative history until it got deconstructed and swept aside in the 1960s through progressive education. I am glad to see that the Government has woken up to the need to remarry its concerns about civics and civility and citizenship with the teaching, and proper teaching, of British narrative history.”²³

33. The Government has indicated that it accepts Sir Keith Ajegbo’s recommendation for the development of a fourth strand of the citizenship curriculum. We support his proposals that many different aspects of British social, cultural and indeed political history should be used as points of entry in the citizenship curriculum to engage students in discussing the nature of citizenship and its responsibility in 21st century Britain.

34. Such coverage should rightly touch on what is distinctive in the inheritance and experience of contemporary Britain and the values of our society today. But it should not be taken to imply an endorsement of any single explanation of British values or history. Indeed, it should emphasise the way in which those values connect to universal human rights, and recognise that critical and divergent perspectives, as well as the potential to have alternative and different layers of identity, are a central part of what contemporary Britishness is.

22 Q 392

23 Sir Keith Ajegbo et. al., *Curriculum Review: Diversity and Citizenship*, January 2007, DfES, p 7.

35. If such changes are to work in practice, Government must recognise its responsibilities to resource teachers and school leaders and to clarify the curriculum. Citizenship is still a young subject very much in the process of “bedding down” and gaining support among teachers and school leaders. We agree with Sir Keith Ajegbo that it will be crucially important for the Government to communicate clearly with the teaching profession about what it is doing and why, and about how any new material fits with what is already there. Care also needs to be taken that the introduction of more knowledge-based content does not reduce space for active learning and the ‘participative’ strand of citizenship education. The proper resourcing of ITT and CPD in citizenship for teachers will be central to the success of these new elements. **We recommend that the National College of School Leadership be more closely involved in engaging with these changes and in incorporating the challenges of citizenship education in its training programmes and other initiatives.**

36. The question of strengthening the curriculum’s focus on diversity—of allegiances, identifications and opinions—is of course intimately linked to the debate above about British history and belonging. As both Sir Keith Ajegbo’s report and the DfES note, the citizenship curriculum already provides some scope for teaching about the cultural diversity of the UK; however, it is unclear to what extent this is translated into practice in schools. Scott Harrison of Ofsted told us:

“What we are finding is more teaching of what you might perceive as the central political literacy/government/voting/law area than, for example, the diversity of the UK, the EU, the Commonwealth, which are somewhat neglected, I think, because some of them are perceived to be dull and some of them are particularly sensitive areas that some teachers go to with great reluctance. I am talking about, for example, the diversity of the UK, which in the Order says, the ‘regional, national, religious, ethnic diversity of Britain’. Some people find that difficult to teach.”²⁴

This accords with the findings of the Ajegbo review, which states:

“Issues of identity and diversity are more often than not neglected in citizenship education. When these issues are referred to, coverage is often unsatisfactory and lacks contextual depth.”²⁵

37. Bernadette Joslin, of the Learning and Skills Network said that in order to discuss difficult or sensitive issues related to identity, religious and ethnic diversity, staff needed support on how to manage those discussions: “that is a priority, I am sure, for pre-16 colleagues as well as post-16 colleagues. Staff feel quite anxious about it and lacking in confidence.”²⁶ Similarly, Chris Waller, Association for Citizenship Teaching, argued that he thought “Citizenship [provided] an opportunity to think about lots of different issues, controversial issues, the grey areas in life, but these require the right skills and time for the

24 Q 25

25 Sir Keith Ajegbo et. al. *Curriculum Review: Diversity and Citizenship*, 25 January 2007

26 Q 106

teacher to explore them in a meaningful way”.²⁷ Tom Wylie of the National Youth Agency echoed these concerns:

“I do raise the question, do we think that in the most challenging circumstances we have sufficient teachers with sufficient competence to handle those issues of identity and value, and to do so in such a way as protects what may be, in some circumstances, a pretty small minority of children in that particular classroom, who, for whatever reason, may not be part of the majority? That was why I paused, about how far one should push some of these things into our system.”²⁸

38. The issue of identities and belonging can be challenging and sensitive for students and teachers alike; meaningful and productive discussions are more likely to take place if teachers have appropriate training in this area. As the Government takes forward the recommendations of the Ajegbo report, it will be crucial that it develops concrete plans as to how it will equip those teachers and lecturers to deal with the teaching of these often challenging issues on the ground.

39. Teachers in training spend a large proportion of their time in schools. If there is not good practice in those particular schools, there may be little opportunity to develop the skills and confidence needed to lead constructive discussions about identity and difference. Teaching diversity, belonging and place in society without relating it to the daily life experiences or observations of students risks at best apathy and at worse a rejection of those key elements of the curriculum. **We recommend that far more use is made of the opportunities provided by activities outside the classroom—as well as discrete events such as Holocaust Memorial Day or this year’s commemorations of the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade—to stimulate this.**²⁹

27 Q 107

28 Q 222

29 This includes greater use of and linkage with the resources provided by organisations such as the Holocaust Educational Trust who gave a good example in their written evidence to us of how these connections can be made:

“The theme for Holocaust Memorial Day 2007 is ‘The Dignity of Difference’ which will emphasise the other victims of the Holocaust as well as the Jews. This will provide an excellent opportunity within a citizenship framework for students to consider the diversity of identities [...] schools will be able to encourage mutual respect amongst their students and to challenge inequality and discrimination.” (Ev 281)

3 Implementation

Quality and reach of citizenship education

40. The vast majority of the evidence we have received on the quality of citizenship education as currently delivered in schools and other settings describes a field that is patchy at best. While there is evidence of good—and sometimes excellent—practice on the ground, viewed nationally the situation is profoundly uneven. And, in a minority of cases, it is clear that students are missing out on their entitlement entirely. Mick Waters of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority summed up what many other told us during the course of our inquiry, saying:

“[...] the pace of development is very variable. There are plenty of schools that are taking citizenship enormously seriously and achieving incredibly well. Equally, there are many that are still in the foothills waiting to go up the big slopes and they are touching on citizenship without making enormous strides forward.”³⁰

41. Written evidence from the National Foundation for Educational Research—which is conducting a wide-ranging national review of the implementation process—describes four dominant models of practice: progressive schools, which are “developing citizenship education in the curriculum, school and wider community; the most advanced type of provision”; implicit schools, which are “not yet focusing on citizenship education in the curriculum, but with a range of active citizenship opportunities”; “focused schools” which are “concentrating on citizenship education in the curriculum, with few opportunities for active citizenship in the school and wider community”; and lastly, “minimalist schools”, which are “at an early stage of development, with a limited range of delivery approaches and few extra-curricular activities on offer”. The NFER goes on to say that:

“In a nationally representative sample of schools about one quarter of the schools surveyed fall into each category. This suggests that citizenship education provision in schools in England is currently uneven and patchy, with one quarter of schools offering only a minimal level of provision: a finding that concurs with recent Ofsted conclusions. In addition, many schools are still to develop a holistic and coherent approach to citizenship education”³¹

As the NFER imply, Ofsted has played a key role in that it has produced regular subject reviews of citizenship education since it became part of the curriculum in 2002. In January 2005, they described it as the “worst taught” National Curriculum subject at secondary level.³² We asked Miriam Rosen of Ofsted for further quantification of this statement, and she seemed keen to stress that this had been a somewhat bald characterisation:

“[citizenship education] is still a new subject but it has improved since it was introduced in 2002 and what we are saying now is that teaching is now good in over

30 Q 84

31 Ev 254–255

32 “New Ofsted evidence shows citizenship is worst taught subject at secondary level”, Ofsted press release, 2005-07, 17 January 2005

half of schools. That has to be set against the fact that it takes time to develop the expertise. We appreciate that it is still less well embedded than other subjects of the curriculum and less well taught than other subjects of the curriculum, but I think we should look at the fact that there has been a steady improvement.”³³

42. Although significant progress has been made toward the implementation of citizenship education, quality is currently inconsistent across the country. This is not altogether surprising given the subject’s relatively recent introduction into the school curriculum. **The imperative now is to ensure that patchiness is not allowed to remain, that high quality provision becomes the norm, and that progress is accelerated. This will require action from those on the ground, but also needs strong support from the DfES and Ministers.** We make recommendations in regard to the latter in the final section of our Report.

43. Many schools are undertaking (and may have been doing so for many years) activities or lessons that fit with the aims and objectives of citizenship education—although often they have not been doing so in a systematic way, nor have they necessarily labelled their activities “citizenship education”. Some of those submitting evidence to our inquiry said that this applied particularly to faith schools which, they argued, often have long histories of both community involvement and implicit or explicit “values education”. We were therefore particularly keen to explore with representatives from this sector whether they saw “added value” in the Government’s current approach to citizenship education.

44. Some of those we spoke to about this issue seemed to suggest that National Curriculum citizenship education’s introduction in 2002 had merely formalised and made explicit aspects of some schools’ work which had been central anyway. Simon Goulden, of the Agency for Jewish Education, told us:

“[I]t does seem, certainly from my point of view, that we have tried to find a subject heading for something which, certainly for a faith school, is the warp and the weft of everything we do [...]. It just means that we have to re-focus and re-compartmentalise the work we do so that it fits nicely into the citizenship curriculum and the curriculum headings and outcomes et cetera, but it is not new territory for us. I think it is new territory for a number of non-faith schools, or rather state schools.”³⁴

45. However, others from the faith-based schooling sector were clear that the formalised introduction of citizenship education had brought added value to their schools. Rachel Allard, Head Teacher of Grey Coat Hospital School, told us:

“I think perhaps we have been challenged to be more specific about the sorts of things that children might learn about the way democracy is organised in this country, for example. We would say that they are learning to think about democracy and how to do things in the way that we do things in the school, the school councils and so on, but we make sure now that we do have some experience, like a model United Nations, every year. We do not do it some years, we do it every year, there are

33 Q 3

34 Q 270

things that we do every year and with all the students, which before might have been left more to chance, I think.”³⁵

There is an enduring risk that in a minority of cases, schools could be adopting a passive approach to citizenship education, believing no action needs to be taken as they are doing it anyway. The DfES has a role to play here in driving home the message that what is important is a systematic and explicit—as well as comprehensive—approach to citizenship education. This can incorporate existing activities, but also needs to consider the existence of any gaps; in short, it demands planning for citizenship activity in a strategic way across an institution.

46. We believe it is very important that faith schools recognise their specific responsibility to make space in their studies for the discussion of what citizenship means in a diverse and pluralist 21st century Britain and to examine openly the differences and differing views that come with this, in the context of mutual respect and human rights, and that it requires a more explicit approach than simply asserting that an overall ethos of citizenship permeates the school and its curriculum.

Modes of delivery

Embedded and discrete provision

47. At the time of its introduction, concerns were expressed about how time and space would be found for citizenship education in an already crowded curriculum. Time pressures were explicitly addressed in both the Crick report and in the DfES’s subsequent guidance to schools, which encouraged heads and subject leaders to ‘audit’ what they were currently doing, identifying areas where citizenship-related learning was already taking place and/or opportunities whereby lessons could be adapted to have a citizenship focus. For example, one way of doing this would be the designation of a maths lesson to focus on the use and misuse of statistics in supporting arguments—which is covered in the citizenship curriculum at Key Stage 4.

48. One argument commonly made in much of the evidence we received—and especially from organisations monitoring and supporting school delivery of citizenship education—was that while delivering citizenship “through” other subjects could be an extremely useful and practical method, on its own such an embedded approach was often insufficient: dedicated curriculum time was also needed for discrete teaching. In addition, there were a number of risks in adopting a solely cross-curricular approach to citizenship education, which Tony Breslin of the Citizenship Foundation, summed up particularly well:

“We know that citizenship can be delivered very well through other subjects [...]. We also know from the experience of citizenship in a cross curricular theme for almost a decade that everywhere often can be nowhere, and therefore we propose a kind of subject-plus model where there is a citizenship core programme; but what we find is, where there is a strong citizenship core, the citizenship teaching in geography and history and in science is strengthened. So it is not an either/or, it is about giving

status and profile to citizenship within the school and working both specifically and across the curriculum.”³⁶

We note that under a cross-curricular approach, some important topics included in the secondary citizenship curriculum do not easily find a home—for example, basic knowledge about local and national democratic structures and processes, as well as about organisations such as the European Union and the United Nations.

49. Most witnesses agreed that solely cross-curricular approaches to citizenship education are likely to be insufficient—as one of our witnesses pointed out, “everywhere often can be nowhere”.³⁷ Ofsted makes this clear in their subject reports, but stops short of prescribing one particular delivery model. We understand schools’ concerns about where time is to be found in the curriculum. The case for more overt prescription in terms of models of provision has not yet been made, but this does not preclude sending a clear message to schools about what is working best on the ground, and why. Ofsted should continue to monitor closely the development of citizenship studies in schools and particularly in the light of the implementation of the Ajegbo recommendations and their resource and teaching implications.

Participation and “whole school” citizenship

50. Many of those who have given evidence to us have been most animated when discussing the ‘active’ and participative aspects of the curriculum. However, it is also clear that this is the area in which many schools have difficulty providing meaningful opportunities for students. *Towards Consensus*, Ofsted’s report on citizenship education in secondary schools published in September 2006 noted:

“A problem for teachers from the outset has been developing pupils’ skills of participation and responsible action, especially in fulfilling the requirement to ‘negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in both school and community-based activities’”.³⁸

51. Some of the most inspiring examples we have come across are where citizenship education’s principles permeate the life of the school itself. Trevor Phillips, of the Commission for Racial Equality told us:

“[...] it is not just about what you learn in period three on a Wednesday, it is about how you position yourself relative to other people, what consideration you have for them, how you understand the way you settle disputes, violent or not violent, for example; and that is why, I think, the whole school approach has to be the way to deal with this, because you cannot in period three on Wednesday say one thing and then at lunch-time the school teaches you something different by the way it acts. It

36 Q 108

37 Q 108 (Tony Breslin, Citizenship Foundation)

38 Ofsted, *Toward Consensus: citizenship in secondary schools*, HMI 2666, September 2006, para 37.

seems to me, if we are serious about this, if we are genuine about it, there is no other way”³⁹

52. A whole-school approach implies that the democratic, participative attitude and skills which citizenship education seeks to develop are also put into practice in the school context; that is to say, young people participate in, comment on, and more importantly, change their learning environments. It also implies that schools foster an ethos whereby individuals are respected and there are clear expectations as to behaviour and treatment of others. This was aptly summed up by John Clarke of Hampshire County Council:

“[...] for me the essential word which people have been talking about is participation, which is fundamentally an issue of the whole school and it is not an issue just for citizenship lessons [...]. I think we are talking here about the essence of schools, not just about a subject on the curriculum.”⁴⁰

For its part, the DfES seems to recognise this, saying:

“Young people’s participation in the civic and democratic life of their home and school communities provides a valuable context in which citizenship can be practised. Empowering children and young people to effect change directly in their schools and local areas will help them develop self-belief in their ability to influence outcomes and can help them to develop the skills, confidence and self-esteem they will need for the future. The Government supports young people to become active citizens in their home and school communities by supporting initiatives that contribute to young people’s development around the three interrelated themes.”⁴¹

However, it is clear that some schools are currently very far away from such an approach—and need considerable support to move toward it.

53. Some of the most inspiring approaches to citizenship education we have come across are those where young people have a real say in the running of their school, and are able to affect change on issues that matter most to them. This is new and difficult territory for many schools. **In respect of the active, participative dimensions of citizenship education, and adopting a “whole school” approach, we think there is a greater role for the DfES to play in disseminating best practice examples and case-studies. This should capitalise on the experience of those schools which have found space in the curriculum for creating “active” citizenship opportunities, and those which have allowed young people a real say in institutional management. The links with *Every Child Matters*’ focus on designing services around the needs of young people, with their input, should be stressed.**

School councils and active citizenship

54. During our inquiry, we paid special attention to school councils and the role that they were playing in terms of citizenship education. Although not part of the defined citizenship

39 Q 444

40 Q 42

41 Ev 162

“curriculum”, many schools see their councils as closely allied to their programmes—as well as to school improvement plans, the implementation of *Every Child Matters* and in some cases, the Healthy Schools initiative. Well-run school councils offer students opportunities both to participate in democratic, representative practices—such as elections, and to effect change in their school environments.

55. Our visits to schools were particularly valuable in allowing us to witness participation in action. At the Blue School in Wells, over 250 students were involved with the school council, which was divided into over 20 separate “teams” each focusing on a particular area— examples included energy usage, management support, fair trade and “Africa link”. Students self-elected to the council, and received training in a range of skills to help them participate effectively. Each team met weekly to plan their activities, and most had brought about significant changes in their school and wider communities—for example, securing funds to rebuild bike sheds, and reducing the school’s energy expenditure. Additionally, all students on the council met to discuss wider issues; these meetings were open to all students of the school.

56. At Nailsea School, council members described how they had taken part in an “enjoyment audit” of lessons, which provided feedback to teaching staff about the content and nature of lessons. This we felt was particularly significant, because it indicated the potential for truly effective and meaningful participation in an area which has perhaps the most significant impact on students, but in which they often have little or no say—the effectiveness of teaching and learning. Keith Ajegbo, then head of Deptford Green School, told us that a similar programme was in place at his school.⁴² It is therefore clear that in some instances school councils are working to democratise school life and give students real experience of participatory activity leading to meaningful change.

57. One issue we have sought to explore with witnesses has been the extent to which school councils typically engage the full range of students in a setting—including for example, those who are achieving less well in academic respects, or those who may lack the confidence to “put themselves forward”. Tony Breslin of the Citizenship Foundation appeared to share our concerns, saying “What we find is that if we take participation in school councils, for instance, one is more likely to see the more able engaged, academically involved, and therefore benefiting even further than the less [engaged and able pupils].”⁴³

58. Some witnesses stressed that school councils, while important, were not adequate to serve as citizenship provision in and of themselves. John Clarke of Hampshire local authority, told us:

“[...] school councils are essential but by no means sufficient. There is almost a bible, on participation now, a publication called, *Hear by Right*, which talks about a graduated approach to participation where consultation is at the bottom followed by representation and ends up at the top level in initiation. I think in our best primary schools in Hampshire we would see examples of pupils, sometimes quite young,

42 Q 57

43 Q 113

initiating things in schools. I think school's councils are at the level of representation in most schools at the moment.”⁴⁴

59. We see this point entirely; as we make clear in other parts of this report, we strongly believe that a multi-faceted approach to citizenship education—including taught content, participative activities, and a whole-school approach—is the most likely to bear fruit.

60. The DfES and Ministers have been supportive of school councils to date—most visibly in terms of grants to organisations such as School Councils UK, which help schools and other settings to establish effective practices. In 2005 the Government asked Professor Geoff Whitty of the Institute of Education to undertake a review of the role of school councils in England. The aims of this review were to “provide recommendations for updating the current DfES guidance on pupil participation [...] in terms of the role that school councils play as a vehicle for involving pupils in school decision making and school improvement”.⁴⁵

61. We warmly welcome the Government's practical support for school councils to date, including through the funding it provides to School Councils UK for the provision of materials and other development work. There is scope for information about schools with effective, innovative councils to be made more widely known. As in other respects concerning the sharing of best practice on citizenship education, supporting organisations (including the DfES) have a fine balance to maintain between the potential merits of offering “replicable models” to assist schools who have perhaps made little progress to date, and the potential risk of implying “one size fits all” approaches that may be entirely inappropriate in certain contexts. It would be undesirable to give the impression that a certain “model” could just be adopted and implemented in a school, giving end-users (students) little say in the design of the council. This needs to be stressed alongside any support materials or exemplars that are offered. It is important to situate councils within the wider citizenship education programme, and to ensure participation and ownership among the whole school population—not just an elite group.

School councils as a statutory requirement?

62. In Wales, school councils have recently been made compulsory. We asked witnesses whether they thought that there was any evidence they were likely to be better as a result, and whether there was any merit in creating similar arrangements for England. Jessica Gold of School Councils UK seemed unconvinced:

“I do not think that school councils are better in Wales, I do not think there is any evidence of that at all, although it will be interesting, in a year or two's time, to see whether that changes. In effect, school councils are almost statutory here, inasmuch as Ofsted has to look for participation. Ofsted is meant to send a letter to the school

44 Q 58

45 Private communication from Prof. Geoff Whitty.

council after they have done an inspection; so schools clearly are being very strongly encouraged to have school councils here.”⁴⁶

However, Jules Mason of the British Youth Council was more categorical, feeling there was definite merit in some element of statutory compulsion, but that this would need to promote participation, rather than just the creation of structures:

“[The] fact that both Scotland and Wales have some statutory duty is something that England should look to follow, along with organisations like ESSA, the English Secondary Students Association, and CRAE, the Children’s Rights Alliance for England, they are calling for statutory provision for pupils’ involvement and voice within the Education Bill.”⁴⁷

63. We see a case for making school councils compulsory as this would make them the norm, and send a clear message about the importance of meaningful involvement for students in the running of schools and other settings. However, there are clear risks in a prescriptive approach, which would have to be carefully managed: for example, the potential for stifling real creativity in terms of organic development, and ensuring continued grass-roots “ownership”. **Subject to the findings of the Institute of Education review, we recommend that the Government makes school councils compulsory. The Government should, however, resist the temptation to define tightly what form they should take—as this is likely to add little and may even be counter-productive.**

Student training for school councils

64. At the Blue School in Wells, students were offered skills training to give them the tools necessary to participate meaningfully—for example, in representing others and in negotiation. This was fundamental to the success of their school council model.⁴⁸ We asked witnesses whether they thought such training was beneficial in preparing students to take an active role in school councils and other participatory fora. Jessica Gold of School Councils UK told us that she thought students could benefit greatly from these approaches, and what was needed was for settings to provide dedicated funding for this purpose:

“It is a bottom-up structure, through form councils, through class councils, and schools should have a specific part of their budget which every year can be spent on developing young people’s skills in participation and leadership.”⁴⁹

Lord Adonis seemed to indicate specific training for student participation was not something that the DfES was prioritising. He told us:

“[...] when it comes to helping schools councils to develop the skills they need to be able to interact with the senior management of the school to conduct interviews and

46 Q 202

47 Q 202

⁴⁸ The Blue School council was developed using a programme called *Learning to Lead*, which is now being used with other schools in the local area, and also in other parts of the country (see www.itol.org).

49 Q 263

so on, it should not require specific training for school staff to be able to pass on those skills.”⁵⁰

The idea that teachers already have skills in leadership, communication skills and negotiating, that they can pass on to students, is no doubt absolutely true in principle. However, it is not clear that this happens widely in practice—nor even that the desirability of such training is widely understood.

65. We saw examples of how training for students, specifically in the skills of chairing meetings and in representation, had made the work of school councils more effective. Training for students in leadership, communication skills and negotiation is one of the areas where there are real opportunities for the Government to offer support. We recognise that with the devolution of budgets to schools there is limited opportunity to ring-fence funding for specific purposes—and broadly speaking we support the presumption that schools should be able to decide what they spend their funds on. **The Government should look at how training for students can best be supported to give them the skills to participate fully.**

The role of local authorities

66. Local authorities, Professor Sir Bernard Crick told us, had “been very mixed in the amount of support they give. Some are absolutely excellent on backing citizenship, some, subject to correction, scarcely at all. The future looks rather bleak as of today or tomorrow in respect of the back-up advice that will come from there.”⁵¹ This was reinforced by Tony Breslin, Citizenship Foundation, who told us that “in terms of local authorities, provision is very uneven”.⁵² This, he suggested, was for similar reasons found in schools themselves—for example, citizenship co-ordinators having responsibilities for several subjects, of which citizenship education was the most recently added. Likewise, the National Foundation for Educational Research say in written evidence that:

“There is some evidence of local authority involvement in CPD training and support for schools. However, such support is inconsistent across the country with LA staff having limited capacity to support schools because of competing priorities for their time and lack of funds.”⁵³

67. Local authority support for citizenship education seems to date to have been patchy. Aside from the benefits that could accrue simply in terms of the development of the subject itself, we see strategic reasons for this situation to be remedied. On the one hand, there is clearly a strong fit between the objectives of citizenship education programmes, and those of the *Every Child Matters* programme of reform; both, for example, stress the need for young people to play an active part in society. It seems to us that local authorities—who bear the strategic responsibility for implementing *Every Child Matters*—could get added

50 Q 553

51 Q 6

52 Q 102

53 Ev 256

benefit by providing more consistent support for schools and colleges in respect of citizenship education.

68. The emerging evidence available currently on the implementation of *Every Child Matters* suggests that Children’s Trusts—which oversee all children’s services in an area, and which local authorities lead—are still struggling to develop opportunities for young people to be meaningfully involved in the design of services which affect them.⁵⁴ Tom Wylie, of the National Youth Agency, told us:

“[...] young people spend only nine minutes of every waking hour in school, so the question is what happens in the other 51 minutes, and I would urge the Committee to concern itself with the 51 minutes, what is going on in the democratic process, the engagement by councils in ensuring that young people have scope for having a voice or an influence, in service, and so on.”⁵⁵

69. We do not see this as an “either/or” issue: there are clearly opportunities for synergies insofar as “active” citizenship programmes delivered from within schools and other settings can and do focus on effecting change in terms of local services—for example, upgrading local play facilities or improving access to services that young people value.

70. It is currently not clear that local authorities are consistently providing high levels of support on citizenship education to schools and other services in their area. This is partly for the same reasons schools and others sometimes have not prioritized citizenship—namely, pressure on time and resources, and the relative newness of the subject. **The DfES needs to issue further guidance to local authorities about citizenship education.** Emphasis could usefully be placed on the potential for “added value”, given that successful citizenship education, particularly the participatory dimension, is likely to help young people achieve one of the *Every Child Matters* key outcomes: that of making a positive contribution to society.

Continuity across phases—a life-long citizenship education strategy?

Primary

71. Currently, primary schools deliver citizenship as part of the non-statutory framework, alongside Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). It is intended to provide the foundation for citizenship, introducing important concepts such as equal rights, as well as encouraging the development of skills essential for participative citizenship—for example, listening to others and understanding others’ perspectives.

72. One key issue is transition from primary to secondary education—and what this means in terms of children’s experiences of citizenship provision. John Clarke of Hampshire County Council explained the challenges he was seeing in his area in this regard:

“It is probably our major issue in Hampshire. You can imagine the situation of children in Year 6 being used to dialogue negotiation and seeking consensus between

54 University of East Anglia and the National Children’s Bureau, *Child, youth and parent participation in children’s trust settings*, April 2006.

each other and with teachers, and they arrive at a secondary school which is not quite so sympathetic to those kinds of things happening in classrooms or some of the teachers in Year 7 might be, but other teachers not in Year 7 might not. We think that all the good work which has been done in primary schools probably disappears by about the November of Year 7 because of the issues about culture sometimes but huge issues with organisations”⁵⁶

73. Here, the problem seems to be a disjuncture between practice across the two main phases of compulsory education—caused at least in part by failure of staff in different settings to communicate effectively about children’s experiences to date and what this might mean as they settle into their new environment. We asked Lord Adonis what the Government and the DfES was doing to improve the transition between primary and secondary citizenship education. He replied that he thought this was:

“[...] an important area. For example, in the specialist schools programme it is now possible, through the humanities specialism, to major in citizenship and, of course, that involves developing links with feeder primary schools and neighbouring secondary schools also.”⁵⁷

74. He went on to say that the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust were developing guidance on citizenship as a subject specialism and that he hoped this guidance would include information on developing primary-secondary links around citizenship. We agree that this is important; however, the question remains of what happens in areas where there is currently no school with a citizenship specialism to give the subject priority in its liaison with feeder primaries; at the time of submitting evidence to this inquiry, the DfES told us that there were just 18 secondary schools with a subject specialism in citizenship education—and that in all these cases, citizenship was a secondary specialism. In contrast, there are currently 596 schools with either a primary, joint or secondary specialism in technology.

75. Citizenship education at the primary level is currently dealt with in non-statutory guidance, and is treated as one with Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). The Nuffield Foundation sees these two factors as having a bearing on continuity across phases, saying: “There is a lack of coherence from stage to stage, partly because the subject is not statutory in primary schools and is integrated into PSHE rather than made distinct.”⁵⁸

Similarly, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority told us in written evidence:

“There continues to be confusion in some schools about the relationship of citizenship with other national curriculum subjects and PSHE and the distinctive contribution to other subjects that citizenship can provide when properly planned. A declining but significant number (74%) indicate citizenship is taught part of the time within programmes of PSHE. About half (51%) state this is their main form of provision. Worryingly 22% said their main form of provision was teaching

56 Q 59

57 Q 546

58 Ev 215

citizenship in combination with PSHE where no distinction is made between the two subjects.”⁵⁹

76. One area of considerable agreement in the evidence we have received has been the need to disaggregate PSHE and citizenship education at the conceptual level, even if it often makes sense for citizenship education and PSHE to be delivered in tandem, particularly at the primary stage.⁶⁰ Schools do best when they see citizenship as a separate subject.

Post-16

77. Provision at the post-16 level is supported by a co-ordination and development unit run by the Learning and Skills Network, which produces extensive best-practice materials. However, programmes in this phase are by definition voluntary and are not driven by a national curriculum as such (as is the case during secondary schooling). A dominant feature of work in the 16–19 age group is its focus on active, participatory citizenship. This follows the recommendations of the second Crick report, *Citizenship for 16–19-year-olds in Education and Training*, published in 2000.

78. We asked Bernadette Joslin of the then-Learning and Skills Development Agency how she saw provision in the post-16 sector developing. She replied:

“I would say over the five years there has been a groundswell of interest and enthusiasm [...]. I think there is growing interest in this area. Lots and lots of people are asking me what is happening beyond the development phase of the process, but it is very difficult to pin down”.

79. She continued:

“[...] citizenship education development is a lifelong experience, and I am very pleased to say that beyond the development programme, which is actually focused on 16–19, there is a strong movement within the Home Office for adult citizenship education and learning. We do some work with them. I think it is really important and I would like to see stronger emphasis on 16–19 citizenship and beyond that as well.”⁶¹

80. Since we took evidence, the DfES has confirmed that it will continue to provide funding for the post-16 citizenship support programme. We welcome this commitment and hope that DfES will look at how further developments, including the Ajegbo recommendations, can be integrated into this programme.

81. At Universities and Colleges of Higher Education, citizenship education programmes, at least self-consciously defined as such, appear to be in their infancy. One example is

59 Ev 31

60 It may sometimes make sense for PSHE and citizenship education to be delivered alongside each other at the primary stage but there is much evidence, including that from Ajegbo, that in terms of subject matter and teaching experience and background, it may be better regarded as sitting alongside humanities subjects at secondary and later stages.

61 Q 87, Q 159

Roehampton University's Crucible programme, which has been developed partly in response to a perceived need to create active "communities" on campus in an institution where many students continue to live at home. Another aim of the programme is to develop links with local community organisations. Additionally, HEFCE is currently funding a pilot programme called *Teaching Citizenship in Higher Education*, which is being led by the University of Southampton, in partnership with Keele University and Liverpool John Moores University.⁶² Although we have not taken extensive evidence during our inquiry on practice in the higher education sector, we would contend that this is an area which merits further exploration.

82. What is currently absent at the national level is a truly lifelong citizenship education strategy—which joins up primary, secondary, tertiary, adult education and training. Worthwhile activity is happening in all these phases of education yet it is hard to see these activities—particularly those in further, higher and adult education—as belonging to a coherent programme, with common aims and purposes. It will be vital that the lifelong strategy is developed in co-operation with other Government departments active in the citizenship arena—and in particular, the Home Office and the Department for Constitutional Affairs.

Training—teachers and leaders

Secondary initial teacher training and CPD

83. During our inquiry, the one area that has stood out quite clearly as critical to the future development of citizenship education is the adequate training of teachers, lecturers and leaders. When we took evidence from Lord Adonis, it became apparent that he likewise saw training as key:

“My view of how we will actually get to good citizenship education as a subject in school, by which I mean the teaching of the citizenship curriculum, is that it is going to be difficult to do that until you have a trained citizenship teacher in every secondary school and, in fact, the very existence of a trained citizenship teacher is a declaration by the leadership of the school that they take it sufficiently seriously as a subject that they want teachers who actually have accredited expertise in the subject teaching it. You would not think of having science or history or geography, saying that these are important to the life of the school, if you did not have a properly trained teacher.”⁶³

In tandem with the introduction of the citizenship curriculum in 2002, bids were invited for the establishment of Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) initial teacher training courses, to provide a new specialist 'cadre' of staff for secondary education. However, the number of places on initial teacher training (ITT) citizenship courses, in line with those for other subjects, is decreasing year on year. While 250 places were available in 2003–04 and 2004–05, this number has been progressively reduced to 220 places for courses taking place in 2007–08. The reductions in citizenship are proportionately smaller

62 See <http://www.soton.ac.uk/citizened/index.html>.

63 Q 515

than for other subjects. However, many of those submitting evidence on this issue to us have contended that even the current level of provision is inadequate, and further cuts inappropriate, given the novelty of the subject and the fact that it is still establishing its place in the school curriculum. Chris Waller of the Association for Citizenship Teaching told us:

“I would maintain that there are too few teachers, too few trainees getting on to the courses that are available. I know, for example, that one of the HEI providers in the south-west of England was allocated 15 places for 2006–07 and had 60 applicants. Each one of those 60 applicants wanted to train to be a citizenship teacher, but they were turned away. They are possibly lost to the profession; certainly they are lost in terms of that training institution to citizenship training courses; so the demand is there, the interest is there.”⁶⁴

84. A similar point was foreshadowed at the start of our inquiry by Professor Sir Bernard Crick, who told us that the new cadre of citizenship teachers tended to be very able—moreover, there was a latent body of potential recruits who were being turned away:

“Very many of those who have done their teaching practice in a school have been appointed by that same school when they have come to look for a job. That means they are very able people. In the past good graduates in politics, economics or sociology could not get into teaching because of, as you know, the National Curriculum requirement. Now it is a National Curriculum requirement there is not merely an annual intake; I think there is quite a backlog of those kinds of graduates who want to get into teaching.”⁶⁵

85. Of course, a crucial issue is what happens to those who do complete citizenship ITT courses, and we have received some worrying evidence which suggests that even the small number of recruits exiting existing programmes are often not able to find positions where their skills are fully utilised. Chris Waller, Association for Citizenship Teaching, told us:

“[...] they [citizenship specialists] are tremendous assets to school, and schools recognise that, but they often employ them in a context which is away from citizenship [...]. That often leads to those newly qualified teachers being disenchanted and leaving the profession altogether [...]. This is where we come back to this issue about how citizenship manifests itself in individual schools, and we need to try and ensure that schools are much clearer about, ring-fencing is too simplistic a term, but ensuring that citizenship is identified clearly within the curriculum, that responsibility is given as such and that students really do receive a proper entitlement, not a newly qualified teacher who is put in charge of Uncle Tom Cobbley and all who devotes 20 minutes a week to citizenship. That is what kills it and it kills them as teachers.”⁶⁶

Ongoing informal monitoring of advertised vacancies in the national press suggests that the number of citizenship teachers sought for the teaching year starting September 07–08 is

64 Q 135

65 Q2

66 Q 150

very low compared to other subjects—even Religious Education—which although compulsory is not actually part of the National Curriculum.⁶⁷

86. In the medium term there is a very strong case for increasing substantially the number of Initial Teacher Training (ITT) places for those who want to specialise in citizenship education. In the short term, no further cuts in the annual number of places available should be made. These actions would send a strong signal about the seriousness with which citizenship education is viewed. In tandem, there needs to be a campaign to encourage schools and colleges to employ ITT graduates in citizenship posts. This campaign needs to convey the expectation that all secondary schools should have a fully trained citizenship teacher in post. Consideration should be given to what incentives and support need to be offered so that schools are willing and able to fulfil this expectation.

87. The DfES's main strategy for developing citizenship expertise is through the roll-out of the continuing professional development (CPD) course in citizenship for existing teachers.⁶⁸ In March 2006, it was announced that an extra 600 places on the CPD course would be provided each year for the next two years. The courses would entail the equivalent of 5 days' training, and would be certificate-bearing. The number of places, Lord Adonis told us, had been decided on an assessment of likely demand from teachers and leaders.⁶⁹

88. It is clear that there is strong support for the roll-out of the citizenship CPD programme from within the citizenship education community. Indeed, the national co-ordination of a development programme was something that many had advocated in written evidence. Scott Harrison of Ofsted told us:

“I think as time has gone on we have found that pedagogically, and in terms of the issues which teachers have to deal with, handling 25 fifteen-year-olds and whatever else, teaching citizenship is difficult. I agree with [Sir] Bernard [Crick] that we need substantial training for teachers in service who are signed up to doing this day on day.”⁷⁰

Similarly, CitizED, an organisation funded by the Training and Development Agency to support workforce development, told us:

“We welcome the recent announcement that the DfES will fund 1,200 teachers on a CPD citizenship course costing nearly £600,000 over two years. However, we see no strategy for delivering such courses. Nor do we see a clear policy that will ensure the best use of expertise within and beyond higher education so that there can be fruitful collaboration with government departments and agencies and NGOs.”⁷¹

67 Private communication from Jonathan Hayward, Institute of Education.

68 Additionally, in April 2006, the Citizenship Foundation published a CPD handbook entitled *Making Sense of Citizenship*. This was in association with the DfES, the Association for Citizenship Teaching, QCA, Ofsted, the then-LSDA and Citized.

69 Q 526

70 Q 39

71 Ev 218

89. We welcome the expansion of the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) citizenship certificate programme, which responds to a clear need from within the existing school workforce, and seems to indicate the start of a more co-ordinated, national strategy. Our main concern is that the level of skill and knowledge that can be gained through the equivalent of five days' training is in no way comparable to that likely to be gained in the course of a full-year ITT course. A primarily CPD-based approach would not be considered as appropriate for teachers of other statutory secondary subjects (such as maths) and we cannot see why it should be so in the case of citizenship. While CPD is crucial, it should not be allowed to serve as the main developmental route for citizenship education.

90. During our inquiry, we received evidence from a range of professional associations, foundations and charitable trusts whose main purpose is to promote and support the development of citizenship education—particularly in respect of developing the workforce. These include organisations such as the Association for Citizenship Teaching, the Citizenship Foundation and many others. These organisations are an essential part of the framework, and are particularly valuable in that they create and sustain professional networks for the sharing of best practice, resources, and teaching methods.

Primary initial teacher training

91. Currently, the majority of primary teachers enter the profession after completing one-year Postgraduate Certification in Education (PGCE) courses. Some of the evidence we have received questions whether such courses are providing adequate coverage of citizenship education, given the plethora of other topics which have to be considered and the limited time available. CitizED told us:

“The positive remarks about citizenship education for the secondary sector cannot be echoed for primary [...] PGCE courses for primary trainees are forced to marginalise citizenship education, or make only token gestures, due to the pressure on their time. The non statutory nature of citizenship education and the fact that it is combined in the guidance with PSHE only exacerbates this situation. The result is that very few primary trainees are adequately equipped to take on citizenship teaching when they qualify. Despite some good practice in primary schools, the absence of training for the new generation of primary teachers means that opportunities to develop citizenship education in schools through new blood are missed, and transition into the secondary sector is not supported.”⁷²

92. We have received evidence of some effective practice in primary schools—for example, in Hampshire. We are nevertheless concerned that trainee primary teachers following the PGCE route may not have the opportunity to cover citizenship education in adequate depth, given the intensiveness of the course and the number of other areas which have to be covered. If this is indeed the case, there is a risk that new teachers entering the profession are starting out with only limited awareness of what it means and what it can offer. More generally, there is a risk that an opportunity to make citizenship education an integral part of the curriculum in all primary schools is being

missed. The DfES, working with the Training and Development Agency and Ofsted (which inspects teacher training), needs to assess the priority currently being given to citizenship education on primary PGCE courses, and to consider whether any remedial action is needed in this regard.

Leaders

93. As is the case with most curricular reforms and new initiatives, it is clear that the success or otherwise of an institution's citizenship provision depends critically on the attitudes, abilities and decisions of an institution's leadership. Scott Harrison of Ofsted, told us:

“[...] the fact is that the schools which have done best have been operating on all [...] fronts, whereas those who are still not off the starting block have not begun to see the senior management decisions which are needed in order to move forward.”⁷³

Currently, the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) is the primary provider of continuing professional development to school leaders. We asked witnesses whether they were doing enough to promote awareness of citizenship education through their courses. Tony Breslin of the Citizenship Foundation said:

“We are convinced that the National College could do much more here. My understanding is that the discussions between the department and other bodies in the National College, in terms of equipping heads to support and lead on citizenship, has essentially been that the NCSL does school management and school leadership, it does not do subjects; and this is precisely the space where we say, ‘Yes, but citizenship is not just a subject, it is a way of doing schooling’, and leading the citizenship, which is school, community involved, active participation, etcetera, is a very different thing. We are seeking to lobby the National College for a revision of the national professional qualification for headship, and their leading from the middle programmes, to ensure that there is an input specifically around citizenship and citizenship as a way of doing schooling rather than simply narrowly as a subject, but it is insufficient currently.”⁷⁴

94. There is a clear case for ensuring that heads and other school leaders receive information about whole-school approaches to citizenship education during training or CPD, where appropriate. It appears that one problem in the past has been a lack of clarity about whose responsibility this is, with the National College for School Leadership saying its remit does not allow it to focus on particular “subjects”. However, as we have argued elsewhere, effective citizenship education concerns whole-school issues that are fundamentally in the hands of management, and are to some extent, therefore, ‘beyond the curriculum’. **We would welcome a clear statement from the National College for School Leadership on what it is currently doing to ensure heads are sufficiently aware of citizenship’s whole school implications, and specifically through its ‘Leading from the Middle’ and ‘National Professional Qualification for Headship’ training courses.**

73 Q 40

74 Q 140

The teaching of “controversial” issues

95. During our inquiry, we have been particularly keen to explore whether teaching across the full range of schools prepares young people adequately for life in a diverse society. In particular, we sought to test the contention that some schools may be dealing inadequately with (or simply avoiding) certain topics seen as “sensitive” or “problematic”—for example, homosexuality or abortion.⁷⁵ In particular, we were concerned to look at whether faith schools, where a specific value system dominates, may be failing to address issues adequately, appropriately, and in an unbiased way. Tony Breslin of the Citizenship Foundation told us: “[O]ur sense is that it might not be so much that faith schools are not dealing with controversial issues, it might be an issue about how those issues are dealt with, and we need to understand more about that.”⁷⁶ He went on to add that many faith schools had strong traditions of participation and community involvement.

96. We asked faith schooling representatives whether they saw any conflict between the necessity to cover certain issues in an unbiased and appropriate manner, and the teachings of their particular faith. The Archbishop of Birmingham, Vincent Nichols, strongly denied any such conflict:

“On homosexuality, I think the Catholic Church makes a very clear distinction, which I can elaborate on if you like, between the orientation of a person and their sexual behaviour. The Catholic Church would stand very firmly for the equal dignity and right of a person, no matter their homosexual orientation, and would argue very strongly that it is a real foreshortening of human dignity to identify somebody by their sexual orientation, which, unfortunately, I think our society does. As to the moral codes concerning sexual behaviour, there is a single principle on this, which is that sexual intercourse belongs within marriage, and that is the principal teaching of the Catholic Church [...]. We have just developed, with the full co-operation of the Teenage Pregnancy Unit, a programme All That I Am, which is to do with personal and sexual education and it deals with all those issues and it does so in a very mature and proper fashion. Yes, they are dealt with, and we do not need citizenship education to deal with them.”⁷⁷

Similarly, Mohammed Mukadam of the Association of Muslim Schools told us:

“In terms of the debates which you mentioned, specifically about the attitude to women, homosexuality, et cetera, these pose no problems at all for faith schools where they are well-run and have a broader understanding of Islam. Of course Islam has its clear views about homosexuality and those are discussed in schools, but it would be wrong to translate that as homophobic, or whatever you want to call it. Although the Koran is very clear that homosexuality as an act is sinful and so forth, I do not think the Koran teaches that they should go around beating up any homosexuals, so there is a difference. There is room for holding one’s own views

75 While sexuality and abortion might ordinarily be understood to fall within the remit of PSHE or RE, we consider them relevant to citizenship insofar as they are inherently political matters, tied to issues of human rights, equality and the law.

76 Q 158

77 Qq 654–57

and to discuss this, and to uphold them. It is equally important to make sure that they respect their fellow human beings and do not go around doing things which are illegal.”⁷⁸

97. Currently, there is little concrete evidence about the consistency or scale of teaching on issues—such as homosexuality or abortion—which are considered problematic or controversial by some. Schools should be positively encouraged and supported in looking at ways to incorporate such discussion both into their lessons and other out-of-lesson citizenship activities as part of the acknowledgement and acceptance of diversity and difference. The DfES needs to make this expectation clear—and look at the support and guidance it provides to enable teachers to meet it.

4 The Role of the DfES and Ministers

A “light touch” curriculum?

98. From the beginning, the DfES has adopted a “light touch” approach to citizenship education, allowing schools a high degree of latitude in terms of how they choose to implement it in their schools. They told us in written evidence:

“Schools are encouraged to use a number of ways of providing citizenship which may include a combination of discrete provision, explicit opportunities in a range of other subjects, whole school and suspended timetable activities and pupils’ involvement in the life of the school and the wider community. There is no specified amount of teaching time for citizenship education. Schools are free to teach the subject in the way(s) which best suits their school and pupils’ circumstances. However, guidance in the KS3 strategy suggests that schools should spend about 1 hour a week on citizenship.”⁷⁹

99. We understand the reasons for this approach—particularly the idea that in the beginning, schools, already pressed to deliver a full curriculum, needed to fit citizenship “flexibly” around existing timetables and other non-curricular activities. However, we were concerned about whether, given the uneven development of citizenship education programmes to date, this “light touch” approach should still be considered appropriate. Views on the need for more prescriptive guidance on the form citizenship education should take were varied—but many were cautious about too exacting a framework. Tom Wylie of the National Youth Agency told us:

“Probably we do not have to worry about the lively teacher, we have to worry about maybe the school which is a bit uncertain where to go, and I can see the point of frameworks in that context, but cautiously so.”⁸⁰

Balancing the need to ensure faster progress with the need to avoid overt prescription, thus risking stifling innovation and local appropriateness, is very difficult. Too prescriptive an approach on citizenship education could result in schools and other settings being formulaic and box-ticking, but Government should look seriously at how QCA and others speed development. As we have noted throughout this report, we see a much greater role for the DfES—along with partner agencies—in terms of sharing best practice on what other schools have found to work; of particular use would be access to whole-school “case studies” explaining the approach that other institutions have taken, and the reasons they have pursued that approach.

Policy coherence and intradepartmental working

100. Citizenship—or aspects of it—is of course highly relevant to the work of several government departments, aside from the DfES. This is particularly true of the Home Office, many strands of whose work is closely allied to the concerns of citizenship

79 Ev 160

80 Q 207

education—most recently, and most notably, in the case of the “Respect” agenda. We asked Professor Sir Bernard Crick at the start of our inquiry for his perspectives on the level of joined-up working on issues surrounding citizenship. He told us:

“I was quite startled that some senior officials in the Home Office had virtually no knowledge of the Citizenship Order or that an order—and after all this is a legal order, it is part of the National Curriculum—could be drafted in such broad terms. Whereas the lawyers in the Home Office tend to think that the Citizenship [naturalisation] Order, for what the ESOL [English for speakers of other languages] teachers shall teach, has got to be very, very precise indeed rather than leaving it to the professionalism and common sense of the teachers teaching very different people in very different parts of the country. There is a tremendous cultural difference between these two departments.”⁸¹

Tony Breslin of the Citizenship Foundation suggested that more co-ordination was necessary, and gave an example of what this might mean in practice:

“We welcome the fact that the Home Office, DCA [Department for Constitutional Affairs], DfES and other areas in government are interested in this area, but there is a real issue about bringing those approaches together in a much more joined up and coherent way. Sometimes we find that the agencies that work with the different departments are always trying to do that linking or point that link out, and so there is a real role there for a more joined up practice. For instance, we know through the Home Office naturalisation related education programme that the parents of some of the children that Chris’s members teach will be going through a citizenship education programme of one design and their children may be going through an education programme of another design, and so on. There is a real challenge, and this is really difficult ground, but actually trying to draw those initiatives together is very important.”⁸²

He went on to urge that more joint working with the Home Office was needed in respect of “issues around diversity, community-cohesion and those matters but they have also been key movers in terms of the Russell Commission outcomes around volunteering and charitable-giving.”⁸³ That whole aspect of the citizenship agenda is important to look at.⁸⁴

101. In written evidence to us, the DfES emphasised the fit between policies in different departments, giving as an example current work on the Respect agenda, saying: “the aims of citizenship education are complemented by the Respect Action Plan which was launched by the Prime Minister earlier this year”.⁸⁵ However, while it may be true that the aims of the two policy strands are complementary, in fact the Government’s action plan for Respect—a Home Office-led project—contains no obvious mention of citizenship

81 Q 29

82 Q 161

83 The Russell Commission was established in May 2004 by the Home Secretary and the Chancellor. Its aims were to develop a national framework for youth volunteering and participation. Its final report was published in May 2005.

84 Q 193

85 Ev 157

education programmes in schools, colleges and other settings.⁸⁶ There is also scant reference to pre- and post-16 citizenship education programmes in the recently published discussion paper launching the HM Treasury-led *Policy Review of Children and Young People*. This is despite the fact that the latter is explicitly concerned with ensuring vulnerable young people have opportunities to participate in positive activities and to play an active part in their communities.⁸⁷

102. Several government departments have legitimate interests in citizenship education, broadly defined. However, it is not always clear that they are working to the same ends, nor that they are working in a truly collaborative way. Rather than just issuing a commitment to work together, we ask the Government to tell us what practical steps it intends to take to ensure greater co-ordination between the departments with responsibilities in this area—and in particular, between the DfES, Home Office, the Department for Constitutional Affairs and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. We would also like the Government to undertake a review to explicitly identify areas of overlap and complementarity in existing policies across departments.

Priority, leadership and clarity from Ministers

103. At the time of the introduction of formalised citizenship education, our evidence suggests there was strong ministerial and departmental support for the initiative. We have explored the extent to which this enthusiasm has been sustained during subsequent years. At the beginning of our inquiry, Professor Sir Bernard Crick argued that he thought ministerial interests may have been diverted away from citizenship education toward newer initiatives, which, paradoxically, had many of the same aims:

“I am amazed that from the Prime Minister and other Ministers we get now a great deal of talk about respect, the problems of integration, the problems of youth behaviour. All this was part of the reason for the Citizenship advisory group being set up originally and it is embedded in the Order itself. I am amazed that some senior politicians, if I may say so, either do not have faith in it or perhaps have forgotten it in the welter of initiatives that there are, and this one after all is a long term initiative. You cannot change behaviour, you cannot change attitudes, overnight. These things were the concerns right at the beginning.”⁸⁸

Tony Breslin of the Citizenship Foundation was more circumspect in his analysis, praising effort to date but seeing a stronger role for the Department and ministers in the future:

“I want to acknowledge the work of the small citizenship teams in the DfES and in the other key agencies, but the steer has been insufficient. We really need a much stronger sense of the messages, a much stronger sense of the importance of this from ministers across DfES.”⁸⁹

86 Home Office, *The Respect Action Plan*, January 2006

87 HM Treasury/DfES, *Policy review of children and young people: a discussion paper*, January 2007.

88 Q 11

89 Q 102

104. The idea that ministers could play an important role in articulating more clearly and consistently, and more forcefully, the aims and objectives of citizenship education has been a theme running through the evidence we have received. The National Association of Head Teachers, for example, told us:

“Recommendation 4.10 from the Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, chaired by Professor Sir Bernard Crick, *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*, QCA, 1998, stated that ‘everyone directly involved in the education of our children—politicians and civil servants; community representatives; faith groups; school inspectors and governors; teacher trainers and teachers themselves; parents and indeed pupils—be given a clear statement of what is meant by citizenship education and their central role in it.’ Although there are guidelines and programmes of study, the necessary level of clarity is not always present or apparent in practice.”⁹⁰

At the time of its introduction, citizenship education enjoyed strong personal support from ministers. This was crucial to its establishment and acceptance as a discipline. Four years, however, have passed since then and we are concerned about the potential for a waning of interest at a stage when much of the hard work in terms of implementation still remains to be done. To some, citizenship education’s aims, objectives and methods remain opaque, and difficult to grasp. There is a need for a clear public narrative on what citizenship education is setting out to achieve, and why it is considered important.

105. Para 5.11.2 of the original Crick report urged the creation of a Standing Commission on Citizenship Education. Members of the body were to include representatives of parents, the public, teachers, public authorities and cross-party political representation. In the event, a Citizenship Education Working Party was formed under the then-Schools’ Minister Jacqui Smith to oversee the development and implementation of the National Curriculum.

106. We asked Professor Sir Bernard Crick how he felt about the body that now existed to oversee citizenship education’s implementation, and in particular, whether he was happy with its constitution. His response to us was “no, certainly not, because the composition of it varies too much and ministers come and go”.⁹¹

107. We put it to Lord Adonis that the current arrangements for the Ministerial oversight of citizenship education’s implementation—particularly in respect of the working party—were insufficiently rigorous. He told us that the existing body “embraces leading figures from [the] Department, from the D[e]partment for C[onstitutional] A[ffairs] and from the Home Office. I do not know the membership here but I can supply that”.⁹² He went on to state that he was not sure when it last met, and that he “did not think that it was necessary personally to attend the working party itself for that work to be taken forward, but I meet my advisers who serve on the working party frequently and we take forward that work as

90 Ev 230

91 Q 18

92 Q 506 ff.

we need to at ministerial level”. Moreover, he challenged the general notion that Ministers’ interest in this area was waning:

“In my experience of dealing with senior politicians of all parties, including the Prime Minister, they are thoroughly committed to the embedding of citizenship education, both as a subject and in its applied dimension within schools [...]. I am sure there is more that can be done but I have never found any lack of willingness to recognise its importance or to engage in it when invited to do so.”⁹³

108. We consider that the level and consistency of ministerial attention to citizenship education needs to be increased—and that ministers need to be publicly seen to be engaged in this agenda. One way of doing this would be to revisit the decision to remove ministerial representation from the citizenship education working party. Such a move would send out an unambiguous message regarding the seriousness with which citizenship is taken, at the highest levels.

Specialist subject status

109. Currently, it is not possible for schools to apply for primary specialist status in citizenship—as is the case for other subjects such as maths, English or sciences. Schools which specialise in Humanities can elect to set targets in relation to citizenship (as one of their subsidiary subjects), but must have either history, geography or English as the ‘key’ subject specialism. Some submitting evidence to our inquiry have suggested that this implicitly accords citizenship a lower status than other subjects—and that a positive way forward would be to change the rules in this regard. For example, Jules Mason, British Youth Council, told us that “One of the things I thought might help ratchet citizenship higher up the agenda is around having that as a status for a specialism within a school”.⁹⁴

110. We asked Lord Adonis whether he foresaw a time when schools could apply for primary specialisms in citizenship. He told us:

“The rationale [...] is specialisms should be in areas where you can set effective targets because of performance in National Curriculum subjects. For example, in respect of history and geography, you can set targets for performance in those subjects because they are sat widely at GCSE. In respect of citizenship, you cannot do so yet because all that is available is the half GCSE. I have debated that criterion. It may be that your Committee may want to make a case for saying that is too narrow a view of what constitutes the capacity of a school to demonstrate year-on-year improvement in a particular area and there are other ways that you could demonstrate year-on-year improvement of citizenship that are not directly related just to a GCSE. That is a debate we are having inside the Department at the moment and with the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, and we would welcome your view on it because it is very important.”⁹⁵

93 Q 504

94 Q 227

95 Q 584

111. Written evidence we received from the QCA draws attention to newly published guidance on non-exam-based assessment of achievement at Key Stage 3, which they argue has been “extremely well received”.⁹⁶ This appears to us a positive development, and one which also addresses the concerns of many of those who, in their evidence to us, have cautioned that teachers and leaders need further support on how to assess achievement in citizenship.

112. As well as providing development opportunities, a change in the rules to allow schools to obtain a primary specialism in citizenship would send a powerful signal that citizenship education is considered important and a “serious option” rather than an add-on to an already crowded curriculum. The primary objection given to date has been a lack of adequate assessment tools to measure progress in citizenship. The QCA has recently produced guidelines for assessment at Key Stage 3—so it is clear that methods for measuring citizenship attainment, even for those schools that choose not to offer the half-GCSE, are developing.⁹⁷ It is now up to the Government to work with the QCA to ensure that similar assessment guidelines are developed for Key Stage 4, with the presumption that as soon as suitable arrangements are in place schools will be allowed to apply for primary specialisms in citizenship education.

96 Ev 30

97 We note that Sir Keith Ajegbo’s report recommends the creation of a full GCSE in citizenship.

Conclusions and recommendations

Introduction

What is citizenship education?

1. As has been argued by many during the course of our inquiry, citizenship education is about more than knowledge—it is a skill which can be developed and applied only through active participation. At their best, good citizenship education programmes clearly involve whole school action—including engagement with the local, national and global communities, and the exploration of new, more participative forms of school or college management. (Paragraph 15)

The value of citizenship education

2. It is too early to say with any degree of confidence whether citizenship education is producing the wide range of impacts originally hoped for. Initial evidence from small-scale studies and the experience of individual institutions is promising but on its own not enough. A large-scale study is being undertaken by the National Foundation for Educational Research to look specifically at this issue. This project needs continued strong support from the Government and a sustained involvement and progress reports from Ofsted. (Paragraph 21)
3. As far as we are aware, there is currently no research underway to examine the links between citizenship education and general attainment; we recommend that the DfES should remedy this. (Paragraph 22)

Curriculum review—British history and diversity

4. The Government has indicated that it accepts Sir Keith Ajegbo’s recommendation for the development of a fourth strand of the citizenship curriculum. We support his proposals that many different aspects of British social, cultural and indeed political history should be used as points of entry in the citizenship curriculum to engage students in discussing the nature of citizenship and its responsibility in 21st century Britain. (Paragraph 33)
5. Such coverage should rightly touch on what is distinctive in the inheritance and experience of contemporary Britain and the values of our society today. But it should not be taken to imply an endorsement of any single explanation of British values or history. Indeed, it should emphasise the way in which those values connect to universal human rights, and recognise that critical and divergent perspectives, as well as the potential to have alternative and different layers of identity, are a central part of what contemporary Britishness is. (Paragraph 34)
6. We recommend that the National College of School Leadership be more closely involved in engaging with these changes and in incorporating the challenges of citizenship education in its training programmes and other initiatives. (Paragraph 35)

7. The issue of identities and belonging can be challenging and sensitive for students and teachers alike; meaningful and productive discussions are more likely to take place if teachers have appropriate training in this area. As the Government takes forward the recommendations of the Ajegbo report, it will be crucial that it develops concrete plans as to how it will equip those teachers and lecturers to deal with the teaching of these often challenging issues on the ground. (Paragraph 38)
8. We recommend that far more use is made of the opportunities provided by activities outside the classroom—as well as discrete events such as Holocaust Memorial Day or this year’s commemorations of the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade—to stimulate this. (Paragraph 39)

Implementation

Quality and reach of citizenship education

9. The imperative now is to ensure that patchiness is not allowed to remain, that high quality provision becomes the norm, and that progress is accelerated. This will require action from those on the ground, but also needs strong support from the DfES and Ministers. (Paragraph 42)
10. There is an enduring risk that in a minority of cases, schools could be adopting a passive approach to citizenship education, believing no action needs to be taken as they are doing it anyway. The DfES has a role to play here in driving home the message that what is important is a systematic and explicit—as well as comprehensive—approach to citizenship education. (Paragraph 45)
11. We believe it is very important that faith schools recognise their specific responsibility to make space in their studies for the discussion of what citizenship means in a diverse and pluralist 21st century Britain and to examine openly the differences and differing views that come with this, in the context of mutual respect and human rights, and that it requires a more explicit approach than simply asserting that an overall ethos of citizenship permeates the school and its curriculum. (Paragraph 46)

Modes of delivery

Embedded and discrete provision

12. Most witnesses agreed that solely cross-curricular approaches to citizenship education are likely to be insufficient—as one of our witnesses pointed out, “everywhere often can be nowhere”. Ofsted makes this clear in their subject reports, but stops short of prescribing one particular delivery model. We understand schools’ concerns about where time is to be found in the curriculum. The case for more overt prescription in terms of models of provision has not yet been made, but this does not preclude sending a clear message to schools about what is working best on the ground, and why. Ofsted should continue to monitor closely the development of citizenship studies in schools and particularly in the light of the implementation of

the Ajegbo recommendations and their resource and teaching implications. (Paragraph 49)

Participation and “whole school” citizenship

13. In respect of the active, participative dimensions of citizenship education, and adopting a “whole school” approach, we think there is a greater role for the DfES to play in disseminating best practice examples and case-studies. This should capitalise on the experience of those schools which have found space in the curriculum for creating “active” citizenship opportunities, and those which have allowed young people a real say in institutional management. The links with *Every Child Matters*’ focus on designing services around the needs of young people, with their input, should be stressed. (Paragraph 53)

School councils and active citizenship

14. We warmly welcome the Government’s practical support for school councils to date, including through the funding it provides to School Councils UK for the provision of materials and other development work. There is scope for information about schools with effective, innovative councils to be made more widely known. As in other respects concerning the sharing of best practice on citizenship education, supporting organisations (including the DfES) have a fine balance to maintain between the potential merits of offering “replicable models” to assist schools who have perhaps made little progress to date, and the potential risk of implying “one size fits all” approaches that may be entirely inappropriate in certain contexts. It would be undesirable to give the impression that a certain “model” could just be adopted and implemented in a school, giving end-users (students) little say in the design of the council. This needs to be stressed alongside any support materials or exemplars that are offered. It is important to situate councils within the wider citizenship education programme, and to ensure participation and ownership among the whole school population—not just an elite group. (Paragraph 61)

School councils as a statutory requirement?

15. Subject to the findings of the Institute of Education review, we recommend that the Government makes school councils compulsory. The Government should, however, resist the temptation to define tightly what form they should take—as this is likely to add little and may even be counter-productive. (Paragraph 63)

Student training for school councils

16. The Government should look at how training for students can best be supported to give them the skills to participate fully. (Paragraph 65)

The role of local authorities

17. The DfES needs to issue further guidance to local authorities about citizenship education. (Paragraph 70)

Continuity across phases—a life-long citizenship education strategy?

Primary

18. One area of considerable agreement in the evidence we have received has been the need to disaggregate PSHE and citizenship education at the conceptual level, even if it often makes sense for citizenship education and PSHE to be delivered in tandem, particularly at the primary stage. Schools do best when they see citizenship as a separate subject. (Paragraph 76)

Post-16

19. Since we took evidence, the DfES has confirmed that it will continue to provide funding for the post-16 citizenship support programme. We welcome this commitment and hope that DfES will look at how further developments, including the Ajegbo recommendations, can be integrated into this programme. (Paragraph 80)
20. What is currently absent at the national level is a truly lifelong citizenship education strategy—which joins up primary, secondary, tertiary, adult education and training. Worthwhile activity is happening in all these phases of education yet it is hard to see these activities—particularly those in further, higher and adult education—as belonging to a coherent programme, with common aims and purposes. It will be vital that the lifelong strategy is developed in co-operation with other Government departments active in the citizenship arena—and in particular, the Home Office and the Department for Constitutional Affairs. (Paragraph 82)

Training—teachers and leaders

Secondary Initial Teacher Training and CPD

21. In the medium term there is a very strong case for increasing substantially the number of Initial Teacher Training (ITT) places for those who want to specialise in citizenship education. In the short term, no further cuts in the annual number of places available should be made. These actions would send a strong signal about the seriousness with which citizenship education is viewed. In tandem, there needs to be a campaign to encourage schools and colleges to employ ITT graduates in citizenship posts. This campaign needs to convey the expectation that all secondary schools should have a fully trained citizenship teacher in post. Consideration should be given to what incentives and support need to be offered so that schools are willing and able to fulfil this expectation. (Paragraph 86)
22. We welcome the expansion of the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) citizenship certificate programme, which responds to a clear need from within the existing school workforce, and seems to indicate the start of a more co-ordinated, national strategy. Our main concern is that the level of skill and knowledge that can be gained through the equivalent of five days' training is in no way comparable to that likely to be gained in the course of a full-year ITT course. A primarily CPD-

based approach would not be considered as appropriate for teachers of other statutory secondary subjects (such as maths) and we cannot see why it should be so in the case of citizenship. While CPD is crucial, it should not be allowed to serve as the main developmental route for citizenship education. (Paragraph 89)

23. We have received evidence of some effective practice in primary schools—for example, in Hampshire. We are nevertheless concerned that trainee primary teachers following the PGCE route may not have the opportunity to cover citizenship education in adequate depth, given the intensiveness of the course and the number of other areas which have to be covered. If this is indeed the case, there is a risk that new teachers entering the profession are starting out with only limited awareness of what it means and what it can offer. More generally, there is a risk that an opportunity to make citizenship education an integral part of the curriculum in all primary schools is being missed. The DfES, working with the Training and Development Agency and Ofsted (which inspects teacher training), needs to assess the priority currently being given to citizenship education on primary PGCE courses, and to consider whether any remedial action is needed in this regard. (Paragraph 92)

Leaders

24. We would welcome a clear statement from the National College for School Leadership on what it is currently doing to ensure heads are sufficiently aware of citizenship’s whole school implications, and specifically through its ‘leading from the middle’ and ‘National Professional Qualification for Headship’ training courses. (Paragraph 94)

The teaching of “controversial” issues

25. Currently, there is little concrete evidence about the consistency or scale of teaching on issues—such as homosexuality or abortion—which are considered problematic or controversial by some. Schools should be positively encouraged and supported in looking at ways to incorporate such discussion both into their lessons and other out-of-lesson citizenship activities as part of the acknowledgement and acceptance of diversity and difference. The DfES needs to make this expectation clear—and look at the support and guidance it provides to enable teachers to meet it. (Paragraph 97)

The Role of the DfES and Ministers

A “light touch” curriculum?

26. Balancing the need to ensure faster progress with the need to avoid overt prescription, thus risking stifling innovation and local appropriateness, is very difficult. Too prescriptive an approach on citizenship education could result in schools and other settings being formulaic and box-ticking, but Government should look seriously at how QCA and others speed development. As we have noted throughout this report, we see a much greater role for the DfES—along with partner agencies—in terms of sharing best practice on what other schools have found to work; of particular use would be access to whole-school “case studies” explaining the

approach that other institutions have taken, and the reasons they have pursued that approach. (Paragraph 99)

Policy coherence and intradepartmental working

27. Several Government departments have legitimate interests in citizenship education, broadly defined. However, it is not always clear that they are working to the same ends, nor that they are working in a truly collaborative way. Rather than just issuing a commitment to work together, we ask the Government to tell us what practical steps it intends to take to ensure greater co-ordination between the departments with responsibilities in this area—and in particular, between the DfES, Home Office, the Department for Constitutional Affairs and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. We would also like the Government to undertake a review to explicitly identify areas of overlap and complementarity in existing policies across departments. (Paragraph 102)

Priority, leadership and clarity from Ministers

28. At the time of its introduction, citizenship education enjoyed strong personal support from Ministers. This was crucial to its establishment and acceptance as a discipline. Four years, however, have passed since then and we are concerned about the potential for a waning of interest at a stage when much of the hard work in terms of implementation still remains to be done. To some, citizenship education's aims, objectives and methods remain opaque, and difficult to grasp. There is a need for a clear public narrative on what citizenship education is setting out to achieve, and why it is considered important. (Paragraph 104)
29. We consider that the level and consistency of Ministerial attention to citizenship education needs to be increased—and that Ministers need to be publicly seen to be engaged in this agenda. One way of doing this would be to revisit the decision to remove Ministerial representation from the citizenship education working party. Such a move would send out an unambiguous message regarding the seriousness with which citizenship is taken, at the highest levels. (Paragraph 108)

Specialist subject status

30. As well as providing development opportunities, a change in the rules to allow schools to obtain a primary specialism in citizenship would send a powerful signal that citizenship education is considered important and a “serious option” rather than an add-on to an already crowded curriculum. The primary objection given to date has been a lack of adequate assessment tools to measure progress in citizenship. The QCA has recently produced guidelines for assessment at Key Stage 3—so it is clear that methods for measuring citizenship attainment, even for those schools that choose not to offer the half-GCSE, are developing. It is now up to the Government to work with the QCA to ensure that similar assessment guidelines are developed for Key Stage 4, with the presumption that as soon as suitable arrangements are in place schools will be allowed to apply for primary specialisms in citizenship education. (Paragraph 112)

Formal Minutes

7 February 2007

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Paul Holmes
Helen Jones

Fiona Mactaggart
Mr Gordon Marsden
Mr Andrew Pelling
Stephen Williams
Mr Rob Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Monday 19 February at 3.30pm.]

21 February 2007

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Fiona Mactaggart

Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams
Mr Rob Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Draft Report, proposed by the Chairman, brought up and read.

Ordered, That the Chairman's draft Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraphs 1 to 44 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 45 read.

Amendment proposed, to leave out lines 12 to 18—(*Mr Rob Wilson.*)

Question put, That the Amendment be made.

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 2

Noes, 5

Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr Rob Wilson

Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Mr Gordon Marsden
Fiona Mactaggart
Stephen Williams

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraphs 46 to 62 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 63 read.

Amendment proposed, in line 6, to leave out from “ownership” to the end of the paragraph—(*Mr Rob Wilson.*)

Question put, That the Amendment be made.

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 3

Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr Gordon Marsden
Mr Rob Wilson

Noes, 4

Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Fiona Mactaggart
Stephen Williams

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraphs 64 to 69 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 70 read and amended.

Question put, That Paragraph 70, as amended, stand part of the report.

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5

Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Fiona Mactaggart
Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams

Noes, 2

Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr Rob Wilson

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraphs 71 to 96 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 97 read.

Question put, That paragraph 97 stand part of the report.

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5

Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Fiona Mactaggart
Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams

Noes, 2

Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr Rob Wilson

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraphs 98 to 112 read and agreed to.

Question put, That the summary be agreed to.

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5
Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Fiona Mactaggart
Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams

Noes, 2
Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr Rob Wilson

Summary agreed to.

Motion made, and Question put, That the Report, as amended, be the Second Report of the Committee to the House.

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5
Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Fiona Mactaggart
Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams

Noes, 2
Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr Rob Wilson

Resolved, That the Report, as amended, be the Second Report of the Committee to the House.

Ordered, That the Chairman do make the Report to the House.

Ordered, That the provisions of Standing Order No. 134 (Select committees (reports)) be applied to the Report.

Several papers were ordered to be appended to the Minutes of Evidence.

Ordered, That the Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee be reported to the House.

[Adjourned till Monday 26 February at 3.30 pm

Witnesses

Monday 24 October 2005

Page

Professor Sir Bernard Crick, Emeritus Professor, University of London; **Ms Miriam Rosen**, Director, Education, Ofsted; and **Mr Scott Harrison**, Specialist Subject Adviser for Citizenship, Ofsted

Ev 1

Mr Keith Ajegbo, Head of Deptford Green School; and **Mr John Clarke**, Deputy Director of Children's Services, Hampshire County Council

Ev 13

Wednesday 26 April 2006

Mr Chris Waller, Professional Officer, Association for Citizenship Training; **Ms Bernadette Joslin**, Post-16 Citizenship Project Manager, Learning and Skills Network; **Mr Mick Waters**, Director of Curriculum, QCA; and **Mr Tony Breslin**, Chief Executive, Citizenship Foundation

Ev 42

Monday 15 May 2006

Ms Jessica Gold, Director, School Councils UK; **Ms Raji Hunjan**, Carnegie Young People Initiative; **Mr Tom Wylie**, Chief Executive, National Youth Agency; and **Mr Jules Mason**, Head of Citizenship and Development, British Youth Council

Ev 69

Monday 22 May 2006

Mr Simon Goulden, Director, United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education; **Dr Mohammed Mukadam**, Chair, Association of Muslim Schools UK; **Mr Nick McKemey**, Head of School Improvement, Church of England Board of Education; and **Ms Oona Stannard**, Chief Executive and Director, Catholic Education Service

Ev 88

Wednesday 7 June 2006

Mr Nick Johnson, Director of Policy and Public Sector, and **Dr Marc Verlot**, Head of Public Policy, Commission for Racial Equality

Ev 108

Professor Linda Colley, Princeton University; **Professor David Conway**, Senior Research Fellow, Civitas; and **Dr Dina Kiwan**, Institute of Education, University of London

Ev 126

Wednesday 11 October 2006

Mr Trevor Phillips, Chair, Commission for Racial Equality

Ev 140

Monday 6 November 2006

Lord Adonis, a Member of the House of Lords, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Schools, Department for Education and Skills

Ev 166

Monday 11 December 2006

The Most Reverend Vincent Nichols, Archbishop of Birmingham, Chairman of the Catholic Education Service; and **Dr Muhammad Abdul Bari**, Secretary General, Muslim Council of Britain

Ev 188

Dr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Head Teacher, Guru Nanak Sikh Secondary School; **Rabbi Mark Kampf**, Deputy Head, and **Mr Tim Miller**, Deputy Head, Jewish Free School; and **Ms Rachel Allard**, Head Teacher, The Grey Coat Hospital Church of England Girls Comprehensive School

Ev 199

List of written evidence

1	John Clark, Deputy Director of Children’s Services, Hampshire County Council	Ev 11
2	Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT)	Ev 21: Ev 62
3	Learning and Skills Development Agency (LSDA)	Ev 23
4	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA)	Ev 29
5	Citizenship Foundation	Ev 32
6	Schools Councils UK (SCUK)	Ev 64
7	Carnegie Young People Initiative (CYPI)	Ev 65
8	The National Youth Agency (NYA)	Ev 67
9	United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education (USAJE)	Ev 87
10	Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)	Ev 105
11	Professor David Conway, Civitas	Ev 117: Ev 137
12	Dr Dina Kiwan	Ev 118
13	Department for Education and Skills (DfES)	Ev 157: Ev 185
14	The Most Reverend Vincent Nichols, Archbishop of Birmingham	Ev 198
15	Danielle Stone	Ev 208
16	Jeremy Cunningham	Ev 208
17	Focus Learning Trust	Ev 212
18	Nuffield Foundation	Ev 214
19	CitizED	Ev 216
20	Professor Audrey Osler	Ev 219
21	National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE)	Ev 223
22	National Union of Teachers (NUT)	Ev 225
23	Oxfam	Ev 228
24	National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT)	Ev 229
25	Development Education Association (DEA)	Ev 233
26	CSV	Ev 235
27	Dr Hugh Starkey, University of London	Ev 237
28	Changemakers	Ev 240
29	Hansard Society	Ev 243
30	UNICEF	Ev 245
31	Institute for Global Ethics UK Trust	Ev 247
32	Save the Children	Ev 248
33	Regent College	Ev 250
34	National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER)	Ev 252
35	British Council	Ev 263
36	Association of Colleges	Ev 265
37	European Parliament	Ev 266
38	The Children’s Society	Ev 267
39	The Mayor of London	Ev 269
40	National Union of Students	Ev 271
41	NASUWT	Ev 274
42	Holocaust Educational Trust	Ev 279

43	Inter Faith Network	Ev 283
44	Dr Andrew Mycock, University of Manchester	Ev 284
45	British Humanist Association (BHA)	Ev 296

List of unprinted written evidence

Additional papers have been received from the following and have been reported to the House but to save printing costs they have not been printed and copies have been placed in the House of Commons Library where they may be inspected by Members. Other copies are in the Record Office, House of Lords and are available to the public for inspection. Requests for inspection should be addressed to the Record Office, House of Lords, London SW1. (Tel 020 7219 3074). Hours of inspection are from 9:30am to 5:00pm on Mondays to Fridays.

Children for Peace

East Sussex Millennium Volunteers

Mark Clay, London Borough of Greenwich

Field Studies Council

Dr Jackie Lukes, University of Hull

Values Education Council

Professor David Conway, Civitas

Reports from the Education and Skills Committee, Session 2006–07

First Special Report	Government's Response to the Committee's Fifth Report (Public Expenditure) of Session 2005–06	HC 211
First Report	The Work of the Committee in 2005–06	HC 301

Oral evidence

Taken before the Education and Skills Committee on Monday 24 October 2005

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Dr Roberta Blackman-Woods	Tim Farron
Mr David Chaytor	Helen Jones
Mrs Nadine Dorries	Mr Gordon Marsden
Jeff Ennis	Mr Rob Wilson

Witnesses: **Professor Sir Bernard Crick**, Emeritus Professor, University of London, **Ms Miriam Rosen**, Director, Education, Ofsted, and **Mr Scott Harrison**, Specialist Subject Adviser for Citizenship, Ofsted, examined.

Q1 Chairman: Can I welcome you, Sir Bernard, Scott Harrison and Miriam Rosen, to the proceedings of the Committee? Sir Bernard, you will remember, I hope, that I was a student of yours many years ago at the London School of Economics.
Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I am trying to forget.

Q2 Chairman: That is what they all say! These days I spend more time having the sons of my former professors in front of the Committee, so it is a welcome relief to have you here, Sir Bernard. Miriam Rosen is the Director, Education, Office for Standards in Education. Scott Harrison is Specialist Subject Adviser for Citizenship in Ofsted and, Sir Bernard, you were responsible for the original inquiry that did so much to advance this whole question of citizenship education. What we are doing today, Sir Bernard, is re-scouting the territory, given that it is quite some time since you were asked to conduct your inquiry and you made your recommendations, and we are mindful of seeing how things have progressed since that time. We want to get a feel today for whether it is timely for us to look at this more broadly and call other witnesses and have a look at what is going on in schools, so it is something of a taster to see whether in the new year we should take a much closer look at citizenship. This session comes after a very sad weekend in Birmingham, as we all know, where at least one person died in the troubles there. Sir Bernard, can I ask you to start off by giving the Committee a steer on what you think has been achieved by the recommendations of your committee?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I think we have begun a long process. After all, we were the only country in the civilised world that thought we did not need citizenship and I think that as it were the theoretical basis of what we have done, the kind of thing which is based on participation, hoping it would have a knock-on effect on behaviour, has been much copied. There are people in this room as well as myself who have done a good deal of travelling—Japan, the Accession States, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, which are all holding up the British Order as a model because we are not getting the kids

to learn the constitution by heart. Whatever the Department of the Constitution may aspire to, there is no British constitution that can be learned by heart. It is a politically contentious thing, so that is a good starting point. We were able to start with the idea of a participative activity of discussing issues in the actual Order. Amazingly, I did not think we would get this passed; indeed, we put it in only as a recommendation, but the Secretary of State asked us what we were playing at. “Put it in the Order”, said Mr Blunkett. I have had some difficulties with that other former pupil of late but that is a different question. He said that participation in the community and the school should be firmly part of the Order. To get to your question, Mr Chairman, as you will learn from Ofsted, I am sure, and the teachers present, this is proving one of the most difficult parts of the Order for some schools. There is tremendous variation I see and I am informed. Some schools have leapt at it, some are frightened of it, some it is a bit hard to judge. I point out that it is only in the third year, so there is not a child in the English nation who has not begun citizenship but nobody has been through it from 11–16 yet. I feel quite proud of myself in a strange sort of oblique way in that the last thing I was able to do as adviser in the DfES was to get about two and a half million pounds for an eight-year longitudinal study. Why eight years rather than six? In order to see whether it has affected those who leave school at 16 in the sense of their behaviour, whether they have a conviction rate less than anybody else, whether they are taking drugs less than anyone else, whether they are joining voluntary bodies more than anyone else. I would say rather boldly on platforms that that was putting the head on the block, and if in six or eight years’ time it turns out that there has not been any change then, gad sir, Mr Woodhead has been proved right. I do not think he will be. I think this has to be tried. There have been big advances since the beginning in the numbers in teacher training. It only started off with about 20 or 30 places a year. Now it has gone up quite dramatically. There are 850 people who now have had citizenship as their main subject in teacher training and there are now about 250 places

authorised in this new year and going through, so that is going to be quite a large number of people. What is rather interesting is that I am advised that very many of those who have done their teaching practice in a school have been appointed by that same school when they have come to look for a job. That means they are very able people. In the past good graduates in politics, economics or sociology could not get into teaching because of, as you know, the National Curriculum requirement. Now citizenship is a National Curriculum requirement there is not merely an annual intake; I think there is quite a backlog of those kinds of graduates who want to get into teaching.

Q3 Chairman: Sir Bernard, if I can switch briefly to Miriam Rosen and Scott Harrison, the Ofsted report showed some concerns about the quality of the teaching of this subject, did it not?

Ms Rosen: If I can start by putting that in context, there has been an improvement. It is still a new subject but it has improved since it was introduced in 2002 and what we are saying now is that teaching is now good in over half of schools. That has to be set against the fact that it takes time to develop the expertise. We appreciate that it is still less well embedded than other subjects of the curriculum and less well taught than other subjects of the curriculum, but I think we should look at the fact that there has been a steady improvement. It is also very true, as Sir Bernard says, that the participative teaching is more difficult to achieve and we are finding that the teachers who have been specifically trained are much more confident in teaching and much more likely to give good lessons. Scott may wish to fill that out.

Q4 Chairman: Yes, Scott, can you come in behind that? We do not want the situation, do we, that this becomes the sort of subject that in part nobody wants to teach and nobody wants to attend? There are some reports that it sort of floats around the curriculum. Is that right?

Mr Harrison: Yes. Can I do the teaching first and then the curriculum? I think the issue with the teaching is that we have heard about the specialist teachers, and there are few of them, but in most schools the people who are teaching this are either volunteers who are quite keen and have done their own homework, or some people have got on to the DfES pilot accredited courses in citizenship which has given them some expertise. Some of the teachers are frankly pressed folk who are doing it because they have been told to and they have not been trained. When you add all the data together it is not surprising that citizenship comes below the other subjects. I think really the issue of worst taught subject was setting a hare running in a very unfair race because it would be crazy if subjects which had a real tradition suddenly found themselves overtaken by this new area where, frankly, we still have not got expertise in every school up and down the country. The broader issue is the circumstances in which those teachers are actually working. Some of them, perhaps in approaching a fifth of schools

where there are really good programmes already, know what the parameters are and they are teaching citizenship in circumstances where the school has made it absolutely clear what it should do, what the curriculum should be, the circumstances in which they are working. Some of them are in citizenship departments, some of them are in PSHE departments. In a few they are teaching across the curriculum but they have decided very clearly and well how it should be taught. In a lot of schools it is still true, however that the curriculum is not well founded and they are still struggling to deal with the programme of study in a substantial way that gives spirit to the intention of both the original working party report and subsequently the Order. I think this is why, as Bernard quite rightly says, this is going to take a long time, because it is a culture shift for schools to take on a subject which is new and has different dimensions and is challenging to teachers when they already say, "We have a very crowded curriculum. How are we going to get this in?". That is a common question.

Q5 Chairman: Sir Bernard, when we started training for teachers in this subject who devised their curriculum? Who devised what that part of their teacher training was going to be about?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: There were applications from departments of education who wished to teach it that were scrutinised by the then Teacher Training Agency, and I think also DfES looked at them very carefully, and I think they judged them in the normal kind of way by the *curricula vitae* of the people involved rather than just by their stated intentions, by the record of the place and by, in a broad sense, their conformity with not merely the Citizenship Order itself but the spirit of the report. I think originally there were too many people teaching too few people. I think it has been cut down now to about 15 places or something of that order. I will correct that later if I am wrong.

Q6 Chairman: But for those teachers in service who want to be able to teach this subject, perhaps this has been done but would not the Open University offering a course which teachers could take be something that would be useful for in-service training?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I think they do.

Mr Harrison: There have just been four pilots so far for accredited courses for teachers and one of them has been an ICT based flexible course, if you like. All of them so far have been small scale pilots. We looked at the four courses and we fed some thoughts back on their strengths and weaknesses just this last summer. The courses are now, I think, regrouping with a view to recruiting again for the current year, but again the problem is numbers. These major courses, as against day drop-in courses, for example, are involving a relatively tiny number of teachers, I would say 80 across the four pilots that have been run so far, so they are not hitting many schools yet.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I think one has to remember that the Citizenship Order did not come out of the blue or out of the brain of Blunkett

24 October 2005 Professor Sir Bernard Crick, Ms Miriam Rosen and Mr Scott Harrison

overnight. There had been considerable agitation and argument almost over 20 years of the Hansard Report that I happened to chair in the 1970s that made some way as a voluntary movement. What I am saying is that there were several voluntary bodies, notably the Citizenship Foundation, the Community Service Volunteers, change-makers who had not merely developed good ideas about teaching citizenship but had got staff who were running in-service training on a very small scale, unfortunately. Now there is an Association for Citizenship Teachers, the ACT. They have about 2,000 members, it has risen very quickly, and it has an excellent magazine. If any Members of the Committee want it I could get copies to the Clerk, but again they have got one professional officer. I think they had about £70,000 funding from the DfES but one professional officer does not go very far. Now the role of local authorities has been very mixed in the amount of support they give. Some are absolutely excellent on backing citizenship, some, subject to correction, scarcely at all. The future looks rather bleak as of today or tomorrow in respect of the back-up advice that will come from there. I see need for public funds, not just the nibbles that come out of the foundations. Foundations do fairly well. They will back a new kind of pilot scheme but, of course, these pilots—a joke I promised never to make in public—never fly. They are lovely applications to a lovely foundation that gives money and four or five schools take it up. I think it needs a much larger scale of activity. If it is not going to come from the local authorities the only way I can see it coming is from the voluntary bodies and they do have more trained people than they can effectively make use of at the time, let alone retired teachers.

Q7 Chairman: So if it has not been taken up seriously as a subject you would put the blame at the door of local authorities?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I am not saying it is not being taken up. I am saying, as I think the Ofsted report shows and also the NFER report shows, that in some places it is brilliant, in some places it has been evaded, and in some it is very difficult to see whether it is going to have any effect because it is so diffused throughout the curriculum. I personally think that it needs—and I think QCA is now saying this—some dedicated time. Environmental problems—yes, you can do so much through geography, or modern history, in so far as it exists now, and certainly not beyond Stage 3 in schools. We had Kenneth Baker on the original committee and he expressed himself rather strongly about Kenneth Clarke removing history from Key Stage 4 because we saw that as a natural ally of citizenship. I was quite attracted myself at one time to modern history and citizenship possibly rather than citizenship but that was not on offer. It is a very mixed picture but I think it has been proved that schools can do it if they try, if there is leadership, if it is not the last person in the common room who gets dumped with it when it is being discussed. There is the subsidiary problem that citizenship, other than

in the primary schools where one has got a very sensible combination, I think, of PSHE and Citizenship, I do not think works very well in secondary schools because the PSHE teachers have been more concerned with health and safety problems and they are very frightened of the political edge. After all, we used the phrase (which has been taken up in Scotland now and in the new Northern Ireland curriculum) “political literacy”, that people must be willing to discuss a political issue in an informed way. It is getting the kids to learn that citizenship is working together to achieve an objective in a responsible manner. It is not simply individual activity or what you can be taught as right and safe.

Q8 Tim Farron: Do you think it odd that we provide citizenship for people up until they are aged 16 and then make them wait two years to vote?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: My personal view is no. I think it does need a bit of maturity and experience before you vote. What I think is at the heart is that we are not pushing citizenship strongly enough. There are about 30 pilots, and again—and that was when I had to promise David Blunkett I would never make the joke in public—pilots will never fly, but since the recent proposed reforms of the curriculum have been turned down there is no secure place for citizenship in what goes on at 16–19. That could change. At the moment we have got half GCEs and these are proving rather popular. About 38,000 people are taking them. By 2008 QCA will have developed the full GCE and they want to develop A-levels in citizenship. A lot of the kids, in the schools where it is well taught, are getting quite excited about citizenship, so it may be that they will vote more.

Q9 Tim Farron: My concern is simply that you find that level of enthusiasm into the mid-teens but it seems to dissipate, certainly in terms of people acting at the ballot box, by the time they get to 18 in terms of the percentage turnout, and I wonder whether, if you are gearing people up to engage in the process, it is a bad thing to have them wound up ready and then not give them the opportunity.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: There is that danger but when Jack Straw was at the Home Office I remember having an argument at a public meeting with him on the same lines of someone suggesting lowering the voting age, and I said, “Well, no. Voting is a habit and if children are voting on real issues in schools, if the heads are tolerant enough not to stop them voting on real issues, or perhaps even on real political issues in mock debates, they will be more likely to vote at 18”. That is a personal view. I know many of my associates in the citizenship movement are all for parliamentary voting at 16. I am a little bit sceptical. I do not think that will answer the question if the question is on the numbers who vote. We have already got the vote at 18 and already the 18–25s are the lowest cadre. It is the 65-plus who vote most and I think we do it out of habit more than out of civic conviction.

Mr Harrison: If I can amplify that a little, there has been a pilot running for four years done by the Learning Skills Development Agency to involve all sorts of providers of education for young people, not only schools and colleges but also training providers and youth centres, to get young people involved in citizenship. We are reporting on that in the next couple of weeks and the picture is one that when young people are involved it seems to have very good spin-offs for other aspects of their work. They are very positive about opportunities to be engaged, sometimes in political issues, sometimes in voluntary activities. This is a report that is coming soon that is very supportive and I hope other providers will read it and take up the initiative.

Q10 Jeff Ennis: Following on from what Sir Bernard has just said, the conundrum we are faced with is best fitting citizenship education into an already overcrowded curriculum, I guess, and with that in mind, particularly in the primary sector, we are seeing the quite rapid spread and development of schools councils in secondary schools, not just the establishing of the schools councils but the renewal of the schools council initiatives. Is there a role in the schools council model for promoting citizenship, both at a formal level and at an informal level?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: There certainly is. I would not think a school could do citizenship well if it did not have some kind of schools council but I do not think a schools council is a substitute for citizenship education or else you would just get the few bright boys who may have their eyes already set on a career in politics and they can be most unrepresentative. The difficulty with schools councils is whether they really involve all the children in an age group. I hear by mysterious means that a negotiation is going on at the moment between the parliamentary Public Affairs Department and a commercial firm to launch an IT project on schools councils from a parliamentary point of view. I beseech you to have a look at that so that it does not bore the kids silly if it is simply about parliamentary procedure, where the Speaker keeps his mace and the glories of Parliament. There are one or two videos floating around that which, I am afraid, may please some members of this House and may please some officers of this House thinking that they are pleasing the Members of this House but are not very helpful in exciting the kids about participation and political issues. It could be very helpful indeed but I think it has to be about parliamentary government and not Parliament.

Q11 Jeff Ennis: We have also seen the recent establishment of a UK Youth Parliament. Is that a peripheral sort of side show, a bit like the House of Commons down here, or is it something that is worth pursuing?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: It does not reach many people but, if it is known that it exists, I think it is a mark of the importance of the whole field, just as I am tempted to add that I know many teachers who are enthusiastic for citizenship have not found enough marks of the importance of the whole field in

the last two years. A little controlled outburst on my own part: I am amazed that from the Prime Minister and other Ministers we get now a great deal of talk about respect, the problems of integration, the problems of youth behaviour. All this was part of the reason for the Citizenship advisory group being set up originally and it is embedded in the Order itself. I am amazed that some senior politicians, if I may say so, either do not have faith in it or perhaps have forgotten it in the welter of initiatives that there are, and this one after all is a long term initiative. You cannot change behaviour, you cannot change attitudes, overnight. These things were the concerns right at the beginning. We decided not to make school councils part of the Order because the committee was very worried as to what the DfES might make of trying to lay down regulations for a schools council, their powers or limits. We thought it much better to monitor what was going on and then report on it, as is now happening with the NFER longitudinal study.

Q12 Mr Chaytor: Sir Bernard, you said earlier that the United Kingdom was the first country in the civilised world to feel the need to have citizenship.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I said we were the last. We were the only one which did not.

Q13 Mr Chaytor: How do you link that with Chile and Argentina and Japan following our model? What were they doing differently if they were there before us?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: Japan and Mexico are very interesting cases because they have been teaching citizenship in Mexico ever since the revolution and in Japan ever since the war, but it was the most amazingly boring kind of stuff, learning the state and the national constitution by heart. There was no pupil participation and no idea of democratic involvement behind it. I am so worried as a former political philosopher that everybody has different ideas of democracy that they do not often talk about democracy very much, but after all, the name given for the original committee was to advise on education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools. I think these countries have suddenly realised that they have been largely wasting their time with this and have tried (the same problems as ours in a way) to increase the level of participation and knowledge of young people in politics and decrease their scepticism about politics. They have looked at the British Order as a good working model.

Q14 Mr Chaytor: Do you think there is something distinctive about our society that means that this model of citizenship education is particularly relevant? Do you think we are a society on the verge of catastrophic social breakdown?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: That is a very difficult question, is it not, because it takes one into how real are the levels of participation in voluntary groups. We used to pride ourselves a great deal in this country on that and yes, that is still there, I think. But how many of those voluntary groups are

particularly democratic? I used to live in Sheffield close to Derbyshire and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England was a splendid example of a worthy body run in an absolutely autocratic way, just as the National Trust was until the controversy about hunting forced all kinds of unlikely people to join it who then forced them to adopt sensible rules and democratic procedures with genuine debate and discussion. How much this overlaps with the political field is a very open question and this is possibly what the Citizenship Order is trying to deal with, to try and say to young people, "If you join a voluntary group you must really demand that they tell you why you are doing it, that they give you a chance to comment afterwards on whether it could have been done better, that you do not just accept that you are doing something worthy for a charitable purpose but you want something more participative", I suppose a belief in a sort of old England, that that kind of discussion leads to better results. Now it is all about consumerism and a lot of teachers very worthily say, "We must teach people what their rights are", but I am a little sceptical at times on that. I think that approach can be overdone because, as I said a moment ago, citizenship is working together for a common objective; it is not just banging the table and saying, "My rights".

Mr Chaytor: But is it not the case that since citizenship was brought into the National Curriculum the general public perception would be that year on year there has been a rise in uncivilised and antisocial behaviour? What does that say about the relationship between what we do in our schools and the impact on the streets outside?

Q15 Chairman: It is all your fault, Bernard.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I do not see a causal effect at all.

Q16 Mr Chaytor: But in the long run, with the end of the eight-year longitudinal study or whatever, at some point in the future, you would surely assume that this apparently inexorable rise in antisocial behaviour would be reversed or, if it is not, what have we been doing?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: Yes, I agree with you.

Q17 Mr Chaytor: How long?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I said that we need to see a generation go through school who have had it from 11–16 and then to see whether it has any effect on the half who still do not stay in school or further education. I think that is particularly crucial, those who do not remain in education over 16. That is obviously where most of the trouble lies. You will then be able to judge but I think at the moment it is too early to judge. I just deeply hope that both parties can stick with this and that in the opt-outs that the Secretary of State for Education is talking about, flexibility for the curriculum with the new greater independence of schools, citizenship does not suffer. Some of the more traditional heads are still nervous of it.

Mr Harrison: I would just like to put a case in defence of this National Curriculum model and it is simply this. One third of this, if you like, is about knowing and understanding about being citizens and if pupils talk without knowledge they are sharing their ignorance and prejudice. That is one feature. The second is about enquiry and communication, and if they know how to confront the media and make sense of it and read it critically then that is a good thing and that is the second leg of this citizenship. The third leg is about participating and working together, and if they do that and learn to collaborate and share, then surely those things add up to a package that is worthwhile.

Q18 Mr Chaytor: Finally, in your report originally you suggested that there should be a standing commission on citizenship education to oversee the development of the curriculum changes. We do not have a standing commission, we have a Citizenship and Education Working Party. Does the working party have the powers that you originally envisaged and has it got the beef to monitor progress effectively?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: No, certainly not, because the composition of it varies too much and Ministers come and go. If one looks at the original press release, and I have it with me,—I am very grateful that you raise this point because I think it very often gets forgotten—this was the Secretary of State for Education, Mr Blunkett, of course: "I welcome the group's recommendation for an advisory forum whose members will be drawn from a wide range of people and public bodies, including parents, teachers, school governors, the main political parties, churches, business and, most importantly, young people themselves. We will examine the proposal further and announce details as soon as possible." It is my understanding that that was turned down in Downing Street as being too powerful and possibly too influential a body.

Q19 Mr Wilson: How much has citizenship teaching got to do with feeling in some cases that parents are effectively abandoning their responsibilities towards social and moral responsibility for their children?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I do not see that at all.

Q20 Mr Wilson: You do not think it is a substitute?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: When the report first came out a body called the Institute for Citizenship, I think, and one of the brothers Dimbleby is President of that, commissioned a survey and, rather to my surprise, showed that 74% of parents were in favour of citizenship. I freely admit they probably were thinking of citizenship in terms much more of good behaviour than of active political participation, whereas in fact we tried to do both. I believe that the one will lead to the other, that if kids are doing things, as Scott Harrison has just said, that interest them and that they find exciting, participative, have an effect on something, it will help to keep them out of trouble. I do not in the least see this as interfering with parental responsibilities.

Q21 Mr Wilson: But do you think if parents were doing their job properly we would not need citizenship teaching? Do you think they are completely separate things?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: Forgive my saying, slightly combatively, that if parents were doing their job properly we would not need quite a lot of education, but you see idealised parents of some leading politicians of both parties and there are the actual parents in the problem areas.

Q22 Mr Wilson: Do you see the approach to citizenship education broadly in keeping with what you envisaged originally?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: As at the beginning, in some schools, excitingly, yes; in others not. In others it is a bit hard to judge. Some schools are nervous of it so they stick to the institutional bits and there is still a bit too much rote learning, and Scott Harrison in his report can comment more on that. What I would like to say to Scott's face, if I may, despite my historical nervousness, particularly when Mr Woodhead was at Ofsted, and he was no fan of citizenship, that the notes for guidance that were drawn up two years ago for inspectors on how to inspect citizenship I think are absolutely excellent. They are well worth reading. They are one of the best summaries of the aims and intentions that I have read.

Q23 Mr Wilson: So you are saying there is a patchy take-up?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: Yes.

Q24 Chairman: Rob, let Scott Harrison come back to you as well.

Mr Harrison: Can we go back first to the question please? I thought you were going to bring Miriam in as well.

Q25 Chairman: Miriam?

Ms Rosen: I am happy to let Scott respond because he has the detail, but it is quite correct. What we are finding is that certain aspects of the Order are taught more frequently than others.

Mr Harrison: It is a very ambitious Order and when you were talking earlier about the training courses, for example, you can see that there are very many ways into it. Some take a global dimension, some go in through human rights and so on. What we are finding is more teaching of what you might perceive as the central political literacy/government/voting/law area than, for example, the diversity of the UK, the EU, the Commonwealth, which are somewhat neglected, I think, because some of them are perceived to be dull and some of them are particularly sensitive areas that some teachers go to with great reluctance. I am talking about, for example, the diversity of the UK, which in the Order says, the "regional, national, religious, ethnic diversity of Britain". Some people find that difficult to teach.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: "Shall be understood and respected". The word "respect" is there.

Q26 Mr Wilson: So the answer in essence that you are giving me is that the situation is patchy. Some schools are already doing this sort of thing. For example, they are already encouraging their pupils to go out and volunteer and do these things, and my fear is that those good schools that were doing that are the ones that are taking this up enthusiastically, so there has actually been no net gain. Would you like to comment on that?

Mr Harrison: Yes, certainly. I cannot say whether what you are saying is right or wrong but what I have seen is a lot of schools that started three or four years ago from nothing in terms of citizenship provision explicitly, have since put into place curricula and activities which are motivating and are doing very well indeed. Some of them, for example, saw citizenship as a way in which they could lever change in the school more broadly and raise standards, for example, schools with failing personal development programmes, "All right, let us think about doing this another way", and embraced that within a new citizenship provision. Some started from cold and are now doing very well. Can I just interject for a moment and say that I apologise that we were invited to table a document and I was away on an inspection last week and did not table the report on citizenship which was released with David Bell's annual report last week, which goes into these situations. In this report we speak about the need for everybody involved here to learn through innovation. We were talking earlier about whether there is a historic provision in schools which can simply be carried forward. What we are saying is that this is new, and it is not only new to teachers and head teachers; it is also new to examiners, to inspectors, to textbook writers, and we learn as we go. I suspect some schools that did think, in answer to Rob's question, that they were doing very well, have since that time said, "All right. Let us take stock of the new National Curriculum and evaluate what we are doing", and some of them will have gone in a different direction, but to say there are no gains would be wrong. I think schools which started with little have now got a lot.

Q27 Mr Marsden: I wonder if I can move our witnesses on to the issue of the implementation of the curriculum and the way in which it might develop or go forward. Sir Bernard, I think you said it was important to realise that the citizenship initiative had not just come entirely out of David Blunkett's head. I would entirely agree with you that, in fact, the citizenship curriculum came alongside and was possibly heavily influenced by at least a decade of frenzied intellectual and other debates about the nature of the United Kingdom, the nature of the citizenship in it and identity, and everything which goes with it. Also, I think you said that when you had originally looked at the whole area you thought of the idea of bringing in history as a natural ally of citizenship in a joint curriculum. Perhaps you will not be surprised, therefore, that a former editor of *History Today* should ask you whether, in fact, you think—particularly given everything which is going on in

24 October 2005 Professor Sir Bernard Crick, Ms Miriam Rosen and Mr Scott Harrison

terms of the arguments about identity—it was a mistake not specifically to include some historical content related to the broader themes in the prescribed curriculum which has been laid down?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I think the Order does talk about the origins of the franchise in a democratic system and the origins of representative government, and that was deliberately there to build a link with history. In fact, still, a lot of the teachers teaching it were history trained. I am really in two minds on your direct question. One mind is practical, that we cannot go back, there has been enough huge curricular change; the other is that if history had remained in Key Stage 4, it might have been the case for a somewhat more historically-minded curriculum, but with the danger of overload. I suppose we really move in the other direction, thinking that the best learning for democracy would not be involved in the formal learning of history but would be involved in participative activities and in schools enlarging the scope of the knowledge of their pupils about what was going on in the local communities and trying to get the voluntary bodies into schools and trying to work with them. That was never there and it was oddly never there in political studies when I was teaching political studies. Okay, there were the powers of local government, but nobody talked about the voluntary sector, “Oh that was sociology or social sciences or social training for social workers”, a sort of deliberate strategy in the Citizenship Order was to go for a community and participative approach. Even though—as it was said a moment ago—this is a very broad curriculum, it was very carefully said in the QCA’s advice that whereas pupils should have knowledge of the meaning of every term and concept in it, they need not necessarily cover everything in equal depth. In other words, we were giving the teachers a lot of scope. I think the history teachers could find quite a bit of scope in this.

Mr Harrison: I think the challenge is there for history teachers. If you talk about things like Britishness and identity and why Britain is what it is today, obviously the teaching of history has a profound part to play. I am not sure the challenge has yet been taken up because—as I said in my past role for Ofsted as a specialist in history—there are areas like the British Empire which are not taught much. I am not saying we teach a specific thing about the British Empire, but there are many histories of different people who are represented here in Britain today and that needs to be explained. I think the point about citizenship and history is that history provides the background, citizenship provides the current relevance of that and historians could make more of it than they do.

Q28 Mr Marsden: Can I take all three of you a bit further in this broader direction of how we relate the relevance of the curriculum to some of the broader social and political issues which we are discussing at the moment. How do we, for example, push citizenship education up the school agenda and improve the quality of it? We heard concerns

earlier about there not being enough history time in the curriculum for that to be done. Is citizenship just, in fact, an issue for the Department for Education and Skills? For example, at the moment the Home Office—perhaps a rather curious process—have the responsibility for Holocaust Day and all the Holocaust educational work which goes on goes on primarily out of the Home Office. Are there other departments in government that ought to be supporting and suggesting things for the citizenship curriculum?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I think there are. After I ceased to be an adviser at the DfES I got persuaded by the same gentleman to be an adviser for an advisory group on the integration of immigrants. We based that on the citizenship curriculum for the ESO teachers of language. That was a Home Office show, and I discovered, to my surprise, that in the Home Office there was a division called the “active community division” and it was elevated into an active community directorate. There was a lot of paper published about increasing the work of community groups and even training community activists. I heard Mr Blunkett use that phrase, apparently the Labour Party troubles of the past are so long ago that a community activist is now a perfectly neutral and sensible word, that citizenship training should be offered to them. There were certain contingent events at that time which meant, as far as I could see, there was very little funding for that. It was rather like the Russell Report on volunteering, which was a marvellous report but I have not heard much of it.

Q29 Mr Marsden: Would you agree it is important that if there are going to be legitimate interests in the Citizenship Agenda by different departments of government, perhaps they need to work together more closely than they are doing at the moment?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I agree very much. I was quite startled that some senior officials in the Home Office had virtually no knowledge of the Citizenship Order or that an order—and after all this is a legal order, it is part of the National Curriculum—could be drafted in such broad terms. Whereas the lawyers in the Home Office tend to think that the Citizenship [naturalisation] Order, for which the ESOL teachers shall teach, has got to be very, very precise indeed rather than leaving it to the professionalism and common sense of the teachers teaching very different people in very different parts of the country. There is a tremendous cultural difference between these two departments.

Q30 Chairman: Where is the guidance which makes it focused and specific for new migrants to this country?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: Sorry?

Q31 Chairman: You were contrasting the focus on citizenship, which is broad and I understood you to say this other committee you were on—which was about naturalisation and immigrants that come to

this country who have knowledge of this country—has some very specific focused areas which they pay attention to, where is that published?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: The committee I chaired brought out a report called *The Old and the New*. That appeared as a programme of studies in the Stationery Office publication called *Living in the United Kingdom, a Journey to Citizenship*. It was a broad programme of studies, not surprisingly considering the various people who were concerned. It was rather like the Citizenship Order, we did not say, “Let us define Britishness” we said, “What holds us all together is a common democratic tradition and the practice of free politics”. On Monday week there is a conference at which the Home Office ministers and civil servants will announce what I believe will be a very, very narrow version, just some cherry picking, from this broad account of what immigrants need to know in order to settle down. The Home Office lawyers seem to take the view that this is too broad to be statutory, so they have taken one or two incidents out of that broad programme rather than try to make the programme of the same status as a Citizenship Order. I give this as an example.¹ Now the Department for Constitutional Affairs is fishing in these waters, I must admit somewhat to my alarm because, after all, is there a British constitution? Any interpretation of the constitution is politically contentious and that is absolutely splendid for teaching citizenship, but it is not so good when government departments try and lay down what the constitution actually is and promise to circulate a lot of stuff around schools as if that should be learned by heart. I have some of the same difficulties with some human rights organisations who seem to think that you should learn the 62 articles of the United Nations’ Rights of the Child “No, no, no, no” I had a go at them in a public meeting on that so they have now cut it down to six but if you learn those six off by heart you will be a better person, well, I think that is nonsense.

Q32 Mr Marsden: My understanding is that the whole of Key Stage 3 in the National Curriculum is currently being reviewed by the QCA. Given that is the case, would you want to see some of the things that we have discussed here this afternoon—possibly the issue of how we link in history more, possibly how we bring out some of these relationships between the identities of various communities who come to our country with what citizenship means—as an opportunity to look again at the content, particularly at Key Stage 3?

Ms Rosen: Yes, we think the revision is very important, but I will let Scott go into the detail.

Mr Harrison: Can I link this with your previous question about what government departments can do? The reason for doing this is that when I go into schools, less now than in the past, I hear two

things: one is it might go away, so we need not do anything, and the other one is the expression, “light touch order” which was around a lot in the early days of citizenship. I am not sure who originally said it, but someone said, “This is a light touch order” and schools say, “If it is light touch, it could be soft touch”. I think in considering a review the status of citizenship needs to be considered in this context because at the moment it does not have the same status as other National Curriculum subjects. For example, with regard to assessment arrangements, just as art, music, and PE were given a change in status at the last review it might be worth thinking about doing this for citizenship to raise it to the same status as other subjects, but also to show there is still a commitment to this and it is not going to go away. The second thing on the review is that citizenship has been approached in a way that schools can do it their way. We have seen a range of successful ways, and I think now we know what works and we know what does not work. In the review I hope the evidence from this can be used to help schools be clearer about how they are going to get this extra ingredient into their curriculum in a way that is constructive in their own circumstances. For some that might go through the humanities route, for others through a discrete subject route and for others from different routes, but the main thing is that they all come up with something which is substantial and worthwhile for the children.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I think it would be paradoxical if citizenship was too tightly defined. Quite honestly, looking back again and again at the original report it was light touch in the sense that no one part of it had to be studied in the depth of existing national curricular parts. It was the shortest of all the national curricula; it is about four pages and compared with some of the others it is very short. It is very broad, but that was deliberately to give teachers the scope to adapt these broad headings for particular classes and particular circumstances. I think that is part of the freedom. This is part of getting people to think for themselves, so God forbid that a revision of Key Stage 3 should say citizenship needs defining in 20 or 30 pages as the chemistry or history or geography.

Q33 Chairman: Sir Bernard, it is nice to be flexible, but it would be strange in a girls’ school not to look at women’s rights, for example? That would be odd, would it not?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I am sure they do. It is flexible enough for different things to be looked at in different schools.

Q34 Mrs Dorries: Obviously the success of any subject when it is taught in school depends upon the quality of the teaching. Miriam, you stated that the teaching is now good in half of the schools, which obviously implies that it is not good in the other half of the schools. You also said that the subjects over the last two years have been adapted and altered to reach that position. Does this not sound as though

¹ I am glad to say that on 1 November the Minister’s announcement of the new regulations proved me wrong. The lawyers were persuaded and the recommendations of the Living in the United Kingdom advisory group were broadly followed.

24 October 2005 Professor Sir Bernard Crick, Ms Miriam Rosen and Mr Scott Harrison

citizenship is being taught on the hoof in the schools and is this fair on the children and the teachers? How long do you think it is going to be before we reach a point where you can say that citizenship is being taught well in all of the schools?

Ms Rosen: It is to do with what we were exploring earlier which is how it is embedded into the curriculum. In schools where it has not been successfully embedded there is not sufficient focus on the way it is being taught on the Citizenship Order and that could be because the school is trying to teach it across the curriculum or trying to teach it through tutorial periods, but not successfully and it has not trained the teachers properly. What we need is more focus and more development. It may take time; it only started a short time ago and we cannot expect it to be in the same position as the other subjects which have had much longer. I do not think we will see overnight success, but now we have a lot of evidence about what works. We have been disseminating that in the Annual Report so that schools have got something to build on. We are seeing an incremental improvement which we expect to continue. One of the things which perhaps the QCA revision could do is to try and add a bit of impetus to that and point more clearly at the ways in which schools could be introducing it.

Mrs Dorries: You stated that there were 850 teachers now signing up also for special teacher training which is on. I am not quite sure of the number of schools we have across the UK, but 850 teachers who are specialised in the subject does not seem an awful lot to me compared with the number of schools we have. Again it goes back to the quality of teaching, if the subject is to be taught, do we not need those teachers trained?

Q35 Chairman: What is the latest number of schools then, Miriam?

Ms Rosen: Just over 23,000.

Q36 Mrs Dorries: There are 850 specialist teachers in citizenship. It seems that your ambition over a period of time with 850 teachers and 23,000 schools is going to take some considerable time to reach?

Ms Rosen: In the primary sector, of course, citizenship is to get taught together with PSHE, and I think one would not necessarily expect there to be teachers whose background was specifically in citizenship. In secondary I think that is desirable.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: It is about 2,500.

Ms Rosen: That is right, it is a smaller number of secondary schools. What we are seeing at the moment is that the teacher training courses we have are oversubscribed. The teachers who come out of them easily find jobs and often do very well in their schools, so it does seem that probably there is scope for a bit more capacity there.

Q37 Mrs Dorries: Sir Bernard, you said there are 2,500 secondary schools, but they are all quite large considering the city academies also. The citizenship programme going into the city academies, is that altered in any way to suit that particular environment? I read something about the fact that

the FSHE and citizenship and other subjects was one of the things which was being piloted in the city academies. Have you seen any definitive teaching methods there which you can use to implement roll-outs to the other schools?

Ms Rosen: The Order is fairly broad and to some extent schools can interpret it in their own way. I do not know the specificity regarding academies; Scott, do you?

Mr Harrison: I think in the second session you will be able to hear from one of the schools, not an academy but one where it has got citizen specialist status, so I would defer to them to describe what they do. Certainly, I have been to some schools in inner cities, in disadvantaged areas, where citizenship has been central to their drive for improvement. Can I go back on one other thing which you asked, please, and just to mention the juxtaposition of good teaching and not good teaching? In our grading there is an intermediate category of adequate, and the amount of unsatisfactory teaching in citizenship is only about 10%, which is higher than other subjects but, as I said, some of these are pressed folk who do not want to be doing it anyway and it is not surprising to find some of them in that situation.

Q38 Mrs Dorries: How can you measure a subject which is so flexible in its content and so it is disseminated throughout the school? How can you measure whether it is good, inadequate or poor?

Mr Harrison: What the inspectors have to do—especially under the new arrangements which we are working at—is judge teaching by a range of evidence. It might be from observing lessons, it might be from looking at the work and inferring something about the quality of teaching and it might be from talking to children and teachers themselves. Ultimately, what we are coming to now is a subjective judgment based on that brought about by our ability to place that in the context of what we see elsewhere. I cannot say it is a science, I think it is an art.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: It is a professional judgment.

Q39 Dr Blackman-Woods: I want to carry on from that, returning to teacher training. There has obviously been a huge growth in the numbers who are taking citizenship as their main subject in terms of teacher training. Is that rate of growth going to be able to continue? Is it enough or do we need another push to get teachers trained?

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: I think some more are needed, but a much greater need in terms of resourcing is for continuous professional development. We couched the Citizenship Order on the gloriously naive notion that most of the things in it were simple enough for anyone who is already a citizen of this country to understand. We found great difficulty in getting across to the teachers how relatively simple the level of knowledge demanded was, particularly in Key Stage 3. They are so caught in the paradigm of the university and the A levels still, the high conventional standards which Mr Woodhead was talking about, that they could

hardly concede that they themselves were citizens of Britain voting and occasionally reading newspapers. Of course people said to me, “Do not be silly, Bernard, teachers do not have time to read the newspapers”, but we were looking at that level of knowledge, we were not confusing this with political science or with A level stuff. Although I think the standards will rise if a significant number of new trained teachers can be brought in, I think there are already enough teachers with the common sense and the professionalism in the schools if they can be given greater access to professional development short courses, to achieve the effect which we probably all want.

Mr Harrison: I think Bernard is a little modest at times. In his report there is a whole section on teaching controversial issues. I think as time has gone on we have found that pedagogically, and in terms of the issues which teachers have to deal with, handling 25 fifteen-year-olds and whatever else, teaching citizenship is difficult. I agree with Bernard that we need substantial training for teachers in service who are signed up to doing this day on day.

Q40 Dr Blackman-Woods: I am very interested in what you have to say about CPD because the Ofsted Report shows that citizenship works best where it is a whole school policy. That means that a large number of teachers in the school at least need to have a basic understanding of what is underpinning the curriculum. How do you get CPD in citizenship up the agenda for teachers when they have got so many other competing demands?

Mr Harrison: I think it takes us back to the management of the school. In terms of how a school allocates its money for CPD, senior teachers who have signed up to citizenship development will allocate the funding necessary to release teachers to do these courses. If they do not do that they will not get out. This is tied to the whole business of whether senior managers in schools have recognised the opportunities of citizenship, planned for it and put the resources and staffing and curriculum time in place. I see it as part of a whole spiral, and the fact is that the schools which have done best have been operating on all those fronts, whereas those who are still not off the starting block have not begun to see the senior management decisions which are needed in order to move forward.

Ms Rosen: Schools have had citizenship inspections, so they have information from Ofsted about whether the citizenship in their school is good, bad or mediocre. We expect them to act on that and if the citizenship in their school is not good enough it

should be high up their development agenda and the senior management team should be doing something about it. There is information out there to help them.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: There was a recommendation from the QCA in their first advice on the Citizenship Order that because it was a new subject the head teacher should gather together all teachers who might be involved, even if it meant a day towards the end of the vacation to discuss how it should be done. I have no figures on this, but the grapevine tells one that very rarely was this done, and I think this is a terrible disappointment. Of course, not to be too pretentious, it should have been a time to discuss what this Order was really trying to do, to make a cultural change towards a more participative society. This is our England, we are citizens in it. As teachers, we often feel things are being done to us that we cannot control and now we have got a chance to discuss what we are going to do. This has not happened very much. Admittedly there are the good schools where the kids can see that the teacher discusses things with the staff. There are other schools in which the pupils observe that orders are handed down to the staff with very little discussion. Kids are very perceptive of that. If we are talking about whole school policy, so much depends on a kind of democratic leadership by head teachers, some of whom are pretty capable of that because, after all, think of the age group, the older heads were there before the National Curriculum when liberal studies, general studies and discussion were much more common in nearly all schools than it became under the almost intolerable pressures of bringing in the original National Curriculum. The younger teachers unless they have some training, whether in college or whether in-service training, as Scott said very eloquently a moment ago—they have no experience in handling discussions on difficult issues unless they happened to have been doing the sex teaching in primary school or unless they are doing sex and drugs, but somehow the skills which are used in teaching sex and drugs do not often get transferred to politics. I see very close analogies in the methodologies which are needed in handling these topics.

Q41 Chairman: Sir Bernard, Scott and Miriam, can I thank you all for appearing. This was a short bite. Sir Bernard, I hope that you and your colleagues will remain in contact with us because we want to develop this, and we would be very grateful if we can continue further communication with you at some stage.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick: Can I say how glad we all are that the Committee is taking up this topic. Whatever you decide, it needs to be more public, more central and remembered.

**Memorandum submitted by John Clark, Deputy Director of Children's Services,
Hampshire County Council**

RIGHTS, RESPECT AND RESPONSIBILITIES

How did Rights, respect and responsibilities begin in Hampshire?

The programme began in 2003 following a British Council funded study visit to Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, by the County Council's Inspector/Adviser for Intercultural Education and a small number of headteachers and teachers.

The evaluations of the programme in Canada were impressive and showed the potential for similar work in Hampshire. Rights, respect and responsibilities work is, fundamentally, preventative. It sets out to create the conditions in which the social behaviour of children and young people can develop positively and provides a framework for relations between children, and between children and adults, to develop in a rights-respecting way. It enhances the cohesion of each participating school as a community and secures the rights of children from ethnic minority backgrounds and those with disabilities, within the context of the rights of all children. Hampshire is large and diverse. 4.7% of the 174,000 children in its 534 schools now come from ethnic minority backgrounds and 77 languages other than English are spoken.

The programme began in a small way, in a few schools only: one secondary and three primaries in Andover and Eastleigh but, in the last two years, having analysed impact in these schools, over 300 more across the county—mainly primary—have received training. A £50,000 grant from the Innovations Unit of the DfES has been extremely helpful in resourcing this training.

What is the Programme?

The only piece of knowledge that has to be taught to children, when a school begins work on this, is the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Thereafter, the selection of content for teaching is very flexible, and rights, respect and responsibilities becomes, instead, a way of defining how people—both children, and children and adults—relate to each other and work together. Once established as the school's ethos, it seems reasonably easy to sustain, but it needs constant reinforcement.

The UN Convention is introduced to children as a set of fundamental principles agreed by countries (all but two) across the whole world. It sets out the rights they have, whoever they are and wherever they've come from; rights they have now, not rights they have to wait for until they are adults. The teaching sets out to make sure they can distinguish between rights and wants, and that they understand if they have rights, then so does everyone else: the other children in the class and the school, and all the adults too, including their teachers. They learn they have a responsibility to respect their own rights, and those of others. Schools reinforce these principles in assemblies, in wall displays, in the way in which lessons are conducted and in the language they use to describe relationships between people and to resolve conflicts.

How widespread is this work?

The Canadian programme on which the Hampshire work is based was mandated into the Social and Health Studies Curriculum of the province of Nova Scotia. Local Authorities in England work in different ways. Rights, respect and responsibilities work is spreading slowly in Hampshire, through persuasion, exhortation, training opportunities and through dissemination by the schools where there has been most effect: headteachers who want to tell others "I thought I might have a riot on my hands with my teachers when I wanted to introduce this. Now I'd have a riot if I told them they couldn't do it."

The degree of penetration through schools is difficult to gauge, but the specific mention of rights and responsibilities in the Self Evaluation Form, developed for the new Ofsted inspections and the New Relationship with Schools, is likely to be very helpful in spreading this work throughout the system.

In a few parts of the county, experiments are also taking place with rights, respect and responsibilities in community based work and in parenting programmes. In developing a community dimension, clusters of schools—primary and secondary—in a number of areas are developing rights, respect and responsibilities as an inter-school philosophy and language. A few schools, specifically in Basingstoke, are now working to introduce the principles and language to all agencies who have dealings with families and children, to build community cohesion around shared values.

A pilot for using a rights, respect and responsibilities approach in a residential children's home is about to begin—an early benefit of closer working between education and social care within Children's Services.

What is the evidence of impact?

An evaluation was undertaken by Canadian academics and reported in July 2005. The key conclusions are that where schools implement this work seriously:

- there is a notable change from confrontational and adversarial approaches to conflict resolution, and pupils are less intimidated by bullies; they understand they do not have to put up with such treatment. There is an increased respect for the protection of the rights of all children;
- children, themselves, develop strategies for ensuring that rights are upheld and they promote equality in the classroom and playground. They begin to behave as the citizens of the world they have been taught they are;
- children are able to generalise their work on rights, respect and responsibilities throughout the school, into other lessons, and into a greater concern for children in other parts of the world;
- children develop a broader concept of community and their social understanding is expanded;
- classroom discussions are characterised by the use of more sophisticated language;
- there is a significant improvement in children’s behaviour, their self esteem and social confidence; they are more ready to accept responsibility for their errors and classroom environments improve;
- the self-awareness of some children increases so that, for the first time, they begin to take responsibility for themselves and their learning. “Knowing I have the right to learn—it’s up to me not to be distracted.”;
- in certain schools, where detention and exclusion statistics were high, both have dropped significantly. In one case, detentions have fallen by 50% and exclusions by 70%. In another where, three years ago, children were excluded for a total of 101 days, this had been reduced to seven last year;
- headteachers in some schools report that attendance has improved as a direct result of this work;
- the more teachers use rights, respect and responsibilities, the more supportive they themselves become of children’s rights; and
- teachers’ confidence and enjoyment of teaching are enhanced; they feel more empowered.

Why does it seem to work?

Rights, respect and responsibilities improves those areas everyone is seeking to improve and, although it is not a cure for all the ills of schools or the wider community, it does make a positive difference. There are four main reasons:

- the focus on the UN Convention as the core document is the key. Finding out about it appeals to children’s self interest because they understand they are already citizens and have rights, now, as children, unconditionally. They are not being taught about rights they will have to earn or receive when they become adults. It also appeals to their desire to understand their place in the world, and tends to lead to higher self esteem;
- it removes the “moral relativism” that has afflicted community schools, because it provides an Authority outside the school to which children and adults can appeal. Rules in rights, respect and responsibilities schools are not derived from adult constructed codes, or from codes written by children that are guided by adults, but from the Convention itself, and this allows children to see that rules must be based on rights and the responsibility to respect them. This tends to lead to greater maturity in behaviour, a better social understanding, and an appreciation of the rights of other people;
- the work provides a language that can be used to resolve conflict between children, and between children and adults; and
- teachers—and other adults—are positive about the work and show commitment to the ideas, and children respond much better as a result. Not only are teachers generally comfortable with the philosophical base of the work but they appreciate the practical benefits too: higher order language skills among the children, less disruption in their lessons, and more time to teach.

Witnesses: Mr Keith Ajegbo, Head of Deptford Green School and Mr John Clarke, Deputy Director of Children's Services, Hampshire County Council, examined.

Q42 Chairman: Keith and John, you have been listening to Sir Bernard, who is an inspiration of this whole area of activity in schools, and also, of course, Ofsted who have the role of monitoring the quality of what goes on in schools. You are both at the sharp end in different ways. We now want to talk about how it feels to you in a real school and in a real education authority. Is there anything you, Keith, would like to say about what you have just heard to get us started or how you feel this subject is developing in schools, and John similarly?

Mr Ajegbo: We basically started from Sir Bernard Crick's report. We saw the report and at the time we were trying to consider what sort of specialist school we should be. Citizenship was not a specialist subject at the time, but as an inner city school—50% free-school meals, Deptford—we wanted something which we felt would touch as many pupils as possible. Obviously science and the other subjects are very important, but at the time we did not feel that would touch all the pupils. Having read the report we felt it touched on things about an inner city school which were important to change. That is the reason why citizenship became important to us.

Mr Clarke: I have a couple of reflections on what I have heard this afternoon. I think there is a difference between citizenship as a subject and children and young people becoming effective citizens. I think, listening to the discussion over the last hour, for me the essential word which people have been talking about is participation, which is fundamentally an issue of the whole school and it is not an issue just for citizenship lessons. Children going to a citizenship lesson may experience participatory experience but if they then go to science or physical education or history or mathematics straight afterwards and they are not participating in those lessons in the way in which people would define participation, they are not experiencing citizenship, even though they may have had a perfectly acceptable citizenship lesson. I think we are talking here about the essence of schools, not just about a subject on the curriculum.

Q43 Chairman: A point well made. What have you seen in terms of the maturation of the subject over the couple of years which you have had to judge this? Is that whole school ethos developing in the majority of schools in Hampshire?

Mr Clarke: There are 534 schools, it is hugely variable. I would say it is happening effectively in a small number of secondary schools, averagely in a much larger number of secondary schools and not so well in a few secondary schools. I think the place where huge steps forward have been taking place in Hampshire has been in primary schools where admittedly it is easier for a number of reasons which I can go into. I think the organisation of secondary schools makes the whole school approach to participation of citizenship more difficult. Certainly in the last few years—because of the work we have been engaged in which is about the UN Convention

on the Rights of the Child—we have seen a phenomenal difference in some primary schools that have taken that work seriously.

Q44 Chairman: Earlier this year this Committee published a report on education outside the classroom. In that case we found that the division was very patchy: where it was done well, it was done very well indeed, and in many areas where it was done not very well, the added value of that learning experience was very little, even negative. Is it a similar pattern or would you say outer school education in a place like Hampshire is a lot more developed and better than citizenship? I know that may be difficult to compare but can you try?

Mr Clarke: I will preface it by saying it is difficult to comment on accurately because the focus of most of the work—my background is in school improvement—people involved in school improvement is in value added, English, mathematics and science and the amount of resource we can get to put into looking at other things is small. I cannot give you an accurate response to that. What I would say is that where we are able to focus, we would be focusing on citizenship because we are interested in an effective citizenry.

Q45 Chairman: You would not disagree with the conclusions of the report that good out-of-school education improves the student experience dramatically?

Mr Clarke: Not at all, absolutely.

Q46 Chairman: Keith, does your out-of-school education bear any similarity to what you are doing in terms of the quality of it?

Mr Ajegbo: What we are looking at is in terms of children participating in school. I think out-of-school education, where children are doing things that are happening outside the curriculum alongside citizenship where they are participating in lessons, is all about developing the school ethos. Our view was that it was about children taking some more responsibility and having a greater sense of independence about their learning which was going to lead to raising achievement and also about giving pupils a voice. If you are giving pupils a voice a bit about of what is happening in the school, about the sorts of activities they can do out of school and in the end a voice in how their lessons might operate, then you might have more of a chance of them owning their education. Just from our context—I am not trying to make generalisations—we felt that our pupils had a sense of powerlessness, and that might be living in a fairly difficult inner city area, you feel powerless, and you have got to give pupils a voice and give them some choice and some power, and citizenship was the vehicle to give them that voice. Also, you can give them a voice about what happens after school. We have developed a number of activities, like a recycling club, a magazine which

24 October 2005 Mr Keith Ajegbo and Mr John Clarke

they publish and a film club, which have come out of activities that they particularly wanted to do and have come through citizenship lessons.

Q47 Chairman: Will the extended school be an interesting opportunity for this kind of development?

Mr Ajegbo: Yes. We are in a full service extended school. With the full service extended school it has given us some opportunities. For instance, we had some Year 10 students who taught basic IT skills to parents and, therefore, that was a real practical opportunity (a) to get parents into the school and (b) for the Year 10 pupils to develop their expertise. Those sorts of opportunities to get parents and children learning together which, again, can come through citizenship activities, I think are a powerful way forward. I am not saying they happen widely, but little pockets of those things certainly help inner city schools to move away from the plateaus which they can sometimes reach in terms of achievement.

Q48 Mr Marsden: Perhaps I can ask you both what you think of the current policy design of the curriculum? Obviously you have heard us posing some questions about content earlier on. Keith, perhaps you would like to start on this. Do you think the basic presumptions which underlie the current policy on citizenship education are the right ones or are there things, from your experience taking this through, which need to be altered in the basic framework?

Mr Ajegbo: In terms of the basic framework we have played around with it quite a lot, and I am taking what Sir Bernard was saying in terms of it being a guideline to what you can do. The issues we have taken out of citizenship are, one, this sense of a pupil voice and, two, the sense that everything they do in citizenship lessons leads to some action so it gives pupils some sense of agency. In the lower school all the things we have done have led to an actual pupil outcome. These have been about group work and they have been about participation, and those have been the main strands of citizenship which we have taken forward. We have taken that forward through the school into the GCSE short course. I am not a citizenship teacher, but our citizenship teachers had some voice in designing it, so a lot of the work they do as part of that short course is practical work looking at things in the community and then presenting that work back to MPs—Joan Ruddock has been in the school a lot—back to councillors, back to the police and back to local authority officers. Again, they are making that voice heard. Citizenship has been about active participation.

Q49 Mr Marsden: John, obviously you are looking at it from a broader perspective in terms of a range of schools in Hampshire which obviously will have different abilities and different intents. What is your take on this? Is it a straitjacket? Is it so loose and so amorphous or what?

Mr Clarke: I think the design is fine. The difficulty in schools is understanding how to get children and young people properly participating. Keith's school

is clearly an example where it happens, but it does not happen everywhere. I think all the drivers are there. Schools have yet to understand the full impact of our Children Act of last year and the implication for schools to be more participative in their approaches with children and young people. There is Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of a Child and there is assessment for learning. All of those things are in place, it is a question of whether or not schools are understanding that this all pushes them in a particular direction which is about finding ways to hear the pupil voice and I think that is very variable.

Q50 Mr Marsden: There was some talk earlier on about community cohesion and we have talked around these subjects. I want to talk a little bit more bluntly and forcefully. Since the bombings of 7 July in London and everything which has gone on in terms of public debate and public discussion about multiculturalism and that since then indeed, as the Chairman said at the beginning of the meeting, leading up to the events in Birmingham over the weekend—this puts the discussion of the importance of citizenship and the importance of us all working and living together in a much sharper context. Do you think the debate which has been going on since 7 July in this country has implications for the way, for example, you would teach your citizenship curriculum in your schools?

Mr Clarke: It is a very difficult question, is it not, and this is not a sidestep to it. The work we have been doing in primary schools in Hampshire has, as I have said, as its central place the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child. In a sense that represents an “Authority”—with a capital A—which lies outside the school to which both adults and children can appeal. Nothing in that Convention offends against—as far as I am aware—the precepts of any world faith, but it is not of itself a faith. It allows schools which are not faith schools to look outside schools for something that, if you like, can take away the degree of moral relativism which I think has existed in English education at least since the 1950s and early 1960s. I think that is the power. In Hampshire we would want to encourage more schools to look at that in terms of an agreed set of moral principles to which everybody in the school community can subscribe, irrespective of faith or background.

Q51 Mr Marsden: Do you think the fact—if I am wrong, please, correct me—that much of Hampshire is not currently ethnically diverse makes that task of addressing these issues of the relationship between faiths and multiculturalism easier or does it make it harder on what you are trying to do in the citizenship curriculum?

Mr Clarke: It probably makes it easier, but 4.7% of our school population are from minority ethnic backgrounds. We have got 77 different languages spoken in Hampshire schools, but may only have two children in any one school, but for those two children it is important.

24 October 2005 Mr Keith Ajegbo and Mr John Clarke

Mr Ajegbo: In a school which has 70% of the children from ethnic minority backgrounds, and has had for a long time, the whole issue of multiculturalism is central to the very essence of the school, it could not exist if we did not discuss those things. We felt that an equal opportunities policy and a policy about inclusion in the school was a central tenor of how we operate. What citizenship has added to that is that citizenship teachers—and we have trained citizenship teachers—and teachers who have led other citizenship teachers across the country are able to debate controversial issues and court controversial issues within lessons and are able to deal with issues. Issues around the Iraq war, gun culture, the bombings which happened in London are a natural part of citizenship lessons. Citizenship teachers will stop—which is also the flexibility that citizenship has which perhaps other subjects do not always have—their scheme of work if a particular issue comes up in order to discuss it, so it then becomes part of the fabric of discussion in the school and that has been successful. If people are talking about things it is far better than if they are not.

Q52 Mr Marsden: There is another aspect which we touched briefly on but I want to explore a little bit more, specifically with you, Keith: I am aware of the fact that Goldsmiths College has been doing one or two very innovative things with local schools in the Deptford area—I do not know whether yours is one of them—particularly in terms of primary schools and in terms of encouraging local children to find out about the history and the background of their areas through census material and, indeed, to look at the way in which the composition of that community has changed over time. Do you think there is more of a role for universities in particular to work with local schools in terms of developing citizenship initiatives?

Mr Ajegbo: Yes, I think that is true. We work very closely with Goldsmiths College and a number of our teachers are Goldsmiths trained. We are a training school working with Goldsmiths. We have not done that specific work with Goldsmiths but, yes, I would think that is the case.

Q53 Mr Marsden: John, I want to put this question into a sharp focus of practicalities. At the moment we are in the middle of what is called “Black History Month”. There is a very strong focus across the educational areas of exhibitions and discussions, et cetera, underlining the role of black people in English and British history. Would that sort of thing have the flexibility to be dealt with in your programmes at Hampshire schools in the way that Keith has indicated he would be able to accommodate things which are going on at the same time in his?

Mr Clarke: Yes, but I doubt it would be done within the context of citizenship; it would certainly be done in the context of history. It happens that there is a very strong cadre of history heads of department in Hampshire secondary schools.

Q54 Mr Marsden: Why would it not be done—not in a sort of narrow “these are the facts about black history”—given that it is designed to promote the fact that black people’s involvement in Britain’s heritage and history is far more significant than perhaps is sometimes given credit?

Mr Clarke: It could be done equally in history lessons as in citizenship lessons, could it not, with the same thrust?

Q55 Jeff Ennis: Earlier with Sir Bernard I pushed him on the issues of school councils in the UK Youth Parliament playing part of a role as a delivery mechanism for delivering the citizenship agenda in both secondary and primary schools. Would you say those two situations are an integral part of a successful delivery model?

Mr Ajegbo: In terms of school councils?

Q56 Jeff Ennis: Yes.

Mr Ajegbo: I would say in terms of our citizenship agenda the school council has been really important to it. Lots of schools have got good school councils, but we determined that was an important bit of giving pupils a voice and, therefore, we gave teachers non-contact time to work with the school council to ensure that it ran properly. We then determined that they would meet on a regular basis with the senior management team and they would also meet with the governors on a regular basis.

Q57 Jeff Ennis: Do you have representation on the governing body, Keith?

Mr Ajegbo: Yes, they also come to one of the governing body meetings each term. They are not actually governors, but they always come to one of the three. Because we were so determined that the school council needed to have outcomes—so if pupils are going to have power they have got to see the results of that power—we were determined that things which they suggested we would debate and changes would be made. We made some changes to the uniform, we made some improvements to the toilets we talked about, with all of these things there was evidence of change. The most important part of the child’s day, in a sense, is the teaching, the lessons they are in. We have involved the school council in a research project in Bedford called “Students as Researchers”, where you train some of them to go into lessons—and they go into lessons only with teachers who would want that to happen—and discuss with the teachers the nature of the lesson. They might talk about behaviour, they might talk about whether the lesson was fun, and that means they are then having some voice in the way in which they are taught. The school council has been a real engine for us.

Q58 Jeff Ennis: John, do you want to cover the primary school perspective on school councils?

Mr Clarke: I think school councils are essential but by no means sufficient. There is almost a bible, on participation now, a publication called, *Hear by Right*, which talks about a graduated approach to participation where consultation is at the bottom

24 October 2005 Mr Keith Ajebo and Mr John Clarke

followed by representation and ends up at the top level in initiation. I think in our best primary schools in Hampshire we would see examples of pupils, sometimes quite young, initiating things in schools. I think school's councils are at the level of representation in most schools at the moment.

Q59 Jeff Ennis: Is there a role for the citizenship agenda to promote the relationship between school pyramids with the secondary school into primary school cohorts, et cetera? I know for an inner London school obviously you do not have quite clearly defined pyramids, Keith, as they do in Hampshire, for example. Is there a role for the Citizenship Agenda to promote good practice both at primary and secondary level at the same time?

Mr Clarke: It is probably our major issue in Hampshire. You can imagine the situation of children in Year 6 being used to dialogue negotiation and seeking consensus between each other and with teachers, and they arrive at a secondary school which is not quite so sympathetic to those kinds of things happening in classrooms or some of the teachers in Year 7 might be, but other teachers not in Year 7 might not. We think that all the good work which has been done in primary schools probably disappears by about the November of Year 7 because of the issues about culture sometimes but huge issues with organisations, which is why I am interested in listening to Keith's perspective.

Mr Ajebo: I agree with that in terms of what happens in secondary school. I think lots of primary children will make that evident eventually. We have become a specialist school with English as our main subject, but citizenship is one of our subjects. One bit of work we are doing as a specialist school is to work with primary schools—our school council working with primary school school's councils—in order to see if we can address some of the issues that primary school children bring into secondary school.

Q60 Dr Blackman-Woods: I am very interested in the results of the Canadian Academic Report. They say they are using the programme which you have adopted in Hampshire: A notable change from confrontational and adversarial approaches to conflict resolution. Pupils less intimidated by bullies et cetera. There was also a fall in detentions and exclusions. The first question is can these results be replicated in other schools? The second question is are we missing a trick here if citizenship teaching in this way can impact so massively on school behaviour, detentions and exclusions? Presumably it would also have a wider impact on community cohesion?

Mr Clarke: The answer to your two questions is, yes and yes, with a rider to the first one, and that is that you cannot play at this. If you are tokenist about it, it does not work. You have to do it seriously and it is not just convincing the children about the rights' agenda, it is convincing the adults in the school first that children have rights and their job is to respect those rights. This is not just about children learning what their rights are because that sounds fluffy and flaky, the key to this is their understanding that

others have rights, adults too. It is about the responsibility to respect the rights of adults as well as understanding the ones you have yourself now, not when you are 18, not when you are 16 or 17, but now. If it is done like that and people understand that it is underpinned by the Convention, the evidence we have in Hampshire is that the effects can be phenomenal, staggering even to seasoned professionals like myself. Where it does not work is because people do not take it sufficiently serious and they do not carry the adult population with them first before introducing it. Then you arrive at a sort of tokenism which makes everybody feel somewhat queasy.

Q61 Chairman: How do you measure that dramatic difference?

Mr Clarke: We have objective data in terms of that particular incident, reducing the number of days lost to exclusion of 101 to seven, and we have the testimony of head teachers who say, "This has made a staggering difference to my school in these sorts of ways". We have only been doing it for two years, in no sense can I claim to you that a penetration across the Hampshire system is anywhere near what we would like at the moment. We will be considering evaluation, both our own and with the Canadian academics and with Sussex University as well. If you like, these are interim results.

Q62 Dr Blackman-Woods: I was going to ask whether there was ongoing research because it does seem to me that if there was evidence that meant this could be demonstrated clearly to other schools it would be easier to get others to adopt this approach?

Mr Clarke: Certainly, in our dissemination programme we used those head teachers as ambassadors. I do not have to say this very often, head teachers of the schools who are doing this say it.

Q63 Mr Wilson: How long have you been doing this?

Mr Clarke: Two years.

Q64 Mr Wilson: Is that long enough to have come to a conclusion about the impact it makes for a particular school?

Mr Clarke: In some schools this will be begun in a primary by one teacher working with usually her class. What tends to happen is there is a contamination effect and other teachers are beating a path to the door wanting to know what it is that is suddenly going on in that room which was not going on there before because things seemed to have changed so dramatically and they can see it and they want a piece of that action. You can see the change to this in about six weeks in a classroom. It may not change the whole school, but you can see that with an effective teacher doing this properly. It may sound like snake oil but we do have the evidence to say that it is not.

Q65 Mr Wilson: You are saying the principal change is the behaviour of pupils, students?

24 October 2005 Mr Keith Ajegbo and Mr John Clarke

Mr Clarke: The principal change is that children are aware of themselves and the rights they have, that raises their self-esteem. The second thing that happens is they begin to understand that others have rights too, so when there are issues, as there always are in classrooms and in playgrounds between children, we tend to see them quite quickly, if you like, adopting rights respecting language in order to try to resolve those questions. If you take bullying, what you tend to see is that people are less likely to be the victims of bullying because they are more likely to stand up for themselves because they understand the rights they have in their place in the world. People who are likely to be potential bullies are less likely to bully because they understand the other people have rights. That is the way it works, and you see these changes in classrooms and in schools as a whole. However, I think in the written submission I said: "This will not cure all the ills". We still have seven days of fixed term exclusion in that school. It is a preventative strategy; it is not an intervention strategy. It is not about managing behaviour, it gets to values and attitudes.

Q66 Mr Wilson: How has that affected the levels of anti-social behaviour which some young people can get involved in outside the school gates? Has there been any noticeable decline of that in areas where schools are implementing this policy?

Mr Clarke: I do not have any data on that, I am sorry. I would not want to suggest anything.

Q67 Mr Wilson: Is there a link to the type of school that is doing it? You have been doing it a couple of years. Perhaps you had some of the better performing schools and some of the poorer performing schools. Is it the top performing schools that are doing this better or is it a range? Can you make some comment on that?

Mr Clarke: The two communities where this began in Hampshire were in Andover and Eastleigh, and neither of them is the most advantaged area of the county, particularly in Andover, those schools serve rather disadvantaged communities. In terms of their performance, as measured on the traditional measures, the Andover schools are improving and the head teachers are convinced that it is because of this programme.

Q68 Mr Wilson: Can I get Keith to make some comment on that specifically in relation to his own school in terms of what he has found? Have you noticed any change in behaviour outside the school gates in light of what you have been doing?

Mr Ajegbo: I do not have any evidence about that. Certainly in school we notice some changes in behaviour. One of the original reasons why we went for citizenship was to raise achievement. The bottom line was we felt that by giving children a greater sense of their rights, their self-esteem and hopefully making them more responsible, we would raise achievement. We have done insofar as over the four years we have moved from 33% to 54%, five A-Cs. While you cannot say it is only through citizenship, it is some evidence that we have more participation

in good learning in the school. There was also a lot of evidence that those pupils are committing less crime out of school. There is a lot of evidence to suggest that if you are working towards good exam results, because you feel that is going to further empower you, then you are less likely to get involved in things out of school. I think there will be a correlation.

Q69 Mr Wilson: You are finding there is less bullying within your school and less fights breaking out, perhaps? Do you think that there is better behaviour all round?

Mr Ajegbo: Yes, we find that is the case. There are still fights because I think in any school you are always going to have them, but there are less fights. They are more easily resolved and less likely to lead to bigger fights, and the fights escalating. On the back of citizenship we have also introduced this notion of restorative justice where we are not looking to necessarily put blame on pupils by punishing them, but by bringing them together with the victim. That has made a lot of difference. It gives both pupils a voice and it has made a lot of the bullies understand the effect of their bullying on the person they have bullied. There is real evidence that is making a change, so it is not quite the old punishment, the old exclusion, it is more of bringing the pupils together in order to talk about the issues. Again, this is about the student voice, about pupils participating in what they have done and taking a bit more responsibility for what they have done as opposed to the school just punishing them, perhaps excluding them, and leaving it at that. That had a lot of evidence, and there is a lot of evidence in the lower school, in Year 7 and 8 where we have been piloting this, of changes in behaviour. I think it is working with children in perhaps a slightly different way that has been the important aspect of citizenship. Perhaps a bit more than the orders, I think it is this notion of participation that is key to trying to get them to behave more responsibly. The other side of this is, of course, you have to work with the adult, but we have lots of debates in the school about the rights thing against the responsibility. Staff are saying, "These pupils have these rights, what about their responsibilities?" We have tried to work through some of those arguments. In a sense the rights possibly have to come before the responsibilities, but in the end you want both.

Q70 Chairman: This is very interesting in the sense that you are expanding the notion of citizenship, both of you, to be about the whole school approach that permeates the school; that is when it is really working. Does that come out of Sir Bernard's work and how it got on the curriculum or is it something which was always there in a good school?

Mr Ajegbo: Given that we have done it in the way we have done it—although the notion of it might have been there before by taking the Citizenship Orders and looking at them—we have developed a whole school approach and we have called it—it is not my invention, it is one of the citizenship teacher's—the three Cs of citizenship: the citizenship in the culture

of the school, which is like the whole school council bit of citizenship; the citizenship in the curriculum, which is the political literacy bit; and the citizenship in the community, which is those pupils going out into the community or bringing people from the community into the school. What we have done is we have made it part of our whole school work and we are trying, although it is quite difficult, to touch all the children, so it is not just those who like to be representatives of the school council, everybody get touched in some way or another. I think doing it like that, as a whole school issue as part of our specialist school approach, has made and is making a difference to the ethos. My feeling and hope is that in the end it softens the school because the school then becomes a place where children talk about what they are doing as opposed to hitting each other.

Mr Clarke: I would agree absolutely with that. If I may I would like to go back to the question you asked and it relates to behaviour management. I do not think anybody would say that teachers do not need the skills to manage behaviour that sometimes can become difficult, but the issue about behaviour management is it is what it says, it manages behaviour. You can never be sure, because you have managed behaviour, that when you are not there that behaviour is not going to revert to what it was like before. The point being made here about citizenship, and the points which I have been making about rights, respect and responsibility, go at it from the other end because fundamentally those two things are whole school and they are preventative. We hope—and I think we both have evidence to show—that if you do those sorts of things then the number of times when you have to manage the behaviour reduce.

Q71 Tim Farron: On the issue of extended schools, I suppose the sense that young people need to learn citizenship, respect and responsibility in their community as much as they do in school—very often the school is the centre of the community, not always the case, I represent a rural constituency. I suppose the problem with our area, as with many other rural areas, is that the extended school does not desperately help when you have got the average pupil living a minimum of 10 miles away from the school. I wonder how we look to promote not just the out-of-school hours citizenship agenda but also the out-of-school citizenship agenda in a co-ordinated way? I am talking about youth work and other things, not just the special one-off projects which happen from time to time. How does that fit in? I guess it is a question for rural areas but also just out in the community in general.

Mr Ajegbo: We are a full service extended school, so therefore we have a lot of links with the local youth workers and all the things which are going on. We try and help co-ordinate what is happening to our pupils through that. We also have a policewoman who works in the school and she informs us about issues with our pupils in the local community, so we then have direct access. The policewoman working in the school we talk about in citizenship lessons, it becomes part of citizenship and she is working with

the pupils in terms of their rights on the street, the things which they should and should not do, getting their mobile phones tagged and all that sort of stuff. It is a question of building up those networks. The amount of influence you can have on what is happening outside the school is obviously in some ways limited. I think the more you can involve networks of people the more chance you have of making some difference.

Mr Clarke: I have two quick points. Firstly, the proposals set out in the *Youth Matters* Green Paper, if implemented, will answer a lot of those concerns; secondly, I think it seems to me that everyone who works in offering a service of whatever type within an extended school framework, working with children and young people, needs also to understand that one of the fundamental aims of education is to produce effective citizens. It is not only to understand that, but understand what it means in the way in which they work with children and young people. It is not just an issue for all teachers and other adults in the school, it is in the extended provision as well.

Q72 Mr Chaytor: Mr Clarke, earlier Professor Crick was quite dismissive, as I recall, about using conventions or constitutions as the basis for citizenship education. What is your response to that? As a supplementary to that, is your use of the convention in Hampshire at the absolute core of the citizenship programme or is it a bolt-on? How is it linked in with the community involvement strand of citizenship, for example?

Mr Clarke: The answer to the first question is I think what Sir Bernard Crick was saying was that he saw no point in asking children to learn 12 or 40 or 54 articles around the convention and neither do I. The important thing is that they understand what the convention says and that it applies to them and to other people. That is where the responsibility to respect other people and the rights of other people comes from. There is a lot of UNICEF which we work closely with and resources to support young children in understanding what that convention is about and means.¹ It goes beyond knowledge of the convention. It is certainly about understanding, but it gets into the area of feeling it as well as a citizen of the world as a six or seven-year-old. In answer to your second question, we happen to have used this document as the core of the work we have been developing with primary schools. I have already said that we have issues in extending this into secondary schools. The community dimension, which we are seeking now with primary schools, is where clusters of schools working together are trying to work with other services supporting them along the Children Act agenda. In one case we are about to start a project where we are trying to introduce this work into a residential children's home because we feel it will help social relationships within that. We are reaching out into the community with this work, but it is not the same thing as what you were asking

¹ Not printed.

24 October 2005 Mr Keith Ajebo and Mr John Clarke

about, which is where is the community dimension of citizenship which we would tend to have more, I think in Key Stage 3 and 4

Q73 Mr Chaytor: We do not have to confront that yet.

Mr Clarke: No.

Q74 Mr Chaytor: How transferable is it? My instinctive reaction would be after two years of a programme it is a bit early to be over-evangelical about its successes. The issue is not necessarily to put it to the United Kingdom as a whole, how easy would it be to transfer this to areas of inner London or central Birmingham, for example? Are you confident that you have got a transferable model?

Mr Clarke: It works in Cape Breton in Nova Scotia and it works in Hampshire and there is a lot in between. I see no reason why it cannot work in other places too. Hampshire is a very diverse community with pockets of deprivation and some very deprived wards as well as areas of high advantage. I think there is transferability.

Q75 Chairman: Will you find your work more difficult with schools once the White Paper is published tomorrow? Will all of the schools become more independent?

Mr Clarke: Provided that we still have as a local authority the responsibility to commission services and monitor standards I do not think it will make a huge amount of difference to the relationships we have in Hampshire with our schools. The concept of local authority control is something that we find quite difficult to understand because we have always had schools which are autonomous and self-managing since 1993.

Q76 Mrs Dorries: It is difficult to get a handle on citizenship in schools. We have heard that it is flexible and variable; it is taught as a participatory subject and in some subliminal way across the curriculum. We have heard that evaluating is more of an art than a science. Why would a head teacher—with all the pressures incumbent on a head teacher and given that it is almost intangible to evaluate the effects of teaching citizenship—want to buy into this and take this on? Keith, your school is a specialist school, can you take it as an example and think about teachers in other schools which are not specialist? Why would they want to do that?

Mr Ajebo: We took it on because citizenship was about participation and about some ownership of what was going on in school. We felt very much that our children sometimes felt daunted and did not own what they were doing. It evidenced itself in some apathy, perhaps some detachment from the processes and our hypothesis—which might or might not have been right, but I think has proved to be right—was if we could involve them more in how the school operated, how lessons operated and how they operated with other pupils, there was more chance of them taking some ownership of their learning, that was the basis. Our initial thrust for citizenship was to raise the achievement of the

pupils, and it seemed one way of doing it. I think it is difficult sometimes to measure, but this was certainly what the DfES said in response to us when we wanted to become a citizenship school, “How will you measure that?” I think it is something that is difficult to measure and we have been trying to find ways of measuring it. As I said, the very concrete measure we have is an improvement in attainment.

Q77 Mrs Dorries: A moment ago you mentioned there were children gaining A–Cs. What are they gaining A–Cs in? Is this science or maths or English?

Mr Ajebo: Obviously there is going to be a change, is there not, in term of English and maths being part of the 5 A*–Cs. We got 54% 5 A*–Cs, but over 40% of those included maths and English.

Q78 Mrs Dorries: They counted maths and others, or English and others?

Mr Ajebo: They had English and maths and three others to make up that 40% It is less than the 5 A–Cs altogether, but we were moving in the right direction.

Q79 Mrs Dorries: How can you draw the link between that and citizenship? Are there not things going on at the same time?

Mr Ajebo: Yes, there are lots of other things. You cannot draw a direct link but we feel it has been a strong element of the improvement we have made because there appears to have been changes in the ethos of the school in terms of the relationships between pupils and, perhaps more crucially, the relationships between pupils and teachers. That has been really important. That has come out of citizenship in the sense that citizenship was one of the key elements at building this sense of participation in the school.

Q80 Mrs Dorries: If a headmaster came to you and said, “I am thinking of taking on citizenship in a big way in my school, show me the proof that this is going to be worth all the effort to take it to the level in my school which you have”, can you show them any proof?

Mr Ajebo: It is very difficult to show them what the school was like then and what it is like now, but in terms of evidence we would show them evidence of less exclusions, improved exam results and more parents trying to get into the school because they see it as a better school. Those are things which have happened at the same time as we have been developing citizenship. I am not saying we have any research to show exactly what impact citizenship has had amongst other things we have been doing, but citizenship has been the main difference of the things we have done over that period of time.

Q81 Mrs Dorries: It cannot be proved? If you are also a head teacher thinking of introducing this into the school, obviously strong leadership is part of it—we can see that you are a strong leader, Keith, that is obvious and, John, I think this is your point—you would have to take along all the adults in the school with you first. How difficult is that? It must be

24 October 2005 Mr Keith Ajegbo and Mr John Clarke

incredibly difficult as a head teacher to say to the teaching staff, "I cannot prove that this is going to work and it is very variable. We cannot measure or evaluate the outcomes", "We can teach it in a variety of ways" "It is totally flexible, but let us go along with it". How can a head teacher persuade all of his teaching staff to go along with it given that other specialist schools have so much pressure on them?

Mr Ajegbo: It was not totally flexible in the sense that they are schemes of work and it was a planned syllabus, that was the first thing. In fact, we had two conferences which we invited teachers to come to, they were weekend conferences. Right at the beginning when we set this up we invited teachers to come. We got 30 teachers, I think, at each conference. There were a lot of people willing to spend their own time coming to the conference to discuss citizenship. The reason they were interested in it was because they agreed with our analysis of our pupils, which was a crude analysis, that our pupils lacked self-esteem, were not independent learners, were a bit switched off by the processes of education, were not particularly turned on by getting qualifications and we needed to try something different to see if we could get that measure of participation; all of them agreed with that. When we started off on the journey none of us knew for definite that citizenship would make the difference, but it seems to have created a series of different relationships in the school, apart from the other learning which has gone on, which seems to have led to better attainment. Anything you do you start off hypothesising, you cannot know the end of the journey. For us the end of the journey has been successful. Last year 50 schools came in to look at citizenship in our school because they heard it was working. By and large, when they saw what was going on, in terms of the schemes of works, in terms of the pedagogy and in terms of the other things we were doing, they felt it was working in engaging children in their education. My personal view is that providing children with a voice, certainly at Key Stage 4, engaging them in what they are doing and

making education relevant, is the way to break the plateau of achievement which we are beginning to arrive at.

Q82 Chairman: So speaks a highly experienced professional.

Mr Clarke: In answer to your question of why would anybody do this, sometimes you have to do what we are not very good at, it seems to me, which is to appeal to why did they come into this work to start with. If it is true, as it says in the National Service Framework for children, young people and maternity services, that children are the living message we send to a future, we will never see, if you are a professional working in this business you have to ask yourself the question, what kind of message is it we are trying to send to the future? It seems to me, and I think a lot of people like me, that has something to do with the sort of citizens we are expecting to see in our society when we are no longer here. It is the core work of the school as well as everything else that it does in terms of academic subjects. The second point is that sometimes I think teachers and other professionals working with children want to change the world and everywhere they turn it grinds them down; that is how they sometimes feel. This work has the potential to lighten that load for them. I do not know about your teachers, but I think some of the people I work with go home at the end of the week and the end of the term thinking they have done a better job than they did before.

Chairman: I am afraid we are going to have to finish, and I am very reluctant to finish because the quality of all we have heard today has been quite inspirational. Can I thank John and Keith and tell you that we are going to invite Nadine to join the rest of the Committee and perhaps come and visit your school, Keith, and then she can see things for herself. John, perhaps if you can find somewhere you would like us to visit, maybe a rural setting as well. Can I thank you both and Sir Bernard and his colleagues for giving us a good start to this inquiry. Thank you very much.

Wednesday 26 April 2006

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Dr Roberta Blackman-Woods
Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr David Chaytor

Helen Jones
Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams

Memorandum submitted by the Association for Citizenship Teaching

ABSTRACT

This submission has been written by the ACT Professional Officer. The Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) is the national professional body representing those who teach Citizenship in both formal and informal settings. ACT is a membership organization that supports teachers through our termly Journal Teaching Citizenship and the monthly E-News. We have an active web site that contains lesson and resource downloads and advice. We support teachers in the classroom by INSET and CPD support, through national and regional conferences, work with LA's and also offer services ranging from teaching Citizenship lessons through to leading on Citizenship projects commissioned by DfES, DCA, BECTA etc. We work closely with other Citizenship NGOs including the Citizenship Foundation, ESSA, Carnegie and CSV. You can find out more about ACT at our web site www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk

This submission does not specifically focus on key stages or phases but attempts a general overview. It does not address every single aspect of concern, rather it has as a focus the key concerns of Citizenship teachers. These key concerns have come to light as a result of the direct contact that ACT has on an everyday basis with such staff in schools and Citizenship teachers in training.

It may be construed that there was a political imperative behind the introduction of the Citizenship curriculum; one allied to political apathy, lack of community engagement and participation in the democratic process. ACT would contend that in order to effectively counter such issues, the Citizenship curriculum is central. In this respect it must therefore be given the right sort of support to have an impact and be realised with honesty and rigour by both teachers and learners. At present this is not happening and Government should be minded that although Citizenship is establishing, it cannot be established unless there is a clearer strategic vision by Government to support this. At present this is not the case and the subject is therefore at risk of not delivering on its intention.

1. CITIZENSHIP TEACHING AND LEARNING

Since its introduction in September 2004, Citizenship has provided a very mixed experience for both teachers and learners. In all phases of education the experience of teachers has been mixed. In some schools there is very effective provision with enthusiastic teachers who are confident of their subject knowledge and competent in working with young people in the spirit of the subject. These teachers have had a major impact on their schools and the young people that they work with. They are assured that they are developing the subject with the backing of their head teacher yet they are few in number. Too often there is a poor delivery of the subject by teachers who lack knowledge or commitment to the subject. They are often pressed men and women who teach Citizenship in tutor time or have been given the subject to fill their timetables. They damage the subject and they provide a second-rate experience. We need to marginalise this practice as a matter of priority.

Where Citizenship is taught well it is by enthusiasts who have some knowledge and understanding. They may be trained Citizenship teachers or those who feel that they have a real affinity with the subject; the latter being in the greatest number. They may be teachers who have managed to secure dedicated time for the subject and have a planned and coherent school provision. They are often working closely with other partners from outside the school. Overall their work is to be applauded.

Still too often ACT works with schools where the head or senior leadership team are ambivalent towards Citizenship and do not realise its role and importance. This role and importance is not merely in regard to the statutory requirement and entitlement but also in the relationship between Citizenship education and school improvement and developments plans. Patently the breadth of the Citizenship curriculum, the focus on pupil voice and participative learning is at the core of what schools aspire to. There are many examples where the key aspects of school improvement have been met by a focus on what the Citizenship curriculum can offer. In schools where there is poor leadership Citizenship may occupy some 3% or less of the curriculum time, not the 5% that we might have hoped for. The damage inflicted upon citizenship by this practice is serious and needs addressing by more direct co-ordinated action. Ofsted have a clear role to play in this by ensuring that HMI are clear about what Citizenship education is and what it is not. At the time

of writing some inspection reports still clearly do not give confidence in this and allow schools to gain recognition for presenting to pupils something that is not what the Citizenship Programme of study defines as Citizenship.

Whereas there have been national strategies for Literacy and Numeracy, there should also be one for Citizenship education if it is the political imperative that it was suggested as being at its inception. ACT would contend that Citizenship teaching and learning is still evolving and is too vulnerable to the whims of head teachers. The light touch may have been appropriate of in 2002 but now requires more of a strategic vision if the impact upon the community is to be realised.

The recent—March 2006—KS3 Review undertaken by the QCA also involved the use of a survey of the secondary school population of England. The results of this questionnaire give evidence that many pupils see that Citizenship is marginalised in the curriculum yet it is, along with PSHE and Careers, an area of the curriculum that they value highly when well provided and see as being an integral part of the most enjoyable aspects of their time in KS3. If we are to truly devise a curriculum for young people, we should be seeking their support and opinion also. Information from the KS3 review questionnaire may be had by emailing sandsa@qca.org.uk

Sir Bernard Crick spoke in 2002 of a ten year evolution of the subject. This needs to be underpinned by a national strategy that ensures rigour in provision and directs schools with a firmer hand; the hand of Government and the DfES in particular. Currently Citizenship is still in its infancy in English schools. We are leaving behind the perception that Citizenship is the new Civics or British Constitutional History but the subject needs driving forward with unambiguous support

2. CITIZENSHIP ITT AND CPD

In recent years we have been training circa 220–250 Citizenship teachers per year. These teachers often get jobs in schools where their skills are not fully exploited and they teach only small amounts of the subject they were trained in. Whilst these teachers do not necessarily have the deep subject knowledge that we would want, they do have the skills to effectively teach the subject and the interest in its success. We need to encourage students to want to teach Citizenship and to feel that they will be able to more fully teach it in schools. At present there are too few teachers being trained and in too few HEIs. ACT contends that there should be a trained Citizenship teacher in every school by 2010. This should be realised by increasing the number of ITT courses and students and/or by fully implementing a certificated CPD course in Citizenship for the enthusiastic existing teachers who wish to teach the subject. This to be across all phases of education. The pilot CPD courses highlighted successful models and the existing PSHE CPD Certificate has been very popular with teachers. We know that many teachers feel they lack subject specific knowledge, especially when teaching about politics or the law. Such concerns can only be addressed by better training that is quality assured and has progression. Only by having an agreed national policy for training can the quality of provision be better guaranteed.

Allied to this should be training for heads and aspiring school leaders. If Citizenship is to fully impact upon the curriculum then heads need to have a deeper understanding of what the subject is about and how important it is to society as a whole—that it is not merely a school subject. This again requires a strategy and ACT would contend that the role of NCSL would be critical here. At present we are not convinced that this connection has been made.

3. LOCAL AUTHORITIES (LA) AND COMMUNITY PARTNERS

In terms of education, ACT has found that in many local authorities there is no advisor or inspector for Citizenship or one who feels confident to effectively support the subject. Often the subject is added to the job description of the advisor without real thought. In some cases the appointee has not been an advocate for the subject and therefore is not interested in running CPD courses locally or working to support the subject. Enthusiastic teachers are left without support or direction. If the subject is to be effectively supported it requires advisors to be familiar with the subject and able to support best practice and exemplify it. Without such leadership the subject will stagnate. Similarly, if local authority advisors give out a message of indifference then head teachers will be unwilling to enable teachers to neither attend courses nor take the subject seriously. Where an LA advisor feels confident about the subject there is much good leadership and this manifests itself in the confidence of teachers and the quality of provision in school.

In non-education the role of local government has been of great importance. There is much good practice involving the democratic services teams in local government with schools. The education community cannot be left on its own to carry the burden of Citizenship education; it is a shared responsibility with community partners. ACT knows of much good practice where local government is able to support schools in modeling participation and the democratic process. As Citizenship matters are not just of interest to DfES, it is important that other Government departments are able to realise their ambitions in Citizenship as well. The work of the DCA, ODPM and Home Office in relation to law and political literacy, participation and the democratic process is clearly linked to the Citizenship curriculum. Another clear example is the relationship between Citizenship teaching and the community cohesion agenda that the Home Office is interested in. Only Citizenship education can deliver a quality experience in the classroom—in all classrooms in

Secondary—with rigour, quality and progression. These departments need to work together to enable the curriculum function. There is evidence that though these departments might have their own agendas and projects, there is little real co-ordination or shaping to the direction such initiatives might take and often they work in isolation. ACT contends that Citizenship education will not evolve effectively unless these initiatives and the departments who develop them work in harmony as part of a single strategy.

4. CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM DESIGN

The design of the Citizenship curriculum in 2002 was an effective model for evolution. The Programme of Study and the Schemes of Work were adequate at the time and provided the right sort of light touch that was needed. However, since that date the subject has begun to evolve and practice has revealed certain deficiencies.

It is now accepted that Citizenship is still a contested term and that many teachers are unclear about exactly what Citizenship is. The new Citizenship CPD Handbook *Making Sense of Citizenship* will go some way to addressing this matter but clarity should also come from a firm steer by Government. ACT would contend that the subject needs further clarification especially in assessment, recording and reporting and progression from Early Years to Post-16. Specifically the remit of QCA, the TDA and DfES should provide for a vision of development with ring fenced funding streams to allow this to happen. This funding should allow for a development programme over a number of years with an annual review of specific targets. This will demonstrate the seriousness of the endeavor and signal an intent to ensure that the breadth and depth of Citizenship is provided for. Mention has already been made of the need for more teacher training and the CPD Certificate, allied to this would be the provision of full qualifications at GCSE and A level with QCA leading on this. This will also underpin the academic purpose of Citizenship and further reinforce its credibility.

The current state of the subject also shows that there is a lack of clarity about the importance and role of the participation strand—something that is part of the uniqueness of Citizenship. This needs to be strengthened and expectations of schools be made more explicit; much beyond the tokenism of many current school councils. There is much evidence that effective participation by pupils in their school and community underpins the most effective schools and meet the concerns expressed in the *Power Report* and *Russell Commission*.

RECOMMENDATIONS

ACT would contend the following:

That there should be a national strategy for Citizenship education with a clear and comprehensive vision.

That the DfES should lead on this with other Government departments following a single, agreed plan with annual target reviews.

That Ofsted continue to improve the quality of inspection focus regarding the provision of Citizenship education.

That dedicated funding streams allow for real planning for progression in Citizenship education, especially in relation to teacher training, CPD and curriculum development.

That school leadership in Citizenship be more prominent and that NCSL demonstrate their commitment to supporting the provision of a quality Citizenship curriculum through specific training in their qualifications.

That Government should aim for one Citizenship trained teacher in each state school by 2010.

That a national CPD Certificate course for Citizenship be created and funded by Government to effectively quality-assure Citizenship teaching standards.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Learning and Skills Development Agency (LSDA)

INTRODUCTION

1. The Learning and Skills Development Agency (LSDA) welcomes the opportunity to provide evidence on citizenship education for the House of Commons Education and Skills Committee. In making this response the Agency has drawn on its experience of managing large-scale research and development projects for the post-16 education and training sector, in particular the Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme, which has run for nearly five years.¹

2. The authors of this response would be happy to provide oral evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee to supplement the information below and to arrange for young people who have benefited from post-16 citizenship to speak to the Committee.

3. In this response we have only answered questions where we have relevant experience.

KEY POINTS

4. Post-16 citizenship education can be highly beneficial to the young people who experience it. We strongly believe that effective and successful post-16 citizenship activity can and should be developed in the full range of post-16 settings for young people at all levels where they learn and train formally and informally.

5. Evidence from the final evaluation of the development programme suggests that for post-16 citizenship programmes and activity to be most successful, there needs to be:²

- coherent, planned provision;
- senior management support;
- a supportive cultural ethos; and
- dedicated and enthusiastic staff with sufficient resources and development opportunities.

6. There are significant staff development challenges across the post-16 settings to ensure that individuals and organisations feel equipped to deliver citizenship programmes effectively. Sufficient curriculum materials and training opportunities are needed to create mainstream provision and build capacity.

7. Post-16 citizenship provides further opportunities to tackle issues of young people's identity and sense of Britishness, as well as ways of promoting community cohesion. Staff need particular support in handling the discussion of these and other potentially controversial issues and the promotion of political literacy.

8. More research and development activity is needed to establish a clearer understanding of how post-16 citizenship learning and progress relates to and develops from national curriculum citizenship.

9. While the benefits of "active" citizenship are evident,³ it is also clear that organising opportunities for practical action within large citizenship programmes, for example in FE colleges, poses big challenges. The key to success here is focused support from senior management, targeted resources and trained and enthusiastic citizenship staff.⁴

VALUE AND BENEFITS OF POST-16 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

10. LSDA's experience of running the Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme leads us to support the following conclusion drawn by David Bell, then Chief Inspector of Schools:⁵

The development of citizenship post-16 is important: there is no logic in young people studying citizenship as a National Curriculum subject up to age of 16 and then not building on this as they approach the age when they can vote.

11. Similarly we recognise the contribution that post-16 citizenship education can make to the implementation of *Every Child Matters* and to the statement in the 14–19 White Paper: "[. . .] we need to be confident that everyone leaving education is equipped to be an informed, responsible, active citizen".⁶

12. We believe that significant lessons about the delivery of successful citizenship programmes generally can be learnt from the post-16 pilots. Our experience tells us that the most successful programmes for post-16 citizenship are:

- genuinely "active";⁷
- demonstrate clear understanding of what citizenship means; and
- tailored to the needs, skills, interests and experiences of young people.

13. The development programme has shown clear benefits of post-16 citizenship in a number of ways including the following.

14. Young people on citizenship programmes have reported increased self esteem, feelings of empowerment and motivation for learning, all of which come from being genuinely listened to and being able to make a difference to an issue of concern to them.⁸ For example, one young person from a youth inclusion project in Oldham, on winning the recent Citizenship Through Music competition organised by LSDA, commented as follows:⁹

We chose the theme of this rap because we're trying to show other people that we're not criminals, that we are only human beings, and that we need a little help from other people sometimes in order to get on in life.

The competition was like someone finally giving me the opportunity to be noticed and share my views on things.

We want to show that although we don't really like exams and stuff that we still have values and care about where we live. We want to show that citizenship can reach all parts of the community.

15. Senior managers have commented on the positive impact of citizenship programmes on the retention and achievement of young people. For example the chief executive of a training provider within the programme said:

The benefits of citizenship to our training agency have been immeasurable. Due to the opportunities for personal development, our retention rates have improved significantly.

16. Wider benefits are also evident including:

- better-informed young people who are aware of their rights and responsibilities;
- positive young people who feel they belong; and
- young people who say they are more likely to vote.

RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC ISSUES RAISED

Teachers' and leaders' attitudes to citizenship education: workload implications

17. The national evaluation of the development programme reported that staff directly involved in the delivery of post-16 citizenship were generally very positive and largely enthusiastic about citizenship education. It also identified future challenges such as lack of time, the need for resources, motivating new staff to become involved and developing and sustaining programmes. The need for effective staff training and support was seen as crucial.¹⁰

18. Evidence from the development programme demonstrates an excellent take-up rate of support and training. For example, regional networks designed to share effective practice, national themed training events and active and practical curriculum materials proved popular and were well regarded.

19. Staff working directly with young people have the most immediate impact on the success of citizenship activity. A committed and well-resourced member of staff can make the difference between an effective project and an ineffective one. We believe that the attitudes and support of senior managers are crucial to the success and effectiveness of all post-16 citizenship activity.

20. Benefits for many managers have arisen when young people are:

- regularly and directly involved as researchers in quality assurance processes; and
- consulted on matters such as the design of new buildings, catering facilities and the appointment of new staff.

21. Other senior managers, however, do not appear to understand fully the value of citizenship education in a post-16 context and accordingly have not given the activity sufficient resources, profile or the wider support it needs. Of considerable help in making the case with senior managers would be further research and development activity. This could be used to help communicate the relationship between young people's involvement in citizenship activity and their retention and achievement in education and training.

Initial and in-service training

22. Research recently carried out within the development programme about training needs for staff involved in the delivery of post-16 citizenship education indicates a strong demand for a wide range of support. The most frequently requested support is for:

- managing the teaching of controversial issues;
- ideas on how to engage actively with young people in a facilitative way; and
- opportunities to share effective citizenship practice.

23. Guidance on exactly what citizenship education and activity is in post-16 settings is particularly valuable in the early stages of projects. The 2004 QCA guidance document is widely seen as very useful in benchmarking the basics of what is required.¹¹ It has also been useful in drawing out the differences between Personal, Social and Health Education and citizenship, which is a common cause of confusion among staff who are delivering citizenship education.

24. We have also experienced high demand for specific accredited training. Eight post-16 sector staff participating in the development programme have taken part in the pilot of the DFES certificate of teaching citizenship. Feedback was generally positive although there was a strong call for courses more tailored to the particular needs of post-16 settings as they were designed for 11–16-year-olds in schools.

25. Despite their apparent interest in the area of citizenship, beginning teachers do not always clearly understand citizenship issues.¹² This includes those entering the profession via citizenship specialist PGCE courses. The development programme recently developed a pack of appropriate materials and activities to answer the need for simple clear messages about post-16 citizenship.¹³

26. Evidence from the development programme tells us that young people also need support and training if they are to develop and exercise effectively a range of citizenship skills. For example, young people need training on how to represent the views of others or negotiate with others. Such skills are important when,

for instance, young people become actively involved in representative structures (such as college councils or workers forums) or when they are organising and delivering conferences on citizenship issues for other young people.

27. It is evident that where such training has taken place with young people they feel more confident and empowered. At Aylesbury High School, for example, young people organised and recently ran a conference called “Breaking down barriers” for their peers in the locality. Questions such as “Can we be both multicultural and inclusive while maintaining our national identity?” and “How should we respond to the terrorist attacks in London?” were tackled. The young people leading the conference took part in a preparatory training session to learn and practice strategies for managing discussions about controversial issues. The teacher facilitating this training drew on activities and strategies that she had recently experienced at a staff development session run by the LSDA development programme on the same issue.¹⁴

Continuity of citizenship education between primary, 11–16 and post-compulsory stages

28. We believe that stronger links between the different stages of citizenship education should be developed. At the same time the distinctive nature of each stage should be recognised. Evidence from the development programme suggests there should be greater efforts by teachers and curriculum managers to relate post-16 citizenship work to learners’ previous experience.

29. Best practice in post-16 activity builds on and extends the skills and knowledge of young people that was developed as part of national curriculum citizenship. This is in part achieved through the use of effective base-lining activities during induction into post-16 citizenship work. For example, at Merton College, before a six-week unit of work on political literacy for all A level students, learners were asked to do a quiz which helped diagnose their starting point for the new module.

30. Some providers of education and training have found it difficult to make decisions about the level of activities required for post-16 citizenship programmes.¹⁵ More work needs to be done to define what is required at each stage of citizenship education particularly at the boundary of Key Stage 4 and post-16 citizenship.

31. The work that QCA has already begun on criteria to establish a new A-level in citizenship studies, so that awarding bodies can develop the qualification ready for 2008, will be useful in better defining what is required at each stage of citizenship education. We also welcome the development of a new post-16 active citizenship qualification at Level 3 commissioned by QCA and currently being trialled by the Associated Qualifications Alliance (AQA) examining board with a small number of projects drawn from the LSDA-run development programme.

32. We would strongly urge QCA to consider developing this qualification at Levels 1 and 2 as well as Level 3 because evidence from our pilot projects suggests a strong demand at all levels of qualification. These qualifications should reward “real” active citizenship and creative activity, which have strong characteristics of the development programme to date.

Relationship between citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness

33. In our view citizenship education has a key role to play in allowing young people to explore in a supported and structured way a wide range of issues concerning identity and diversity. Indeed aspects of these debates are part of the citizenship curriculum for secondary school students.

34. In post-16 education there are further opportunities to revisit important issues. With its emphasis on starting from the interests of young people themselves, a significant number of projects in the development programme have chosen themes such as Britishness for recent activity (see below).

- At Camden Jobtrain motor mechanics on an Entry to Employment training programme painted “a diversity car” representing all the different identities of the group following considerable discussion and investigation into the issue of cultural identity.
- At “Youth Action” in Blackburn a group of learners wrote and performed a song on identity called “Recognition” following on an intergenerational project that involved Asian war veterans.
- At Oldham Sixth-Form College, students have learned to debate controversial issues that help them reflect on local, national and international issues. Through the tutorial programme students explore their identity as citizens and reflect on the relationship between the various religious and ethnic communities in Oldham.

35. As already stated, many staff find facilitating this work particularly challenging. Such is the demand for activities and ideas to support them, a new pack of curriculum materials on citizenship and identity, with a case-study film on Muslims in Britain today, is currently being produced jointly by the LSDA programme and the Foreign Office.

Citizenship education: potential to contribute to community cohesion

36. LSDA's experience of running the post-16 citizenship development programme suggests that citizenship education has the potential to contribute powerfully to community cohesion—both within and beyond the learning organisation.

37. The two examples following demonstrate this point and the range of activities that projects have chosen to explore these issues.

38. At Richmond Upon Thames College, a group of students as part of their citizenship programme chose to investigate the self-separation of different ethnic groups across the college's social and catering areas. The group interviewed fellow students about the perceived problem. They made a video of their findings, which they then presented to the senior management with suggestions for improving the overall sense of community within the college.

- At Aylward School in Edmonton, as part of an annual intergenerational project with Age Concern local residents were invited in over a series of weeks to discuss a wide range of social issues with all Year 12 students. Issues such as crime, perceptions of young and old in the locality, the environment and fair trade were chosen by the groups for research and discussion. Follow-up work enabled some of the young people to go out into related community placements such as working in an Oxfam shop or “shadowing” a local magistrate to understand more about their work. An Ofsted inspection of the project praised the young people's critical thinking skills and reported that they were “engaging positively and to good effect with members of their community”.¹⁶

39. It is clear from the programme that projects involving young people going into the community or community members visiting young people in their places of learning are beneficial and enjoyable. However activities like these are time consuming to set up and need to be well planned and focused. In the best examples, young people did preparatory work beforehand and were given space and time to reflect on the activity afterwards, allowing the citizenship learning to be drawn out and consolidated.

Implementation of active aspects of curriculum, ie community involvement and involvement in the running of the school

40. Evidence drawn from the programme shows that there have been genuine attempts by pilot projects to combine knowledge, understanding and skills with practical action. This is in part helped by the greater flexibility possible with post-16 citizenship programmes and the greater maturity of these young people, allowing them more opportunities to lead activities themselves or train others in citizenship issues and skills.

41. We believe that practice and “active” citizenship learning experiences for those over 16-years-old are both desirable and motivating—enabling young people genuinely to feel they are making a difference.

42. It is clear that senior managers and leaders need to understand the implications of involving young people more fully in the decision-making processes of their organisations, the benefits of such actions and the negative and demotivating effects of doing this in a tokenistic way. As already stated in paragraph 6, professional development is particularly key here. All staff involved need to feel confident about supporting young people to go beyond a narrow knowledge approach to the subject to a position where they can “apply” their learning in “real” contexts.

APPENDIX: THE POST-16 CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Background

43. The Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme¹⁷ was established in 2001 following recommendations in the second Crick Report¹⁸ and the Government's decision to make citizenship statutory at Key Stages 3 and 4.

44. The programme is funded by the DfES and the European Social Fund and managed by LSDA. It aims to trial different ways of providing citizenship learning in all post-16 education and training settings: school sixth forms, sixth-form colleges, FE colleges, tertiary colleges, training organisations, workplaces, youth services and voluntary community groups. The programme is probably unique in that staff from these different areas have met regularly at local networks and national training events to share ideas and strategies for the embedding of active citizenship within their curricula and courses. In all, around 150 organisations have been involved.

45. The programme has gained considerable experience of what works, and what does not in the development of active citizenship for 16–19-year-olds. Independent evaluation indicates a high level of success in meeting the programme's original aims: the final evaluation report from the National Foundation for Educational Research, *Taking post-16 citizenship forward* (December 2004) concluded:

Overall the Programme has been hugely successful in laying the foundations for the development of post-16 citizenship. Above all it has succeeded in showing how the aspirations of the Crick Group on 16–19 citizenship, that citizenship should be an entitlement for all young people aged 16–19 [. . .] can be developed in practice in a range of post-16 settings and contexts.

Active citizenship

46. The post-16 citizenship team at LSDA has worked closely with the QCA in developing guidance for post-16 citizenship, which appears on the QCA website (www.qca.org.uk/citizenship/post-16). The document states that “Citizenship education (should equip) young people with the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an active, effective part in society as informed, critical citizens who are socially and morally responsible”. It aims to give them the confidence and conviction that they can act with others, have influence and make a difference in their communities (locally, nationally and globally) (p6).

47. It sets out a framework for citizenship learning within which a wide range of activities can take place. The framework includes three essential opportunities that post-16 citizenship work should offer young people. To:

- identify, investigate and think critically about citizenship issues, problems or events of concern to them;
- decide on and take part in follow-up action where appropriate; and
- reflect on, recognise and review their learning.

48. The main forms of provision used for post-16 citizenship programmes and activities are:

- representative structures (eg youth councils, unions, forums);
- components of citizenship within other courses and qualifications;
- specially written courses or units for citizenship, sometimes leading to qualifications or awards;
- group tutorial programmes;
- voluntary and community activities and campaigns;
- events (eg citizenship conferences); and
- individual or group research projects.

Benefits of citizenship in the words of young project members

Taking responsibility for myself and others—it’s given me an opportunity to explore my social and political views—something young people have been deprived of in the past. Youth project member, Worcestershire

Citizenship has exposed me to the feeling of wanting to get up and make a change in society and the wider world—it’s invigorating. Sixth-form college student, Merton

I think because we did citizenship [. . .] it’s given me a different perspective on college life. Rather than just what the college can do for me, it’s made me think what I can do to contribute to the college community.

College student, Richmond-Upon-Thames

The benefits of citizenship to our training agency have been immeasurable [. . .] due to the opportunities for personal development, our retention levels have improved significantly.” Training provider, north London

REFERENCES

¹ For further details of the Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme please see the Appendix.

² The full evaluation report of the Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme can be downloaded from www.nfer.ac.uk/research/post16.asp

³ Further information about “active” citizenship can be found in the Appendix.

⁴ See footnote 2.

⁵ Speech by David Bell about the publication *The evaluation of the post 16-citizenship pilot*, Ofsted. November 2005. At www.ofsted.gov.uk/publications/index.cfm

⁶ 14–19 White Paper, February 2005 at www.dfes.gov.uk/publications/14-19educationandskills/

⁷ See footnote 3.

⁸ For other views of young people from the programme see the Appendix at the back of this response.

⁹ More details of the music competition and winning song can be found on www.post16citizenship.org

¹⁰ Final evaluation report of the development programme—as footnote 2.

¹¹ Copies of the QCA guidance for post-16 citizenship can be downloaded from www.qca.org.uk/citizenship

¹² Members of the central team have presented twice at the TDA’s Citzed national conference which has representatives from all HEI’s providing citizenship PCGE programmes

¹³ Developed for the TDA’s Citzed initiative. Details of the pack *Post-16 Citizenship: a guide for trainee teachers* can be found at www.post-16citizenship.org

¹⁴ Details of the pack (with training materials), *Agree to disagree: citizenship and controversial issues can be found on www.post16citizenship.org*

¹⁵ This refers to the depth and range of activity appropriate to the age and interests of young people who are 16–19-years-old.

¹⁶ For details of where to find the Ofsted/ALI evaluation report, see footnote 4.

¹⁷ For more information about the programme and the resources and support it offers, see www.post16citizenship.org

¹⁸ *Citizenship for 16–19 year olds in education and training* (2000). The “second Crick report”. Department for Education and Skills.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA)

TEACHERS AND LEADERS ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION; WORKLOAD IMPLICATIONS

1. Attitudes to citizenship vary between schools across the country and within school communities amongst staff, learners and parents. An increasing number do see citizenship as a subject that can help to re-invigorate teaching and learning and create a meaningful curriculum experience that meets the needs of learners and society. A future curriculum must engage and motivate learners to enjoy learning and develop the necessary skills and capabilities to play their part in society as informed members of communities, as workers, voters and parents. This requires a rigorous and robust approach to citizenship education.

2. In many schools and communities momentum for citizenship is building; but challenges do remain. In QCA’s 2004–05 subject report on Citizenship¹⁹, the top five reasons given for why citizenship can be difficult to implement were:

- Lack of curriculum time (70%).
- Shortage of specialist staff (56%).
- Lack of time for planning/preparation (43%).
- Lack of teacher subject knowledge (38%).
- Difficulty of providing community-based learning opportunities (35%).

3. Levels of confidence amongst teachers have improved with 77% at key stage 3 and 60% at key stage 4 saying they feel reasonably confident they are addressing the national curriculum requirements for citizenship. However, this needs to be balanced against Ofsted and QCA monitoring evidence that find some key aspects of the subject are not yet well addressed including teaching about our democracy, parliament and laws.

INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING AND ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL STAFF

4. The question of “who teaches citizenship?” has been key in the development of the subject and is closely related to the model of provision that schools have chosen. Whilst it is encouraging to see that a subject leader for citizenship has been appointed in nearly every secondary school, few volunteered for the role. Many were given the responsibility on top of existing ones and only 15.6% say they have a subject leader solely responsible for citizenship.

5. There is considerable interest in developing citizenship as a “specialist” subject. There are now about 70 advance skills teachers for citizenship and 1,000 NQTs who have qualified as citizenship teachers. Providers say initial teacher training courses in citizenship are often oversubscribed. In QCA’s annual citizenship survey, almost two thirds (65%) of teachers expressed an interest in the proposed new National Certificate of Professional Development in Teaching Citizenship.

6. The role of Local Authority citizenship advisers has been varied across the country, but their impact is still notable. 78% of schools say they have attended external training for citizenship organised in the Local Authority and 51.5% said they still receive limited but helpful support from Local Authority citizenship adviser.

7. There remains a very clear demand for further training and development in citizenship teaching and 80% requested training on assessing citizenship.

¹⁹ Copies of the report can be downloaded from www.qca.org.uk/citizenship. All statistics quoted are taken from this report.

 CONTINUITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION BETWEEN, PRIMARY, 11–16 AND POST-COMPULSORY STAGES

8. Continuity of citizenship education can be explored in different ways. The specification of citizenship through the national curriculum and qualifications is not straightforward and may be one reason for the lack of continuity and progression between ages and phases of citizenship education. Currently citizenship is specified in the following way:

- Key Stages 1 and 2, citizenship is part of a joint non-statutory primary framework with PSHE;
- Key Stages 3 and 4 the subject is specified separately as a National Curriculum foundation subject that all schools must teach;
- Qualifications are available in Citizenship Studies at entry level, GCSE (as a short course);
- Post-16 citizenship is not statutory (as indeed no subjects are). There is an AS Social Science: citizenship qualification (developed prior to the existence of the National Curriculum for citizenship and the GCSE). In 2004 at the request of the DfES, QCA published a learning framework for citizenship post-16 as part of the “*Play your part; post-16 citizenship*”²⁰ guidelines. This builds on the national curriculum and encourages schools, colleges, training providers and youth and community organisations to develop opportunities for citizenship learning and action post-16.

There are two further developments which are relevant here:

- QCA has begun work on criteria to establish a new A level in citizenship studies so that Awarding Bodies can develop the qualification for first teaching in centres from 2008.
- Work is in hand to explore how opportunities for citizenship are developed at 14–19, through general education and through the new specialised and general diploma qualifications, in particular through extended project qualifications.²¹

9. Continuity should also be considered in terms of children and young people’s citizenship learning and progress. Learning that relates to citizenship education begins in the foundation stage curriculum where early years practitioners recognise the important role they play in laying the basis for future learning in citizenship. Many primary schools see citizenship as part of their core business but the lack of a clear national framework for citizenship at key stages 1 and 2 makes planning and assessing progress in citizenship difficult. Currently little in the way of information about children’s progress and learning is transferred between key stages 2 and 3 and in year 7 work in citizenship can be low level when contrasted with other national curriculum subjects.

10. At key stage 3, unlike other National Curriculum foundation subjects, national data on pupil attainment in citizenship is not collected under current arrangements. Schools are required to keep their own records of pupil achievement and report on each pupil’s progress and development needs annually to parents. Teachers are required to make an overall judgement about pupil attainment in citizenship at the end of key stage 3 (schools should keep this information in their records for citizenship). They do this by drawing on evidence of pupil progress and achievement from assessments made during years 7–9 and against the standard set out in the end of key stage description in the National Curriculum. More than 50% of teachers say they have real problems using the current key stage 3 standard (end of key stage description) to make such a judgement.

11. Assessing citizenship has been an ongoing concern in many schools. New QCA guidelines “*Assessing citizenship. Example assessment activities at key stage 3*” (2006) have been extremely well received. These materials support schools with practical examples of how to undertake teacher assessment in citizenship and set out clear expectations for pupils in key stage 3 through criteria and examples of pupil work. The key stage 3 review provides an opportunity to do further work here and to look at developing an 8-level scale for the subject which 63% of teachers say they are in favour of. This development would also bring citizenship into line with the other National Curriculum foundation subjects and enable national data on performance to be collected.

12. Beyond key stage 3, schools have to teach the key stage 4 programme of study for citizenship. The key stage 3 review provides an opportunity to consider further progression between these key stages and post-16 citizenship. Schools have a choice about whether or not to offer qualifications in the subject at key stage 4 and beyond. Citizenship Studies is the fastest growing GCSE subject (according to the Joint Council for Qualifications) with 38,000 candidates taking the examination in 2005—an increase of 11,000 from 2004. QCA undertook an evaluation of the short course GCSE citizenship studies qualification during 2005 and found that many schools wished to see a full course GCSE citizenship studies qualification in the future. The evaluation also showed that use of the GCSE had raised the status and credibility of the subject with learners, staff and parents at both key stages 3 and 4.

²⁰ Examples included and content draw heavily on the LSDA’s programme of post-16 citizenship, which began in 2001.

²¹ OCA has commissioned the awarding body AQA to run a small trial for a new post-16 active citizenship studies qualification for Level 3 learners. It is likely to be piloted from September 2006 as one version of the new extended project qualification.

 QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF SCHOOLS, INCLUDING FAITH SCHOOLS

13. The curriculum for citizenship and the quality of teaching and learning in the subject are improving according to Ofsted findings and evidence through QCA's monitoring. Citizenship is the newest subject in the national curriculum and there remains a lack of understanding about its aims, purpose and definition, in some schools. Further curriculum development work around what a "sufficient" and high quality programme of citizenship education looks like should be a priority for the future.

14. Delivery models for citizenship vary considerably school to school, involving a mix of: discrete and separately timetabled citizenship lessons (25% of schools teach some citizenship discretely with 15% stating this is their main form of provision); teaching aspects of citizenship alongside other curriculum subjects; suspended timetable activities; and school and community based activities.

15. There continues to be confusion in some schools about the relationship of citizenship with other National Curriculum subjects and PSHE and the distinctive contribution to other subjects that citizenship can provide when properly planned. A declining but significant number (74%) indicate citizenship is taught part of the time within programmes of PSHE. About half (51%) state this is their main form of provision. Worryingly 22% said their main form of provision was teaching citizenship in combination with PSHE where no distinction is made between the two subjects.

16. In 2002 the DfES published *National Strategy: designing the Key Stage 3 curriculum* which recommended a minimum of 3% of curriculum time (about 50 minutes a week) be allocated to citizenship. Whilst one in five schools saying they have increased curriculum time for citizenship, the current average is nearer to 2%. But more important is how schools are planning and using the time they do have and whether the quality of teaching and learning provided is satisfactory or better.

17. The Key Stage 3 review has already begun to identify specific areas that are not well addressed at Key Stage 3 and which could be incorporated into citizenship teaching at Key Stage 4. For example, European, international and global issues and themes present a key part of many schools' citizenship work at Key Stage 3, but formal teaching about European and international institutions such as EU, UN and Commonwealth are generally seen by teachers as complex for this age. The emphasis on local and national governance and institutions at Key Stage 3 provide the building blocks for further work of this kind at Key Stage 4 and beyond.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

18. Citizenship clearly makes a real contribution to young people's sense of personal and national identities, their cultural awareness and values. The National Curriculum for citizenship requires that pupils are taught about "the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding" at Key Stage 3. At Key Stage 4 they must be taught about "the origins and implications of diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding". Linking this with teaching about rights, responsibilities and communities and skills of discussion and debate is key to ensuring all young people are given a firm grounding in debates about British culture and values and understanding and tolerance of diversity within the UK as a democratic society. Encouraging schools to create links with work in other subjects that also contribute to these areas (history, geography and RE in particular) should be a priority. Promoting confidence amongst teachers to address and handle sensitive and controversial issues is rightly a key plank of both initial and continuing teacher training.

IMPLEMENTATION OF "ACTIVE" ASPECTS OF THE CURRICULUM—IE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOL

19. Providing pupils with appropriate and effective opportunities to develop citizenship skills and put into practice knowledge and understanding through participation and taking action in school and community based activities, has been a challenge for many schools to organise and manage effectively. This may reflect lack of staff time, resources, expertise or timetable restrictions. There also remains a significant level of misunderstanding about the type of activities that are required. In particular, the skills of inquiry, participation and taking action should be developed in the context of developing citizenship knowledge and understanding as set out in section one of the National Curriculum programme of study.

20. Within the school community there are manageable ways in which opportunities for pupils to take action on real citizenship issues working with different members of the community whilst on the school site. Mock elections are the most frequently mentioned example of this; others include fair trade events, charity fundraising activities, crime and prison awareness days, human rights events, student councils/youth parliament. Volunteering or other activities based in the wider community, increase from 47% at Key Stage 3 to 55% at Key Stage 4. This may in part reflect the frequent use of work-related learning by schools. However, the citizenship learning through such opportunities is often not made clear or explicit to pupils. As a minimum pupils would need to plan to analyse what is going on in the work place for example in terms of employment rights and responsibilities, equality and diversity practices, trade union or staff representation, and to make recommendations for change or improvement on the basis of their research.

21. The *Every Child Matters* agenda should ensure children and young people have opportunities to make a positive contribution to their communities and that the student voice is listened to in schools and settings. The vast majority of secondary schools do have student councils (96%), almost always comprising representatives elected by pupils. Activities that student councils are responsible for include: consulting with pupils on school-based issues (88%); and planning and organising school activities such as fundraising for charities (72%). In one-third, the student council has a budget, spent at the discretion of pupils on activities such as improving the school environment. However the extent to which all pupils in a school are engaged with and participate in student councils is less clear and the real potential for student councils to play a genuine role in developing citizenship skills and knowledge remain underdeveloped. Proper consultation with children and young people about the services and provision that relate to them will be necessary to ensure the *Every Child Matters* objectives are demonstrated. The opportunities to use citizenship as a curriculum vehicle for this is not yet well recognised and few links are made between this kind of activity and learning in citizenship subject lessons.

DISSEMINATION OF THE CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM AND OTHER DfES/QCA GUIDANCE

Citizenship publications have been disseminated widely both nationally and internationally with more than 180,000 documents having been despatched by QCA since 1998 as the following table indicates:

Crick report, 1998	28,166
National Curriculum, 2000	50,000 plus DfES reprints
Schemes of Work, 2001	66,615
Play your part: post-16 citizenship, 2004	12,021
Assessing citizenship initial guidance, 1999	19,133
Assessing Citizenship at Key Stage 3, 2006	6,651
Total	182,586

PRACTICE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Last year QCA commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research to undertake the second international thematic study of citizenship (the first was undertaken in 1999). Delegates from Singapore, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Spain, Italy, Hungary, the Netherlands, Ireland, Canada, Wales, Scotland, the United States and the UK have participated in an international seminar exploring “active citizenship” in March 2006. Background and issues papers are available from www.inca.org.uk and a final report on this work will be available in the July this year.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary there are considerable opportunities through existing QCA work programmes in particular 11–19 reform, to ensure citizenship develops with a clear and coherent curriculum and assessment framework and with appropriate opportunities for accreditation through qualifications. Priority should be given to:

- Ensuring the Key Stage 3 review lays the basis for developing a clear and continuous citizenship curriculum experience for learners 3–19.
- Reviewing policy regarding assessment with a view to developing an 8-level scale for citizenship to ensure progression and standards.
- Promoting curriculum development work to create appropriate and “sufficient” models following the Key Stage 3 review and supporting plans for extending CPD opportunities in citizenship.
- Researching opportunities to ensure citizenship is included in both general and future diploma qualifications and the potential for extended project qualifications.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Citizenship Foundation

A. ABOUT THE CITIZENSHIP FOUNDATION

A1. The Citizenship Foundation is an independent educational charity that aims to empower individuals to engage in the wider community through education about the law democracy and society. We focus, in particular, on developing young people’s citizenship skills, knowledge and understanding. Our work includes citizenship resources for a wide audience from teachers to young offenders, nationwide training programmes, national active learning projects for secondary schools and community-based projects to develop citizenship education as a collective responsibility beyond school and college boundaries.

B. WHAT WE MEAN BY CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

B1. It is important that we offer our own working definition of citizenship. By citizenship we mean the effective, informed engagement of individuals in their communities and in broader society around issues relating to the public domain. This is a definition of citizenship based around participation and “process” rather than a narrower one that refers to an individual’s legal status in terms of, for instance, nationality. This engagement requires that young people are educated for citizenship and that they develop a range of knowledge, skills and dispositions. They need to know about politics, law, economics, the functioning of communities and social groups and their responsibilities in terms of these communities and groups. And they need to feel confident in applying this knowledge; they need a “toolkit” of citizenship skills: investigating, communicating, participating, negotiating, taking responsible action. Critically, effective, rather than merely “active”, citizenship is both underpinned by and develops the individual’s political literacy. Effective citizenship flows from good citizenship education. Necessarily, some of this is delivered in settings that are “outside” the classroom and some of this involves drawing new partners—youth workers, representatives of community groups and public bodies, local politicians—into the school’s community, prompting innovative work within the classroom. For this reason, we talk of citizenship as both a new subject and a new type of subject and we argue for a “subject-plus” mode of delivery: dedicated, timetabled teaching time and a range of whole school and community involvement activities that allow young people to experience citizenship and to develop the skills and dispositions cited above. As the respected educational academic Denis Lawton has put it, “[. . .] citizenship education is important for its intrinsic value, as well as its potential to exert a benevolent influence on the culture of schools and schooling. It is important in terms of curriculum, pedagogy and the organisation and structure of schools”.

C. CITIZENSHIP IN THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM: THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY

C1. We see the introduction of citizenship to the secondary school curriculum in 2002 as a long overdue but vital step and agree with Lawton that the introduction of citizenship will come to be seen as the outstanding innovation in educational policy over the past decade. Although practice is still developing, we, like Lawton, see good quality citizenship education as not only crucial in its own right but as an important component in school improvement and transformation. We recognise (as do NFER, QCA and Ofsted) that a significant number of schools are engaged in excellent practice in delivering this “subject-plus” model noted above, that they are genuinely becoming “citizenship-rich” as institutions, energised by strong teaching and by student and community participation. There is, though, much still to do. Too many schools are delivering the citizenship curriculum in a literal sense but are perhaps less committed or confident in letting students develop their citizenship skills through participation in the community and the life of the school. Still others are facilitating community participation but are not pulling this together through a clearly signposted and well-taught citizenship programme on the timetable. And studies concur that a declining group—perhaps 15 or 20%—are doing little, perhaps hoping that citizenship is a passing initiative that will go the way of others. Strong political leadership, consistent messages about the permanence of citizenship in the curriculum and clear inspectorial intent are needed if we are to convince this group to change their ways and if we are to support others.

C2. But we need more than this. Teachers and those who support them deserve praise for what has been achieved in the past three and a half years. The small, under-funded citizenship teams at the DfES, QCA, Ofsted and the Learning and Skills Development Agency are doing an excellent job with far too little support. By comparison with the millions (rightfully) poured into literacy, numeracy, the Key Stage 3 strategy and 14–19 reform, citizenship has been introduced on a shoestring. There has been no coherent, strategic approach that embraces the training of current and new teachers, the establishment and sustainability of support networks and the preparation of inspectors and school leaders. The result is that too many teachers have had little or no support in delivering a new and complex subject and that access to such support, save for the excellent work of the Association for Citizenship Teaching and the established citizenship NGOs, has been defined by the school and/or local authority that the individual teacher finds his or herself working in.

D. SUMMARY OF MAIN PROPOSALS: ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL STRATEGY

D1. At the close of this paper we make twenty-seven recommendations that we urge the Education and Skills Select Committee to consider. Central to these is the establishment of a National Strategy for Teaching and Learning in Citizenship Education and, possibly, an associated National Centre of Excellence in Citizenship Education. Within the framework of such a strategy we need to develop:

- D1.1 A coherent nationally coordinated approach to the initial training of teachers and school leaders and to their continuing professional development involving agencies and organisations such as the National College of School Leadership, TDA, the Association for Citizenship Teaching and, critically, local authorities such that every school has a designated and trained citizenship specialist by 2010.

- D1.2 A parallel programme for the training of Ofsted inspection teams and LA advisory times such that every inspection team and every LA has a designated and trained citizenship specialist by 2008.
- D1.3 New guidance clarifying the relationship between PSHE and citizenship and reasserting the need to develop specialist teams to deliver these areas of the curriculum.
- D1.4 Proposals for the introduction of citizenship as a statutory requirement to primary schools with piloting from 2008 and implementation from 2010.
- D2. In addition, as well as calling for research into a number of areas of practice, we believe that:
- D2.1 The current reviews of the Key Stage 3 curriculum and of 14–19 provision must be used as opportunities to clarify and strengthen the position of citizenship education, as must any future developments in the inspection framework for schools.
- D2.2 All primary and secondary schools should have a student council, or some other demonstrable form of student participation, in place by 2008.
- D2.3 All primary and secondary schools should seek to position their volunteering and charitable giving activities in relation to the citizenship curriculum, such that this curriculum informs such activity.
- D2.4 Independent schools (including independent faith-based schools) and academies should be required to deliver the citizenship curriculum from September 2008.
- D2.5 While debates about identity are critical to any understanding of citizenship, delineating this as nationality is unhelpful to developing this understanding.
- D2.6 The Government ought to explore how to better enable UK practitioners in citizenship education to work with colleagues from overseas so as to advance best practice.

E. THE EDUCATION AND SKILLS SELECT COMMITTEE'S AREAS OF INTEREST

E1. In this section, we respond in some detail to the priority areas identified by the Education and Skills Select Committee. In doing so we draw both on our own expert experience in the field and on research from organisations such as NFER (notably its ongoing longitudinal study into the impact of the introduction of citizenship education), QCA, DfES and Ofsted. Where we make a particular recommendation this is stated and numbered in italics and set out in part F of this paper.

1. TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP

1.1 Studies by NFER and Ofsted reveal that teachers' attitudes towards citizenship vary across the profession. Some have enthusiastically welcomed the introduction of citizenship, both because of the curriculum void that it has filled (notably around legal and political literacy) and because of the contribution that citizenship makes to whole school life (especially in terms of pupil participation and community involvement). Others recognise its value but feel unqualified to deliver it, are concerned about the claim that it makes on what they see as a crowded timetable and are concerned about workload implications. A minority regard the subject as an unwelcome addition to the curriculum with some school leaders apparently resistant to implementing it in their school. We regard the latter stance as an unacceptable professional response since citizenship is a National Curriculum requirement. There is evidence that some schools are not yet persuaded that Citizenship should be regarded as a "real" subject alongside those that are already established. Stronger support from ministers and other visible signs of central support, such as a National Strategy for the subject, would be welcome. *Recommendations 1, 2 and 3.*

1.2 Initially some teachers in other but related areas of the curriculum (such as history, PSHE and RE) viewed the introduction of citizenship as a threat but this concern has declined as the subject—and a broader range of curriculum models—has developed.

1.3 Many, notably those involved in the teaching of the social sciences, who had seen their work as being marginalised by the earlier models of the National Curriculum, have welcomed the introduction of citizenship as an affirmation of the need for a broader and expert social curriculum with a focus, in particular, on developing young people's political and legal literacy. *Recommendation 4.*

1.4 Likewise, those teachers who have championed the causes of pupil participation, student voice, community involvement and charitable activity have welcomed the focus that citizenship has given to these activities, placing them at the heart of school life rather than the margins of extra-curricular endeavour. Citizenship should also be seen to be strongly linked with schools' behaviour policies and emotional literacy programmes.

1.5 Citizenship's previous status as a cross-curricular theme and the continuing tendency to talk about a "light touch" approach to National Curriculum citizenship (granting schools considerable autonomy about how they deliver citizenship) has sent out mixed messages—especially to school leaders—about the current status of citizenship, its position as a "real" subject and the need for skilled and expert teachers to deliver it.

1.6 The perceived and actual relationship between PSHE and citizenship is particularly problematic with the prevalent view in a significant number of schools remaining that PSHE and citizenship are indistinguishable and that they can be delivered by the same team of non-expert form tutors, a point refuted by research (NFER, Ofsted). The Foundation has strongly urged all those in positions of influence and authority to make it quite clear that this model of delivery (namely, that matters as distinct and as complex as sex and drugs education and citizenship are best delivered by form tutors) has been shown to have failed to deliver the quality required for either subject (PSHE or citizenship) and to have any impact on students' behaviour or attitudes. There is a proper role for form tutors in supporting citizenship activities within the school (eg in supporting school council work) but it is not in the expert delivery of complex and demanding subjects dealing with controversial or sensitive issues.

1.7 There is considerable evidence (Ofsted, QCA, NFER) that governing bodies, heads and senior management teams are settling for this "default" model of delivery (because it is least disruptive to the timetabling process and to staff allocation) and that they are failing to adequately resource citizenship in terms of time, appropriate staffing and finance. *Recommendation 5.*

1.8 Partly as a result of this "generalist" approach, a significant number of teachers now teaching citizenship have feelings of inadequacy because of their lack of training. Studies (NFER, Ofsted, QCA) reveal evidence of widespread uncertainties around aspects of citizenship such as legal and political literacy, dealing with controversial issues, assessment and organising "active" citizenship work in the community.

1.9 The implementation of citizenship is likely to be least effective when already busy, non-specialists are obliged to take on this work and most effective when citizenship is delivered by teachers who are keen, willing and trained and when the benefits to the broader school—in terms of both student achievement and social inclusion—are recognised by senior managers including, critically, the head teacher.

2. INITIAL TEACHER TRAINING AND CPD

2.1 The development of an expert teaching base in many schools remains, at best, in its infancy—the inflow of specialist trained Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) is insufficient and the ongoing provision for "training-up" practising teachers (CPD) is wholly inadequate and lacks national coordination—it is vital that every school has at least one trained citizenship specialist, a target that modest funding could achieve, by 2010. *Recommendation 6.*

2.2 With regard to initial teacher training, the TDA has set an annual target of training about 240 citizenship NQTs but has consistently failed to achieve these numbers in spite of the fact that PGCE courses in citizenship are significantly oversubscribed and good potential trainees are being turned away.

2.3 For 2006–07 the numbers entering PGCE (teacher training) courses are set to fall to around 230 as the TDA has announced that it plans to reduce the number of citizenship training places in line with reductions in other subjects. This is a short-sighted move and one that is at odds with ministerial priorities. *Recommendation 7.*

2.4 The position with regard to CPD is bleaker still with access to CPD varying from school to school and LA to LA, dependent on school leadership team and LA priorities and resultant resource allocation. Nationally, the picture is extremely patchy with good levels of support in some local authorities, compared with virtually none in others. Without a more centralised National Strategy, it is difficult to see how these local difficulties can be overcome.

2.5 The position with regard to preparing school inspectors for the introduction of citizenship in September 2002 showed a similar lack of strategic thinking. Despite having two years to prepare for the introduction of citizenship, the inspectorate (HMI and Ofsted) did not provide any systematic training for its inspectors until 2004 and this training remains optional. This means that, in many inspection teams, there is no inspector specifically qualified in citizenship and able to make judgements about the quality of teaching or students' work. *Recommendation 8.*

2.6 The DfES strategy to support teachers' Continuing Professional Development in citizenship has had five major components: the establishment, with start-up funding, of the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) in 2002; the launch of a National CPD team of regional advisers based in the DfES in 2003; the establishment of a network of approximately 60 Advanced Skills Teachers (ASTs) in citizenship; the commissioning, production and distribution of the CPD Manual, *Making Sense of Citizenship* (which has recently been distributed to schools); and the piloting of a National Certificate in Citizenship Teaching for practicing teachers, a vital initiative which is to be launched later this year and which will apparently involve the training of 600 teachers in 2006–07 and 600 in 2007–08. *Recommendation 9.*

2.7 We welcome these initiatives but note that the Association for Citizenship Teaching is reliant on the renewal of an annual grant for its further development (ACT serves a membership of approximately 1,200 with only two paid officers—an administrator and an experienced citizenship teacher), that the AST network is too small to fulfil its potential and that the structuring and funding of the National CPD Advisory Team (now disbanded) is wholly inadequate.

2.8 The National CPD Advisory Team, based around a team of regional advisers who worked with LA advisers, ASTs and school-based citizenship coordinators—is illustrative of the failure to establish a systematic and coordinated approach to the introduction of citizenship. The original intention to base an adviser in each of nine government regions was scaled back to the appointment of four advisers working full time in the first year and three advisers, each working two days a week, in year two—the equivalent of 1.2 full time posts nationally—little more than we would hope each local authority to have. Again, a National Strategy is needed.

2.9 One strategic opportunity that is currently being missed relates to coupling the whole school dimension of citizenship provision with the development of school leaders through the programmes offered by the increasingly influential National College of School Leadership, notably the Leading from the Middle programme and the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH): Whilst we recognise that NCSL programmes do not usually have a subject focus, no school leader should qualify without being required to understand the relationship between the taught component of citizenship and the expression of “citizenship-rich” values through the school’s ethos and values: its equal opportunities and social cohesion policies, its participation strategies and community involvement matters and its leadership style. *Recommendation 10.*

3. ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL STAFF

3.1 In many local authorities (LAs) there is no adviser specialising in citizenship—instead citizenship is one of many responsibilities and often one that the adviser has limited expertise in. The National CPD Advisory Team, reporting on their experience (in an unpublished report to the DfES) found that these LA advisers felt uncertain and lacked the confidence to take a clear lead in this area, not least because they lacked the appropriate expertise, time and resources. *Recommendation 11.*

3.2 This is, at least in part, the result of the switch in LAs from subject-based advisory teams to generic school improvement focused teams. The timing of this change in approach has been broadly concurrent with the introduction of citizenship to the National Curriculum and has, therefore, had an acute and particular impact on LA support for the subject: citizenship has often been unable to establish itself at LA level leaving school leaders and classroom practitioners isolated.

3.3 In this context, LAs have largely failed to connect the citizenship agenda to their broader efforts to support school improvement and raise standards, in spite of the emergence of evidence from research that suggests some kind of link between strong citizenship provision—especially around pupil participation—with both higher levels of achievement and a more inclusive school ethos, resulting in fewer exclusions. While it would be facile to claim a direct relationship between, for example, a school’s commitment to citizenship education and to league table position, LA’s have a key role to play in ensuring that school’s do retain a focus on the broader development of the young people in their care, especially in light of the *Every Child Matters* agenda.

3.4 A vital role for LAs remains in leading on the establishment of local support networks—relatively few LA’s have established these networks or the frameworks necessary for this. Nor have connections with other areas of LA activity been made—for instance with colleagues working on youth forums or in democratic services.

3.5 Evidence collected by the Citizenship Foundation, including data from a recent questionnaire survey, and by the Association for Citizenship Teaching underlines the value placed by teachers on local advisory support and on local practitioner networks. Working groups of locally based practitioners enable the sharing of experience and the development of best practice.

3.6 Standards of student achievement in citizenship are expected to be comparable to standards achieved in other subjects at Key Stages 3 and 4. However, without appropriate levels of support available at local level, this is an unrealistic expectation.

3.7 For this reason, we argue that every LA should provide a dedicated adviser or advisory teacher for citizenship by 2008 and that these should act as coordinators for local teacher networks so as to ensure that over the next few years, the profession becomes skilled up sufficiently to be able to deliver good quality citizenship education for all pupils, as is their statutory curriculum entitlement.

3.8 In particular, these LA coordinators should be encouraged, and enabled through appropriate resourcing, to work with Advanced Skills Teachers (ASTs) and other accredited specialists to drive up the quality of provision. Without such local coordination the potential offered by the AST model is often unfulfilled.

3.9 The current diversity of local provision underlines the need for a clear National Strategy for Teaching and Learning in Citizenship that provides central support for LAs and which sets out entitlements for schools in respect of training, support and guidance together with a nationally agreed set of targets for schools in respect of levels of specialist and/or trained teachers in the medium term. Without such a National Strategy the level of teacher or school support is left to chance and standards across the board will continue to vary widely.

4. CONTINUITY OF CITIZENSHIP FROM KS1–4 AND POST-16

4.1 When supporting and assessing progression in citizenship learning it is vital to look across provision at any fixed point as well as along the conventional age-related continuums—continuity across classroom-based curriculum provision, whole school activity and community engagement projects has been one of the major benefits to arise from introducing the “subject-plus” model of citizenship education.

4.2 Educational research makes clear that citizenship learning (eg around concepts such as fairness, rights and responsibilities) takes place from the early years, even before children begin formal schools and, therefore, the primary school is of crucial importance in developing citizenship understanding, skills, values and attitudes.

4.3 The Citizenship Foundation has always argued that the failure to make citizenship education statutory in the primary school was a missed opportunity and results in developmental delay in this area. There are examples of excellent citizenship practice in the primary phase on which to build but we argue that that current provision (based on a non-statutory joint framework for PSHE and citizenship) is inadequate. Thus, citizenship education is under-recognised and under-developed in the primary phase. This is especially the case in Key Stage 2 where issues such as bullying, stealing, the role of the police, respect for law, and community cohesion issues are commonly addressed but not always from a citizenship perspective or in a consistent manner. Moreover, the risk is that key issues are overlooked. For example, young people are criminally responsible at age ten, but this significant fact and its implications, are not systematically communicated to primary school pupils as part of the statutory curriculum.

4.4 Granting citizenship “Foundation Subject” (compulsory) status in the primary phase would ensure that students embarking on their secondary school careers have had a comparable induction into the key principles of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy and the associated knowledge and skills. By political literacy in the primary years, we mean learning to grasp the key political ideas at an inter-personal level, including ideas of justice, equality, respect, rights and duties. *Recommendation 12.*

4.5 At Key Stage 3, we view with concern talk about “slimming down” the curriculum as part of the current Key Stage 3 review being undertaken by QCA. Any revisions to practice should proceed from an analysis of the purpose and coherence of the curriculum as a whole. Given the “light touch” of the first National Curriculum framework, we argue that there is no case for slimming down citizenship in particular. The review should instead be taken as an opportunity to provide clearer guidance as to the focus and purpose of the citizenship work undertaken by students at Key Stages 3 and 4. Especially at Key Stage 3, there is still a tendency for untrained teachers to fall back on the tedious details of civic knowledge rather than to explore the knowledge and skills required for the development of a genuine political literacy. *Recommendation 13.*

4.6 Likewise, the emergence of a 14–19 framework—something that could do much to improve the transition from pre- to post-16 learning in citizenship and in other areas—needs to have a commitment to citizenship education at its core, which could be achieved by making it an expectation that all students follow a core citizenship component of their academic studies or diploma courses. The Post-16 Citizenship Education Development Project, led by the Learning and Skills Development Agency, has much to offer those working on the revision of this aspect of citizenship education practice. *Recommendation 14.*

4.7 Assessment, in various forms, has a vital role to play in supporting progression in citizenship learning through the Key Stages and educational phases and we welcome the recent work of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) and the awarding bodies in this respect. Whilst we recognise that assessment in citizenship can be problematic, and it has its opponents on perfectly reasonable academic and social grounds, we nevertheless recognise the need to assess and evaluate students’ progress in citizenship. Teachers need to be able to make judgements about the impact of their teaching on students’ learning and to revise their strategies accordingly and students and parents require information about progress being made.

4.8 We also acknowledge the contribution that assessment frameworks (including public examinations) make to the perceived value and standing of a subject, especially a new (and new type of) subject such as citizenship. It is important, though, that teachers continue to assess and celebrate student achievement across the full range of citizenship activities in and beyond the classroom, such that the proper emphasis on assessment does not have the unintended consequence of reducing citizenship to nothing more than a paper exercise and another examination.

4.9 At present, the issue of assessing progress in citizenship is undermined by the lack of support from QCA as a whole into researching the broader relationship between assessment, progression in learning and the development of social, moral and political thinking. There is much good quality psychological research on which to build a clear picture of how to assess progress in this subject (and from which other subjects might learn). Officers in the citizenship team at QCA have done what they can on a very meagre budget but much more development work in this area is needed. As with our discussion of CPD, inspection and LA support, this again points to a general failure to take a strategic overview of how to build all the necessary components of a new subject. *Recommendation 15.*

4.10 There is a notable lack of government funded curriculum development work in this, as in other subjects at the moment. The Government's erstwhile plan to establish a National Centre of Excellence in citizenship education, amongst other subjects, would go a long way to meeting this criticism. Curriculum development has been largely left to subject associations and other organisations in the NGO sector, themselves working on limited resources and often in isolation from each other. Curriculum needs constantly change as education and society changes—a fact which is not properly addressed at present, in citizenship or in other areas of the curriculum. *Recommendation 16.*

5. QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP ACROSS ALL SCHOOLS INCLUDING FAITH SCHOOLS

5.1 Citizenship education is about inducting young people into public life and all schools have an important part to play in this process.

5.2 There is evidence, notably from the NFER study, that some faith-based schools have been especially effective in addressing aspects of active citizenship, for instance around community involvement and in the area of volunteering and charitable giving.

5.3 Faith schools, however, can, as the former Chief Inspector has remarked, face particular issues in delivering citizenship as part of the National Curriculum—notably in dealing with particular controversial issues and, specifically, those issues that might be controversial in a given faith setting. There is a concern that schools, in receipt of public money, may not be sufficiently honouring their duty to induct young people into what it means to live in a democratic society with all that means about tolerance of pluralism, difference and human rights and about the importance of minority ethnic groups fully participating in the democratic life of the wider community.

5.4 National Curriculum citizenship, as a statutory requirement in state funded faith schools, is one counter to this concern and can make a significant contribution to community cohesion, to the development and affirmation of identity and to the “ownership” of mainstream society felt by members of minority groups. However, the trend towards more “separatist” schooling, while understandable from a human rights standpoint, must not lead to a fragmentation in the quality and content of the citizenship curricula offered. Specific research in this area—the delivery of the citizenship in faith-based schools—is needed so as to build a broader understanding of practice and of the issues faced. *Recommendation 17.*

5.5 These concerns—which often come down to a willingness to tackle controversial issues “head-on” and with objectivity are not exclusive to faith schools (and can be equally prevalent in non-faith schools where students are drawn predominantly from specific faith communities) but in faith schools the overt belief system of the school can tempt some teachers to “avoidance” and this avoidance can be further institutionalised in independent faith schools and academies where there is no obligation to follow the National Curriculum. Supporting the introduction of citizenship into all schools, including those currently without a duty to follow the National Curriculum—would go some way to addressing this concern. *Recommendation 18.*

6. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT BRITISH-NESS AND IDENTITY

6.1 We recognise that there are legitimate concerns around social cohesion and that citizenship education has an important role to play in addressing such concerns, a point that we discuss substantively in the next section. We also recognise that sometimes these debates are crystallised around the concept of “Britishness” and around associated ideas about what it means to educate young people in the patriotic values of respect for public institutions and for one's own country. Indeed, this type of focus has been the predominant civic value underpinning citizenship curricula in a number of countries.

6.2 There are, though, drawbacks to such an approach: first, there is the danger of indoctrination into a narrow, fixed, uncritical and intolerant nationalism; second, there is the reality that teachers in the UK have not traditionally seen themselves as being in the business of “instilling a love of country”; third, there is now evidence of a shift in many other countries towards the kind of approach employed in UK—with a focus on citizenship being about an active, engaging process rather than a form of nationality.

6.3 There are, of course, legitimate ways in which schools should nurture a proper concern for what goes on in local, national and international communities and, in this context, it is vital that young people learn about the UK's social, political and legal structures, practices and traditions. This, though, should enable, rather than be at the expense of, encouraging a critical evaluation of the actions of individual citizens, public bodies and the state.

6.4 Thus, in respect of teaching about the concept of Britishness within the citizenship curriculum, we argue for a carefully measured approach that recognises the complexity of the term. “Britishness” is a contested concept, for some specific, others dynamic, and others nebulous. Students should, though, be enabled to enter British public life as knowledgeable and capable citizens, whatever their primary cultures and values. *Recommendation 19.*

6.5 The notion of identity is more helpful than nationality in any exploration of Britishness or living in the UK. Students should be clear about the concept of multiple and changing identities and how they engage these identities. The development of multiple identities is essential to all citizens, so that they can reconcile

personal or “private” values with those of the public community. Our private values drive and determine our view of the “good society” and motivate us to act in the public domain. Therefore, it is imperative that these different identities come to be reconciled and integrated within the personality. This is a complex process, more so for some than others, and schools need to give young people proper space and the opportunity to think about what it means for them, underlying the valuable contribution that citizenship makes to the curriculum. We believe further work needs to be done in this area to support teachers addressing these difficult issues at classroom level. *Recommendation 20.*

6.6 A further area of exploration that might be investigated relates to the links between the citizenship education programmes now undertaken by those seeking naturalisation and the school curriculum. Both programmes are based on the framework for citizenship devised by Professor Sir Bernard Crick and his colleagues but connections between the learning programmes delivered ought to be mapped. Consideration ought to be given to the relationship between the programme followed by a young person in the school and the programme followed by the parent in the college or distance-learning course, especially if the shared title of citizenship is employed. *Recommendation 21.*

7. CONTRIBUTION OF CITIZENSHIP TO COMMUNITY COHESION

7.1 The “subject-plus” model of citizenship has shown itself to be effective in encouraging schools to develop innovative community links in any number of ways. Social action initiatives, such as the Citizenship Foundation’s Youth Act and Giving Nation programmes, encourage acts of engagement that are both informed and critical, developing the skills base and the political literacy required for purposeful community engagement. This active citizenship reinforces community cohesion and community safety at a number of individual and social levels. For example, when groups of young people within our Youth Act Programme address gun crime and bullying within their communities, they are developing as effective and empowered citizens and making a significant contribution to the well-being of all in their community.

7.2 These models of community engagement draw as much on the skills of youth workers, Connexions advisers and community workers as they do teachers and other school staff and take forward related agendas around youth participation, community safety, anti-racism and children’s rights. They illustrate the need for teachers to connect with the many resources freely available from outside the school setting in order to make the most of citizenship’s school based potential.

7.3 However, to reiterate the point made in 4.1 above, NFER research informs us that too many schools are slow in realising the potential of the citizenship curriculum to connect classroom activity with community activity and, further, that they do not see the link between this kind of activity and the development of community cohesion within and beyond the school’s boundaries. *Recommendation 22.*

7.4 With regard to anti-racism, respect and equality are core values of the citizenship curriculum, a curriculum that enables schools to play a key role in prejudice reduction but, as detailed in 5.5 above, “avoidance” remains a problem in certain contexts and where the teacher is (or feels) inexperienced in the area concerned, underlying the need for good quality training and support.

7.5 The Citizenship Foundation has had significant success in developing multi-professional and all-age community forums that bridge the gap between the school and the community and has demonstrated how, working in partnership with the Home Office, LA supported Citizens’ Days can perform a similar function but such initiatives need professional coordination, dedicated LA support, secure funding and coordinated voluntary sector input to flourish. *Recommendation 23.*

8. IMPLEMENTATION OF “ACTIVE” ASPECTS OF THE CURRICULUM INCLUDING COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL LIFE

8.1 The concept of the “citizenship-rich” school, developed at the Citizenship Foundation, notably through its innovative Citizenship Manifestos programme, is proving effective in bringing together in a coherent way the many elements of an all-embracing programme of citizenship education, including elements around participation in school life and community involvement—elements that, as noted in 7.3 above, are often seen as disparate and unconnected. Forms of student participation include membership of school councils, taking part in “students as researchers” projects, acting as associate members of school governing bodies (an option since 2003 but little used by schools), all of which build citizenship skills and knowledge and democratise aspects of school life. In a number of countries, it is now mandatory for schools to have a student council of some description and, in the UK, Wales has recently taken this step. While we would welcome more research on the impact of different models of student participation, we can see no sound case for not requiring both primary and secondary schools to have representative councils. *Recommendation 24.*

8.2 Forms of community engagement include taking part in volunteering programmes and charitable initiatives, membership of school charity committees and participation in peer mentoring and good neighbour schemes, all of which, again, build the knowledge, skills for effective citizenship. NOP research commissioned by the Citizenship Foundation’s Giving Nation project suggests that charitable activities

undertaken during schooling as part of the citizenship curriculum encourage the formation of critical and informed predispositions to charitable giving and volunteering, increasing students' intended future support of charitable and community action by 33% and 50% respectively. *Recommendation 25.*

8.3 Building participation within and beyond the school's boundaries sits squarely with the recommendations of both the Crick Report and the Russell Commission and with the *Every Child Matters* agenda and related initiatives around youth participation and learner voice. The benefits of such activity in terms of personal development, citizenship learning, community cohesion and community safety have already been set out in section 7 above.

8.4 The position of citizenship within the National Curriculum has enabled schools to give a new status to existing student participation and community involvement practices and allows their positioning within the mainstream of schooling, drawing such activities out of the arena of personal choice and into the arena of public life.

9. CURRICULUM DESIGN AND APPROPRIATENESS OF DFES AND OTHER GUIDANCE

9.1 One of the successes of the citizenship curriculum in its present form is that it is conceived of as both a subject in the conventional sense (with a body of knowledge and requiring dedicated teaching time and trained teachers) and as a new kind of subject that finds expression through the ethos or culture of the school and in the school's relationship with the community that it serves. This "subject plus" model is based on the understanding that citizenship is learned cognitively via the curriculum, affectively, through curriculum and real life experiences and experientially through doing and facilitates the development of holistic and healthy approaches to citizenship learning.

9.2 DfES, QCA and Ofsted have produced a range of documents that have provided very useful guidance to schools, notably the schemes of work produced by QCA (which now could usefully be re-visited), the DfES School Self-evaluation Tool, a very helpful guide to whole school approaches, the recent QCA document on assessment at Key Stage 3 and the CPD handbook, *Making Sense of Citizenship* on which the Citizenship Foundation took the lead role and which we have sent to Members of the Select Committee. However, the dedicated teams at both DfES and QCA are under-sized and under-resourced by comparison with those dedicated to the support of other areas of the statutory curriculum, especially if they are to deliver the kind of National Strategy for Teaching and Learning in Citizenship that we have called for above. *Recommendation 26.*

10. PRACTICE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

10.1 In recent years there has been a growing interest in research into comparative approaches to citizenship education internationally—examples include the INCA (International Curriculum and Assessment) study of citizenship involving eighteen countries, and the Council of Europe's All-European Study of Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship.

10.2 Studies like these tend to show that citizenship education (as education for active engagement as opposed to traditional conceptions of civic education) is still at the early stages as a major policy initiative in many, if not most, other countries. Many countries are currently planning or are involved in major reforms in this area and the Citizenship Foundation, working with the Council of Europe and the British Council has been involved recently in initiatives in the Balkans, Russia, Georgia, Turkey, Egypt, Estonia, Oman and Bahrain.

10.3 There has been an element of civic or citizenship education in the school curricula of a large number of other countries for many years and, in this respect, the UK is a late convert to the need for some form of socio-political education as a statutory provision. However, elsewhere this has often consisted largely of instructing young people about the political system in place in their country using formal teaching methods. The underlying model of citizenship education has been a passive and minimal one based around a "civics" model and involving not much more than the love of country and a passive obedience to the law.

10.4 Recently, however, this type of practice has come under serious challenge in many countries, and new models of citizenship education have been, or are, in the process of being introduced. Such models emphasise the need for citizens who are not only informed about their system of government and respect the rule of law, but who are also "active" citizens—able and willing to make positive and responsible contributions to the life of their communities, their countries and the wider world.

10.5 The "drivers" for these new approaches vary from country to country and include: national, ethnic and religious conflict; global threats and insecurity; economic globalisation; the pluralisation of society and rapid population movements; mistrust of traditional political institutions and processes and demand for increasing personal autonomy and new forms of equality. Further, the emphasis within this new approach on democratic accountability and human rights, including the rights of disadvantaged groups such as the disabled and other minorities, underlines the important contribution that this new conception of citizenship education can make to conflict resolution, democratic governance accountability and transparency.

10.6 The British Council and the Council of Europe have played a key role in this arena. However, the Council of Europe often struggles to fund international educational projects, such as the programme that the Citizenship Foundation was involved with in Bosnia, at a level that enables UK practitioners—especially those who are based in NGOs—to play a full role and the British Council initiatives appear to be organised on an ad-hoc basis.

10.7 As an organisation that is committed to developing practice both in the UK and elsewhere and one that recognises the lessons for UK practice that flow from international activity, the paucity and precariousness of funding frustrates our efforts to approach international work in a systematic and strategic manner. Ring-fenced funding streams to support this work at the British Council and in government departments and agencies would do much to address this issue and would allow organisations such as the Citizenship Foundation to play a stronger role in the process. *Recommendation 27.*

10.8 The UK (and England in particular) is regarded as a world leader in the development of best practice in citizenship education and in advising on the development of citizenship education as a curriculum entitlement. The approaches that have been developed here (based on a “subject-plus” conception of citizenship in the curriculum, the centrality of human rights values and the development of “citizenship-rich” schools as the contexts for active learning in this field) are now recognised as a means for developing forms of engaged critical and informed democratic citizenship in other countries. We submit that the Government should urgently look at ways and means of raising its contribution to this vitally important international movement.

F. RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the discussion in Parts B to E, we would urge the Education and Skills Select Committee to consider the following recommendations:

1. Ofsted should give special attention to the status accorded to citizenship, especially by school leadership teams, when inspecting schools and this should be reflected in a range of inspection tools such as the Evidence Forms used by inspectors and the School Self-Assessment form;

2. Ministers need to ensure that a higher profile is given to citizenship education, especially in addresses, announcements and policy papers;

3. A centrally coordinated and resourced National Strategy for Teaching and Learning in Citizenship, akin to the National Literacy Strategy and the Key Stage 3 Strategy, with a central focus on CPD, is required if the current deficit in teachers’ skills and confidence is to be addressed;

4. Schools should be encouraged to undertake staff audits so as to identify those who may have academic experience especially pertinent to the teaching of citizenship, especially those with backgrounds in humanities and social science subjects not represented in the current National Curriculum;

5. Schools should be issued with curriculum advice that clarifies the distinction and the relationship between citizenship and PSHE and strongly discourages them from delivering the two subjects in an undifferentiated joint framework through non-specialist tutor based teams;

6. By 2010, every school should have at least one trained citizenship specialist, qualified through either a PGCE in Citizenship Education, the National CPD Certificate in Citizenship or an agreed performance management process that takes account of their academic and professional experience;

7. The proposed reduction in the 2006–07 training target for citizenship PGCE entrants (trainee teachers) should be reversed and affirmative action should be taken in respect of meeting the target set in Recommendation 6 (above) and in light of the high demand for course places;

8. By 2008 every secondary school inspection team should include at least one inspector who has undertaken specialist training in the inspection of citizenship;

9. We commend the national roll out of the National CPD Certificate in Citizenship from 2006–07 but ask for a commitment to the further roll out of the programme through to 2009–10 in light of the target set in target 6 (above) and that the Certificate be positioned in terms of the National Strategy called for in Recommendation 3 (above);

10. The National College of School Leadership should be asked to explore the development of a module focused around leadership in the citizenship-rich school for its Leading from the Middle and National Professional Qualification for Headship programmes and the accreditation of the National CPD Certificate in Citizenship within these programmes;

11. By 2008 every LA should have a designated adviser who has undertaken specialist training in citizenship and who has a remit for the establishment of local support networks for citizenship practitioners working in partnership with ASTs and the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT);

12. The DfES should commission QCA to begin work on the development of proposals for a statutory curriculum for citizenship in primary schools with a view to piloting from 2008 and implementation from 2010;

13. The current Key Stage 3 review should be used as an opportunity to develop, sustain and enhance citizenship as a Foundation Subject in the secondary National Curriculum;
14. The parallel review of 14–19 Education should be used to strengthen and clarify the entitlement to citizenship learning opportunities, especially for those in education and training in the 16–19 phase;
15. The DfES should commission QCA to undertake development work on the relationship between assessment, progression in learning and the development of social, moral and political thinking;
16. The DfES should revisit the concept of establishing a National Centre of Excellence in citizenship education as part of the National Strategy set out in Recommendation 3 (above);
17. The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) and other appropriate bodies should be commissioned to undertake research into the delivery of citizenship education in state and independent faith based schools and in state and independent schools where a single minority faith is predominant;
18. Independent schools should be required to deliver the citizenship curriculum;
19. Through the citizenship curriculum schools should nurture a proper concern for how local, national and international communities operate, an understanding of what this country has contributed to political and legal frameworks internationally and an understanding of what role individuals can play in British public life;
20. Further research into teaching about complex matters of identity and multiple identities and how young people engage with these should be encouraged;
21. QCA should be encouraged to look at the relationship between the content and approach of National Curriculum citizenship and “citizenship” education programmes offered to adults seeking naturalisation as part of the current curriculum review;
22. The School Self Evaluation Form that schools complete as a part of the recently introduced Ofsted process should be revised so as to position student, parental and community engagement activity within the broader framework of citizenship provision;
23. The Citizens’ Day model piloted in four local authority areas by the Home Office with advisory support from the Citizenship Foundation and the earlier work by the Citizenship Foundation should be reviewed as to their potential for national roll out;
24. All primary and secondary schools should have a student council, or some other demonstrable form of student participation, in place by 2008;
25. All primary and secondary schools should seek to position their volunteering and charitable giving activities in relation to the citizenship curriculum, such that this curriculum informs such activity;
26. The Government should reflect urgently on the resources allocated to the citizenship education teams at the DfES and in agencies such as Ofsted, TDA, QCA and LSDA with a view to increasing the support that they are offered;
27. The British Council and government departments and agencies concerned with international issues should ring fence funding for overseas work around the theme Education for Democratic Citizenship and should work with NGOs and other advisory and practitioner bodies to establish mechanisms by which these resources can be accessed.

Witnesses: **Mr Chris Waller**, Professional Officer, Association for Citizenship Training, **Ms Bernadette Joslin**, Post-16 Citizenship Project Manager, Learning and Skills Network, **Mr Mick Waters**, Director of Curriculum, QCA, and **Mr Tony Breslin**, Chief Executive, Citizenship Foundation, gave evidence.

Q82 Chairman: May I welcome Chris Waller, Bernadette Joslin, Mick Waters and Tony Breslin to our session today. We are very pleased that you could respond to our invitation. This is an inquiry we take very seriously. We started it some time ago, but certain issues, such as our special educational needs inquiry and a look at the Education White Paper, made us delay really getting on with the inquiry. We now have our programme planned and this is really our new kick-start of the inquiry. Welcome indeed to our proceedings. I will give each of you a chance to say a quick word about who you are and what sort of organisation you come from. Do you want to kick off, Tony?

Mr Breslin: Thank you for the invitation today. I am Tony Breslin. I am Chief Executive of the Citizenship Foundation. We are an independent

educational charity. We work to support teachers and youth workers and all the others who work to promote good quality citizenship education in a range of settings but especially with regard to schools and support of the Curriculum Order and so forth.

Mr Waters: Good morning. I am Mick Waters. I am Director of Curriculum at the Qualification and Curriculum Authority. Our job is to develop a modern word-class curriculum that will inspire and challenge all learners and prepare them for the future.

Ms Joslin: Hello. I am Bernadette Joslin. I am the Project Manager of the Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme at the LSN, the Learning and Skills Network, which recently came into existence on 1 April. You may have heard of the

26 April 2006 Mr Chris Waller, Ms Bernadette Joslin, Mr Mick Waters and Mr Tony Breslin

Learning and Skills Development Agency. On 1 April that split into two, the Quality Improvement Agency and the LSN. The Quality Improvement Agency is responsible for strategy and policy and the LSN is responsible for research, delivery and training.

Mr Waller: Good morning. I am Chris Waller. I am the Professional Officer at the Association for Citizenship Teaching, a post which I took up in 2004 after 30 years of teaching in secondary education. I guess my role is really to promote citizenship in both a formal and an informal educational setting primarily with schools. We are a membership organisation and we work nationally with many different local authorities and schools who are our members, but we also work with those organisations and schools that are not and we encourage them to be members and to have an understanding about the importance of citizenship education.

Q83 Chairman: When we talked to Sir Bernard Crick we got the impression that the enthusiasm for citizenship education had waned a bit. When it all started, much inspired by David Blunkett at that time, there was great enthusiasm and a mission to roll out citizenship education across the piece. I got the impression from Sir Bernard that he thought things had stalled a bit. Is that your view? Would you agree with that?

Mr Waller: You imply disinterest perhaps. I am not certain it is that. There was an initial impetus and also an initial enthusiasm for something that was very new. I think there has been a realisation that the goal of citizenship is something that is different, as indeed Bernard set out in his original intent about a massive change in the way in which society functions and how young people particularly engage with society. The realisation set within that is that this is not just another subject that is to be taught, like a different version of maths or science or English, but something that impinges upon the whole way in which schools function and it is about a bridge between young people, their schools, their families and their communities and that means there needs to be a much more sophisticated response to this. I am not so certain that it is about disinterest, but it is about a realisation that this is an enormous task and therefore requires much more thought in order to carry things forward.

Q84 Chairman: Is that the process going on? Who is doing the thinking?

Mr Waller: I would say the evidence that I have from working with schools and in schools is that that process is happening and teachers are now recognising that this is a very serious business. Some of the things that have happened this year indicate that there is a much more positive understanding about how to tackle those basic and, in some respects, very serious issues in delivering quality in the classroom. I think it has been a growing realisation that this is something that requires a campaign rather than merely one battle that is simply won or lost.

Mr Waters: I think the initial enthusiasm is sustained, but the pace of development is very variable. There are plenty of schools that are taking citizenship enormously seriously and achieving incredibly well. Equally, there are many that are still in the foothills waiting to go up the big slopes and they are touching on citizenship without making enormous strides forward. The number of youngsters taking GCSEs was 38,000 last year and it is estimated to be 50,000 this year, which would indicate a growth in interest in citizenship and a willingness on the part of schools to drive their children to achieve in the subject. Overall I think the pattern is variable, but the enthusiasm has not waned, it is just that many schools are finding it difficult to take the programmes forward successfully.

Q85 Chairman: Is that not a rather distinct position compared to Chris Waller's? I think he was talking about this being something that should suffuse the whole school and it should not be measured just in terms of how many people are taking GCSEs. Just by measuring how many people are taking a particular exam might be isolating it as a subject.

Mr Waters: I absolutely agree with that. The GCSE is an indicator of a growing involvement in the subject by students at a particular level. I was trying to answer your question about whether enthusiasm had dwindled. It should pervade the school. It should be part of the way in which students meet their growing aspirations, their growing outlooks on life and it should be in the school's interest to encourage young people to be learning about citizenship from a very early age and developing the skills of citizenship so that they employ them within the daily life of their school and they have an influence on the way in which their school works, operates and runs within their local community.

Q86 Chairman: Bernadette, in terms of research that you are doing, do we have knowledge of how many heads are seriously involved? Is there any measure of participation at the top of the school?

Ms Joslin: My expertise is in post-16 citizenship. I can talk in terms of what is happening across post-16 education and training.

Q87 Chairman: What is happening?

Ms Joslin: I have been responsible for a development programme which has been running for the last five years. It is fairly small scale in terms of the number of young people involved in post-16 education and training, but I would say over the five years there has been a groundswell of interest and enthusiasm. You might ask me what the indicators are for that. Mick has just referred to the number of young people moving forward for GCSE citizenship. The number of hits on our website, for example, has gone up dramatically in recent months, although it might not sound very much. For example, there are 3,000 requests for materials a month. We have distributed 70,000 copies of our newsletter. I think there is growing interest in this area. Lots and lots of people are asking me what is happening beyond the

development phase of the process, but it is very difficult to pin down. We certainly have had a lot of interest from senior managers if attendance and events and enquiries to the programme are anything to go by. I am not sure what is happening in schools. Perhaps others can comment on that.

Q88 Chairman: We will come back to post-16 citizenship.

Mr Breslin: I think all of us would argue that citizenship is not just a new subject, it is a new and different type of subject and it is about combining the traditional work of the classroom with real opportunities for young people to develop citizenship skills during participation and involvement. What we are finding is, as Chris has said, that the scale of that task is vast. Sir Bernard talked about a waning of impetus or interest or whatever. In a sense one of the things that he was alluding to and that we have suggested in our submission is that in order to make a success of this new type of subject we need the infrastructure in place to make sure that the local authorities, Ofsted and indeed the Ofsted framework and the National College of School Leadership, with their various levers and tools, really give support to teachers on the ground who often, given the pressures they are under, remain remarkably positive. More infrastructural levers would help us and they would certainly help us with some of those heads for whom citizenship perhaps is not seen as quite so important.

Q89 Chairman: What is an infrastructural lever?

Mr Breslin: For instance, building much stronger citizenship components into the school self-evaluation form when schools prepare for inspection, looking at things like the national qualification for headship and saying what is the place of developing citizenship as a part of the development of school leadership, and ensuring that there is far wider training of Ofsted inspectors, of their lay advisers and so forth. There is sometimes a sense that the individual teacher or the individual head or department does not always have perhaps those structures kicking in the same direction. I think what is interesting is that where you put one of those levers in, like GCSE, schools move towards it because it provides currency, it provides an accreditation track and so on. We would not say by any means it should be the only measure or whatever. I do not think we have done enough over recent years to put those kinds of levers in place to support the needs of what is still a very new area.

Q90 Chairman: Is there any evidence of consumer satisfaction? Are we finding that parents and students actually want citizenship classes and citizenship as part of the curriculum, or is this something a former education secretary thought was a good idea? Is it being tested in terms of consumer demand?

Mr Waller: I am not sure whether it is politic to mention schools by name. Certainly I know that you met with John Clark, the Deputy Director of Children's Services from Hampshire last time and it

is probable that he talked about the rights, respect and responsibilities project within Hampshire, something that has enthused those in Key Stage 1 and 2 schools. I am wary about linking that too strongly to an improvement in student behaviour which was certainly evident from those schools who took part in that project, but there was great enthusiasm in the communities where those schools sat and worked with parents and their head teachers about the importance that citizenship-based activity and projects could bring to the school and the whole community in terms of student attitude, behaviour and performance. So I think in that respect there is customer satisfaction from all involved. In a secondary school that I worked with in north Cornwall earlier this year a head teacher has provided for up to five hours for some students in the school to be involved in citizenship activities in timetabled time. Five hours is almost a day a week. That is a huge amount of time. That is customer satisfaction from not only the students who want to be involved in that, because that five hours not only consists of the entitlement that all young people have in Key Stage 3 to citizenship but also additional activities that the school, staff and the students think are valuable and have created as options that they can do in years 10, 11, 12 and 13, but also the head teacher seeing that there might be a risk here. Five hours is a lot to sell to parents as well as students and teachers, but there is great satisfaction in terms of the way in which the school benefits from students being involved to such a degree in citizenship. I think that customer satisfaction is there but it is not in every school and not with every single student. It depends upon the quality of the experience and that quality, as I am sure we will talk about later, is down to many different factors. Where things work well, there is enormous customer satisfaction from all those involved in that.

Q91 Chairman: There is a little bit of the cynic in me which is thinking that if some of my own children were offered five hours of maths or five hours of citizenship they might opt for citizenship.

Mr Waller: I do not think it is about being offered, I think it is about something that they opt for. This is something that students see as being beneficial to them and they also understand what citizenship is about, that it is not just about a taught subject, it is an aspect of life.

Q92 Chairman: You are not answering me on the principle. What would you say to people who said to you why should a school be involved in citizenship? Why should parents not be the people that impart citizenship? Why is it not the faith group in the community and all those social institutions that historically have delivered on citizenship? Why should the state be interested in doing this?

Mr Waller: I am not necessarily convinced that those partners have delivered citizenship. I think it depends on how you define what citizenship is. Certainly one might construe that church groups have been involved in citizenship-type activities, but citizenship is not their business either in a political,

 26 April 2006 Mr Chris Waller, Ms Bernadette Joslin, Mr Mick Waters and Mr Tony Breslin

legal or social sense, so I am not certain that that is true. I think it would be true to say that schools are well placed to encompass all sorts of different aspects of what citizenship is and what citizenship might be described as without some of the baggage that some of those other groups might have, but I think it might be fair to say that if we see schools as being at the heart of communities then it is surely incumbent upon us to recognise what citizenship should be, not in terms of a pass or failure at GCSE, but in terms of the way in which we deport ourselves in relation to our fellow human beings.

Mr Waters: I want to go back to the question of customer satisfaction. We have got anecdotal evidence through our monitoring that young people, parents and schools themselves see benefits and real values through the outcomes of citizenship. We are doing some formal monitoring now through young people and through parent groups to get the detail behind that and that will be ready at the end of this year. Where citizenship is well taught and where it is a fundamental part of the school's business there is plenty of evidence that the people engaged within it do see the benefits and are satisfied with what it produces. Let me move on to the bit about why is it the role of schools. If part of the role of schools is to achieve aims for young people, which includes being confident learners and being active participants within their society and the world they live, then there is an element of learning which is bound to be wrapped up with the agenda which takes them forward as useful contributing adults to society as well as personally satisfied people. Agendas such as the *Every Child Matters* agenda and the need to encourage respect and the need to understand global issues need to be brought together under some sort of organisational construct and citizenship gives you the opportunity to do that within the context of schooling.

Ms Joslin: Let me go back to the original question about whether there is customer satisfaction and if young people want this. Obviously I can only speak from my direct experience with the programme. NFER did an external evaluation and interviewed over 200 young people as part of that. We have about 17,500 in any one year working within the programme at all levels. I think the response echoes what Chris and Mick have said, which is that if citizenship activity is well done and is relevant and focussed on the interests of young people there is great enthusiasm from it. We have lots and lots of positive anecdotes where young people say how much they have got out of it. I would urge the Committee to take the opportunity to invite some young people themselves to come and talk to you because in many ways they are the best ambassadors for this and they will tell you it like it is and they are very well able to speak for themselves. I think in post-16 there are lots of different ways of delivering citizenship, but one of the ways is in young people's free time. Young people are very, very busy and yet we have evidence from across the programme of young people taking up considerable amounts of their free time, even those that are involved in very, very heavy workloads, A levels, ASs, with this type

of activity. Schools within the programme see it as an important thing to support their young people getting into highflying universities, Oxford, Cambridge, et cetera. I am not saying that everything is rosy and there are not areas where young people are not enthusiastic, but I think post-16, with the accent on activity and experiential learning, really gave them opportunities to develop their citizenship learning. The enthusiasm is from the young people. I would say some of the problems are with the staff and some of the senior managers where I agree that there needs to be a case built for this with parents or perhaps with some staff who might be involved in delivery as well as senior managers and I would like to see that done.

Mr Breslin: What we do see, if we look at the NFER study and the four categories of school that they identify, is a reluctance between those minimalist schools to take on citizenship, but where schools do take it on and embrace it they realise the value of it, parents do and young people do. Something that has been very useful in that has been some parent and governor information that the Department commissioned the Foundation to produce 18 months or so ago now that went out to all schools. You will know that recently two copies of a handbook entitled *Making Sense of Citizenship* went to every secondary school. The response to those mail-outs has been that this is really valuable, but we need more of this kind of support. The enthusiasm is there but the means is not always there. Certainly, in terms of customer satisfaction, where it is genuinely tried with the customer, the customer really likes it, but there are still some customers who have not experienced it or who have got the very poor version.

Q93 Chairman: You say there is a patchy delivery. It may be the schools in the leafy suburbs who are fully on course with a nice course and permeating the whole culture of the school around the citizenship, but if it was not happening in more difficult inner-city schools, where there were ethnic mixes and so on, we would be more concerned. Is there that patchiness? Is the success really the soft success rather than the hard success?

Mr Breslin: There are some hard successes and some soft successes. I agree entirely with the point you make. It comes back to the supplementary point that you made earlier about should we not be leaving this to family, to home, to church groups and so on and all of those institutions have a vital role to play in this, but what that cannot guarantee is a specific entitlement around education to be effective in a democracy for young people. That is why we have got to get it into all schools. We know that some of the schools that would benefit most from good citizenship practice, schools in challenging circumstances and so forth, are so under the cosh with regard to a range of other things that unless we can find ways of enabling them to buy the space to take this on they do not get the benefit of it. Equally, we know that where schools in just those circumstances have taken it on it has been a fantastic tool in school transformation. In the suburbs we have a slightly reverse problem in some cases where

the highly academic, highly successful school is kind of saying if we do this that is one less examination or it is not really our core business in terms of getting the grades through and all the rest of it. That is one reason why tools like the GCSEs are important. There is unevenness both in the suburbs and in the successful schools. We have to win the case with aspirant middle-class families and parents sometimes where we say if your son or daughter can develop the range of skills that this curriculum offers that might be more valuable than the eleventh GCSE. We equally have to win the case with the head teacher in very challenging circumstances who says, "Look, I'm getting revisited by Ofsted next week. I have got staff shortages and all the rest of it and you expect me to do this." I do not think there is a straight line of achievement in the successful and failure in the difficult, but there is a pattern in each and we need to work out an effective means of targeting support, hence our call for a national strategy in this respect.

Q94 Mr Carswell: Are your organisations funded by the state?

Mr Breslin: We are an independent educational charity.

Q95 Mr Carswell: Funded by the state?

Mr Breslin: We are not funded by the state. We do undertake some project work that may be commissioned by the QCA for instance.

Q96 Mr Carswell: But the money comes from the QCA.

Mr Breslin: If they ask us to do a particular task, we will have a discussion with them about the funding it will take to do that. We do not receive any direct core funding from the state or any state body.

Q97 Mr Carswell: Mr Waller?

Mr Waller: We are a membership organisation, but we also have project funding from a variety of government and non-government institutions, including the DfES, the TDA and independent companies as well.

Q98 Mr Carswell: Do you feel the state ought to define citizenship? Is it not quite illiberal that the state should be defining citizenship? We have seen some very extremist right-wing and extreme left-wing governments in history who have allowed the state to define citizenship. Is there not something alarmingly illiberal about having the state defining citizenship?

Mr Waters: I think that would be a lovely question for GCSE or A level perhaps, the notion that the state should be defining these things as being debated by Parliament.

Q99 Mr Carswell: I have yet to have the chance to vote on it.

Mr Waters: The position we are in is that which has been determined. QCA is carrying out the expectations placed upon it.

Mr Breslin: I think the point you raise applies as much to the question of whether we have a National Curriculum at all. I fully accept the risk of political extremists in power and all the rest of it. If we give young people the citizenship skills, if we give them political literacy, we equip them to best respond to exactly that kind of political danger. That is part of the point of doing it.

Q100 Mr Carswell: Who are you accountable to for the agenda that you promote? You spoke, for example, about the need to understand global issues. Leafing through some of this, I see what has been described as the promotion of multiculturalism or cultural relativism. Who are you accountable to for that agenda?

Mr Waters: We are accountable to Government through the organisation through which we work.

Mr Waller: I am not so certain that there is a defined citizenship. If you look at various subjects in the curriculum, history for example, it is still arguing about what history should be and where it starts and where it ends. Things are not necessarily black and white, it is grey areas and nothing is more grey in some respects than citizenship and how it is experienced and how we define it. I think it is a subject that is evolving. It is not one that you can immediately put a definition round. In some nations you can. I worked in Denmark recently where there is a very strong relationship between citizenship and Christianity and there is a definition alongside that and a perspective alongside that both in educational and societal terms as to what citizenship is about, but I do not think it is like that here. Mick is quite right to point out that there is a review underway of the Key Stage 3 citizenship curriculum and that is yet again enabling us to look at what citizenship may well be in terms of a curriculum experience, but I do not think it is so tightly defined that there is not this opportunity to evolve the subject. I think it is possible to say that politically citizenship is seen as an opportunity to try and encourage more young people to be active participants within their community and perhaps go out and vote. Everything in citizenship is about risk. We have to be prepared to take the risk in having time to develop that curriculum and decide with our partners, both young people, with parents, folk like yourselves, what citizenship might well look like. Let us not tie ourselves down now with one book or one curriculum set of guidelines and say this is what it will always be or this is what it should be. Because it is so contentious it needs time to evolve and we must have faith in the process of evolution, but I think we also must have a vision that this is worthwhile.

Q101 Mr Marsden: I would really like to explore just a little further some of the practical issues in terms of access, particularly for teachers and the head teachers' buy-in. Is one of the issues here that it is actually a lack of time in-house for continued professional development by teachers that is perhaps hampering some of the development of this scheme? I am thinking particularly that even where a head teacher has managed to beg, steal or borrow

from his local authority or elsewhere a notional element of time for CPD citizenship perhaps appears a little amorphous and not necessarily at the top of the list.

Mr Waters: I think the question is a good one. Referring back to the opening part of the discussion about the variability in terms of schools' capacity to move forward with citizenship, in those schools where there are real strengths and the citizenship curriculum is well developed you will typically find a group of staff who are very, very well versed in what is expected and therefore are able to help yet more staff understand and deliver a really good curriculum for pupils. Where that is not the case then we tend to rely on the teacher who had the job given to them without really understanding what it was they were expected to do or we are finding somebody who is a willing cull to the course trying to do the best they can and influence others. You are back to the old thing about which subjects are the "Cinderella" subjects and which ones are the top ones for the school and who puts the pressure on and makes things happen. We do know that interest in citizenship is growing. The number of people in training who are taking options within citizenship is rising. There are 1,000 more NQTs this year taking a step forward into the profession with a background in citizenship. The number of people taking part in CPD (Continuing Professional Development) for citizenship is growing, but whether that is enough to build up the sort of momentum that we need to see enough of for the subject to flourish and develop successfully is a question. I think there is positive growth and there is momentum in the right direction, but a further challenge could be to encourage those schools that are really good to share their expertise and to develop collaborative links with others in order to build momentum around particular communities, neighbourhoods and so on. I think the will is there especially in the schools that have understood it and moved it forward but, as in anything new, it takes time for things to grow and it takes time for things to develop and we must not lose our nerve as we wait for things to take place.

Q102 Mr Marsden: Tony, is there enough steer coming from the DfES and/or from local authorities to encourage the people who fall into this second category that Mick Waters has just described? There is a danger, is there not, that citizenship could fall into the hole on the same curricula that religious knowledge once fell into?

Mr Breslin: Yes, I agree. I want to acknowledge the work of the small citizenship teams in the DfES and in the other key agencies, but the steer has been insufficient. We really need a much stronger sense of the messages, a much stronger sense of the importance of this from ministers across DfES, perhaps from within a citizenship team competing with another team and so forth. We need strong messages coming from Ofsted and the National Institute for School Leadership and so on. Perhaps we have not recognised how important those messages are and we have not worked enough to

make those coherent in the way that they are made coherent through a national literacy strategy or a Key Stage 3 strategy and so on. It seems to us that we have to acknowledge both how vital this kind of work is and how difficult it is. This is difficult ground for non-specialist teachers who have not received the training they might have. So there is much more work to do there. In terms of local authorities, provision is very uneven and it comes down to the personnel that happen to be in a particular advisory service or the viewpoints or the orientations of the people who lead that service. We have heard of the Hampshire story where there is tremendous commitment behind it and demonstrable school benefits on the ground and we know of many local authorities where there is very little support, but in terms of CPD, that plays out in terms of individual teachers in a sense being a victim of either the local authority or the particular institution they find themselves in as to whether they get access to the training they need. We would not propose that you could teach one of a range of other subjects without specialist training and we should not with this. Having taught across the humanities myself, I would contend that this is the most difficult, not the easiest. We cannot expect it to be done on a non-expert basis.

Q103 Mr Marsden: Mick, I am looking at this from a very pragmatic point of view. If we think, as I believe, that citizenship education is a good thing, how do we use the interstices in the curriculum to try and develop it? You will be aware perhaps that the former Chief Inspector, David Bell, made some comments in a lecture he gave in Liverpool some time ago about the potential linkage between citizenship subjects, for example, such as history and geography. Obviously there are potential pitfalls in that. Do you see those sorts of links as being a way of entrenching the importance of citizenship in the curriculum?

Mr Waters: I think you allude to one of the major challenges in curriculum delivery for schools anyway, forgetting citizenship. When the National Curriculum was first invented in the late Eighties it came out in ring-binders, with one for each subject and they were put on shelves and nothing more demonstrated the separateness of subjects and therefore the separateness of aspects of learning than that. Since then we have moved on.

Q104 Chairman: That was in the late Eighties.

Mr Waters: Yes. We have moved on and we have changed the curriculum and it is now produced in different forms. Had we got the advantage of technology, I think we would restructure the content to show that it could be approached in different directions, from different viewpoints and from different angles. Absolutely essential is the notion of taking aspects of citizenship within the context of all subjects within learning for youngsters. If you took at the simplest level the *Every Child Matters* agenda and the need for one of those five outcomes to be to encourage active participation from young people, you could look and say what are the implications of

that? An implication of children being active participants is that they understand working for the common good. Another implication is they understand about sacrifice. Then you can match those to experiences that young people need. So working for the common good could be as simple as taking part in a choir and offering your voice to the many and producing something that is better than the individual can offer on their own. Working on sacrifice could be taken into understanding, if you like, the ultimate sacrifice of giving your life in war through the teaching of history. You can match the implications into the experiences and then into the subjects and you can map it back into a curriculum design and structure that would make sense for youngsters within their own communities or localities but within a global context. We have a massive challenge facing us not just in terms of citizenship but in other areas to show how the curriculum can make real sense to young people, not just be relevant and pander to their wishes but really structure learning so that it comes alive for young people in the way that it should. There is no doubt that if citizenship could be exploited through the subjects of the curriculum really well young people would be excited about their learning in a way which would take them forward as challenging, thoughtful, constructive people into society and make a contribution. At the same time that would make a difference to their success in English, maths, art, science and history because they would be better versed.

Q105 Mr Marsden: Perhaps I could put this question initially to you, Bernadette, because in the evidence that you submitted you mention Camden, Blackburn and Oldham as areas where some of the issues around identity, multi-faith issues, were explored by groups of learners and I thought those were very interesting. How do you feel that the debate about identity and integration which has been stimulated since the 7 July bombings has already affected the discussion around the citizenship debate, and how do you think it ought to affect it?

Ms Joslin: Post-16 citizenship is a different kettle of fish. I think much of the debate we have had so far is probably thinking about the National Curriculum pre-16 citizenship, and, as people will be aware, nothing is compulsory and so citizenship development is not compulsory. The programme has worked right across the piece with schools, colleges, people in the workplace, training providers and the informal youth community settings, and so people opting to do citizenship are choosing to do it, although the organisation has asked them to do it. The big emphasis post-16 has, first of all, been on building on National Curriculum citizenship issues, but the accent has very much been within the programme on working. We have much more flexibility and freedom, in many ways, which has been a big advantage to us, and that has meant that we can work very much from the young people's interests and the particular context in which they are now learning. So, bearing that all in mind, going

back to the issue about identity and some of the issues that have arisen post 7 July, clearly, because we have that sort of flexibility—citizenship is concerned, after all, with topical issues, current issues—and because we are able to work very much from the interests and the concerns of the young people as they experience it, many of our projects over the last year have chosen to look at this issue, perhaps building on some of their experiences with National Curriculum citizenship, and within the written response you can see some examples. Of course, they will see it slightly differently because of where they are now and, in many cases, because of their personal experiences, and it is interesting that in particular areas where there might be large numbers of Muslim young people those have been issues that they have wanted to talk about.

Q106 Mr Marsden: Has your use of that as part of your citizenship initiative broadly been a positive rather than a negative experience?

Ms Joslin: Extremely positive. Citizenship for me is all about getting young people to debate, in a supportive environment, key topical social and political issues, and this is one that has come up from the young people themselves. I think staff need support in managing those discussions with young people, and that is a priority, I am sure, for pre-16 colleagues as well as post-16 colleagues. Staff feel quite anxious about it and lacking in confidence, but it is certainly something that is coming up organically through the projects. I can describe some extremely good examples where there has been positive work done to look at these debates with young people to challenge stereotypes, prejudices, where young people have been involved in being stopped by the police as part of the anti-terrorism measures, being able to express their views, explain how it feels from their point of view. I would say a positive, "Yes", and I would like to see more supported work of this type going on. I am sure colleagues have got other examples of it happening more, but I would go back to the issue of staff training when these issues come up. Some staff might brush it under the carpet, and I think we need to do more work to support them to manage it in a sensitive way that is productive and does not reinforce stereotypes, for example.

Q107 Mr Marsden: Chris, what is your perspective on this?

Mr Waller: These are issues that in the past we either never talked about or we did not have a mechanism to enable young people to feel that they could talk about. I am not so certain that it is brushing under the carpet, but citizenship provides an opportunity, legitimates an opportunity, to explore these issues which have been brought more into focus by the events of 7 July, but there have also been other events in the past 15 years that are similarly controversial where citizenship, we now recognise, provides an opportunity for young people to look at those issues and to think about where they see themselves in relation to a particular event or activity. During the first Gulf War I was teaching in

a school that was in an Army setting, and, as for the second Gulf War, the media seemed to portray that lots of young people simply wanted to march out on the streets and say, "Stop the war." It was also portrayed as young people who did not really understand why they wanted to do this; but it is not as simple as that, is it? Some of the students I worked with, their parents were in Iraq fighting, both mums and dads; and who was listening to their concerns, who was thinking about how they felt about that? Citizenship provides an opportunity to think about lots of different issues, controversial issues, the grey areas in life, but these require the right skills and time for the teacher to explore them in a meaningful way and in a way that is going to enable young people to leave that class thinking, "I want to come back for more of this", but also, "It was worth going to that lesson, was it not?" As we have already heard, this requires an investment in professional development and in timetable time, but also legitimising the risk that exploring these issues takes. I think during the Tsunami last year lots of schools raised huge amounts of money and must have a felt very good about that, but citizenship surely is not that simple. It is about enabling young people to ask, "Why am I doing that, and what does this mean to me?", and, when it happened again with Pakistan and the earthquake or the hurricane in New Orleans, "What was the response then and how are we thinking about that now?" Citizenship is topical and controversial and requires teachers and students to be skilled to manage those issues, and identity is at the heart of that in asking, "Who am I and how do I feel about this?", but the subject itself, calling itself citizenship, provides that opportunity which I do not think existed in the curriculum before and, therefore, is another example of the way in which young people feel very confident about seeing that this opportunity is something that they want, and that should be an entitlement, and now that we have this opportunity to develop this, we should be proceeding forward.

Chairman: This is all very interesting, it is riveting, but we are getting long questions and long answers and we will not get through all the questions, and so, Gordon, could I ask you and other colleagues not to ask everyone to respond to the question.

Q108 Mr Marsden: I think Mick and certainly Tony wanted to respond, but please respond briefly?

Mr Waters: Just to pick up on that one, this notion, for example, that the big headline pieces of news, whether the awful bombings, or the Tsunami, or the Pakistan earthquake or whatever, are food for thinking to enlarge the mind, to expand the mind of young people, to get them to think of the world from different angles. Today we have the big news about Chernobyl 20 years ago. Those examples that we have just heard about could be explored in science, in geography, in history, in English and in many other subjects, and it is whether teachers have the confidence to do that. To go right back to the beginning of your questioning, to what extent are people being supported to develop? In QCA we run annual updates for LAs, and 70-odd% of those LAs

appear. In our monitoring programmes we know that 80% of schools are represented at things organised by their local authorities in terms of support for citizenship; the challenge is too embed it.

Mr Breslin: We know that citizenship can be delivered very well through other subjects, as you said. We also know from the experience of citizenship in a cross curricular theme for almost a decade that everywhere often can be nowhere, and therefore we propose a kind of subject-plus model where there is a citizenship core programme; but what we find is, where there is a strong citizenship core, the citizenship teaching in geography and history and in science is strengthened. So it is not an either/or, it is about giving status and profile to citizenship within the school and working both specifically and across the curriculum.

Q109 Helen Jones: As someone who supports citizenship education, what would you say to me if I said to you that I am very worried by a lot of your answers this morning: because it appears to me that there is a lot of confusion about what citizenship education is. We have heard from someone it is about students achieving their aspirations, we have heard from another one you can see the interest in it by people taking GCSEs. Personally, I would have thought the last thing you would want is a GCSE in citizenship because it is a soft option, is it not? The head teacher can tick the boxes and say, "We are doing citizenship. We have got GCSEs", but is not citizenship far more about active participation in the community? It is an opportunity for children to say how they feel about these things. Surely it is an opportunity to explore the issues behind them and why such things occur. Citizenship is not about therapy, is it? What would you say if I said that to you?

Mr Breslin: First of all, I would be very worried about how we have been expressing ourselves and, second, I would agree. The model of citizenship that comes through in the curriculum is about three things. It is about developing young people's political literacy, it is about their engagement in the community and it is about their sense of social and moral responsibility, understanding their rights and responsibilities. When you begin to do that in the kind of context that Chris and Mick have talked about, you get a range of very positive outcomes in terms of young people developing both their knowledge and their skills to participate; but the best learning is active learning, and, if I look at the projects that we have run over many years—the mock trial competitions, the Giving Nation project, the work around Parliament political journalism—this is active learning where people work with politicians and barristers and charity workers and so forth, and the whole point about citizenship being a new type of subject is that we are not just promoting some new form of civics. We are seeing we need young people to have that civic knowledge and we are going to give them the chance to rehearse and practice it. Yes, GCSE is only one option, and, yes, it is too easy an option if it is done alone.

Q110 Helen Jones: If that is the case, we have to encourage in schools a whole new approach to this, do we not? That leaves us with the problem of how you engage heads and other members of staff, who are not the designated person to teach citizenship, because actually, if we are doing it properly, it involves young people, not only, she says becoming more politically literate, more aware of their own society but it would involve them going out and doing something for their community?

Mr Breslin: That is what the best citizenship programmes do. They do both of those things. The learning from Bernadette's project, for instance, a lot of that kind of practice also takes place at Key Stage 3 and 4 where young people are engaged in active projects, because that is where they rehearse the skills and they test the knowledge that they have picked up, as it were, in this new talk curriculum.

Q111 Helen Jones: Can anyone tell us how many of them are actually doing citizenship projects, and which young people are doing that? To pick up something the Chairman said earlier and to pick up what Chris said about the school which had citizenship as an option, what we do not want to see, surely, is the more academically inclined going off and doing their GCSE and citizenship being somewhere where you shove those kids who you think are not so academic: "Oh, they can go out and pick up litter or do environmental projects." What is happening on the ground? What evidence can you give us?

Mr Waller: I am a bit concerned about the way in which you are suggesting that. I think if citizenship is an entitlement, then there is a progression that allows young people to take part in an academic GCSE and hopefully a full academic GCSE and A level. There is a progression from early years through to A level there that does give an academic rigor and also shows that this is a subject that is very serious, but, at the same time, there are very large numbers of young people who are experiencing citizenship in all sorts of other ways within schools.

Q112 Helen Jones: The academic student is doing GCSE and the non-academics are going out and doing something else?

Mr Waller: No, I did not allude to that at all. What I did allude to was the fact that citizenship manifests itself in different ways in the schools and it provides an opportunity for young people, if they so wish, and if schools so wish to offer an academic qualification in this subject area—and I do not think Tony was suggesting this—which is not about the new civics because the short course GCSEs do contain elements of active participation and are rigorous about that, and I would strongly hope that that would be replicated in a full A level as well, but I think that schools struggle at times to find a way to provide active citizenship opportunities for every single member of their community. It is something that they have to think through very carefully. Some schools are exceedingly good at that. I know that you have met with a head teacher from a Lewisham school where the strength of the citizenship is their

active participation, but in other schools the strength of the citizenship is less the active participation and more other ways in which it is received by young people, but that does not mean that active participation is not happening outside the school. This is not just a thing for schools in isolation. We are partners in this and our partners are in the community.

Q113 Helen Jones: No-one has so far answered my question. Do you know how many young people are actually engaged in active citizenship projects and who they are, as opposed to those who are doing GCSEs?

Mr Breslin: We do. We have evidence from participation in our active learning programmes: for instance, 350–400 schools, and growing, involved in the magistrates mock trial competition, organising mock trials at Key Stage 3, learning about the law, working with magistrates; 160 schools, and many more, applied to take part in the Bar mock trials for older students, 75% of secondary schools requesting the giving nation resource pack, which is a range of activity around engaging the voluntary and community sector and charitable work around giving; so we can detail that. I see where the fear comes from, and it was my fear in coming into this field initially, but our problem is not the academic youngsters doing the GCSE and the weaker youngsters being given community service in a classic kind of academic vocational split way. What we find, if anything, what we are trying to do all the time, is to ensure that the young people participating in our active learning programmes come from across the piece. What we find is that if we take participation in school councils, for instance, one is more likely to see the more able engaged, academically involved, and therefore benefiting even further than the less. That is why we have developed models under the Youth Act which seem to work right across the ability and, indeed, the engagement range to get young people involved; so we do have evidence. It is not the kind of split that you suggest, but our challenges do engage the full range of young people.

Q114 Helen Jones: Yes, but, by definition, people contact you for information. That does not tell us how many young people on the ground are actually engaged in those sorts of activities. What I am trying to get to is some hard facts. You are all very involved in this field and, by definition, the people who contact you are the people who are interested. What we are trying to find out is where it is working well and where it is not?

Mr Breslin: We know from the NFER study that 25%—

Q115 Helen Jones: It is patchy?

Mr Breslin: It is patchy, absolutely, but 25% of schools roughly, and after four years I think that is a success not a failure, are doing very good talk curriculum and combining that with a very good active citizenship community involved in participating activities; another 25% are doing the

activity, in a sense, but are not pulling it together as citizenship; another 25% are doing the curriculum but they are not given the kind of active opportunities that you are calling for. Our job is to move those two second groups to the position of the first group.

Mr Waters: Our monitoring shows that just under 50% of schools indicate that their young people take part in all sorts of local community involvement, active citizenship at Key Stage 3, and that goes up to 55% during Key Stage 4, as an indication of the extent to which that happens. However, the part that you are talking about does not necessarily include all aspects of citizenship. So, when a young person is on work experience, in a good placement they will find out about such things as trade union activity, the way in which legislation works for all workers, and so on.

Q116 Helen Jones: They might if their work placement is structured properly and they are in an area that actually has trade unions. If they are increasingly small work places, they will not?

Mr Waters: I said “in a good one”. Our challenge is to get the curriculum to work effectively for youngsters right across the experience that they take forward so that it benefits the citizenship and benefits the activity in which they are engaged.

Q117 Helen Jones: That raises another question about how confident staff are, because all of us, as members of Parliament, have very varied experiences of participating in citizenship projects, some where it is very clear that the young people have a lot of discussion before hand, have been very well prepared, have looked at the issues, and some where, frankly, it seemed a good afternoon’s skive where you get someone in and you get all the clichés thrown at you. What can you do to actually ensure that staff are more confident in dealing with these issues and that heads are too; because the experience of some of us is that heads confuse citizenship with education, with political indoctrination, and the two need to be very kept very clearly apart, but heads are frightened of that happening, hence the back-offs in these activities?

Mr Waller: I am not certain that heads fear political indoctrination. I certainly have not encountered heads who fear that. I have encountered heads who do not understand the implications of the citizenship curriculum for their school, who do not see how it can be at the core of school improvement, who do not see how it can transform their school given time, training and opportunity, but I do not think they fear political indoctrination. I also believe that the relationship between schools and community groups, organisations like the police, the prison service, *et cetera*, who work with schools, it is much more sophisticated now than it was 10 or 15 years ago. I do not think children or young people see that as a skive. I think we are getting to a position that, when a police officer arrives in school, the kids do not say, “Who is in trouble today?”, they think, “Who is that officer working with today?”, because they are seeing the value of what those community

groups and those community partners bring to school. I think there are lots of ways in which young people are realising their entitlement in working in a very active way with community partners.

Q118 Helen Jones: By definition, as you have said, the people who contact you are the people doing it properly.

Mr Waller: Not necessarily.

Q119 Helen Jones: I am sorry, but that does not reflect the experience some of us have on the ground. I accept that that is what happens in some schools, but it is patchy?

Mr Waller: I would say that people who contact us fall into two different categories in that respect, those who have heard about opportunities and want to know how to engage with them and realise them and also those who have struggled, and they want to know where they can get help from, but they are not necessarily people who are going to merely report success and then pass on.

Q120 Helen Jones: Do you think that teaching staff as a whole have enough knowledge of the democratic process themselves to pass it on to young people? One of my colleagues is laughing. We all know. People write to you, this is the staff, and say, “As you are the councillor for my ward”—and this is nothing to do with party politics, this is not understanding the system—and if they do not, how can we make sure that they do?

Mr Breslin: At risk of alienating the entire community that we substantially work with, namely teachers, there is an issue about that. This is an issue about political literacy across the board, and that is why it is really important that we get initial teacher training right and we get continuing professional development right and we give teachers the confidence to deal with those issues. Teaching about the law and politics has a controversy and has a difficulty that is simply not there when you are teaching many other subjects in that sense, and we have to recognise that and we have to have a much more tightly nationally co-ordinated approach to ensure that teachers in all schools have that, that heads recognise those issues. Yes, it is part of our frustration that sometimes we speak insufficiently and work insufficiently with the people who perhaps might benefit most from the kind of input that a good professional can give.

Chairman: This leads on really to initial and in-service training, so let us drill down that area.

Q121 Mr Chaytor: Do all schools now have a trained citizenship co-ordinator?

Mr Breslin: They do not. They are now obliged to all have a co-ordinator. Sometimes that individual—

Q122 Mr Chaytor: Do they all have a co-ordinator?

Mr Breslin: I would say they do all have a co-ordinator but that co-ordinator in some schools would have seven other responsibilities.

Q123 Mr Chaytor: Every secondary and every primary school has a citizenship co-ordinator?

Mr Breslin: Every secondary?

Q124 Mr Chaytor: Every secondary.

Mr Breslin: Every secondary. Indeed, one would expect to find a joint co-ordinator for PSHE and citizenship in every primary—

Q125 Mr Chaytor: Of those co-ordinators in secondary schools, what proportion will have had some kind of training, either ITT or CPD?

Mr Breslin: I do not have precise figures on that. In a sense it is very hard data to get, but our anecdotal experience is that, while some co-ordinators in some areas have come from particular subject backgrounds, they have got the expertise or perhaps they are one of the recently qualified PGCE citizenship teachers, but very many of them have not had sufficient access or sometimes any access to training and development. That is why we welcomed the roll-out of the National Certificate for CPD in citizenship education because that, we hope, will begin to address this, but there is a massive deficit there and it would be wrong to say otherwise and wrong to criticise those co-ordinators in the light of that lack of training.

Q126 Mr Chaytor: Of those co-ordinators in secondary schools how many are dedicated citizenship co-ordinators as against people who have got three or four other jobs?

Mr Breslin: I think most people in schools now have two or three jobs. The problem sometimes with citizenship co-ordinators is that they have six or seven.

Q127 Mr Chaytor: Are you saying that there are no schools that will have a citizenship co-ordinator who only deals with citizenship?

Mr Breslin: No, there are some schools that have got this fully, that are fully on board and have a dedicated team of teachers, led by a co-ordinator. There is a kind of gold star model here, but it is in an insufficient range of schools.

Q128 Mr Chaytor: I think Chris has got an interest in this as well. Could I put to you Chris, what is the scale of the challenge of getting to the position where, by 2010, all schools have got trained citizenship co-ordinators? What kind of programme would be needed? Maybe the easiest way of putting it is what is one of the two or three most crucial things to ensure that all schools have trained citizenship co-ordinators?

Mr Waller: I would agree with everything that Tony said. I think the big difference now is that there is more enthusiasm amongst those who are advocates for citizenship teaching in school and, therefore, they are looking towards a time, let us say 2010, where there will be a trained teacher in every single school. This has been a very good year for citizenship. There have been two really significant developments. One is the CPD handbook, which has been rolled out this term and next term.

Q129 Mr Chaytor: This is what we have here: *Making Sense of Citizenship*?

Mr Waller: Yes. Because for the first time it collects a view point as to how citizenship might evolve and is written by teachers, with teachers, for teachers and others, in a language that they can access and understand. That means that the enthusiastic advocates in schools now have somewhere to turn to help their colleagues, whereas before that support might have been very patchy. Second, the CPD programme that will be launched by the DfES in the autumn term has been received very enthusiastically by both local authorities and by schools who see this as a legitimisation of the subject but also as a very serious intent to ensure that teachers are getting the sorts of quality provision that is necessary to tackle the very real point that you raised about a complete lack of understanding, in many respects, of the political process and other aspects of teaching citizenship as well, which is perfectly understandable because this is something that they were not required, as it were, to have an in-depth knowledge of before.

Q130 Mr Chaytor: Can I pursue this question of the CPD programme. What is it and how many teachers are going to participate in it?

Mr Waller: Initially 600, followed by a further 600. We have funding to the tune of, I believe, £300,000.

Q131 Mr Chaytor: Over what period of time?

Mr Waller: Over two years.

Q132 Mr Chaytor: So, by the end of 2007, or by the end of 2008, 1,200 teachers would have participated?

Mr Waller: One would hope so, the majority of whom would probably be from the secondary sector.

Q133 Mr Chaytor: A third of secondary schools will have participated?

Mr Waller: Yes, and possibly those teachers who have had a minimum number of years teaching as well. On the back of that, we have also got the PGCE programme as well for citizenship.

Q134 Mr Chaytor: Before we go on to the PGCE, what is the relationship between the CPD programme and the National Certificate course? Are they the same?

Mr Waller: Yes.

Q135 Mr Chaytor: In terms of PGCE—

Mr Waller: Which is also significant and very important and crucial, but I would maintain that there are too few teachers, too few trainees getting on to the courses that are available. I know, for example, that one of the HEI providers in the south-west of England was allocated 15 places for 2006–07 and had 60 applicants. Each one of those 60 applicants wanted to train to be a citizenship teacher, but they were turned away. They are possibly lost to the profession; certainly they are lost in terms of that training institution to citizenship training courses; so the demand is there, the interest is there.

Q136 Mr Chaytor: Has there been an overall reduction in the number of places?

Mr Waller: Indeed.

Q137 Mr Chaytor: How does that compare with the overall reduction in other subject specialisms?

Mr Waller: I do not know the answer to that one.

Q138 Mr Chaytor: It is part of a general reduction in initial teacher training; it is not targeted at the citizenship?

Mr Breslin: It is part of a general reduction.

Q139 Chairman: Can Mick Waters help us with that one?

Mr Waters: No.

Mr Waller: We would maintain that all this indicates that there is an enthusiasm amongst teachers to learn how to be better citizenship teachers. Whether they are starting from square one or whether they are advocates already within the system, they want help and support. This has been a good year in terms of the CPD handbook and the roll-out of the National Certificate, so that is really good news.

Q140 Mr Chaytor: Could I move on from teacher training to management and leadership training, because unless head teachers are committed to implementing all of this, then the individual citizenship co-ordinators are going to be banging their heads against brick walls. What is the state of play with head teacher training? Is there anything that is being done by the National College of School Leadership and what is the state of play with CPD for head teachers?

Mr Breslin: We are convinced that the National College could do much more here. My understanding is that the discussions between the Department and other bodies in the National College, in terms of equipping heads to support and lead on citizenship, has essentially been that the NCSL does school management and school leadership, it does not do subjects; and this is precisely the space where we say, "Yes, but citizenship is not just a subject, it is a way of doing schooling", and leading the citizenship, which is school, community involved, active participation, et cetera, is a very different thing. We are seeking to lobby the National College for a revision of the national professional qualification for headship, and they are leading from the middle programmes, to ensure that there is an input specifically around citizenship and citizenship as a way of doing schooling rather than simply narrowly as a subject, but it is insufficient currently.

Q141 Mr Chaytor: Who does curriculum reform for head teachers if the NCSL does not? Who is responsible?

Mr Waters: Curriculum reform?

Q142 Mr Chaytor: Yes?

Mr Waters: Curriculum reform lies with us, the QCA, and we get remits from government to develop certain aspect of the curriculum.

Q143 Mr Chaytor: In terms of professional development?

Mr Waters: Within that, we need to work with system leaders, NCSL.

Q144 Mr Chaytor: But NCSL are not doing anything. They say it is your responsibility?

Mr Waters: I would not want to speak for NCSL, but we are currently working with NCSL to ensure that curriculum construction and design and development are part of all their work on programmes for leadership of schools, because when you are a school leader you can manage the premises, manage the budget, manage the people, but the fundamental job of being there is to manage the learning and the teaching and the curriculum; so we are working on that.

Q145 Mr Chaytor: As of now the QCA has the lead responsibility for curriculum reform, the NCSL has the lead responsibility for the training of head teachers, but nobody has taken responsibility for the training of head teachers in respect of curriculum reform. That is the problem, is it not?

Mr Waters: The training of head teachers?

Q146 Mr Chaytor: No, head teacher training in respect of curriculum reform. Who is doing the work on briefing head teachers about reform to the 14-19 curriculum?

Mr Breslin: The NCSL programme does have strong elements around curriculum reform and curriculum management, and that is very good.

Q147 Mr Chaytor: Why are they resisting doing anything about citizenship during the programme?

Mr Breslin: Because, as I understand it, this is where the narrow definition of subject is less helpful where elsewhere it is helpful. We are trying to say to bodies such as NCSL. "This is not just a subject. It is more than a subject. It is a means of, indeed a style of, if you like, school leadership."

Q148 Chairman: What are they saying back to you? Are they failing to communicate with you?

Mr Breslin: No, this is something that we have just initiated. My understanding is that that explains the reluctance for, or the reason why, these programmes do not have a specific citizenship element at the moment. We will report back on that dialogue in due course.

Q149 Chairman: Some of you must know. Are you disappointed in the leadership role of the National College for School Leadership in this area?

Mr Waller: I would say that my members would say, "Yes". Where their head teachers have a clear understanding, not from NCSL but where they have a clear understanding about the importance of the role citizenship can play, there is great effective activity taking place in a school. I would say that those who feel that their head teachers perhaps need more direction would suggest that NCSL should be

providing that direction and that lead. It is possible for me to say that perhaps this has slipped off NCSL's radar, and as they are not here, as has been alluded to already, it would be unfair to criticise them. On the other hand, NCSL showed interest in the self-evaluation tool that the DfES produced two years ago and, indeed, the primary self-evaluation tool for PSHE and citizenship, NCSL have also showed interest in that currently. It is not necessarily that they are blanking us but perhaps that we have not made the right contact with the right people to enable the sorts of changes that we want to bring about now.

Mr Waters: NCSL is under new leadership and I am working very closely with the chief executive to establish the thinking around curriculum, and included in that thinking is citizenship within the body of the programmes that they develop for leaders of schools, and I think they are incredibly open to try to develop new approaches and substantial approaches for schools.

Q150 Stephen Williams: One supplementary based on David's questions, particularly about those students who are on PGCE courses for citizenship. Information has been given to me by someone who monitors recruitment in the teaching profession that there are only about 245 students at the moment on PGCE courses, but are they actually going into citizenship teaching, because out of 14,000 teaching adverts in the last six months only 41 have been specifically for citizenship posts? We seem to be training people on these courses but then the schools are not actually advertising the posts?

Mr Waller: I think that is absolutely true, and it is a great concern of the HEIs and of the students that are there. Students are exceedingly enthusiastic. There are some brilliant students coming out who are very well equipped. They will gain experience rapidly, they are tremendous assets to school, and schools recognise that, but they often employ them in a context which is away from citizenship, and, indeed, sometimes the adverts that are placed in *The Times Ed*, for example, do not actually match up to what happens when an interview takes place and students find themselves appointed on the premise of teaching citizenship and find themselves doing other things. That often leads to those newly qualified teachers being disenchanted and leaving the profession altogether or finding that they want to bring about change but, again, there are senior leadership teams who are frustrating them, and so I think it would be good to see more citizenship posts that are much more honestly advertised and interviewed in that respect. This is where we come back to this issue about how citizenship manifests itself in individual schools, and we need to try and ensure that schools are much clearer about, ring-fencing is too simplistic a term, but ensuring that citizenship is identified clearly within the curriculum, that responsibility is given as such and that students really do receive a proper entitlement, not a newly qualified teacher who is put in charge of

Uncle Tom Cobble and all who devotes 20 minutes a week to citizenship. That is what kills it and it kills them as teachers.

Q151 Stephen Williams: I do not know whether you want to pursue this or not, Chairman, but it does imply a lack of enthusiasm by schools who are actually taking on the properly qualified people to teach the subject. There seems to be little point in training these people on PGCE courses if then the schools have no demand for these trained people.

Mr Waller: I do not think it is a lack of enthusiasm on behalf of schools. It is how it manifests itself in the school curriculum. If it is merely taught in tutor time by pressed men and women and the school wants to appoint cheaply somebody who is an enthusiast and who has those skills, then that may be the line that a particular head teacher pursues. That does not represent the best management of that teacher or the best manifestation of the subject, but it does happen. We need to seek to marginalise that practice by trying to help schools to understand how citizenship should be a critical part of the school curriculum *per se* as well as a subject in its own right, a discrete subject with discrete provision, but also helping head teachers to understand, yet again, what this subject can do to and for their schools and their communities. It is this concept. Having some vision is what we need to try and support.

Q152 Dr Blackman-Woods: I want to ask some questions about academies. I wonder, is there any evidence about how effectively citizenship education is taught in academies and independent schools compared to state schools?

Mr Breslin: I am not aware of any research in terms of the academies' position at the moment. In that independent schools and academies do not have the constraints of the National Curriculum, that is a big concern. That is all I would probably say there. We do know that some independent schools have had a long tradition of doing some of the kinds of work, especially the active work, that can produce tremendous skills and tremendous confidence, but I do not have data on that. We would like to see academies and independent schools of any form committed to citizenship in just the same way for just the same reasons.

Mr Waller: I would add to that the specialist schools and the humanities status and the importance of citizenship within that. The Specialist Schools Trust produced a report, a booklet, about the humanities status and the role of citizenship in that last year, and there is a great interest in that and there is some very, very good leadership work coming from those humanities specialist schools where citizenship is one of the chosen subjects. Our members who teach in those schools are often very effective leaders within their own geographic region in terms of being advocates for citizenship. Anecdotally, I would say that one private school that I worked with saw the CCF as being the front-line, as it were, of their citizenship work. I think they missed the point there. There was an important discussion to be had if that was the way in which they perceived success.

Dr Blackman-Woods: Can I conclude from what you are saying that it is really a black hole in our knowledge-base, what is going on in academies and independent schools with regard to citizenship education?

Q153 Chairman: Let us find out from Mick Waters.
Mr Waters: I was going to offer that the DfES is currently doing some work looking at the very issue you have raised and are inquiring into the position of citizenship in the two arenas that you discuss.

Q154 Dr Blackman-Woods: So we may know at some time in the future?

Mr Waters: Yes.

Q155 Dr Blackman-Woods: Can you tell us what you think the impact is of us not having that knowledge-base? You are able to talk at some length about what is happening in the state sector. We do not know what is happening in the independent sector. It could be that none of these issues are being dealt with at all.

Mr Waters: Part of our role is to work with independent sector schools, and I would offer the observation that the situation is probably as variable in that sector as it is in others, and throughout the conversation the danger is that the collective noun wins: schools, teachers, children, when actually we are talking about specifics on many occasions. Academies have only been in existence for a very short time and trends and patterns are only just emerging. Our work has taken us into their efforts and we shall get information over time, but the first cohort of young people have not yet gone through those organisations for us to draw proper conclusions that would be valid.

Q156 Dr Blackman-Woods: Nevertheless, they are there now and they are presumably either getting some citizenship education or not. I want to move on. I want to come back to the point that Tony made about how you encourage independent schools and academies to take citizenship education seriously. Beyond having a statutory requirement for them to do that, what do you think can be done to encourage them to engage with this agenda?

Mr Breslin: I would hope that if we can establish a national strategy for teaching and learning in citizenship it will be a remit of that strategy to work across the schooling sectors. Clearly there are issues with regard to academies, for instance, and the relationship with local authorities. We know we need to strengthen local authorities rather than CPD. Perhaps the agency to work through is the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust with regard to the academies. We have to make sure that all the parts of the educational infrastructure, all of the agencies, work through and contribute to that strategy so that it is delivered coherently rather than the independent isolated good efforts of each or non-efforts of some.

Mr Waller: It might be interesting for me to find out what percentage or what number of our members come from the private sector. I do not know. I know that we have worked with some. The majority of our

members are from state schools. That might be interesting. If you would like to know that, we can furnish that information to you.¹

Chairman: The independents have to go through very vigorous organisations. Presumably we can pursue that.

Q157 Dr Blackman-Woods: That would be very helpful. One last question. Is there any evidence that faith schools, whether they are independent or state supported, are less likely than secular schools to tackle controversial issues in citizenship education, particularly where they are at odds with their own belief system?

Mr Waller: If I might say something there. In March I worked with the Birmingham Catholic Schools Partnership, 10 schools holding down a variety of different themes, one of which was citizenship. I found very little difference between working with that group of schools and that group of teachers and other schools, particularly around controversial issues, which is one of the things we looked at that day. There were a number of younger teachers who had been appointed to the schools, who came to the work that I did on teaching controversial issues, who were aware of the fact that some of the ways in which the schools perceived certain aspects, particularly of PSHE more perhaps than citizenship, might be more difficult for them to manage, but in general the teaching of controversial subjects in those particular schools as an example bore no difference from the other teachers in non-faith schools that I have worked with.

Q158 Dr Blackman-Woods: Are you aware of any research that has been done on this that we could draw on?

Mr Waller: I am not. I do not know whether Tony might be?

Mr Breslin: We held two events recently that are focused on this issue, one in partnership with the interfaith network, and we have called in a submission for research on this area. We really need the information that you need to do our job, but our sense is that it might not be so much that faith schools are not dealing with controversial issues, it might be an issue about how those issues are dealt with, and we need to understand more about that. There is some evidence that church schools have had a strong tradition, for instance, in some of the active citizenship type activities that we would want to see and, I think, have much to contribute to a citizenship frame in terms of charitable giving, volunteering, community engagement, because faith schools often have those kinds of community relationships that can be very positive for the citizenship agenda, but we need more work.

Q159 Mr Marsden: Bernadette, I wonder if I could ask you about the continuity between citizenship education pre-16 and post-16. The Government, as you know, has recently announced that people up to the age of 25 will be able to study for Level L3

¹ Ev 62-63

qualifications if they have not done so by the cut-off point of 19. Is there not a case for saying that citizenship education entitlement should also apply up to the age of 25, where it is appropriate?

Ms Joslin: Absolutely, yes. Can I make a general comment? Obviously I can understand the Committee's preoccupation with pre-16 citizenship, that is obviously statutory and that is where many of your issues and concerns lie, but many of the discussions we have had are also about a post-16 setting as well. You referred, I think, Gordon, to David Roscoe's speech, made some time ago—I think I quote it in my written response—where he makes the point that it would be illogical for citizenship education not to continue beyond 16 where young people are moving towards voting, becoming more autonomous, independent, etcetera, and I would fully endorse that. My experience is that it is extremely worthwhile. Some people say to me, "We have invested a lot of money pre-16, what is the point of going any further? Why should we invest more money post-16?" I know it sounds a bit of a platitude, but citizenship education development is a lifelong experience, and I am very pleased to say that beyond the development programme, which is actually focused on 16–19, there is a strong movement within the Home Office for adult citizenship education and learning. We do some work with them. I think it is really important and I would like to see stronger emphasis on 16–19 citizenship and beyond that as well. I think perhaps implied in your question there is an issue about transfer as well, which I can talk about.

Q160 Mr Marsden: Yes?

Ms Joslin: I do not know if that answers your question. How you do it beyond 19, where people are much more difficult to catch, if you like, is an issue that the Home Office and the ALAC Adult Citizenship Community are dealing with.

Q161 Mr Marsden: Can I bring Tony Breslin in on that, because that raises the issue, of course, of cross-departmental co-operation and, for that matter, cross-departmental funding. There are two questions. First of all, are you convinced that at the moment there is enough co-operation and collaboration between the Home Office and DfES on these particular citizenship initiatives, particularly when it gets into the area for which the Home Office have direct responsibility, which is in terms of adults; but the second is really a question for you and, indeed, for those other organisations involved in the process. We have a vigorous debate. This Committee has been looking at the whole issue of adult learning and some of the changes in government funding in that respect. I wonder if organisations like NIACE, for example and, indeed, at an academic level, I know the Open University are taking the whole issue of citizenship very seriously. I think they have just advertised for a senior post in that respect. Again, are there things that you are doing to link up with either NIACE or with the OU in some of these areas?

Mr Breslin: We are not working specifically at this point with either the OU or NIACE. I know that there has been work by the Home Office with NIACE in terms of the education programmes for newcomers to Britain and the naturalisation education programmes. We welcome the fact that the Home Office, DCA, DfES and other areas in government are interested in this area, but there is a real issue about bringing those approaches together in a much more joined up and coherent way. Sometimes we find that the agencies that work with the different departments are always trying to do that linking or point that link out, and so there is a real role there for a more joined up practice. For instance, we know through the Home Office naturalisation related education programme that the parents of some of the children that Chris's members teach will be going through a citizenship education programme of one design and their children may be going through an education programme of another design, and so on. There is a real challenge, and this is really difficult ground, but actually trying to draw those initiatives together is very important. When we were looking at some of the work around the education programmes for newcomers, whenever we spoke to people who were not newcomers and we showed them some content, or whatever, more often than not they said, "But no-one has ever taught us this. This is the kind of stuff that we need to know." You have got copies of the *Young Citizens' Passport*. It is very often that parents will say to us, "That is very good, that little book. There is a lot of stuff in it. It is a pity we do not learn about that." There is definitely a kind of sense that there is an appetite for people to learn about this stuff, but there is a real job in getting departments to work together to deliver it?

Ms Joslin: Could I chip something in as well about cross-departmental working together? I would agree with everything Tony says. I think there has been a greater move in recent years. You will remember, my main contact is with the Department for Education, and it will now be QIA, but we have worked very closely with them and increasingly so with the Home Office, and there is a citizenship education working party which people at the DfES have worked very hard to try and get representation from different government departments onto, which I very much welcome, but I would agree, I think someone needs to look at this across the piece. We are producing a pack, for example, going back to the training issue, with the Foreign Office on diversity, identity and citizenship issues, which is jointly funded by them, because they have got a film unit, which I was also surprised to know, and they are actually producing a film on young Muslims in Britain which is going to work with our curriculum materials. Up until that point when they approached me, following on some sort of anecdotal knowledge of our programme, I did not know that they had a remit in this area; so I think there needs to be closer working together so that we can consolidate funding and knowledge, as much as anything else, but I am not sure how that should happen or who should take a lead on that.

Mr Breslin: We often receive responses from government departments that will say, “This is the role of the DfES. We love what you are doing, it is great stuff, but this is the role of the DfES”, or the alternative one, “This is the role of the Home Office”, and so on, and there is ground to be made up there.

Q162 Chairman: In a sense, what you are saying to the Committee is that we ought to look at all this kind of material that is being used by the Home Office for nationality purposes, and so on?

Mr Breslin: Yes.

Chairman: I had to get a taxi recently in Peterborough and I was very amused to be questioned by the taxi driver who was going through his theory about certain questions, some of which I certainly could not answer, but it was obviously very interesting material that I did not know existed, but we must do a thorough search, even across the film unit in the Foreign Office. I want to move on and ask Stephen to take us through assessing and measuring citizenship education.

Q163 Stephen Williams: Mr Waters may be the best person to address this initial point. At the moment it is a short GCSE in citizenship. I think the QCA wants there to be a full-length GCSE. Could you comment on that, please?

Mr Waters: As I said earlier, the uptake for the GCSE has been very strong, and it is the fastest growing qualification in terms of GCSE. We are seeing a number of developments taking place. We are working on the extended project, which gives us an opportunity to engage youngsters at AS level, and within QCA we are working to make sure that active citizenship forms a major part in that project and use young people to relate the practical experience they are having to the academic discipline. Similarly, the A level is being developed to make it possible for youngsters to bring an academic discipline and rigor to what is a fundamental need for all of them. We are working on a range of qualifications to meet the needs of those young people who want to work at that level.

Q164 Stephen Williams: Is there then a risk that you will reduce it to a dry examination subject rather than the active citizenship that some of you have talked about? Going back to what Mrs Jones was asking earlier, some of the aspects of citizenship, such as working with charitable groups or making a film, which somebody mentioned, can be done by students of all abilities, whereas if you separate it out into a formal examination subject for two years you might get that separation?

Mr Waters: I think that is a risk. The challenge for any subject in any GCSE is to make that GCSE as reasonably relevant to the practical application of that subject as can be achieved. Schools should work—and I know they do—to make sure that young people see the purpose and the point of whatever they are studying. If it is citizenship, the active engagement leading through to the

understanding of principles beyond it is absolutely fundamental and for those youngsters who are going to be examined in that subject then it is appropriate

Q165 Stephen Williams: I think Mr Breslin wants to come in, but he did say earlier that GCSEs might appeal to the more highly academically achieving schools. Do you want to expand on that comment?

Mr Breslin: The message we want to get out is that GCSE citizenship studies or another qualification can be a part of the citizenship offer and it can be a good part, but it cannot constitute the full citizenship offer. In particular schools, particularly, perhaps, where there is a specific culture around examinations and that is the way you get resources and you get teachers recruited and all of those things follow, it can play a very useful part. More schools, as I understand it, are using it as a core subject than an option and that is welcome. The course work element focus on it actively in the community. Although the awarding bodies might say, GCSE can be a key part of the citizenship offer but it cannot be the citizenship offer in total, there is much more that we need young people involved in.

Q166 Stephen Williams: You are saying that if there is a two-year formal examination process there will still be some aspects of citizenship that will be taught outside the examination process?

Mr Breslin: Absolutely. However effective a qualification, you need to stretch beyond that and you need to find other opportunities.

Q167 Stephen Williams: What about the next level up: A level, Level 3 qualification?

Ms Joslin: Lots of people, lots of staff, within post-16 asked the question, “Should citizenship be assessed, accredited and should there be qualifications?” From a post-16 perspective, I would say, “Definitely, yes”. That is not to say that it has not been an issue which has been problematic and one which people feel very strongly about. I think it is really important that young people should know what they have learnt and be able to think through what they have done in order to help them move forward. Having said that, it must be fit for purpose and it must be integrated within their learning. One of the characteristics of post-16 citizenship has been the very exciting creative work which has gone on, making films, writing music and using art to express citizenship ideas. We have been very concerned that perhaps the assessment of that might kill the activity and you do get some resistance to that notion. I particularly welcome—and Mick might want to comment on this—a Level 3 Active Citizenship qualification which is currently being trialled—I think that is the right word, Mick—with the AQA Examining Board. This will attempt to try and assess not what is easy to assess but what is interesting and creative about what young people have done. I think we are moving towards a trial next year. That is very innovative and is looking at ways of assessing group work contributions and

interesting things that come from the young people as a starting point rather than some of the knowledge of things which are easy to assess.

Mr Waters: That is absolutely right and it goes back to what Chris was talking about earlier in terms of active citizenship and all the work that went on around the Tsunami and did it all peter out. There is a balance to be struck between youngsters being very, very busy but not understanding what that means to be a citizen and what they are learning. Using youngsters to collect for a charity or to be engaged locally is very nice and keeps them active but it does not make them into citizens on its own unless you make it explicit. Assessment is a useful tool in helping young people to realise the progress they are making. We are developing assessment at Key Stage 3, and the trials of these new materials are showing that the young people themselves are appreciating and understanding the progress they are making in their citizenship work. It is making explicit some of the learning that takes place which is really valuable and qualifications are only part of that process.

Q168 Stephen Williams: At that earlier stage, Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum subjects, the attainment levels of pupils are measured, and sadly they are not measured for citizenship, do you think that should be corrected?

Mr Waters: We act to the instructions that we are given, and we test children at the end of Key Stage 3 in the areas decided by Hutton.

Q169 Stephen Williams: Do you think they should be tested at Key Stage 3?

Mr Waters: There is an argument which says that by focusing on some areas you encourage schools to limit their thinking around the experiences that young people take forward. That has been explored by Ofsted and others.

Q170 Stephen Williams: Guarded nails.

Mr Waters: That was a guarded question, even though I did answer.

Q171 Stephen Williams: If I move on to the inspection regime. In our earlier evidence session we had a report from Ofsted saying that the quality of teaching of citizenship was patchy around the country. Do you think the inspection regime itself adequately picks up how well citizenship is being taught in different schools?

Mr Waller: I would say the answer is “patchy”. Two recent examples, if I may. One where a lead inspector asked some very pointed questions of students and teachers who were involved in citizenship, for example, could the students or could the teacher describe the difference between civil law and criminal law. We would construe that the teacher should know that, and if aspects of law-related learning had been followed in Key Stage 3 so should the students. Neither was able to do so effectively. The head teacher had expected a good report for citizenship thinking that the day closures, and so on and so forth, which they did constituted a good

citizenship school and was disappointed to be told by the lead inspector that this was a point that they were failing on and needed to be addressed. I was very pleased that the lead inspector had asked those sorts of questions. This was a person who in front of the head teacher pointed out that he had indeed followed Scott Harrison’s guidance and knew what citizenship was and what it was not and could not be hoodwinked into giving a positive sign when there was still much to be addressed. I applauded Scott and that inspector for having that vision. On the other hand, in the same local authority, a school inspected two months later, the inspector wrote—and I believe I have the report here somewhere—that the school prefects exemplified the best aspects of active citizenship in the community. I would maintain that the lead inspector there did not have a clear understanding about what citizenship should be and what it is. I commented to Scott Harrison at Ofsted that for me this was a disappointing experience for the school because it allowed it to plough on regardless thinking that it was doing adequately, which I do not think it was. Where lead inspectors really know what they are talking about they are asking rigorous questions, but still there are some who do not clearly understand what citizenship is and they get it confused, for example, with PSHE.

Q172 Stephen Williams: We have talked about teacher training and it sounds as though there is a need for the training of inspectors in citizenship, is there?

Mr Waller: There is very effective training of inspectors but some, perhaps, do not quite get the message, or they do not recognise citizenship for what it should be in the schools and they confuse it with other types of activities which are of much lower worth in that respect. I think there is a need for a continued programme of training of lead inspectors and other inspectors as well.

Ms Joslin: Post-16 last year, 50% of our projects were inspected by Ofsted and ALI. I think for us it was a very good experience. Chris mentioned Scott Harrison, the post-16 citizenship community works very closely together and that includes working with Ofsted and ALI. Colleagues from LSDA at that time attended Ofsted training with the 12 inspectors who were going to go and inspect the post-16 projects; I think that was very profitable. We got an insight into the criteria they were drawing up and were able to contribute directly. However, it was a touch worrying that some of them had expertise in citizenship and some of them had expertise in post-16 education but not necessarily both together. Obviously the lead inspector knows citizenship through to adulthood intimately, but I did have a bit of a concern when I saw some of the reports that were coming back about some of the confusion that some of the inspectors might have had about what citizenship is and what it is post-16, confusions with PSHE.

Mr Breslin: I qualified 18 months or so ago as an Ofsted inspector and that involved shadowing an Ofsted inspection in a school. What became very

26 April 2006 Mr Chris Waller, Ms Bernadette Joslin, Mr Mick Waters and Mr Tony Breslin

clear to me was that whereas the inspector in English or maths or history will have a specialist background in that area, citizenship is allocated to somebody on the team. There is excellent training of Ofsted inspectors, or the position was then, I understand it still is, but it is one of a set of optional trainings that inspectors can undertake. There is not an obligation still, as I understand it, for there to be a dedicated citizenship specialist on each Ofsted team. It seems to me that to be inspecting a foundation subject without that is problematic. There is not the kind of subject empathy, for instance, that the English inspector has for English or knowledge or skills, and so on, so there is a real issue there. There was also the fact that the school concerned was doing excellent active citizenship and relatively poorly taught citizenship. It was only calling the taught citizenship “citizenship” and that was the only citizenship which the inspector given the responsibility recognised. Obviously I was asked was there anything else going on—we knew about the school, not least because it was involved in Bernadette’s project and so forth and in our mock trial competitions—and we were able to point to a range of other things it was doing. There are real issues about inspectors not just getting the inspection of citizenship right but recognising it themselves.

Chairman: The Select Committee would say, “You are falling well behind your timetable, Chairman”, and I am, so I have got to cut you off there because Douglas has been very patient.

Q173 Mr Carswell: The QCA are in the process of developing, ominously, two new citizenship qualifications at Level 3: A level citizenship and L3 Active Citizenship. The LSN urges the QCA to develop similar qualifications at Levels 1 and 2 as well as apparently there is a strong demand for qualifications at all levels. On the question of inspection, equally ominously, in my opinion, the Citizen Foundation argue that there needs to be an obligation on Ofsted to ensure that there is an appropriately trained subject specialist and to revisit the guidance which state that citizenship training for inspections is optional. It is you driving this, as far as I am aware, not elected politicians. What would you say to those who say that the quango state has no business indoctrinating our young people in approved establishment ways of thinking about citizenship? Surely the best measure of active citizenship is voter turnout. The quango state having more power at the expense of democratically-elected politicians is part of the problem rather than the solution.

Mr Waters: Would you mind repeating the question again?

Q174 Mr Carswell: What would you say to those who say that the quango state has no business indoctrinating young people into approved establishment modes of thinking?

Mr Waters: I think we did discuss that earlier.

Q175 Mr Carswell: I did not feel it was answered

Mr Waters: That is fine.

Chairman: Mr Waters did say the original Bill was passed with all sorts of—

Q176 Mr Carswell: These initiatives that QCA are developing and the LSN, these are not coming from elected politicians, it is the quangos that are driving this agenda.

Mr Waters: We have been asked to develop a series of qualifications and we are working on that. Can you remind me of your question?

Q177 Mr Carswell: You are driving this agenda developing new citizenship qualifications—

Mr Waters: The question is?

Q178 Mr Carswell: Do you think it is appropriate? What would you say to those who say it is no business of the quango state to be indoctrinating young people? You are driving this agenda, and you are saying that we need these new qualifications.

Mr Waters: What I would say is the word “indoctrination” is inappropriate and what we are intent on doing is educating young people, which is encouraging them to be open-minded, to question the world in which they live and contribute fully to the world in which they live.

Mr Breslin: I would question the premise of the question, but I would say that if one of those quangos, for instance, is involved in the inspection and asked by elected politicians through DfES to inspect practice in schools it ought to be inspecting statutory subjects and it ought to be inspecting them well. I know that is Scott Harrison’s intention. For me, it is about those bodies fulfilling their remits which derive from their place in relation to the elected state. I will not risk a further answer to that very good A level question!

Mr Waller: In a mature democracy there is also, as Tony has reflected, a responsibility here on the agencies that are associated with Government to respond in a positive way to the development of the curriculum. Also, I think there is a demand here from the “customers”. Schools are interested in this as we have reflected on earlier, and students and parents are also. If the subject is to have status then surely, for example, qualifications are part of that status. It is a national foundation subject. It should be seen as a subject that is an entitlement for all young people and all the bits and pieces that go with that should be evolved over a process of time. I do not think there is any conspiracy here at all by quangos or other pressed organisations at all. This is a matter of due process and a very positive one.

Ms Joslin: From a post-16 point of view, I brought copies of our latest newsletter, and in that you will see the foreword from our Minister, Lord Adonis, who wrote the foreword and is announcing the launch of a support programme for post-16 citizenship from September. I would contest your suggestion that it is coming from us.

Q179 Mr Carswell: He is not elected though, is he?
Ms Joslin: I will pass on that one.

Q180 Mr Carswell: He belongs to a quango called the House of Lords!

Ms Joslin: To reiterate what other colleagues have said, obviously we are the voice of our customers, who are young people and staff, and obviously we respond to recommendations from Ofsted, if you look at our Ofsted report, our evaluation, et cetera. We are not a quango, we are a charity.

Mr Waller: One group that you have not mentioned are the local authorities, the town and city councils. They have a very vested interest in voter turnout and are equally interested in supporting young people in schools in their citizenship learning. I have got copies of our teaching citizenship journal. There is an excellent article by the workers of East Hampshire District Council about the work they have been doing in schools. This is not something that they would have done 20 or 30 years ago, dedicating six hours to each of the seven secondary schools in their local authority area. That is a huge amount of time that they are investing. It is not just about getting voter support, it is also about ensuring that young people have an understanding about how the democratic process works and also how local services are delivered.

Q181 Dr Blackman-Woods: Are there any parts of the curriculum that you feel need strengthening because they are taught less well or less consistently across the piece at the moment?

Mr Waller: I think we all agree that political literacy and law related learning are probably the areas of greatest challenge for teachers. We need to ensure that the teaching about that is not what Tony would call "new civics" but is dynamic and participative. Those are the areas of the curriculum that, perhaps, teachers are most challenged by. Certainly the majority of my work in schools and with local authorities is about helping teachers to explore those issues and about considering resources to support the teaching of those two issues.

Mr Breslin: All of that and the confidence to teach about controversial issues as they arise in sensitive and appropriate ways.

Q182 Dr Blackman-Woods: Can you tell us whether the QCA is intending to slim down the curriculum at Key Stage 3? Is that still something that is being looked at?

Mr Waters: The expectation is that the curriculum at Key Stage 3 will be slimmed down across all subject areas. Within citizenship we are concerned to make sure that the subject comes alive for young people in the way that has been described this morning and that we do try to address the couple of issues which have just been raised, those areas around political aspects of education, and the confidence to take on controversial issues at what is an incredibly difficult time for many young people as they go through adolescence.

Q183 Dr Blackman-Woods: Whose responsibility do you think it is to clarify the content of citizenship education, I am thinking particularly of PSHE. There are often overlaps, I think you have already suggested some of that earlier. Who should be clarifying that? Whose role is it to communicate what is distinctive about the citizenship education curriculum?

Mr Breslin: One of the things that we have asked for is the production of further guidance on just that issue.

Q184 Dr Blackman-Woods: Where from? Where have you asked?

Mr Breslin: I suggest that it would be from the Department in the first instance, and I suspect that the QCA might have valuable contributions there as well. That is a key area. We need to get round this notion that you simply drop the responsibility on form tutors alongside the homework, diaries and the records of achievement and hope that it will get done. Where practice is at its weakest, that is the case and that is where teachers feel least supported.

Mr Waters: It is our job to give advice to ministers about the content of the curriculum and the way in which the curriculum should be organised, and it goes on from there into being enacted in schools. We, as QCA, can help schools to make sense of the expectations upon them and help them to structure a curriculum. Our challenge, as I said a couple of times, is to do that where we give advice on how each subject can contribute to the developments in other subjects as well as in their own.

Q185 Dr Blackman-Woods: In terms of overall clarification though, are you saying it is ministers or are you saying it is the DfES or is it both, the DfES following on from ministers?

Mr Waters: The DfES gives the information to schools, yes.

Q186 Dr Blackman-Woods: I am not sure that we have really got the answer to whose primary role is it to clarify, number one, what is distinctive about citizenship education and then communicating that in terms of other areas of the curriculum?

Mr Breslin: I would like to hear more and clearer messages on that. We have had good support from Lord Adonis and from ministers on that. I would want to see the Department and the citizenship team in the Department sufficiently resourced to provide that kind of guidance to schools and, where appropriate, to ask other agencies that it works with to provide additional guidance or support or whatever it may be.

Mr Waters: The QCA is given remits to advise on the curriculum. We consult with stakeholders, we involve people in reviews, we come back to ministers with advice and the process goes on from there.

Dr Blackman-Woods: That is helpful, thank you.

Q187 Mr Chaytor: Do the schools with the best practice rigidly segregate citizenship from PSHE or do they deliberately build bridges or overlap the system?

Mr Breslin: The evidence from the NFER study, and all of the anecdotal evidence that we pick up, is that usually the most effective practice flows from having a dedicated, well-trained team with a clear co-ordinator and a clearly branded curriculum space with citizenship very strong in that title. There are very sophisticated models of effectively integrating PSHE and citizenship into joint programmes, but too often those are proposed on the basis of cost-saving and time factors rather than what is required. Clearly identified citizenship on the curriculum but well-linked and sometimes partnered with two or three carrier subjects. The least effective tends to be “It is everywhere, we have got an audit that shows it”, because usually the audit does not line up with the classroom practice; the teachers do not know they are doing it and the pupils do not know they are learning it.

Q188 Mr Chaytor: There is no such thing as a short GCSE in PSHE?

Mr Waters: No.

Q189 Mr Chaytor: There are no proposals in any way to certify PSHE?

Mr Waters: No. I would agree with what was just said. When you talked about what do the best schools do, the best schools are varied. The best schools do not do just one thing, but there is a feature of the best schools which is that they make the learning explicit, whether it is PSHE or citizenship, or history or physics. Citizenship in physics is made explicit and citizenship in the daily life of the school and the active involvement of pupils in the community is made explicit, it does not happen by chance. The children who understand what they are doing, and why they are doing it, are the ones who make the most progress. Citizenship and PSHE can go together but so can citizenship and mathematics and so can citizenship and art. It is making the learning come to truth for children which brings the subject on, whatever circumstances they are in.

Q190 Mr Carswell: This is to do with the practical and political support for citizenship. The first one is to try and draw out your thoughts about the role of local authorities. The second question I will ask is about the role of Government. Why are some local authorities able to provide good support on citizenship while others struggle? What is it about those that are good that differentiates them from those that are bad?

Mr Waller: I would say there are a number of factors. The emergence of Children Services is not necessarily a positive. You are very lucky in having John Clarke, who is Deputy Director from Hampshire, from an education background, whereas the Director of Children Services is from a health background. Often as citizenship slips in that respect, and in terms of the PSHE format, the sex and drugs becomes more prominent and the support for that. Also, I think there are a number of local authorities where there are so many other responsibilities that their lead inspector or advisor

has that citizenship being the newest is the one which is least defined in their own minds. That is where they often seek support from ACT and from myself in helping them to develop that. Also, often there is confusion that citizenship can merely be slipped inside, or allied too closely to, for example, PSHE or careers or work-related learning and it loses its identity. Therefore, those are all challenges that need to be met. Some local authorities are very good at meeting those challenges and are ring-fencing money and expertise to enable the leadership there to be very dominant, others are not so well equipped to do that.

Mr Breslin: All of the issues that we have talked about in terms of leadership and resourcing in schools in a sense replicate themselves in the local authority where there is expertise and it is a priority, and so forth. Especially given the changing status of local authorities and their changing role, I think we do need to look seriously at what local infrastructure we need to provide the support that we certainly are all saying is needed. One thing that I would look across to there on your part is fantastically effective organisations, local education business partnerships, that have played a massive role over the last 15 years. I began my work in this area by working with them as a teacher. They are doing massively effective work in terms of bringing local businesses, other groups, the work-related curriculum, enterprising and so forth into classrooms and schools out into the workplace and so forth. There might be some sort of infrastructure that can do the same for the kind of community and voluntary groups and civic institutions that the citizenship community needs to work with and citizenship teachers need to work with, or it might be that we have some serious conversations with the education and business partnerships about their remit in that respect. We need to think about whether we need different or complementary local structures and I just think there is something to learn from EBPs there.

Q191 Mr Chaytor: This question is about national government. Do all witnesses agree that a national strategy for citizenship education akin to literacy and numeracy strategies is necessary and desirable?

Mr Breslin: Yes.

Mr Waters: I think it would be important to have a national focus on citizenship.

Ms Joslin: Inevitably I would like more attention turned to post-16 citizenship and how it fits into the whole picture as part of a bigger strategy.

Mr Waller: The DfES does have a national strategy and that needs to be supported by Government and to be recognised, but the words “national strategy” attached to it would be even better.

Mr Chaytor: I thought you might favour it. Anyone else?

Q192 Chairman: In terms of rights, you talked about the East Hampshire innovation in rights, respect and responsibility, that is something which is used widely by schools, is it?

26 April 2006 Mr Chris Waller, Ms Bernadette Joslin, Mr Mick Waters and Mr Tony Breslin

Mr Waller: It is a programme that began in association with the institutions in Nova Scotia about five or six years ago now. It has been adopted by most of the primary schools as a way of putting the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child at the heart of the way in which the school functions as an institution so that all members, visitors, adults, children and young people, are seen as equal partners in decisions which are made. That has now moved to a training phase for secondary schools in Hampshire, but more significantly it has also been adopted as a model of practice by the county council and that should be replicated in all its other services. One might say that this is utopian, but if that is an intent then at the heart of it this idea of respect and responsibility and right, core ideas from citizenship, over a period of time is a very, very powerful message that the county council, as well as the education or Children Services' provider is sending out about the importance of communities seeing themselves as having key responsibilities and attitudes to one another that are very positive. It is a very interesting model, but it requires a lot of support financially and in terms of having faith in that respect. I believe that there was pump-priming from the innovation unit at the DfES initially but the local authority has now taken this on board and sees this as being part of their core training for secondary schools this year and next year, particularly head teachers, and that is 78 schools. That is very important.

Q193 Chairman: This has been a very good session. Is there any quick word you want to impart to the Committee that you think we have missed in terms of our interrogation? Is there anything you want to leave us with?

Mr Breslin: I would implore you to look, when or if you speak to the Home Office, there are the issues around diversity, community-cohesion and those matters but they have also been key movers in terms of the Russell Commission outcomes around volunteering and charitable-giving. That whole aspect of the citizenship agenda is important to look at. At the DCA there is a recently launched taskforce on public legal education to educate people about the law and the DCA is doing a lot of good work in this area as well. I would implore you when you speak to those departments to look at some of those agendas.

Ms Joslin: With post-16 citizenship, I would like to have more attention turned to that.

Q194 Chairman: Should it be part of the university curriculum?

Ms Joslin: I think more research needs to be done on that, on whether or not it is feasible. We have got proven evidence that it has worked. It has been particularly exciting. We have got some really creative things going on. It has been active in a way, perhaps, that some aspects which pre-16 citizenship has not been, and I could tell you more about that. It has been very beneficial to lots of different stakeholders. Again, going back to the key issue of training, it is post-16 as well as pre-16. I would like to urge you, again I mentioned this, please invite some young people along to talk to you about their experience of it. We have just made a young people's DVD with a group of young people who put their own views about what it is and what it means to them. It is designed to be shown with other young people and it is very powerful material. Speak to young people and from a post-16 point of view hear what they have learnt because, as I said, I think they are the best ambassadors of why this is such an important initiative.

Mr Waller: We did not speak much about Key Stages 1 and 2, Early Years Foundation and I think we must not forget that; there needs to be focus on that at some stage. It has certainly been a really good year for Citizenship 2006, the two things I mention, the CPD certificate and the CPD handbook, but also the fact that this has happened today on the back of the previous Select Committee hearing is really good news for us. We came here very excited to be able to talk about something that we are very enthusiastic about, and we believe that lots and lots of teachers and young people are incredibly enthusiastic about it. Some young people state in evidence to us that citizenship, where it is taught well, is the best part of their learning experience.

Mr Waters: My job is to create a curriculum that inspires and challenges all young people and prepares them for the future. The future will be brighter if we get our young people to understand citizenship and take a full and active part in it.

Chairman: Thank you. Thank you for your attendance. We intend to make this a thorough and useful inquiry and we hope it can add value.

Supplementary memorandum submitted by the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT)

ACT was asked by the Select Committee to look at the number of ACT members who taught in private as opposed to state secondary schools. After trawling our membership database we have been unable to come up with a definitive number as our membership base changes week on week as members renew. At present we would say that less than 3% of our members teach in the private sector. This probably reflects the nature of the non maintained sector curriculum as opposed to the National Curriculum followed by state schools. We have limited knowledge of what citizenship is taught in the private sector and are unable to verify its quality or depth.

Further to the oral evidence presented by ACT on Wednesday 26 April we would like to add the following observations.

1. Citizenship is not just about participation and action. The foundation subject citizenship has a strong and unique rigor to offer that is found no where else in the taught curriculum. We would contend that a fully democratic government would want its citizens to be knowledgeable about their rights and realise those rights with responsibility. It is desirable that all members of society are able to discharge their rights in an effective way, aware of their legal and human rights and obligations, have clear notions of justice, that they understand how the law is made and what part they can play in ensuring that society functions in a fair and equitable way. Citizenship is the only subject that can fully address such matters and an entitlement to citizenship as a foundation subject with the same status as other foundation subjects is desirable in a twenty-first century school curriculum. Citizenship is not about indoctrination—indeed the very opposite. It is about informing and enabling.

2. Citizenship is not however solely an academic pursuit either. It is not a subject just for KS4 GCSE or post-16 exams. Some of the most important citizenship concepts and ideals are to be found in the practice of early years settings and primary schools. This often manifests itself in terms of pupil values and attitudes—one might suggest as part of a values curriculum that children experience. Such values and attitudes form the basis of future behaviour and attitudes. If we are to expect citizenship to be an effective and successful experience for young people in KS3 and 4 and beyond then the subject must be realised in early years and primary. There was little opportunity on Wednesday 26 April to examine citizenship in such phases. ACT would contend that future Select Committee hearings into citizenship should focus in part, if not in whole, on that. There is much good practice with some remarkable results on pupil behaviour, values and attitudes and these are starting to impact on secondary phase curricula. The challenge for many secondary schools is to build upon this practice; however some schools find that the young people they inherit from primary are so skilled by their citizenship experiences that they present a challenge for the secondary school itself. Too often their skills are ignored or repressed by a sector that is not equipped to exploit these skills, led by head teachers who do not fully comprehend the impact that citizenship will have upon the culture of their school.

3. There was some discussion about the desirability of assessment and examinations in citizenship. If citizenship is to flourish like other foundation subjects it must be able to offer pupils something that they recognise ie effective recording and reporting of their progress and assessment opportunities to enable them to demonstrate their learning. That this may lead to a formal examination at KS4 in schools is strength. This is not compulsory but many schools deem it desirable for a whole raft of reasons including that it may be pupils themselves who wish to continue their study to exam level at GCSE and above through to post-19 studies.

4. In the matter of inspection, there was a wide ranging discussion of this in relation to Ofsted and the Self Evaluation Form (SEF). Head teachers need to be reminded of the relationship between the SEF section 4 and citizenship. However, citizenship is not merely inspected through section 4. Schools will need to ensure that the taught elements of the curriculum are a positive experience for pupils. Inspectors should be asking pertinent questions of both pupils and teachers about this. Such questions may be very subject specific and schools need to be aware that a cursory curriculum for pupils will not suffice and weaknesses will be revealed. Schools can in effect fail inspection on their citizenship provision as in any other subject.

5. If citizenship is to be at all meaningful then student voice must be heard. The LSN citizenship team (www.lsneducation.org.uk) has developed some excellent practice with young people and ACT would encourage the Select Committee members to meet with young people who have a positive attitude to citizenship post-16. The opinions and experiences of articulate young people can be very enlightening and as consumers of learning they will be in a position to really reflect upon the teaching and learning that they have had. ACT and LSN would be in a position to suggest individuals. We would also recommend contact with ESSA and Carnegie Young Peoples Initiative. Website details www.studentvoice.co.uk and www.carnegietrust.org.uk

May 2006

Monday 15 May 2006

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Dr Roberta Blackman-Woods
Mr Douglas Carswell
Helen Jones

Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams

Memorandum submitted by Schools Councils UK (SCUK)

ORGANISATION INTRODUCTION

(1) *School Councils UK*

School Councils UK (SCUK) is an independent educational charity working for effective school councils in every school. Our vision is of young people as decision-makers, stakeholders and partners in their schools and communities. SCUK was established in 1993, creating resources and training for schools, facilitating a membership Network and carrying out research into the impact of school councils on schools. We earn 70% of our costs by selling training and resources to schools. The remaining 30% is delivered through project funding. Supporters include:

- The Department for Education and Skills:
 - The Innovation Unit.
 - The Citizenship Team.
 - London Challenge.
- The Esmee Fairbairn Trust.
- Deutsche Bank.
- The Dulverton Trust.
- The Lloyds TSB Foundation for England and Wales.

FACTUAL INFORMATION

(2) *Initial and in-service training*

School Councils UK have been training staff and students to work together for over 12 years. In the last five years SCUK has trained approximately 1,500 schools. Significant numbers of schools that attend our central training events ask us to come and deliver bespoke training in their school, and/or return with the new school councillors in following years.

The enthusiasm for SCUK training shows that schools want and need support for staff and students in how to establish and improve their school council. Many school council skills that support the Citizenship agenda can be learnt and improved through active practice and training.

The SCUK central office has taken calls from students on PGCE courses asking for support and training in how to set up councils. SCUK Staff have run sessions for PGCE courses.

Training for all staff in how to run effective councils is essential; all need to understand the ideas behind student voice. Student voice through school councils enables students to be active partners with staff in improving schools.

(3) *Role of local authorities in supporting school staff*

Local authorities want to support their schools, and some have responded to needs for school councils support. Approximately 45 English local authorities have sent applicants to the School Councils Training the Trainers course. This course is designed for those who have a responsibility for supporting school councils at LA level, and enables them to carry out SCUK training in schools.

Some authorities have shown their support for schools by joining up their schools to the School Councils Network, an online good practice sharing participation membership community. Significantly, these authorities are Welsh and Scottish. 10% of English Local Authorities have an ongoing relationship with us.

(4) *Implementation of “active” aspects of curriculum—ie community involvement and involvement in the running of the school*

A barrier to students becoming involved in the running of their school is often the lack of training given to student councillors. Many schools expect students to acquire citizenship skills simply by being told about them. Lack of support of practical application leaves councils floundering, and students de-motivated by negative democratic experiences.

When examining school councils, the important difference between consultation and participation has to be noted. Consultation is having the opportunity to express ideas and opinions on specific matters. Participation is having the opportunity to become actively involved in a project or programme of focused activity.

We think a minority of schools with councils are actually participating actively. To be truly participative a school has to have an embedded whole school commitment to the principles of student voice.

(5) *Design of citizenship curriculum and appropriateness of other DfES guidance*

The clear message SCUK gets from schools is that staff and students need better guidance on what an effective council is and how to work towards one. The numbers of schools requesting training and buying our resources—over 13,000 primary school council toolkits have been sold since 2000, and 5,000 secondary toolkits sold since 2001. The Welsh Assembly has made school councils statutory in all schools, and released guidelines on frequency of meetings, membership, elections and appointment of school councillors as associate governors. These guidelines clearly show schools which areas they need to work on to create an effective council and participative school.

The Working Together guidelines on participation are not helpful enough because they do not provide information on how to set up effective school councils. Schools want models to learn from and concrete advice on where to start.

(6) *Recommendations*

- The Government provides guidance on good practice for school councils.
- Local authorities have sufficient numbers of staff members able to carry out school councils training for schools (through the School Councils Training the Trainers programme).
- Local authorities join the School Councils Network and make their schools aware of this facility, enabling peer support and sharing of good practice.
- England monitors and learns from the Welsh participation picture as school councils become statutory.
- Schools to have a ring fenced budget for school council training and development every year.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Carnegie Young People Initiative (CYPI)

INTRODUCTION

The Carnegie Young People (CYPI) is a programme funded by the Carnegie UK Trust. Its sole focus is children and young people’s participation in decision making across the UK and Ireland. The Initiative is now in its final phase of its work programme, and is focusing on three themes—organisation change, promoting the benefits of participation, and sharing good practice.

We have taken a special interest in Citizenship Education across the UK and Ireland, particularly in relation to whole school approaches and pupil participation. Our most recent set of three publications under the banner heading—*Inspiring Schools: taking up the challenge of pupil participation**—focus on evidence of good practice and measuring the impact of pupil voice.

EVIDENCE

The Carnegie Young People Initiative, in its experience of working with practitioners, is broadly in favour of the Citizenship Education and its statutory status in secondary education. However, as noted by Ofsted in its annual report, the quality of delivery of Citizenship Education varies across schools in England.

At Carnegie we believe that to improve the quality of Citizenship Education in all schools, we need to:

- Build in time and capacity.

- Ensure real opportunities for children and young people to experience democracy.
- Increase the support from MPs, MEPs and Local Councillors.

TIME AND CAPACITY

Evidence from Ofsted and from the NFER's longitudinal study on Citizenship Education suggests that those schools who have appointed a specialist co-ordinator and have built lesson space into the timetable have been more successful in delivering the Citizenship Education curriculum.

We therefore argue that more PGCE Citizenship courses should be available for student teachers as well as improved CPD for practicing teachers.

Each LEA should have a clear role in supporting schools, for example co-ordinating activity across all schools in the authority, leading on sharing best practice and signposting schools to existing resources and external agencies. LEA support should also integrate Citizenship into other policy initiatives—such as Extended Schools, National Healthy Schools, and Specialist Schools.

There needs to be a protected budget line for all this activity.

We have also gathered case study evidence on pupil voice and have found that where there is clear senior management support, alongside a dedicated co-ordinator, and commitment from other teachers, Citizenship and pupil participation has been successfully embedded into the whole school culture and curriculum. For example the City Academy in Bristol has a dedicated co-ordinator, but has also built in space on the timetable for other teachers to manage Citizenship and pupil participation work.

PARTICIPATION AND PUPIL VOICE

Our research in this area suggests that the benefits to schools when engaging pupils in decision making are compelling. From our own critical analysis of existing data we found a clear link with academic achievement, including skills development; greater self-esteem and confidence; improved behaviour in the school; better decisions are made in the school.

From gathering case study evidence, we found that children and young people who are involved in school decision making have a real sense of achievement and commitment to the school's ethos and policies. For example in St Joseph's Comprehensive School in South Tyneside, the school council was instrumental in changing the homework policy. They conducted a survey of all commendations about the standard and amount of homework set. The new home-work-students, ensuring that all voices were heard, from which they were able to make rework policy has support from all students and teachers, and the standard of homework from students has improved as a result.

We urge policymakers to consider an entitlement framework for all children and young people, building on the DfES' document, *Working Together: Giving Children and Young People a Say*. Student involvement should not be limited to those who are members of a school council or a working group.

We also argue that there should be a strategy for measuring schools' success in embedding pupil voice. Many of the Headteachers we are in contact with argue that whilst schools are judged by the narrow criteria of league tables, pupil voice will not be considered a priority in schools. Bearing in mind the benefits of pupil voice to academic achievement, this seems to be a lost opportunity.

SUPPORT FROM ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

In our work with the Puttnam Commission on Parliament**, we have already recommended that the capacity of the Parliamentary Education Unit should be scaled up to provide more young people with a real and informative experience of Parliament. We welcome the recent appointment of two Outreach Workers to work more closely with schools in their own geographical locations.

We are also aware of the valuable support many MPs have offered their local schools and recognise the number of school visits that are already taking place. However, we would recommend that more MPs encourage young people to engage with them on real issues and for the views of young people to be fed into decision making processes—through select committees and parliamentary debates.

Finally, we would remind members of the Education and Skills Committee that it is imperative that the voices of children and young people themselves are heard when gathering evidence on Citizenship Education. If invited, and literature made accessible, many school students would be keen to feed into your work.

* Our three publications on Pupil Voice will be available from April 2006.

These are:

1. Inspiring Schools: Impact and Outcomes.
2. Inspiring Schools: A Literature Review.

3. Inspiring Schools: Case Studies for Change.

** Raji Hunjan, Director of Education and Schools at the Carnegie Young People Initiative was also a member of the Puttnam Commission on Parliament and the Public Eye.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by The National Youth Agency (NYA)

INTRODUCTION

The National Youth Agency (NYA) believes that young people should have the opportunity to make a positive contribution to their communities, however these might be defined. Youth work offers structured learning opportunities for young people to do this: accredited programmes delivered by local authority and voluntary sector youth services can make a significant contribution to young people's understanding of the world in which they live. The skills young people develop through these programmes contribute to their personal and social development (for example through team work, planning and organising activities, decision making, negotiating with others).

The NYA has supported young people's active citizenship for many years through Home Office, DfES and Local Government Association funded programmes promoting volunteering and young people's participation. There has been an emphasis in this work on how to engage disadvantaged young people including those who are excluded from or exclude themselves from school. We would urge the Select Committee to consider how the citizenship curriculum engages these young people.

We believe that the material accompanying this submission amply illustrates the range of approaches that youth workers employ. By taking into account the views and opinions of young people themselves, it is possible for schools to offer young people valuable insights into a wide range of citizenship themes, including rights and responsibilities of citizens, the importance of voting and the democratic process, the opportunities to bring about change in society, the role of the media and more.

Our response to the Select Committee focuses on the questions where we believe youth work can make a significant contribution to citizenship education.

INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Citizenship forms part of professional training for youth and community workers and for youth support workers. The curriculum requirements of The NYA's *Requirements for Professional Validation* of higher education programmes leading to qualification as a youth and community worker state that "young people and their communities" is a key area for any such programme. The disciplinary fields that must be covered include a "thorough foundation in current issues affecting the personal and social education of young people . . ." "Programmes must be abreast of . . . the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the Rights of the Child . . . Current themes and priorities include . . . the full range of measures and initiatives to engage young people in education, training, work and society, and approaches to promote the participation of young people and facilitate active citizenship' initial and in-service training."

ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL STAFF

With adequate resourcing there is great potential for schools to work on citizenship in partnership with local authority-funded voluntary and statutory youth organisations, easing the burden on teachers and delivering against the citizenship curriculum. Youth work can support young people's active involvement in the school in a variety of ways—for example through structured sessions, group work, volunteering programmes and so on.

Non-formal educational awards offer a means of accrediting the achievements that many young people undertake as part of their everyday lives, which can often lead learners to access more formal learning opportunities. Many of them have citizenship as a specific focus. They are used with young people from age 13 to 25, and are often used in schools as part of the citizenship curriculum.

The Awards can provide a curriculum framework for personal and social development, based on clear, short-term, and achievable targets, which are flexible enough to meet the needs of the student and offer external recognition of achievement for a learner who may not otherwise achieve this. Examples include ASDAN awards, Connect Youth OCN-accredited awards, Prince's Trust European Programme, Trident Trust's Skills for Life awards and more.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

Citizenship education, where it is delivered so that young people are given the opportunity to voice their opinions and to contribute to change in a meaningful way, can make a powerful contribution to community cohesion. The challenge is for schools to reach out to the communities in which they are located and to find ways to make citizenship meaningful for their young people.

Many schools are not alert enough to the opportunities offered by community-based services and organisations to assist pupils (and staff) to examine local issues in the communities served by the school and to make connections across different curriculum themes.

If the community cohesion agenda are to mean anything in practice, there needs to be more two-way traffic—schools must each be in a position to embrace offers from community groups for involvement in day to day activity through projects (eg involvement in activity linked to Black History Month) and community-based organisations need to be confident their offers of involvement will be welcomed.

There are some excellent examples of how youth work contributes to community cohesion (many are highlighted in the accompanying publication *Justice, Equality, Our World*) and there are opportunities for schools to make links with these programmes—for example by inviting young people to speak about their involvement, to lead training sessions and encourage young people's involvement in opportunities in their community.

IMPLEMENTATION OF "ACTIVE" ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM—IE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOL

As we noted earlier, the challenge for schools is to make the citizenship curriculum less theoretical and more alive. Over 100 local authorities and other organisations including schools are using The NYA/Local Government Association *Hear by Right What's Changed* programme as a powerful citizenship education tool to do just this. It is a tool designed by young people that shows evidence of what's changed as a result of their positive contribution (for example to school governance). It records parallel views of adults and young people and their involvement in the school or community. The companion *Act by Right* skills development programme is another ideal tool for the active citizenship education curriculum. Again written by young people for young people, it helps to develop students' citizenship education skills. The five modules are:

- Getting to know each other and representing others.
- Getting to know our community.
- Getting ready for action.
- Campaigning for change.
- Finding out what's changed.

The emphasis within the Russell Commission recommendations for more volunteering by young people through schools and colleges opens up a rich seam of opportunity. Unfortunately across the country there are no more than a handful of specialist youth volunteering projects that have established genuinely reciprocal relationships with schools. As the Russell recommendations are implemented—particularly the mobilisation of new Youth Volunteer Development Managers and workers—making the links and establishing appropriate school relationships will be key.

The Russell recommendations however suggested too few posts nationwide to enable every school to have access to local youth volunteering specialists. Creating enough momentum for all pupils to have the same offer as exists in some localities with established arrangement is a long way off and undermines the potential demonstrated by some of the best arrangements.

There are multiple barriers to involving under 16s in community involvement projects but the benefits are massive. All the evidence suggests that the earlier the mutual benefits of active involvement can be triggered the more profound the outcomes can be—both for the individual's personal learning and for the wider community. There have been several initiatives to introduce more deliberate arrangements notable the DfES Active Citizenship in Schools initiative linked with Changemakers. The Committee's recommendations need to take account of this.

March 2006

Witnesses: Ms Jessica Gold, Director, School Councils UK; *Ms Raji Hunjan*, Carnegie Young People Initiative; *Mr Tom Wylie*, Chief Executive, National Youth Agency; and *Mr Jules Mason*, Head of Citizenship and Development, British Youth Council, gave evidence.

Q195 Chairman: Can I welcome our witnesses today: Tom Wylie, Jessica Gold, Raji Hunjan and Jules Mason. We are grateful when witnesses give of their valuable time to come before the Committee. We are, I guess, something like mid-way through our look at citizenship and we did have a little break, where we started it and then suspended it while we got on with looking at the Education White Paper, but now we are back on track. It is an interesting time to talk about citizenship; certainly all of us were rather surprised by some of the announcements today. Can we start by asking you, in a nutshell, if you want to not repeat your CV but just to say where you are coming from on this whole citizenship issue? To start from the left, can I ask you, Tom, to open up?

Mr Wylie: I have a background as one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools for 17 years. Now I am the Chief Executive of the National Youth Agency, which is a developmental body, concerned primarily with what happens to young people outside formal institutions, so my take on the citizenship question is primarily about that interface between the school and what it is doing and the world, and what is going on in the world of young people to promote their citizenship.

Q196 Chairman: Are you happy about the way things are developing in that relation, in terms of the last three years?

Mr Wylie: We are broadly happy. The starting-point is that young people spend only nine minutes of every waking hour in school, so the question is what happens in the other 51 minutes, and I would urge the Committee to concern itself with the 51 minutes, what is going on in the democratic process, the engagement by councils in ensuring that young people have scope for having a voice or an influence, in service, and so on. You may know that the most recent assessment of their performance, the Ofsted Annual Performance Assessment (APA) study, said: "Opportunities for young people to participate in decision-making, policy development and democratic processes were developing well in 84 authorities, that were judged as areas for improvement in 40." I think that is probably about right: two-thirds of places are doing reasonably well; about a third not making much of an effort.

Q197 Chairman: Right. Jessica?

Ms Gold: I first got involved in this field as chairperson of my school council. I had to fight with the boys in my year for the role, when I was in my sixth form, and I won; they did not like me for that. At the time, obviously pre-citizenship, we had a head who was very keen and really believed in the student voice. A few years later I had an opportunity to co-found School Councils UK and I thought there was some good potential in that idea. I guess School Councils UK started hitting the educational world at the end of the 1990s, gradually building up resources, very much an "on the ground" organisation, always working with schools, earning

about 75% of our annual income by our regular contact with schools and the resources we sell and the training we sell to schools. We have always been very tied in with what schools need and what they are looking for and how they want to be supported. Our general assessment of where things are at is that, in the light of how many books we sell to schools, as clearly teachers want help with school councils and participation, we have sold something like over 12,000 of our primary school councils' tool-kit and over 5,000 copies of our secondary school councils' tool-kit. Teachers are very keen and they do not know how to give students a voice effectively and we want to help them.

Q198 Chairman: Thank you for that. Raji?

Ms Hunjan: My background is that I am a teacher by trade. I have produced a number of formal resources about political literacy, mainly when I was at the Hansard Society and also on behalf of the Parliamentary Education Unit. Now I work for the Carnegie UK Trust on the Young People Initiative programme and our interest is primarily in promoting young people's active involvement in decision-making. We have funded a number of projects in that area and we have commissioned in that area as well. Our interest is in the formal and informal sectors and we are looking quite actively at how to combine the two sectors and encourage more informal participation in schools. We broadly support the citizenship education curriculum. We are concerned that a number of schools have tackled it in the same way they have tackled other subjects, students behind desks, learning facts and knowledge, which is an important part of the citizenship curriculum, but our concern is that what we do not want is very, very knowledgeable young people who then are not invited to participate in formal decision-making processes. Those young people would be more dangerous, I think, than young people who know nothing and therefore will not know that they could participate, but those young people who have knowledge and understanding of democracy would then like to exercise their rights as citizens. That is where we are coming from.

Q199 Chairman: Thank you for that. Jules Mason?

Mr Mason: I work for the British Youth Council, which is the national Youth Council serving people under 26 in the UK and we are a representative body of local and national youth groups, ranging from faith organisations to traditional wings of youth organisations, like the Scouts, etc. In terms of my own personal background, I am a representative governor at a school in north London, Fortismere, and a former trustee of the British Youth Council, because all our trustees are aged 18 to 25. In relation to citizenship education, there are three clear things about which the BYC is concerned. One is seeing citizenship education as a move to facilitate real student participation, which includes a stronger student voice, resulting in citizenship running

throughout the school and its ethos, rather than just being relative to one specific subject. The need for citizenship education to go beyond the classroom or the actual physical building of a school; which feeds into the last point about it being a key plank in transforming schools into extended schools, enabling schools to have a wider connection and relationship with their community and enabling pupils to have a wider connection with the community base on their local doorstep but also the wider community.

Q200 Chairman: Jules, I think you left out a very vital piece of information, that part of your education was in Huddersfield; which was also the home of James Mason, as well as Jules Mason?

Mr Mason: Yes; and of Mr Wilson.

Q201 Chairman: When we get the chance to mention local links, we do enjoy that. Let us get on to the main business then. Tom Wylie was saying that in two-thirds of schools he thought that progress on citizenship was fair, certainly it was satisfactory, if not that word, and a third not. Raji, you are nodding as I say that. Does that chime with your experience?

Ms Hunjan: Yes, I think so. Most of the schools that we speak to and engage with are fully committed to citizenship education, in principle, and really supportive a voice and recognise that it has importance for doing citizenship education and beyond, and that is really important. The issue is where it comes in the list of priorities within that school. There are so many other issues which take precedence, mainly academic achievement and academic success because that is how many schools feel that they are being judged. As Jessica said, and I second this, for a lot of schools they do not know where to begin and how to start this process. What we are finding often happens is they will go down a route which was not suitable for that school and not do very well and then start to feel a bit disappointed and unclear as to where to go next and so citizenship education falls even further down the list of priorities. I think the fact that Ofsted has given it a much more enthusiastic, positive report in its Annual Report this year hopefully will start to inspire more schools to try out different ways of planning their citizenship education curriculum.

Q202 Chairman: Jessica, some of the evidence would suggest that school councils are more lively and more commonplace in Scotland and Wales than in England. Is that your understanding, or have we got that wrong?

Ms Gold: It is interesting. In terms of Wales, I have a little bit of a thing about Wales, basically they are making school councils statutory, but they have actually not invested anything to support their schools with establishing good school councils. To be honest, I have not been impressed with how they have not reached out to us, as an organisation, at all in the process of their school councils coming in. Every school council will have had to have its first meeting by November of this year, so that is where they are in terms of statutory. I think schools in this

country are actually a lot more ahead, and the evidence that we have is that schools are a lot more ahead. When I talk about “ahead” what I am interested in is schools having a mature student voice. When I talk about a “mature student voice” it is about a student voice which actually is embedded in the school, it is student voice structures where the students are able to not just go, “Oh, that’s rubbish,” or “This teacher is . . .” whatever, but actually are in a situation where they can be critical but also offer constructive suggestions and solutions to things, because that is what a mature student voice is. That happens only over time, as relationships build between teachers and students, and as students’ self-perception and confidence grows, and as teachers’ trust in students grows as well. In terms of a mature student voice, I think England actually is a lot further ahead; we have a school council network, it has been going for only about two years and we have got about 1,800 members of the network, as in 1,800 schools have signed up and paid to become a member of the network. The number of schools and the case studies, because a lot of them fill in a case study on our case studies database, where students have started becoming engaged in teaching and learning issues and behaviour issues, beyond the toilets, beyond food, beyond your standard uniform kind of school council type issues, happens much more in England than it does in Wales, those kinds of broader-based school policy issues, it is happening much more here. I think that is because, on some level, DfES have supported School Councils UK and therefore we have been in a position, we feel, to support schools with resources, to which they have taken very kindly. No, I do not think that school councils are better in Wales, I do not think there is any evidence of that at all, although it will be interesting, in a year or two’s time, to see whether that changes. In effect, school councils are almost statutory here, inasmuch as Ofsted has to look for participation. Ofsted is meant to send a letter to the school council after they have done an inspection; so schools clearly are being very strongly encouraged to have school councils here. In terms of Scotland, that is an interesting question. I have got a meeting in August with the Scottish Children’s Commissioner and two representatives of teachers’ unions, as one of School Councils UK’s strategies is to build relationships with the teaching unions because we want them to buy into effective school councils. I am not fully *au fait* with the whole scene in Scotland. I think possibly they are a little bit further down the line in some ways than Wales, but I think they have probably still got quite a long way to go.

Mr Mason: Taking on board some of Jessica’s points about work with the Welsh Assembly, because that is starting in September, I will read out the relevant section of the Scotland Schools Act from 2000, which said it places a duty on local education authorities to have due regard, so far as is reasonably practical, to the views (if there is a wish to express them), of the child or young person, in decisions that significantly affect that child or young person, taking account of the child’s age and maturity. It is more

15 May 2006 Ms Jessica Gold, Ms Raji Hunjan, Mr Tom Wylie and Mr Jules Mason

fixed around consultation rather than just general participation. I think the fact that both Scotland and Wales have some statutory duty is something that England should look to follow, along with organisations like ESSA, the English Secondary Students Association, and CRAE, the Children's Rights Alliance for England, they are calling for statutory provision for pupils' involvement and voice within the Education Bill. Also, as an organisation, we believe that young people should be involved in decisions which affect and concern them. With those nine minutes of every hour that they spend in school, they still have that right to have a say on the decisions not just about having a student council, whereby they can be asked a couple of questions, but where actually the school has a mechanism where they ask the pupils, whether it is about catering, the uniform, the school logo or the school ethos. That is for the student participation and voice, rather than just limiting it to saying, "We've got a student council, thereby we're firmly involved and we're listening to our pupils and we're giving them active citizenship."

Q203 Chairman: What is your view on the statement by Bill Rammell, the Minister, this morning, about core British values? If everything is going so well, in terms of citizenship education, and it is only in its infancy, over the past three years of development, why does the Government suddenly have to come out with thinking about core British values taught as part of the curriculum: why is that?

Mr Mason: I have a slight concern with it being about core British values, because they are values which are core about humanity rather than actually defining it to Britain and my understanding is it would be because education is devolved down to the core only in English schools. You asked the question; are you talking about English values or British values, because it is not necessarily going to be taught in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland? I think you run the risk equally of bringing back age-old issues around imperialism and slavery if you focus on Britishness rather than on human rights and treating people as equals. If we live in a truly multicultural society it does not really matter if you are British or you come across because your parents or yourself come from the Asia sub-continent or southern Africa or South America, it is about the values which are core amongst humans rather than because they belong to this specific island, because we live in a global community.

Mr Wylie: I think maybe it shows perhaps recognition of the limits of the taught curriculum. If youngsters are there for only a certain period of time, there must be a limit to what they can be taught about human rights or British identity, or whatever. I would like to pose for the Committee to reflect on, how do you become a democrat, how do you learn to take responsibility for other people in the community, how do you learn to exercise financial responsibility properly? I would want therefore to suggest that there is a set of experiential learning and that maybe the school can go only so far in making those possible, which is why some of us would urge

as much attention to what happens in other parts in young people's lives, and there are some good models about how young people have been helped in those arenas. It is not to say that there should be no attention paid to the teaching of values. I used to be a history teacher myself, indeed in a school well known to Dr Blackman-Woods, so I do understand that there are things which can be taught about the constitution, about the political process, but I do not think we can push that to the extreme; what people learn as distinct from what they are being taught.

Q204 Chairman: Are we not putting too much emphasis on schools; is this natural, because the kind of social anthropology that I learned at university was that it is a range of social institutions which deliver core values of the society and that education is only one of those? The others, are they not, are families, the work environment, the trade unions, religious faith groups? It seems to me that we are putting all the emphasis today on the education system delivering core values, or citizenship values, rather than leaving it to a whole range of different social institutions. Am I right in that, or am I wrong?

Mr Wylie: I think you are right. I would quibble just ever so slightly about "leaving it to". I think some of those institutions have decayed a bit in their role of caring for the young. One of your colleagues, Frank Field, has written rather eloquently about the decline of some of those institutions in working-class communities. We need to find ways of re-establishing those habits of the heart, which were in communities and where young people learned how to be democrats, like how to take responsibility for others, like how to cherish their community and not just damage it. Of course, there is a place for the school, and the FE college, I would say, but it is not the only place I am aware of; but I would not leave it just to them, I think they need encouragement to do those things, they need support to do those things.

Q205 Chairman: Jessica, did you scoff at that?

Ms Gold: One of the things that we feel very strongly, as an organisation, talking about democratic values and core values, is really starting very young, and actually we have just published a Key Stage One school council and participation service. Tom saying a sixth of their working time is in school, which, okay, nine minutes, a sixth sounds a bit more, but a sixth is actually quite a lot of time, actually what we feel is that experiential learning is more powerful than being taught things. I brought this along (*How Do Class Councils Work?*). Class councils are a really important part of citizenship and democracy and learning about how to have a voice and learning to be more confident, learning to improve schools. From the age of five, if children every year are electing their representatives, so that electing a representative becomes as natural as breathing, becomes as natural as going to the loo, it is just part of life from the age of five, then it is through the experience and learning democracy but then that process of discussing and having to listen

and having to compromise and learning to problem-solve. That is the most important learning opportunity, and if it is not being maximised at school, I came from a youth work background and hugely see the value of it. We do have most young people in school from a very young age, and by enabling minor adaptations to the curriculum you can set up structures which give these experiences to young people and they learn how to take part in their own immediate community and how to make it better.

Ms Hunjan: I was quite interested to know what it was the Government wants schools to do more of and why they want them to do more of it. Those core values, which are so important to our society but are important to other countries too—rights, democracy, responsibility, fairness, diversity—schools are already doing those things. The quality can be questioned but we have a citizenship curriculum that is supposed to be encouraging most things, so it seems strange to me that the Government was calling for schools to do something different from what they were already trying to do. Secondly, why do we want schools to do this; is it to stop terrorism, is it to stop racism? Is teaching young people core values going to stop them becoming terrorists, if they were going to become one anyway; is it going to stop them being racist? For me, I think it is about encouraging young people to see themselves as active citizens and active agents of change and not just young people or jobs or consumers or people who listen to Take That—they do not listen to Take That any more, do they—or whatever it is that they listen to; the pop end of it.

Chairman: You were sounding like a High Court Judge there.

Mr Marsden: “Who are these people?”

Q206 Chairman: Sorry; carry on. We know what you mean.

Ms Hunjan: I think, to me, it is about helping those young people to see themselves as active citizens, and to do that it is about seeing them as being able to deal with social inequality and tackle issues of social deprivation and work towards those kinds of common goals and give themselves a sense of community. It is then more experiential learning, which I completely agree with, it is about ensuring that the views of young people can positively feed into decision-making. I think that the Government would be better off supporting that and supporting young people to understand their rights and responsibilities as active citizens, rather than forcing them to think about issues of Britishness, which conflicts with other ways in which they might see themselves.

Chairman: Let us draw down with that a little.

Q207 Mr Marsden: I would like to come to you, Tom, first of all, because we have had a very interesting range of views there. I detected a slight degree of queasiness from some of the speakers about the idea of there being any teaching aspects certainly of some of the core value issues. You have talked about your concerns about the lack of linkage

between citizenship in schools and citizenship outside schools; the fact that citizenship itself, the way it is taught in schools, has not been very clearly defined, the fact that it has not had a compulsory status, has that contributed? That woolliness, if you like, where sometimes it has got just shoved by some schools in with a PCH type situation, has that not helped? Would it help more, as the Nuffield Foundation has argued in evidence to us, if actually we did define the school content, I am not saying that the other aspects of things are not important, if we actually did define the school content a little more clearly?

Mr Wylie: Yes. I do feel a little uneasy about the state going too far into definition of some of these fundamental issues; it is why maybe Kenneth Clarke resisted history being taught up to too recent a time. I am for having a framework. I think the state could do more, the Government could do more to lay out a framework and to encourage attention to those things. In that framework for me though would be “What can you help your pupils to experience in this school; what responsibility can you give to them?” as well as the much more straightforward, and frankly boring, bits of how you move from having a bill into being an act, etc. As I think you will find with the Literacy Strategy, really good teachers do not need it; really good teachers will be lively teachers of citizenship. Probably we do not have to worry about the lively teacher, we have to worry about maybe the school which is a bit uncertain where to go, and I can see the point of frameworks in that context, but cautiously so.

Q208 Mr Marsden: If I can come to you Raji, is there not a broader issue, in fact, about the very worrying lack of participation by young people in our democratic institutions; the voting process is only a very, very small part of that, but that is indicative? Is that not, according to much of the research, also related to a fundamental and stunning lack of knowledge about some of the basics of the way in which we work? With respect to Tom, it is not just a question of sitting there and knowing what the difference is between a second reading and an Act of Parliament, it is basic things, like what does a local council do, how does the law work and even “Where do I go to vote; how do I go and vote?” Are these not key, important things? I agree that you are right about school councils and experiential learning, but do not students also need just to be given, in a very palatable form, some of the basic facts?

Ms Hunjan: I think, first of all, just to answer the participation question, there is a lot of evidence which suggests that young people are participating, but they are participating, I think, in the things that organisations, governments, big campaigns encourage them to do, which is fundraising and sponsorships, and all those things, and volunteering, and those things are really important, it is somehow linking that to the more active element of it. I am sure other people who have given you evidence have talked about citizenship and of the three Cs, so citizenship through the curriculum, citizenship through the culture of the school and citizenship

 15 May 2006 Ms Jessica Gold, Ms Raji Hunjan, Mr Tom Wylie and Mr Jules Mason

through the community. If we take each of those in turn, citizenship through the taught curriculum, I think you are absolutely right that for young people it is really difficult to understand the facts about Parliament and local government and how these things work, and it becomes easier for organisations like us to say, "Okay, well let's do it through experiential learning," because it is hard to know where to go for that kind of support in teaching these facts. Certainly the Parliament website is not helping teachers to be able to pick out information.

Q209 Mr Marsden: Can I stop you there: why? Can you give a couple of examples, because this is a very practical thing that we could feed back; why is it not doing the job it is supposed to do?

Ms Hunjan: I think, for teachers, certainly when I was a teacher and I know from other teachers I have spoken to, it is looking at things through issues. You can encourage young people to get involved in politics, understanding how politics really works, through issues and yet the information that we are presented with on the Parliament website is through select committees and it is really, really difficult to get to the bottom of what the select committees actually provide.

Q210 Mr Marsden: What you are saying is that they are giving a rather dry and formulaic presentation of how Parliament works without saying why it matters that they have got a select committee on education, or environment, or whatever?

Ms Hunjan: Exactly, and for teachers to be able to do that they have to spend time interpreting this information, which is why websites like the BBC Newsround website does so well, because a lot of that interpretation has already been done through its editing, somebody has given it a forum against some balanced view and explained what different political parties think and what different politicians are saying. That is a much more valuable and exciting resource for schools to use. I was actually on the Puttnam Commission which was set up by the Hansard Society and we called for the Parliamentary Education Unit to have a much bigger capacity and a much bigger budget to be able to do some of this work, some of this interpretation, and developing schemes of work, some practical resources for schools, which do not talk just about the facts but talk about the facts through issues, which is a much more exciting way of teaching children and young people. I think there is a knowledge problem and I think that more needs to be done; everyone can be helping with this, BBC Parliament could help with this. We have got an interactive red button, it needs to be explaining more about processes, and that is really important. The other thing is culture, and obviously Jessica knows a lot more about this because she has talked quite a lot already about school councils, and that is about children and young people being really heavily involved in changing things that are happening in the schools. One example I can give you is that we have got a series of case studies which we pulled together, and a school in South Tyneside called St Joseph's have

got a school council which is actually committed to involving the whole school, and they have got a number of really supportive teachers who are committed to helping that school council involve the whole school. They did things such as encourage the school council to become researchers and gather in evidence, as young people, from other young people about what is happening in the schools, and one of the things that they were able to change in this way was the homework policy. They did this really extensive survey in the school of the homework policy and they interviewed young people and teachers and they were able to discover, unpick just how much homework, an unrealistic amount of homework, young people were being given and they were able to present this back to the school and the school was willing to use this evidence to change its homework policy. What you have got there is not just young people involved in decision-making but young people and adults working together to improve the school through a specific issue in which both young people and teachers in this instance were interested.

Q211 Mr Marsden: To move on to you, Jules, and ask you again a little bit about what the linkage should be between the formal teaching of citizenship in schools and what is going on outside schools; what involvement have you had, in the British Youth Council, with trying to develop that linkage?

Mr Mason: We have some school councils in our membership. Just going back to Tom's point, in answering, to a question about the onus being not just on schools but, as I said earlier, about using citizenship education to connect with the wider community, in my own school, Fortismere, where I am a governor, those pupils who are doing citizenship this year for their coursework have been given an option to choose an issue which is of concern to them either locally or nationally, so that, going back to Raji's issue, they focus on something which actually means something to them. They are given pointers and directions to organisations in either Muswell Hill or north London, or national agencies which are concerned with those issues, so that they can make those links. It is not just saying it is all about what you are taught in that one-hour lesson, it is about saying outside of school, "If you're concerned about the environment, if you're concerned about the war in Iraq, you can do thinking in school about it but also outside the school there are other agencies to learn from."

Q212 Mr Marsden: Do you see the British Youth Council's role in that respect as being a sort of information link between local initiatives and what is going on in a local set of schools?

Mr Mason: Yes. We promote regularly, to youth organisations and young people in our network, external opportunities and also on our website put links to different issues and interests, ie the organisations, where young people can participate, rather than just limiting it to either "Well, it's young people so they should get involved in education," or

“This is a specific youth issue.” Young people are interested in other things rather than those which are seen traditionally as being of direct interest to them.

Q213 Mr Marsden: Can I take you back just for a moment to your previous remarks, when the Chairman touched on the issue of Bill Rammell’s comments today and core values. Why are you so defensive, or apparently concerned, about Britishness being an issue as a core value being taught in schools? You are the British Youth Council, for goodness sake?

Mr Mason: Equally, our name actually within our membership sometimes raises a lot of debate as to whether or not we should call ourselves British. Whilst we represent and have a membership from all the nations, a number of young people, individuals within our member organisations, sometimes query whether or not you can actually truly be British or are you, first and foremost, more English or Scottish or Welsh or Northern Irish. The debate around the term “Britishness” is there.

Q214 Mr Marsden: In the context of your name, the British Youth Council, it is a technical description. I speak with a little bit of knowledge because I am a former member of the British Youth Council, I was on the Executive years and years ago. You represent, as you rightly said, a real Smorgasbord of organisations, faith organisations, student political organisations, local councils, and all the rest of it. That is a technical description, is it not?

Mr Mason: For the individual pupil in a school, if you are having lessons which teach you about core British values, it is something telling that young person “You are British”. Someone else is defining “We’re learning these values, in this framework, because you have to fit into that”; and depending on your background you, the individual pupil, may not see yourself, first and foremost, as being British.

Q215 Mr Marsden: I would not sound as insistent as that. That is jumping the gun a little bit. We do not know, for example, or I certainly do not know, what the Government’s thoughts are in terms of core values. Is there not a difference between someone standing up and saying “These are the core British values which are very important to us for cohesiveness in a multi-faith, multi-ethnic society,” and a class where you have a discussion of are there core British values, are they, in fact, universal values, and how do the particular experiences of Britain inform that process?

Mr Mason: I would rather a debate was officially about whether these values, going back to what I said before, are about humanity, rather than saying are these specific values applicable only to those who count themselves as being British and thereby that would partly imply that. The same set of values goes across humanity, regardless of your status, and soon will only be refined because XYZ means you are British, XYZ ABC means you are a broader member of the human race, rather than limit it down.

Q216 Helen Jones: Do you not think it is important that young people born or brought up in this country, whatever their ethnic background, define themselves as British, however we may choose to structure that? As someone who is half Welsh, half Irish and born in England, and Wales is in this country, it is in the United Kingdom, I am never sure how we define it, but surely a debate on how you define that and getting people to understand that, whatever their ethnic background, if they were born here and they live here they are British is a valuable thing, and you seem to see it as something that is not valuable?

Mr Mason: I am not saying it is not valuable. My concern is coming down the route whereby you have imposed from on high “This is a set of values and if you don’t agree with them you’re not British; if you do agree with them you’re British.” It goes back partly to one of the things Tom was talking about, the whole way the curriculum itself could be set, how we are saying those good teachers do not necessarily need a Britishness strategy, it is those who are good with it. The same would apply with the values aspect of someone imposing down, say, very prescriptively, “These are the things which make you British, and if you don’t buy into that then you are not British.”

Q217 Helen Jones: I am not sure that we were saying that. When you talk about those values and defining that, I remember something that my Irish grandfather used to say, when people argued with that, he said “You chose to live here.” Therefore, there are values which, as a community, we have to abide by.

Mr Mason: Do you have to live here to be British?

Q218 Helen Jones: Certainly you are not British if you do not live here, are you?

Mr Mason: You can be; you can be resident overseas.

Ms Hunjan: People used to say to my mum and dad “Well, you live here; live by the rules.” It was always said in a negative way, as far as I can remember. I second everything that Jules was saying and I think this is a really complex issue, to know what distinctly British core values are as opposed to wider human core values. That is a very difficult thing for schools to tackle, in the same way that it is very difficult for all of us to tackle; it is certainly not a conversation I like to have in the pub, I can tell you. My concern today is why the Government is calling for schools to talk about Britishness; what it is reacting to is what is concerning me. This seems to be coming out of the whole review of the 7 July bombings and our concern about alienation of groups of young Muslim men. If that is why they want us to talk more about Britishness, we have to think about whether that is the right solution to that problem. I think that is my concern with the fact that it has been brought up today. It is not a refusal to discuss what Britishness is.

Q219 Chairman: Is there not an element of political correctness coming out here, in the sense that I think all of us understand where you and Jules are coming

15 May 2006 Ms Jessica Gold, Ms Raji Hunjan, Mr Tom Wylie and Mr Jules Mason

from on this, but, in a sense, it is easy to evade the difficult questions, is it not? Some of the most difficult questions that I have discussed with young people in my constituency are when you say, "Okay; let's talk about core values," and international world values do not jump out and you have to look at societies that celebrate good values and the good values that you find in one society perhaps are not shared by people in another society. When it gets really difficult, you start saying, "Well, what are the core values of people who come here in terms of their attitude to women and the rights of women and the rights of women to get a full education and to be totally emancipated?" Sometimes I would find that perhaps one of the most difficult areas to discuss because you could say that many of us in this country believe in equality of women.

Ms Hunjan: Not everybody; look at the *Sun*. Not everyone would agree on the equality of women; look at page three in the *Sun*. That is a universal issue.

Q220 Chairman: I have not seen it expressed anywhere in this country, at least not by anyone I have any respect for, that women should not have equal education opportunities to those of men. Do you think it is acceptable not to have that value?

Ms Hunjan: No. I think that discussion needs to be had but not necessarily in relation to what is Britishness. To have that discussion in relation to what is Britishness is assuming that everyone in Britain agrees that women have got equal rights, and actually there are some people, I would argue, who do not think that women have equal rights. If you look at statistics on domestic violence in this country, if you look at the number of women who are not in senior posts in this country; those issues are there.

Q221 Chairman: That is a criticism of what happens, not a question of what values are British, is it?

Ms Hunjan: Not values, no.

Ms Gold: The whole issue is obviously quite a complex one, this thing about British values, and clearly what the Government is trying to do is develop some kind of cohesive identity for the nation and some sense of shared values. I suppose Raji's point was, look at the people you are trying to reach and if you are trying to say "Hey, mate, you've got British values and you're one of us," it will not work necessarily, which is probably what the Government is trying to do, develop this cohesiveness. The reality is that we have got all sorts of historical issues, have we not, about being a nation which has conquered other nations, etc I am not against the idea. I just do not believe you can impose values on people. I suppose having lively debates in schools about what values are is really helpful and good, but we come back to the initial citizenship argument, which was, again, you cannot make someone a good citizen by telling them what a good citizen is. It is getting young people engaged in the process and getting them to challenge each other and actually say "What is acceptable behaviour in our school?" We have got a London Secondary School Councils Action

Research Project going on at the moment, it is a three-year, funded project, working in eight secondary schools, looking at what happens if you work and invest properly in participation over an extended period, what impact it has on attitudes, how happy people are in school, young people's participation, and they are being very innovative. One of the things that one of the schools is doing is developing a behaviour panel of young people. They were elected and lots of students wanted to be on it, and it was a mixture of students, not just the goody-goodies, because the school council, which in the end appointed this behaviour panel, wanted it to be a really mixed group of students in terms of their historical behaviour. It has ended up with young people helping to set the tone as to what is acceptable in school and what is not, so the behaviour panel, to some extent, has been able to give out punishments, it has been given some trust by the headteacher; also, interestingly, teachers have now started saying to the behaviour panel, "Can you come and speak to my class; they're acting up." There was one particular Year 11 class, which was very bright but also not behaving very well, which invited students on the behaviour panel to come in and talk to their peers, and therefore challenge their peers as to what is acceptable behaviour and what is not. It was regarded as successful, so it has happened again where these students have been called in to talk to and discuss issues with their peers. I do not think the Government is going to get anywhere really with trying to impose values, although give it a try, but how do you get people engaged in defining values and sharing values. The reality is, in most societies, it is the destructive minority which becomes vocal and sets the tone, so how do you create structures within communities, let us face it, schools are young people's communities, how do you create structures where you can get the majority, who tend to be silent, to set the tone and to set the atmosphere as to what is acceptable. It is only by setting effective, participative student infrastructures, which is what we promote, can you get that silent majority setting the tone as to what is acceptable.

Q222 Mr Marsden: Can I just conclude this. I think it has been a fascinating discussion but, you are right, what we are coming back to all the time is how you define citizenship education. What we are talking about is something which appears to be very free-flow and, of course, you may believe that we do not have to define it. If we do have to define it, whose job is it, ultimately, to define, and I am not saying there is one particular body or group of people, but who should be in there defining citizenship education?

Mr Wylie: There is a range of people who are involved in making decisions about the nature of the curriculum and at the great policy level, in the end, it is the Government of the day. I am just urging a certain caution about how a Government would do that, and what stakeholders. In the happy days of having a Schools Council, we once did have a mechanism by which teachers and others could engage in deciding what the curriculum should be;

the QCA, in part, can do that. It is defined at the level of the institution and it is defined by the young. In all of those things, if I may make my own point about the values question, surely we have come to the point where we are recognising multiple identities, and the question is how you layer those identities whilst respecting, indeed valuing, difference. Leaving aside, to Ms Jones, whether one would want to say to a secondary school in Crossmaglen “You’re British; you’d better learn what British values are,” I do raise the question, do we think that in the most challenging circumstances we have sufficient teachers with sufficient competence to handle those issues of identity and value, and to do so in such a way as protects what may be, in some circumstances, a pretty small minority of children in that particular classroom, who, for whatever reason, may not be part of the majority? That was why I paused, about how far one should push some of these things into our system.

Q223 Mr Marsden: I think that is a very valid point. My own brief comment to that is, however, that really it rather echoes what Trevor Phillips said, I think, some time ago, that the danger is, if we do not have a discussion about values within a sort of pluralist, liberal—in the broadest sense of the word—context, there will be a discussion about values and definitions put on values by other people and other groups whose conclusion you will not like particularly. Jessica, can I come to you on this, because what you have been talking about again is the linkage between what goes on in school and what goes on outside. We have had some interesting evidence here about what is being done post-14, the initiatives being done via agencies, the Learning and Skills Council, etc. Is that a very important part, the post-Tomlinson agenda, of defining citizenship education as well?

Ms Gold: The 14s to 17s, yes, it is, because what they said was it needs to be threaded throughout it, did they not, that it is a continuing process. We talk very much about school council skills, which I guess could be regarded as citizenship skills, could be regarded as life skills, soft skills, business skills, these are team-working, tolerance, problem-solving, listening, respect, vocalising, all these kinds of skills. In fact, I was at the big London debate, around the corner, on Saturday and hearing from London First and the complaint that there are not adequate skills within Londoners to meet the jobs need; so clearly it needs to go all the way through, from the youngest age, all the way up. Again, the schools probably are not yet really given the opportunity to focus on it all the way through in these skills, which is what employers are looking for as well. Yes, I think it is very key with the whole 14–19 agenda.

Q224 Mr Marsden: Raji and Jules, from your comments again, and contradict me if you want to, it strikes me that you are very uneasy about the idea that anybody, certainly anybody in Government, should be defining what form citizenship education

should take. If that is the case, who are the people, who are the stakeholders, apart from the obvious ones, who are the students engaged in the process?

Ms Hunjan: I am not quite sure where or when I said that I do not think the Government should be involved.

Q225 Mr Marsden: I did not say that. I said you were—queasy is perhaps a loaded word—cautious about this, and again I think the issue of whether values are imposed, certainly I would not support that myself, it is a question of involvement, where is the balance between involvement and imposition, is it not?

Ms Hunjan: My concern is we have a citizenship education curriculum that we all want to see made better, and putting out statements saying “We now want schools to do this,” without recognising what they are doing already and what they already need help with, that is my concern. In terms of who should be involved in this, I am really pleased that the QCA has taken a lead in redefining the citizenship curriculum, and, as far as I can tell, they have been quite active, involving schools, people like us in this community, young people, there has been some really good consultation and I think that is really important. In relation to the 14–19 curriculum, I think the active citizenship side is very exciting. I think it is a shame that it has been diluted a little bit, because there are some really good examples of schools working with their communities to encourage all sorts of skills linked to citizenship education. There is a real link at the moment between community involvement, citizenship education and young enterprise, so instead of getting young people—I have got a school in Bristol—to go and help the aged by giving them food packages, it was about helping them to identify what some of their problems were and trying to come up with solutions. One of the problems, for example, is that, elderly people on their own, if they are sick and they manage to call an ambulance, it wants somebody who is there to help them, and if they are not able to say what the problem is that they keep these packages in the fridge, which give lots of information about what their illnesses are and what their ailments are, etc. This is something which has been devised by a group of young people who are now campaigning to make this work.

Q226 Mr Marsden: That is a part of citizenship in itself, because it is connecting across the generations?

Ms Hunjan: Exactly; it is a part of citizenship in itself, it is about community cohesion, it is about bringing young people and adults together, it is about making young people feel that they can actually do something, and it is not about academic achievement. You can involve all sorts of young people, with all sorts of interests and backgrounds.

Chairman: That sort of leads us into the next section of our questioning, on which Roberta is going to lead.

Q227 Dr Blackman-Woods: I think much of our discussion this afternoon has been about how to make the citizenship curriculum come alive for people and I know the National Youth Agency have written on this. Why are schools finding it so difficult to implement the active citizenship part of the curriculum and what stands in their way?

Mr Wylie: They have a heavy workload of things which, arguably, are more explicit, are headlines, because they are being judged against five A to C's and performance concerns of that sort. Maybe some schools have been a bit in retreat from their communities, actually some of them do not always serve a community because of the transport arrangements, the youngsters are moving, especially in London, across vast areas. I can quite see that in that context a particular school might find it a bit harder to engage with local groups who might provide opportunities for voluntary action, etc, plus the natural reluctance of some teachers, I think, to move far beyond the taught curriculum. Of course, many do and many are engaged and one would not want to label the whole teaching profession, but I think there is a natural pressure to do things in the classroom and get that sorted, and this might be seen, in some circumstances, as being a bit extra.

Mr Mason: I adhere to that, from my own experience of my school. It is also within the school a lack of knowledge about other agencies which are out there which exist, so that can help them, whether it is within their immediate local community or the wider community, on a number of areas whereby they can make citizenship a lot more active and, as I said earlier, go beyond the actual classroom. It is partly going back to Tom's aspect not just about teachers' reticence to be involved but also how high up it is politically within the senior management teams a leadership agenda for the school. One of the things I thought might help ratchet citizenship higher up the agenda is around having that as a status for a specialism within a school, so ultimately you can have science or art, etc If citizenship becomes an opportunity for having a specialism within a school, it can be used to, where a school is doing excellent work, be promoted as a beacon and other schools in that area, or that part of the country, can learn those lessons. Equally, where it is not seen that prominently, it can be used actually to raise the standard and also begin to integrate across the whole of the school.

Ms Gold: School Councils UK is made up of teachers and youth workers and actually the majority of my staff are from a youth work background. From our perspective, teachers are simply not trained to do participation. The whole process of handing over leadership opportunities to young people is simply not part of their training and they do not really understand it, and it goes completely against the grain of how they have been trained. Let me give you an example. A school council needs to have a set of minutes produced for it. The whole pressure on teachers is to produce high-quality evidence of what is happening, da-da-da-da-da, so a great set of minutes, smart, well laid out, and all that, but actually, if young people are

doing the minutes, they probably will not necessarily look that good, or be that good, because young people are not that experienced at producing minutes. It is much more important that young people produce the minutes and they are not as good, but that would be quite hard for the teacher, to see a not brilliant set of minutes, because that might reflect badly on the teacher when someone comes round and looks at the minutes. They are not trained in that process of handing over leadership opportunities and they find that quite scary, and changing their seat in the classroom. For instance, again, just coming back to class councils and form councils, which are opportunities for everyone in each form group to have a meeting opportunity on a regular basis, led by young people from the age of five upwards, and the teacher sitting on the side to let those opportunities happen is foreign for lots of teachers, to be able to take that side-seat to let young people have a go.

Ms Hunjan: I am a trustee of the Citizenship Foundation so I am going to second all the training evidence that you have heard and just say that, for me, I think it is almost like citizenship needs a relaunch. When it first came out in 2001, as far as I remember it, the DfES, and I went to loads of these roadshows back then, was saying "Light-touch approach, cross-curriculum, you're doing it already, you just have to tick a few boxes, it'll be fine." Actually that is not the reality of it and quite quickly they were admitting that was not the reality of it, and Ofsted was telling us that was not the reality of it. In a way, we almost need this kind of relaunch, which goes with this new QCA curriculum which is coming out, which admits actually, "You know what, citizenship education is quite hard because it's different from other subjects; but we're all going to help you, we're all going to be involved, we're all going to value this, we're all going to see it's important and we're going to put some money and funding into this and we're going to raise the stakes now." I think that would be quite exciting.

Q228 Dr Blackman-Woods: I think that is an interesting point which I will come back to in a minute or two. When I was doing the consultation on youth matters in my constituency a lot of the young people in schools ticked the box to say that they wanted to be more involved in the community, but when I asked them why they were not, it was often that they had no knowledge whatsoever of the community and voluntary groups which existed in their neighbourhood. I wonder if you have got any idea of the sorts of percentages of schools which have those very active links with voluntary or community groups in their own area?

Ms Hunjan: Stats I cannot give you. What we can say is that we have a network of participation workers, so that is anybody for whom working with children and young people in a participatory way is part of their job. A lot of those workers say to us that it is really hard to get into schools because they are either invited into schools for one-off consultations and then they are told "Right, you do the consultation and then go again," or they are invited

in by one teacher and the rest of the school is not really committed to their involvement anyway. It seems to me that, to develop it, it has to be embedded into the school plans for the year, thinking about who they are going to involve from the voluntary and community sector and why, why that involvement is important and what they are going to learn from those people and keep within their school, rather than allowed to leave once those people leave the school as well.

Q229 Dr Blackman-Woods: It is not only a one-way problem, is it?

Ms Hunjan: No.

Q230 Dr Blackman-Woods: Some of the things that the schools identified through the youth matters consultation was that sometimes, for example, pensioners groups did not want young people, they were worried about young people, they had an image, they would not want to bring them in, it was a negative image of young people. What do you think can be done to break down those sorts of barriers and have you got examples of good practice, are there other schools that we can learn from?

Mr Wylie: I think there are a number of examples of intergenerational contact between groups of young people and adults. I suppose it would not always start with the school. We know that young people are actually quite active in volunteering and voluntary action in their communities that may not come down a school nexus, it comes down to the fact that they are doing a Duke of Edinburgh Award, or they are engaged in Girl Guiding, etc, and we should not neglect those things just because they are not captured in the school data set. There are programmes, Chairman, there was a celebration last week of Young Roots, which is one which we do with the Heritage Lottery Fund, which is about young people finding out about their own heritage. I think there is a whole variety of voluntary action opportunities but they will not always be seen through the prism of the schools' eyes.

Q231 Dr Blackman-Woods: My question really is about how the schools learn best practice, so they do need to be picking up those sorts of examples?

Mr Mason: I think it is partly a role from the centre, although I do know certain schools when they get something from the DfES they see it as this being something that is being imposed on them. I suppose, partly going back to Raji's response around the democratic involvement, if other related agencies, whether it is the QCA, the Learning and Skills Council, etc, have even just, say, a link with relevant external organisations, such as our organisation, so that thereby there is a different avenue for them just to hear about different agencies which can help them. The main thing, I agree with what you said, is that lack of information about where to go and who is out there and also from the school it is about "Well, how do you know that this organisation is a trusted, reputable organisation?" because they have rightly got to think about the concerns of their pupils and the status of the school as well.

Q232 Dr Blackman-Woods: Is the DfES doing enough to inform schools of what is available, and is it supporting schools enough to deliver an active citizenship curriculum, and should it be doing that or should somebody else be doing that?

Mr Mason: I do not think it can rely solely on the DfES. My limited knowledge would say they are not doing enough, just in relation to awareness-raising of organisations which are out there.

Ms Hunjan: There is a concern with the DfES, is there not, because they have got this policy of not sending too much information to schools, which seems really bizarre to me, because when I was a teacher I would have really looked at the information that came from the DfES, so that seems to be a bit problematic. I think there is a real role here for the local authority and we need to think about the amount of power that local authorities have and what we are doing with that power, because LA advisers are people who are trusted and can do some of that screening for schools. There is not anything worse than inviting in a speaker and actually it turns out that they are just not very good and it is disappointing; it is about helping schools to build links with their local voluntary and community sector organisations. I think that the whole extended schools agenda is a really good starting-point for perhaps that happening, because now you have got people in schools like extended schools co-ordinators, who could work alongside the citizenship teacher and alongside the national healthy schools co-ordinator and have more of a combined strategic approach to making some of these things really happen.

Q233 Dr Blackman-Woods: I think it is really interesting that you have mentioned extended schools. What about Children's Trusts, is that likely to bring together the statutory and the voluntary sectors, or do you think children's trusts could be used more widely as a vehicle for citizenship education?

Mr Mason: I think it could be used widely, but my one concern I would like to see ensured is that those who fall in the further end of the age groups of those 14, 16 and 18 year olds are also encapsulated rather than just towards a trust ending and just focusing on the predominant majority of the children age range.

Mr Wylie: Of course, they have a duty, under Outcome Four of the *Every Child Matters* agenda, about making a positive contribution, and perhaps your Committee, Chairman, later in the year, might like to look at how the implementation of *Youth Matters* is going, once it begins to bed in. I know you have done some useful work already on the *Every Child Matters* agenda, but that would give you an opportunity to look at how that is connected for a slightly older age group.

Q234 Dr Blackman-Woods: Have you noticed a difference, or have you seen any evidence of a difference in engagement in the community between faith and non-faith-based schools?

15 May 2006 Ms Jessica Gold, Ms Raji Hunjan, Mr Tom Wylie and Mr Jules Mason

Ms Hunjan: I have got an example of a faith-based school in London, called the Grieg Academy, which is one of the new schools, it is a faith-based school but it welcomes children and young people from all faiths and backgrounds. They have been doing quite a lot of work to promote better relationships between young people and other sectors of the community within Hackney, where they are based. They have been doing a lot of the things, for example, working with the market traders, so it is about young people working with groups of adults that already have some kind of power and say in the community. Also they have been working to improve relationships between young people and the police and involving their students really in consultations where they know change is going to happen, where it is not a consultation just for the sake of it. If they know there is a budget linked to that consultation and there is going to be outcome, they are involving those young people and I think that is quite an exciting approach that they are taking.

Ms Gold: It is a very interesting question. It is just a bit of a hunch really. I do not think you can generalise because I think all the faith schools are probably quite different within the different faith communities. However, certainly within some streams, there is a strong community involvement, morality and philosophy, which will drive some of their activities. I guess that is one of the advantages; there are advantages and disadvantages of faith-based schools, but one of the advantages probably is that it is much easier to find a shared moral code within the school's community, and quite often that will be around being aware of your community, actively involved locally and taking notice. I am Jewish and I notice that a lot of the Jewish schools are involved with school councils. There is no empirical evidence.

Chairman: I want to draw down a bit now to the impact of citizenship education.

Q235 Stephen Williams: Perhaps I could start with Raji, because a colleague has made some sweeping claims for the benefits of citizenship in schools, that it has got a clear link with increased academic achievement, better behaviour patterns and more skills development, indeed better decision-making in schools. How robust is the evidence for that?

Ms Hunjan: I certainly would like to see Carnegie funding some more research, as we have done, I would like other people to, because the evidence is there but what it is difficult to do is isolate participation as being the only thing which has made that happen in that school, be that improved academic success or be that better policies. Not least, I think, because probably there are not that many schools in the country which can claim that all their children and young people are involved in or participating in decision-making, often it is a few, or a year group, or a privileged few. The evidence is there, small bits of evidence exist which are making statements about this. When you collect that evidence together, it feels that, in combination, there is clear evidence that actually, by involving young

people in decision-making, it does lead to some school improvement, whatever it is that school might be targeting.

Q236 Stephen Williams: Does this research come from a particular study which Carnegie has done in selective schools?

Ms Hunjan: This study is secondary evidence. We have looked at evidence which already exists and we quickly discarded perceived impacts. We published a series of case studies where we have asked schools "What is your perceived impacts of this," and schools have said "This is what we think the benefits are," and we have published that in that way. In terms of our research, it is all secondary evidence, we discarded anything we thought did not look like clear evidence, but anything which stood up to some scrutiny we have included it.

Q237 Stephen Williams: Perhaps this goes back to our first session that Gordon Marsden was asking questions on; is there not a danger that this actually reduces citizenship to some measurable things like school behaviour and academic achievement, rather than why citizenship is important in itself, and are these the right sorts of outcomes that we would want schools to be trumpeting?

Ms Hunjan: Our research is not just about the school improvement agenda. We do try to look wider than that, at the impact on the community of involving young people. It is difficult to say whether involving them will lead to them voting more, but a lot of schools are telling us, "By engaging them in a wide range of interests we feel, by talking to them and working with them, that they are more likely to vote in the future and be more involved." I think that citizenship education was put into the curriculum for a clear reason; we wanted young people to be more involved in democracy and the society we live in, so I think it is important that we look to see whether citizenship education is helping to make those things happen.

Stephen Williams: Is there not a danger here that the sorts of schools that would take part and do citizenship well are in middle-class areas; the sorts of pupils who will derive the most benefit from citizenship being taught well are likely to be perhaps middle-class pupils, or pupils who come from a supportive family environment? We do not actually need to define this in class terms. What about the kids who come from a more disadvantaged background, perhaps they have been excluded from school; what is citizenship going to do with them? I notice that the National Youth Agency has said a few things about this and maybe Mr Wylie would like to comment.

Q238 Chairman: Tom, you did shake your head, at one stage?

Mr Wylie: Yes. I shook my head at the proposition that it would only connect with the more advantaged, because I do think there are examples, the Lewisham example, which I think you know well, Deptford Green School, a specialist school on citizenship, which I visited recently, in another

context, would strike me as serving a more disadvantaged neighbourhood. What seems to me to be important there is that it connects with the real lives of young people. I can quite see that the more advantaged, highly literate, more academic youngster, offered a particular kind of citizenship curriculum, will do it better, because they can do it, but actually, surely, if the school's work is connecting with the lived experience of the young, connecting with the issues that matter to them, they will turn out to be better citizens. I do not think there is any evidence on that; they do not know that yet. It will be a long time, even to get the voting rates right, will it not, which may be there are other factors than what the school teaches, etc I think it is arguably even more important for the disadvantaged, but the corollary of that is, if it is genuinely to connect with them and help them to learn, it must be of a particular nature.

Q239 Stephen Williams: What about some pupils who have been excluded from school and are perhaps in Pupil Referral Units or even in a Young Offenders Institution?

Mr Wylie: It is even more crucial then that they are offered a set of experiences which help them to learn what it is to be a citizen. Surely the crucial job, and that is another story, is it not, what is the curriculum in a YOI which really deals with restorative justice and helps them find a form of redemption about their past experience and reconnect with our community, it is absolutely crucial, given the high levels of recidivism. Citizenship in the deepest sense is even more important to those youngsters whom, for whatever reason, we have put temporarily outside the community.

Ms Gold: If we are talking about participation, the participation side of citizenship, there are numerous heads who will tell you that they have managed to turn around failing schools by setting up active participation for young people, including heads who will turn around and say, "Okay, our school has just failed its Ofsted; this is what I'm planning to do, and the staff are planning to do, to turn that around. Now I want you, the students, to come up with your plan as to what you are going to do to help us in this process." There is lots of anecdotal evidence from headteachers, where very much so they think that the school council has turned things around. In terms of exclusions and the issues around exclusions, we commissioned some research, five or six years ago now, by Professor Lynn Davies, University of Birmingham, looking at school councils and exclusions, it was snapshot research, and now we are involved in actual research, which is much longer-term work, and it was comparing more participative schools and less participative schools from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. The more participative schools had fewer exclusions, and clear messages were being sent to the students, through the participation structures, that their views mattered, that the schools were happier places, relationships were better and exclusions were lower. One of our trainers was headteacher in a primary school in Plymouth and she tells of experiences

where the school council said to her "We don't want that child to be excluded because we can't help him" or her, "once they have gone or once they have been excluded." The kids wanted to set up an inclusion committee to support the kids who had problems with behaving and had problems with keeping control of themselves within school. There are all sorts of ways in which, and this is one of the projects which we have been talking to the Behaviour Unit recently about, looking at how pupil participation can support behaviour in young people who are more at risk of losing control of themselves. There are all sorts of strategies with which young people can support their peers, in ways which teachers cannot, therefore preventing exclusions. Obviously, I agree with Tom completely, and we looked into doing some work in YOIs, which we never quite got off the ground, but it is just as important because these are young people who have been failed by the system, or have failed within the system, systematically, and to start giving them opportunities where they can succeed is very important.

Q240 Helen Jones: We have had some evidence about the impact of citizenship on community cohesion. The problem I think we are struggling with is that people tend to see community cohesion as meaning very different things, and some people seem to define it as reducing prejudice towards people different from oneself, some define it as working with community groups, and so on. What is your definition of community cohesion, in that sense, and do you think that citizenship does contribute to that: anyone?

Mr Mason: I do not have a definition of community cohesion but, going back to its link to citizenship, if you just take the (Hines, Marshall and Worcester)¹ definition about citizenship being seen predominantly in local terms but then it builds up in terms of the levels of local, national, global, and also linking into the NFER's work around post-16 citizenship education, where it talked about being tailored to the needs of, say, community cohesion from one community to another community, it will differ depending on those most pivotal and pressing needs that need to be dealt with in that community. It could be around tackling anti-social behaviour, it could be around litter, say, it could be about intergenerational work. I do not think you can just be totally prescriptive. You can have a broad framework about what the ethos of community cohesion is about but actually what it means practically will differ from community to community, and that is what is making citizenship real and active, not just for those schoolchildren but for everyone in that community.

Mr Wylie: We could offer you a definition, if I might. How about those processes which help to create safer neighbourhoods and a greater sense of personal security and help to generate bridging social capital, if you want to have another technical phrase in the discussion; because I do think it is

¹ *Note by witness: Hines, C, Marshall, B, Worcester, R, Public Attitudes Towards Citizenship, Mori, London, 1998.*

15 May 2006 Ms Jessica Gold, Ms Raji Hunjan, Mr Tom Wylie and Mr Jules Mason

about that. It is how you create those norms and processes in communities within which people feel confident, but you do not want a social capital of the gang, you do not want a social capital of the ghetto, you want a social capital which enables people to move in and out of neighbourhoods with confidence.

Q241 Helen Jones: Absolutely, and that was what I was going to come on to really, because Jules said it begins locally, and I do not think that anyone would dissent from that, but in many areas, and Tom gave the example of Northern Ireland, which has its own particular problems, but even in many cities in Great Britain, communities are very divided. The question is then how we assist young people to move out of their own community, to feel comfortable working with others in the wider community: do you have any good examples for the Committee about how that has been done anywhere?

Ms Gold: Certainly within schools, and many schools are very mixed communities with people from a whole variety of ethnic backgrounds, there are a number of examples of how the student council has been able to improve communication between different community groups within the school. One example is of a school where it was through the student council that a prayer room was established for those students who needed it during the day. By creating a community council, which in a way is what it is, the different students from the school get a chance to talk together and hear each other, because I would say that part of community cohesion is actually about people seeing each other as people, as opposed to their label, and acknowledging, even if there are different ethnic traditions or different ethnic backgrounds or different religious commitments, that ultimately they are human beings, with many of the same needs, with shared priorities for their own local area. It is by enabling them to come together and to talk together and to work together and to deal with any conflicts which arise and learning to listen and learning to respect which can stem from good student participation within the school and then gradually to reach out by them seeing good practice on the school level.

Ms Hunjan: I think we need to keep an eye on the extended schools agenda and what is going on there as well. I went to a presentation by a school on the Isle of Dogs, at a CSV event, and the woman was talking about this sort of diverse community that they are working with and they were quite excited by the extended school agenda, because it does turn the school into a community hub, if you like, and it enables the school to open itself up to people. Actually what schools are doing, I think, is trying not to be too ambitious in their first steps and trying to do things like bringing people in for lunch, or cookery classes, or discussion groups, and through childcare, just ways of bringing people within the community together. I am governor of a special school in Wandsworth for children with emotional behavioural difficulties and everyone in that local community wants that school to shut down, so what better way to try to deal with that than by getting

some of the children to invite some of the local people in, by first of all putting together a newsletter and distributing that and then inviting them in for what they call community lunch. I think that the extended schools agenda is something we need to keep an eye on and on how it progresses in encouraging schools to become more at the heart of communities.

Q242 Mr Carswell: Why do they want the school to close down?

Ms Hunjan: This particular one, because it is a school for boys with emotional behavioural difficulties. I will not say any more about them.

Mr Wylie: We have got that quite extensively in booklets of this kind, different devices for engaging young people and one I think of locally is Fitzrovia, which is a sports and arts project, and those have classically been used as ways of bringing groups together around festivals and sharing experiences of that sort. This past year I have been the Assessor for the much-lamented ODPM on the Beacon Council Scheme and so have been visiting a number of authorities on the theme of "positive youth engagement" and what is striking to me there is the different devices which authorities are using to hear the voices and influence of young people and which brings them together, because if you have got an election you cannot all be from one group, you are from different groups. I think of going to Wakefield, where they have got a scheme called Wakie's Watchdogs, which is a kind of junior Ofsted, which goes around the youth provision of Wakefield and judges it, "Is this fit for purpose?" Again, intrinsically, that is bound to have to have different perspectives, because it might be suitable for white, working-class youngsters but not so appealing to Asian girls, and so on, and I think there is a whole variety of local devices of that sort.

Q243 Helen Jones: You gave some very good examples there of how these things could work in a school which had a mixed community. What I really want to follow up with you is that many schools are not a mixed community, they might be in areas which are racially divided, they might be in areas which are socially divided. For example, in a comparatively well-off area, you could engage with the community around you very well, as a school, but that does not lead your pupils on to look at people who may well be a lot worse off and they are living in very different communities. I accept absolutely that the first step has to be taken locally. My question really then is about how we build on that and move it on? I think Tom has given one example. I wonder if you have any others? Otherwise what we are in danger of doing is defining the community very narrowly.

Ms Gold: Certainly I could give examples of Youth Councils. I can think of numerous Youth Councils where they take representatives from the student council in school and all the schools in the area and the young people come together and you really do have a huge variety of young people and the

backgrounds that they have come from coming together through the Youth Council and then there is a lot of dissemination in both directions.

Ms Hunjan: There was another scheme that I heard of, I think it was in Bedfordshire, around learning walks, which is about schools basically going into other schools and walking around it and finding out how other schools are doing things differently. That is something which is done quite a lot between teachers, but actually once you start doing it between students you are breaking down some of those barriers and some of those stereotypes that students might have of each other. I think that is a really important thing, and building those kinds of local networks of schools, so that they are actually working together on some of these issues.

Q244 Helen Jones: Can we look also at how we could make schools more open to the community, as well as talking about young people moving out into their community, doing more to use our schools and the facilities that we have in schools to bring in different people. I think we were very impressed when we went to Finland and we went to a school where the old people in the neighbourhood could all come in and have their lunch there, and so you were breaking down the barriers between the generations, behaviour was improved, and so on. Do you find that schools are still rather nervous about doing that, and, if so, not particularly that but those sorts of things, how can we encourage them to move forward?

Ms Hunjan: I have already made a comment about extended schools and I think that is a way of bringing people into schools and working with young people. I think that is probably the example I would give.

Mr Mason: I think, partly going back to my comment as well earlier about knowing agencies out there, one example of an organisation which could facilitate that is CSV, community service volunteers, because they have their annual Make a Difference day, which is just promoting one day where citizens do something for their local community in its broadest sense. Over the last couple of years we have worked with them to help get more schools and youth groups and Youth Councils involved and engaged within that, because of the CSV's network, and they will receive a pack with some ideas and guidance, going back to the thing about schools maybe not knowing how to go about organising something. The CSV have a number of local action desks, so thereby, depending what part of the country you are in, you will get that action desk contact number and they can put you in touch with local community organisations where you could do some sort of work for that one day. That can be then just the start of the process, leading to a long-term relationship with a number of agencies in that wider community.

Ms Hunjan: Maybe it is also something our local elected representatives can help us with as well, actually. They are in a great position to hold meetings, events and consultations within schools which bring people into schools, which can then

work with those young people in consultation processing, so I think there is a role for you guys as well.

Chairman: Thank you very much.

Helen Jones: If the head will let us in.

Q245 Chairman: It is interesting though, in the generality I have been sitting here fascinated by the way you answer different questions. You all get energised and excited about the whole participation agenda, whether it is with community groups or within schools, it is the participatory approach you obviously like. Where you have got most ratty, if I can say that, a bit, was when we discussed the Government's agenda about values. You really did not want to talk about that. As soon as we moved off values you were happy. Am I right in thinking that you are much happier about teaching citizenship through activity and participation than you are having people sat down and told "These are the British values and these are what you should subscribe to"?

Ms Hunjan: I think active participation can lead to really good discussions about values, and actually, once people have worked in that way with each other, it builds trust, it builds relationships, then it is much easier to talk about values. People have a fear of talking about these things because they are scared that they are going to offend the person next to them, but actually, if you have been participating and working together and then you start talking about values, you are going to have a much richer conversation. Going back to my point, I really do not have a problem with the Government making this announcement but I just was concerned as to why they were making this announcement today and what they were making it in relation to; that is my concern.

Chairman: That is very interesting. Douglas, you do not think much of this citizenship programme, do you; you once said, in a conversation, that you were worried about brain-washing. You have listened to some of the evidence today; what is your view, after what you have heard?

Mr Carswell: Faced with such assumptions, with which I so profoundly disagree, I find it difficult to know where to begin to ask questions. I disagree profoundly with the cultural relativism which I think has been implicit in some of the answers. I also profoundly disagree; in Britain there is a tradition of national identity evolving organically and bottom-up, unlike European countries, which have a tradition of top-down definitions of national identity—France, Germany, Italy—we do not have that, thank goodness, no attempt to define what our language should be or—God forbid—what our national costume should be.

Chairman: Would you like to ask with relation to Raji and Jules, because actually they were making a very similar point; I think they would celebrate the bottom-up creation of values. Would you not have something in common with the view that they were taking?

15 May 2006 Ms Jessica Gold, Ms Raji Hunjan, Mr Tom Wylie and Mr Jules Mason

Mr Carswell: I would say that there is an attempt by a quasi-state quango organisation to promote cultural relativism as part of a national identity which is as bad a top-down attempt to define national identity as anything. That is a statement rather than a question.

Chairman: I cannot really elicit a question from you?

Mr Carswell: I am afraid not.

Chairman: Then we will move on. Stephen, you are going to take us through “pupil voice and participation”.

Stephen Williams: I have tried through a voice. I am sure this will not be nearly as interesting as that which might have been.

Mr Carswell: I have listened with great interest. Thank you.

Q246 Stephen Williams: I am not sure who might start with this. What do young people actually tell each of your organisations about their experience of citizenship, and who is giving them a real role in running the school?

Ms Hunjan: A range; an absolute range. Some will still say the citizenship education curriculum needs looking at, some do not even know that it exists in the schools, some will talk about it very, very positively; so an absolute range, which is the worrying part of citizenship education, I think. Whether you approve of this or not, a lot of us really believe that it is a positive introduction to the curriculum, it is something that we really value, and it is a shame that not all students are getting a positive experience of it, an enriched experience of it, and that is worrying, I think.

Ms Gold: It is interesting; the National Foundation for Educational Research have got this longitudinal programme which I noticed Bernard Crick talked about. I did not realise that it cost £2.5 million, but there you go. They do ask questions about the number of school councils of secondary headteachers, and the statistic was that 96% of secondary heads said that they had a school council and 44% of students said they had been involved in electing their school council representatives. It is now obviously the thing to say that you have got a school council, but clearly there is no real consistency on the ground, in terms of what is happening.

Q247 Stephen Williams: Is that, Chairman, reticence on behalf of the students then in political parties, probably my own, and should we all have this experience of getting candidates to come forward for something they might think is a thankless task? Just because there is a school council there, it does not oblige pupils to take part, does it, so maybe there are no elections because people are not challenged, or the most popular girl in the class stands and no-one stands against her?

Ms Gold: Every school in this country should have high-quality, high-profile student elections for their councils. If we want democracy to be successful in this country and if we want young people to be committed to democracy and committed to voting,

every school should see it as a priority to have high-quality, high-profile student council elections. The only reason why that is not the case is because teachers have not been given the right resources, teachers do not understand how to do it; presently we are trying to get funding for a school council election pack, we are not really getting anywhere with that at the moment. Certainly there are issues, if the council is not very good, of course there will be issues around young people wanting to take part and that is absolutely part of the equation, and schools have to improve on how they do their student participation in their student councils. The reality is that a lot of school council elections are organised in a very haphazard way, a very low-profile way, very inconsistent from one class to the other, and that has to be sorted out.

Q248 Stephen Williams: It is not rocket science, surely, to hold an election and any teacher should know how to organise an election, it is not difficult; and does it need a resource pack, and what you have just said is very lopsided and patchy?

Ms Gold: Why should they know how to organise an election; a 25 year old student, trained to teach physics: why should they know how to organise an election?

Mr Mason: On the issue of pupil voice, last year’s Ofsted report on citizenship being taught in schools found that 88% of children wanted an increased role for students in the running of their school, so not just their student council. That goes back to the point I mentioned earlier around having a student council should be one plank of the way in which you have pupil participation across a school, so it is the student council, it is about having the associate governors on the governing body, it is about having either a termly or an annual pupil satisfaction survey, comment boxes, circle time, notice-boards, it is a number of mechanisms, rather than just going “There’s one model; that’s the way it will work.” On your point about elections, not every school pupil is going to be confident enough to put themselves forward in an election or feel comfortable enough to stand up or produce a statement saying “This is why you should vote.” Equally, they should have an opportunity to have a say about the decisions about that school, rather than it just being left to a small group of young people to decide; so you need a balance.

Ms Hunjan: Funnily enough, quite a number of students we asked that question of, and have asked this question, in relation to our studies, would say things like, “Actually, we would rather teachers just chose for us, or maybe even picked out of a hat,” because there is this real fear, I think, about fairness, about who gets involved, and I think there is a concern, whether it is genuine or not, that once people are involved in the school council that is a privilege, those are the privileged ones.

Q249 Mr Marsden: They are the new prefects?

Ms Hunjan: Yes; they are like the new prefects. What Jessica would say is that a good school council is when those people are elected, or chosen, or

whatever, and then trained and supported in actually engaging with the other students; that is one side to it. I am also in agreement with Jules; it is about a varied approach. Not everyone wants to be an elected representative, not everybody in the school wants to be involved in all of the school, some young people might be interested in only one single issue, some young people might only want to be consulted, they might not want to be actively participating in focus groups, so it is about a varied approach which engages everybody.

Mr Wylie: I heard your question about citizenship in general and not just the participation devices. We tend to work more with youngsters who have not done terribly well at school, for one reason or another, and I think what they say is very much with what Gordon Marsden was saying in his remarks, which is, they do not really understand how things work, they do not understand what this tax thing is, what this National Insurance thing is; "Why are these guys coming round for health and safety?" They have not got a grasp of the basic functioning of democracy, etc., and, perhaps more seriously, they do not believe that their views will be properly considered, have been properly considered in the past, will be properly considered now. I do not think they are extreme about that. The youngsters we often work with are not saying "I don't want to do what you say." I think many youngsters actually are desperately realistic, arguably too realistic, about the decision-making process and how long it takes a council to do anything, etc. I think both of those things, a lack of knowledge and a lack of belief in their own capacity to produce change. I would just observe, in answer, a hundred years of formal religious education does not seem to have produced a more church-going, arguably a more faith-aware, etc, society, and that is what gives some of us pause about arguing for too much teaching of citizenship, as distinct from learning and practising citizenship.

Chairman: Yes; certainly the practical thing which seems to engage if they are willing.

Q250 Stephen Williams: I am getting the impression, from the answers that we have heard from the witnesses, that there is a sort of model school, a citizenship school utopia out there, for the witnesses, where we have got the annual appraisal by the students of the school and the suggestion boxes, the behaviour panel, the class council as well as the school council. Is there sort of a model school which would be fantastic for citizenship, and is it realistic to expect every school in the country to aspire to have that model status?

Mr Mason: Going back to what I said earlier about citizenship being started at the local level, I think within a framework of citizenship education and a strategy these mechanisms can be proposed, and the ones which are most appropriate for the school, its ethos, its pupils, its resourcing level, will be the ones which will work best. Rather than saying "You have to do everything," it is saying "These are a number of ways in which you can elicit and support and

foster pupil participation across the board, and the ones which will have the most meaning and most resonance for your school are the ones to take up."

Q251 Stephen Williams: Is there a consensus out there, between the DfES and all your bodies and the other bodies which are not here at the moment, as to what a model school would be for citizenship, or are we still getting there?

Ms Gold: What is interesting is that I would say, no, it is not realistic, however we define this model school, I would say, no, it is not realistic, but obviously you get there, the reality is that the schools we see as being successfully participative have heads who genuinely believe that young people's voice is really important and can really make a big difference in school. All heads do not believe that and all heads do not function in that way, and participative schools, effective participative schools, have heads who work in that way with their staff as well. The amount of schools where the staff do not feel they have a voice and are not respected is really quite significant; there is no way that those schools where the staff do not feel respected and have a voice can have control. You hear more and more actually; we did a project with the QCA on their Futures project and they were telling us that the amount of teachers who think they cannot do this or that or the other because of the curriculum, the DfES Innovation Unit have the right to lift a statute if a school is to innovate, and apparently 95% of the requests they have from schools, saying "Will you lift statute so we can do X?" there is nothing that needs lifting, they can do it anyway. The problem is that headteachers are not confident enough in their staff to empower them to innovate and to try stuff, when they can do that, very often, and then staff do not feel like that and then they will say "Why should these kids have a say when we don't, when we haven't got one?"

Q252 Stephen Williams: Are there limits on pupil involvement? Chairman, I think your Committee, in the last Parliament, before I was here, the report on school dinners; what if pupils in a school said "None of this Jamie Oliver stuff; we want chips, a Mars bar and a can of coke for our lunch," and they organise a petition, a majority of the pupils sign it and present that to their school council then on to the head and the governors? What should the response of the school be, in that circumstance?

Ms Gold: A school is the community, is it not, a school is parents, staff, governors, students, and that is the model we promote. We do not say that student councils are young people's rights and that is it, young people, okay; it is a whole community.

Q253 Stephen Williams: Would that be their impression; if they are being given this right to participate and if they do not get what they want out of it, they will become cynical as to why they have been invited to participate?

Mr Mason: Not if they are fully informed about the process, so rather than just say "We want to hear what you think about school dinners," they are not told that, their decision will be the ultimate say, or

15 May 2006 Ms Jessica Gold, Ms Raji Hunjan, Mr Tom Wylie and Mr Jules Mason

that will be put into the mix of suggestions. If that is not explained, what is going to happen with them and why they are being asked to consider a subject then the resentment will grow.

Mr Carswell: Telling them very early on that their vote does not indeed count, which is good training for later life when they are going to take part in real elections.

Q254 Chairman: There is one person here who was at school dinners today, in Millbank School, just here in Pimlico, and, I have to say, no chips and extremely good food and I do not know participatory or whether there was a school council. On a rider to Stephen's question, what is the record, is there a record, is there some information which you could tell the Committee about, about the difference that school councils make? This time last week, or was it last Wednesday, we had a whole session on bullying. That is the real difficulty; school dinners are easy, in a sense, are they not? What about bullying, how much difference do school councils make in changing an atmosphere of bullying in school?

Ms Gold: I am still shocked by the number of schools I go to and I say "Do you have a bullying policy?" and they say "Yes," and I will say "Were the students involved in creating it?" and they will say "No." Then I will say "Do the students know about it?" and they will think that maybe they do, but probably they do not. Stephen Twigg observed, when he was a Minister in the DFES, that the most effective bullying strategies were ones which young people were actively involved in, because the reality is only students know what is happening in school. Teachers' experience and young people's experience in school are completely different.

Mr Wylie: I am with Jessica on that but I would not pin it myself simply to the school's council. I think there are examples of peer engagement in dealing with bullying and in the end actually it is peer engagement which will end bullying. There are examples where young people have asked for "make space over mental health conditions" are better in schools, somewhere where they can go and chill out, so to speak. They are forever complaining about the state of the lavatories, and we know it has health and attainment consequences if they are not acted upon, those sorts of things. If it is simply the advice of the school council, it will not be rich enough to handle all of these issues.

Q255 Stephen Williams: You are clairvoyant, I thought I might ask something about bullying, because I was rather disturbed by an answer that Jessica gave to a colleague earlier, about, I think it was, a behaviour panel said that they did not want a particular child to be excluded. Is there not a danger there, is not that crossing a boundary; what if that child was a bully and their mates were on this behaviour panel, or perhaps the opposite, they were actually afraid of this person so were trying to get in his good books to keep him in the school? Do there

not have to be some boundaries as to what they can be involved in and what is best left to the head and the management structure of the school?

Ms Gold: The schools which have done really exciting and innovative things have not said there are limits. They have said it is about partnership and it is about negotiation and it is about gradual development, but that headteacher, in that particular school, when those children said "We want an inclusion, not an exclusion, group," at each step along the way she checked it and thought "This sounds good; let's see what we can do." That particular primary school, as part of their inclusion approach, set up a kind of mini circle time, where they invited the parent to come in, the kids talked to the parent and the child at the same time, saying "How can we support; what can we do to help your child stay in this school, because that is what we want?" It is a partnership, it is a partnership between students and teachers, and the reality is that sometimes students will have very innovative solutions, sometimes they will be incredibly conservative and very unimaginative, but with experience and with empowerment they will come up with all sorts of interesting solutions that teachers do not have time to think about, to be honest.

Q256 Stephen Williams: Have Ofsted got it right, the way they actually evaluate the teaching of citizenship or participating in citizenship in schools?

Ms Gold: Probably not yet.

Mr Wylie: They need to connect it with whatever they are doing on joint area reviews; they should not connect it simply to the institutional focus, it needs to feed across into the other forms of provision for young people in all communities. Outcome number four in *Every Child Matters*.

Q257 Stephen Williams: A final question relevant to this Committee. I wonder if you could suggest ways for young people themselves, you all have access to young people and you are acting as a filter for their views to us, is there a good way we could hear directly the voices of young people? Something which occurs to me. I went to the count in Bristol of the Youth Parliament and people actually had taken part in an election and it was a much more exciting count than anything I had ever been to myself. Might they be the right people to ask?

Ms Hunjan: In the Puttnam Commission we talked about roadshows, so actually just holding events and meetings but in different parts of the country, and there are really simple things that you can do to make it more participatory, like not have the desks and have some people actually sitting working together and some young people being prepared in advance, some young people being able to submit evidence in different ways. I know the Hansard Society does a lot of this, through HeadsUp, so there is an online forum, and they piloted a video project which was about young people giving evidence through short films, which I think would be a really exciting way of hearing about young people, but I think definitely going out to where young people are. I was chairing an event at the Power Inquiry

conference on Saturday and a lot of young people stood up and said “It’s really strange; it’s like elected representatives don’t know where to find us. They just have to go to the pub, the park, the Youth Council, the school, and they will find us and they can talk to us.” It is not always about expecting young people to come into forums like this.

Q258 Mr Marsden: This is a very narrow, curriculum-based thing; do you think that the teaching of citizenship and the linkage of citizenship is going to be helped by citizenship being seen as a discrete element in the school curriculum, as opposed to being something—because we have heard this from some of our witnesses—that flows through a variety of different strands in the school?
Ms Hunjan: I think, if you want that knowledge bit, that we have been talking about a lot, then you need to have discrete lessons, where the taught bit of the citizenship curriculum can be done. I maintain my point that teachers need a lot more help with that, and that can come with Parliament, wherever, teachers need help with that, but I think it is important to have discrete lessons, as well as this whole-school approach, which looks at where citizenship can be delivered in other parts of the school environment.

Mr Mason: I would endorse Raji’s view, principally because of the fact that if it is just solely on a discrete subject then we can just have the typical mentality of a citizenship lesson, even if it was a bit “Oh, we’ve got a practical today because we’re going out, whoopy-doo; but then next week we’re just going to sit and someone’s going to talk to us about the status of the bill. Whoopy-doo.” If this links, say, in history or chemistry—

Q259 Mr Marsden: We promise we will not recommend that.

Mr Mason: It is just little bits of difference, whether it is modifying language or whether it is the act, which link back to certain elements about citizenship, so they can see that it is not seen in isolation, it is part of being a member of society and being a member of the community, about vocational skills, not just academic skills, then I think it will be useful.

Q260 Mr Marsden: Through you, Chairman, I think Tom was nodding; do you want to add something?

Mr Wylie: I think colleagues have said it. I think it is the three. I have taught it myself, I have taught history on the British constitution, as it was then called. You do need the specific elements so that you can help people to be clear where the hand-holds are, a bit like the Bullock Report on English, many years ago, where every teacher is a citizenship teacher, so you do want to see its connections and, I would say, the Whig view of history, even the poetry of John Clare, etc., can we see where it connects in other subjects. If it is not then lived out in what they experience in the school, then the teaching will take it only so far, if they do not feel respected and able

to participate to the different levels of their interests and ability in the school itself then people will disregard the taught curriculum, because that is not the message they are getting from the hidden curriculum.

Q261 Chairman: We are coming to the end of this session. Tom has now got a gold star for mentioning John Clare in evidence, but, you three, you are going to have this feeling of discontent when you leave this Committee, because as soon as you get out of this room you are going to say to yourself “I wish I’d told that lot x, or y.” You have got a minute to do it. I will start with Jules. We have missed the point, have we; what have we missed that we should be alert to? What else should we be looking at?

Mr Mason: I do not think there is anything missed. I would just re-emphasise, which bears upon Tom’s last point, that citizenship needs to be lived. I think, from our perspective, it being seen as vocational, life skills, so that then beyond compulsory and beyond post-16 education, when they become real citizens, depending on your perspective, they can contribute to society. I think that is what citizenship education is about.

Q262 Chairman: You do not have citizenship in universities, do you?

Mr Mason: No, but of lifelong learning everyone is a part.

Q263 Chairman: Perhaps we should have?

Ms Hunjan: I think I would like to see more decision-makers and policy-makers involved in supporting the citizenship curriculum and making it more real through engaging young people in consultation, through opening up our institutions in more accessible ways for young people to be involved in them and actively to engage with young people and see them as citizens now, not citizens of the future. I would like to see the Education Unit of Parliament supporting schools more, by making it easier for them to access the information and understand what is going on here.

Ms Gold: We think that every school needs to be supported in the process of establishing an effective, bottom-up student participation infrastructure, an infrastructure that all young people now have to feed into, access and have a voice through, as opposed to it being just an elite couple of students who meet in the head’s office. It is a bottom-up structure, through form councils, through class councils, and schools should have a specific part of their budget which every year can be spent on developing young people’s skills in participation and leadership.

Mr Wylie: Encourage schools to have a set of standards which cover both the taught curriculum and the hidden curriculum of the school as an institution, and connect both of those to the real world and not simply the institution.

Chairman: Thank you very much for evidence. We have enjoyed it and it has been a very lively session. Thank you very, very much.

Monday 22 May 2006

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Dr Roberta Blackman-Woods
Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr David Chaytor
Mrs Nadine Dorries

Jeff Ennis
Helen Jones
Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams

Memorandum submitted by the United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education (USAJE)

1. My name is Simon Goulden and I am the Chief Executive of the United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education (USAJE). We are actively involved in initial teacher training, curriculum development and governor training, as well as acting as the first point of contact for the vast majority of Jewish voluntary-aided schools in the country. By way of a brief biography, I qualified as a civil engineer and after some years in senior positions, took up a management post at the London School of Jewish Studies (then Jews' College, London) and 11 years ago became the Chief Executive of the USAJE. I have taught in Sunday schools and informally for many years.

2. The Education and Skills Select Committee, in seeking information on citizenship education, has asked specifically for the views of faith schools. Speaking on behalf of the Jewish faith school system with which I am familiar, I find it a challenge to compartmentalise citizenship education as a specific subject. Throughout Jewish history, the concepts of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy have been intrinsic to our culture, heritage and literature. As Chief Rabbi Sir Jonathan Sacks wrote, "Society is, for Judaism, a process of education. Education is at the very heart of the society building enterprise. What education is, in the Judaic vision, is a significant counterforce to the other two great and dominant factors in society: on the one hand, government, politics and the distribution of power; on the other, markets, economics and the distribution of wealth." He noted: "There is one significant difference between those two and the realm of education and the difference is simple: power on the one hand and wealth on the other are at any given moment zero sum games. The more power I give away, the more money I give away, the less I have. The more I share it, the less I individually possess. Knowledge is precisely not a zero sum gain. That is why education allows others to resolve certain dilemmas that are never resolvable in politics and economics." (Sacks, 2003)

3. Members of the Select Committee can see from the above, which comes from an article he wrote for our journal *The Jewish Educator*, that the concepts of citizenship can be—and, indeed, often are—dealt with in terms of Jewish religious education in our schools. Certainly for the past 2,500 years, from the end of the Babylonian Exile, education was for Judaism neither simply the transfer of information, nor even merely the acquisition of skills. Judaism believes that education is precisely the process of becoming a citizen, becoming literate and articulate in the laws and narratives that constitute the democratic society in which we live and for which we all carry collective responsibility. Richard Hoggart wrote challengingly that "some people want children to be literate enough to be handed over to the persuaders, not literate enough to blow the gaff on them" (Hoggart 1995). For the Jewish community, citizenship and education are but two sides of the same coin.

4. There is undoubtedly an implication for many Jewish schools in terms of additional workload, an implication I know is shared by other, non-faith schools in the state system. That is why the majority of them have taken the opportunity to include citizenship either in PSHE or in Religious Education. The Initial Teacher Training courses which we run suggest other strategies, for example the use of cross-curricular links to the literacy strategy or the history curriculum. Students in both our SCITT and Graduate Teacher Programmes are taught about the importance of citizenship education and have to complete assignments specifically based on the significance of the topic.

5. Whilst citizenship is not a statutory requirement in terms of National Curriculum at Key Stages 1 and 2, my research indicates that almost every Jewish school will be taking the subject extremely seriously. Visits from the local police, or local councillors, charitable projects for a wide range of charities both at home and abroad, student councils to learn the value of the democratic process, active involvement in cross-borough sports and cultural activities, all confirm the view that the Jewish faith school system is actively involved in the primary phase in citizenship education, as well as at the statutory Key Stages 3 and 4. Don Rowe, of the Citizenship Foundation wrote about the pedagogy of moral education in terms of its relevance to citizenship education, claiming that "it is not enough for teachers to remain 'neutral' and hope for a good quality lesson. Moral education requires specific pedagogies according to the task in hand." (Rowe and Newton 1994). It would be my contention that a Jewish faith-based day school would and does offer exactly that, with teachers able to enthuse their pupils about the value and importance of citizenship education from a specifically religious standpoint.

6. Turning to curricular matters, the “National Jewish Curriculum”, which we are currently developing, places significant emphasis on citizenship subjects. Rights and responsibilities, behaviour towards others, stewardship of the world in which we live, involvement in and service to the wider community are all dealt with in terms of understanding the Jewish moral underpinning of these topics. Curricular resources have already been produced under the heading of *The World Around Us* on such subjects as concern for animals, the environment, Jewish responsibility, etc. Others are planned for the future.

7. The Select Committee wanted to know what faith schools were doing to examine the relationship between citizenship education and the current debate about identity and Britishness, a debate which has been brought into even sharper focus through the statement of Bill Rammell MP but a few days ago. To the Jewish community, this is simply not an issue. Chief Rabbi Sacks wrote that when thinking about citizenship, we must never forget about the very close connection between giving and belonging. As an example, a house in which I take refuge is one where I am a guest, but a house that I help to build is one that I can call mine. In the Jewish tradition, social inclusion is a concept that cannot be fully translated into the language of rights. It is essentially related to the idea of participation. If a citizen can say “I helped to make this” then he or she can say “I belong”.

8. For hundreds, perhaps, thousands of years, for the Jewish community, schools have not themselves been independent variables. They cannot exclusively be agents of change. The Jewish community has always been built around a tripartite structure: the home, the synagogue, the school—which we can perhaps rename today as the reciprocal support of schools, families and communities. We believe that if that alliance is missing, schools cannot do what we ask them to do and, if they fail to do it, that is not because they have failed society, but because society has failed them.

9. As a former Minister of School Standards said at a lecture organised by the Agency for Jewish Education: “Jewish and other faith schools have a unique contribution to the citizenship debate within the communities they draw from. They can set an example of good citizenship. If children see their parents actively engaged in the synagogue, church, temple and also in the wider community, they will learn how to do this. If we teach our children how society works and how they can change things then we will inspire our young people to engage in the democratic process. That is good for us. But above all, it is good for them as citizens of the future.”

May 2006

Witnesses: **Mr Simon Goulden**, Director, United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education, **Dr Mohammed Mukadam**, Chair, Association of Muslim Schools UK, **Mr Nick McKemey**, Head of School Improvement, Church of England Board of Education, and **Ms Oona Stannard**, Chief Executive and Director, Catholic Education Service, gave evidence.

Q264 Chairman: Can I welcome Nick McKemey, Oona Stannard, Simon Goulden and Dr Mohammad Mukadam to our proceedings and say again that we always are very grateful when people give their time to come in front of our Committee. Of course, we know that we can make you come if you did not want to but it is very nice when witnesses eagerly attend, so thanks very much for your attendance. We are something like halfway into our inquiry into citizenship education and we are getting ourselves into some very interesting territory. Some of the questions are quite philosophic, spiritual, whatever, but they are fascinating. Some of the evidence that your organisations have given us today has been very interesting and some very challenging. I intend to start these proceedings by giving each of the witnesses a chance to make a very short introduction, not to repeat their CV but to say something to the Committee to get the discussion moving.

Mr McKemey: My own reflection is that this was a very difficult subject to get a grip on. I have attempted to do some sort of survey of what is going on in Church of England schools and alongside that I have looked at what we have in terms of some kind of emerging policy on citizenship and so I may refer to the two speeches by the Archbishop of Canterbury made in the last three years, both of which have some pointers to and indications of what could be surmised as the Church of England stance on this, but I say that with some hesitancy.

Q265 Chairman: Why do you say it with some hesitancy?

Mr McKemey: Because it is very difficult to get a complete picture. As an education provider we probably have the most diverse run of schools in the whole faith provision, partly because we have voluntary foundation schools and now academies and we also have voluntary aided schools and those schools very broadly have somewhat different types of character and they certainly have different types of governance, so there are differences there. If you then apply the broad range of churchmanship across Church of England schools and the degree to which schools adhere to some form of distinctive Christian character you have a very wide range. Then again, if you add the populations within the schools, we have schools which are 100% UK white to schools that are well over 90% of Asian and Muslim origin. If you look at that it is very diverse; hence I hesitate to come out with a simple picture of a Church of England school.

Q266 Chairman: There is no simple picture.

Mr McKemey: There is no simple picture but a very complex one.

Ms Stannard: I too have been talking to various heads and inviting schools to comment and advise me in advance of today. By way of introduction all that I would want to say is that I have been strongly reminded by those to whom I have spoken that being

a good Catholic involves being a good citizen and the notion of citizenship as service is something which is held dear in the schools. When people have discussed that with me they have also been very keen to remind me, as if I did not know already, that being a Catholic school does not mean that it is populated entirely by Catholic pupils. There is a feeling that the sense of citizenship as service is something that they are practising throughout the school, whatever the range of pupils, and that it is built on the Christian values of the school.

Mr Goulden: We clearly all have been doing our homework. I too have been contacting Jewish schools and find that the whole subject of citizenship is one that is very difficult to decouple from the very life of the school itself. Clearly, having heard my two colleagues on my right and, I would guess, my colleague on my left, the idea of a faith community not being imbued with ideas of citizenship and everything that brings with it is something I find very difficult to decouple. Judaism believes that education is the process of becoming a citizen, becoming articulate in the law, in collective responsibility, responsibility for the world around us, and so to have citizenship as a discrete and separate subject is one that has been quite challenging for the Jewish community and its schools. We have very much built it into religious education because religious education and religion imbues our lives and that focuses on citizenship subjects. It has been an interesting bit of research and clearly one where there is a lot of work going on but I would be interested to hear what others have to say.

Q267 Chairman: Are you saying that the problem is very different if you are in a non-faith school, that the question of citizenship is quite different if you step outside the faith school sector, that you need citizenship there because there is not a religious core, a spiritual core, that is already part of making people aware of the need for citizenship?

Mr Goulden: I cannot, of course, speak for the non-faith school community because that is not one that I am over-familiar with, but I certainly do know in the Jewish community that our faith drives our view of citizenship and the demands of the faith and of citizenship do not seem to be at odds at all, quite the contrary. Exactly what goes on in the rest of the state sector, because the vast majority of our schools, of course, are voluntary aided schools, I am afraid I am not really qualified to answer.

Dr Mukadam: The Association of Muslim Schools UK has some 125 mostly independent Muslim schools up and down the country. Citizenship is something which is not new for many of our schools because from an Islamic point of view a good citizen is a good Muslim, a universal citizen. Of course, there are many challenges for us in schools. Some of them have just started, like lack of resources, lack of training, trying to get to grips with many other things associated with running schools, but on the whole every school that I have visited or spoken to warmly welcomes this debate and is engaged actively in teaching young people citizenship. Many are

engaged in looking at different methodologies because of the diversity within the Muslim communities. Some take a traditional role and teach it as a separate subject, try to Islamicise it; others will take a different approach and integrate it throughout the curriculum. There is a variety of approaches but in essence it is a debate that is welcomed in Muslim schools in order to face challenges and see how we can continue to improve our teachings to churn out better educated British citizens.

Q268 Mrs Dorries: All of you have demonstrated that citizenship is something which is imbued in the day-to-day life of your schools as part of the faith which is what drives your schools. The Chairman raised an important question about whether you think it does not happen outside. Do you think that you need citizenship as a subject within your schools and, as an add-on to that, do you think that if you do not other schools do?

Dr Mukadam: I suppose a properly run Islamic school would not require a citizenship programme at all because within its philosophy, its teachings and its holistic approach is what I would call the effective domain which seeks to turn young people into good human beings with universal values. A good Muslim should really be a good universal citizen no matter which country he lives in. In that respect, if you analyse what citizenship looks for and you look at the ethos and the effective domain that exists within Islamic schools you will find they are in parallel and in some cases they go well above what is required in the citizenship programme. This addresses not only the cognitive domain but also the effective domain in making sure that those values are understood and internalised. Yes, in one sense, if the citizenship programme did not exist we would have no problem in churning out good, well-rounded British citizens.

Ms Stannard: It would be disingenuous to say that when citizenship came on stream under that name I did not hear complaints from Catholic schools who were saying to me, "We are doing this anyway. Why do we have to jump through these hoops?", and there was great concern about trying to find the time in an overcrowded curriculum. That said, having moved on and with schools having more experience now of delivering citizenship in terms of present expectations, there is a much more positive response. Many schools say, "We enjoy what it has made us think about and focus upon and many of the activities and so on that we have planned and got involved in in the name of citizenship", and they say that whilst still moaning about curriculum pressures and the pressure of finding the time. Typically there will be citizenship occurring through the medium of religious education but also in PSHE and other subjects and by other strategies as well.

Q269 Mrs Dorries: We have PSHE, we have English, we have history, we have religious education. Why then do we need citizenship as well? How come the teachers are complaining about the additional curriculum pressure? Why can they not teach what

they are teaching as citizenship through those routes or channels? Why do they have to have it isolated into a different heading or subject?

Mr McKemey: One of the difficulties we had was getting a comprehensive picture and maybe that is what we are going to embark on now. A head teacher rang me up the other day and made a very forceful statement for delivering citizenship across the whole curriculum within a school that has a distinctive Christian character, and he talked about worship right through to PE, so it was through the whole thing and it was really about identifying those strands. Most of the head teachers that I have spoken to and most of the schools that I visit approach it in that way and that is when it seems to work best. One of the problems with PSHE was when it got detached and became a thing in itself. Years ago as an Ofsted inspector I remember inspecting some pretty dreadful PSHE lessons, and one of the things that we are concerned about, as with our Catholic colleagues, is that the thing could be counterproductive if it is delivered in the wrong way. Certainly I think we would feel that it would not only be embedded in the Christian dimension of the school but also through the whole curriculum as a holistic approach.

Q270 Mrs Dorries: Citizenship seems to be the essence of what you do in your schools anyway as faith schools. It seems to have taken the essence of what you teach through every lesson every day and crystallised it into a subject with “citizenship” above it. Do you think it is the Government’s place to do that, to tell you to take out the best of what you will teach anyway and to put it into a new subject and define it?

Mr Goulden: I think it would be disingenuous of us to suggest how the Government should focus the National Curriculum for the future, or even the present, but it does seem, certainly from my point of view, that we have tried to find a subject heading for something which, certainly for a faith school, is the warp and the weft of everything we do. I was listening just now to what Oona said and could not help but feel that she could have translated that exactly into what our schools are doing and have been doing, and I assume I speak for my other colleagues as well. This is not difficult for a faith school to do. It just means that we have to re-focus and re-compartmentalise the work we do so that it fits nicely into the citizenship curriculum and the curriculum headings and outcomes et cetera, but it is not new territory for us. I think it is new territory for a number of non-faith schools, or rather state schools. I think we can get an idea of the dimension of that if you try and see how many colleges and universities run specific PGCE courses in citizenship. There are fewer than a dozen in the country and many of those do that as part of citizenship and history, citizenship and literacy or citizenship and English. It strikes me that the non-faith schools system might be needing to catch up with where we as faith schools have had little difficulty in understanding citizenship for many decades.

Q271 Mrs Dorries: This might be an unfair question to ask people who are already familiar with the concept of citizenship through what you do on a day-to-day basis but, given that we have so many coasting schools in the UK and schools where we have—and I cannot remember the statistic; I have not brought it with me—is it one in six children still not reaching the right literacy levels by the time they leave school, do you not think that the Government should be concentrating on the three Rs, as it were, the basic education, and leaving citizenship to history and PSHE and religion and not taking curriculum time to add another subject on?

Ms Stannard: First, could I say that I think you can deliver citizenship education as something discrete or across the curriculum or, when done best, as a combination of both. I take your point about standards and I am sure we all feel that those are critically important, but citizenship education done well offers a good medium in which to be developing work on those standards. Some of the activities in which children and young people have become involved as a result of citizenship are quite motivating, they give the pupils work where they are having to write, having to be numerate, having to undertake pieces of analysis and so on, which arguably you could say help to develop those core skills. Another benefit of citizenship education done well is the building of the self-esteem of the pupils. What some of them are achieving and experiencing is very rewarding for them. In a sense I might even be tempted to argue that having created something with a label called citizenship, even though we believe we can do it very well without that label, does also mean that schools are put on their mettle to check what they are doing in citizenship and it has stimulated innovation. For example, in our diocese of Brentwood the Bishop has initiated annual pupil citizenship awards which are given out in a big ceremony within the cathedral. The pupils are very proud of them, as are the parents. They are very keenly reported upon and sought. I think there are all sorts of additional benefits that can come from citizenship and I do feel very keenly about pressures on the curriculum and the timetable for teachers but I think there is a balancing act that can be done.

Mr McKemey: In common with my colleagues we have schools that are serving communities in which the children presenting at the reception stage have barely any social skills at all. If we see citizenship as having an impact on the development of, if you like, socialisation of children, the needs for these children are particularly acute. I was in one of our secondary schools recently which is in fact serving the population of two previous failed schools and the issues are very acute. The parental generation is the one that was failed and their model of schools and their attitude to education is extremely negative, so the school is in a sense trying to educate two generations at once and the children are coming in, as I say, with virtually no social skills. A good example is that their model of dealing with problems is anger or violence and so on, so I think that there are some real issues. At that level that socialisation has to be embedded in what the school does, let

alone what its values are and what it stands for. I think there are some acute needs for this. Coming back to whether the Government should have a programme for this, there clearly are needs in those kinds of circumstances.

Q272 Jeff Ennis: I would like to follow the line of questioning that Nadine has been pursuing in response to an earlier reply you gave, Oona. Do you think one of the reasons why the Government have pushed the citizenship agenda, if you like, is that they feel it may be in danger of being part of the implied curriculum in certain schools, and I am not singling out faith schools when I say this, rather than the actual curriculum which they obviously want to see happening across every school, not just the faith schools?

Ms Stannard: Can I just check that I have understood your question correctly? You are wondering if my view is that it being overt in the curriculum is to ensure that it happens and it happens well?

Q273 Jeff Ennis: Yes, because in any school curriculum you have the implied curriculum, which teachers are supposed to teach, and then you have the actual curriculum which they end up teaching. Quite often there is a disparity between the two and I am just wondering if education for citizenship can fall into that disparate sort of situation on occasion.

Ms Stannard: I am sure that it could. Every school is different, every school approaches what it has to do differently and with different interests and particular enthusiasms. I think having citizenship as something named and looked at ensures that those running the school undertake the review and the evaluation of citizenship, but I would also agree with you entirely, if I have inferred correctly, that citizenship is not something that is only taught but is also acted and is present in very many of the extra-curricular activities that I see going on, for instance, in older students participating in justice and peace groups in our schools, running a Fair Trade shop, Fair Trade cafés, all that sort of thing.

Q274 Jeff Ennis: I have a supplementary question to an earlier response from Nick McKemey in terms of the fact that it appears to me that education for citizenship can be used as a very positive tool in promoting behaviour management across the whole spectrum of all schools, Nick, and I wonder if you agree with that philosophy.

Mr McKemey: Yes, I do. That picks up the comment Oona made a minute or two ago, that if the school is not simply focused on the hard academic curriculum but also on developing positive attitudes to learning and raising self-esteem and that sort of capital which you need in order to develop and proceed to greater achievement, then yes, I do see that as a coherent approach.

Q275 Jeff Ennis: I wonder if Simon or Mohammed have any views about either of the questions I have put to the other two witnesses?

Mr Goulden: One of the difficulties I see is that citizenship should be for everybody a way of life. That is what it should all be. Clearly, in a religious school or a school of a religious nature, that religious life is a way of life as well. For the religious school the two are perfectly matched. I do not know whether the Government decided to put citizenship in the curriculum because it is not a way of life, sadly, any more for a percentage—whether the vast percentage or not I have no idea—of the British population. I do see that there is this tripartite compact of the school, the community (for me the faith community) and the home, and you cannot leave the home out. We know that a triangle is the strongest structure possible and if you have a strong triangle then almost nothing can destroy it. My concern is that somewhere in our recent past, I would imagine, the concept of citizenship for the majority of people in the community has become far more Putnam's *Bowling Alone* syndrome and ideas of citizenship have tended to disappear with the "me" generation: "I want it all and I want it now". I think a faith grounding goes some way to redress that balance. I do not know, I genuinely do not know, how that plays out in a non-faith environment.

Dr Mukadam: I would like to try and separate two issues here. One is, I would say, the values and self-esteem and things associated with those in faith schools that we find are done effectively through religious education, collective worship, et cetera. Where I do find citizenship really useful is when it acts as a conduit for debate and allows young people to have discussions about human rights, for example, and the sharia, what sorts of differences there are and how does a Muslim in a western country look at and discuss those differences and so forth. There is also democracy. If you give year 7s or Key Stage 3 kids a chance to play, for example, the Prime Minister it is a wonderful inspiration for them. I think it is a very useful subject in which to develop attitudes, skills and other things associated with democracy so that they understand it and have an opportunity to discuss their own faith perspectives within that framework. It would be right to say that the core values which make a good global citizen in our opinion are formed effectively within the religious domain of the school's life.

Q276 Jeff Ennis: What degree of flexibility should schools and other institutions be allowed when it comes to providing citizenship education for pupils in their care? Are there things which categorically should be left out and things which should definitely be included within the citizenship curriculum of a school?

Ms Stannard: Could I submit a dissertation to you on that in three years' time please? I really think it is so profound and important a question that I just could not do it justice off the cuff like that; forgive me.

Q277 Jeff Ennis: That is very honest of you. I can tell you are a Catholic. Can you give me one or two issues that you think definitely ought to be in? What are the main issues that should be in the citizenship curriculum and what are those that definitely should not be touched?

Ms Stannard: I certainly would include, for instance, the importance of democracy, the importance of valuing each person equally, and for me, of course, I would put that as the dignity of the human being, seeing Christ in everyone you encounter and what that demands in terms of how you treat every individual, and from there what that should mean in terms of the structures of your life and the way you live your life and that life of service to others. It is harder to say what should not be in, I am afraid.

Q278 Jeff Ennis: Exactly!

Mr McKemey: Can I approach that in a slightly different way? When you look at the national curriculum remit for citizenship it is relatively comprehensive or potentially comprehensive. The thing that would concern me is, if you like, the quality and depth of the provision. An area that we are very interested in and which Archbishop Rowan reflected on in his speech in March, *Faith in the Future*, was in our case the way a faith school can engage with those of other faiths and no faith as well as their own faith, and how that relationship can be enriched and developed. This goes way beyond what he calls passive tolerance. It is a real engagement. One of the values that we have heard expressed that a faith school might have is spiritual security and that encompasses the ability for children to be able to develop and profess belief or no belief in in the complete security of not being bullied, put down or undermined by other people. We think there are some key issues there. I have to say that when you take the National Curriculum and suggested programmes of work and all the rest of it they do not really start to make inroads into that process. I think there are some dangers in a simplistic approach to tolerance because it fails to understand the range of different values, approaches and so on that people bring to their thought, belief, philosophic processes or none. I think probably the biggest challenge we are facing in our education is with those who have not got the beginnings of any kind of social or moral code with which to deal with life, whether that is agnostic or from a faith. That is the key issue and too many things are being ring-fenced off into tolerance or finding out what the superficial features are of this or that. That is why I worry. Rather than leave something out I think it is more about the quality of what you do.

Mr Goulden: In the Jewish community we are a little concerned about the use of the word “tolerance”. Somebody once said that you tolerate toothache but it is respect for all people that Judaism teaches and that is an area that I would like the National Curriculum and citizenship to concentrate on: respect for the other, something which I think the chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality

said a few months ago, I think when he was giving evidence here but I am not sure; it may have been in another place. That is very important. There is another feature. Whilst I would agree that the national curriculum programmes of work are pretty comprehensive, I do not think I would like to take anything out—perhaps that needs another PhD as well, three years of research—but I think the important thing as far as we are concerned is the close connection between giving and belonging. The Chief Rabbi made, I thought, a very good analogy: in a house in which you take refuge you are just a guest but in a house which you help to build you can say, “It is my home”. I think if we as faith communities can help to build the house that is Britain we can truly say, as we certainly do, that we belong.

Dr Mukadam: I would agree with what my colleagues have said. It is very difficult to see what should or needs to be taken out. It is a wonderful thing that those who are involved in it have put through. One thing I would like to say is that flexibility in terms of delivering the citizenship programme needs to be maintained because there are different approaches. Those who have a faith perspective have a different approach and sometimes it is not understood by those who do not have a faith, not realising that it has worked for people of faith for many years and it is more effective to teach this because of the different backgrounds and so forth. I think on the whole it should be maintained but equally important is flexibility in delivering that so that it is delivered through different philosophies, different understandings, rather than having this one-size-fits-all approach which is dominated, I think, by the comprehensive schools and a faith-free approach. I would be quite worried about anything that said it had to be delivered in a particular way.

Q279 Chairman: Is there not a touch of complacency in some of the things that the four of you are saying in the sense, “Everything is all right in our bailiwick but what is happening in the non-faith sector is probably where the problem lies”? Rather unpleasant characters that are not very good citizens emerge from your schools, from Catholic schools, from Anglican schools and from Muslim schools, do they not? It is not the fact that faith schools do the job of citizenship brilliantly well. We are all human beings, are we not?

Mr Goulden: We are indeed, Chairman, and we all have the ability to rise higher and do better. What I am saying is that the underpinning of citizenship education through a faith lens—and I am mixing my metaphors so you must forgive me—I personally find easy to do because that is something which we do as part of our faith, culture, religion, philosophy, ethos. I am not saying that everybody is perfect. That is, of course, what we pray for every day. We are not there yet but I am saying that we are trying very hard and we do not have a difficulty with teaching citizenship because it is meat and drink to us.

Q280 Chairman: Most of the state schools I visit, the good ones, have a pretty clear code of what a good citizen is and that is not only taught in citizenship classes; it imbues the behaviour and activity of the school. Is that not the case?

Mr Goulden: I am sure you are right but I am here representing Jewish faith schools and I cannot talk for the others.

Q281 Chairman: There was just a little bit of, “We are all right but we are worried about the rest of the world”.

Ms Stannard: May I step out of my Catholic role for a moment and look back to my time as an HMI and also the time when I acted as a consultant to the National Healthy Schools standard? I have no doubt that there are other schools that do citizenship very well too based on good human values which, of course, people will say come from good Christian values. I am not knocking other schools and saying we do everything supremely well by any means. I think we can find some jolly good examples if we look at things like the National Healthy Schools standard and work in community schools too.

Q282 Chairman: The British Humanists have given evidence to us on this: some people might argue that faith schools are the problem, that the last 1,000 or 2,000 years has been a history of different religions fighting each other in the most unpleasant way, whether they be Catholics, Protestants, Jews or Muslims. The faith is the problem, not the answer.

Ms Stannard: Mr Sheerman, I could not possibly agree with you on that one. What we might be hearing about is tribalism at times rather than religion and I think also the different faiths have an amazing history of providing education to people who become well developed and assimilated citizens serving very well the wide diversity of the society in which they live.

Dr Mukadam: I think it is about how schools and the education institutes teach citizenship through a faith perspective; that is the important thing. Done properly I think it will show and it does indeed show that young people can become very good citizens because they have a solid base, their own faith. All faiths teach a belief in God and to treat every human being as they would themselves like to be treated. It is how it is taught which is important and in my opinion in our comprehensive schools we employ a very reductionist approach because we do not provide a full faith perspective in developing good citizenship. As a person coming from a faith background I feel that we are denying an opportunity to our young people to develop an inquiring mind to search for the eternal truth and then to find universal values that will help throughout life’s struggles to become good citizens. From a faith perspective I do feel that there needs to be a good debate on how good citizenship can be taught but taught from a faith perspective. That is a debate that I would welcome, not just for faith schools but also across different schools, those schools of no faith, simply because it is important to

give young people a holistic approach in education rather than the one that exists in many of our schools which I term a reductionist approach.

Q283 Mr Chaytor: Can I pursue that line of argument and ask each of our witnesses are you confident that, in the schools you represent, within the citizenship component of the curriculum the school could manage an objective discussion of the issues surrounding the war in Iraq? I would like to hear from each of you. How would the faith perspective come into that discussion?

Mr McKemey: I think the best answer I can give there is that we would expect that that discussion would be freely undertaken and that all the issues could be discussed openly and freely. In our case we talk about Christian values driving the school and two of them are openness and honesty. Over the last two years I have been involved in developing a new section 48 system for our schools and somebody in one particular diocese said, “But it is not really very Christian to criticise, is it?”, and we said, “Actually, we think that is the essence of our belief, that we are open, we are honest, but we can do that in a loving and supporting way, so we would expect that any issue can be dealt with”. Obviously, you have an enormous range of approaches you need to bring to that, depending on the age, the size of the school, the kinds of pupils you have got, if you have pupils in the school who are particularly associated with that. For instance, that of a school full of service families who are in Iraq and this was very much part of the open agenda in that school. That is what we would expect. I could not possibly sign for every single Church of England school to say they do but that is an expectation which I think they would share.

Q284 Mr Chaytor: Had the Archbishop of Canterbury made a statement about the moral issues involved in that war or another war would that influence the way in which the issue was discussed within Anglican faith schools?

Mr McKemey: I think it could do if it was a particular headline issue and the teachers had noticed and it had been taken on board. I think anything the Archbishop of Canterbury said would probably be broadly reflected across other areas of the church anyway, but others would differ, so there would be a range of views on that which would equally be explored.

Chairman: I think we had better contrast the last Archbishop with this one. We will not go into that! David?

Q285 Mr Chaytor: I am just interested in our witnesses commenting on this question.

Ms Stannard: We are educating pupils in citizenship; we are not indoctrinating them, so the importance of being able to hear evidence and listen respectfully to one another’s views and discern from that would in my view be one of the most critical aspects of good citizenship education, so I would hope that that which you are asking would in fact be done well in our schools, whether it is directly under the title of citizenship or there would be other areas of the

curriculum it could come into as well. In fact, I was interested when I was getting feedback from some of our schools in advance of today to hear from one school in an area close to Army bases where the Army has been in and working with senior pupils to do simulations of the issues facing the peacekeeping force, in this case in Bosnia and the problem-solving and so on that goes with that. Giving people the space to share their views, to share opinions and to delve down further I think is one of the positives in this.

Q286 Mr Chaytor: Had there been again a statement from the Vatican would that influence the nature of the discussion and the amount of space that a Catholic school could provide for that discussion?

Ms Stannard: Certainly it could influence the manner in which the work was introduced and the material that would be covered and perhaps where it would be covered. In our schools we expect that 10% of curriculum time will be given to religious education, so something coming up from the Vatican in that way may well find a very quick home there and plenty of time for it, but even coming from the Vatican does not mean that it does not get discussed and even possibly tossed around and questioned by some people.

Q287 Chairman: Are there any questions in your Catholic schools that you would evade because they are too difficult; they are uncomfortable?

Ms Stannard: I certainly hope not, Chairman, because to evade such questions would run counter to good education. I think what I would not in any type of school be dwelling upon is where there is a prying into the particular lifestyle, relationships and so on of the members of staff in that school. Whether that is more likely to happen in citizenship is not something I am suggesting.

Q288 Chairman: Or it might be Catholic teaching on contraception that you were discussing, the high rate of teenage pregnancy, say, or the attitude to contraception in Africa where HIV/AIDS is such a problem.

Ms Stannard: I do not think the discussion would be avoided.

Q289 Chairman: It is a difficult area, is it not?

Ms Stannard: It is a difficult area but it would be very likely to come up and it would not be evaded. It would be discussed as is appropriate to the age range of those pupils. In fact, it is important that it does come up when they are reading about it in the media and so on.

Mr Goulden: On the war in Iraq, I have no doubt that there have been a number of lively debates, particularly in Key Stage 4, discussing the morality of war as an overarching subject. There is a religious imperative and there are certainly Jewish religious attitudes towards war and whether there is such a thing as a just war and who can wage war and why and a whole range of things and what you can do and what our texts teach us about what happens when a war is waged, what you do with prisoners of war and

the like. There are texts going back 3,500 years to teach us that. Whether specifically the rights and wrongs of the war in Iraq have been discussed I could not say.

Q290 Mr Chaytor: Should they be?

Mr Goulden: As opposed to any other war, Chairman? Just the war in Iraq or every other war?

Q291 Chairman: The difficult ones; the crisis in the Middle East, Palestine and Israel. They must be difficult.

Mr Goulden: Undoubtedly there are many lively discussions on the subject of the situation in the Middle East and it is inevitable in a Jewish school that that would happen. It is inevitable when you find that in many of the schools the pupils will be taking trips, either on their own or in school groups, to Israel. It is undoubtedly a question that is raised and discussed in enormous detail. The subject would not be shirked. I do not think the Chief Rabbi has come out about the war in Iraq though.

Q292 Mr Chaytor: On the question of the discussion, each of you is saying that the discussion would take place, but the question is would the framework for discussion be objective and balanced? That is the issue, is it not? Could a Jewish school have an objective and balanced discussion about the election victory of Hamas, for example?

Mr Goulden: Of course.

Q293 Mr Chaytor: And you would expect that to be a principle of the teaching of citizenship within a Jewish school?

Mr Goulden: Of course, it is not British citizenship but we have strayed a little bit into international politics, which is a fine discussion. I have no doubt that a whole range of subjects could be dealt with within history, within citizenship, indeed through literature and all of these different things. The subject would not be swept under the carpet; that is an absolute certainty. The phrase "two Jews, three opinions" is one which should always be remembered.

Mr McKemey: We would see the purpose of citizenship as being to equip young people to be able to undertake those discussions and to be able to work over a range of topics, and probably also to be able to cope within what we would like to think is a Christian learning community with a range of possibly violently different opinions and views and still remain a cohesive community. That is part of the skill base that we would be looking to develop in the sense that you may have rather extreme views about somebody else's opinion but that is not tantamount to the view that you have about the individual. We would want to put it in that context. The other point I would make is that I do not think any faith school could be hermetically sealed from the outside world and those discussions will occur whether the school is consciously engaged or not.

Dr Mukadam: The straight answer is yes, we would not only allow it; we would encourage discussion on difficult issues, and in principle that can be done in

22 May 2006 Mr Simon Goulden, Dr Mohammed Mukadam, Mr Nick McKemey and Ms Oona Stannard

an objective fashion because the highest object is the truth within a faith school regardless of your affiliation to a political party or this party or that party. The highest object is the truth. In that sense in principle there is no objection at all and it would pose no problems to have an objective discussion on issues such as the war in Iraq or, for that matter, any other thing. I believe it is important that these discussions take place in school. The only problem is that we need to make sure that it is the right teacher who has a good knowledge about Islam and also a broad approach in seeking to establish that young people are thinking things through in a way that will benefit society, always bearing in mind that object, the truth.

Q294 Helen Jones: Following on from what David asked you, what do you think the advantages and the disadvantages are of trying to teach citizenship in faith-based schools? You have outlined the advantages for us of a very clear religious framework. Are there not also disadvantages in a multi-faith, multi-ethnic society of having to try to teach citizenship in a school where your pupils perhaps come from very similar backgrounds and, if so, how do you overcome those disadvantages? How do you engage not simply with your own community but also with the wider community?

Mr Goulden: I think it is a mistake to think that a faith-based school, even a school where 100% of the children are of the same faith, is necessarily a homogeneous school. All of our schools are comprehensive in their intake. Many of them will have children from homes where English is an additional language and many of them are first or second generation in this country, so to think that they are homogeneous in the way that perhaps a school in Cornwall or Cumbria might be is perhaps something that needs to be reflected on. How one teaches in a single faith school about other faiths is by engaging with other schools. I certainly know of Jewish schools which have joint programmes and meetings with pupils from other faith schools and other state schools. A number of schools have programmes where they bring in experts, imams or others from Christian denominations, to talk about their religion and what it is like to be a black West Indian in London or Britain today, and going out into other schools, having inter-school football competitions and chess competitions and debating societies. It means that the schools are not hermetically sealed, nor indeed should they be. That is very important. I hope I have answered your question.

Q295 Helen Jones: You have partly answered it. What I am trying to get at is this. You can teach citizenship within Islamic schools, Jewish schools, Muslim schools, I understand that absolutely; my own background is all in Catholic education, but the difficulty, it seems to me, when you are doing that, and perhaps another member of the panel might try and answer that, is that what children miss out on is daily interaction with people from different backgrounds, different faiths and so on. How do you

promote the kind of respect, tolerance, acceptance, which I think was a word that Simon used earlier, which we want our children to grow up with in a very mixed society?

Dr Mukadam: That is a very important question you have raised and one which is quite often put to us by many different people. I would point to the evidence which is around us. If you see young people who have gone through faith schools, we need to follow them through to further education colleges, which tend to be comprehensive, the universities and, of course, into their own careers, and then look at the evidence to see whether there has been a failure or a success in terms of promoting good citizenship. We can make judgments on whether or not these young people find it easy to integrate with members of different communities and whether or not these people hold deep respect for their fellow citizens, regardless of their faith or no faith and so forth. There are factors there and empirical evidence which needs to be looked at and so forth. In so far as the Association of Muslim Schools, and of course I am sure my other colleagues would say so as well, we have had some evidence which shows that young people who come from faith backgrounds do not have the facilities to be able to interact, in their foundation years and secondary years, with people of different faiths on the whole within the school. However, I would like to say that the values we teach, nurture and develop within them, such as having deep respect for fellow human beings, the skills to communicate and so forth, are so profound that when they do go into colleges and universities and take up their rightful place in our wider society, you will find that there is no problem, they are good citizens and, in a sense, they find it quite easy to integrate, to play their rightful role in society. I would also like to point to the evidence which exists regarding those disturbances in our northern cities and, indeed, the atrocities which we all know about. To the best of my knowledge, I have not seen a single person who was caught, let alone convicted, who went to a faith school. If we separate our preconceived understandings and notions from the empirical data that is around we will find that generally speaking there is not a problem or a disadvantage so long as the teaching within those faith schools promotes the universal values which are, of course, to treat any other human being, regardless of his or her faith or background, the same as you would like to be treated yourself. These fundamental values ensure that although they do not have the practical opportunity to interact within schools, but let us face it school is only part of their lives, there are other areas where they can put that into practice. The data which is available clearly shows that if we use different approaches it does not necessarily disadvantage these young people in the way that we are talking.

Q296 Helen Jones: Can I ask about some of the practicalities before we go on. I appreciate what you are saying, Dr Mukadam. If there is any evidence that you would like to give us later that would be very helpful. When we look at citizenship, we are

also looking at active citizenship, about people becoming engaged within communities. What steps do faith schools take, in your experience, to ensure that when we talk about community engagement, for instance, it is not simply their own faith community? We can all stay within our own comfort zones, can we not? How do we overcome that?

Mr McKemey: If I can add a little footnote to the previous question. 38.4% of all children in Church of England schools are in rural schools and a lot of those are very small schools and are mono-cultural. We think the issue of developing notions of broader citizenship across British society in those contexts is extremely important. Very often the local perspectives are, “Why do we need to know about other cultures and faiths because they are not here?” Equally, those children are probably going to grow up and go and work in Birmingham or London or somewhere else and make their way in the world, so we think there is a duty there to them, and I just wanted to put that down.

Ms Stannard: I am pleased that you have asked that question. When I was preparing for this I was delighted at the number of examples that came through which show citizenship as a catalyst for young people working in many activities beyond their own school. I think that is important if we are talking about faith schools or community schools. I would certainly refute any idea of faith schools being insular and not seeking all sorts of opportunities to work with others. For example, I am getting heads and others telling me about local youth forum, things like the Young Essex Assembly, shared mock magistrate trials, youth parliaments, running Make Poverty History campaigns together, Amnesty International campaigns across schools, and hearing about some schools in Bradford where the Catholic school had been working with a school where there were many Muslim pupils to offer a lunch club to the women of the area to get them meeting and talking together. I think things like that show where citizenship education is doing a lot to prompt working across communities rather than seeing citizenship in faith schools as necessarily being any more separatist.

Q297 Mr Marsden: In your opening statements all four of you talked about the importance of citizenship being absolutely interlinked with what you are trying to do as faith schools and therefore, I think, if I remember rightly, all four of you said it was so closely interlinked with everything that those schools should be doing. Interestingly enough, as we drill down with some of the questions from my colleagues, particularly the questions which David Chaytor asked, what appears to me to come out very strongly is that some of the most striking ways in which you address those issues are through looking at specific subjects. I hesitate in present company to say the devil is in the detail, but is there not some case—I will start off with you, Nick, because you were the one who talked about the immense breadth of the sorts of schools you represent, and as a fellow Anglican I well understand it—for saying that perhaps you should take a closer look and see

whether in fact some of these citizenship issues should not be more ring-fenced in order to provide the very valuable opportunities which you have all given specific examples of?

Mr McKemey: Do you mean there should be a specific focus on a particular point?

Q298 Mr Marsden: What I think I am saying is you gave some indication—if I am misconstruing it, forgive me—of the preference for the idea that citizenship should go through the whole ethos with the school rather than saying, “This is citizenship half hour, and this week we are going to discuss Iraq or contraception” or whatever it might be. The point I am putting to you is given the enormous variety, particularly of Anglican schools, would it not make more sense not to assume that all schools will do what the best schools will do, which is to do both, and look more specifically at ring-fencing sometime to discuss the sorts of issues which you have all agreed are valuable?

Mr McKemey: I think to some extent within the curriculum it is going to be about the quality of the broad curriculum, including areas where you might identify something like opportunities for social service, which is something that a lot of their schools, for instance, were keen on, or areas for developing the ability to discuss, debate and weigh arguments and so on. In that sense, we would agree with that approach and that is why I think we would like to support not just a notion of citizenship but some more clearly defined ideas as to what we are looking at there. When I talked about shallow tolerance, in a sense that is a rather lazy concept, it is about going beyond those things. Broadly, whether it is delivered through the subject curriculum or in other ways—and in small schools these things, by and large, are delivered as cross-curricula holistic topics, so that can be done—it is more complicated in large secondary schools. I think there are bigger dangers in large secondary schools of getting inept pockets of something, because it is there they are going to do it. I think it is very much about the quality with which you deliver it. I would agree that we need to pick out certain areas. I think it comes back to the point I was making that we have a focus in this inspection forum that we have got which is about how does the distinctive Christian character of the school meet the needs of all learners, and within that there is the focus on developing the whole child in every aspect, and we would see citizenship within that. What you are saying is you need particular things to make it work and, yes, we would agree with that.

Q299 Mr Marsden: Again, speaking earlier you talked about—I think you mentioned it more than once—some of the feedback you have had from your heads about the pressure on the time on the curriculum and so on and so forth. Again, given the vast range of schools that you are representing, is there not a danger that if there is not some quite specific ring-fencing the good schools will always do the mixture of working across the curriculum, doing the specific stuff and indeed picking up the

volunteering and community service which you referred to and my colleague Helen Jones asked about? Is there not a danger that the coasting schools will just either say, "Oh well, we are a Catholic school and this is not viewed in our ethos. We will either not do it at all specifically or possibly it will get shoehorned into the tail ends of PSHE lessons"?"

Ms Stannard: I think one might describe our education system as a bit of a stick and carrot system at the moment with the inspection and monitoring and so on. My experience has been that our schools operate within a mixed economy, and there is evidence of some ring-fencing, particularly years where time is devoted throughout the curriculum on a weekly basis to citizenship and other examples of discrete packages alongside what is also being provided for cross-curricula. I would also say it is going to be very important for any type of school that we have Ofsted monitoring what is happening in citizenship and its provision so that the very thing you fear does not happen and we know what the state of the nation is in terms of the provision and quality. Maybe I have not interpreted your question correctly?

Q300 Mr Marsden: I think that is absolutely fine. I would like to move on to Simon and Mohammed and, by all means, through you, Chairman, touch briefly on this point, if you would like to. In a way I would like to take them a little bit further and, again, perhaps in the context of having specific time in the school day to discuss or to look at these difficult issues. I think both of you mentioned ethics, values and morals on a couple of occasions but the issue is, is it not, that in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Britain today there are a very striking variety of views on some key issues which inevitably come up. Let me take two or three very specific examples: attitudes towards the position of women in society varying enormously, not just between faith groups but within faith groups; attitudes perhaps towards the centrality of marriage and attitudes towards homosexuality. To what extent are you confident, again to reflect something my colleague David Chaytor said, that within your treatment of citizenship in your schools those sorts of complex issues, on which people inevitably will have very different views, can be taken forward?

Dr Mukadam: Can I look at it in a slightly different way. If you separate the notion about a good citizen and an active citizen, perhaps we can see. In that sense I think it is important to ring-fence some of those things to create what I believe is an active citizen because you can have a good citizen who can be a very passive citizen. In terms of the debates which you mentioned, specifically about the attitude to women, homosexuality, et cetera, these pose no problems at all for faith schools where they are well-run and have a broader understanding of Islam. Of course Islam has its clear views about homosexuality and those are discussed in schools, but it would be wrong to translate that as homophobic, or whatever you want to call it. Although the Koran is very clear that homosexuality as an act is sinful and so forth, I

do not think the Koran teaches that they should go around beating up any homosexuals, so there is a difference. There is room for holding one's own views and to discuss this, and to uphold them. It is equally important to make sure that they respect their fellow human beings and do not go around doing things which are illegal.

Q301 Mr Marsden: With respect, if I may pick you up on that, it comes back to a word I think you used, Simon Goulden, because you talked about the difference between toleration and respect. Whether it is a debate about women or it is a debate about attitudes towards homosexuality, what many people would argue is what is important in those schools, or in an educational system, is there should be the capability of having a debate, not just about—if I can put it this way—gritted teeth toleration but about respect for other members of society who have a lifestyle or can take an attitude or have a perception of themselves which is different perhaps from a traditional Islamic or indeed any other faith-based view.

Mr Goulden: I do not think there would be an issue in a Jewish school. As Mohammed just said, and I have no doubt my colleagues would agree, there are very clear faith guidelines on a whole range of morality topics, and he dealt with a couple just now. There is no question that there is an enormous body of literature, certainly in Judaism, on the subject, but there is also no question in Judaism, and I would imagine in other Abrahamic religions that are with me on the table today, we all believe that we are all made in the image of the Almighty. That would mean that everybody is made in the image of the Almighty and also mean that we have to respect their particular viewpoints and we must, of course, whilst holding on to our own particular faith views, understand that other people have different views. That is not to say that we necessarily agree with them but we understand and respect the fact that they have these views. I do not know where this fits into the citizenship debate.

Q302 Mr Marsden: I think it fits in very centrally because one of the reasons, it seems to me, others may dispute it, the Government has been so keen to promote the Citizenship Agenda is that there is a very real debate about how we get a consensus if we can or at least a consensus about the sort of values that we should discuss in a society, whether we like it or not, where there is a more pluralistic view on some of these various issues, whether they are moral issues or some of the other issues we have touched on, than there would have been 50 or 100 years ago and where the sources of external authority, again whether we are happy about it or not, families, et cetera, are more attenuated certainly outside faith communities than they would have been 50 to 100 years ago. Maybe the question I should be asking on that is if multi-ethnic, multi-cultural Britain continues to become more pluralistic in its views and its attitudes in these areas, do you think that is going

to make life more difficult for faith schools in trying to come in alongside what the Government is doing on citizenship or not?

Dr Mukadam: This might sound a bit simplistic, but let me put it from a faith perspective. We talk about respect and so forth, but we really do not have any problems with that and this is what we are trying to devolve to our youngsters. A far more important thing for us in terms of respect is to respect the fellow human being and respect his or her right to hold different views. That is what we need to clearly understand. That does not necessarily mean I will respect what your views are because if I did then there is nothing stopping me swapping values, but if I can respect your right to hold a different value then I think it allows us to co-exist in a very peaceful and harmonious way, contributing positively to our society. That is exactly what we are trying to do. I am not saying that we are there but this is certainly the way we are developing. I hope that gives you a better answer to the question about the debate about respect and the differences. In a diverse society there must be room for having diverse views and people to be able to hold those views, express them, discuss them and debate them. That is not an issue at all from an Islamic point of view. There is an issue when people try to force you to say, “No, you have got to respect values”, when they are completely different from their own. That is going to be a problem, and it will be a problem in a pluralistic society and a diverse society but as long as we can educate our youngsters to respect the right of fellow human beings to think differently and hold different views, then I think it does provide the ingredients for a more harmonious and peaceful co-existence.

Q303 Mr Marsden: Can I ask a brief question to you all. It is about training and the capacity to cope with some of these difficult issues, not just the moral issues we have touched on but some of the more political issues which David Chaytor raised earlier. Do you think the climate of opinion in this country, and the debates that have taken place since the bombings of 7 July last year, have made it more difficult for teachers in your schools to set up situations where they can address those issues? If they have, what are you doing to improve their ability and their training in those sensitive areas?

Ms Stannard: Naturally all teachers and all leaders in schools have been greatly exercised by the horrors of those events and are very anxious to make sure that what they provide in their schools helps in however small a way to combat the difficulties and problems that may have indicated as present in society. I could not give you chapter and verse on training and so on now, but I could obtain that for you if you wish. I am confident that through our diocesan officers and the support services they run, and through our national board of advisers, there are forums and so on for that. I know we share anxieties about the lack of opportunity to prepare to be a teacher of citizenship within the higher education courses being pursued by teachers on their way to qualification. We would like to see more attention being paid to that. I would also like to say,

if you do not mind, as you were talking previously, I kept hearing in my mind—and I cannot remember who said it—about the fact that when thinking about sin—and you seem very keen to get right down into the faith issues—the saying, “Dislike the sin but love the sinner” and the most important value of all is the sanctity of human life. I have no doubt that in dealing with the horrendous issues that have occurred, and which you alluded to, it is that sanctity of life and respect and appreciation of one another which is underpinning the work that is going on in the schools.

Mr McKemey: The broad answer to the question is yes, these events have created challenges. As you probably know, there are a number of Church of England schools which have over 90% Muslim populations and so on, and I have been in some of those schools. What I would say, and I have to admit it is anecdotal, is the values of those particular schools have been very resilient. There have been far more issues on the street than in the schools. The schools are, certainly the ones I have been in, by and large islands of tranquillity and harmony which have not been affected and, in some cases, they have helped the community to gel better.

Q304 Chairman: You talked about attitudes towards homosexuality in faith schools, but one thing you did not answer was the question on the role of women in society.

Mr Goulden: I have to be very careful. I am sure my wife, the head teacher of the school, and many of my women friends and colleagues who are head teachers, would appreciate perhaps what I am going to say. I do not see, and I do not believe, that there is an issue about the role of women in Jewish society. For hundreds of years women have been not just homemakers but also taking an enormous part in the life of the community. You can go back to biblical times and see that the Woman of Worth was one not just who looked after her family but also seemed to run a business at the same time. The role of women in Jewish society has performed over the centuries changed as the role of society has changed and things are different now. Professions and jobs are open to everybody which perhaps were not open to women 100 years ago. I have a daughter-in-law who is a doctor; 100 years ago, 150 years ago there were no women doctors. It is not a matter of the faith community changing its attitudes indeed but the whole society changing its attitudes. Certainly in Judaism’s view of women’s role in society I do not see that there is an issue. Certainly none of the schools that we deal with would regard this as a discussion point.

Q305 Chairman: Mohammed, in the Muslim religion, are there any conflicts between the beliefs of your religion and equal status of women and equal education for women?

Dr Mukadam: Chairman, sometimes it is difficult to separate beliefs and culture. Given the diversity of the Muslim community, there are Muslim communities which have a very particular view about women being educated and developing some

22 May 2006 Mr Simon Goulden, Dr Mohammed Mukadam, Mr Nick McKemey and Ms Oona Stannard

professionalism, and there are others with a more moderate approach. If I can give an example. I come from Leicester and we have one of the most orthodox, conservative communities in the UK. When I took over the running of the Islamic school there were hardly half a dozen or so young girls going on to further and higher education. Quite clearly that was a challenge to find out why this was the case because I know Islam does not prohibit that. It was then a task to go around and speak to parents and the imams to say, "Why are we holding our young women back?" and giving them the figures about high levels of divorce and young women who would be unable to do things that they would like to do. It is trying to understand their concerns and then meeting those concerns within a faith school. From half a dozen or so young girls just about making it to further education we have come to a point, Chairman, where over 95% of our young girls are going on to further and higher education. Indeed, some of your colleagues, like David Miliband, Tim Collins, Dr Reid and many journalists, have come to the school and have seen young girls with hijab coming from a very orthodox family but, having a very well-educated background, they are willing to challenge and so forth. These young women are going into universities. In a way, we have liberated those young women. It is about understanding their concerns and approaching it from a grass roots level rather than a top-down approach on issues of values. It will depend on the approaches we employ that will help young girls realise their aspirations. Talking about resources, those schools will need to be resourced properly so that young girls coming from particularly orthodox or conservative families will be given the opportunities to progress into further and higher education, that is by understanding the concerns. The principal concern is that our young girls will be lost to western society, that is the thing I am talking about. Once we address those and develop that confidence between young girls and their parents we will find those parents are very supportive. Indeed, I would love to invite all of you to the Leicester Islamic Academy to meet some of the young women who your colleagues have met. It would be a wonderful opportunity for us to have you there as well.

Q306 Stephen Williams: Chairman, quite a lot of the questions I would have asked have been cherry-picked already, so I will probably be brief. Can I go back to a point which you made, Chairman, about what the British Humanist Society has said about faith schools. They have alleged they discriminate against everyone who is not of their faith on grounds of admissions of pupils, employment policies for teachers and in their curriculum and their ethos. I would expect witnesses to refute this but do you concede that there are grounds for suspicion from people who do not have a religion or do not have particularly strong religious views?

Ms Stannard: Chairman, with respect, I thought we were here to talk about citizenship education not to have to give a defence of faith schools per se.

Q307 Chairman: I do not think you are.

Ms Stannard: Maybe I have not listened to your question.

Q308 Stephen Williams: I was coming up with an easy way into this. Let me draw down right into the detail there about how sin might be counted in a citizenship class. Gordon Marsden mentioned homosexuality in schools. Could you foresee a situation in your schools—clearly each of the religions represented here would say that homosexuality is a sin and that might be said more in an assembly—at 10 o'clock that morning in a citizenship class a counter-view would be put to that, that homosexuality is found throughout society and throughout the world, and is certainly not only tolerated but is legally protected in this country?

Mr Goulden: One of my teachers once said to me that homosexuality is a sin but not a crime. I think it is important to decouple those two. The morality and the legality is something that we should be aware of and clearly he was teaching it. I think you would find that would be the view in the schools certainly that I have connections with. You would also find, I have little doubt, that if there was a discussion there would be a number of students who would say, either because of a family connection or friends, they knew people who were not heterosexual, and there would clearly be a discussion on that basis. I do not think people would duck the issue, and I have got no difficulty in believing that the schools in which we work would have that as their viewpoint. I am a little concerned that I am getting a little bit out of my depth as I assumed we would be talking about citizenship.

Chairman: We will get back to the mainstream citizenship questions at this time because we have explored that already.

Q309 Stephen Williams: Would a citizenship class in a faith school give a counter-view to a morning assembly which said that something was sinful, that is directly about citizenship?

Mr Goulden: In a Jewish school that is not the way an assembly would be run. At least I hope I have answered the question appropriately, Chairman.

Ms Stannard: May I add, Chairman, that I would not expect it to be handled in a way like that at an assembly.

Mr McKemey: I think you can differentiate there between an act of worship and a school assembly, they are not tantamount to the same thing. Whilst they may vary in character, they have different objectives by and large. What we have established is we would certainly expect our schools to be able to conduct vigorous debate, an examination of any social issue, within the context of a Christian caring community. That is perfectly possible. That is what we expect to happen and is what we know happens. It would be impossible for most of our schools to exclude all these issues. It does not mean that the school will necessarily endorse whatever the current public mood might be on an issue. One of the points about a faith school is that it will challenge values as they arrive. In other words, they do not accept

22 May 2006 Mr Simon Goulden, Dr Mohammed Mukadam, Mr Nick McKemey and Ms Oona Stannard

everything which the public decides. To put it in context, there was an article over the weekend about Edward de Bono and the notion of founding a new religion. One of the points he is making is we live in this consumerist instant gratification culture. We think the faith schools have something very serious to bring to that agenda in terms of developing and educating, in our case, the entire human being.

Q310 Stephen Williams: Can I change to a completely different subject. Last week the Minister of State for Higher Education and Lifelong Learning, Bill Rammell, made some speech and a radio interview about British values and how they should be taught in schools. Can each of you offer an opinion briefly of what you think British values are? Do you see any scope for a conflict with your faith which might be resolved in a citizenship class?

Mr Goulden: Chairman, I struggled with the discussion that you allude to. I have read the speech, and I have struggled and teased it out with friends, family and colleagues about what Britishness is. I think I know inside myself but I find it difficult to put it into words. I read what the *Daily Telegraph* a few years ago had as the “ten commandments” of Britishness. I do not necessarily think it is warm beer and cricket on the green because that is Englishness. I think with the current debate about whether British is English and what about the Scottish, Welsh and Irish and the West Lothian question, there is a difficulty in many people’s minds, not just the faith communities, I hesitate there, about exactly what is meant by Britishness. I would appreciate from you some steer on what exactly is meant by Britishness.

Q311 Chairman: Simon, when we write up our Report we are going to have a good evaluation because that is one of the things we will be tackling. Does anyone else want to come in on Britishness, Oona?

Ms Stannard: I got some fairly strong responses from the schools I wrote to and raised this after Mr Rammell’s speech, although I have to admit I have not read his speech in its entirety. The response is divided into three different camps. There were some who immediately started giving me ideas for what they thought would be meant by British values, which ranged from things like being able to laugh at ourselves to being characterised by democracy, the BBC and the NHS and so on, and the list went on and on, a real ragbag of things. There was a second group who said, “British values are what we are teaching and experiencing in our schools anyway, is it not, that is what citizenship is delivering based on our Christian values and our human values anyway”. Finally, there was a third group who really strongly opposed this notion of British values and started saying how patronising it was, “Who is going to define what is British?”, it sounded racist, makes such values sound superior, the notion of nationalism being brought in, and really feeling very concerned that we might have this cadre of things which they thought would be open to propaganda and a superior view of things. In fact, one person wrote quite strongly saying, “Are British values our

imperial past, the aristocracy, the success of the wealthy over and above the poorer? Are we going to be at risk of going back to some historical model which is hardly what any of us would want to see?” I share all that, simply to make a plea, let us not go racing down that road without very, very careful consideration, and to say I am sure any of us would be more than willing to help in more detailed discussions on that.

Dr Mukadam: We welcome the debate, shall I say, but we have taken a slightly different approach here, Chairman. In a world of globalisation we are in a global village. We felt it was important to teach universal values which hold human beings together and allow youngsters who have been born in this country—because it is a state of flux at the moment, and it is a completely different country now with people coming in from different backgrounds—time and space to debate and see what they come up with as British values. It is very much a grass root approach rather than a top-down approach, but providing those universal values.

Q312 Stephen Williams: You admit that you have not read Bill Rammell’s speech, but has the DfES consulted with any of you, or your organisations, on this debate about Britishness?

Mr McKemey: Not specifically, no.

Mr Goulden: Since he only gave his speech last week, it is a little early.

Chairman: A lot of Britishness is disappearing. It used to be renowned for bad food, that is no longer the case, I hope.

Q313 Dr Blackman-Woods: I want to pick up two issues specifically relating directly to citizenship education. I grew up in a country defined by faith schools. I think they added enormously to the problems of Northern Ireland, although, unlike some people, I do not think they were the cause. What that education did not do was supply the two communities with the tools to be able to understand the other community. When push came to shove all that happened was the primary identity factor, which was religion, came to the fore in a most unhelpful way contributing to further segregation. My question to you about citizenship education is how are you doing the job differently than it was done when I grew up in a very segregated system? How are you doing it in an active way because as the second point I want to take dispute with what some of you were saying earlier. My experience was that understanding another community theoretically did not help in terms of understanding where they were coming from. What was needed was a degree of interaction, and that would have been needed from an early stage to fully understand the other perspective. In Britain we have got a much more diversified population, but I think those tools are needed across all of the sectors. You have been saying you want a question specifically about citizenship, this is my question. How are you giving your young people those tools?

Mr McKemey: It goes back to Archbishop Rowan's speech in which he opened this out, and following that there have been some quite fruitful initiatives now about youngsters from different faiths experiencing periods of time in other faith schools. There are the beginnings and this has been picked up and welcomed by representatives of other faiths. One diocese, Manchester, is just putting in a programme that will do just that. Having said that, the population in many of our schools is very diverse, even within the Christian dimension. I do not honestly think the parallels with Northern Ireland really hold in that sense. Having taken that, there is considerable comment that we are in danger of creating faith ghettos, and I think all of us would feel that really is not the case because apart from anything else these are publicly-funded schools, they teach the National Curriculum, they are inspected by Ofsted and are accountable across the piece for those sorts of things. Can I read you a tiny bit from *Church Schools: A National Vision*. This was the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech. It says: "Translate this to a less intensive and dramatic level and you have one of the most compelling arguments for religious schools being part of the public system. For those who want their children to undertake the experiment of living in a climate of commitment, such a school offers, not a programme of indoctrination but the possibility of a new level of emotional and imaginative literacy through the understanding of how faith shapes common life. And this matters for the lives of individuals, agnostic or even atheist as much as believing; as it matters in a world where not to understand how faith operates leaves you at sea in engaging with the other, the stranger, at home and abroad". I think what he is talking about is faith schools can provide a much richer currency for the understanding of the belief and faith.

Ms Stannard: I would agree with what Nick has said. I would also point out that I gave many examples earlier of how our pupils are sharing activities with pupils from other schools. They are not being educated, in my case fortress Catholic. Typically there would be 30% of pupils other than Catholic in our schools. They are racially diverse communities and they are outwardly engaging communities. I do think it is very significantly a different context from that of Northern Ireland.

Q314 Chairman: You still think there are problems in the way in which faith groups organise themselves in Northern Ireland?

Ms Stannard: I am not qualified to comment on Northern Ireland, I can only talk from my own experience.

Q315 Chairman: Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, and Roberta has personal experience of the difficulties that have emerged. Surely there are some lessons we can learn from that?

Ms Stannard: I am inept at the history of Northern Ireland.

Q316 Chairman: I have to say those of us who are English and went to Northern Ireland on a visit were shocked to still see on one campus schools that do not talk to each other and have no communication with each other. We were astonished that in the 21st century that was the situation. It is not a situation we can applaud, surely?

Ms Stannard: I would never applaud being fortress-like in our approach to education and the experiences that we give to our young people. I revel in the fact that we are an ethnically diverse community.

Q317 Dr Blackman-Woods: I do not want to distract us from the essential question, which was what are the tools you are giving? I think you are going some way to answer that question. But I would not like you to be suggesting, or I hope you are not, that there are not Catholic and Anglican schools in this country that are not predominantly Catholic and Anglican. I have a Catholic school in my constituency which must be 98% Catholic. There are schools here that are very highly segregated. You may represent schools where they do have a more diversified population within the school, but I think you have to recognise there are some schools that are defined by faith and they are very predominately of that faith.

Ms Stannard: I think that is a particular demographic problem where there is a shortage of schools and so on. Would I not also be right in saying that here in this country we tend to live in areas where the housing, and so on, is not defined by one faith group, and perhaps is that different in Northern Ireland? When our children go out to play, will they not be playing with other children from all sorts of groups, the youth clubs they go to for socialising and so on, but on top of that, in their work with schools, their various sporting fixtures, the joint activities, the charitable works and various events and so on which they are engaging, they will be different I hope.

Q318 Dr Blackman-Woods: My question was not tell me why the situation in Northern Ireland continues, my question to you was what specific tools and how do you shape citizenship education to ensure that your young people will grow up with a sense of validity for other points of view which are very different from theirs and the respect for those individuals who hold very different views?

Ms Stannard: We spoke much earlier on about the fact that in all our faiths we are called to see God in the other person. In the curriculum and the learning we provide that must be carried through and must be a lived experience.

Dr Mukadam: In terms of what tools we provide, we have discussed those in terms of values, skills, communicating with fellow human beings and some of the cultures in which communications should take place, whether it is through literature or history, et cetera. If you look at it in terms of experience, many

well-run faith schools funded indeed by the Government do have what is known as the Building Bridges Programmes. Indeed, we had Stephen Twigg come to see us. We have opportunities for young people from a faith school to go to another school and vice versa, and they share this in drama, et cetera. Let us open it up. There is life beyond school. We live in a world where there is text, SMS, chat rooms, internet, et cetera, and young people do communicate across cultures and faiths in different parts of the world and so forth. There are ample opportunities for young people in terms of communicating ideas, discussing, debating and talking, but also communities are changing in that there are many facilities—sports facilities, recreational facilities—where young people from different faiths, of no faith and cultures, do get together in the evenings and at weekends to enjoy some sport or recreation. Tools are provided in terms of values, skills and opportunities within schools and outside schools. I believe all those put together are ensuring that young people who are being educated in faith schools do in the fullness of time integrate sufficiently and contribute in a very positive manner to society.

Q319 Dr Blackman-Woods: I think I would have a series of questions, maybe not for today, about whether you evaluate if those schemes are important in shifting ideas and engendering some respect. I have another question which is following on from what Stephen said earlier. It is where your faith and your teaching comes in through citizenship into the construction of identity. Are you starting from a concept of citizenship that sees people as world human beings and then somewhere you slot your faith identity into that, or are you shaping their concept of identity and therefore citizenship, to some degree, through your faith?

Dr Mukadam: I believe that choice is really up to the parents to make. There are faith schools and there are schools that do not have any faith, it is secular and comprehensive. It is the parents who are making those choices for the children. I believe it is only right that those choices are available. Parents make the choices, they want a particular choice for the child so they send them to a faith school.

Q320 Dr Blackman-Woods: Is this how you teach citizenship?

Dr Mukadam: In terms of citizenship, we have discussed that, and we made it clear that in terms of citizenship we welcome that. I have got evidence here which goes back to 2003, how in faith schools we teach citizenship as it is from the National Curriculum. We have absolutely no problem teaching it in the way it is because it goes hand in hand. Of course we reinforce some of those values through religious and faith identities because that is what makes it so effective. We have no problems at all. To answer your question directly, it is the parents who make the choice and they say, "I want my child to be a Muslim first" and they send him to an Islamic school, or "I want my child to be Christian first" and they send him to a Christian school. In no way does

that mean they do not become a good citizen or they do not have a very good knowledge, understanding and appreciation of being a good citizen.

Q321 Dr Blackman-Woods: You think sending them to a faith school then makes the faith the defining identity and characteristic, is that what you are depicting? That is what you are saying parents think they are doing in sending children to those schools?

Dr Mukadam: My understanding is parents do have the right to have their children educated in accordance with their own faith or religious or philosophical predilections.

Mr McKemey: The issue is actually whether you can provide a totally neutral curriculum that is not affected by any values whatsoever and you can teach citizenship. There are certain things you can teach like legal responsibilities, rights and so on. The issues about how you engage with the world are more complex. I think the point we are probably all making is that faith gives you a platform to do that, you are still a free agent and you can make your decisions about how you follow that. I think we are at pains to emphasise that we are looking to provide the conditions for the development of citizenship as opposed to simply teaching something which probably would not work anyway. Whilst we take a totally supportive view towards the non-faith schools, at the same time, I think, they have the challenge of deciding where the grit is in their oyster in terms of developing a notion of what it means to be a human being. What I am saying is the concept that you can be in a totally sanitised neutral environment which does not have any values and you can then develop citizenship, I do not think stands up.

Q322 Chairman: It seems to me that where you were the least comfortable was when we probed on specifics. I do not think you liked the questions on how you treated homosexuality, particularly, and I do not think you liked the questions on Northern Ireland. Surely what happened, the bad experience of Northern Ireland, must be something where any one who is involved in faith education must say, "Surely there are lessons we should learn from this?" We live in a society where there is an emergent ghastly party of the extreme right that has certain views in some of our cities in the North, the South and in London. Surely faith education should not edge away from these difficult questions, they should be confronting them. It seemed you were uncomfortable at the sharp end of this debate. Is that me being unfair, Nick?

Mr McKemey: I think you are a little bit. The notion is that faith schools will simply teach a faith as an indoctrination process. What we are saying is in fact they create an environment for these issues to be discussed. It is perfectly possible for teachers within the schools to have a particular view of their own, however to create conditions for those things to be discussed, that is what we are saying. You would

expect that at any school. Equally, I have plenty of evidence of very secular teachers in other schools making the lives of children who have faith a misery. It cuts both ways. My father came from Ulster, so I do have a little understanding of the context. I do not think the two situations are that closely analogous because they have other social contexts as well as what is, in fact, two branches of the same. Also, the difference is it is not two systems of faith schools that conflict, there are underlying social issues that are very significant. I am not sure about that. Having said that, of course we take cognisance of issues where versions of faith schools, clearly perhaps in the broader sense, do not work to the public good.

Dr Blackman-Woods: I want to come back briefly. I was not suggesting for a moment that the two situations were identical. What I was asking you to think about was the role of education in supporting the vision, and how you address that directly through your citizenship education to ensure that your education would not support division and segregation. I think that is how I phrased the question, and I think it is important to have that on record because I know the complexities of Northern Ireland. I would not suggest for a minute that the two situations are identical, but I think there is something to be learned from the Northern Ireland situation.

Q323 Chairman: Are we wrong in thinking you are a little bit complacent on this?

Ms Stannard: I am not willing to accept that, Chairman.

Q324 Chairman: It might prompt you to come back on that.

Ms Stannard: I am concerned not to engage in comparing and contrasting where I do not have the knowledge or the skills. I believe we have spoken about the range of what we are undertaking in citizenship education, where it is objective information and where it is to do with sharing values and upholding respect for the individual. I do not quite understand what else it is you are implying we are uneasy about, but I will have a go if you are more specific.

Q325 Chairman: Some of the answers you have given to the questions, everything was for the best and the best of all possible worlds. There were no problems that you saw. We live in a society with some very serious challenges in terms of communities living together, and there are some signs that there is a separation and a segregation of some of our communities. We were looking to you to use your expertise to say, "How do we meet these challenges?" I got the feeling you were saying, "What we are doing is all right, so the problem is with the non-faith sector". Is that what you are saying?

Ms Stannard: No, definitely not.

Q326 Chairman: What are you saying then?

Ms Stannard: I think we have all been saying that we believe enabling parents to choose and young people to be educated in a faith gives them a strong identity, but that identity and those beliefs have to be well used—and the school plays a critical role in this—to prepare such young people to be world citizens and to be preparing for their interactions and life alongside others who may share very different values. Being educated about those differences, and an appreciation of the different standpoints in society, is all part of citizenship education.

Mr Goulden: I share Oona's view and, I guess, my colleague's view as well. I think it is important to reflect that citizenship, as we have said before, can also be taught through the lens of history, and particularly the history of the 20th century in Great Britain has not necessarily been a beacon of respect, tolerance and understanding. I know that when looking at the rise of fascism, for example, it is very easy, particularly in the community that I live in, to still find first-hand evidence of people, for example, who were present at the battle of Cable Street in 1936, 70 years ago. The fascists were fought by Jewish people together with trade unionists and a whole range of people who were up against the rise of fascism. That is taught and discussed in some detail in Jewish schools, and I have no doubt it is taught in other schools. It is taught very much through the viewpoint of would this, could this, happen today? How could one work to stop it happening? What is the faith underpinning? I am not sure that the British union of fascists had a particular faith education, Chairman. It would be interesting to do some research, perhaps another one of our three-year studies. Looking at faith schooling as a bad or negative point that we should be worried about, I would take issue with that. I genuinely believe that looking at citizenship education with a firm underpinning of a faith through faith schooling—of course all the other schools in the UK are faith schools too because there is an established church and a national faith but if we are talking about the particular faith schooling that we are dealing with and looking at the underpinning which allows us to discuss the diversity—the richness that is Britain today, that can only be to the good.

Q327 Chairman: It was refreshing to hear that, but at a session like this we are looking not to scrutinise you in terms of just what you do, of course we want to know that, but also we are and have been looking for best practice. We invited you here to see if you have got the tools, the skills and the experience to deliver citizenship education. This is why we have been probing, not to say that we thought there was anything wrong with faith schools, we do not start from that view at all. We are probing to find out what your views are on a range of subjects.

Dr Mukadam: That was a very important point you raised in terms of divisions. The fact that this Cantle Report says there are many cities in our country where there are pockets of communities who live

22 May 2006 Mr Simon Goulden, Dr Mohammed Mukadam, Mr Nick McKemey and Ms Oona Stannard

parallel lives, that is reality and a fact of life. The question we need to ask is what are the processes that would help these young people growing up in these communities to be able to fully integrate in the process? We believe faith schools is one of those. I am not saying it is the answer for everything, but it is an answer for those people who, for perhaps very good reasons, maybe they have racism, Islamophobia, choose to live parallel lives. Faith schools do provide a conduit for them to come into it, develop those skills, understanding and so forth, so they will be able to live a more integrated life in their future careers and so forth. Of course we are willing, as I am sure my colleagues are, to learn where we are going wrong. It is a process for all of us to understand what is it we can do more effectively because it is a diverse society and we have people who have different starting points. I believe a diverse education system will ensure that we help all these young people to eventually come together, to

integrate and live in harmony. In that way, faith schools do provide a very important part. We only cater for some 3% of our total population but we do make some contributions.

Q328 Chairman: I can assure you that we will be scrutinising the non-faith sector in much the same way as we have been scrutinising you today. We have really learned a lot from this session. Thank you, Nick, Oona, Simon and Mohammed, for a long session. We hope to remain in communication with you because if we have other thoughts, queries and questions we will be in touch with you. If you think there are large areas which we may have missed, please do come back and give us some more information.

Ms Stannard: You would like the names of any schools where there might be first-hand evidence for you?

Chairman: We would indeed. Thank you very much for your evidence.

Wednesday 7 June 2006

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Dr Roberta Blackman-Woods	Helen Jones
Mr Douglas Carswell	Mr Gordon Marsden
Mrs Nadine Dorries	Stephen Williams
Jeff Ennis	Mr Rob Wilson
Paul Holmes	

Memorandum submitted by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)

INTRODUCTION

1. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) was established by the Race Relations Act 1976 to:
 - work towards the elimination of racial discrimination;
 - promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups; and
 - keep the working of the Act under review.
2. Public bodies have a duty to eliminate discrimination in the way they work and to promote equality of opportunity and good race relations. The Commission is working to help them deliver this duty.
3. The Race Relations 1976 as amended came into force on 2 April 2001. The amended Act imposes a general statutory duty upon most public authorities, including Schools, LAs, the DfES and QCA to promote race equality. Public authorities are responsible for ensuring that the general duty is an integral part of any function where race equality is relevant.
4. The CRE's main points of interest fall into three sections which we believe are paramount to the current discussion on Citizenship Education.
 - Integration.
 - Britishness, Citizenship and Identity.
 - Citizenship Education.
5. On these points the CRE would like to ensure:
 - Equality, Participation and Interaction are embedded into schools activities towards eliminating racial discrimination, promoting equality of opportunity and good race relations.
 - Citizenship education ensures a practical experience of citizenship, through shared ownership, participation, responsibility and accountability among pupils, teachers and parents.

INTEGRATION

6. The CRE's primary goal is to create an integrated society. We have defined an integrated society as being based on three inter-related principles:
 - Equality—for all sections of the community—where everyone is treated equally and has a right to fair outcomes.
 - Participation—by all sections of the community—where all groups in society should expect to share in decision-making and carry the responsibility of making society work.
 - Interaction—between all sections of the community—where no-one should be trapped within their own community and no-one should be restricted in choosing the people they work with or the friendships they make.
7. In short, in order to enable integration we need to develop equality for all sections of the community, interaction between all sections of the community and participation by all sections of the community. This can be done by tackling discrimination, actively promoting good race relations and at the same time focus on raising attainment and improving behaviour.
8. One of the key concerns for the CRE is the apparent increase in segregation between communities in Britain today. This is in terms of both residential and social separation. The Census shows us that 80 local authority areas have seen both a decrease in white population and an increase in the ethnic minority population between 1991 and 2001.¹ This is intensified by an increasing lack of interaction between communities—a CRE commissioned poll in 2005 showed that 95% of white Britons questioned said that all or most of their friends are white and 55% could not name a single non-white friend.²

¹ ONS, 2001.

² CRE, 2005.

9. Current evidence suggests that our education sector is more segregated than the wider community. We are concerned by the research produced by Professor Simon Burgess and his colleagues at Bristol University (Urban Studies, June 2005) which shows that children are slightly more segregated in the playground than they are in their neighbourhoods. Recent research in one London borough's primary schools showed that 17 schools had more than 90% Bangladeshi pupils, while nine others had fewer than 10%. A recent report showed that 59% of primary school children in Bradford attend schools with a population comprising over 90% of one "single cultural or ethnic identity".³

10. The CRE believes that this growing separation can be tackled and that our education system is of fundamental importance in building an integrated society. In creating this change in society, we also believe that the curriculum in particular can be a vital lever for change.

11. We are greatly encouraged by the specific proposition in the Race Equality Impact Assessment of the Education and Inspections Bill that new schools have to explicitly demonstrate how they will contribute to community cohesion. This is a progressive measure that recognises the wider role of schools in promoting integration at the local level and we are currently lobbying for this requirement to be extended to cover all schools. We believe that if schools are to do this, whether it is a formal legal requirement or not, that the curriculum can be a key way in which it can be achieved.

12. We therefore are greatly encouraged by this timely review of the citizenship curriculum and hope that it leads to a broadening of the subjects currently covered and a fuller appreciation of the role of the curriculum in bringing about the type of society we all wish to see.

BRITISHNESS, CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY

13. Recently, there has been an increasing debate about Britishness as a way to strengthen ties between individuals and civic society. The CRE believes that Britishness is one of many ways people identify themselves. In the attempt to define Britishness, we are looking for something that can unite people and bring different communities together. In that context, we should see it as a means of ensuring collective identity and perhaps an overarching bridging tool.

14. The changing nature of British society has transformed social composition and dynamics, brought greater cultural diversity, and altered the sources of power and influence and the distribution of wealth. As a result, many citizens now possess inadequate social rights or the necessary resources. Those with the most to gain do not or cannot have a presence in their local community or networks. Deprivation leads to disaffection and social unrest, and the debate on citizenship must address the concerns of the most deprived in the interest of community cohesion. A citizen cannot be a truly equal member of the community if they are in a state of permanent dependency.

15. The CRE believes that the current debate on Britishness should be more explicitly linked to that around citizenship. In order for Britishness to succeed, we must seek common and equal citizenship. There must be a general agreement to a set of values based on justice, human rights and social responsibility, and a sense of common belonging so that all groups can feel at home. All people must be of equal value and deserve equal respect, and all individuals must have the opportunity to voice their opinion on issues that affect them. This clearly applies as much to within schools as anywhere else.

16. While much emphasis has been on an emotional identification, a sense of belonging to a broader community, expressed through shared symbols and values, we believe that the debate would better be focussed on what we term a "practical identity".

17. What this discussion will hope to achieve is to reassert fundamental values. We all obey the same laws, we all respect each other's rights, we all sign up to the equality of women and to equal rights for people whatever their sexual orientation. Also, we accept responsibility for participating in and preserving the integrity of our community and our polity.

18. This would also serve to provide a starting point that looks at what binds us as communities and an opportunity to negotiate differences without falling into the trap of it being interpreted as "special treatment".

19. The CRE believes that we need to have a debate about these difficult and sensitive issues, and about respecting difference that we come across daily. In a sense this would be a general code of behaviour, taking into account cultural, religious and racial differences that would provide a baseline for common agreement of how we conduct ourselves in the public sphere. This debate can also take place within citizenship education.

³ Education Bradford, 2005.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

20. Citizenship was introduced within the National Curriculum in September 2002, for pupils between the ages of 11 and 16 in schools in England. The introduction of the statutory subject complimented the recent debates on integration, community cohesion and Britishness.

21. As schools have the most significant impact on the personal, social and educational development of children and young people, learning about citizenship should be a key part of growing up. For that reason the CRE proposes to address the subject throughout the whole curriculum, including the forthcoming Early Years Foundation Stage which will cover children's learning and development from birth to five years. Early years settings and schools can act as agents of integration, encouraging participation and interaction from the earliest opportunity between children of different ethnic groups and allowing children and youngsters to develop positive attitudes and behaviour towards others.

22. The CRE welcomes an aims-led curriculum that emphasises competence, skills and knowledge creation without dismissing knowledge acquisition. The CRE agrees with Huddleston (2005) that citizenship education should aim to not only provide skills for children and young people for life as a citizen, but also the opportunities to exercise citizenship. By this, we mean skills for engagement in public debate, which offer opportunities to participate in debates on school, local, national and international issues.

23. The CRE proposes to devote particular attention to the development of a generic intercultural competence amongst learners as well as professionals that enables them to recognise different perspectives, understand how cultural diversity impacts on people's behaviour, deal with culturally sensitive issues, develop strategies to solve potential conflicts and learn to co-operate. This competence is instrumental to the integration of individuals and groups from different racial, ethnic, cultural and social background and citizenship education can have a significant impact in developing this competence.⁴

24. The CRE is strongly in favor of creating a practical experience of citizenship. By this, we mean that schools develop shared ownership, participation, responsibility and accountability among pupils, teachers and parents. We strongly believe that high levels of participation are necessary for achieving an integrated society. Increasing the participation of children and young people should therefore be one of the objectives of citizenship education.

25. To be effective a citizenship curriculum needs to be mainstreamed into other educational initiatives in the school. By taking a whole school approach, schools can ensure that citizenship is embedded throughout their ethos, organisation, structures and daily practices. Using this approach, essentially schools are able to reach all participants in school life and implement ideas of active citizenship across the curriculum, which will in turn allow active involvement and participation. This model of democratic participation and learning can also be applied within the classroom, as suggested by Huddleston.⁵

26. The CRE believes that it is vital that young people are actively involved in policy development and decision-making processes. We welcome the emphasis in both *Youth Matters* and *Together We Can* on involving children and young people in the design, delivery and evaluation of services. Young people should be at the heart of the decision-making that affects their lives and citizenship education is an opportunity for children and young people to take responsibility about their learning and actively participate in the running of the school.

27. As research⁶ indicates the large majority of schools/colleges provide opportunities for their students to participate in a range of activities. However these opportunities are only utilised by a minority of students. The existing curriculum has made a first step towards fully educating students about how decisions are made both within their school and local community. These efforts need to continue but additional work is needed on two levels. Firstly extra effort is needed in more effectively marketing opportunities for involvement to increase take up. Secondly the minority of schools that currently do not offer a range of opportunities for involvement should be encouraged to do so.

28. The extended school provision can also be viewed as an opportunity for pupils, teachers and parents to participate in activities to learn about and become involved in life of the surrounding community.

29. The CRE welcomes proposals in the Youth Matters Green paper, for Government to look at innovative ways to increase the number of young people volunteering—to enable more young people to benefit from getting involved, and to support voluntary groups and local communities.

30. For the reasons mentioned above, it is fundamental that teachers are prepared to take up the challenges of active citizenship in schools. Teacher training needs to prepare teachers to actively participate in connecting issues of school ethos and culture, by listening and use pupils' voices and those of the local

⁴ J.S Gundara (2000) *Interculturalism, Education and Inclusion*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd. M.Verlot (2002) "Resistance, Complexity and the Needs for Rethinking Intercultural Education". *Kolor, Journal on Moving Communities* (1) 1:65–75.

⁵ Ted Huddleston: Teacher Training on citizenship education: training for a new subject or for a new kind of subjects? (Special Edition 2005).

⁶ Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study: Second Cross-Sectional Survey 2004. Listening to Young People: Citizenship Education in England. National Foundation for Educational Research, Research Report RR626.

community. To enable teachers to apply these principles in the classroom, they also need to be trained in using participatory learning methods, which may include cross-curricular activities, for example a community project linked to a particular subject area.

31. The design of the citizenship curriculum is equally an important issue that needs particular attention. The CRE welcomes initiatives where citizenship teachers and non-citizenship teachers draw up a curriculum together with learners and parents, to ensure the pupils' voices are heard.

32. Whereas the specific citizenship curriculum needs to explain principles and enable practices of active citizenship, these can not be limited to the subject area alone. Active citizenship needs to be embedded into other subject areas to ensure continuity, bind people together in communities and show the impact of active citizenship. Varied examples include the environment in geography, and how ideas of tolerance, understanding, compassion and solidarity are expressed in religious education. Children and young people can explore the reasons why so many people have roots in so many parts of the world, by looking at emigration and immigration in history.

33. All these subjects provide the opportunity to explore, reflect and debate on contemporary controversial but essential issues such as Iraq, Britishness, identity and bombings in London to give learners a true sense of their role and potential impact they can have in civil society. By this we envisage a strengthening of opportunities to build bridges and develop a common understanding of equality, respect and tolerance.

34. Active citizenship implies rights and responsibilities. Citizenship education needs to be linked with a clear understanding of behaviour management. The effectiveness of isolating and shaming an individual for his/her inappropriate behaviour needs to be reconsidered. Schools may want to look at ideas of reconciliation and restorative justice that teach children and young people to confront their victims and the collective group in a safe environment on, for example, racial harassment. By taking this approach principles of active citizenship are put into practice.

March 2006

Witnesses: **Mr Nick Johnson**, Director of Policy and Public Sector, and **Dr Marc Verlot**, Head of Public Policy, Commission for Racial Equality, gave evidence.

Q329 Chairman: Can I welcome Marc Verlot and Nick Johnson to our proceedings at the Committee. Nick is the Director of Policy and Public Sector for the Commission for Racial Equality and Marc is Head of Public Policy. Welcome. We have invited you because you do the most relevant work in this area in the Commission; that does not mean to say that we will not be having your Chairman and Chief Executive here at a later stage, just in case they thought they were off the hook. At least the message will go back. You know that we are well on with this inquiry into citizenship and normally we give witnesses a chance to say a few words, to open up, or they can go straight into questioning, if they prefer. Which do you prefer?

Mr Johnson: I do not think we have got much to add necessarily to our submission, in terms of opening statements, so I am happy to go straight to questions or maybe explore some of the issues.

Q330 Chairman: Is that alright with you, Marc?

Dr Verlot: Yes; absolutely.

Q331 Chairman: Where does all this citizenship stuff come from; why are we, in this country, it seems, over the last few years, obsessed with citizenship? This country has been around for quite a long time and it has not been deemed necessary to have citizenship lessons or training in our schools and colleges; why now?

Mr Johnson: That is a larger question than we can answer here, but I think to some extent it has arisen from an increasing diversity within Britain, increasing diversity of backgrounds, of cultures, of

behaviours, and I suppose, to some degree, a discussion over the need to have a commonality of accepted values, behaviours, within a society, whatever background people come from. That is not to say that everyone has to adopt everything, but it is a question of needing some common standards between people, whatever differences they take in other directions.

Q332 Chairman: Is this because of migration?

Mr Johnson: Migration has always been a part of it, so you cannot say that it is just migration, full stop, which has brought on the recent surge of interest in citizenship. I think migration is changing quite rapidly, there is a lot more transitory migration, differing patterns and just increasing speed of migration, which does have a factor in terms of citizenship.

Dr Verlot: I think I just want to stress, people speak of hyperdiversity these days, in terms of migration, people come and go, and the speed of it clocks up really quickly, so I think it is important to understand that when people come here there is a sense of understanding of what is expected and what is also the width of possibilities the country offers.

Q333 Chairman: We have been a divided country in the past, both by migration and by religion; we did not seem to need citizenship education at that time, did we, when this country was riven by disagreements between Catholics and Protestants and between Scots and English, and so on? Why now?

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

Dr Verlot: I think, first of all, the contact between people is daily. People do not just stay in their villages or stay within their own groups but they travel much more. Television brings us news every day, so the range of communication possibilities and interaction is much higher so people interact much more, also economically. Therefore, I think there is a need to understand each other much better. People just do not sit in the corner where they used to sit.

Mr Johnson: Also I think that, the groups you talk about, there were divisions and differences there but they were a relatively small number of groups, as such. In Britain today you have got so many different groups or communities.

Q334 Chairman: If you look at the history of the 1890s, in this country, the absolute furor over Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe is very similar to the kinds of discussions that we are having today. It is not really new, is it?

Mr Johnson: There are aspects of it which are new. I think you are talking more about Jewish immigration; what we are seeing now, as Marc said, is this hyperdiversity, so it is much different migration, for different lengths of time, for different purposes.

Q335 Chairman: What is the percentage of immigrants in this country who were not here, say, 50 years ago?

Mr Johnson: I have not got the figures to hand on that. The speed is just increasing. In terms of global figures, you can see that over the past 20 years there are 25% more people living in the country in which they were not born, and that has increased by 25% in the last 20 years.

Q336 Chairman: Those 25% of migrants in this country is quite a small percentage of the population?

Mr Johnson: It is a relatively small percentage of the population, yes.

Q337 Chairman: Are we not getting into sort of a panic mode over it? On the one hand, migration, is it because of recent terrorist outrages? Really I want you to come to me. Your Chairman and Chief Executive have been saying some quite important things about this, but you seem to be evading?

Mr Johnson: I am not evading. I think migration is a factor, but it is only a factor, and citizenship is important. In terms of what our Chairman has been saying, or what we have been saying, it is that there is, in a sense, a critique of multiculturalism as it became to be practised, primarily by local authorities, which tended to emphasise the differences between communities rather than united communities. I think that is from settled populations from different backgrounds, rather than just talking about migration, and that has prompted a need to look at focusing on what can unite people, and that is starting off from the classroom but for all walks of life.

Q338 Chairman: Is there any difference from what Lord Tebbit said about a cricketing test?

Mr Johnson: Yes, because this is not necessarily a question of abstract loyalties, this is far more a question of behaviours and how people come to live with one another.

Q339 Chairman: Marc, do you agree with that?

Dr Verlot: I think I do not absolutely agree, in the sense that there is a whole discussion about parallel lives which has been brought on up north, in Oldham and Bradford. We saw that people just lived in corners, and when it came of course and tensions arise you can see that they can quickly almost become out of shape, they really speed up, whereas if people interact on a daily basis they learn to see what others do and they learn to behave and interact with each other on a daily basis. I think citizenship can be practical there, almost a *modus vivendi*, to get along rather than just people living side by side.

Chairman: Thank you. Jeff Ennis wants to ask you some questions.

Q340 Jeff Ennis: How significant is the problem of racially and ethnically segregated schools in this country at the present time?

Mr Johnson: I think it is a large problem and a growing problem. Partly that is because schools will reflect the communities that they are in, where we can see increasing patterns of segregation. We are pretty firm, in terms of the evidence that we look at, when we think that there is this increase in segregation residentially, but also, perhaps more important, socially, and people are just not getting a chance to interact with people from different backgrounds, with one another. If that is happening in schools then that sets people up to be segregated for life.

Q341 Jeff Ennis: Would we be able to focus down even more, say, on blaming the current problem on the issue of "same faith" schools exacerbating that situation?

Mr Johnson: I think the evidence on faith schools is slightly mixed, because some faith schools show, while there is I suppose segregation along religious lines, there is actually perhaps greater socioeconomic and ethnic diversity within some faith schools. I think it is hard to come up with an answer per se, but we would want to see that any school that was founded around a certain ethos made sure that it was inclusive of the wider community and not just one particular aspect of that community.

Q342 Jeff Ennis: When I was at college doing my teaching degree, one of the grand objectives we were always told was that schools should reflect society. I am assuming that is the broader general society rather than the local community, because quite often you get a school in a particular ethnic minority area or a certain socially grouped area which reflects just one strand of society. I guess that is the sort of scenario that you feel is creating problems?

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

Mr Johnson: Yes. Part of that is the school and part of it is the fact that it reflects a wider residential segregation, which is an issue. One of the things that we are looking at doing at the Commission is, if you have communities which are effectively residentially segregated, clearly breaking down those patterns needs to happen over a longer-term period, it cannot happen overnight, therefore you are looking at the other spheres or places where those communities can interact with people who are different from them. Clearly, schools are an important part of that, so it is both the intake of individual schools but also the relationship between schools in an area. For example, work that we have seen in Oldham and Leicester, where they have twinned schools which have been quite segregated with schools with different cultural backgrounds, has really opened up dialogue between different communities there and has been an important part of opening up the society within their cities.

Q343 Jeff Ennis: I guess, to some extent, you support what the Government is doing in terms of providing a plethora of specialist schools, and now they have got the concept of trust schools kicking in, which will give a lot more parental choice and possibly more ability for children to attend schools, to break up this sort of ghetto-type existence at the present time?

Mr Johnson: I think we will have some reservations about trust schools, unless they are properly managed, managed with some strategic oversight, because there is evidence that we have seen, and it is limited but it is the evidence of people like Simon Burgess, looking at schools, that some of the parental choice can increase segregation because there is an instinct to be with people like yourself and the parents tend to make that choice, so I think there is a concern with just allowing pure parental choice. One of the things we do welcome with trust schools is the proposal to have a duty on them to promote community cohesion, and I think a way that could be done and could be overseen is to make sure that their intake is varied and is from the wider community. We would question why you would apply it just to trust schools and not put the duty on every school, but that is not something for this discussion.

Q344 Jeff Ennis: Do you have the same concern about specialist schools or academies as you have about trust schools?

Mr Johnson: I think, to some extent, we do. There is emerging evidence from academies, and we are about to look in more detail at that, that where you have choice, either for parents solely or for where it slips into choice by the school, you can get more segregated or more homogenous schools and we would be concerned that the right procedures and safeguards were put in place to make sure that did not happen. I think, overall, this idea of having a greater range of options is a good one and one that we would welcome because you are not trying to have a "one size fits all" mentality which does not reflect the diversity in the country today. I do think it needs to be done in a framework where you are not

leading towards increased segregation, and that can be through school twinning, sharing of sites and classes, for different areas as well.

Q345 Jeff Ennis: And building up a federation of schools, just to support that principle?

Mr Johnson: The idea of a federation, we have seen evidence of that working, in terms of pushing divides between communities.

Q346 Jeff Ennis: Focusing on what schools can do now, in terms of trying to address the problems brought about by segregation, what can an ordinary school do to address this particular problem?

Mr Johnson: I think, in some respects, the first thing it has to do is make sure that it runs its own procedures properly in regard to race equality and integration, so that is looking at its own admissions policies, if it has a singular one, or how it works in an area, how it recruits teachers, making sure that its own behavioural policies within the school are fair and balanced to all communities. Those are the basics. It is about how you build relationships with other schools, how you build relationships with the wider community. In the opening questions you were talking about the increasing diversity and I think one of the great challenges for young people growing up in Britain today is how you deal with that diversity, because if it is left it can be disastrous and it can lead to extremism of all kinds. I think schools have a real obligation to look at what they can do to open people up to different cultures and maybe getting different faith leaders to come into the schools. I think we can see quite a lot of examples of where schools have done that but where they have not necessarily seen it as part of citizenship, as such, they have done it as general community work.

Q347 Chairman: Is there a culture of extremism coming out of particular ghettos or communities, or am I failing to understand where you get that from?

Mr Johnson: Our fear is that extremism is far more likely to develop in areas that are segregated.

Q348 Chairman: How does that score against the history of Europe over the last 100 years; is that where extremism came from, did it come from Jewish ghettos or did it come from particular ghettos? Extremism, whether it is Oswald Mosley or Hitler or Mussolini, did not seem to come from ghettos, as far as I can see?

Mr Johnson: There are different types of extremism. If we are talking about extremism that we face today, of both a political and a religious nature, you can see that it is most active, in political terms but also in religious terms, in those communities which are segregated. I do not think that necessarily we can say that was the same cause of it, going back 100 years, but I think, if you look at it today, there are real parallels between those communities that are most segregated and those that are most prone to extremism.

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

Q349 Chairman: Is there evidence of that?

Mr Johnson: Yes, there is evidence.

Q350 Chairman: What evidence is there?

Mr Johnson: If you look only at the political extremism side, if you look at areas where the BNP tends to poll well, it is in areas that score most highly on indices of segregation.

Q351 Chairman: That might be the sort of community that is targeted by extremists; it does not mean to say that extremism comes from those communities. Certainly, from my own experience in West Yorkshire, the people who caused a great deal of the trouble in places like Dewsbury came from outside of Dewsbury, not from the communities in Dewsbury?

Mr Johnson: Extremism manifests itself within those communities. We would argue that they are more prone to that exploitation, be it from inside or outside, because of their segregated nature. It is far easier to spread myths and misinformation and drum up people against each other if they are not encountering other people, because they are more likely to believe those myths.

Q352 Mr Marsden: I would like to hone this down a bit more, if I may, on this issue of citizenship, looking particularly at the debate about Britishness and identity. In the written submission which you gave to the Committee you said, and I am quoting from paragraph 15 on page 4 of the written submission: "There must be a general agreement to a set of values based on justice, human rights and social responsibility, and a sense of common belonging so that all groups can feel at home." Do you see a central role for schools in promoting that general agreement to a set of values?

Mr Johnson: It is difficult, about how you define "central". I think schools have a fundamental role; so, yes.

Q353 Mr Marsden: How would that manifest itself, in practical terms, in the curriculum?

Mr Johnson: I think in terms of the specific citizenship curriculum, but also, as we have said elsewhere in our submission, it is important that citizenship is seen not as a subject on its own but as part of various other subjects, clearly the links to religious education, history, geography, but other subjects as well; it can be done as part of that in terms of the classroom. Also I think there are clear ways in which it can be done outside the classroom but within the school environment, increasing participation of children in school councils, in other work in the schools, also looking at ways in which you can work with community groups to increase activity within the local community.

Q354 Mr Marsden: The former Chief Inspector, David Bell, who is now, of course, the Permanent Secretary in the Department, has spoken on previous occasions about the importance of linking citizenship with other subjects in the curriculum,

notably history and geography. Is that something which the CRE thinks would be helpful, or not helpful?

Mr Johnson: I think, very helpful. One of the things we find from our own work on looking at race equality is that often you will see a lot of people doing a lot of good work which actually benefits race equality but they do not necessarily couch it in those terms, and so it is important to join up activities you are doing in other areas with a wider goal. Citizenship is something that cannot be left to be just one subject taught during the day; that is part of it, but clearly it needs to be linked to other subjects.

Q355 Mr Marsden: Would you agree, because again we have had quite a lot of discussion, quite a lot of disagreement, in fact, among witnesses, as to whether citizenship can and should be ring-fenced within the curriculum, or whether, in fact, when we had the faith school representatives they argued, not entirely convincingly, I thought, that citizenship values pervaded all their courses, all the day, therefore you did not need to have a separate chunk on citizenship, whether it was linked to history, geography, or whatever? Do you think, in the present circumstances, there is a danger that citizenship is slightly being tagged onto other subjects in schools, which might not always be, shall we say, at the top of the agenda for the head's attention, or indeed for the school's timetable?

Dr Verlot: I think it is a bit of a false position. I would say there was definitely a case to make that there is a moment in the curriculum, time in the week, where you can reflect on things, you can actually be taught a number of insights and start thinking about strategies, how to take them beyond the classroom. That is not to say that these things need to stay only within that subject. I think it is very important that from geography and from history these types of reflections are supported by a number of ways of looking within these disciplines. On the one hand, I think there is a point where having time for reflecting on citizenship as a topic is very valuable, but it needs to be supported in other areas, in humanities, in history and geography, where they can contribute to that and make it a more holistic approach.

Q356 Mr Marsden: If you will allow me, Chairman, I would like just to move it on to the broader debate about the definition of Britishness, and indeed the definition of the values which go with that, because there have been a number of significant public pronouncements on this, not least by the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, in the speech that he gave at the Fabian New Year school, earlier this year. He said that there were specific values which could be, and should be, identified from British history as being British and that those should be taught and, to some extent, endorsed. Is that a view that you on the CRE would share?

Mr Johnson: I think, to a degree. There is a need for common values, but I think it is the way those values manifest themselves in behaviours and in what we term a practical identity. I think where the

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

Britishness debate sometimes has fallen into problems is because people have talked about values which either are universal values and not particularly British, or they are values or terminologies which are so open to interpretation that everyone has been able to nod and smile and say they agree with it, when actually they mean something very different with it. For instance, liberty means something different, I think, in Britain and through Britain's history than it has done in France or in the United States. You may look at liberty as a concept, but what is important in schools is to teach what liberty has meant through British history particularly and what it means in terms of Britain today and some of the challenges and issues that concepts and values like that pose for people. That is the important part, to be taught in schools rather than just looking at, say, esoteric values.

Q357 Mr Marsden: Is there a danger, and here perhaps you might reflect on the issue of whether we are talking about British identity or British identities, that too much focus on so-called common values actually will produce just people signing up to a lowest common denominator which does not reflect the diversity of British life today?

Mr Johnson: I think there is a danger of that. What we always say is that we accept we are a nation of multiple identities and that Britishness is one of people's various identities. I think there is a need to make it a stronger part of people's identities than currently it is, which is why I think the current debate around Britishness and what it means and what it might represent today is important, because I think it has been a neglected part.

Q358 Mr Marsden: There is a lot of overlap, of course, in the debate about the potential tensions produced by a multi-ethnic society and a multi-faith society, and I think increasingly that has been the case over the last two to three years. To what extent do you, on the CRE, feel that your role has been changed by this increasing focus, particularly after 7/7 last year, on the challenges faced by Britain being a multi-faith society, perhaps as opposed to being a multi-ethnic one?

Mr Johnson: Certainly the work of the CRE has changed fundamentally in recent years. I think 7/7 was a part of that, but it was changing before then from being an organisation that was very much concerned with anti-discrimination and eliminating outright racism, which is still a core part of our work, the emphasis has had to shift far more from that to the community relations side of things. What is in our mandate is good race relations and issues of how communities get along with one another, and faith has played an increasing role in relationships at a community level and I think is playing an increasing role.

Q359 Mr Marsden: Does that cause you not more difficulty but more complexity in the way in which you approach things? In the sense that, to be blunt, if you are trying to deal with issues of racial discrimination, for example, against black people, I

know there are all sorts of different ethnic groups in there, in some ways that is a less complex task than adjusting to, for example, a significant rise in Muslim consciousness and, not the same thing, potentially Muslim fundamentalism? Which may, of course, go across a variety of different ethnic groups, and indeed include, as we saw from 7/7 and as we have seen from other incidents, people who have signed up to a form of Muslim fundamentalism who are not traditionally from that ethnic background at all?

Mr Johnson: Yes, absolutely, I agree with that. The complexity of our work is enormous. Partly we are restricted because we do not have faith issues in our mandate.

Mr Marsden: Would that be helpful, if you did?

Q360 Chairman: How do we merge with sex and disability and everything else?

Mr Johnson: We are merging with all the various anti-discrimination strands. We are going in three years' time, so I think amending our statute now is probably not worth doing, because the new body is coming on and having "faith" in there.

Q361 Mr Marsden: In terms of your practical work, is there more focus on that than there would have been, say, two or three years ago?

Mr Johnson: Absolutely, just in relation to the mergers, and so I think it is a fundamental issue that the anti-discrimination side of things is important and needs concentration. At the moment, there is a danger of a sort of vacuum in institutional arrangements for how you manage community relations, both at a local level but also in terms of a national strategy and the issue of faith work. A load of work we did, without it being sort of a cliché, it was black and white, it was quite straightforward, there were good guys and there were bad guys, and now you cannot say that necessarily to the same degree, there are misunderstandings, misrepresentations and tensions because of a lack of knowing other people. I think the complexity has changed and really we need to think about how we start addressing that, and the old systems and ways of doing it do not necessarily work.

Q362 Mr Marsden: Marc, can I come to you for a final point, because obviously I was interested in your CV, and before you came to the CRE you spent I think 16 years very closely involved in some of these issues in Belgium. Nick has already alluded to the different concepts of liberty perhaps between Britain and continental Europe, as a result of our history. I wonder what lessons you think we in this country should take from not even necessarily Belgium but from the way in which perhaps Western Europe has treated citizenship issues in recent years and what lessons we should avoid?

Dr Verlot: Where to start; to summarise that last 150 years and 17 countries. First of all, I do not think there is that much of a continental and British divide. The Benelux countries have a very different tradition than Germany and France, for example. Just on Belgium, I always joke with my colleagues,

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

we have got six parliaments and seven governments and one of the smallest countries in Europe, because they try to make it work. I think it is very important that, we have had a tradition of authoritarian citizenship almost, really by the state apparatus, it brings it down and translates it.

Q363 Mr Marsden: Top down?

Dr Verlot: Top down, very much like in the French Republican tradition, where every 50 or 60 years they reinvent it and then everybody is supposed to bring it down to everybody; in a lot of other countries it has been an ongoing discussion. The discussion of Belgian citizenship in itself has been going on for the last 150 years, so I think it is important to have institutions which are aware of tensions, not necessarily hide them but try to work with them and try to solve them on a daily basis. I think, in that sense, schools have quite an important position, just looking at Belgium, where segregation and the far right have been quite important issues.

Q364 Mr Marsden: You would say that school segregation has helped organisations like the *Vlaams Blok*?

Dr Verlot: I think the *Vlaams Blok* would love to have segregated schools. The work from the more democratic parties actually has been to try to desegregate schools and build up, from bottom up, understandings on a daily basis between pupils and students from different communities; to see that as black and white messages, first of all, does not reflect their realities in the playground, where it is an ongoing work in schools. I think it is very important that democratic parties make this an ongoing topic of work, otherwise, as I have already mentioned, where segregation is left to roll itself out people become more vulnerable in terms of influence and in terms of opposition which, when tensions rise, becomes more palpable. I think there is clearly an understanding in countries like Belgium, where the divides are great between different groups, that schools have an important and pivotal role in bridging these tensions.

Q365 Mr Carswell: Given the problems there have been in the past over national identities being in conflict, do you not think that the Commission for Racial Equality has a role to try to promote some sort of European identity and do you see that as part of your remit?

Dr Verlot: In my former job I did some work on European identities and I recall one French researcher who called it a UPO, an Unidentified Political Object. European identity is something you construct and for the moment it is little in people's minds unless it becomes something practical. European identity will never gloss over the differences that are there, so even within the European identity we will have to learn and deal with diversity as it comes.

Q366 Mrs Dorries: My question is to Marc. When the Chairman was asking you questions in your initial introduction, you talked about parallel lives

and you were talking about Bradford and Oldham and citizenship in that context. You were talking about political unrest and tensions coming into the area. Do you think really that citizenship lessons in schools are going to stop tensions arising within communities and stop riots in the streets?

Dr Verlot: If citizenship lessons would address these things and these realities which are out there, certainly it can be a place or a forum where these things can be taken up. Of course, if citizenship tends to gloss over these realities and these tensions it will not affect it. I think citizenship education in general and even within the curriculum might well be a place where you take these subjects up. For example, you can imagine where, in terms of a project, pupils look at the admission policy of the school, look at the wider contacts in the city and can wonder why the school is composed as it is composed and what types of discussions are not taking place in the school which are taking place outside the school. I think it is definitely a possibility to have these discussions in the school and start working on them and reflecting on them from different perspectives.

Q367 Mrs Dorries: I have been round Hollinwood and places in Oldham where the riots started, and I spent a few days there actually, and I do not think that any of the people who were involved in what happened there particularly even went to school. I cannot see what relationship an hour's teaching a week on a subject will have on what happened in areas like Hollinwood?

Dr Verlot: It brings me back a bit to what happens in Antwerp, in Belgium. You are right, when people fight on the streets it is not necessarily the people who are in the schools. However, you do have people who are looking and who are watching and who are the silent majority and schools can touch them and they can influence and they can look at these events in a different view and be more critical or more supportive of a certain stance. I am not saying you can put an actual relationship between what happens on the street and what happens in the curriculum in the school, however it does make a difference in the long term, I think.

Q368 Mrs Dorries: You are hoping then that the citizenship lessons will have a cascading effect by the strata of the community towards the people who are actually creating riots and tensions within communities? You are not actually hoping that will have a direct effect on the people who are being taught it, but there will be this cascading or this imbued knowledge into other people as a result?

Dr Verlot: I think it might have a wider impact in the longer term, which is quite crucial, yes.

Q369 Mrs Dorries: Is there not a better way of doing it?

Mr Johnson: I think there are issues. I think some of the people who were rioting in the north country were at school, or had been at school, and in the school process; some of the ring-leaders may not have been. I think it is about an environment that is prone to exploitation by extremists and people who

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

want to riot and part of having a good citizenship education, both in terms of specific subjects but also in a school ethos, and its inclusion in other subjects is to make areas less prone to extremists going in there and exploiting them.

Q370 Mrs Dorries: In that case, do you think that in areas like Hollinwood and Oldham and Bradford, and various areas, there should be a more focused intensity on citizenship in school and less of one in areas where there are no tensions and where there is not an issue in terms of problems in the communities? Perhaps those areas need more; because what we have at the moment is this one hour a week, whichever school you are in, wherever it may be. Do you think perhaps those areas need more?

Mr Johnson: I do not know whether you need more. I think the hour a week and having a forum to discuss it is just as relevant in an area that is more diverse, perhaps more deprived, as in a leafy suburb or a rural area. I think it is just as important to know about issues of citizenship, that it is not just about conflict between communities. I think the way in which it is done clearly will need to differ in different parts of the country and the issues talked about will be different in different parts of the country, therefore there needs to be a degree of a sort of national framework. Clearly, any citizenship curriculum needs to be able to respond to local circumstances.

Q371 Mrs Dorries: Nick, you said a moment ago, actually you said this phrase, that it was being taught in schools, their faith leaders are coming into school and doing general community work, and it was not known as citizenship; although it was successful, it was known as general community things that were being taught in the schools through faith leaders. Are there different ways of teaching citizenship then, other than in this sort of confined subject title and curriculum coursework as citizenship? If you yourself are saying that faith leaders are coming into school and having success with it, is it not better to be taught through religious instruction, through history, through other lessons and to be taught in a more general way?

Mr Johnson: I think it is both. As Marc said earlier, you are making a false choice between either having it as a subject or having it in other subjects. I think it should be in both. I think having a specific subject on citizenship is important because there are some things that we need to be taught which perhaps do not fit into other subjects, or would fit so far below other priorities in those subjects. I agree with you that a lot of the really good ways in which citizenship can be taught is by making sure that it is included in other subjects and other ways in which the school operates.

Q372 Mrs Dorries: Do you think that the history curriculum, as it is taught within our schools now, could be adapted in a way to make it more broad spectrum and more all-encompassing, which in itself

would incorporate more issues with regard to citizenship and patriotism and identity with the UK and local communities?

Mr Johnson: I think, to some extent. I am not an expert on the details of the history curriculum as it stands currently, but I think history clearly is a fundamentally important part of learning about citizenship, to have a knowledge of history and how some of the values that we were talking about earlier came to mean different things in Britain over time. I think the way that history and citizenship are linked is of fundamental importance. I think perhaps history needs to be raised in importance, it needs to be seen as a more important subject than it is, in many places, at the moment.

Q373 Mr Wilson: The Government has been doing a lot of rethinking about citizenship, and you will know that Bill Rammell announced last month that they are doing a review of the National Curriculum's coverage of diversity issues and how you can incorporate cultural and social British history into the curriculum. Do you think that review he has announced is necessary?

Mr Johnson: I think partly the discussion we have been having today shows that there is the need to look constantly at how you are doing things, to see whether they can be improved and whether they are fit for purpose, as it were, in Britain as of today, because circumstances are different from 12 months ago, from five years ago, in terms of the issues and the challenges that are being faced, and we talked at the very beginning about some of the changing nature of migration. It is always good to review it; whether you do that in a one-off, six months' review or whether you have a constant process of review is not necessarily something that we would have a strong opinion on, but I think the need constantly to review and adapt is important to consider.

Q374 Mr Wilson: One of the key points in this is, is there some sort of agreed work or narrative of British social history that you can incorporate into the citizenship curriculum?

Mr Johnson: I think, there are clear facts and developments in social history that are not open for contest, and you can debate whether they are good or bad or what their impact has been, and having that kind of discussion within the classroom would be an important thing to have, whether it is part of history or citizenship or wherever you fit it into the school life. You could say there was a clear narrative of what has happened and there are clear facts. You can talk about the numbers, if you have got them in front of you, of people coming in and out of the country, or size of different communities, or patterns of movement within Britain and segregation between communities and facts about faith groups.

Q375 Mr Wilson: How are those facts going to engender a feeling of Britishness?

Mr Johnson: I think you are looking at what those facts and what those developments, which have happened to other countries as well, have meant in Britain and how Britain has adapted to them;

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

looking at, for instance, Britain's history of always having migration at different times, in different ways, and that has led to the development of Britain as it is today is important.

Q376 Mr Wilson: One of the other reasons for this review is the impact of the terrorist attacks back in 7/7, and do you think that terrorism and the prevention of terrorism agenda should have any influence on citizenship education?

Mr Johnson: I think, to some degree, yes, of course it should, because citizenship education, if it is to work, should be about all issues affecting the country. Surely the point of being a good citizen, as it were, is to have an awareness and an understanding of all the issues; the prominence will change according to circumstances and times, but I think it is important that these issues are discussed and debated there. Otherwise, if you do not have a forum for those discussions, as Marc said earlier, in relation to some of the northern towns, then those debates will take place on the street, often in open conflict rather than in discussion in a safer environment.

Q377 Mr Wilson: Taking that just a stage further, do you think that citizenship education can do anything to prevent a home-grown terrorist attack?

Dr Verlot: Who is to say?

Q378 Mr Wilson: If that is the purpose, the spin that is being put on it by the Government, and you are saying "Who is to say?" it does not give much support to it, does it?

Dr Verlot: I think it is very difficult to presume that giving citizenship lessons will have necessarily an immediate effect on what people decide to do. I do think it will affect a lot of people how they react to it. I am not sure what the motivation was for these people to do what they have done and it is very difficult to assume a causal relationship between citizenship teaching and the acts of a number of individuals. It is just impossible to establish.

Q379 Chairman: Has your organisation, for example, taken all the people that were arrested for rioting and found out where they went to school, what their education was, did they go to school; it is very clearly ascertainable, is it not? What is the relationship between those actually identified on videotape rioting?

Mr Johnson: Are you talking about the northern riots of five years ago, or Oldham?

Q380 Chairman: Anywhere, and I really rather resent people who pick on northern riots; there have been riots up and down this country. I get rather worried. What this Committee listens to, in terms of the evidence we have had, is there are certain sorts of social behaviour that people do not seem to like; then there is another supposition that if we had good citizenship we could actually eradicate that bad behaviour. What bad behaviour comes within the

remit; is it the miners' strike and the riots that happened there? Is it the poll tax riots, that we should have educated people better so that we would not have those? What sort of citizenship would meet different kinds of social behaviour?

Mr Johnson: I do not think you can ever say you are going to eradicate bad behaviour. I think probably that is too ambitious for anyone to do.

Q381 Chairman: You have just said, in an answer to Rob Wilson, that "we are concerned with everything." You opened this Pandora's box. For goodness sake, most people in this country still read the *Sun*; you know? Citizenship is either something focused or it is almost meaningless, if it means everything?

Mr Johnson: Again, I would not want to be making too much of a false choice between some of the specifics about citizenship, which schools do and it is part of the curriculum, in terms of the political process and those kinds of activities, which are core and will need to be taught and need to be discussed. As Marc said earlier, also having citizenship classes which are done in such a way to have a forum to discuss issues, and you cannot say necessarily that they will be contemporary issues, they will be issues of the day. It may be what is on the *Sun*'s front page, it may be a chance to discuss what is on the *Sun*'s front page and whether it is accurate and whether it is giving a true perception, and countering it with what the *Guardian* is saying about it.

Chairman: I hear what you are saying, and can I correct my statement. Most people do not read the *Sun*: it is the largest-selling daily.

Q382 Mr Wilson: I am becoming a little bit confused with the sorts of answers you are giving, but let me try to pin you down a bit. The Government clearly sees the citizenship teaching as a response to home-grown terrorism and, I believe, disenfranchisement of Muslim groups. Do you think that is a reasonable view to take?

Mr Johnson: I think we would say that citizenship was just as important before 7/7 as after 7/7. I do not think it changed the emphasis that we have given, in our work, to the issue. Clearly, the events of 7/7 and the fact that there were home-grown terrorists have an impact on some of the things that need to be discussed within citizenship; but, as Marc said, you cannot say necessarily that having good citizenship classes will stop someone wanting to become a suicide bomber, and I think you should not make that the undue focus of citizenship. Citizenship is important for a number of reasons; that is one of them. An increase in tolerance in society, but there are many other factors to play, in terms of extremism, disenfranchisement of certain faith groups or ethnic groups within society.

Q383 Mr Wilson: Any proposed curriculum for this which was before 7/7 would be the same afterwards; the bombings have had no impact on what should or should not be included in the citizenship curriculum?

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

Mr Johnson: As I said earlier, clearly you will need to change some of the detailed content of it, but the importance of citizenship I do not think was changed by 7/7. I think the focus of it perhaps was, and people's attitude and interest in it was changed by 7/7, but for us at this area the importance did not change overnight. Clearly, some of the issues that will be discussed were brought into greater focus by the events of 7/7. As we talked about earlier, having a forum within a school and citizenship where people can explore differences, discuss some of the issues going on around them that they may not understand fully, and clearly the events of 7/7 and faith groups' disenfranchisement are issues of the day that will need to be discussed perhaps more than they were before 7/7.

Q384 Helen Jones: Can I just come back to this idea that we can get some sort of workable, agreed narrative of British social and cultural history. We can all have a hazy idea of what that should be but it is terribly difficult to do in practice, is it not, and has always been terribly difficult, it is not new? For example, many people in Lancashire probably have an entirely different view of the impact of the Reformation from people in various other parts of the country. Is it possible to get that agreed narrative and how do you go about doing it?

Mr Johnson: As I said, you can agree on facts and events which happen but clearly you cannot get a universal interpretation of what this meant, because it meant different things to different people and different interpretations. Surely the point of education is to provide a forum where those differences can be expressed, discussed, and people can recognise that you can have those different interpretations of events. You can do it in a way that you can have a discussion about it, rather than needing to think "That means I am so different from that person I don't want to live near them, I don't want to go to school with them, I don't want to socialise with them," and then leading to just those parallel lives which Marc talked about at the beginning.

Q385 Helen Jones: I agree with that, but that is not what is being talked about, is it? We are talking about getting an agreed narrative of history which leads on to certain values. I think that is probably a good thing to aim at but a terribly difficult thing to do in practice. How would we go about doing that; how would we go about doing it and encompassing all the differences in society, people's various views of events, and so on?

Dr Verlot: I think, having a consistent narrative does not necessarily lead to having a homogenous message. I think it is quite important to make that point. Any good history curriculum and/or citizenship curriculum will deal with a number of statements, facts, perceptions which are out there and which you can debate and discuss. As you said, the discussion of the Reformation in Lancashire might be quite different. I think it is quite important that we see that narrative very much as aiming to construct a critical understanding of different

realities, rather than have a version of history which needs to be swallowed by everybody and reproduced.

Q386 Chairman: Is it Marxist interpretation of English history? There are non-Marxist interpretations. If you ever read Christopher Hill and compare him with another historian of the same period, they are totally different interpretations of the cause of the English Civil War. There is great, rich diversity of historical interpretation; there is no agreed version. If I digress into interpretations of the Enclosure movement, what is it, other than some kind of anodyne mishmash of bits of history which you are suggesting we feed kids?

Dr Verlot: We are not suggesting anything whatsoever. The question was, how do you build a narrative? I just wanted to reply that narrative is about taking into account different perspectives, rather than homogenising or taking out one narrative which burns over all the others. I think it is even more important for the citizenship curriculum that it does not homogenise but that the British identity is in construction and is partly contestable, because it is an ongoing construction and that flexibility is part of the dynamics.

Q387 Chairman: What would you draw out for citizenship? Some of the most difficult issues we have discussed with other witnesses are an interpretation of what are the rights of people; when a group of people who come to live here have a very different interpretation of the rights of women, for example. You are going to merge with the other equality commissions, are you not; what happens when you have a dialogue with people who do not believe that women have equal rights with men, in some areas?

Dr Verlot: I think, first of all, what you can do is make it clear, because for a long time women did not have equal rights also in western democracies, and it is not that recent that they have actually had voting rights, for example, showing that evolution, or the argument of how it has come about that people think the way they do today. Also addressing why people think they are not equal, try to analyse the arguments they have, and actually comparing them is not saying "You should not say women have no equal rights." It is saying, "Where does this idea come from, why do you think that? Do you really think that this applies to your sister and to your mother or to somebody who has been very successful and has been supporting you financially?" There are a number of ways in which these fundamental issues need to be debated, and it is the capacity to debate and to weigh up evidence, to go back to the sources and to see, and also the flexibility of learning to change your opinion over time.

Q388 Chairman: You would not believe that in the school you would teach that there is an inalienable right of the equality of women with men?

Dr Verlot: I think it is quite important to make clear that at this point in time a number of differences in

7 June 2006 Mr Nick Johnson and Dr Marc Verlot

opinion are seen as a reversal. We need to ask how they have come about and how they are still evolving, because, in all reality, we have a Race Relations Act and everybody is equal before the law but the CRE is still very much in business, so there is a lot of things to do. With a principle stating that and between having the practice, we can state tomorrow, Article 1, all British people are happy; it does not mean they are happy. There is work to be done there, I think.

Q389 Helen Jones: Do you not then have to move on from that debate and discussion to some very difficult decisions, where, in the end perhaps, we will be having to say to people in school, “It is not acceptable for you to treat girls in this school in a particular way because in this country we don’t allow that, we won’t accept it”? That is a very difficult point to get to, is it not, with people coming from very different cultural backgrounds? It is all very well to talk about the discussion and debate but there does come a point, on various issues, this is just one example, where a line has to be drawn. Do you accept that is necessary, on some issues?

Mr Johnson: Yes, absolutely.

Q390 Chairman: We are just drawing to a conclusion, so is there anything that you would like to say to the Committee that you think you have not had a chance to articulate?

Mr Johnson: I do not think so, in particular.

Dr Verlot: I think, readdressing the aspect of segregation in schools, given the fact that CRE is looking at community relations, there is a reality out there that citizenship cannot just engage in principles, it does need to look at the composition of schools and the realities and how people grow up together. If anything, I think it has been a concern of the CRE, in all its complexity, all the reasons it has come about, that this might be an issue which might be highlighted and taken up in practice also in schools.

Chairman: Thank you, Marc. This has been a good session. Would you remain in contact with the Committee? As I say, we are only part-way through this inquiry, and, on your travel to your day job, if you think of things that you should have said to the Committee, or you think we should know, do give us the further information. Thank you.

Memorandum submitted by Professor David Conway, Civitas

1. Citizenship was introduced into the National Curriculum from a dual concern about growing levels of political apathy and incivility among the young. The hope was, by promoting inside and outside the classroom the procedural values associated with modern liberal democracy such as tolerance and respect, plus encouraging schoolchildren to participate in extra-curricula voluntary activity in their local communities, the seeds of civility and political engagement could be sown.

2. Arguably, the approach has not lived up to promise. Polls reveal the subject is highly unpopular with both students and the staff called on to teach it many of whom are often unsure of what to teach as part of it. Both resent the time taken for it from other more mainstream subjects. Meanwhile, so far as the students of it are concerned, arguably all too many of the best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity.

3. One major reason citizenship education has proved less effective than initially hoped for is that more than mere familiarity with the procedural values of liberal democracy like respect and tolerance are needed to achieve more than mere lip service to them.

4. For these values to become genuinely embraced and internalised by today’s schoolchildren, as has increasingly lately started to become recognised, there is need for them to share with each other and with their fellow citizens a common inclusive identity that goes beyond their mere notional shared adherence to such abstract meta-values as tolerance and respect or human rights. They need to share values and beliefs that will inform and engage their hearts and imaginations as well as intellects, where the shared beliefs and values are liberal tolerant ones that make adherence to liberal practices and values a lived natural reality.

To date, those concerned about rising levels of political apathy and incivility among the young, not to mention about the extreme alienation of some, have been handicapped in their attempt to address these concerns by fear that any attempt to teach children more than these meta-values must necessarily privilege the culture and traditions of some one group, typically the majority, at the expense of those who belong to the country’s minorities.

5. This fear is misguided on two counts. First, as has become apparent from objections levelled against liberal democracy by its latter-day enemies, even seeking to inculcate the meta-values associated with it involves a commitment to some political values in preference to others that are capable of contestation. This remains so, no matter how much an attempt may have been made to sever the democracy from any particular political culture in which it has been historically rooted. Second, human beings, especially young ones, need more to sustain their loyalties and to engage their hearts and imaginations than mere abstractions. They need stories in which these values come to life in narrative accounts of the lives and doings of those who have fought for these values. Such stories have always been and remain the time-honoured pedagogic medium through which such values have been instilled and loyalties aroused—especially those that are to become the common property of the people.

6. There is no better set of (essentially true) stories available by means of which to inculcate in young British citizens a set of common liberal and tolerant values and attachments, no matter how ethnically diverse their familial backgrounds or how recent their roots here might be, than those provided by the history of this country and by the way in which it has pioneered liberal and tolerant political institutions, as well as reached out to all parts of the world to intertwine the destinies of their manifold inhabitants with those of its own. Doubtless, much has occurred within and in the name of this country in which its inhabitants have little cause to take pride, but that is far outweighed by much that has occurred within it and in its name in which they can and should take pride, and enough of the latter to make law-abiding patriots of all educated citizens.

7. The exceptional serviceability of British narrative history as a subject through which to effect citizenship education has long been recognised by British educationists as far back as John Locke. It was a commonplace among educators until changing educational fashions and a misplaced fear that privileging our island story would unfairly disadvantage or demean comparative newcomers led to its displacement by forms of history teaching not nearly as well able to achieve this end.

8. If politicians and educationists want social cohesion, political literacy and civility from today's young citizens, then there is no option but to provide forms of education which will induce them to identify with each other and their compatriots, notwithstanding their ethnic or religious diversity.

9. The values of tolerance and civility are not unique to this country, although this country did much to pioneer their dissemination into the fabric of a nation, so simply teaching about them in the abstract will not necessarily create social cohesion or lead to political engagement. Teaching them about how this country led the world in the political institutionalisation of these values would give all pupils something to be proud of—namely their being British, as well as explain how the political institutions of their country in which these cherished values became embodied came into being and were sculpted over the centuries to enshrine these values and to make the country the tolerant and liberal nation it has become.

10. There is absolutely no inconsistency, nor should there be, between teaching all British schoolchildren about their island's story as their common patrimony and allowing them to retain and continue to celebrate whatever distinct identities their home background supplies them with and about which they too can also all receive instruction in school. Part of the unique character and charm of this country has been its unique ability to accommodate diversity and yet fully to integrate its diverse citizens. It will only be continue to be able to do so while it retains the self-understanding about how and why it has been able to that alone knowledge of its history provides.

11. That is why the teaching of British narrative history continues to remain by far the best form of citizenship education and why, without history lying at the core of the citizenship curriculum, all attempts to foster it are destined to fail in their objective.

12. It was to foster precisely such a form of historical understanding in British schoolchildren that, last year, Civitas republished *Our Island Story* by Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall, half a century after changing educational fashions had caused it to fall out of print. Civitas republished the book to make free copies available to all schools. The book was republished to much acclaim among popular British historians like Lady Antonia Fraser, Andrew Roberts, and David Starkey who recognised its pedagogic value and lamented how its narrative approach had become eclipsed.

This coming school year 2006–07 Civitas is sponsoring a prize essay competition for children in years six and seven entitled “Our Island Stories: How this Country has Changed in the Last Century”. The competition asks children to describe some way in which the country has changed during the hundred years since the point in time at the death of Queen Victoria at which Marshall's book ended. In so doing, Civitas seeks to elicit the kind of common interest in and identification with this island's story that it believes should be the true object of a citizenship education fit for the purpose of cultivating loyal, law-abiding, politically well-informed and engaged citizens of the pluralistic liberal democratic society to which they all have the privilege to belong.

May 2006

Memorandum submitted by Dr Dina Kiwan

1. This evidence is based on research that I conducted (2001–05), which aimed to examine the conceptions of citizenship in the policy and curriculum development process of citizenship education in the English secondary school contemporary context, from the perspectives of the key players who were involved. My particular focus was on the extent to which these conceptions address ethnic and religious diversity, in terms of their theoretical and practical implications.

2. My methodology entailed interviewing thirty participants involved at different stages of the policymaking process, including David Blunkett, Sir Bernard Crick, and others both actively involved in the policy process, subsequent curriculum development stages and also related initiatives—including the Home

Office community cohesion initiatives. In addition, I analysed the Crick Report (QCA, 1998), as well as the Key Stage 3 (KS3) curriculum documentation—the KS3 Programmes of Study (QCA, 2000) and KS3 Schemes of Work (QCA, 2001).

3. Key findings in relation to:

Leaders' attitudes to citizenship education

(a) Perspectives on why citizenship education came onto the agenda—the agency of the individual

1. My interview data suggests that those involved in the policymaking process emphasised the role of individuals relative to societal influences in their explanations of why citizenship education came onto the agenda in the late 1990s. Almost two thirds of those interviewed referred to the political will of certain key individuals as being of central importance. In particular, David Blunkett and Sir Bernard Crick were named by the majority of those who stressed the central importance of certain individuals in this process. Furthermore, Crick and Blunkett themselves also emphasised the important role of individuals in the culmination of citizenship education onto the policymaking agenda.

2. Whilst “powerful” individuals were clearly perceived to have been central in getting citizenship and citizenship education onto the agenda, individuals however did also refer to a range of other influences in the context of getting citizenship education onto the agenda in the late 1990s, which I have coded into seven main categories. The table below ranks in descending order of most frequently referred to, the range of influences considered to be influential by interviewees:

Table 1

INFLUENCES ON INITIATIVE AS PERCEIVED BY INTERVIEWEES, RANKED IN DESCENDING ORDER OF FREQUENCY

Reasons given:

1. Political apathy of young people
2. Society in moral crisis
3. Democratic crisis/low voter turnout
4. Legal changes (eg Europe/HR Act)
5. Diversity/Immigration issues
6. Education—move away from “standards” emphasis
7. Re-negotiation between “citizen” and “state”

3. Of note, “Diversity/Immigration” issues are ranked relatively low, coming fifth out of seven main categories. Only four out of the thirty interviewees referred to societal diversity at all as an explanatory factor. All four were women and three of the four were of ethnic minority. What is also of note is that only one out of the four was directly involved as a member of the Advisory Group. One possible interpretation of this is that those individuals who are members of groups who may have been traditionally excluded from the full rights of citizenship, may have a greater awareness of the relationship between citizenship and diversity and the potential role of citizenship in empowering those from traditionally excluded groups. Nevertheless, these interviewees were aware that the themes of diversity, identity and “race” were relatively underplayed in relation to citizenship in policy and curriculum documentation (QCA, 1998; QCA, 2000; QCA, 2001).

4. With regard to the theme of immigration, only two of the interviewees referred to the issues surrounding immigration and asylum seekers as explanatory factors, arguing that, typically these issues are framed as a problem. In part, the relative lack of reference to this issue in relation to citizenship may be related to political sensitivities regarding “race” and diversity more broadly in the context of talking about citizenship. It may also relate to the fact that the complexity of issues surrounding citizenship, immigration, asylum seekers and refugees is not explicitly addressed in either the policy or curriculum documentation, which has been argued was a deliberate strategy, given the political sensitivities at the time.

5. Whilst my research did not aim to uncover causal explanations with regard to the question of how citizenship education came to be on the policymaking agenda, my interest was in the perceptions of the key players themselves, and the kind of processes they invoke in explaining how these influences resulted in bringing about the initiative. Based on interviewees’ responses, I have proposed three explanatory models—the “cocktail” model, the “trigger” model, and the “fluke” model. In the first model, the “cocktail” model, a complex interaction of personal and societal influences was referred to, with the “mixing” of these influences being perceived to culminate in bringing the initiative onto the agenda. In the second model, the “trigger” model, there was a perception that there was a large number of influences, but typically there was one key incident that triggered public outrage and created a climate conducive to the acceptance of the policy initiative. References were made to serious crimes committed in the early 1990s, notably the Jamie Bulger murder, the murder of the head teacher, Philip Lawrence, and the Dunblane massacre. The media was usually invoked as playing a catalytic role in this model. Finally, in the third explanatory model, the “fluke” model, it was perceived that there was an arbitrary nature to how the initiative took hold. This may, in part,

be because the processes by which policy issues, in general, come onto the agenda lack transparency, even for those actively involved in those processes, with a number of interviewees invoking the notion of “luck” or “serendipity”.

(b) Perceived aims and outcomes of citizenship education

1. What emerged from the interviews was that there was often tentativeness expressed with regard to what the implementation of citizenship education might achieve. This is reflected in much of the empirical literature, in that there is scant evidence of a direct correlation between the implementation of citizenship education and increased formal political participation, with policy and curriculum development taking place without empirical evidence of the potential impact of these policies at the student level (Kerr, 1999), or indeed at societal level (Albala-Bertrand, 1997). This stands in marked contrast to David Blunkett’s assertion that citizenship education is “crucial to the life of a democracy”, as democracy is “threatened by apathy and disengagement” (Interview with David Blunkett, p 1).

2. The aims and outcomes of citizenship education as perceived by interviewees can be grouped under a number of themes. The key themes referred to by interviewees in order of frequency are presented in the following table:

Table 2

AIMS AND OUTCOMES AS PERCEIVED BY INTERVIEWEES, RANKED IN DESCENDING ORDER OF FREQUENCY (CODINGS NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE)⁷

Aims and outcomes of citizenship education

1. Political literacy
2. Supporting democracy and formal political participation
3. Empowerment/change
4. Community involvement
5. Democratic schools with increased pupil self-esteem
- 6= “Better” society and “better” citizens
- 6= Social Order
- 8= Community Cohesion/resolving conflict
- 8= “Do-gooding” (volunteering) agenda
10. Race equality, human rights

3. Political literacy is the most commonly cited aim and outcome of citizenship education. This can be understood in terms of interviewees’ dominant conceptions of citizenship, typically framed in terms of the Crick Report’s three “strands”—“social and moral responsibility”, “community involvement”, and “political literacy”, with particular emphasis on political literacy and active participation (QCA, 1998). The theme of empowerment was the third most frequently mentioned aim and outcome referred to by interviewees, yet only four members of the Crick group referred to this as an aim, in contrast to its being mentioned by those involved either indirectly through the consultation process, or indirectly through general involvement.

4. The issue of diversity was rarely referred to in the context of aims and outcomes of citizenship education with only two interviewees referring to the importance of citizenship education as a means of raising awareness of race equality and human rights issues. Of note is that both interviewees referring to these issues were not central to the policy or curriculum development process, and expressed concern that these issues were not perceived to be aims of citizenship education by the Crick Advisory Group and by those involved subsequently in the curriculum development process.

5. The list of perceived aims and outcomes in Table 2 suggest that interviewees perceived that the citizenship education policy initiative serves more than one type of aim. However, there may be inherent tensions between these aims—for example, between the aim of empowerment and change in contrast to the aim of social order. Similarly, diversity-related aims (framed as “race equality/human rights”) may require a different set of measures than aims that focus exclusively on supporting formal political participation, for example.

Relationship between citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness, and the extent to which this is reflected in the design of citizenship curriculum and other DfES guidance

1. What emerged from the analysis of the interview data, as well as key policy and curriculum documentation, was that there were three “dominant” conceptions of citizenship—which I refer to as “moral”, “legal” and “participatory” conceptions of citizenship, with the “participatory” conception being the most dominant of these conceptions. In contrast, interviewees also referred to “underplayed” conceptions of citizenship, supported by my analysis of key policy and curriculum documentation (QCA,

⁷ Interviewees in many cases gave more than one aim and/or outcome of citizenship education.

1998; QCQ, 2000; QCA, 2001). I have grouped this cluster of conceptualisations under what I have called “identity-based conceptions”, as they are inherently concerned with “identity”, or forms of identification at different levels. These include national, European, and global framings of citizenship, as well as citizenship presented as a framework for anti-racist education, and finally, “multicultural” citizenship. I propose that the dominant conceptions of citizenship alone do not explicitly or sufficiently accommodate the issue of diversity, and as a consequence, will fail to achieve their proposed outcomes. Whilst I note many positive features of the “participatory” conception of citizenship—that it is a necessary part of a model of active citizenship, I argue that it is not sufficient in a multicultural society, and that a “participatory” conception must be coupled with a modified “multicultural” conception of citizenship. Below I summarise the key features of the above-mentioned “dominant” and “underplayed” conceptions of citizenship:

2. A “moral” conception of citizenship

There exists a tension throughout the policy process with regard to what is actually meant by “values”: whether this refers to more “procedural” aspects, for example, respect for certain public institutions and the rule of law, or whether these refer to more personal, social and cultural values. Whilst the Crick Report would tend to emphasise the former (QCA, 1998, p 14), there was disagreement regarding this issue on the Crick Advisory Group itself. The Crick Report goes into significant detail, arguing for the conceptual distinction between Citizenship and Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE), citing excerpts from the submission of the British Youth Council as a “warning against conflating or confusing PSHE (or other forms of values education) and citizenship education” (QCA, 1998, p 20). Of note also is the inclusion in Appendix A of a four-page letter from Crick himself to Professor Tomlinson, Chairman of “Passport Project” on the relationship between PSHE and citizenship,⁸ including Tomlinson’s response, supporting Crick’s explication. Underpinning the Crick Report’s rationale for the Citizenship/PSHE distinction is that the role of values in citizenship denotes public political values, rather than personal values. The Crick Report refers to Plato’s and Aristotle’s conceptions of citizenship (QCA, 1998), and although these can be described as moral conceptions, human beings are conceptualised as essentially political in nature.

3. “Values” are not referred to explicitly in the KS3 Programmes of Study, although they are likely to arise in the context of several of the aspects referred to under “developing skills of enquiry and communication”, and “developing skills of participation and responsible action” (QCA, 2000). Within the KS3 Schemes of Work, Unit 3 on Human Rights proposes that it is an expectation that most pupils at the end of this unit will “know that the Human Rights Act is underpinned by common values” (QCA, 2001, Unit 3, p 2). However, human rights are rights of an individual, underpinned by common values for all human beings, rather than rights based on or derived from being a member of a political community or nation-state. This linking of human rights and citizenship through a notion of common values is theoretically problematic, as I briefly summarise in the following section on “legal” conceptions of citizenship.

4. “Shared values” and its use to question and challenge the support and endorsement of “diversity”, is an important theme that emerged from the interviews. “Diversity” in this context was presented as the opposite of a more favourable “unity”. What is being drawn upon here is a civic republican conceptualisation of citizenship, exemplified by France’s conception of citizenship (Brubaker, 1998). I argue, however, that support for “shared values” should not necessarily be problematic in an ethnically and religiously diverse society. What is neglected in discussions of “shared values” is the process of reaching these “shared values”. If this is not addressed, then “shared values” will continue to be perceived by multiculturalists as synonymous with assimilation into a monoculturalism based on a numerical majority. Assumptions behind the abstract theoretical distinction between public sphere and private sphere must also be re-examined in the context of discussions about shared values, as ethnicity and religion can not be assumed not to straddle these two categories. Arnot (2003) argues that the Citizenship Order in its failure to include social equality as an aim of citizenship education does not challenge the public sphere/private sphere distinction. From a feminist perspective, she argues that such a conception has exclusionary consequences, an argument that can also be extended to ethnic and religious diversity.

5. A “legal” conception of citizenship

Human rights discourses are increasingly being coupled to discourses on citizenship and citizenship education. Whilst the terms of the Crick Advisory Group make explicit reference to rights, what is of particular note is that the phrase “human rights” is not used—but rather “rights of individuals as citizens” (QCA, 1998, p 4). Rights are presented as an included component of citizenship rather than being presented as its theoretical underpinning. This is an important distinction between a more universalist approach and an approach where citizenship is defined in political terms. Underpinning human rights is the notion of common humanity based on ethical and legal conceptualisations of the individual. In contrast, citizenship rights are underpinned in relation to a political community, based on political and legal understandings of the individual. It is appropriate that the terms of reference of the Crick Report do not make the theoretical mistake of conflating universalist ethical understandings of the individual with political understandings of

⁸ A project with the remit of raising the quality of PSE in schools.

the individual. In the KS3 Programme of Study, human rights are prominently presented as the first item under the “knowledge and understanding” heading where “Pupils should be taught about: (a) the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society” (QCA, 2000). In the KS3 Schemes of Work, Unit 3 is entirely devoted to human rights (QCA, 2001), where pupils are taught that the Human Rights Act is “underpinned by common values” (QCA, 2001, Unit 3, p 2). What is not explained is the conceptual relationship between human rights and citizenship: for example, whether the “common values” underpinning the Human Rights Act are distinctive to citizenship in the UK context, in contrast to other nation-state settings. Whilst it is important that human rights are discussed in the context of citizenship, it is important that theoretical distinctions between citizenship rights and human rights are made in the curriculum documentation, and that the two concepts are not conflated, if teachers are to have a clear conceptual understanding of citizenship and be able to communicate this effectively to pupils.⁹

6. A “participatory” conception of citizenship

“Active participation” is the most central conception of citizenship in the Crick Advisory Group’s Final Report (QCA, 1998): “Active citizenship is our aim throughout” (QCA, 1998, p 25). There is further reference to the aim of bringing about a “change in the political culture of this country” (QCA, 1998, pp 7–8), emphasising the public and political conception of active participation. This is elucidated theoretically with reference to the Greek and Roman conceptions of citizenship as “involvement in public affairs” (QCA, 1998, p 10). This political conception of active participation is also used to explain voluntary activity in that it helps to develop informed citizens, with reference to John Stuart Mill in this context. This is in contrast to participation and voluntary activity being framed in moral terms. In the KS3 Programme of Study, active participation is reflected in the third subheading of: “Developing skills of participation and responsible action” (QCA, 2000). Similarly, most of the units in the KS3 Schemes of Work refer to the “active participation and responsible action” Programme of Study sub-heading (QCA, 2001).

7. As noted earlier, one of the perceived aims of citizenship education is its potential to uphold democracy, (also evident from the title of the Crick Report, *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*), given perceptions of widespread political apathy, presented in the Crick Report in its quoting of the Lord Chancellor: “We should not, must not, dare not, be complacent about the health and future of British democracy. Unless we become a nation of engaged citizens, our democracy is not secure” (QCA, 1998, p 8). The terms of reference for the Crick Group, set out by David Blunkett, then Secretary of State for Education and Employment, explicitly focused on education for citizenship to include “the nature and practices of participation in democracy” (QCA, 1998, p 4).

8. Whilst the tone of the Crick Report, as well as Blunkett’s views expressed in his interview, reflect the perception that there is a direct link between citizenship education and upholding democracy, other interviewees were more tentative about presenting this as an explicit aim of citizenship education. Crick, especially, in his academic writings, has warned against the ideological and non-political usage of the term, “democracy”, saying that it has come “to mean almost everything we want—all things bright and beautiful”: democracy as a civic ideal, as representative institutions, and as a way of life” (Crick, 2002, p 8). He has argued that politics must be “defended” from democracy, warning that “if taken alone and as a matter of principles, it is the destruction of politics” (Crick, 2000, p 56). This is because Crick defines politics as an activity involving negotiation between different interests within a political community; this diversity must not be compromised by democracy turning “harmony into mere unison”, reducing “a theme to a single beat” (p 73). There is typically a lack of conceptual clarity when talking about democracy, with it often being conflated with the concepts of liberty, individualism and equality (Crick, 2000). This conceptual confusion is evident in the KS3 Schemes of Work, where, for example, in Unit 1, democracy is predominantly defined in terms of equality (QCA, 2001, Unit 1, p 5).

9. The Crick Report, in highlighting the important role of education in promoting active participation, implicitly relies on what Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004) call a choice-based approach to understanding political participation, and in particular “cognitive engagement theory”, which hypothesises that participation depends on access to information and willingness to act on that information, rather than socialising to certain norms and values. However, a weakness of cognitive engagement theory is that it does not address what motivates people to participate.

10. I argue, however, that understanding what motivates people to participate is crucial to developing an inclusive conception of citizenship. Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004) refer to “general incentives” theory—a synthesis of rational choice and social-psychological accounts of participation, where the argument is that actors need incentives to participate. I propose that what is not sufficiently addressed in a participatory-based conception of citizenship is the question of whether a focus on active participation without a concomitant focus on people’s diversity of identities can achieve an inclusive empowerment of all types of young people. Osler and Starkey (2005)’s definition of citizenship as “a status, a feeling and a practice” is useful to draw upon in this regard, where citizenship as “feeling” refers to a sense of belonging to the larger community. In order to be motivated to participate (citizenship as “practice”), one must be able to identify with, or feel a sense of belonging to the larger community. This suggests that citizenship as “feeling” and

⁹ Please see my article, Kiwan, D. (2005). “Human rights and citizenship: an unjustifiable conflation?”. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 39 (1), 37–50 for a full elaboration of this argument.

citizenship as “practice” are inextricably linked, and are mutually enhancing. Citizenship education must therefore logically incorporate what Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004) call the “general incentives” aspect explicitly in its participatory conception of citizenship. In the following section, I summarise the main “identity-based” conceptions of citizenship based on the interviewee data and analysis of key policy and curriculum documentation.

11. *“Identity-based” conceptions of citizenship*

This set of conceptions was considered to be “underplayed” by interviewees, and also is less evident in the policy and curriculum documentation (QCA, 1998; QCA, 2000; QCA, 2001), compared with the “moral”, “legal” and “participatory” conceptions of citizenship summarised above. These conceptions include conceptions of citizenship concerned with identification at different levels—national, global and European. In addition, conceptions of citizenship linked to discourses on anti-racism and multiculturalism were also evident.

12. A key theme that emerged from the interview and document analysis is that diversity was perceived to be conceptually and politically problematic. In conceptual terms, the Crick Report presents diversity as a potential problem, with cultural diversity being linked to “the apparent loss of a value consensus” (QCA, 1998, p 17). Diversity is explicitly linked to dissent and social conflict—with the “knowing and understanding” of “the nature of diversity, dissent and social conflict” outlined as an expected learning outcome for students by the end of compulsory schooling (QCA, 1998, p 44). It was suggested by some interviewees that the relative downplaying in particular of ethnic and religious diversity in the Crick Report may have been due to perceived political sensitivities at the time. Although it was generally acknowledged by interviewees that diversity was not sufficiently addressed in the citizenship education policy development process, a number of interviewees proposed that the curriculum has enough flexibility that diversity issues can be addressed by citizenship education teachers in the classroom.

13. A second finding was that diversity is conceptualised differently at different stages of the policy and curriculum development process. Whilst diversity was primarily perceived to be a problem in relation to the outlined conception of citizenship in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998), this was not so apparent in the subsequently developed KS3 Programmes of Study (QCA, 2000), and the KS3 Schemes of Work (QCA, 2001). For example, in the KS3 Programmes of Study, diversity was not presented as problematic, but rather, in terms of “the need for mutual respect and understanding” (QCA, 2000).

14. *A national identity?*

The Crick Report takes a civic republican approach whereby it separates ethnic and religious identity from citizenship (Brubaker, 1998), relegating these forms of identity to the personal sphere. The conception of citizenship is underpinned theoretically by the conception of a dominant civic identity, framed primarily in legal terms, rather than in social or cultural terms—what is referred to in the literature as an “ethnic” or “ethnocultural” model of citizenship where the “nation” exists before the state.

15. The complexity of issues surrounding nationality, immigration, asylum seekers and refugees is not explicitly addressed in either the policy or the curriculum documentation (QCA, 1998; QCA, 2000; QCA, 2001). The Crick Report does not explicitly address the issue of the relationship between citizenship and nationality. Yet there is a logical incoherence with the Crick Report proposing a single national identity, even though it is acknowledging the presence of a plurality of nations (QCA, 1998, p 17, para 3.14). It is unclear whether this is just a terminological error, with the Report actually meaning to propose a single state identity. However, there is further confusion with citizenship education being proposed to “create common ground between different ethnic and religious identities”. The “nations” is dropped at this point, and it is unclear whether this is because the Report is outlining proposals for citizenship education only in English schools, and not the UK as a whole. This tension and logical incoherence between the scope of citizenship and citizenship education is never explicitly addressed in the Report. In the KS3 Programmes of Study (QCA, 2000) and KS3 Schemes of Work (QCA, 2001), national identity is acknowledged only insofar as a range of other types of identities, and in the context of respecting and understanding diversity. Furthermore, a plurality of national identities, rather than a single national identity is referred to, recognising the national identities of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

16. *A Global or European citizenship?*

Interviewees, as well as a significant number of those from the Crick Advisory Group’s own consultation process, expressed the concern that global and European issues were underplayed (QCA, 1998, p 76). In his interview, Crick expressed concern regarding globalism in the context of citizenship, perhaps in part explained by a worry that this might, on a practical level, direct attention away from active participation at local and national levels.

17. *Anti-racism and citizenship?*

There are no references linking anti-racism to citizenship in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998). It would appear that this was essentially a political decision: “Lots of people said, well, you haven’t got anti-racism. I said, well, no, but we’ve got tolerance and we need to understand diversity” (Interview with Sir Bernard Crick, p 8). As in the Crick Report, there is no explicit reference to anti-racism in the KS3 Programmes of Study (QCA, 2000). In the KS3 Schemes of Work, anti-racism is referred to in Unit 4: “Britain—a diverse society?” although it is not developed substantively. Anti-racism is included implicitly in recommended resources, through references to websites such as “Kick racism out of football campaign”, “Show racism the red card”, and the QCA “Respect for All”—where diversity and anti-racist education through the curriculum are listed (QCA, 2001).

18. The tense relationship between anti-racism and citizenship was also reflected in the views of interviewees. One finding to emerge was that the perception of some working in the anti-racism field was that their views had not been sought out sufficiently in the policymaking process. This perceived lack of interest in anti-racism of those working in the field of citizenship, however, was also similarly reflected by some of those in the anti-racism field, in that citizenship per se was not of particular interest, but instead was viewed as a convenient place in which to package anti-racism initiatives.

19. *A “multicultural” citizenship?*

There is a dominant, although at times, implicit, conception of diversity in the Crick Report, presented in terms of “multiculturalism”. However, there are conceptual inconsistencies in places; whilst there is a reference to Modood’s (1997) proposal that an explicit idea of “multicultural citizenship needs to be formulated for Britain” (QCA, 1998, p 17), this is not developed further in the Report. Instead, the Report slips into discourses utilising binary oppositions, with its reference to “majorities” and “minorities”. This illustrates a static conception of diversity in terms of co-existing bounded groups, whose differences are perceived to be distinct. This results in the conceptualisation of the need to maintain the status quo of the mainstream majority culture—recognised as the “legitimate” culture, in the face of potentially problematic pockets of “minorities”—perceived to be a potential threat to social cohesion. This is not to say that references to minority groups should not be made in any circumstance; but that discourses that consistently polarise “majority” and “minority” should be avoided. In addition, issues of structural disadvantage are masked in utilising conceptions of diversity in terms of the binary oppositional terms, “majority” and “minority”. The potential impact of people’s identities on how they relate to political institutions and laws is not taken into account in the Crick Report. The approach in the Crick Report implies a relatively static conception of identity, and it ignores the relevance of ethnic and religious diversity to achieving a common citizenship through a shared political culture.

20. The Crick Report presents diversity under key concepts, values and knowledge and understanding (QCA, 1998, p 44, Fig 1), but not in relation to active participation under “skills and understanding”. This suggests a “pedagogy of acceptance”—a “learning about” pedagogical approach to diversity rather than a more active approach where diversity and active participation are integrated as a process. The use of terms like “awareness” and “understanding” support this interpretation. The KS3 Programmes of Study and Schemes of Work, like the Crick Report, conceive of diversity predominantly in terms of a multicultural model, although there is greater emphasis on the notion of identity as fluid and multiple (QCA, 2000; QCA, 2001). In contrast to the Crick Report highlighting the potentially problematic nature of diversity, the KS3 Programmes of Study and Schemes of Work present a more positive conception of diversity, although it could be argued that this takes the form of a “soft” celebratory multiculturalism, rather than a more “critical” form. The predominant pedagogical approach, like that advocated in the Crick Report is in terms of “knowledge and understanding”, rather than in the context of more actively developing participative skills and emphasising process. There is only one reference in Unit 4 of the KS3 Schemes of Work explicitly linking identity and diversity with active participation—under the theme of “taking responsible action” (QCA, 2001, Unit 4).

21. Whilst Blunkett recognises the fluidity and multiplicity of the concept of identity, he is nevertheless, hostile to the term, “multiculturalism”. He interprets it in terms of communities living separately—social cohesion concerns are raised in both the Cattle Report (Community Cohesion Review, Home Office, 2001a), and the Denham Report on Public Order and Community Cohesion (Home Office, 2001b), in the context of inter-ethnic group violence in a number of northern cities in England in the summer of 2001.

22. Blunkett’s dislike of the term “multiculturalism” can be understood in that the term, “multiculturalism”, like “citizenship” is also a fiercely contested concept. In what Joppke and Lukes (1999) have called “mosaic” multiculturalism, cultural group differences are perceived to be distinct, and multiculturalism has become synonymous with the study of “minorities” and the notion of “separate but equal” communities living separate lives. Assumptions include that there can be no universally shared values, and that instead, all values are relative. With multiculturalism being misconstrued to be for and about “minorities”, this may explain why there seems to be a growing discontent with “multiculturalism” in popular discourse (Alibhai-Brown, 2000; Blunkett quoted in *The Independent on Sunday*, 9 December 2001; Trevor Phillips quoted in *The Times*, 3 April 2004; Polly Toynbee, *The Guardian*, 7 April 2004), with calls for new terms and concepts.

23. In this final section, I propose that in order to achieve an inclusive model of citizenship, the dominant participative model be coupled with a modified “multicultural” model of citizenship. This model consists of two main components—firstly, I propose the concept of “institutional” multiculturalism, constituted as a process. Secondly, I propose that citizenship education must redirect its emphasis to the citizen-state relationship, relative to the emphasis on the relationship between individuals and groups from different backgrounds and cultures which is the predominant focus of “interculturalism” (Gundara, 2003).

24. (i) *Institutional multiculturalism*

What is needed is to be able to operationalise “multiculturalism” within the concept of citizenship. Multiculturalism is not about describing a societal context; for it to be meaningful, it must be about how we operate within society. Just as there has been an acknowledgement of the concept of “institutional racism”, I would propose that the concept of “institutional multiculturalism” is a means to go beyond the problem that multiculturalism is generally perceived to be about and for “minorities”.

25. As a member of the subsequent Crick Advisory Group on immigrants and citizenship education (“Life in the UK” Advisory Group), a group also appointed by Blunkett, then Home Secretary, I was personally responsible for drafting the text advocating this model of “institutional” multiculturalism in its published report (Home Office, 2003). This group had the following terms of reference: to advise on “the method, conduct and implementation” of the naturalisation test, in light of legislative requirements of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act (NIA) 2002. The definition of “multicultural” in the context of being British, which I drafted is given on p 10:

We see a multicultural society as one made up of a diverse range of cultures and identities, and one that emphasises the need for a continuous process of mutual engagement and learning about each other with respect, understanding and tolerance—whether in social, cultural, educational, professional, political or legal spheres. Such societies, under a framework of common civic values and common legal and political institutions not only understand and tolerate diversities of identity but should also take respect and take pride in them (Home Office, 2003, p 10).

26. This definition incorporates my conception of “institutional multiculturalism”. The above was an attempt to implicitly challenge the assumption that ethnic and religious identities operate only in the private sphere, as well as emphasising a move beyond a celebratory definition of multicultural, focusing on mutual learning in all spheres. The word, “process” was carefully chosen to indicate that active participation and contribution is inherent to an understanding of operation in all the above-mentioned domains—political, legal and professional, as well as the less problematically perceived social and cultural domains. There is nevertheless a commitment to shared values, achieved and developed through contribution from all those actively participating through the “continuous process of mutual engagement”, an implicit recognition that shared values can indeed change. The fluidity of identity is also recognised: “We do not imply that identities are ever fixed; in fact identities are often more fluid than many people suppose” (p 10).

27. (ii) *Focusing on the citizen—state relationship*

The influences of globalisation have resulted in a strengthening of identities above and below the nation state level. However, it is necessary to be aware that individuals nevertheless operate within the political and legal institutions of the nation-state. I would propose that more efforts be directed to strengthening individuals’ trust in national institutions, and hence their sense of identification and feelings of belonging are strengthened, rather than the dominant focus on inter-group community relations. Whilst it is important to develop reasonably good individual relationships between citizens so that inter-group conflict does not arise, it is not sufficient in developing a sense of identification at the national level (Kymlicka, 2003; Spinner-Halev, 2003). Whilst the KS3 Schemes of Work provide teachers with examples to illustrate the relationship between local and global levels of citizenship (QCA, 2001), elucidating the relationship between the local and national levels, and the national and international levels must therefore be a priority.

REFERENCES

- Albala-Bertrand, L (1997). “What education for what citizenship? Preliminary Results”. *Educational Innovation and Information*, 90, 2–8. (UNESCO Survey).
- Alibhai-Brown, Y (2000). *After Multiculturalism*. London: Foreign Policy Centre.
- Arnot, M (2003). “Citizenship education and gender”, in A Lockyer, B Crick, and J Annette (eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Brubaker, R (1998). “Immigration, citizenship and nation-state in France and Germany”, in G Shafir (ed) *The Citizenship Debates*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Crick, B (2000). *In Defence of Politics*. (Fifth Edition). London and New York: Continuum.
- Crick, B (2002). *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Gundara, J S (2003). *Intercultural education: world on the brink?* Professorial lecture. London: Institute of Education, University of London.
- Home Office (2001a). *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team* (Cantle Report). London: Home Office.
- Home Office (2001b). *The Report of the Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion* (Denham Report). London: Home Office.
- Home Office (2003). *The New and the Old: the Interim Report for Consultation of the "Life in the United Kingdom" Advisory Group*. London: Home Office.
- Joppke, J and Lukes, S (1999). "Introduction: multicultural questions", in C Joppke and S Lukes (eds) *Multicultural Questions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kerr, D (1999). *Re-examining Citizenship Education: The Case of England*. Slough: NFER.
- Kymlicka, W (2003). "Multicultural states and intercultural citizens". *Theory and Research in Education*, 1(2), 147–169.
- Modood, T (1997). *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*. Policy Studies Institute, cited in QCA (1998). *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*. (Crick Report). London: QCA.
- Osler, A and Starkey, H (2005). *Changing Citizenship: Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Pattie, C, Seyd, P, and Whiteley, P (2004). *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (1998). *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*. (Crick Report). London: QCA.
- QCA (2000). *Programmes of Study*. <http://www.nc.uk.net/10/30/00>.
- QCA (2001). *Schemes of Work*. <http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/local/schemes/citizenship/schemes.html07/09/01>.
- Spinner-Halev, J (2003). "Education, reconciliation and nested identities". *Theory and Research in Education*, 1 (1), 51–72.
- The Guardian* (7 April 2004). "Why Trevor is right", Polly Toynbee. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Columnists/Column/0,5673,1187233,00.html> 21/07/04.
- The Independent on Sunday* (9 December 2001.). "If we want social cohesion we need a sense of identity". p 4.
- The Times* (3 April 2004). "I want an integrated society with a difference", Tom Baldwin: Interview with Trevor Phillips. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/printFriendly/0,,1-2-1061080,00.html> 21/07/04.

Witnesses: **Professor Linda Colley**, Princeton University; **Professor David Conway**, Senior Research Fellow, Civitas; and **Dr Dina Kiwan**, Institute of Education, University of London; gave evidence.

Q391 Chairman: Can I welcome all of you, Professor Colley and Dr Kiwan and Professor Conway; particularly so, Professor Colley, because I think you have returned very recently from the United States?

Professor Colley: Yes, at 10 pm yesterday.

Q392 Chairman: A particular brownie point for you. You know what this inquiry is about and you know that we have asked you because you are some of the leading authorities in the world on this subject. The way we play these hearings is to ask if anyone wants to start off and comment, very briefly, and I will give all three of you that opportunity. I think you know the background, I saw some of you were sitting in here listening to the last session. We are seeking to learn, and we are getting part-way through this investigation; we will be asking the questions why this obsession with citizenship, which historically is a fairly new thing, in UK society, that we feel there is this imperative to give people lessons in citizenship, or educate them in citizenship? Starting from the left, Professor Colley, why are we here at this present moment in English history, why are we obsessed with this subject?

Professor Colley: Obviously, I am trying to come at these issues through a historian's point of view and I would say that we are here dealing with these issues not just because of current emergencies but because of a whole set of developments really since, I suppose, the Second World War. It seems to me that what we are dealing with is not just a matter for schools. People in all societies, at all times, tend to need a narrative, I think, a story to tell themselves which puts their short, individual life in a wider, more meaningful context, and the need for such a narrative is enhanced if you come from a disruptive background, or if you live in a time of immense change. In the past, in this country, we had a very strong narrative. Okay, we did not talk specifically perhaps about citizenship but certainly we had a powerful narrative about who we were, and that was put over in various ways. It was put over by the churches in patriotic sermons. It was put over by reading. People read almanacs, which were the equivalent, if you like, of the *Sun*, which contained all sorts of details about patriotic anniversaries and their meanings. The narrative was conveyed too by festivals, something like November fifth, which of course was anti-Catholic but also very pro-Parliament and it made people think about the value

7 June 2006 Professor Linda Colley, Professor David Conway and Dr Dina Kiwan

of preserving Parliament. Of course it was conveyed, too, by mass history lessons. One of the first things that this Government, in this country, did after education really did become compulsory, at around 1880, was start thinking about history lessons. For example, my mother, who left school at 14, because her parents were poor, still had a whole set of dates and events implanted in her mind by the fairly mean school she went to. A lot of these modes of implanting a narrative in the people of these islands either no longer work or they do not operate very powerfully, if at all. This country, these islands, have gone through so many changes since the Second World War that I think we need to be devoting considerations to issues of glue, how we can work out how to hold ourselves together. If you like, we need to work out and propagate a new narrative, because if we do not give thought to this, if it is not put over, not just in schools, I think we can put over the narrative in lots of ways, the design of banknotes, the design of stamps, thinking of new national holidays, there are all sorts of things we can do, if we do not think about tailoring a narrative that works, that can encompass the many different peoples that live in these islands then the danger is, of course, that they may go out and find their own narrative which is not one we will find very happy.

Q393 Chairman: Do you agree with that, David Conway?

Professor Conway: I agree with some of it. I disagree with the view just expressed that we need to invent some new festivals or ceremonies or, I refer to Marc, our place and give it an identity, as I disagree with the suggestion that we need to construct a new narrative. We have plenty of good narratives and sufficient commonality in our British narrative history, notwithstanding whatever might have occurred, or not, in Lancashire, or otherwise, to be able to form a cohesive social notion out of them, which I would maintain is the wherewithal for not simply active citizenship, which was the buzz word when Bernard Crick brought citizenship onto the curriculum, but good citizenship, which involved civility and obedience to authority, which somehow he felt at the time, he seemed to think, was not quite sufficient and he wanted a more vigorous form of citizenship which involved contestation, I think. If you read, as I have just done for the last two days, his various writings on the subject, going back to *In Defence of Politics*, in 1963, it was the source of a lot of his ideas, which got into the curriculum when his former student of politics, who was then the first Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, set up the advisory group which led to the citizenship order in 1999. The reason I have gone into this is, if you follow Crick's understanding of what is involved in citizenship you will see that it is based upon a particular view of the nature of politics, which itself was a function of a particular view about the nature of society, which somehow got adopted and taken for granted as true, but it was highly tendentious. Let me tell you what it was and why, I think, it led this country down the wrong path, and I am glad to see this Government is now reconsidering

some of its own policies, like citizenship education and like the Human Rights Act, some of these chickens which now have come home to roost, and, I am glad to say, it is beginning to see the error of its ways. If I may make this one point about Crick: Crick had a view that society was made up of groups with conflicting interests and that the function of politics was to mediate between these conflicting interests, in other words, it was a zero sum game, and its function was to resolve these conflicts peacefully, and representatives were merely spokespeople who articulated the different conflicting interests. This is appalling. It is a kind of modulated version of class warfare, the Marxist interpretation of history, and he had no compunction whatsoever, in some of his writings, in saying it was a socialist vision of citizenship education. Well, fine; good. We have a place for socialism in this country, it is a fine tradition, it is one of the traditions, but there is a deeper commonality, a commonality of interest, and a nation, a political society, is one where the common ground and the common good and the common interest take primacy. This is what needs to be purveyed by means of citizenship education. This historically was what was done through British narrative history until it got deconstructed and swept aside in the 1960s through progressive education. I am glad to see that the Government has woken up to the need to remarry its concerns about civics and civility and citizenship with the teaching, and proper teaching, of British narrative history.

Q394 Chairman: We will come back to that. I have to say, with that interpretation, actually I was a student of Bernard Crick at the London School of Economics, and that early work *In Defence of Politics*, in my view, was very derivative on a whole group of American writers, Bentley through to Konhauser, who analysed not in a Marxist way but the group analysis, that analysis of purist democracy. Certainly it was not new to Bernard Crick, was it?

Professor Conway: No. Of course, what might hold true of a federal society made up of hundreds of millions of people did not necessarily hold true of a much smaller and more cohesive society such as Britain is. In the face of increased diversity, we can debate what modifications, if any, need to be made. I am not suggesting it was a neo-Marxist version, but what it did, it lent itself, particularly in the climate of what was being purveyed through the ideals of multiculturalism, what it led to was the idea of identity politics and group politics, and this does not actually make for social cohesion.

Q395 Chairman: Dr Kiwan, I am not going to exclude you from this. I just thought to move to the two Professors, to start with, and you will get an equal shout in this, do not be concerned at all. What is your take on what you have just heard, or what is your take on this subject?

Dr Kiwan: As I outlined actually in my written evidence, the way I approached it was that I was looking at what conceptions of citizenship were being framed in the policy and curriculum

development, starting with Crick's advisory group and then following through to the curriculum development. I interviewed a number of people, as well, as analysing some policy and curriculum documentation, and the first question I put to the people I was interviewing was "Why is citizenship education on the agenda now?" The answers that I got were very strongly a sense that it was the political will of certain key individuals, namely Blunkett and Crick, and that it was about the time being opportune as well, so that it was not only about individuals, there were also a number of societal factors. I ranked these in terms of, they are not mutually exclusive, and different people gave more than one answer, but the key thing at the time, when this was formulated in the late nineties, was that young people were seen to be politically apathetic and that we needed to do something about it and that there could be a democratic crisis, there was low voter turnout. There was also another strand, that somehow society was in moral crisis, and there was a reference to key events, mainly concerning young people, in the mid to late nineties, things like the Jamie Bulger case, the murder of the head teacher, and so on. People I was interviewing refer to these as being key trigger points and also the media they are seeing very much as a catalyst in it as well. When it came to issues of diversity and immigration, very few mentioned that when I was interviewing them, and I think it is very much a symptom of actually when I was interviewing people. I think, if I interviewed people now, or you asked people now, diversity and immigration issues have shot up the agenda, in terms of them being coupled with issues of citizenship and citizenship education, but at the time I was talking to people it was not really on the radar.

Q396 Chairman: That was, when?

Dr Kiwan: In 2002. The aspect I think is interesting, when you ask people "Why is citizenship education on the agenda now?" implicit in that is "What do we hope to get out of citizenship education?" and these were questions which came up in the last session. What I found quite surprising was that there was a real lack of certainty as to what we expect to get out of citizenship education. People talk about, obviously, that perhaps there will be a more politically literate population, that somehow democracy will be supported, also certain things like social order, and, at that time, race equality and human rights were right down at the bottom of the list, which again I think was quite interesting. Again, contexts change, and perhaps now there would be a certain re-ordering of those things.

Q397 Chairman: Has your work in this subject convinced you of the necessity for this sort of education?

Dr Kiwan: I would like to make the point that I think this is such an ideological domain so people say what they think is their opinion, and that is something separate from having research evidence. I do not think there is any strong empirical evidence which says that if we introduce citizenship education into schools we will get these certain educational or

societal outcomes. My belief in citizenship education, which I guess is not based on research evidence, is the sense that it gives people a sense of empowerment and that they are connected with their larger community and they are empowered to make a change and contribution to their society. I would say, yes, I do think citizenship education has a place in our educational system, but, I am afraid, that cannot be supported by research evidence at this point.

Q398 Chairman: One thing I do want to ask you, and which has not really been identified in any of the sessions we have had, is that it seems very partial where this should start and where it should end. This Committee covers the whole gamut of education, from cradle to grave, and beyond, in some cases. I am talking about Barnsley, and Jeff Ennis. In this particular context, we are told, "If you really want to stimulate children the earlier you start the better," pre-school, all that; on the other hand, the importance of lifelong learning. With citizenship, we seem always to be talking about it in a very narrow age flow; no-one talks about it post-16, or very little, no-one talks about it at all at university, whether this should be appropriate and educated citizens should have a broader understanding of the way their society works. Should medical students have citizenship education, or whatever: where does it begin and end?

Professor Colley: As a historian, I am all for teaching as much history, narrative, whatever, as possible, and I would not disagree in any way with that point. That is partly why I believe thought should be given to some kind of festival, some kind of day devoted to issues of reform, because, of course, that serves as a kind of ongoing education, it is something that people can fit into and take part in throughout their lives and I think that is enormously valuable, and it does tie up with voting. I am not a Thatcherite but I think one of the things that Thatcher said, which I do agree with, was that people very often do not value as much as they should what comes free, or what seems to come free, whereas you do value things that you have worked for. I think, getting the idea over to people that the vote was something that people in these islands had to work for, for a very long time, and for different groups it was much more difficult, women, Catholics, Jews, the poor, the Irish, we could bring these kinds of stories of the enfranchisement of our peoples into people's awareness much more powerfully than we do: we can do it through history lessons, we can do it through festivals, we can do it through banknotes. I take your point absolutely, that citizenship should not be something that people start at 10 and stop at 16; we need to think of imaginative strategies whereby this is something that people can be brought into thinking about at all stages of their lives.

Professor Conway: I think it is very important, if we have not done so already, to give some consideration to the question of exactly what, if anything, is to be done in school under the heading "citizenship education". I think the tacit assumption of the question, and certainly in the last session I heard "an

7 June 2006 Professor Linda Colley, Professor David Conway and Dr Dina Kiwan

hour a week” being devoted to it, is that citizenship education is some bolt-on subject which somehow now has displaced other subjects. For example, citizenship education is taught, currently they have this compulsorily in state schools, from 11–16; history stops at 14 as a compulsory subject. The point is, there is education for citizenship and then there is citizenship education as a discreet subject for which a GCSE O level and an A level are being developed. I think it was the case, although I have to give Bernard Crick some credit and his advisory committee and the citizenship order, it was not intended that it be a separate subject, it was left open to schools how they would realise the aspirations. It had three objectives, as I recall. One objective was to bring about civility and mutual respect, another was to encourage volunteering and participation in the community, and I think the third was to address the problem of political apathy in voting. I have to say, by the way, just by the bye, it is ironic that the country as a whole, or the parliamentary representatives of it, are focusing on the issue of citizenship and worries about lack of turnout in the polls at the same time as more and more governance occurs from a source beyond our shores and, as it were, with a partial transfer of sovereignty. It is not for nothing perhaps that the voters now, when there is comparatively little to choose from, particularly now, say to themselves, “I’ve got better things to do with my time than vote,” and I do not think, incidentally, that is necessarily a sign of a lack of—

Q399 Chairman: That is not a research-based statement, is it, in terms of your interpretation of voter apathy?

Professor Conway: There is little to choose between the parties.

Q400 Chairman: No. I thought you said because there are rules and regulations and laws that are coming from outside the United Kingdom?

Professor Conway: If you read the papers, like you say the electorate reads, I think that is a message that has come down from the floor of the Commons.

Q401 Chairman: I was merely trying to draw out from you, and all of you, you are all academics, and Dr Kiwan said very clearly that she had done research on this subject and she commented on that, but then she put on her other hat and said “My view is [. . .]” and I wondered if you could do the same?

Professor Conway: I will give you some evidence-based research, as follows. This country has always had citizenship education; it has had it for as long as there has been a country. Originally it was given by the church, which was the sole purveyor of schooling in this country for a very, very long time. After the 1688 Revolution, when the country was bitterly divided, or it had been, and an unsuccessful attempt had been made to re-Catholicise it, one of the first things John Locke did, and it was right at the end of his life, was publish *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. He spoke of the vital importance of social cohesion and the vital importance of the role that the teaching of history, British history, had to play in the

social construction of a national identity, which he asserts, in that work, it is paramount that the politically-active classes have. It was incorporated in the form of schooling which British elites had, which were the active citizens of those days, and when the working-class men were given the vote in 1867 by someone whose family was of comparatively-recent ethnic stock, Benjamin Disraeli, after the 1870 Education Act, in 1883, the teaching of history, British narrative history, came in not through textbooks and not through almanacs but through readers; it was done, as it were, through reading, learning literacy. It shows how you can teach citizenship under the guise of doing something else. Just as I would claim, because history was taught in the process of the children learning to read, that the form of history these readers did purvey—which I am sure professors of history know far better than I—was a standard interpretation of British history as in the vanguard of moral and ethical and political progress. Of course it was done slowly and gradually and there were set-backs on the way, but this view was called by Butterfield the “Whig interpretation”, and later he withdrew that epithet because he said it is the “Englishman’s interpretation” of history, as he did in his book in 1944, where he took back the suggestion that this interpretation of British exceptionalism was something which was purveyed only by the Whigs. If you read William Blackstone’s commentaries on the laws of this country, you will see that, as a Tory, he subscribed to it too. As the first Professor of Jurisprudence in Oxford, he concluded his lecture series on English law with a narrative account of the way in which our institutions and laws had risen to make this country the paragon in its day of freedom and liberty. Therefore, the long and the short of it is citizenship, good, you do not need to marginalise it and separate it off from the rest of the curriculum, you have ways and means, and it should be being purveyed from the earliest days. If you take Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall’s *Kings and Things*, this was a book intended for nursery school children.

Chairman: Just to stop you there; that was very useful.

Q402 Helen Jones: Can we try perhaps to tease out some of the facts that we are dealing with, first of all. There seems to be an almost universal assumption underlying much of this discussion that society is in fact coming apart at the edges, we have got civil disorder, lack of respect, and so on, and that is taken as read before we move on to any specialist citizenship education. Professor Colley, as a historian, is that accurate, in your view, is it any different from what it has been at various other points in our history?

Professor Colley: Academics never give you a straight answer. I do not subscribe to it is falling apart, massive immorality, no respect, I do not belong to that school, but, I would stress, I do not think this is just our challenge, our problem, I think all sorts of polities in the world are confronted with comparable challenges at this time. I do think the rate of change in this country since the Second

World War has been enormous. There has been the loss of the Empire and the acceptance that we are no longer in the sort of first world power stakes. There has been a lot more immigration into these islands from very, very diverse sources. Before the Second World War, most people in the island of Great Britain were mostly Protestant; that has changed completely. There have been radical changes in the position of women, far more women are going out to work, changes in the nature of the family; there is the relationship with continental Europe. All sorts of differences; and we live in, to use a buzz word, a period of globalisation, where we are being bombarded with images and influences from all around the world. I do not think it is we are falling apart therefore we need to think about these issues, but I do think that because we are living in a period of rapid change, which is only going to get more so, we need to catch up. Before the Second World War there was lots more deference; there was, as we have been told, much more emphasis on a kind of standardised history curriculum. We may not think that is the way to go at the beginning of the 21st century, but I do think some creative and constructive thought has to be devoted to these issues, not in a panicky way and not in the expectation that this will be a panacea for everything, it will not be, but we do need to oil the machine to make it work better.

Helen Jones: If we are going to do that and we are going to do it through citizenship education, through history, and so on, let me come back to this question which seems to me to be fundamental to that, can we reach an agreed narrative of social and cultural history which encompasses what we might define as British values; is that possible? If so, what should it be; can it be the same narrative? I do not agree with Professor Conway that narrative history disappeared in the sixties. Certainly it was the history that I was taught at school; whether it is entirely accurate, whether it is suitable for the 21st century, is another matter entirely. From your different perspectives on this, do you think it is possible to do that, to reach that kind of agreed narrative, and, if so, what is it going to consist of?

Q403 Chairman: Let us switch to Dina Kiwan first; would you like to answer that, Dr Kiwan?

Dr Kiwan: Can we reach an agreed-upon, shared narrative of history I think is similar to saying can we reach a set of agreed, shared values. I think, if it is abstract enough, one can, but then there is a question of how one operationalises that, in practice. I think it was said in the last session that a narrative does not have to mean that it is homogenised. I think, if it is structured conceptually and one debates certain strands and there is a set of sub-narratives around certain conceptual strands, perhaps that is one way forward, but I am not an expert in history.

Professor Conway: I would simply reply, to the question whether we can reach an agreed narrative history, asking why should that be more of a problem now than it was for the centuries when there was such a one that was agreed, essentially.

Notwithstanding all the changes that have been itemised, by way of globalisation, immigration, breakdown of the family, women's rights, and all the rest of it, I just cannot see why there cannot be a common, British, agreed narrative history. I look forward to having it explained to me what areas there are in such an elementary children's narrative history as the one I mentioned before, *Kings and Things*, which was intended for nursery school children, which has a wonderful narrative from when the Romans invaded these shores.

Helen Jones: What was intended for nursery school children is not necessarily what we would want to teach throughout our school system. Professor Colley, has there ever been such an agreed narrative of history, and, if so, can we come up with one for the future? One of my colleagues has just muttered, for instance, "Is there an agreed narrative about the miners' strike?"

Q404 Chairman: Obviously, there is not one on our relationship with you on this?

Professor Conway: That was why I think it was wise, until very recently, for history to end, before it starts to become overly contentious.

Mr Marsden: Where do you want to take us back to?

Q405 Chairman: You did ask a specific question of Professor Colley; less levity on this side. Professor Colley?

Professor Colley: I do not think that you could get that kind of totalising, consensual version of history for the whole of history, not least, of course, because we are dealing with devolution now: Wales, Scotland, constant change in Northern Ireland. There are going to be differences of emphasis in different parts of the geography of the UK, but that does not mean that there cannot be within the differences of emphasis some kind of uniform core. I would like to see, for example, and it would be a way of amalgamating citizenship and history lessons, you could have a course that all students had to do on the struggle for citizenship in these islands. You could start, if you like, in 1603, when the thrones of Scotland and England were joined; that would get you into the 1640s so that, for example, schoolchildren would learn that in 1649 10,000 women were petitioning for the vote: 1649. Most people do not know that. You would then go on to 1689, you could get then the struggles only Wilkes and liberty in the 1760s, the right to print the House of Commons' debates, you would get the abolition of the slave trade, the Reform Acts of the 19th century, the enfranchisement of women. There could be a set of canonical dates, and I think that is very important. I work in the United States, which has a far more diverse population, and of course it is a vast terrain, it is 3,000 miles wide. They cannot have a uniform history but what they do have is, and they get over in their schools to people with very different backgrounds, with very different political baggage, certain dates, certain sort of canonical big events, so that people come out of school, okay, they diverge in all sorts of ways but they know the meaning of 1776, or they think they do, they know

7 June 2006 Professor Linda Colley, Professor David Conway and Dr Dina Kiwan

the meaning of the American Civil War, they know why the United States fought in the Second World War. I think you can do that kind of core tuition. I am not optimistic about getting a fully consensual, comprehensive narrative, because, as I say, we are in a post-devolution world.

Q406 Mr Carswell: I have got three questions, and I hope our other two witnesses will forgive me, I want to direct to Professor Conway, because I find some of what you have said so far very refreshing, given some of the evidence in previous sessions that we have heard. My first question is why should the state promote citizenship in the first place? We have tended to assume in this inquiry that it should. Surely, in this country, we have a far more organic, bottom-up sense of identity, unlike European countries where the state has had to impose its sense of identity. The state has not put St George crosses on my car, I put them there myself. We have got these common cultural reference points which have evolved amongst us, as citizens, not imposed on us by the state; so why should the state have citizenship classes, in the first place?

Professor Conway: If I might answer that question by saying that in the days before there was a kind of formal, state-driven citizenship education curriculum, like the one you are asking me why we should have, it was mandatory that anyone in this country who took any formal role at all in public life, including the village constable, which, by the way, like jury service, was a mandatory obligation, and hence one finds in Shakespeare's plays some of the kind of ridicule of that role in which people found themselves, it was mandatory for anyone, upon assuming any form of public role, to take an oath of allegiance. The oath of allegiance was such that it excluded for a long time Catholics; of course, atheism was a capital offence and people were killed for espousing atheism. Therefore, to answer your question, there were other ways and means of ensuring such a degree of social cohesion among the political nation as to preclude the need for attention to the kind of common values and common identity that are needed for a robust, viable nation state. Having become as plural as we are and scrapping the need for such a restrictive and exclusive form of identity then the state does have both a right and a duty to ensure that each generation of its citizens has the requisite forms of allegiances, and hence it has a legitimate role.

Q407 Chairman: You are being far too polite. The fact of the matter is the things you have been saying this morning do not agree with Douglas at all, because the history that you have described is top-down, is it not, what you have described, that if you did not conform you would end up on the gallows?

Professor Conway: No, I did not say that at all; what I said was, anyone who was part of the politically-active classes, that excluded vast swathes, the majority of people.

Q408 Chairman: Earlier you took us through a whole history, often from top down, values were taught through the church, not through other social institutions, and it was top-down. Douglas said to you but is it not the fact that we are much better because our values come bottom-up, unlike our European neighbours? I want to know, did you agree with him or disagree with him?

Professor Conway: The state has a right and a duty to expect that all future citizens of it have the wherewithal to be competent and useful and law-abiding citizens. Insofar as there is need for literacy, in order for eligibility to vote, the state can specify the need that every future citizen or any child born into this country should be taught various forms of skills.

Chairman: So I am a top-down man and you are a bottom-up man. Second question?¹

Q409 Mr Carswell: The second question. Is there not something slightly ironic, and this is a slightly partisan question, that the left has spent a long time trying to unpick the glue that holds us together; now that they are the establishment they are trying to find a new glue to hold us together? Is there not something slightly ironic about that?

Professor Conway: It is not ironic, it is tragic, but I suppose it is better late than never.

Q410 Mr Carswell: My final question. If you scratch beneath the surface of what the quangos say it means by Britishness, when it talks about citizenship, it comes out with values and talks about a sort of pastiche of words, like tolerance. However desirable these things are, I do not see how they can be distinctly British. Is not citizenship, as defined by the quango state, and the whole citizenship agenda, merely a way of enforcing top-down social engineering on us?

Professor Conway: It would be, and that is why, in place of that kind of abstract form of instruction, what I am making the plea for is the reinstatement of traditional British narrative history. H.E. Marshall wrote many books more than the nursery history book. She wrote a history of England, she wrote a history of Scotland, she wrote a history of America, she wrote a history of the Empire, and she wrote for various different levels. I am not suggesting she monopolised the history curriculum but I am suggesting she was but one of a whole plethora of historians, and any self-respecting historian who knew their trade and who knew the tradition would know exactly what I have in mind.

Q411 Mr Carswell: Do you have any comments to add to that, about the citizenship agenda being merely a means of social engineering?

Professor Colley: There are various partisan waves that I cannot really speak to. What I think I would say is that I share what I surmise is your scepticism about some of the emphasis on Britishness as values. I just do not find it gets us very far. The British are gentle, tolerant people; well, it depends on your

¹ Ev 137–139

point of view, and it does not get us very far. Also my feeling is that Britishness is rather like happiness, it is an end product, it is something that you get from doing other things; there is more serious political work that needs to be done. Britishness from the beginning was something that was superimposed on much older identities—Englishness, Welshness, and Scottishness—and it was superimposed mainly for religious and political and warlike reasons, and geographical reasons, of course. I do not think there is a kind of pure essence of Britishness that we can go and find that will resolve our problems. I do not think it is like that.

Q412 Paul Holmes: One thing that I do agree with that I have heard from Professor Conway is the idea that rather than try to reinvent the wheel, in the sense of imposing citizenship as an artificial subject, as a history teacher for 22 years, I argued constantly that history taught citizenship anyway and that it is a shame that half the kids in the country stop studying it at age 14, and that if history continued through 16 and you ignored the ridiculous detail that is in the National Curriculum to let teachers get on with the job then you could be teaching citizenship through history and killing two birds with one stone. I was rather concerned about some of the suggestions, first that citizenship might be a form of social engineering, that we should replace that form of social engineering with another form of social engineering, because it seemed you were talking about history teaching as a received truth, of Kings and Queens, and things, that we should not be teaching children to question or evaluate that but just simply teaching a received version of what history and society was all about?

Professor Conway: I think there really is something to question, as it were, and that would be the function of history to teach our island story. That provides enough data for questioning. I am not suggesting that there be only one rigid, uniform, very narrow and circumscribed variant of what gets taught; on the contrary, any decent form of history teaching has constantly built-in questions of contestation. Having said all that, I do think, nevertheless, that just in the same way that you can have parliamentary parties which are opposed to one another but there is much commonality between them, so likewise within the discipline there can be much contestation at the margins, there can even be fundamental revisions from time to time but within the context of a discipline about which there is an established consensus and a growing body of knowledge. Therefore, I do think that history can and should fulfil a vital nation-building role. In that sense, if it is not the kind of more artificial social engineering which imposes a kind of identity which just does not add up to one, the history we need for our ethnically plural society, if it is to be a socially cohesive one and one in which there is mutual civility and respect, it does need for the identities of each upcoming generation to become uniform, uniform through a sense of identification with the country to which they belong. There is only one way of doing that and that is through familiarising them with its

history in such a way as to engage their affections to the country and its institutions. It is as simple as that; you either accept it or you do not.

Paul Holmes: That does seem to presuppose that there is a version of history that we can agree on, that the Government of the day can agree on, that it can write into a National Curriculum that it can impose on children. Back in 1989, when the Berlin wall came down, Professor Francis Fukuyama, who was an advisor to Regan at the time and is still an advisor to the Republicans now, said that was the end of history; everybody now agreed in the world that liberal democratic capitalism was the answer to everything. I can remember teaching my A level students at the time but what about other issues, like green issues, or Islam that was rising in large parts of the world, which might just disagree with that, and of course he has admitted since that he was totally wrong and that was a naive simplistic view. Could I ask the other two witnesses, can you really have a simple narrative of any nation's history that everybody, politicians, government, historians, can all agree, this is it, this is what we will teach?

Q413 Chairman: We are focusing rather on the historical narrative, which is not Dr Kiwan's expertise, but do you want to comment, Dr Kiwan?

Dr Kiwan: What I think has come out, which I suppose perhaps is implicit in that question, is it is about teaching people a body of knowledge, that somehow we can inculcate common values by familiarisation then everyone will buy into it. I think that what is not addressed in that kind of logic is the process, how do you get to that point; it is not just about delivering the knowledge and then everyone says, "Oh, yes, I've seen the light, I'll buy into that," way of doing things. One has to get at what motivates people to buy into that, what motivates people to participate, and I think identity is the crucial issue in that equation.

Professor Colley: I have already expressed my scepticism; however desirable it might be in theory, I am sceptical about being able to put over an entirely uniform, fully comprehensive British history to everybody. If it is possible then, fine, I have no objection to it. I think it would be very difficult. Issues of identity take us beyond the schoolroom and that is a much bigger question.

Q414 Chairman: What is interesting about all three of you, but particularly the two historians, if you do not mind me calling you historians, is choice in the use about it is not just all these dates that Paul is talking about, and big events, and so on, which should be part of the national consciousness, or memory, but should it not be about teaching people the love of history, whatever way you do it, loving the analysis of what is there, bringing the subject to life? Is not that also a very important part of this process? If you sit kids down with narrow, dull dates and texts, it has always been a turn-off for history, has it not?

Professor Colley: Of course, the primary importance, and it is what I live for, is to convince people that history is the most vivid discipline, how

could it not be, it is about human beings who just happen to be dead. If you cannot make people excited about history then there is something wrong with you as a teacher, there is something wrong with what you are putting over. I am certainly not pushing a purely utilitarian notion of the subject, nor do I think that history lessons should be confined to the history of these islands, because we are going to have to interconnect, increasingly, with different parts of the world, we always have done in the past. A history of Britain, a history of these islands, cannot just be insular, cannot just be nationalistic, it is a story of how we have interlinked with different parts of the world in the past. To that extent, I think we have a wonderfully usable past for the world that we inhabit now, because of the Empire, because of trade, because of exploration and travel. These tiny islands have had to do with so many parts of the world and so I would like people to learn from history, in school and out of school, that our past is a story of connections, not just of islandhood.

Chairman: I have just read *The Many-Headed Hydra*, which I think is a fine example of that.

Q415 Dr Blackman-Woods: I have a follow-up question to one which was asked earlier and it is to Professor Conway. I wonder if you have thought about some of the potential dangers of trying to impose a particular view of Britishness or history on groups of children, because we have in living memory examples of this happening, for example, in Northern Ireland where the Catholic tradition was completely written out of history in the textbooks in the way in which it was taught in schools, or it was taught very differently between Catholic and Protestant schools? That has the effect of alienating people from a sense of citizenship because of the negation of their identity. It seems to me that if you down your argument we are in very real danger of doing that again with a number of different groups in our current society, which is very diverse. Surely we have learned that the way forward is about discussing difference and coming to agreement, rather than imposing a particular view on our young people?

Professor Conway: I am not sure that we have quite learned that, all of us. I would concur with you entirely that there is need, given the degree of diversity there is in this country, that children, no-one, from whatever background they come, should be made to feel through their education that the identity of their family and their ancestors, or whatever, however you want to describe it, is one which they should be ashamed of, or that they should not be encouraged to learn about, nor indeed, insofar as they attend schools with children from other ethnicities and other backgrounds, that those other children should not be told about. Having said all of that, nonetheless, I would still reiterate that, insofar as one of the concerns for the revisitation by this Government of the citizenship curriculum was concerns about social cohesion, there is a need for a common identity for all children. I believe that the one which used to be

purveyed, and in particular by means of history, was one which would be inclusive, tolerant and one to which all children, no matter what their backgrounds, could buy into, because it is a story which really they should read out of it, warts and all, yes, bad things have been done, but, on balance. Why is everyone here? They are here because this is a country which allows room for religious toleration, which allows escape from oppression abroad; they know about this and if they are taught about this in the right way they have cause for gratitude, cause for affection for this country. That is the form of common identity and, of course, one must not disguise the conflicts that have occurred, and any good, decent form of history teaching should give room for their consideration and debates about them. No doubt people are going to be left, at the end of the day, after their process of schooling, as divided as natural conservatives and socialists are, but nonetheless there is underneath it some common ground which has to be created if this country is to survive as an ongoing liberal democracy.

Q416 Dr Blackman-Woods: In a sense, I think we have been dwelling too much on history and there are other subjects that have something to say about citizenship. However, my point was really that I was concerned that you were suggesting there was a particular view of history when I thought we had actually moved on to acknowledge that there is contestation. There is no common view about the Government of Ireland Act, really there is not, there are different opinions about it, and surely we have to acknowledge that but also move on to look at other subjects?

Professor Conway: Absolutely. I agree with that.

Q417 Stephen Williams: The guts of what I was going to ask have been covered. Do we actually need a review of the citizenship curriculum, as suggested by Bill Rammell, to look at British values; is that necessary?

Professor Conway: Yes. Classroom time is a very scarce commodity and it should not be filled up with things which have no real value.

Dr Kiwan: Yes. I do think there should be a review and, as I notified, I am not sure if you are aware, I am actually going to be involved. I am supporting Keith Ajebo in that review.

Q418 Chairman: Do you have a view, Professor Colley?

Professor Colley: I have been in the United States and I am afraid I have not followed these particular different policies, I am sorry.

Q419 Stephen Williams: Is the fact that we are talking about citizenship and the Government thinks that citizenship needs to be taught an admission that we do not understand British values, so, the teaching of other subjects, such as history, geography, RE, things like that, basically it is an admission of failure?

Professor Colley: No, I do not think it is. I think it is a catching up, as I tried to suggest in previous comments. We can all disagree about how the solution can be found and what emphasis should be put on it, but I do think these are overdue issues, they are overdue because of the changes that I talked about earlier and that others have talked about. We need to devote some intelligent thought to the situation we are in. We are in a very different Britain at the beginning of the 21st century than we were before the Second World War and we have not really given that much considered thought to what kind of polity we are, what kind of image we present about ourselves. One of the differences obviously which has not been mentioned is the position of the monarchy. We are one of the few substantial states in the world at the moment which still has a monarchy. Whatever you think about that, attitudes to the monarchy now are very different than they were in the 1940s and 1950s; there was a kind of core deference to the monarchy that existed then which, rightly or wrongly, does not exist now. We need to think about other forms of view, other forms of union, and so I think the discussion about citizenship is overdue and I think it is going to be ongoing.

Stephen Williams: To have my own go about this question of the narrative of British history, is it a fair caricature perhaps of the two positions of either side? Professor Conway's version of history might be a bit of a *Boys' Own* adventure, from Drake through to Nelson, to when a quarter of the world was coloured red and ending with our finest hour, which we said should end in 1940, but perhaps Professor Colley's is more inclusive, about women, poor people, and so on, or have I got a false impression of the sort of narrative that you think British children should understand?

Q420 Chairman: Has he got a false impression, Professor?

Professor Conway: Yes, he has: wrong.

Q421 Stephen Williams: You have advocated, and I have read the written submission you put to the Committee, and the Institute you belong to has recirculated *Our Island Story*, are not a lot of the sort of history books that were written 50 years ago, or 100 years ago, supposed to be a celebration of heroism and achievement, to make people feel proud about being British, rather than a recognition of the warts and all facts of history that took place?

Professor Conway: With respect, I think the answer to your question is, no. Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall, if one takes the time and trouble to read her book you will see that not only does she affirm many other aspects of British national history besides, if you like, its imperialistic past, but also she does criticise various kings and various rulers and various initiatives that Britain has taken. It is a balanced outlook and I think it will be one that if people read the detail they would see, I am not

stressing indeed the canonical version, it is just simply an instance of something that was taken for granted 50 years ago.

Q422 Chairman: I think the worry was, and Stephen I think is coming back to that, that you said perhaps there ought to be a timeline drawn before things got too controversial, because that would leave out a big issue about women's rights and women's equality, it would leave out the role of gay and lesbian people in our society, it would leave out many of the people who have come from distant parts of the world and settled here. You did say let us have a timeline that leaves out the controversial stuff?

Professor Conway: I did not say that. What I suggested there being a cut-off date for was the teaching of British narrative history. I did not suggest that nothing since should be taught about, it should not necessarily be taught about as British national history.

Q423 Stephen Williams: Professor Colley earlier mentioned perhaps we need to have more festivals to get a discussion of British history and Professor Conway rather scoffed at that idea, but anniversaries are much celebrated these days. We have got an important one in Bristol at the moment, the bicentenary of the birth of Brunel, which led to people discussing his achievements around the country. Next year we have got a far more controversial one, the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade throughout the British Empire in 1807, and there are lots of issues to discuss around that. I am being put under pressure, as the MP for that City, to apologise for slavery. What place does anniversary or festival actually have in getting people to understand and discuss the past?

Professor Colley: Again, there is no happy recipe for consensus. I do not actually believe in people apologising for the past. We are responsible for our own actions in this life. I think that the difference with, we do not have to call it a festival, festivals that happen every year is that you have a constant and recurring impulse and that you pick up different groups of society. Again, I refer back to the United States; they have their calendar of national commemoration and it is quite effective, because, and this has been worked out, they have days dotted throughout the year which the entire United States commemorates but has particular appeal to particular groups at particular times. Veterans' Day honours obviously the Armed Services. Martin Luther King Day is a day that the entire nation recognises, which obviously has a particular appeal to Afro-Americans. Columbus Day has been appropriated by the Italian Americans, also by the Spanish Americans. If you have something that happens every year people are reaffirming who they are, as distinct from just saying, "Oh, let's think what this year is the bicentenary of."

Q424 Chairman: Is not that a bit superficial, in one sense? I do not mean to be rude on this. America always saw it was a very diverse nation from people all over the world and, of course, they have a written Constitution, they have a Bill of Rights, if you go to school you pledge your allegiance, they very carefully nation-built 200 years ago in the way that we never have?

Professor Colley: I am afraid that is not true. We have forgotten just how much we did nation-build, and the United States has a Bill of Rights because we had a Bill of Rights in 1689; they copied it from us.

Q425 Chairman: No-one quotes it or recites it?

Professor Colley: Well, they should. That is actually something else which needs to be done in terms of citizenship education. There are a lot of very important constitutional documents which have emerged from our past and they should be known better. I think it is very interesting that in the BBC *History* magazine's competition "What should our national day be?" the majority of people said "Magna Carta." That is quite interesting; it is quite healthy, I think. One of the things I would like to see, if we do not have, as many countries have, some kind of museum of citizenship, some museum of democracy, where these iconic documents are on show, we might not want to do this in stone and concrete and glass, but we could have an online site that schoolchildren could get to on the Net, telling them about all these documents, what it meant, why it was such a struggle to get it, how it fits into the longer story. We have the material in our past; in recent decades, we have not been as imaginative in exploiting this as we might have been.

Q426 Stephen Williams: I did read the *Sun* actually this morning, Chairman, and they are crowing about the fact that they have persuaded the Scottish Minister, as they describe him, the Prime Minister, to fly the flag of St George and to support England in the World Cup. Professor Conway, in your written evidence you suggested that citizenship and history teaching should inculcate pride in Britain. Could you expand on that?

Professor Conway: I have now laboured the point, I feel. I would simply add that David Bell, of course, about a year ago, wrote a piece where he queried the motives of those who flew the St George cross and likened them to the BNP. It just goes to show how much progress can be made in 12 months, what a little act of war can do to concentrate the mind. We are a society; we face dangers. There is a vital need to stop home-grown suicide bombers. Nothing is going to be guaranteed of doing it, but if we simply allow multiculturalism to make its way and human rights to obstruct deportation of foreign criminals we cease to be a society. There are some who wish Britain to cease to be a society; they just want to see us as a sub-region, or a set of sub-regions, of a wider Europe. If you do not have that view, if you think that this country has something to be proud of, you will want to disseminate that

to your children and your children's children, and the way to do it is through citizenship. I agree with Linda Colley. By the way, can I say, you do not have to look far, Westminster Abbey, all our cathedrals are these museums to the nation's past, where you will see memorials to the deeds that were done and it was this country which defeated Napoleon and Hitler, one can read off the litany; this nation has a lot to be proud of. We do have national days, if they were just disinterred and the politically correct taint that has been put on them were to be got rid of.

Q427 Mr Marsden: Professor Colley, I would like, if I may, to get you to expand a little bit about the importance of history and citizenship beyond school. Incidentally, as someone who was involved in the early nineties in various attempts to try to get a museum of British history off the ground, I agree entirely with what you say about the importance of us highlighting, in whatever format, some of the key documents, and the rest of it. One of the things which has been argued, of course, is that history has become more marginalised as a focus for civic values because there has been much marginalisation in this country between what is taught in schools and the input of history in universities, and particularly the input of the university historians to the textbooks and things that we have talked about here. Are there ways in which, as part of the focus on the citizenship review, the Department for Education ought to be engaging a broader section of the historical community, not just in terms of school work but in terms of work in citizenship education beyond school?

Professor Colley: I am sorry, I am not quite clear what you are asking.

Q428 Mr Marsden: I am asking two things. First of all, do you think that there has been a dislocation between university history and the teaching of history in schools, and to what extent has that affected our general understanding of it? Secondly, given that the Department is now imminently going to carry out this review on the possibility of putting modern cultural and social British history in, what sort of remit should that have?

Professor Colley: Again, I must plead not just partial jet-lag but also an element of ignorance, because I have been employed mainly in the United States since 1982, so I am not *au fait* with educational developments in these islands to the degree that I should be, doubtless. I do think there has been some dislocation. I think there has been a decline, for example, in great institutions like the Historical Association, which was a kind of Association that met throughout these islands where interested lay people could go and listen to university lecturers giving their time free to talk about different aspects of history. If you look at A J P Taylor's diaries, he was constantly going from one end of the country to the other talking to these Historical Association meetings, and that has been a declining institution, unfortunately. I think there

is still enormous popular interest in history, you see this with the success of Simon Schama's TV programmes, whatever you think of their content, but enormous numbers of people want to watch and listen to them. I think the interest is there; it has to be taken hold of.

Q429 Mr Marsden: How do you channel that in a broad community, in terms of the broader issues, which go beyond just history, of identity, that you addressed so eloquently, the changes since the Second World War, in terms of what we do as part of our overall education process? The Chairman referred earlier to what citizenship might or might not be taught in the universities. Would there be any point, any use, especially now that British university structures are becoming more like, for good or ill, American university structures, in having a sort of UK version of a Western Civ course which dominated many American universities until relatively recently?

Professor Colley: Yes, I think there would. I think it is one of the things that universities can fall down on. I should say, part of the problem is, I think, the research assessment exercise, which encourages people to publish, publish, publish, but it does not really give them any kudos or status or extra marks for quality of teaching. This seems to me to be crazy. Of course you want your academics to write and publish and be scholarly, but you want them, first and foremost, to teach, that is what they are there for. I think, in many universities, there has been a tendency towards increasing specialisation, academics teach the books that they are writing, they do not teach big survey courses. I think this is a great shame because, of course, it just prolongs the problem. It was alright perhaps not to do big survey courses of British history and other people's history in the universities when you could be confident that the schoolchildren had done the basic survey stuff at school; you cannot be confident of that any more. If they are not getting it at school and they are not getting it at university then you have got a problem. I think that should be part of the package. I think universities should be encouraged to do these big survey courses, they are very important, but I think that to get academics to devote time to do that there have got to be incentives.

Q430 Mr Marsden: You have got to give them brownie points, basically?

Professor Colley: Yes; the carrot as well as the stick.

Q431 Mr Marsden: Professor Conway, I wonder if I could come back to you on a couple of points. You have spoken insistently, indeed passionately, about the importance of having a narrative with topics that can engage and can make the construction the point, but is it not the case, to some extent at least, that even the construction of a narrative implies a particular perspective and a particular perception? The Chairman referred to Christopher Hill earlier, and I taught a course for

the Open University on the 17th century in the 1980s and it was very interesting because, of course, what was laid down by Christopher Hill in the course, which focused on the vital importance of the Levellers and the Diggers and the Muggletonians, and all the rest of it, was totally at odds with what various 17th century revisionist historians were saying then. All I could say to my slightly bewildered class, when they said, "What's this truth?" was "There are no tablets from Sinai." That is both the case for dates, to some extent, as it is for interpretation. Can we ever construct, can we work towards something perhaps, an absolute list of key dates and key events that will satisfy everybody and will do the socially-inclusive thing that you say you want it to do?

Professor Conway: Can I ask at what level you were teaching?

Q432 Mr Marsden: I was teaching what was called the second level course for the Open University, which had people from the ages of 25–75-plus.

Professor Conway: Thank you. You were teaching at higher education level. I was talking about primary and secondary level, where I think the need to bring to bear the kind of diversity of scholarship one gets at university level is not quite the same.

Q433 Mr Marsden: Therefore, are you saying that basically it is alright to impose a set list of dates on people at primary school in the hope of what they may get out of it and get a broader perspective later on?

Professor Conway: I am certainly not saying that. I think it would be deadly were anyone to think that the purpose of teaching history to young children were simply to inculcate a set of dates in their minds; that is not what I have in mind, whatsoever. If you read any children's narrative history, you will see it is stories, you know, like stories in literature, like Enid Blyton.

Q434 Mr Marsden: Can I just stop you there. I have to say that I too, sadly, am of the age, as Helen said, I was brought up on some of those stories as well. I have had my Ladybird books on Alfred and Edward the Black Prince, and all the rest of it. They were engaging, yes, and probably they stimulated my early love of history, but they certainly did not give me the full story?

Professor Conway: Exactly; and that is what you have universities to do.

Q435 Paul Holmes: Surely this is at the heart of the whole question about citizenship education, whether it is done through RE or history or citizenship lessons, surely this is the whole point. Are we teaching to children up to the age of 18, and I taught 11–18, a set of received truths that we do not debate, we do not say to those kids, "Well, there are different points of view"? The whole point of the history teaching I had, in the late sixties and early seventies, and the whole point of the teaching I did, up until 2001, was always to be saying there

7 June 2006 Professor Linda Colley, Professor David Conway and Dr Dina Kiwan

are different points of view about this. Are you seriously suggesting we should not do that to children?

Professor Conway: I do not know what makes you think I am suggesting that. What I said was, by implication, the older children become, the more they learn, the more important it becomes to stress the degree of contestation that there can be, but the younger the children you are dealing with the more important it is not to muddy the waters and not to be afraid about teaching anything for fear that you will be teaching something that cannot be revised later on. The point about Hill was, as a revisionist, there was a kind of Whig interpretation to which he was providing a corrective. When I studied history, in my day, in school, in an earlier decade than you, even at O level, even in the earliest years of secondary education, constantly we were being informed and encouraged to read about diverse points of view. I think it is incredible to suggest that anyone should have a secondary education in which history can be taught without that. I am talking about very young children and I am also talking about, notwithstanding that, the importance of teaching, if you like, the mainstream traditions. How come someone like Herbert Butterfield could write in 1945 “The Whig interpretation is not just confined to the Whigs, it is the Englishman’s interpretation of history”? Were you suggesting to me that he was naïve, as an historian?

Paul Holmes: The English man’s interpretation.

Chairman: We got that point loud and clear.

Q436 Mr Marsden: A question to Dr Kiwan. Dr Kiwan, you vouchsafed earlier that you were going to be involved in the review that Bill Rammell has announced. Do you have at this moment in time, or do you think other people have at this moment in time, a view as to what the chronology is of the significant modern and social and cultural British history, to which Bill Rammell referred in his speech, and do we have to have one as part of that

review process? In other words, do we start off by saying it has got to be the last 50 years, the last 100 years, the last 150 years, or what?

Dr Kiwan: I cannot say too much at this point because we have not really started the review process, we have not even started consultations yet. The terms of reference are to consider first the diversity across the whole curriculum, then the second component is whether a fourth pillar should be added, and that fourth pillar, modern, social and cultural history, so it is left framed whether that fourth pillar should be added. That is the question to ask first, before getting into what the specifics of it might be.

Q437 Mr Marsden: The point I am making is, and I am not asking you to prejudge the inquiry, the interpretation of “modern” has deliberately been left, or has been left vague, because this is an issue which already historians and others are getting rather worked up about?

Dr Kiwan: I am afraid, really I cannot answer that.

Chairman: I am drawing stumps at this point. Can I say that this has been a most interesting and enlivening session; we have been privileged to have the three of you here, and some of the views that you have expressed have really stimulated our thoughts and we are grateful for the time that the three of you have given. I hope you will remain in touch with us. I know you said that you are working mainly in the United States, Professor, but we hope to see you as a regular visitor, but do stay in touch with us by e-mail, or whatever, as, Professor Conway, I hope you will remain in contact. If you think that we have missed a point, any of you, when you go away from this meeting, please be in communication; we really value whatever different views you take. The process we have here is to listen to a lot of views and then try to add value by writing a thoughtful report. Dr Kiwan, we will be in touch anyway, because if your timetable is such I hope the thoughts, the distilled wisdom of this Committee will influence what you are doing with Bill Rammell. Thank you very much for your attendance.

Supplementary memorandum submitted by Professor David Conway, Civitas

At the close of the session of your Select Committee on 7 June at which I gave evidence, you kindly invited those who had done so to be in communication if any of us thought you or your fellow Committee Members had missed a point we had made.

I am, therefore, writing, because I believe the answer I gave to the first of the three questions Mr Douglas Carswell put to me (Q406) was not properly understood by the Committee and was subject to misrepresentation in the summary you offered at the end of my answer to Q408 of what you took its substance to be.

Mr Carswell had asked me in Q406 why I thought the state should promote citizenship education in the first place at all by insisting on citizenship classes. Your summary account of what you understood my position on that question to be, proffered at the end of my answer to Q408, was to describe me as “a top-down man” in contradistinction to Mr Carswell whom you described as a “bottom-up man”. Your gloss on my position seriously misrepresents it, and I should now like to clarify where I stand on the issue, since I believe what is at issue of great importance.

Apropos values-teaching in school in general and citizenship education in particular, the position I favour is neither “top down” nor “bottom up” to use your terminology. Rather, it is a genuine third alternative that simultaneously manages to be both. In other words, I reject the terms in which you posed your dichotomy between “top-down” or “bottom-up”, since I consider these two alternatives neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive of the possibilities. The position that I favour on this issue happens to be a fairly standard “classical liberal” one. It received its canonical formulation in chapter 5 of John Stuart Mill’s famous essay of 1859, *On Liberty*.

Here, when considering what the role of the State should be in education, Mill claimed it legitimate for the State to require that parents ensured that their children received an adequate basic education. By such, Mill meant one that would equip their children with the skills and knowledge they would need as adults to be productive and responsible members of society. A *quid pro quo* of the State imposing such a requirement on parents, argued Mill, was for it to provide free school places to all children whose parents lacked financial or other means to ensure their children received that form of education it considered mandatory for them to receive.

Mill went on, however, expressly to claim that State schools should form but only one variety of schools. Moreover, having specified in general terms what forms of knowledge and skill that it should be the duty of parents, or failing that of the State, to ensure that all children received, Mill went on to claim it is best if the State refrained from prescribing in detail how parents and schools, even State-funded ones, went about ensuring the children in their care acquired this knowledge and set of skills. Thus, shortly after declaring that is “almost a self-evident axiom that the State should require and compel the education, up to a certain standard, of every human being who is born a citizen”, Mill asserted:

“That the whole or any large part of the education of the people should be in State hands, I go as far as any one in deprecating [. . .]. A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another; and [. . .] establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to en over the body. An education established and controlled by the State should only exist, if it exists at all, as one among many competing experiments.”

Mill then explained how the State might be able to impose educational demands on parents as regards the schooling of their children without being excessively top-down so far as schooling and the curriculum are concerned. The way Mill proposed for the State to navigate between the Scylla of complete *laissez faire* in education, your “bottom up”, and the equally undesirable Charibdis of excessive regulation, your “top down”, involved a system of mandatory “public examinations” that all children would be required to sit annually so as to enable the State to verify that parents and State schools had provided an adequate education for all children in their charge. Parents whose children were found by this means to have received inadequate schooling would be liable for fine, if necessary paid for by their compulsory labour. Failing State schools would face closure.

By suggesting these public examinations would only test for factual knowledge in such inherently contentious areas as religion and politics, Mill explained how the State could simultaneously insist that all schoolchildren receive instruction in these areas without its being unduly prescriptive in terms of precisely what they were taught. Mill’s proposal here explains how it is possible to avoid having to choose from between purely top-down or bottom up alternatives in connection with citizenship education. Of his proposed system of annual mandatory examinations, Mill wrote:

“To prevent the State from exercising, through these arrangements, an improper influence over opinion, the knowledge required for passing an examination (beyond the merely instrumental parts of knowledge, such as languages and their use) should [. . .] be confined to facts and positive science exclusively. The examinations on religion, politics, or other disputed topics, should not turn on the truth or falsehood of opinions, but on matters of fact that such and such an opinion is held, on such grounds, by such authors, or schools, or churches [. . .]. All attempts by the state to bias the conclusions of its citizens on disputed subjects, are evil; but it may very properly offer to ascertain and certify that a person possesses the knowledge, requisite to make his conclusions, on any given subject, worth attending to.”

Mill’s proposals here, adopted for citizenship education, would be neither top-down nor bottom-up, but simultaneously be both. Such is the system that I would favour for citizenship education.

Mill considered history a positive science, and I agree that sufficient that is un-contentious about British history as would enable this subject to be examined in a way that tested pure knowledge of it. Since I also believe that any full and reasonably accurate version of British narrative history would be overwhelmingly likely to induce in British schoolchildren made conversant with it a love of their country, as well as being able to inform them about the British constitution and its workings, I am confident that, were the State to require schoolchildren to learn British narrative history, this requirement would suffice to make good and politically literate citizens of them, whilst permitting enormous latitude and local variation in the precise manner in which they were taught the subject at school, provided what was taught was basically sound in essentials.

Of course, the teaching of history on its own is not nearly enough to produce good and literate citizens. One would hope, and I believe it is legitimate for the State to demand, that all children be exposed at school to enough of the high culture of their country, and enough in terms of its on-going public rituals, such as

Remembrance Day etc, as would equip them with the wherewithal to enjoy and appreciate its attainments, according to the limits of their individual understanding and sensibility. Here, of course, the scope for latitude in curriculum is even greater.

I have laboured this point, less to disabuse you and your fellow committee members of a misconception about where I happen to stand on the issue. I have done so rather because I think the position that I favour—which is Mill’s middle way between equally undesirable top-down dirigisme and bottom-up laissez faire—has much to offer governments seeking to determine how, in a plural society such as ours, the State might legitimately involve itself in such a potentially controversial area as the civic formation of its young citizens without resorting to a dangerously excessively prescriptive national curriculum for citizenship.

June 2006

Wednesday 11 October 2006

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Mr Douglas Carswell
 Jeff Ennis
 Paul Holmes
 Helen Jones

Mr Gordon Marsden
 Fiona Mactaggart
 Stephen Williams
 Mr Rob Wilson

Witness: **Mr Trevor Phillips**, Chair, Commission for Racial Equality, gave evidence.

Q438 Chairman: Whilst people are settling down, can I warmly welcome Trevor Phillips to our proceedings. Trevor and I have known each other for a long time. As I always say to someone I have been friends with for a very long time, it does not mean to say I am going to be any nicer in the questioning! It is good to have you here. As I was saying a moment ago when I greeted you to the Committee, this is a very important inquiry for this Committee and it is a difficult inquiry, both in terms of shape and focus, but we are getting about halfway through the inquiry and we very much hope that, at the beginning of this new session, your evidence today will give us a chance to really put some shape on it, so welcome indeed. If you would like to take two or three minutes for opening remarks, you would be very welcome to do so.

Mr Phillips: Chairman, thank you very much for that welcome. It is a privilege to be here before you, and I would say that this is an important question, not just for the Department for Education and Skills but, as I will say in my few remarks now, for the whole of government and the whole of civil society. I would also like to say thank you for the second bite of the cherry, if I can put it that way, since my colleagues, Nick Johnson and Mark Verlot, have already appeared before you in what, when I read the transcript, looked like quite a lively session. I look forward to the same today! It might help if I set out a few words on our over-arching view, because you put some questions to my colleagues which they as officers were not able to answer fully which I think I may be able to answer a little bit more. There are three questions which occur to me reading the transcript: first, why does citizenship education matter at all at present, second, to use the war reporter's terminology, you spent some time discussing the question of "embedded" or "unilateral" and, third, the relationship with identity. On the first question, we have taken to saying at the CRE that there are two great challenges for humanity, how we live with the planet and how we live with each other, and this is really about how we live with each other. Living together is made more difficult today by two new historic features, if you like. First, there are more of us who are more different encountering each other in greater numbers than ever before. Migration matters. The UN tells us 191 million people live and work outside their country of birth. For every two emigrants in this country today only one returns. For every two immigrants, only one

leaves, and that means the composition of our population, if not its actual size, is changing quite rapidly, and we can see today there are 42 communities of more than 10,000 people of foreign heritage in this city alone. The second point is a wider point. We think that there is a new assertion of identity, not just ethnic, by the way, but also, for example, gender, in relation to sexual orientation by different groups of people in our society, and this is very important in relation to this issue of citizenship: because what this diversity, coupled with a new assertion of identity, means is that we need new codes of stability, new kinds of manners, new ways of understanding each other, and that is especially difficult in this country where the codes that enable us to live at ease with our neighbours tend to be unwritten, tend to be communicated through traditional means—close communities, families, church, the accepted authorities. Much of that has gone and that is why we need new ways, and that to me is one of the critical issues when we are thinking about citizenship. This is not old style civics; this is about how we live together. The second brief point I want to make is about the "embedded" versus "unilateral" question of how you deal with citizenship. The way that I look at this is as follows. Citizenship is best learned in action—community and volunteering, democracy within schools themselves, participation of political parties, and so on. In the past working class people found their voices in this country, for example, through trade unions, and so forth; but the reason for a formal setting of teaching is that, just as in other arenas, you cannot always take advantage of the practical unless you have got some grasp of the theory. Once upon a time I was a chemist and I could very easily follow the laboratory instructions, but without the knowledge of what a benzene molecule actually looks like, it is pretty hard to understand why it behaves in the way it does. Similarly, you could say anybody can survive in France for a year, but it transforms the experience if you can actually speak the language. So, the point here, I think, about teaching it separately, and so on, is very simply that, unless you have some of the basics of understanding of the way the society works, it is very hard, even if you do it in practice, to understand why things work the way they do. I was going to say something about the relationship of identity and Britishness, and so on, which you

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

raised last time. That may not be appropriate today, but if you do want to ask me, I have got some words to say about that.

Q439 Chairman: Thank you for that. There seems to be emerging (and I was thinking of this listening to Sir Bernard Crick when he was interviewed when Ofsted's recent report on citizenship came out) a difference of approach between what Bernard Crick sees as the citizenship agenda and yourself, Trevor. Do you see there is a difference in approach between yourself and Crick, or are we misunderstanding the way you approach citizenship compared to him?

Mr Phillips: It is not entirely easy for me to tell whether there is a difference. I have to confess, I do not fully understand all of what Bernard wants to do. In some areas I think we coincide, in some areas I think we do not, but my slight problem with Bernard's approach is that, of course, his committee was very product-oriented, they wanted to create something—a booklet, and so on—and it is not entirely clear to me where some of what he wants to do stems from. However, if there is a difference, I think it probably is this. I think Crick puts quite a lot of faith in teaching and directiveness, and though I think—and I have said it in other places—that we need a core of Britishness, we need a shared set of ways of expressing our values, I do not think those can be handed down. I think the historic way in which we deal with this is through a kind of negotiation that takes place within a civic society. I guess, if I have a difference with Bernard, I think his approach tends to be, as the French would say, *à de haut enbas*, it is handed down, there it is, that is how you are supposed to live, and so on. I do not think, in this world of greater diversity and rapidly changing composition in society, it is any longer possible to do that. It used to be possible. You would go to church and the vicar would tell you how to behave. I do not think that works any longer. If I have, not a criticism, but a question about Bernard's approach, I think that there is a missing bit about this, which is how and through what mechanisms and what means do we actually negotiate the codes of behaviour which mark citizenship.

Q440 Chairman: Is that because Crick emphasises elements of the curriculum, courses, bits of particular history of our country, and you are much more interested in the ethos in a school?

Mr Phillips: That is an interesting way of putting it. Let me be clear. I am not of the view that, for example, dates do not matter. I think dates do matter. I think we do need a common account. However, to misquote Alan Bennett, I do not think history is just one adjectival thing after another. The importance of history is what it tells us, how it interprets why we have got to be what we are today. So, my view about Bernard's idea, as it were, about capsules of knowledge, is that it is fine but it is not enough. Going back to what I said at the beginning, just as I think you cannot do the practical without the theory, I think the theory is

pretty pointless without the practicality; so I think doing it is extremely important, which is why, for example, we talk quite a lot in more broad terms about democracy within schools but in our own specific sphere activities like summer camps for young people which bring together people of different backgrounds.

Q441 Chairman: That is a more an ethos view, is it not? If you go into a school, Trevor, you have got a good head, a good principal, who actually knows what they want to deliver in terms of citizenship. I have been in schools where it is not necessary to have everything on the curriculum, it is imbued in the leadership and the ethos that the leadership of the school allows to suffuse that culture, but when I read your remarks, it sounds as though you are very much of that view. You prefer that, rather than having a certain number of hours per week or per term on a particular subject.

Mr Phillips: Why I am resisting the word "ethos" is that I am a sort of practical person. We talk a lot about "practical identity" and "ethos" always sounds a little bit abstract to me, but I understand what you mean. For example (and I may be over-stressing it this morning), I think manners and etiquette are part of citizenship actually. The head teacher who says, "In this school we wear uniforms in a particular way and we do not run in the corridors", is also communicating something about citizenship if he or she does it properly, because they will be saying, "This is about how we live together. It is not just because I fancy it; it is about how we as a community live together." I guess what I am trying to emphasise is I think that there has to be a relationship between what you are taught and the lived experience. To come directly to the issue of curriculum, and perhaps we might return to this later, if we are thinking about history, David Cannadine, for example, has recently spoken, I think very persuasively, about the tradition of English dissent, that is to say that one of the reasons that we learn history is to tell us about that tradition. Why do we need to know about that tradition? We need to know about that tradition because it is a guide to the way that we act in this polity; what is the way that we do things. Why is this practically important? If you sit where I do and you deal a lot with new migrants, one of the things that becomes very clear, for example, at the Commission for Racial Equality is that there are many people who should avail themselves of the CRE's services but, because they come from countries where there is no tradition of questioning authority, when they know someone has discriminated against them there is no sense in them that they should and can appeal to an authority to give them remedy; and that is why, I think, that there is a relationship between what you are taught in history (and, by the way, I think there are similar issues in relation to geography, for example) and what you do. I am not trying to dodge your question, but I am resisting the idea of separating the teaching of facts and the way that we behave.

Q442 Chairman: That is a fair point. Can I touch on another difference, and, whilst I do not want to delve into anything outside citizenship, some people are bemused that you and the Mayor of London seem to have a very strong difference of opinion—certainly he seems to differ from you. Is that difference between you and the Mayor (after all, you had a lot in common in the past in terms of politics, in terms of London and so on) essentially a difference over your concept of citizenship? What is at the heart of that?

Mr Phillips: I would say the Mayor of London has more differences with me than I have with him. The way that we look at this is very straightforward. I do not want to get into what he has said because, frankly, I do not fully understand it.

Q443 Chairman: No, I drew on it in the frame of are you disagreeing about citizenship?

Mr Phillips: I want to come to that. He has said that he does not understand what we at the Commission for Racial Equality have been saying in relation to multiculturalism. My view about that is very simple. What we say and do on this matter actually, to some extent, arises from what I think is some very brave work done by many people, including the Mayor of London and the late Bernie Grant, 20 or so years ago to get people to recognise diversity. What we think is happening and we are in danger of doing is not moving on to recognise the new circumstances that we are in. I said at the beginning, for example, that today we have 42 communities of size in this city alone. That was not true in that way 20 years ago. So, the issues that are thrown up are rather different, and the need for us to have ways of living together, I think, is now at least as important as the issues which are to do with recognising our differences. I think, if I can put it this way, our differences are more to do with phasing and timing. I think that some people have to recognise that things have moved on. By the way, I think they also have to recognise that London, in this respect, is very different to almost anywhere else in the world, never mind anywhere else in England and Wales, and in relation to citizenship, if we take our test of citizenship being a question of how does it help us to live together, if we have a difference it is that I think that in modern Britain the test and the difficulties of living together are sharper than they were 20 or 25 years ago.

Chairman: Let us move on. I am going to ask Jeff Ennis to open the questioning.

Q444 Jeff Ennis: Following on from one of the themes that you have just been pursuing, Chairman, in your memorandum, Trevor (something I strongly agree with), you say that citizenship should be central to the whole school ethos and should be part and parcel of the whole school ethos. Many schools and quite a few LAs are trying to promote that particular approach. Is this the only approach that you would recommend schools and LAs to follow, or are there more ways of promoting citizenship within the school other than by the whole school ethos?

Mr Phillips: I think there are alternative ways, I suppose, which make citizenship very narrow, but we support the whole school ethos really for the reasons which I gave earlier on, and that is that citizenship is one of the skills. It is a “learnt competence”, as I think the educationalists now call it. It is not one of those things which you can pick up and you can discard it when you decide you only want to do three A levels rather than five subjects or the IB, or whatever it is. Perhaps the best way to put it is this. We should think of citizenship much more as a learnt competence and development (and I am on rather dangerous grounds here) rather like PE, which is not just about learning a set of things to do, or even perhaps learning a skill, it is literally life-changing. Citizenship should be life-changing. That is why we talk about the whole school ethos, because it is not just about what you learn in period three on a Wednesday, it is about how you position yourself relative to other people, what consideration you have for them, how you understand the way you settle disputes, violent or not violent, for example; and that is why, I think, the whole school approach has to be the way to deal with this, because you cannot in period three on Wednesday say one thing and then at lunch-time the school teaches you something different by the way it acts. It seems to me, if we are serious about this, if we are genuine about it, there is no other way. By the way, it also means that in other subjects we have to be consistent, and I can say something about what I think about that in relation to history or geography, if you wish.

Q445 Jeff Ennis: Do you think that individual schools should be left to set their own citizenship agenda, or is there a role for LAs in promoting citizenship across all the schools in their area, and is there a role for other agencies or bodies in promoting citizenship within the classroom?

Mr Phillips: As a general precedent, I think that schools ought to be given as much freedom as they can be to meet the standards that are set by local authorities and by government acting on behalf of the community as a whole. What I would say about that is that I would expect local authorities to set quite high expectations for their schools, both in a cognitive sense—what do you learn—but also in the way that the students demonstrate their citizenship. For example, I think volunteering should be an aspect of citizenship and I think the local authorities should have a big role to play in offering schools resources and opportunities for volunteering. You ask also about other agencies. I do not know enough about this, to be perfectly honest, but I would be disappointed if the new Ofsted were not to regard citizenship education and citizenship competence, in its widest sense, as an essential part of its brief.

Q446 Jeff Ennis: You mentioned the growth of 42 distinct communities that have 10,000 people or more. Another thing we have had a distinct growth of in the last 10 years in a lot of schools has been

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

the setting up of school councils. I attended a school's council in a special school with children with learning disabilities in my constituency last year and it was very enlightening, very interesting to attend that particular school's council. We have also seen a setting up of the UK Youth Parliament in the last five years or so. How do these sorts of development aid the delivery of citizenship within schools today and are they an important part of the promotion of citizenship?

Mr Phillips: I think they are essential. I am prejudiced on this, in a sense, because, as some of you know, I came into public life through student politics and, like lots of people of my generation, that experience transformed my life and the way I looked at things and, I hope, the way that I behave as a citizen and my understanding of citizenship. I referred in my opening remarks to the historic role of, let us call them, labour movement institutions in what people used to call political education but I think would be proxy for citizenship now. For all sorts of reasons, that is not as prevalent and as possible as it used to be. It seems to me, however, that schools are still significant, pivotal institutions within communities and, entirely apart from what happens in the PSHE or the citizenship class, I think in the way they behave in the responsibilities they give the students, in the opportunities they give students, they are all pivotal in teaching the reality, the practicality of citizenship. So, my straight answer to that is the more the better, and, by the way, I think the more the better for schools themselves.

Q447 Jeff Ennis: What, if any, values, as opposed to skills, should children be taught as part of citizenship education?

Mr Phillips: There is a simple and platitudinous answer, which is democracy, equality, freedom, et cetera, et cetera, and I think we can probably all agree on that. We might have slight differences about the precise nature of the list and order of them and so on. If the pure question is, "What are the values that one wants to communicate?", you can make a list which looks something like what I have just said, but I think actually it has to do more than that because, in my view, values are not significant unless we talk about their expression in the real world. I am very persuaded and supportive of those who, for example, like the Chancellor, think that Britishness has meaning, and I am supportive of that view for this reason. I think that Britishness, properly defined, is an encapsulation of the way that we express universal values. That is to say, for example, both we and Americans believe very strongly in freedom. However, because of America's history and actually, I think, partly to do with its geography, the way that Americans express the idea of freedom is very different to the way that we think of it. Freedom, for example, in the United States is very allied to the frontier myth: you can go and find a place where you can be exactly what you want to be, up in the high hills, in the mountains of Montana, or whatever it is, or you can be (and I will be careful what I say here)

as eccentric as you like and you go to California. It is a way that is peculiarly American and it works for them.

Q448 Jeff Ennis: Huddersfield would be the equivalent in our country!

Mr Phillips: I am just thinking of the saloon bars of Huddersfield! There are up-sides to that; there are also down-sides by the way. I think the American idea of freedom also underpins its persistent and engrained racial segregation actually, because one interpretation of it is, "I want to live with people like me, and that is my freedom", and all that. We, of course, interpret freedom in quite a different way and, I think, in a much more communal way, in some ways a more domestic way. We think our freedom is, "An Englishman's home is his castle", and all of that. It is our freedom to be private, for example, but the point I want to make here is that I am very much in favour of the expression of British values through citizenship but not in abstract. Again, I come back to my point earlier on about the tradition of dissent. It seems to me that the relationship between what you learn in history and what you learn and do in relation to citizenship should be such that no child should leave school without a thorough grounding and a thorough appreciation of their right to be bolshy and eccentric, which is how you would describe that tradition of dissent today.

Q449 Paul Holmes: Can I follow up slightly on Jeff's question two questions ago about what values should be taught in the citizenship curriculum. You have talked about the wide range of communities that now exist in cities coming from other countries, other cultures, other religious traditions which can have quite different values to what UK Law talks about, for example. UK Law now says, fairly recently, that homosexuals have got equality. UK Law says things about racial equality, about gender equality, but some of these communities come from traditions which would not accept that. What values should be taught in schools that cover this wide range of communities who have different value traditions?

Mr Phillips: The reason I suppose I am looking a little bit puzzled, and the reason I cannot quite answer the question in the way you put it, is I just do not accept the premise that there are communities which have different values. There may be communities or groups of people which have different lifestyles, inherited traditions, aspects of cultural expression, and so on, but I think that we need to be careful about saying that there are communities which have different values as though they existed outside of British society. I do not think they do, and there are very few people, in my experience, who really genuinely believe that they should live according to different standards, because that is really what it comes to. There are very few people in this country who, for example, seriously would not accept the primacy of a parliamentary democracy. We can all question it.

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

For example, the House of Commons, we can all look at it and say, “Is it very representative?” Well, actually, if you are a black or Muslim person, no, and if you are a woman, certainly not, but, of course, then another value kicks in, which is that we change that through the exercise of the democratic process and we argue about it, we shout about it and we march from Trafalgar Square to Hyde Park, or the other way round, about it. What we do not do is say, because we do not like it, it does not count for us. It seems to me that these are core values that almost everybody accepts, and there can be a bit of a tendency, driven by—I am always reluctant to blame the media because, speaking as a journalist, I know that most journalists are not leaders, we are followers, we follow public sentiment, by and large we follow what goes on in here, but there is a sort of tendency for the political media classes to get very excited by fringe and small but noisy groups who say something different; but actually, for most people of all backgrounds, the acceptance of basic values—democracy, equality, personal freedom, that we negotiate our differences rather than fight about them—these are basic things that most people accept in this country, and, by the way, my experience is that most minority communities actually are even more attached to these things than anybody else because they know what the alternative looks like. So, whilst I sort of understand the sentiment that drives your question, I do not think, to be perfectly honest, it is one that in reality arises. To answer it absolutely directly, in a situation where what you might regard as those core values somehow conflict with the expression of historic traditions, those core values always have to win. You cannot compromise on that; they always have to win.

Q450 Paul Holmes: For example, MPs are currently being lobbied by various religious groups who want exemption from the law in relationship to equality of employment for certain groups of people such as gay people. So, there are clearly groups, some of which are very indigenous to this country, they are not recent arrivals, who are writing to MPs now saying, “We want to be exempt from this law.” On the other hand, the Government is massively expanding faith schools. So, you have got quite a clear conflict there between certain cultural or religious values and traditions and the law of the land. How do the schools deal with that? What is the Government’s guidance on values in that situation?

Mr Phillips: Let me make two points in response to that. I do not really accept the premise that the Government is massively expanding faith schools. It just is not true. There are seven thousand or so faith schools, denominational schools, in this country. What people are really concerned about, let us get straight to the point here, are Muslims going to get schools? At most you are going to get about another 100.

Q451 Paul Holmes: Can I stop you there, because that is not what I asked. In fact the religions who are currently lobbying are not Muslims?

Mr Phillips: I know, but I want to put on record that I do not accept the premise, because I think it is said quite often, and rather popularly, that there is this massive boom and this means something. Actually it does not. What people are concerned about (and this comes more to the point that you are making) is that faith schools of a certain kind, where faith is very closely aligned to ethnicity—not true of Roman Catholics or Church of England but very true of Jews, Muslims and Sikhs—are in themselves exclusive. My view about this is that it is a very small issue in practice and it is not one on which you ought to make law. On the wider issue, which is, for example, the resistance by some of the traditional denominations, the big battalions, as it were, to being told in what circumstances they might employ this person or that person and what their qualifications might be, here I think the rule is very straightforward, and this is a kind of core value which is based on equality. You compete for a job and you are judged on your suitability for the job. The question of attributes or characteristics that you might have which have no bearing upon your capability of doing the job should never enter into it; and in that situation, though I respect the attempts of different faiths, and so on, here is where I think the core value of equality trumps religious diversity. I do not think we can say to anybody or promise anybody that because you feel a bit different because of your traditions and so on, we respect that, but that does not allow you to override a very basic tenet of our society, which is equality, and in the context of employment equality means that you compete on the basis of your capability to do the job, not on anything else.

Q452 Paul Holmes: One other question. The Government guidelines on how citizenship should be delivered are very flexible or vague, depending on your point of view. It could be a separate subject, and I was teaching it as a separate subject 20 years ago, long before people invented the word “citizenship” for it, or it can be taught through other subjects like history, or RE, or it can be taught in all sorts of general ways through school councils; so there is a very wide range of ways. The recent Ofsted evaluation has said that, in fact, there are a lot of schools where it is fairly weak, precisely because there is no clear way of delivering, no clear accountability, no clear programme. What is your opinion on that?

Mr Phillips: My view about this is very straightforward. There are three components. Let me preface that by saying that it occurs to me, out of this conversation and having read your previous session, that maybe part of the problem we have is the expression of views in citizenship education, and we seem to be leaning on that: because historically we think “education” and what we mean is academic transmission of a kind of academic lore, and we might be better off talking about “citizenship competence”. What is the aim

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

here? It is not to transmit—I saw the new film *The History Boys* last night, so some of the language might be coming through here—gobbets of knowledge. What we are trying to do is to get people to a place where they are capable of dealing, as citizens, with the current society in which we live. Of course, I am concerned, for example, specifically with the issue of coping with diversity, but there are all sorts of other bits of this competence. If we think about it as citizenship competence, there are probably three ways in which we communicate that. First of all, by knowledge, and that does mean specific classes which tell you how the system works. It is inconceivable that you can say to people you can be a competent citizen if you really have no idea, I was going to say, what the difference between different political parties are, but lots of people have trouble working that out, but, if you have no idea that there are different political parties. We know that is a problem for some youngsters. So, there is some pure transmission of knowledge, and that is for teachers and people who are expert to explain what might be in that packet not for me. Secondly, I think that there is real life experience, and that is why I referred to volunteering, I referred to the way that schools do their business, schools councils, and so on, and that is the second aspect of it. I think then there is perhaps a third, maybe more murky, arena which is perhaps better referred to by way of teaching by example. How do the rest of us do things with young people—families, parliamentarians, people in the media, and so on? Are we teaching by example? I think part of the difficulty that we sometimes have is that the lessons that we teach about glorious revolution, and so on and so forth, might not look like they have meant anything because we have behaved in a different way, and that is a bit more murky, and one on which I do not have a great deal to offer this morning, but I do think all three elements are essential.

Q453 Paul Holmes: How direct do you think schools should be in teaching things? You talked about the tradition of English dissent and that that was a valuable one. When the Committee was in Dublin some time ago we saw some citizenship lessons where the kids were writing to the Taoiseach lobbying him about cuts he had made in funding to voluntary services, for example, to voluntary groups, and a few weeks before they had been writing to the British Government and lobbying about radio-active pollution in the Irish Sea. Yet, in English schools there is a tendency to shy away from that sort of thing because it would be too political, with a large “P”. Do you think we should be directly teaching the tradition of dissent in that way?

Mr Phillips: Yes, we should learn. Let us learn from the Irish. There were three categories I gave you. I am sorry, I may be slightly confused in my explanation. There is formal teaching in citizen classes, then there is teaching citizenship in other aspects of the curriculum—history, geography and

so on—that is the point at which the tradition of dissent enters—and then there is the third, the environment in which they act. The writing to the Taoiseach is the third bit of it, the school’s council is a bit of it and what we do is a part of that third leg. I do not see any reason at all why we should not be encouraging that. In fact, I am very much in favour of it.

Q454 Mr Wilson: Can I now turn to the subject of integration. Of course, one of the CRE’s primary goals is to create an integrated society. You have had quite a lot to say on this matter, in particular about segregation in communities and also segregation in schools. In fact, you have raised concerns about different races in schools growing up “strangers to each other”, I believe. I want to get some idea of the scale of the problem and how significant you think the problem of racially and ethnically segregated schools actually is.

Mr Phillips: Firstly, I should say that the most important thing about this particular discussion is that we are going to have it at all. For 40 years we did not have it at all, and the problem that I discovered when I went to the Commission for Racial Equality is that that meant that the Britain that we were talking about was not the Britain that people actually experienced. For example, it is true that there is much to celebrate in our diversity: great energy, people learn new things, they learn ways of doing things which are better from people who are not like themselves, and I have never resiled from that. I think that the problem that we had was that most people who live in most large English cities recognise that that picture is right, but there is another part to the picture, and that part to the picture is one in which they, generally speaking, do not mix with people who are not like themselves ethnically. We have done some survey work, and I know my colleagues spoke to you about it last time. It is still true that most people of different ethnicities do not mix socially away from work, secondly, that residentially in some areas some ethnic minorities are becoming more isolated rather than less isolated, and, thirdly (and that is the reason I am making available that information), there is new information coming forward all the time about the segregation of the schools and there is some new work which has just been sent to me—I just read it yesterday—from Bristol University, from Simon Burgess and his colleagues, who have been doing some really brilliant work on this, brilliant in the sense that it does not always tie with what I believe are my own prejudices, but actually I believe it because it is very, very thorough. What their latest work says is a development on what they have told us in the last couple of years. What they say now is that segregation in British schools is not increasing, but what they do say is that in the areas where there is the largest ethnic minority population it is already pretty extreme, and that is, of course, one reason why it cannot increase very much, because if you have got a 95% Asian school there is not much more to go, a 95% white school, so there is not very

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

far to go, but what they are observing is that, in a sense, it is settling, it is becoming a pattern, and we think this is a serious issue, it is a serious problem because it does not help to prepare the children in those schools for what we would like to be the real world where they meet and interact with people who are not like themselves. Secondly, generally speaking, the separation of children in schools by ethnicity is to the disadvantage of ethnic minorities, though not entirely, and, thirdly, and I cannot give you research evidence for this but this is what we get from our front-line race equality councils and local groups, we find that it is contributing to conflict amongst general people. Gangs really form to some extent out of schools and the ethnicisation of youth gang culture is, in part, due to that.

Q455 Mr Wilson: Could I characterise that answer as “segregation is bad, but it is not getting any worse”? Is that fair, or is that generally true in society but not in schools?

Mr Phillips: The more precise way to put it is we know quite a lot about segregation but we do not know enough. What we do know tells us that in some parts of the country it is a serious problem, and there are two aspects of it, one is residential and the other is social. There is some confusion about residential segregation. Forgive me if I do not get too technical about it because it would take hours, but in essence the best work on this, which is done by Mike Poulsen of Macquarie University, tells us that what is happening is that it is true that residentially quite a lot of areas are becoming more mixed, but they are becoming more mixed in the sense that completely all white areas have a few ethnic minority people in them; and, indeed, in some areas there is a greater level of mix between ethnic minorities and whites, but this is a process in transition. For example, areas which have had a 20% ethnic minority population now might have a 30, 40% ethnic minority population. Except that what Poulsen says is that what is happening is that these are areas in transition to becoming 100% ethnic minority areas. So, the picture is dynamic and it can be a little bit confusing, but the overall historic trend is towards residential segregation and with it some social segregation. The second point that we know is that at present for schools in England and Wales specifically what the work from Bristol University, which has done this most thoroughly—they have gone through all the class data for the whole of England and Wales—does is it tells us that schools, with the exception of faith schools, tend to be more segregated in the areas in which they are settled and in which they sit, the latest work tells us that my contention last year that this was becoming worse is probably only partially true in some specific kinds of areas. I am trying to be precise here, because I know these things can get out of hand.

Q456 Mr Wilson: My next question is not too bad. The first part is about schools and segregation. What do you think schools can reasonably do to

help with the problems that we have for segregation? I will come to the second part of the question in a minute.

Mr Phillips: Schools cannot do very much about where people live, though actually they are probably, in many cities, amongst the most significant reasons for people living where they do. White flight, which is still a significant factor, the latest work from Bristol shows us pretty clearly, is driven more by school places or competition for school places and school choice than any other single factor. To put it crudely, white parents particularly are unhappy about putting children in schools where they think that their children, they would put it, are going to be in the minority, and that starts a dynamic of white flight from those schools and, therefore, residentially from those areas. Schools themselves cannot do very much about that, because they are what they are, but what they can do is a number of things. First of all, and this is perhaps a role partly for local authorities, they can think harder about the way they draw up catchment areas, and I think it cannot be beyond the wit of man or woman to find ways in which you can combat that trend. You cannot stop it, but you can combat it. Secondly, schools themselves can make sure that where there are choices about who they admit, they are monitoring their admissions properly to ensure that there is no hidden bias going on. Thirdly, in what they do (and this is talked about a lot) by twinning, by who they play sport with, projects that they do on art, and so on, the things that they do voluntarily, that they expose their students to groups of students who are not like themselves; and the third is not easy, by the way, because these things lead to conflict, and so on, but in some areas they are very well managed.

Q457 Mr Wilson: What you have said leads on to something that just occurs to me. What is your view on quotas for minorities in schools rather than catchment areas? Do you have a view on quotas for ethnic minorities, disadvantaged children, and so forth?

Mr Phillips: Not helpful, not practical and, frankly, not something that we need at the present time. I understand that this has been raised in the last 24 hours, and I am as open to discussion as anybody else on this, but I would not have said this is the first place that we need to go.

Q458 Mr Wilson: The first point I was making was: what can schools do? The second point I wanted to get out of you is: what can the Government actually do? Is raising the whole issue of what people can and cannot wear within schools—

Mr Phillips: What people can and cannot wear?

Q459 Mr Wilson: Yes. For example, the veil. There seems to be this growing campaign against the wearing of the veil. Do you think that is helpful, or is it hindering the process towards full integration?

 11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

Mr Phillips: We have to separate out a couple of things here, and I will say precisely what our view is on the issue of uniform. You will know that in Luton three years ago, I think it is now, there was a case, it has been through all the states of courts and is now in Europe, a human rights case, over a student who wanted to wear the hijab. We took the view, and this is because we ourselves have been involved in establishing the schools' uniform policy, that if there was a school which has a uniform and that uniform is compliant to the needs of Muslim families, as they themselves have expressed it, then everybody should be required to wear that uniform. That is the point of uniform. In this particular case the young woman was offered places at other schools which did not have a uniform policy, and it seems to us very straightforward here. Provided a uniform policy is arrived at properly, with consultation, and so on, and is Sharia-compliant and so forth, then there can be no case for someone saying that their interpretation of what is Sharia-compliant should be respected over and above the uniform policy of the school. If there had been no alternative school, one might want to say that the uniform policy needed to take that into account, but that was not the case here. So, the view that I take is very straightforward, that in itself, if a school has a uniform, we think the uniform policy needs to be inclusive and compliant with the needs of the children and families who attend that school, and, once that is agreed properly, that is what everybody has to live with. The issue of the veil, I think, is a rather separate one and it has been raised in a separate way. Jack Straw has, as I understand it, said two things. First of all, the veil in his surgery made him feel uncomfortable and interfered with his capacity to carry out his job as a public servant. That is the first thing he said. The second thing he said is that he thought, entirely aside from what happens in his surgery, that the wearing of the hijab is a sign of separation, or the wish to separate is implied. Those are not the words he used, but that is the implication. There are two questions about this. First of all, does he have the right to say either or both of those things? The answer to that must unequivocally be, "Yes", on both counts. Secondly, what is the appropriate response to the questions he raises? The first thing, on the issue of the veil in his surgery and his discomfort, I think it is perfectly reasonable for him to say he feels uncomfortable about it, I think it is perfectly right (and this is where I return to the point of the code of manners and codes of civility) for him to say, "Would you mind? Would you mind not making me feel uncomfortable in this particular case?", as long as it is clearly understood that the answer to that can be, "No", and that the woman can refuse. There are issues and shades of power in a relationship, and all of that, which we can talk about, but that to me is the formal point. The separate issue about whether there should be social pressure to make the wearing of the veil unacceptable is, in my view, a separate question than that encounter, because that is about a workplace, it is about a relationship

between someone who is offering the services of a client, and so on. We talk about that a lot in our employment code. I think that there have to be separate considerations when what we are talking about is really a social convention. To put it crudely, when we are talking about masks: if we are talking about surgeons they have to wear a mask. Nobody is ever going to question that because that is what they have to do to do the job. When we are talking about the ease of communication . . . not even the ease of communication, but the ease of feeling in any particular encounter, that is social convention. We have to be careful to follow exactly what Jack Straw did, which is to separate the requirements of a particular work situation or public situation from social convention. On the latter, I go with those who say that it always has to be a matter for negotiation. It cannot be for prescription. We cannot tell people what to wear in what situation. The answer is that Jack was completely right to raise this. He has raised it in a proper way. By the way, it is an interesting point that the media found itself completely incapable of dealing with this. All the headlines over the weekend were: who politically agrees with Straw and who does not politically agree with Straw?—which is not the point. It is completely irrelevant. It is not that sort of question. This question is not about, as it were, public policy, but, where it is contentious, of social etiquette and manners. I am sorry to go on about this. This is a rather complicated and difficult question that people have made more difficult than it needs to be. We are about to have laws about smoking in public places—that is, we have a law about public places. But it is a different question when somebody comes to your house. Do they smoke in your house or not? Here, social convention and the negotiations of social convention become very important. Twenty years ago, they would light up—because people did and it was not an issue—and the homeowner might say, "I'd rather you did not smoke." Today, it works the other way round. Most people, if they go to somebody else's house and they want to smoke, will say, "Do you mind if I smoke?" This is what I mean by social convention. It is subtle, it is a nuance, but it is extremely important.

Q460 Chairman: Are you evading something that would interest this Committee particularly, being the Education and Skills Committee? Some teachers have certainly said to me that it would be very difficult if people in their classroom or in their lecture room were wearing the veil because it is difficult to teach and to communicate with someone. You cannot have that relationship—alluded to by Jack Straw—of a face-to-face relationship.

Mr Phillips: I am not evading the point at all. I am really trying to say that the issue here is how you take a decision about it. It is not what the decision is. In that specific case, I would say that this cannot be a matter for the individual teacher. There has to be a school policy. A university, of which I am a

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

member of the court, last year took the decision that certain kinds of garment, including the veil, could not be worn on campus, because it is in a particular place where there are issues of security and people need to be identified. That I think was probably the right decision. The manner in which it was taken was probably not quite right because it was not discussed in campus and so on. The problem there was that they should have had a proper discussion, and I suspect that if they had had that proper discussion there would never have been any issue at all. All staff and all students would have agreed on that basis. I think the answer to your question in relation to schools is that if that is raised it should be raised as a matter of school policy. So that I am not at all accused of evading the question: if I were the headteacher or a teacher in that school, I would probably say that veils should not be worn in the classroom.

Q461 Mr Wilson: In the same way that hoodies should not be worn in the classroom, I am sure.

Mr Phillips: Exactly.

Q462 Mr Wilson: Obviously these are very thorny issues that we have come to now and I wonder what you think the overall impact of citizenship lessons could be on these sorts of issues, because they seem in some ways so remote.

Mr Phillips: I do not think they are remote at all. I think citizenship lessons are not the only thing we need to do but they are one of the things we need to do which is to develop a way of negotiating difference. I am not competent to talk about the wider issues of citizenship; I am interested in the way that citizenship, education in citizenship competence, helps us to deal with the problems of diversity. In practice, this is the thing that people talk about, this is the thing that kids talk about in school: why is he or she different? What are they up to? I think citizenship can help people in the real world to find ways of negotiating those differences. That, to me, is one of the great values of it. It is not just about bits of information; it is about how you behave. The citizenship curriculum talks about democracy. It is not just about 649 people or a local council or whatever it is; it is a very basic lesson that says in any society of this kind the way that we deal with the fact that we do have differences, we want different things as citizens, is that we discuss it, we vote. I think that is the lesson, and it is a lesson that people exercise in their own lives. That is why I think it is so important. That is the sort of reason why I think it is so important.

Q463 Helen Jones: I would like to take you back to this issue of segregation in schools and try to clarify, first of all, exactly what is happening. If I understood what you said correctly, you seemed to indicate that the problem was not particularly in faith schools but in normal state schools. Would that be correct?

Mr Phillips: Correct.

Q464 Helen Jones: How then do you see things proceeding as we institute a number of Muslim schools, Sikh schools and so on? Does that have implications for how we deliver citizenship education in those schools—and a knock-on effect in other schools in the area, clearly, if we are looking at why schools are not mixed?

Mr Phillips: Let me clarify on the issue of faith schools and segregation. If we are talking about faith schools, as opposed to Muslim schools, we are talking about Roman Catholic and Church of England schools, nearly 7,000 of them. Andrew Adonis reported last week that the average ethnic minority participation in non-denominational schools is about 16.5%. In Church of England schools it is rather higher than that, towards 18%, and in Catholic schools it is round about 21%, so there are more ethnic minority pupils, on average, within denominational schools than in non-denominational schools.

Q465 Helen Jones: Could I ask you to clarify something for the Committee before you proceed to the second part of your answer. I come with a bias. I was taught in Roman Catholic schools and have taught at them myself. Are those figures in some sense skewed, because in some areas of the country the churches have made a particular effort, particularly where the education of girls is concerned, to attract more ethnic minorities in their schools? Do they, as far as you know, vary from one part of the country to the other? In other words, is the average any use to us?

Mr Phillips: I am not aware of the answer to that question. I doubt, to be honest, if anybody knows. I think it reflects something quite different. It reflects the fact that the catchment area for denominational schools is always wider than that for non-denominational schools. The Catholic school across the street from my house takes its pupils from miles away, whereas the primary school the other way down the street takes its children from, I think, within a radius of about 400 yards. I suspect this is much more a reflection of two things: residential segregation and the pan-ethnicity of certain faiths. That brings me on to the second point. The difference we have—and this is why we have to make the distinction—is with those faith schools which are not in practice pan-ethnic. Not all Muslims in this country are South Asian, but two-thirds or more are, and Jews, as well as being a faith group, are also an ethnic group by law. There are two things about this. One is that when talking about faith schools I always find myself in difficulties, because people bring it up—and I know this is not what you are saying—because they really want to say, “Let’s get rid of all faith schools” but they do not want to say “Let’s get rid of the Catholic schools” because that is all very difficult and middle class parents would go bonkers and so on.

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

Q466 Helen Jones: Everybody in my constituency.
Mr Phillips: If people wanted to say that, I wish that is what they would say and let us have that argument. But that has nothing to do with ethnicity; that has to do with one's view about faith and its place in public life. Secondly, there are people who argue that faith schools are ethnically exclusive, and the reason I gave you the numbers is that, to my surprise—I did not really expect this when we did the work—it is exactly the opposite. The explanation I have given you is the one that I think is the right one. What implications does this have in the ethnically exclusive faith schools for Muslims, Jews and Sikhs in relationship to citizenship? I would have thought the implications are that they should be expected to do exactly the same as everybody else. I do not think they can and ought to be expected to have different standards in relation to citizenship from any other school, bearing in mind my answer to your earlier question, which is that I think head teachers need to be given latitude to meet those standards but they should meet the same standards as everyone.

Q467 Helen Jones: The problem in any segregated school, whether it is a faith school or whether it is a school that has become segregated on racial lines because of the residential area, is that, as you said to us earlier—and I think all the Committee agree—part of citizenship is how we learn to live with one another, how we learn to negotiate differences. Is there not then a real problem in schools which are segregated, for whatever reason that segregation has come about, and how do you propose that we tackle that problem? It is a problem, I suppose, that applies equally in certain areas, like my own, which do not have a large ethnic minority population at all. It is over 99% white. Learning to live with people in your own town is not the same as learning to live with people in the wider community in Britain. We all face a problem in dealing with it. Do you have any suggestions as to how it is best dealt with?

Mr Phillips: You have anticipated my first glib answer, which is that I think it would be a good idea if we worried more about the 70 or 80% of schools which are pretty much all white and how the children in those schools come to terms with a more diverse Britain. I think we should spend quite a lot of time worrying about them, rather than the 100 or so schools which are specifically based on faith. My feeling about this—and I do not want to seem complacent about it—is that we get a little bit too worried about it. My experience of those schools is that they are the ones which really most want their children to understand what it is like to be, let us say, a Hindu or a Jew in British society. I think you can put requirements on them in the same way as you do to other schools. You can ask them—if you are a local authority and they are voluntary aided and so on—to do things with other schools, to participate in borough-wide activities and so forth. I think that is as much as you can do. I do not think you can ask too much more. I think there are things you can do aside from the school.

For example, this summer the CRE funded a pilot summer camp. We took 80 kids to Cumbria on what was called a leadership course but which was really a way of giving them an opportunity—which they wanted, which most kids would want—to go somewhere away at somebody else's expense, where they could do things—climb up and down cliffs and all the rest of it—with kinds of people that they would never meet in their own area, so that, after that week, they would go back home and, rather than saying, "What is it about those Muslims?" they can say, "Actually, I met a Muslim" and "He was like me. He likes football" or "She likes art" or whatever it is. I think there are extra-curricular things we can do, particularly with the extended school day, which will account for those kinds of schools. My biggest worry, to be perfectly honest, in relation to the issue of segregation and social segregation, is not faith schools. The most seriously segregated schools in most cities are non-denominational community schools. That is where you have 75 or 80% ethnic minority and 100% white. That is really where we need to be exercising our ingenuity.

Q468 Helen Jones: I have a two-part question for my last question. Bearing in mind the problem you have outlined, segregated community schools and what you have said about extra-curricular activities, two things seem to arise. Why do you think there is the kind of white-flight that you have described in inner cities? Is there anything that you think can be done in tackling some of the fears of parents who move out of faith schools? The second question is really about the role of volunteering. I am one who believes that citizenship has to be active: we have to have people doing things. Is there not much more scope in using active citizenship to get people working and volunteering outside their own communities and what do you think LAs can do to facilitate that?

Mr Phillips: I am not sure I have a sensible answer to the second. Let me think about that one for a second. On white-flight, here we have to deal with the rude realities of the world. We cannot say to people: "You must not" as long as we offer them choice. Of course this is one of the core issues; is basic school choice leading to greater segregation or not? There is a prior question there: even if it is, is it right to take it away or reduce school choice to parents? My own view—and this is a personal view entirely, it is not something on which the Commission has formulated a view—is that every parent should have the maximum level of choice. I do not think it is the place of the state to reduce the level of choice available to families because the bureaucrats of the state are worried that they are going to make the wrong choice. That leads us in all the wrong directions. If we start from the premise that people do have choice and they will exercise it in a particular way, what can we do to make them exercise it in a way that does not have this segregating or separating or, more precisely, polarising effect? I think there are a couple of things that we can do. In the end, people will choose

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

schools because they are successful. I think I said very early on in this conversation that it is not entirely the case that separate schools end up being unequal schools. There are some signs that in some areas, for example, in North West London, the success of some ethnic minority communities at GCSE and A level is attracting white families because they see, for example, a school which has a majority of Gujarati Indian children is doing extremely well and they want their children to be there as well. There are no numbers on this, this is all anecdotal, but you can see why that would have a reverse effect. The first thing is to ensure that the performance of those schools where there is this possible effect is as high as it could be. That might mean—that might mean—ensuring that there are more and better resources funnelled to those schools. Because that is what will stop white-flight: parents believing that their children will do well. There is a separate issue, which is of course a straightforward social one. Ethnic minority families have had to live, for certainly most of my life, with the possibility that their children, by definition, will be the only ones in the class or one of the very few. That is something you just get used to. For a lot of white families, that is something they have “not yet got used to” and it is not something they feel comfortable with. How we get over that, I do not know. I think that it has to begin with some kind of dialogue. They have to get used to the idea that maybe that is sometimes the way it is going to be. I cannot give you a straight answer to that, because I do not know, to be perfectly honest, how you persuade white parents that their child being in a minority of 20% is acceptable. That is not the society that we live in. In a fair society, it would not be a problem, because a lot of us have had to live like that for all our lives, but it is not something we know how to deal with. On the issue of local authorities giving greater opportunities, I think I would go back to what I said earlier on: I would like to see local authorities being more proactive really in giving young people and parents, particularly mothers, more opportunities to meet each other in places not necessarily outside of schools but outside of school hours. This is not a direct parallel, but one of the most interesting things I saw a year and a half ago in the United States was schools which attracted black fathers back to support their sons by offering them evenings of black fathers. I do not suggest that is exactly what you want to do here but I think that there may be a parallel. If we could be more imaginative about using the schools for opportunities for parents to find something useful to do there, they might meet more, and they might begin to establish higher levels of trust across the race and faith lines.

Q469 Chairman: One of the things this Committee would urge you to look at, in parallel with the Adonis figures you gave on the percentage of ethnic minorities in faith schools, is something which has absorbed this Committee, the percentage of pupils on free school meals and with special educational

needs in the same schools. It would be of some interest to your Commission, I would have thought, if the faith schools were creaming off the highest achieving ethnic minority children, because what that says about other schools is quite significant. I do not even know those figures, but in the past we have looked at that and that has been a cause for concern.

Mr Phillips: I think that is a very, very fair point and certainly one that I will look at, but I will just give you this note of caution: if you look at DfES's Key Stage 4 performance graph, corrected for free school meals, there still are huge differences by race. Huge differences. Particularly for some groups: Afro-Caribbeans, Pakistanis, Somalis.

Chairman: We are familiar with those figures.

Q470 Stephen Williams: You have talked about worries about segregation and that sort of implies that you would prefer society to be integrated. I read somewhere else in our brief that that was part of the mission of the CRE, to build an integrated society. In the context of teaching citizenship or discussing these issues in schools, how does integration sit easily with multiculturalism and celebrating diversity? Is there a conflict?

Mr Phillips: There does not need to be one. First of all, what exactly do we mean by integration? Technically, we mean no aspect of an individual's experience, life chances or opportunities should statistically be related to their ethnicity. That is to say, aside from our differences in ages, a perfectly integrated society would be one in which nobody could predict on the basis of our difference in colour what job, what salary, what likelihood of us getting a job there is between you and me. There might be other things that determine that, but our colour would not be it. That, by the way, would be the same for our choice of friends, who we marry and so forth. We are very far from that in this society because, on virtually every index you can name pretty much—housing, health and so on and so forth—you will find that there are differences correlated to race, even when you correct for class and for location. That is what we mean by integration, that essentially your race and your colour should not mean anything more than what you choose to make it mean. Does that conflict with multiculturalism? Answer: unfortunately it depends what you mean by “multiculturalism”. If you mean does that conflict with the existence of a society in which there are people who come from different backgrounds, contain different heritage and profess different traditions and so on, then there is no conflict at all. In fact, that is the point of integration: to make a diverse society one in which those differences do not mean anything more than what the individuals want them to mean. I think where it comes into conflict—and this has been our issue—is where, as part of our official policy (the way we divide resources, the way we accord status and so forth), we overemphasise the need to reward and recognise difference compared to the need to treat people equally. These two things are always in balance. Twenty-five years

 11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

ago—and I refer to the work of Bernie Grant—it would probably be true to say that everybody across the political spectrum thought about equality and did not think about recognising difference at all. Our concern is that policies of multiculturalism have now reached a place where we recognise difference even if it is at the cost of equality, and we think that has to be wrong.

Q471 Stephen Williams: You mentioned in answer to an earlier question that you should worry about the schools that are overwhelmingly or entirely white and concentrate on those, rather than on the rather small number of schools that are overwhelmingly ethnic minority. What guidance does the CRE give to what would be the vast majority of schools in, say, rural Devon, Somerset, Hampshire, about multicultural modern Britain? What guidance do you offer those schools and is that different from what you might offer to the schools in inner city Bristol that I represent?

Mr Phillips: I think the principles of it are no different. Bearing in mind that we are a statutory authority and our business is to promote and enforce the law, the sort of guidance we give is that, first of all, every school needs to have a policy. It needs to recognise, whatever the composition of its current student body, that they live in a society which is ethnically, racially diverse. In the way the school does its business and in the way it teaches, it needs to recognise that. What in practice does that mean? It means that all the children, even if it is an all-white school or an all-Asian school, in what is taught have to have—coming back to my earlier usage—competence in managing difference. This means very simple things. You know that there are people who do not look like you racially and are likely to have a different religious code. Even if you do not know exactly what the religious code is, you respect that that might be the case, and at least you look out for it and you try to understand what it might be and therefore how you might relate to that person. On a deeper level, we want to make sure that schools, in what they teach, do not just teach whatever it is—history or even maths or chemistry—as though they were teaching it in a society which was all white and, indeed, all male. Simple things, like the examples you use and so on, are different. If I may give you a small example: seven years ago somebody that I know wrote a book about parenting which was translated into French. There were lots of examples and she used a variety of names: English names, French names, Muslim names and so on. In France, they took out all the Muslim names and replaced them with Jean, Patrice and so on, and there was a great dispute about this. That is what we used to do. We do not do that any more. That is the kind of thing. This matters, even if you are in a school which is not multi-ethnic. So the guidance at that level is the same wherever you are. I would not expect a school which is 95% Muslim only to teach as though everybody in Britain were called Mohammed or Ahmed. The guidance is the same. The specific advice to, let us say, inner city schools might be a bit different from what you might advise in, say,

Sedgefield—which I read the other day is the whitest constituency in the country—but the principles are pretty much the same.

Q472 Stephen Williams: Are you satisfied, in those areas such as Sedgefield that are overwhelmingly white, that your guidance has been followed and schools adequately teach that curriculum?

Mr Phillips: I am not satisfied that schools in general are following the law. The last survey we did of schools' compliance with the data equality duties imposed on them—which is to have a race equality policy under the 2000 Amendment Act—showed that they were pretty poor. I think there is a lot of work to do.

Chairman: One bit of light at the end of a certain tunnel was that yesterday, when I presented prizes at the Arts and Minds NASUWT celebration of ethnicity through art and literature, across all the 800 schools competing, two of the schools, one in Wales and one in Scotland, had no ethnic minority population at all. It was rather nice to see them having produced art and literature. It was very high class.

Q473 Mr Carswell: I would like to probe multiculturalism and what is meant by it. I have just been reading *The New East End*, that fascinating book, and, reading that, I wondered if multiculturalism, in reality, had perhaps not turned out to be a bit of a one-way street. Do the high priests of multiculturalism perhaps not seem to disprove of monoculture where it happens to be white working class but approve of it where it happens to be something different? I wonder: Is multiculturalism perhaps in danger of being in a transitional phase, between one form of cultural primacy in one locality being replaced with another?

Mr Phillips: I do not think so. I am not quite sure about the high priests of multiculturalism. I suspect I would have been described as one not so long ago. I do not want to repeat what I said earlier on, but, look, the fundamental point about this is very simple: it is a matter of balance. We must recognise difference. Increasingly, because of the sort of diversity I outlined right at the beginning, it is important for us as a society. Otherwise we cannot function. We cannot expect people—and our French neighbours discovered this recently—simply to dump all their baggage at the door and become something else. The real issue for us in this society is how we negotiate the way that we live together so that we have enough in common to allow us to share experiences, ambitions, and to work together communally, but preserve the things which are essential to us as individuals. This is not just an issue of ethnicity, by the way. You can cut this in many, many different ways. It is faith; it is gender; and so on. The multiculturalism argument is very entertaining and all the rest of it—and I know that I am partly responsible for it—but I think we need not to get into a place where somebody has to win this. This is not a battle about: Do the multiculturalists win or do the integrationists win? In response to the Chairman's question earlier on about the Mayor of

London's remarks I made the point that we have moved on, and in a different situation we need to have answers which respond to that situation. In response to your question, I really would not like to frame it like that. I do not think the recognition of diversity is damaging to our society. What is damaging to our society is the recognition of diversity without the recognition of commonality, and getting those two things out of balance. The balance will change. The point of equilibrium—which is how we sometimes talk in CRE—will change according to what society you are in and what the traditions are; so the point of equilibrium in the United States or France will be rather different from here and the point of equilibrium today in the United Kingdom is different from what it was 20 years ago.

Q474 Mr Carswell: What specifically is the CRE doing, in schools in particular, to deal with challenging issues of cultural and religious differences? Is there something that you are doing specifically in the schools?

Mr Phillips: Our principal job, to come back to what I was saying a moment ago, is to ensure that the law which was brought in in 2000—the 2000 Act, which is a framework in which schools are meant to find a way of dealing with these things—is enforced; to make sure that schools are thinking about that; that they have a policy; that they are thinking about what they teach; that they are thinking about how they treat pupils. They are simple things. We know, for example, particularly in secondary schools, that all children feel very strongly about unfairness and the form of unfairness they are most concerned about today is racism. One of the things schools can look at, coming back to a point we discussed at much length earlier on, is their own behaviour. So with exclusions, discipline—a very big issue in many schools—do schools know that that they are treating all children equally? This, again and again, has been a trigger issue for conflict within schools, where one particular ethnic group—not always black, but often—feels they are being given harsher punishments, more frequent punishments and so forth. Schools now have numbers which tell them whether they are treating one group differently from another. That is the kind of thing that, in practice, schools need to do defensively. There are positive things they can do, which I have referred to—what they do with their curriculum, the way they relate to parents, the way they relate to communities and so on—but the very basic thing they need to do is to ensure that they are treating all their children fairly and equally. Aside from that—and this takes us off into slightly different territory, so I do not want to expand on it—the biggest thing for most schools which are ethnically diverse is to make sure that their levels of achievement are less and less correlated with ethnicity. That is a big job.

Q475 Mr Carswell: As the debate is moving on from the traditional multiculturalism and the implicit cultural relativism that goes with it, if you are talking in terms of a citizenship curriculum should that be

seeking to teach people that there are certain aspects of certain cultures that are unacceptable: the unequal treatment of women, prejudice against homosexuals, child brides? Should we be active as a matter of public policy and say “This is not British”?

Mr Phillips: First you have to define which cultures you are talking about and identify if you really think that is what that culture believes. I would prefer the words I have used in the past: “an assertion of a core of Britishness”. I think it is smarter to do this positively. It is smarter to say, “This is how we do things. This is how we do things in this country” if at some point a concrete issue arises about the conflict between the way that we express those core values of democracy, freedom and so forth, and the way that some traditional cultures are expressed. For example, my family comes from the Caribbean. Lots of us are typically rural people and a lot of the things that are true about us are true not about Caribbean people as such, but they are true of rural people. Does that mean there may be a conflict there? In which case, sometimes we have to say, “Okay, that might have been true back in the village but it cannot be right in Peckham.” But we negotiate that. That is why, by the way, what was happening last week is so important. We can only negotiate these things if we can say the words, if we can speak about them openly. But what is absolutely essential is that we do not speak about them openly in the way—and I am sure it is not what you were trying to suggest—that is implied by some people, which is to say, “You must buckle under. You must abandon what you were.” I think it is reasonable to say, “What your parents might have been and what your grandparents might have been, in the situation we are in is not appropriate or does not work here.” Actually, most people in ethnic minority communities are the first people to recognise this. I think there are ways of doing this which are smarter and more productive than simply having a war that says, “We've got a way, you must look at it.” This is what I should have said right at the very beginning: integration is a two-way street, where people are talking to each other. We always need to remember that there are British ways but what we call British ways today are in many respects hugely different from what were British ways 200 years ago or even a century ago. The process of integration does not just change the minority, it changes the majority. That is why the conversation and negotiation is so important.

Chairman: Thank you for that. What was acceptable and common in 1966 is very different from today.

Q476 Mr Marsden: Through what you have said to us today we come across two recurrent themes or words. One is “balance” and the other is “phasing”. You have talked about the way in which things need to be phased and all the rest of it. I wonder what you thought, in the context of integration and multiculturalism, about the relative balance and phasing that there needs to be. Robert Putnam has done this major study, *Bowling Alone*, in which he talks about the atomisation of society—and, incidentally, he is about to do a major new project between Harvard and Manchester universities on

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

this. I wondered what you thought the balance should be. Obviously, the bonding within communities, particularly communities that have come into this country, is very important, as is the bonding of traditional communities. But there is also an aspect of bridging. Speaking as a Lancashire MP who has seen some of the downsides of bonding in the disturbances we have had in Oldham and Burnley, I wondered where you felt the balance between bonding within societies and bridging across societies comes in.

Mr Phillips: Robert is saying two different things, both of which are important. The measure he is really using is trust. That is what he is talking about: Do we leave our doors open? Would we trust our neighbours to look after our children? and so on. He is working with us on some specific projects and we have talked a lot about this. His work in the United States suggests pretty clearly that more diverse communities tend to have lower levels of trust—not just, by the way, between different ethnicities but even within one’s own ethnicity; that is to say, in more diverse communities white people do not trust each other and they do not trust the police and so forth. I think this is all helpful to know. The issue of what it tells us about the process by which we arrive at an equilibrium, by which we get a balance, is less clear to me. I guess the answer that I would give to your question is as follows: first of all, in this country, which is different from the United States, where our cities are not binary but are basically several different groups—rather than black/white or Hispanic/white—the dynamics are quite different. We are embarking on some projects in what we call “plural cities”—and I am thinking of Leicester and Birmingham, for example—which will quite soon be cities where there is a minority of whites but there is no single majority. This is a whole new phenomenon which is at the moment largely European. This issue of balance is not about Muslim and non-Muslim, it is about several different groups. Here, again—I may be sounding a bit like a stuck record—what becomes important is not the outcome but the process of negotiation. It is the fact that everybody in that community feels they have a voice in working out, for example, what the schools’ policy should be. Should there be a uniform policy? If so, what is it across the city? How do you arrive at that? I was in Holland on Monday. They have a great tradition of this, which unfortunately they have abandoned in the last five or six years. That is one of the reasons they are in such trouble: they are not doing that negotiation. My answer to your question about balance is that the first thing is not to worry so much about where we get to but worry more about how we get there. At the moment, one of our difficulties is that we do not have really good ways of talking about these things. Typically, in a local authority, you might say the focus for this is the local council shop. The problem is that local councils are not always as representative of the diversity of the city as they should be. If that is not the case, we need to find other mechanisms to bring different groups in. If there are no Somali councillors, how do we talk to Somalis? Who are the Somalis we talk to? The other

point I would make is this: we should not talk about these processes as though they are all static. Everybody changes. This has been the thing that bedevils a lot of this conversation. We talk about communities and groups of people as though they never change. We are talking about the veil at the moment. I bet everybody in this room a tenner that in 10 years the issue of the veil will be no more significant than the Sikh turban was 15 years ago—and remember what a fuss we got into over that. We found a way. I think people change. The example I always use is that, when I was a kid, being black was different. I was different. As it happened, I grew up in the Caribbean, so in some ways I was even more different. If I go to the Caribbean now and I stand in the street, nobody can tell I am different, but if I start walking, everybody knows I am different because I am walking faster. I go into a shop, I look for the queue, and everybody knows I am from England because I look for the queue. What being black British is has changed hugely in my lifetime.

Q477 Mr Marsden: I accept all that and I accept the fluidity but how realistic is it to embark on a series of bridging initiatives, which is the sort of thing obviously you and the CRE have been trying to do and will do, if we do not look at the broader issues—again, to come back to Putnam—the atomisation, which sometimes—to take, for example, your white community in Burnley, where traditional social, industrial and other structures have been disrupted—makes them feel they have to spend more time bonding than bridging?

Mr Phillips: There are two things here—one, a prefatory remark. May I say—and I would like you to take this as the most important thing I say this morning, if you do not mind, because I realise I have not said it—none of this works if they think they are unequal. The precondition for any of this to work is equality—which is why I say the CRE’s first role is to enforcement of the law and so on and so forth—because it does not really matter whether it is whites or blacks or Asians and so on, you are never going to get them to have this sort of conversation at all if they think they are going to be second-class citizens. Speaking to your point about white communities, one of the hypotheses—and I put it no stronger than that—we have is that one of the reasons this is happening is not so much about atomisation but our pet name is the “identity spike”. We think that one of the things which is happening in some white communities, which makes some vote for, let us say, far right extremist parties, whilst identical communities just down the road have no interest in that kind of politics, is that sometimes communities have a kind of spike of identity which is provoked by some kind of trauma. The best known concerns a story which got around in Barking that people were paying Africans £50,000 to move from one part of London into Barking. For white people in Barking, not unreasonably—what is unreasonable is that people believed it, but let us leave that aside, they did believe it—started to take the view that local authorities were so fixated with race that it determined everything they did and all their policies.

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

White people in Barking began to believe—and to some extent still do believe—that all the things that happen to them, happened to them because they are white. There is a very good example of that concerning two identical housing estates in the North, identical in every respect in their specifications and so on except that one set had lamps outside and the other one did not. The estate that had lamps was largely Asian and the one that did not was white, and all the whites on this estate were convinced that the people with lamps also had Jacuzzis inside and so on. The next thing you know, five BNP councillors. The point I am making here is that we can do all the other things—and I understand the point about atomisation and so on and so forth—but one of the things we have to try to do is to make sure in our policies that we do not create the conditions for this kind of identity spike. That is one reason, by the way, why the CRE has recently launched an investigation into regeneration, because we know from our people on the ground that one of the problems that is creating this, again and again, is that billions are being spent on regeneration and it is improving areas but one of the side effects of this is that different ethnic groups think that another ethnic group is getting all the goodies. It is almost never true, or, if it is true, it is nothing to do with ethnicity but the needs of the town or locational possibility and so on, but people believe it, and that then sets off a chain of events which does exactly what you are talking about.

Q478 Fiona Mactaggart: You spoke right at the beginning about your belief as a chemist that there should be a theory that underpinned stuff. I was wondering: what is your theory which underpins the values that you think are at the heart of citizenship teaching and Britishness?

Mr Phillips: That is a question which is slightly above my intellectual pay grade, but I will try to answer it in this way. I think there are some givens—and I have spoken about some of them today: democracy, an attachment to freedom, individual liberty, certainly equality—but these are generalities and you are inviting me not to go straight to the specifics and the practicalities. I think there is something in between that, and, as you will know, since I have recently been given a new task by the Secretary of State for Communities, I have begun to take an interest in human rights. It seems to me that, though there is a lot of conversation to be had about this, we will usefully begin to think about what a human rights culture means and its relationship to citizenship—because, if we get it right, and we have a human rights culture which is not individual and legalistic but socially just and one that gives the right place to social solidarity and so on, then we have the beginnings of a platform for an underlying idea of citizenship that properly expresses not something new but the things that we do value as a society. The best way to answer your question is to say that I think we have some givens, I think we have some practices and some traditions which we should value and we should transmit, but in between, if you are thinking about, if you like, the kind of policy filling

between the abstract and the here and now, the development of a human rights culture might be part of the approach to underpinning the idea of citizenship.

Q479 Fiona Mactaggart: I am glad to hear that, because I think it is at the heart of any concept of citizenship. One of the things that I am interested in is this focus on Britishness. One of the things about human rights is that they are universal. The United Nations Declaration and the European Convention, these are transnational, and in a globalised world it seems to me that the values of citizenship should be thus and that much of what you are talking about in terms of Britishness—and you used etiquette and manners earlier—is more what goes on top of that. I want you to look into this and to tell me what you think is substantially different about the theory of citizenship in—to take two countries you know well—France and Guyana and the British one.

Mr Phillips: I have a very firm view on this. If I may put in a plug here, I think the running down and abandonment of history as part of the school curriculum is a disastrous proposition—disastrous—for this reason: I think that the answer to your question is that Britishness in its pure form is not something abstract but the expression of those values that we hold. I am quite interested in the idea of a written constitution if it can help us to crystallise this, but, in essence, the notion of Britishness tells us how it is that we in this country have expressed those values in our history. I talked about the tradition of dissent. That is part of our expression of freedom. Other people do not do it that way. If I were to think about, as you say, Guyana, I would say that the expression of the idea of democracy—though I have to be careful what I say about Guyana—is much more strongly inflected by the history of slavery and specifically by the history of multi-ethnicity in a way that would be unimaginable in Europe. Guyana essentially has political parties which are ethnic political parties. There is no way of getting away from that. It is just a fact. That is the way that the Guyanese express their politics. They express their politics in that particular way because ethnicity does determine the choices that they make in a way that is just not true in Europe. When I talk about Britishness, I am talking about the accretion of history, the accretion of events, the accretion of ways of doing things that are peculiar to our country and that express those values. I talked earlier on about the American idea of freedom. One of the things you might think about—and this is going to be for scholars and so on to talk about—is why in this country, for example, it is a particular idea of the land. The Americans have the frontier myth; we have what they called the Robin Hood type myth and gardens and all this kind of thing. What is it that attaches us so strongly to the land? So much of our wealth, I suppose, is bound up in land and so forth. This might seem a little bit abstract but I am trying to say that we express these values in a particular way that arises out of our history. For example, our history is not revolutionary but it is evolutionary and so on. That is why, for example, the way we

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

handle the integration issue is much more to do with negotiating, it is much more unspoken. We do not, generally speaking, set down codes—although, frankly, I am beginning to think that we need to move more in that direction—but my point is that Britishness is not abstract. It is an expression of the way that through time British people have expressed those values that we talked about earlier.

Q480 Fiona Mactaggart: Is it more important to teach children the values or the modes of expression of them?

Mr Phillips: I do not think the values have any meaning at all without the modes of expression.

Q481 Fiona Mactaggart: I suppose, if you look at the announcement that was made in May by Bill Rammell, this seems to be in this zone, that he thought that the way in which the National Curriculum deals with diversity issues and how history is dealt with is something that we need to review. It provoked the Association of Citizenship Teaching to suggest that this is not appropriate and would create a risk of bias and indoctrination. It seems to me that you are arguing for that approach, the approach which might, according to the Association of Citizenship Teaching, create bias and indoctrination. Is there one British way? Or is there more than one British way?

Mr Phillips: There is one British way but it is capacious.

Q482 Chairman: Capacious or capricious?

Mr Phillips: Capricious is not something that I would ever accuse Britain of being. We are not exciting enough, sometimes. The whole point about British identity—and this is exactly an example of what I was saying in my last, I am afraid rather long, answer—is it is marked by the need—and this was the point of Britishness—to accommodate several different traditions: Welsh, Scottish, English. That is part of the point about Britishness. That is one of the things that makes it different from Frenchness. The reason for it existing is to be able to bring all of these things together. The reason for a French identity to exist in the way that it did was so that Napoleon could tell everybody what to do.

Q483 Fiona Mactaggart: Is that not why we have ended up believing in multiculturalism?

Mr Phillips: Yes, of course. The point is that that tradition—and that is why we are so successful at it—does allow us to respond to changes. That is why we do not have revolutions. That is why, by and large, we do not have too much serious [. . .]. One civil war! One civil war? That is really dull. I think this point is extremely important. The point is we do have one tradition but its genius is its capacity to embrace several different ways of doing things. One of our problems at the moment is that I think we are in danger of not understanding how to apply that tradition in a rapidly changing, more diverse Britain. That is why we need this conversation, to find how we apply that rather brilliant history to today's world. I do not think I have given you all the

answers, and I know it may sound a bit wet to say part of the answer is to keep talking about it, but my experience, certainly in my own lifetime, is that is what we do. We do not make too many rules, but we keep talking about it, and suddenly in this country we find ourselves in a place where we all feel comfortable again. I had an argument with somebody at a party conference. I used the expression that our real aim in the organisation which I am now going to head, the Commission for Equality in Human Rights, is to create a nation which is at ease with all the kinds of its diversity. He said, "Why aren't you talking about celebrating it?" My answer is that the British do not do celebration. It is a little too aggressive. We like to be at ease with it. That is the way we do it and that is one of the things that makes us different from other nations.

Q484 Mr Marsden: My colleague Helen Jones earlier on declared her prejudice, as someone who was educated in Catholic schools. I declare my prejudice in saying that I agree wholeheartedly with what you have said about history. As a former editor of *History Today* we used to have a slogan which said "What happened then matters now". We still use it in our advertising and I still think it is very relevant. I want to take that on to the question we have just been talking about of accretion and accommodation. Where does this leave us with the thing that has been mooted quite a lot in the past and, particularly in the context of the Olympic bid, of the idea of multiple identities, the idea that somebody might be a black Londoner and a British citizen or a Glaswegian of Italian extraction but a British citizen and how do you play those various things out? Or is it a rather sterile academic argument?

Mr Phillips: I would not say it is sterile. It is slightly overstated. Someone once said to me that the whole point about identity is that it only matters when someone asks you what you are. The truth is, depending on who asks you and whether they ask you, you will give a different answer. I do not think any of us goes around having a great big conflict about: "Am I a Londoner? Am I black?" Each of us is a configuration of a series of things. That is how we recognise and are recognised by others as individuals. Where this becomes an issue—coming back to the point I made earlier on about the identity spike—is when one bit of our identity perhaps becomes so inflated, so significant, that it overshadows everything else. As I have said, some white communities come to believe that the only thing that matters about them to the officials and everybody else is that they are white. Similarly for some minority communities in some faith groups now, since world events, they have come to believe that the only thing that matters to them and to anybody else is this bit of their identity. That is unhealthy.

Q485 Chairman: There was a point in our history when the most important thing in the lives of many, many people was their religion. It was paramount. It was more important than state, government,

11 October 2006 Mr Trevor Phillips

subservience to that government. That is a long, long way away in our history, but there are people in our country now who believe that religion is far more important than anything else. How are you going to come to terms with that?

Mr Phillips: We could go back to E P Thompson and argue that case. I completely agree with you that at various points in our past in this country religion has been more important than anything else—and Protestantism is integral to the shape of what we consider as Britishness. But it has never been exclusively and only the characteristic that makes us what we are—in contrast, for example, to some other societies. There are some theocracies where religion is a complete description of the state and the culture. Protestantism—and Catholicism even—has never been a complete description of a European state or culture.

Q486 Mr Marsden: You were saying about the importance of not putting things in boxes. Does that make it more important, therefore, in the teaching of British culture and social history in the way that Bill Rammell was talking about it, that, if you like, the bittiness of that process, the fact that there are ambiguities and overlaps, is emphasised so that we do not run the risk of having it represented as a prescriptive view of British values?

Mr Phillips: I am against fragmenting it. I think we have to have an overall aim and an overall ambition. There are different aspects, as I said earlier on—formal teaching, the way that other subjects reflect it and the way that schools, for example, behave—but I think there needs to be a single idea running through it and the idea that I would like to choose is that citizenship is a way of helping us to live together rather than as individuals.

Q487 Stephen Williams: You have alluded to your future job in the Commission for Equality in Human Rights—and it sounds as though you are going to take a John Major type approach to it by making us all “at ease” with each other! Putting together age, religion, sexuality, gender, whatever, you mentioned earlier that none of this works unless we accept equality. There must be absolute equality. Do you not have real challenges in getting this across in schools, about absolute equality, say between homosexuals and people from different religious backgrounds or even racial backgrounds? There are

issues that we dance around about the attitude of Afro-Caribbean men or African men to white gay men.

Mr Phillips: I do not think so. I think this next generation presents a huge opportunity to do exactly the opposite. Our sense and all our surveys tell us that this is a generation which, certainly more than my generation, wants to think of itself as a generation without prejudice. I think the schools now present us with a huge opportunity. The problem is what my colleagues in Northern Ireland call the “secret truth”: what is said in the family kitchen about that lot or that lot. One of my colleagues in Northern Ireland made a speech in July, in which he said, “The secret truth here—which means that since Good Friday we have become slightly more separate—is that one community says ‘We’re better than them’ and the other community says, ‘We never did anything to them.’ That is a secret truth that is circulated within those communities, never sees the light of day, is never discussed.” I think that is what we are battling. As far as young people in schools are concerned, I think they are a great opportunity—a great opportunity.

Q488 Chairman: This has been a very good session, but I just notice a slight hint of complacency. When you refer to France, and Holland to some extent, are you saying, in a sense, “We are doing better than they are” and “We have been more successful”?—partly, perhaps to do with the work of your Commission and partly to your Commission’s efforts. Is there a hint of that?

Mr Phillips: No.

Q489 Chairman: Or is it just true that we are better at this than the French and the Dutch?

Mr Phillips: I think that is the answer. Over the sweep of history we have just done better at it. I think we have a better record in relation to integration. If we think about the purpose of integration as social tranquillity and movement towards equality and so on, I think we have a better record, we have historically a better way of doing it. That does not mean we need to be complacent. In fact, quite the opposite. I think we are faced with new challenges but I am saying that our traditions give us the edge in applying the ways we have always done this to these new situations. But we do have to do it rather than simply saying, “Oh, it will get worked out. Don’t worry.”

Chairman: Thank you very much. This has been an excellent session. Thank you for being here for a long time. We will be in touch with you again.

Monday 6 November 2006

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Mr David Chaytor
 Jeff Ennis
 Paul Holmes
 Helen Jones

Fiona Mactaggart
 Mr Gordon Marsden
 Stephen Williams
 Mr Rob Wilson

Memorandum submitted by Department for Education and Skills

1. INTRODUCTION

The 1997 Education White Paper, *Excellence in Schools*, pledged to: “strengthen education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools”. An Advisory Group on Citizenship education chaired by Sir Bernard Crick education was set up with the following terms of reference:

“To provide advice on effective education for citizenship in schools—to include the nature and practices of participation in democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of community activity.”

Following the publication of the Advisory Group’s report (the Crick Report) “Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools” in 1998, a Ministerial working party was set up to ensure the smooth implementation of the main proposal—to introduce a new National Curriculum subject.

Citizenship became part of the Statutory National Curriculum in secondary schools in August 2002. Non-statutory guidelines for PSHE and Citizenship were introduced in primary schools in September 2000.

Citizenship is now a part of the curriculum in all maintained secondary schools in England. Some schools are still developing the ways in which they deliver the subject, whereas others are leading this work in innovative ways. For example there are now 18 Humanities specialist schools which count Citizenship as their second specialism. Citizenship is not a lead specialist subject but can be combined with English and History or Geography in a Humanities specialism.

The second “Crick Report”—Citizenship for 16–19-year-olds in Education and Training (2000)—recommended that an entitlement to the development of citizenship—of which participation should be a significant component—should be established which would apply to all students and trainees in the first phase of post-compulsory education and training. The Post-16 Active Citizenship Development Programme was established in 2001 to investigate the feasibility of this recommendation.

Citizenship education is key to building a modern, cohesive British society. Never has it been more important for us to teach our young people about our shared values of fairness, civic responsibility, respect for democracy and respect for ethnic and cultural diversity. The aims of citizenship education are complemented by the Respect Action Plan which was launched by the Prime Minister earlier this year. As Bernard Crick stated:

“Citizenship is more than a subject. If taught well and tailored to local needs, its skills and values will enhance democratic life for all of us [. . .] beginning in school and radiating out.”

Sir Bernard Crick, National Curriculum Citizenship 1999.

2. THE CURRICULUM, ASSESSMENT AND QUALIFICATIONS

Citizenship education equips children and young people with the knowledge, understanding and skills to play an active part in society as informed and critical citizens who are socially and morally responsible. It aims to give them the confidence and conviction that they can act with others, have influence and make a difference in their communities.

2.1 *What is contained in the National Curriculum?*

Building on the Crick recommendations, The Citizenship Curriculum incorporates three inter-related themes as follows:

Social and Moral Responsibility: Learning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and each other.

Community Involvement: Learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service.

Political Literacy: Learning about the institutions, problems and practices of our democracy and how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge.

A fourth theme of British Social and Cultural History is currently being considered to build on work that schools are currently doing on modern British history and the history of our shared values as citizens.

At Key Stages 1 and 2, there is a non-statutory framework for both Personal Social and Health Education and Citizenship. The following section sets out what the National Curriculum covers for citizenship education at each of the key stages.

Key Stage 1 (5–7-year-olds)

In Primary Schools, at KS1, pupils learn about themselves as developing individuals and as members of their communities, building on their own experiences. They learn the basic rules and skills for keeping themselves healthy and safe and for behaving well. They have opportunities to show they can take some responsibility for themselves and their environment. They begin to learn about their own and other people's feelings and become aware of the views, needs and rights of other children and older people. As members of a class and school community, they learn social skills such as how to share, take turns, play, help others, resolve simple arguments and resist bullying. They begin to take an active part in the life of their school and its neighbourhood.

Key Stage 2 (7–11-year-olds)

During KS2, pupils learn about themselves as growing and changing individuals with their own experiences and ideas, and as members of their communities. They learn about the wider world and the interdependence of communities within it. They develop their sense of social justice and moral responsibility and begin to understand that their own choices and behaviour can affect local, national or global issues and political and social institutions. They learn how to take part more fully in school and community activities. As they begin to develop into young adults, they face the challenge of transfer to secondary school with support and encouragement from their school. They learn how to make more confident and informed choices about their health and environment; to take more responsibility, individually and as a group, for their own learning; and to resist bullying.

At Key Stages 3 and 4 there are statutory programmes of study for citizenship. Though schools can decide in how much detail to cover the programmes of study, all pupils should be taught the following.

Key Stage 3 (11–14-year-olds)

Building on what they have learnt at primary school, at KS3, pupils study, reflect upon and discuss topical political, spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues, problems and events. They learn to identify the role of the legal, political, religious, social and economic institutions and systems that influence their lives and communities. They continue to be actively involved in the life of their school, neighbourhood and wider communities and learn to become more effective in public life. They learn about fairness, social justice, respect for democracy and diversity at school, local, national and global level, and through taking part responsibly in community activities.

The programme of study at KS3 states that pupils should be taught:

- (a) the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society, basic aspects of the criminal justice system, and how both relate to young people;
- (b) the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding;
- (c) central and local government, the public services they offer and how they are financed, and the opportunities to contribute;
- (d) the key characteristics of parliamentary and other forms of government;
- (e) the electoral system and the importance of voting;
- (f) the work of community-based, national and international voluntary groups;
- (g) the importance of resolving conflict fairly;
- (h) the significance of the media in society; and
- (i) the world as a global community, and the political, economic, environmental and social implications of this, and the role of the European Union, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

Key Stage 4 (14–16-year-olds)

During the final stage of compulsory citizenship at KS4, students deepen their knowledge, skills and understanding about all aspects of citizenship and continue to study, think about and discuss topical political, spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues, problems and events. They study the legal, political, religious, social, constitutional and economic systems that influence their lives and communities, looking more closely at how they work and their effects. Students continue to be actively involved in the life of their school, neighbourhood and wider communities, taking greater responsibility and a more active role. They develop a range of skills to help them do this, with a growing emphasis on critical awareness and evaluation. They develop knowledge, skills and understanding in these areas through, for example, learning more about fairness, social justice, respect for democracy and diversity at school, local, national and global level, and through taking part in community activities.

The programme of study at KS4 states that pupils should be taught:

- (a) the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society and how they relate to citizens, including the role and operation of the criminal and civil justice systems;
- (b) the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding;
- (c) the work of Parliament, the Government and the courts in making and shaping the law;
- (d) the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes;
- (e) how the economy functions, including the role of business and financial services;
- (f) the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to bring about social change locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally;
- (g) the importance of a free press, and the media's role in society, including the Internet, in providing information and affecting opinion;
- (h) the rights and responsibilities of consumers, employers and employees;
- (i) the United Kingdom's relations in Europe, including the European Union, and relations with the Commonwealth and the United Nations; and
- (j) the wider issues and challenges of global interdependence and responsibility, including sustainable development and Local Agenda 21.

In addition, at both key stages, pupils develop skills of enquiry and communication and skills of participation and responsible action. For example at KS4, pupils are taught to:

- research a topical political, spiritual, moral, social or cultural issue, problem or event by analysing information from different sources, including ICT-based sources, showing an awareness of the use and abuse of statistics;
- express, justify and defend orally and in writing a personal opinion about such issues, problems or events;
- contribute to group and exploratory class discussions, and take part in formal debates;
- use their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express, explain and critically evaluate views that are not their own;
- negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in school and community-based activities; and
- reflect on the process of participating.

2.2 Post-16

The second Crick report recommended that opportunities for citizenship should be available for post-16 students. specifically:

- citizenship should be acknowledged as a key life skill;
- an entitlement to the development of citizenship—of which participation should be a significant component—should be established which would apply to all students and trainees in the first phase of post-compulsory education and training; and
- all young adults should have effective opportunities to participate in activities relevant to the development of their citizenship skills, and to have their achievements recognised.

The Post-16 Active Citizenship Development Programme, managed on behalf of the Department by the Learning and Skills Development Agency (LSDA), has engaged over 150 institutions across the whole spectrum of post-16 learning routes—schools, colleges, work-based training, community-based learning (eg youth work)—and over 15,000 learners.

2.3 *Assessment and Reporting*

Assessment and reporting arrangements are similar to other National Curriculum subjects. At key stages 1 & 2 schools are required to report pupils' progress annually to parents. Schools are required to conduct a teacher assessment of pupils at the end of key stage 3 and report this to parents. At key stage 4 there are no formal arrangements. Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) guidance on assessment is available. But increasing number of schools are entering pupils for the short course GCSE in citizenship studies. The QCA have also just issued *Assessing citizenship—example assessment activities for key stage 3* which offers teacher practical help on how to assess pupils' achievement.

Post-16, assessment and reporting is against the learning outcomes set out in the QCA's curriculum guidance and, where taken, against the requirements of relevant qualifications.

2.4 *Citizenship Qualifications*

A GCSE (short course) in citizenship studies has been developed to give pupils the opportunity to obtain a recognised qualification and a breadth of study. There were 38,000 entries for the GCSE in 2005—up 10,000 on 2004. It is the fastest growing GCSE. In the citizenship GCSE (short course), 51.4% of pupils gained A–C grades and 94.6% gained A–G grades.

Due to demand from schools we are developing a full course GCSE and A level to be available by 2008. The QCA is also working up a module for active citizenship, primarily aimed at post-16 learners, in line with wider reforms of 14–19 and post-19 qualifications.

2.5 *The Key Stage 3 Review*

The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) is currently carrying out a review of the KS3 curriculum, including citizenship. Their remit is to ensure that all subjects are effectively aligned with the new emphasis on functional skills set out in the 14–19 White Paper. This includes looking at the subject content across all subjects to rationalise them and ensure that they continue to adequately meet the needs of young people and prepare them to participate confidently in a global economy. The QCA were asked specifically consider the coherence between citizenship and PSHE at key stage 3. The outcomes of this report and what it means for citizenship will be available in due course.

3. EFFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Schools are encouraged to use a number of ways of providing citizenship which may include a combination of discrete provision, explicit opportunities in a range of other subjects, whole school and suspended timetable activities and pupils' involvement in the life of the school and the wider community. There is no specified amount of teaching time for citizenship education. Schools are free to teach the subject in the way(s) which best suits their school and pupils' circumstances. However, guidance in the KS3 strategy suggests that schools should spend about one hour a week on citizenship.

However schools decide to deliver the citizenship curriculum, there is a need to ensure progression through the key stages and building on what they have learnt at previous levels.

3.1 *Quality of teaching and learning*

Citizenship is a relatively new subject and, like any new subject, it will take time to properly embed itself into schools and for teachers to develop the skills and knowledge to teach it effectively.

Reports on citizenship by Ofsted have recognised that citizenship is often less well taught than other subjects in the National Curriculum. However, the reports also recognise the excellent progress being made. Progress appears to be greatest when there is strong leadership from the head teacher and the senior management team. The Ofsted report in October 2005 stated that; Pupils' achievement [in citizenship] is good in more than two fifths of schools and that there have been substantial developments in the subject since its introduction in 2002. The report recognised that many schools have established good programmes of citizenship and that teaching is good in over half of schools. It also acknowledges that there are indications of significant improvement as teachers gain experience in planning and develop their subject knowledge and teaching methods.

As the Chief Inspector said in a speech in November 2005, "the progress made to date by the more committed schools suggests that the reasons for introducing citizenship are both worthwhile and can be fulfilled, given the time and resources. Indeed, those reasons are given added weight by national and global events of the past few months. While not claiming too much, citizenship can address core skills, attitudes and values that young people need to consider as they come to terms with a changing world."

Post-16

The joint Ofsted/ALI report on the Post-16 Active Citizenship Development Programme (also October 2005) observed that the “post-16 citizenship programme has promoted much high achievement across the range of objectives defined in the QCA’s framework for citizenship. Young people in different settings and pursuing qualifications at different levels were overwhelmingly positive about their citizenship projects. Teaching and training were good in the majority of centres seen. The best teaching was by confident teachers who had familiarised themselves with the QCA guidelines. In the best programmes, assessment was linked closely to the QCA’s learning objectives for citizenship and to the activities and programme of study. All the successful projects benefited from carefully planned introduction and implementation and were characterised by the enthusiasm and commitment of those leading them. Senior managers saw development within citizenship as central to the work and ethos of their institution or company and set a clear direction for the activities that learners would undertake.”

The report recommended that steps should be taken to provide additional guidance to make sure that learners’ needs in citizenship are taken into account across all programme types and modes of attendance in the full range of settings; to strengthen professional development for teachers and trainers of citizenship programmes, especially in teaching about political literacy, community involvement and controversial issues; and to seek to disseminate the key messages from the experience of the pilot phase to wider audiences in post-16 education. We have responded to these recommendations by establishing a support programme, to be managed by the new Quality and Improvement Agency (QIA), which will disseminate and promote the best practice models from the Development Programme more widely.

Improving the quality of teaching & learning

In order to improve the quality of teaching and learning in citizenship education, the Government has introduced a number of measures to develop the skills and knowledge of those teaching citizenship, and to provide support to schools and LA’s.

3.2. *Support for Schools*

Working with the QCA, the Government issued a package of support to all schools. The pack contained all the guidance documents written for schools including the programmes of study for citizenship which set out the legal requirements for the National Curriculum at KS3 and 4, guidance on how to assess citizenship, and schemes of work. The units contained in the schemes of work illustrate the different ways that teachers can develop learning opportunities to respond to the specific needs and priorities of pupils, their communities and the schools themselves.

A self-evaluation toolkit for secondary schools has also been made available to all schools to help them monitor their progress in the subject and improve. A primary school version of this tool is under development at present. In addition, the citizenship section of the DfES website is designed to support teachers and includes useful links and a database of available resources this can be found at www.dfes.gov.uk/citizenship.

As the subject was new to schools, the Department identified the need to pump prime the development of new resources materials for schools. Working with organisations such as the Citizenship Foundation, the Hansard Society, the Institute for Citizenship, Community Service Volunteers and School Councils UK, the Department funded the development of a range of materials to support teachers in the classroom. For example, three new publications by School Councils UK, supported by DfES were launched in December 2005: their new handbook for primary schools; the associated toolkit for primary schools; and the *School Councils for All* handbook, which includes guidance for special schools and pupils with special educational needs.

Details of all these resources and leaflets explaining citizenship for parents and governors can all be found on the above website.

The Department recognised the need for an association of teachers to work to support the new subject. The Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) is the professional subject association for those involved in citizenship education and is part funded by the department to deliver training and support for schools and develop specialist resources such as its journal. ACT is an important source of advice for teachers and schools. Dissemination of good practice and reviews of new materials by teachers for teachers have been beneficial.

3.3 *Teacher Training*

Initial Teacher Training

The ministerial working party approved a new programme of Initial Teacher Education which began in 2001 to train over 200 specialist citizenship teachers each academic year. This year 240 places have been allocated. We will have made available over 1,000 citizenship trainee teacher places by the end of this academic year. Ofsted have recognised that the calibre of students on the PGCE courses has been extremely high, citizenship enables people with politics, law and economics degrees, for example, to enter the teaching

profession. The Training and Development Agency (TDA) has invested £300,000 a year for the last three years in conferences, a website and useful materials to support the Higher Education institutions and other providers of PGCE courses.

Continuing Professional Development (CPD)

A new CPD Handbook

The Government has taken action to strengthen the position of Citizenship in the curriculum and the quality of teaching and learning. Much of our focus in recent months has been promoting continuing professional development (CPD) activities in citizenship education. We published a new Citizenship CPD handbook, *Making Sense of Citizenship* on 22 February developed in partnership with the Citizenship Foundation. Free copies of the book have been made available to all secondary schools, Citizenship advanced skills teachers and Local Authority Citizenship Advisors. In order to make this resource more accessible, five chapters of the handbook, including the chapter on primary schools, are available online. The Association of Citizenship Teachers (ACT), are organising training and dissemination events for the handbook throughout the country.

CPD Pilot

Last year the Department funded five CPD advisers to identify training needs of teachers and help develop a new CPD pilot certificate. The pilot for a CPD certificate in citizenship teaching ran between March and December 2005 in North West, Midlands and London/South East regions. The pilots included a distance-learning option and were set up to test out how a certification programme can best help teachers improve the effectiveness of the teaching and leadership of citizenship and raise standards of attainment and achievement in primary, secondary, special schools and post-16 settings. The pilots have now been completed and following a positive evaluation we are introducing a phased roll-out programme to allow 1,200 teachers to take the certificate over the next two years. This will contribute significantly to the expertise in schools in delivering effective citizenship education.

Training events across the country were also provided in 2002 for all LA advisors. The role of local authorities in supporting citizenship education is important, particularly when making the links between schools and how young people can feed into the participation agenda at local level. The Department has also funded over 60 Advanced Skills Teacher places across all local authorities in England. These are teachers who have demonstrated an expertise in citizenship and who are citizenship champions for their own schools. AST's spend 20% of their time doing outreach work in their LA's and supporting other schools to develop citizenship provision. This network of experts has helped to spread good practice.

3.4 Inspection of Citizenship by Ofsted

New Ofsted inspection arrangements have been in place since September 2005 and support citizenship in schools. The new Self Evaluation Form (SEF) asks schools to evidence how they are preparing pupils to be active citizens and evidence collected will enhance the current picture we have of how citizenship is developing.

In addition, young people are increasingly important in the inspection process as their views on how their school is run are sought directly by inspectors the involvement of young people in the inspection of their schools is another example of citizenship education in action.

4. ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Young people's participation in the civic and democratic life of their home and school communities provides a valuable context in which citizenship can be practised. Empowering children and young people to effect change directly in their schools and local areas will help them develop self-belief in their ability to influence outcomes and can help them to develop the skills, confidence and self-esteem they will need for the future. The Government supports young people to become active citizens in their home and school communities by supporting initiatives that contribute to young people's development around the three interrelated themes.

4.1 Participation and understanding democratic life

To increase the awareness of young people about the electoral process, the Department for Education and Skills has funded the Hansard Society's "Mock Elections" in schools providing an informative and fun way for young people to get a taste of democracy. Pupils are encouraged to stand as candidates, form election teams and run election campaigns that mirror the real election process. 2,124 schools registered and over 800,000 students took part in the 2005 WHY Vote Mock Elections for primary and secondary schools.

The Government also provides core funding to the UK Youth Parliament which helps young people to develop into active citizens and is a valuable route through which their voices can be heard by local and national decision-makers. One current key priority area for UK youth parliament is to engage those young people who are hardest to reach and to develop MYP's awareness and understanding of the issues facing the most disadvantaged young people.

4.2 *Participation in decision making at a local level*

Local authorities are required to consult children and young people as part of the development of their Children and Young People’s Plan, giving them a valuable opportunity to become active citizens in their communities.

Nurturing the skills, willingness and expertise of staff in the voluntary and statutory sector underpins their ability to practise meaningful participation. The Government funded the National Children’s Bureau and the Carnegie Young People Initiative to develop “Participation Works”, which was launched in October 2005. This initiative provides an online gateway to participation resources, good practice, research, organisational standards and training. It includes a website, access to databases, core standards for participation and access to networks of participation workers and professionals engaged in participation by children and young people.

We have also supported the Children’s Rights Alliance for England to produce a comprehensive training programme Ready Steady Change, to increase children and young people’s effective participation in decision-making. Two core training handbooks have been developed—one designed to increase the skills, knowledge and confidence of children and young people, the other to increase the skills, knowledge and confidence of all those working with children and young people. Copies of these training materials will be sent out to all local authorities. Alongside the core materials, a series of specialist training packs have been developed. These include training materials for people working with children and young people in the youth justice system (including in custody); “power tools” for young people in adolescent psychiatric units and; fun days for children and young people in care, to equip them to get involved in decision-making.

4.3 *Active Citizens in Schools (ACiS) Scheme*

ACiS is a flexible award scheme that empowers young people to get involved in volunteering projects that benefit the school and wider community. ACiS built on the Millennium Volunteers model, extending it to a younger age group by engaging 11–15-year-olds in volunteering activities through their schools. It supports schools’ delivery of the citizenship curriculum through real-life experiences and provides opportunities for pupils to engage in active citizenship first hand.

ACiS was piloted during 2001–04. The pilot was delivered by two charities: Changemakers who worked in 18 schools in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, concentrating on Key Stage 3 and 4; and ContinYou who worked in 10 schools across Brent, Bradford, Medway, Staffordshire and York, concentrating on Key Stage 3. Both developed subtly different models of delivery.

The DfES commissioned the Institute for Volunteering Research to evaluate the ACiS pilot. The key findings were:

- ACiS was successful in providing a diverse range of quality opportunities and there was a commitment towards developing a young person-led approach, which was a defining feature of ACiS.
- Benefits for the young people were clear, and included increased personal development and enhanced skills development (such as team working, and getting their point across). Young people also reported a sense of pride in their achievements, making new friends and having fun.
- Impacts were also evident on the schools. These included: improved behaviour—11 of the 13 schools responding to the impact questionnaire reported a positive effect on students’ behaviour; enhanced relationships between pupils and staff; increased profile and reputation for schools and a changing ethos.
- Positive impacts on local communities were also apparent, but were less significant than on the schools and young people. Partly this was due to an emphasis on “school community”, but it was also due to difficulties with establishing community-based activities. Positive benefits highlighted included providing new links to schools, the activities delivered by young people, and changes in attitudes among members of the wider community.

The ACiS scheme is flexible and schools can adapt it to suit their experience, situation and enthusiasms. Young people involved in ACiS make a sustained commitment to actively participating in their school or community. This is encouraged by recognition for 25 and 50 hours through certificates issued by the school.

4.4 *Millennium Volunteers Programme*

The Department has recognised the impact that volunteering can have on both young people and their communities. Evaluation of the Active Citizens in Schools (ACiS) and Millennium Volunteers (MV) schemes has shown the real benefits that occur when young people get involved and are properly supported in their activities. In addition, case study evidence has shown clear benefits for both mentors and mentees when peer (or near peer) mentoring is introduced into schools. The Millennium Volunteers (MV) programme is a UK-wide government supported initiative designed to promote sustained volunteering among young people aged 16–24.

MV is based on nine key principles: sustained personal commitment, community benefit, voluntary participation, inclusiveness, ownership by young people, variety, partnership, quality and recognition. MV aims to recognise young people's volunteering through presenting them with a Certificate after 100 hours and an Award of Excellence and Personal Profile after 200 hours. Most MVs valued their Awards and Certificates.

The aim of MV is to be inclusive of everyone between the ages of 16–24, but particularly young people who have no previous experience of volunteering and those vulnerable to social exclusion. Across the UK 90% of MVs were white, 2% black, 5% Asian and 4% other. Compared to the profile of the population of 16–24-year-olds as a whole, MV has been successful in attracting young people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds.

MV has been particularly successful in attracting young people who had never volunteered before, with nearly half of all MVs having no previous experience of volunteering. This was especially so in England. However, several projects made the point that young people may underestimate the extent of their previous involvement.

4.5 *Post-16 Active Citizenship*

The required learning outcomes for post-16 active citizenship are set out in curriculum guidance developed by the QCA. This emphasizes that all citizenship education should involve young people in active citizenship—making decisions and taking action both in organisations where they learn and in wider communities—and points to research and experience which have shown that citizenship education is most effective when it involves active learning and is led by young people themselves. This QCA curriculum guidance reflects the effective curriculum models developed by the project sites participating in the Post-16 Active Citizenship Development Programme.

5. CROSS-GOVERNMENT WORKING

Key Government Departments were represented on the Ministerial Citizenship Education working party until 2005 when the decision was taken to hold cross-Whitehall policy seminars involving the people who are involved in the delivery of citizenship education in the schools and LA's.

Last year the Home Office held a seminar with the Department for Education and Skills where a commitment was given to provide continuing support for schools and teachers to deliver effective citizenship education as part of the National Curriculum in schools. The seminar focused on the importance of involving young people in practical action as part of the process of active citizenship education. The Government is committed to raising the profile of citizenship learning for all ages so that its crucial importance is better understood. The DfES is also working with the Department of Constitutional Affairs which is funding the Citizenship Foundation to produce a young people's guide to the British constitution for use in the classroom. We are also participating in the Public Legal Education Task force set up by DCA to extend understanding of how law works in practical terms and in which schools are seen as having very important role.

We are linking with the HO-led Together We Can action plan which provides another important mechanism to encourage collaborative working. And, the Steering Group for the Active Learning for Active Citizenship (ALAC) programme, led by the Civil Renewal Unit, involves representatives from a number of departments, as well as from other sectors. We are committed to ensuring that there is continuing collaboration amongst all those involved in citizenship education for all age groups.

6. STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF CITIZENSHIP—THE EVIDENCE

The Department commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research to conduct an eight-year longitudinal looking at the impact of citizenship education on young people and schools. The research began in 2002 and reports are produced each year. These reports are used in developing policy and informing the Department about concerns which schools have.

The 2005 report highlights the reality of citizenship education for young people in school and in local communities in England three years after introduction.

It underlines the growing power of student voice; emphasises the important role schools play as a "site" of citizenship learning and their influence on students' conceptions of citizenship, their civic knowledge and sense of efficacy and empowerment. It shows that teachers and school leaders remain positive about the impact of citizenship on students' participation, engagement and tolerance.

Young people reveal that they are actively engaged with citizenship issues in both their school and the wider community and feel that they can "make a difference". However, there are still considerable challenges to be overcome in developing effective practice in citizenship in schools.

Listening to young people, the third annual report of the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study, is based on the responses of 6,400 students aged 13–18, 238 school and college leaders and 876 teachers and college tutors in the academic year 2003–04.

Key findings

- Students report that citizenship is more noticeable to them in schools than was the case in 2002. They associate citizenship more with rights and responsibilities and issues of identity and equality than with formal political processes.
- The citizenship classroom continues to be a “traditional” teaching and learning environment with methods such as note taking, working from textbooks, and listening while the teacher talks taking precedence over discussion and debate and the use of new information and communication technologies.
- Certain citizenship curriculum topic areas are less likely to be taught than others; in particular, topics such as voting and elections, the European Union, the economy and business, Parliament and governance. Citizenship knowledge continues to be closely linked to home literacy resources; the more books that students report their homes contain, the higher their knowledge scores.
- Schools report they are “moderately democratic”, suggesting that the idealism of citizenship as involving equal democratic participation for all is giving way to the reality that there are limits to participation and democracy in schools.
- Schools are strengthening their community links in recognition that effective citizenship education involves not just the school and its curriculum and culture/ethos, but also how the school relates to the wider community.
- Students continue to report low levels of intention to participate in conventional politics in the future, beyond voting. They trust their family the most, while politicians and the EU score the lowest levels of trust.
- The report suggests possible changes in students’ development of citizenship dimensions across a number of age ranges and educational stages. Findings suggest that there may be a considerable “dip” in development around Year 10, when students are aged 14–15. However, at this stage of the analysis it remains unclear whether these findings are cohort specific, will be replicated in future years, or indeed if such a “dip” exists nationally. This requires further in-depth investigation.
- Students’ sense of belonging and attachment to the different communities in their lives may change over time. It is noticeable in the survey that students’ sense of belonging to the school community increases with age in comparison with their attachment to other communities.

One of the report’s authors said: “The report highlights the complex nature of young people’s citizenship experiences and attitudes. It shows that they are active, informed and responsible about citizenship issues. It reveals signs that the introduction of citizenship in schools is beginning to have an influence and pinpoints a number of areas that require further in-depth investigation.”

7. CONCLUSION

Citizenship is still a relatively new subject for schools. It was introduced as a formal part of the secondary curriculum four years ago and though many schools have built on strong foundations and introduced excellent and exciting new teaching and learning opportunities, we recognise that many still have some way to go. Citizenship is not as well embedded in the school curriculum as other subjects, it does not have a long history of specialist teacher training or CPD.

Citizenship remains a dynamic subject which responds to issues concerning society and how these come about. The Department is currently examining the role citizenship education can play in understanding our shared values as citizens and the origins of these values in modern British history. Concepts such as identity and belonging are already covered by the curriculum, but the ways in which these are taught and the additional support teachers may require need to be investigated further.

The citizenship content of the National Curriculum must respond to these issues in a positive way to ensure that it remains a core part of our young people’s social and moral development. Citizenship provides a huge opportunity for young people to get involved and have their say. As one head teacher put it:

“Citizenship will enable our pupils to be active, informed citizens; able to effect change to improve their lives and their communities [. . .]”

(Keith Ajegbo, Head teacher, Deptford Green School)

March 2006

Witness: **Lord Adonis**, a Member of the House of Lords, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Schools, Department for Education and Skills, gave evidence.

Q490 Chairman: Can I welcome Lord Adonis to the proceedings? It is some time since we had you in front of the Committee. If I remember, it was Education Outside the Classroom.

Lord Adonis: It seems all too recently actually, Chairman. Special Education.

Q491 Chairman: I am right in saying that Education Outside the Classroom has been removed from you and across to Jim Knight?

Lord Adonis: It has, and I am sure he would be delighted to appear before you.

Q492 Chairman: Can I welcome you and say that I do not know what magic ingredient you have, Andrew, because we have tried Ken Livingstone, all sorts of people, in front of the Committee in the last couple of weeks to bring in the national press, and suddenly you are here and they are here. Sir Trevor Phillips and Ken Livingstone did not do it; you have done it.

Lord Adonis: I am delighted I provide such a parliamentary service to the Committee.

Q493 Chairman: You know that this is an inquiry that we are coming to the end of on citizenship. In fact, it is a very good day for the Committee because we visited a Muslim school in Tooting this morning, which you know well, which was the last visit of the inquiry. We are more or less ready to write up, but before we can do that, we have an interview with you. This is a difficult area really, is it not? We have taken some time getting what I call some shape on this inquiry, and some of us believe perhaps that is because it is a bit of a shapeless subject out there. Can I invite you to say a few words before we start asking our questions?

Lord Adonis: I would be delighted to, Chairman. Perhaps I can apologise in advance that, although I have got out of most of the votes in my House this afternoon, I may be summoned down for the vote on extradition, but I promise to come back. Thank you, Chairman, for the opportunity to say a few words and, of course, I have been paying close attention to the proceedings on this important inquiry. Citizenship education was only introduced nationally four years ago as a statutory subject, but it obviously takes time to get a completely new subject for which there was previously virtually no specialist teachers or support materials embedded school by school. There has been reasonable progress. We have introduced initial teacher training and continuing professional development opportunities for citizenship teachers; there is an increasingly popular short course GCSE with a full GCSE and A level to follow; support materials for schools have been developed; the Association of Citizenship Teaching is now thriving; and Keith Ajegbo's review is under way and will, we hope, strengthen the subject further. Of course, there is a good deal more to do. Ofsted reported in September that the provision for citizenship education is inadequate in a quarter of schools. We need to continue strengthening the subject, with more

specialist teachers, more continuing professional development and more support, and we are seeking to do all these three things. May I also highlight some of the other Ofsted findings to make three broad points? First, when citizenship is taken seriously as a subject by schools, the evidence is that it is being taught well. Of the lessons observed in Ofsted's 2005–06 sample of schools, seven in every 10 were judged to be good; less than one in 20 lessons were deemed to be inadequate. The report does note that poorer lessons reflected limitations in teachers' subject knowledge, which is precisely why we need more specialist teachers and more CPD. The Department is funding a new CPD certificate in citizenship for 1,200 teachers over the next two years. Secondly, citizenship is a demanding subject to teach well. It is designed to teach pupils about the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a participatory democracy. Its job is to introduce students to a host of challenging debates which occur locally, nationally and globally, and citizenship should inform the ethos and value system of every school, for example, in volunteering, in the work of school councils and other exercises in direct pupil participation in their own school community. The Department is giving a good deal of support in particular to school councils and Professor Geoff Whitty, who is one of your professional advisers and Director of the Institute of Education, will shortly be reporting to Alan Johnson on their future development. Thirdly, can I say a word about Keith Ajegbo's diversity and citizenship curriculum review? Keith and his team are examining best practice on how diversity can be promoted in schools throughout the curriculum. The team is also considering whether modern British history should be incorporated into the secondary citizenship education curriculum. We expect to have his report in the New Year and Alan Johnson will report to Parliament on any proposed curriculum changes before Easter. In conclusion, I am glad to note from your previous hearings that there is a broad consensus that citizenship education can contribute significantly to young people's understanding of the democratic culture and practice of the United Kingdom and their willingness to participate more fully in our society. Without doubt, this is a challenging area, but our schools are to be congratulated on the good progress they have been making and we need to give them appropriate encouragement and support to do better still.

Q494 Chairman: Thank you for that. Can I say to you that you mentioned our specialist adviser, Geoff Whitty, who we are very pleased and delighted maintains the relationship with this Committee. As I understand it, you have suggested that we can have a copy of his report as soon as it is available. Would you say the same about Keith Ajegbo's report?

Lord Adonis: Absolutely. He is working hard on it at the moment. We hope to have the report shortly before Christmas. It may be that we have an interim

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

report sooner than that, which I will be in a position to send you, or at least, a summary of what it says. If I can do so, I certainly will.

Q495 Chairman: Any material you give to us is treated in the correct way, as you know.

Lord Adonis: Indeed.

Q496 Chairman: We were a little disappointed last week when your comments on our inquiry into the further education system were put on the Department's press coverage before we were communicated with. When you have a team meeting, perhaps you could just say.

Lord Adonis: I will pass on those comments.

Q497 Chairman: That has never happened before.

Lord Adonis: I will see that anything I send you goes straight to you before it goes to anyone else.

Q498 Chairman: Thank you, but you will mention it at a team meeting?

Lord Adonis: I undertake to do so.

Q499 Chairman: Can we get started then? We found it very difficult until quite late on in this inquiry. Normally when you are taking oral evidence, as we do, and all the written evidence that comes in, we do visits, quite early there is some kind of shape, some feeling that you are getting to some conclusions in an inquiry. This one has been more difficult. All our colleagues have said, "Yes, it is difficult to get your hands on this particular subject." We have actually done better as time has gone on, and especially the visits have brought to life not only the challenges of the citizenship agenda but also seeing some good practice in schools like the Blue School in Wells and a very good school in Nailsea that we visited on the same day. But when you talk to people at the sharp end in the schools, on the one hand, they are very enthusiastic about the subject; on the other, they are worried that this was one of the Government's fashions of two or three years ago and perhaps it is waning and the Government has moved on to a new fashion. Would you understand that feeling out there?

Lord Adonis: I do not think that is correct. Of course, this followed Bernard Crick's review. It was introduced as a curriculum subject five years ago and took effect in schools four years ago, but I think if you look at the record of my Department, it has been one of consistent support in terms of the training of teachers, materials provided for teachers and the emphasis we give to citizenship. Getting a completely new subject off the ground from scratch in schools is challenging, particularly when it is one for which there were virtually no specialist teachers before, and which is multifaceted as a subject. Reading through the evidence that has been presented to you, there is a big debate in the citizenship community itself and within the schools about how far citizenship should be a discrete subject, taught discretely in citizenship lessons, how far it can be taught across the curriculum, and what is the overlap with, for example, geography and

modern history, where there is clearly a substantial overlap. There are those big and vibrant debates within the education and curriculum communities, and the other big debate which I see in schools the whole time and you will have picked up from your visits is how far citizenship should be regarded as an applied subject, something that schools do in practice. Of course, clearly, they must do both, but how you relate what they do in an applied way with how they actually teach the theory of citizenship, the component parts of political literacy and so on is a debate that schools are having up and down the country. One of the things that has most struck me as a minister visiting schools and reflecting on the change from when I was at school is the huge development of school councils, which is the reason we have Geoff Whitty looking at how that area of work can be developed. I should say that on about half of the school visits I make now, without any prompting from me, part of the schedule of my visit is a meeting with the school council. When I was at school they barely existed—my school never had one, and the idea of democratic participation in the school would have been regarded by my headmaster as some kind of indication of forthcoming anarchy—whereas now they are an established part of schools. They do fantastic work, including in an increasing number of primary schools. That is just one amongst many examples of citizenship in action within schools, and it is the combination of that applied dimension to citizenship in schools with the theory that I think is one of the challenging areas that schools have to wrestle with. As I say, the introduction of citizenship is a multifaceted issue, but I would not say that it is anything other than central to my Department's objectives for the curriculum, and we do recognise that we need to make continuing investment and support available to schools.

Q500 Chairman: Would you recognise the experience the Committee has had in terms of seeing active learning, putting citizenship, without even calling it citizenship but having processes in the school, like the school's council, like being told off by certain members of the Committee? One of the systems we saw was rather like an Athenian democracy. It was pointed out that women were not allowed to participate.

Lord Adonis: There were lots of slaves around as well.

Q501 Chairman: That is right, but in terms of the principle, the forum and much else, it was this active participation that seemed to be delivering real energy to the citizenship agenda. Whereas it seemed to us people thought there was less value in just the subject, where you could argue how much Shakespeare should there be in citizenship, how much British history, which date, where did it start, how much about the British Empire and the pink bits of the map, that one bit seemed to be much more controversial and resistant than the other.

Lord Adonis: If I take those part by part, so far as the applied citizenship is concerned, there is hardly a school in the country which is not seeking to enhance—and rightly seeking to enhance—the role that pupils play in the school, forms of participation, the role of volunteering, the engagement of the school in its community and so on, and all of those are, as it were, the applied aspects of citizenship. Taking school councils, one of the things that surprised me about this was the extent to which they are developing in primary school to a huge degree. I should say from what I have seen a majority of primary schools now have school councils and School Councils UK, with the support of the Department, provides excellent materials for primary schools in how to set them up. As you say, the debate there is not about whether; it is about how. A school I visited, previously a very weak school, which is now making rapid improvements, I visited last week again and they introduced me to the school's council. The school's council had itself been interviewing would-be teachers for posts, and the head teacher told me that he and his colleagues reached the same conclusion as the school's council and it was very much an interactive process between the council and him over the attributes that they wanted in their teachers. Again, that is a big development in the life of schools, and there is a debate going on in the schools community about the appropriate role for councils, including the manner of their election. The Athenian democracy instance you gave may be a reference to debates that I know are going on in schools as to whether or not school councils should be elected by secret ballots in the manner of parliamentary elections or in a more open process by forms and so on. So there is a big debate going on in those areas. When it comes to teaching citizenship as a subject, of course, it is much less well developed. It is not that it is not a satisfactory subject in its own right; I think the evidence is that it is. If you actually look at the component parts of the subject, they look to me to stand as clearly and satisfactorily as a subject as other subjects. Students can read from the programme of study for Key Stage 4: students should be taught about the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society and how they relate to citizens, including the role and operation of the criminal and civil justice systems; the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities of the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding; the work of Parliament, the Government and the courts in making and shaping the law; the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes, and so it goes on. I have no difficulty, Chairman, in looking at that and saying that this is a satisfactory subject; it has as much coherence as any other subject in the curriculum. There is at the moment only a limited number of citizenship teachers out there who are teaching it. The tooling up of the profession to be able to teach it in the systematic way that you require of any subject has a lot further to go and I think that is what gives some of the air of uncertainty about it in and out of schools.

Q502 Chairman: Is it partly though your fault, Lord Adonis, in the sense that everyone sees you as the kind of wisdom on this? It is very much related to how people think about the citizenship agenda being very close to your heart. Is your enthusiasm shared by the rest of the ministerial team?

Lord Adonis: It has absolutely been shared by successive Secretaries of State. David Blunkett, of course, introduced it; Estelle Morris's successor had been Minister of State when it was introduced and was very enthusiastic about it and the same has been true of Charles Clarke, Ruth Kelly and now Alan. So there has been no shortage of enthusiasm. The issue, of course, has been one of tooling up. We are training now about 220 citizenship teachers a year through initial teacher training. That is 220 more than of course was taking place before the subject started, and that has taken us to about 1,000 teacher training places made available by the end of this academic year. That is a huge advance; in four years we now have nearly 1,000 teachers who will have gone through the system with full ITT training, but of course, there are 3,500 secondary schools, which means that, even assuming that those teachers are spread evenly, the majority of secondary schools still will not have a dedicated citizenship teacher. There is a perfectly reasonable explanation for that, which is that it takes time to train teachers. We are taking another big step forward this year with the new certificate training for in-service training for teachers, 1,200 places over the next two years of in-service training for teachers, including a distance learning option which we are developing with Birkbeck College. Again, if those 1,200 places are taken up, plus the existing 1,000, we may, I hope, get to the position fairly soon where a majority of secondary schools do have a dedicated citizenship teacher, but it does take time to get to that position and that is the objective which is uppermost in our minds.

Chairman: That moves us nicely on to leadership.

Q503 Paul Holmes: At the start of the Committee's inquiry, Sir Bernard Crick gave evidence and he seemed disillusioned. He told us that he thought that some senior politicians either had no faith in the citizenship programme or they had forgotten it existed at all. There seemed to be a suggestion that you had had the headlines four years ago and now you have moved on to other initiatives that would interest the press. How would you comment on that?

Lord Adonis: I read Bernard's evidence in full. I thought what he said was that, of course, he has had a continuing concern about, as it were, seeking to educate the political class about the importance of citizenship education in schools but he also, when he described the progress that had been made, he thought the progress that had been made had been good—that is what he said to you—considering that we were starting from a standing start four years ago. What was interesting about what he said, and what I think is interesting about the debate, is I remember vividly, because I was in Number 10 as an adviser at the time when Bernard first reported and the debate was taking place about whether

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

citizenship should be introduced as a subject. The big concern then was partly a concern about teacher workload, as there always is when introducing new subjects. There was a big concern about whether this would be seen as political indoctrination, unacceptable forms of partisanship in schools and so on. To my mind, as I remember the discussion at the time, that was our biggest concern, that we as a Government at the time would be seen as trying to take politics into the classroom by allowing citizenship education to be taught. One of the things I find very striking about the debate now is that that really does not feature at all. I have looked at the discussion in your Committee, including the questions you have been asking of your witnesses. Very few people have been seeking to argue that those aspects of the system that I read out—legal and human rights and responsibilities, the origins and implications of a diverse national, regional and religious identities, the work of Parliament, Government and the courts, the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes and so on—represent indoctrination. Indeed, when I appeared about six months ago now before the Modernisation Committee with the then Leader of the House in the chair, there was a universal enthusiasm amongst all of the Members present from all parties to see Parliament itself play a bigger part in the development of citizenship education in schools. One of the ideas that we discussed—as it happens it was a long exchange between myself and Theresa May across the Committee—was whether MPs could play a bigger part in mentoring citizenship, trainee citizenship teachers, which I think is an excellent idea because we have 220-odd ITT citizenship teachers a year. Would it not be a great idea, Chair, if we could have each of them partnered with a Member? She thought this was a good idea; the then Chair, Geoff Hoon, did too. As a result of those exchanges we are now, with the Hansard Society, starting a pilot scheme of partnering ITT students in citizenship with Members on a systematic basis as part of the year that they spend doing their ITT. All these sorts of practical proposals I think will increasingly embed citizenship and I think make it, in so far as there is any continuing tinge of controversy about it as a subject, much more of a practical task of embedding it and getting all of those of us who are passionate about the subject to be able to help the community of citizenship teachers make an impact in schools.

Q504 Paul Holmes: You have raised a lot of interesting points but, with respect, none of them answered my question. Let us try again. Sir Bernard Crick specifically said to the Committee he was amazed that from the Prime Minister and other Ministers we now get a great deal of talk about respect, about problems of integration, about problems of youth behaviour but all this was why we set up a Citizenship Advisory Group; it is all embedded in the order itself, and he said “I am amazed that some senior politicians either do not have faith in the citizenship programme or perhaps have forgotten about it in the welter of initiatives

that there are. This is a long-term initiative.” So he did not really seem very happy with the way things were going.

Lord Adonis: I was giving you an answer to that question, saying I do not agree with that view. In my experience of dealing with senior politicians of all parties, including the Prime Minister, they are thoroughly committed to the embedding of citizenship education, both as a subject and in its applied dimension within schools, and I gave the example of the Modernisation Committee, which is a group of leading Members who exhibited that commitment to me. So I do not recognise that description. If Bernard is meaning to say that of course, there is more that we can all do—by “we” I mean Members, Members of my House as well—I am sure that is true; there is more we can do, for example, in mentoring, in getting engaged in citizenship teaching in our own constituencies, where Members go into schools and so on. I am sure there is more that can be done but I have never found any lack of willingness to recognise its importance or to engage in it when invited to do so.

Q505 Paul Holmes: Until last year, 2005, there was a ministerial working party on citizenship that has been disbanded. Would it not have been a good idea to show a commitment to citizenship that that should be reformed and put some weight behind what is happening?

Lord Adonis: There still is a working party on citizenship, an education working party which meets regularly. I meet members of the citizenship community myself bilaterally frequently, both my advisers inside the Department but also the Citizenship Foundation and other organisations, so there is a strong commitment on the part of Ministers.

Q506 Paul Holmes: Who is on this working party, the one that still continues?

Lord Adonis: It embraces leading figures from my Department, from the DCA and from the Home Office. I do not know the membership here but I can supply that.

Q507 Chairman: When did it last meet?

Lord Adonis: I am not sure. It meets regularly. I can provide you with the details.¹

Q508 Paul Holmes: The other Minister that is on it is yourself?

Lord Adonis: I do not serve on it myself, no. It is an official-level working party.

Q509 Paul Holmes: So the ministerial working party folded last year?

Lord Adonis: I would not say folded. In terms of the work that we have been taking forward, I did not think that it was necessary for me personally to attend the working party itself for that work to be

¹ Ev 187

taken forward, but I meet my advisers who serve on the working party frequently and we take forward that work as we need to at ministerial level.

Q510 Paul Holmes: When different things happen and hit the media, we get politicians saying “We can do this through citizenship in schools.” There seems to be a lot of confusion in schools and elsewhere: what is the citizenship agenda? Is it about teaching Britishness, or is it about exploring diversity, or is it about bringing up children to be entrepreneurs, or is it about teaching respect, or is it about active citizenship like school councils, or is it about formal political structures like the list you read out at the start of your evidence today? What is the citizenship agenda?

Lord Adonis: If I could first of all answer Mr Holmes’ previous question, in fact, I am told that it is chaired by Lord Phillips of Sudbury, who is a member of the other House and a member of your party, and the vice chair is Jan Newton, who is our citizenship adviser. What does the subject entail? It entails all of those things that you mentioned in your question. It has an emphasis, there. There are three pillars to it: knowledge and understanding, developing skills of inquiry, and developing skills of participation. All three of those are integral to citizenship, and within each of those is expected to feature social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy and, as I said in my first answer to the Chairman, it is a multifaceted subject. It is both very clearly a subject in its own right in terms of the curriculum concept that it embraces; it is also very much an applied subject too and taking it forward on both of those fronts is a challenge.

Q511 Paul Holmes: Is it primarily a body of knowledge or is it primarily a process that pupils go through?

Lord Adonis: I would say myself that both sides are equally important. If by the applied side you mean that whole programme of activities in schools to do with pupil participation, community engagement, volunteering and so on, which are absolutely vital to the life of a school and to the development of pupils as citizens in due course, I would say that it is just as important that they practise those elements and that they see them in practice in their schools, in participatory systems and so on, as that they learn the theory. I would not want to say that one is more important than the other.

Q512 Paul Holmes: So, although it is a contradiction in terms, should we go along with the IPPR report today and make volunteering in schools compulsory?

Lord Adonis: Would I like to see more volunteering in schools? Absolutely, steadily more, and for it to become increasingly embraced in the work that pupils do, as indeed I believe it is in most schools now because, as you say, as soon as volunteering ceases to be voluntary then it ceases to be volunteering.

Q513 Fiona Mactaggart: You have made a pretty convincing case that successive Secretaries of State are behind this agenda, but what about head teachers? Do you think that head teachers are behind this, and what is your evidence for how head teachers feel about this?

Lord Adonis: I, as ever on these matters, since I only visit a limited number of schools myself and speak to a limited number of head teachers, rely on Ofsted, and you have had Ofsted before you giving evidence. Ofsted’s conclusion is that, and I quote, “a minority of schools have embraced citizenship with enthusiasm and have worked hard to establish it as a significant part of their curriculum.” Others, also a minority, they stress, have done very little and they say that 25% they think have inadequate position. Sometimes, they say, this is because of the nature or scale of what is intended, but this has been misunderstood. In other cases it is because schools have believed mistakenly that they are doing it already as manifested in their ethos and the good disposition of their pupils. In a small number of schools there is no will to change because of other priorities. In between these extremes are the majority of schools, that have significant elements of citizenship in place but have not yet established a complete programme. That seems to me to reflect Ofsted’s view of the position of school leadership.

Q514 Fiona Mactaggart: So what Ofsted say is a quarter are doing well, 50% are bumbling along and a quarter are not doing so well. That is a summary of that.

Lord Adonis: I think “bumbling along” might be slightly unfair interpretation. What they said was that the majority have significant elements of citizenship in place, which I take to be more than bumbling along but less than the minority which have “embraced it with enthusiasm and have worked hard to establish it as a significant part of their curriculum.”

Q515 Fiona Mactaggart: One of the things that is very clear from that Ofsted report is the connection between good leadership in schools and those schools which are doing well in this area. They say that schools which are fulfilling the ambition for citizenship are generally those which have a clear view of the leadership and management of citizenship. What I wanted to know is actually what you are doing to get that clear view more widespread, beyond the 25% which have it to the 75% which are not doing badly and to the 25% which are failing to achieve what we have a right to expect on this.

Lord Adonis: My view of how we will actually get to good citizenship education as a subject in school, by which I mean the teaching of the citizenship curriculum, is that it is going to be difficult to do that until you have a trained citizenship teacher in every secondary school and, in fact, the very existence of a trained citizenship teacher is a declaration by the leadership of the school that they take it sufficiently seriously as a subject that they want teachers who actually have accredited expertise in the subject

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

teaching it. You would not think of having science or history or geography, saying that these are important to the life of the school, if you did not have a properly trained teacher. That is why we are placing such emphasis on continuing to roll out ITT in citizenship so we get another few hundred a year coming through of new secondary teachers who are specifically trained in citizenship and also, as I said earlier, rolling out the certificate. If we can get 600 teachers a year through the certificate, all of whom of course are teachers who previously did not have any expertise specifically in citizenship, then I would hope over quite a short period of time we can start to eat into that group of schools which you were describing that do not have citizenship teachers or whose practice has been poor in the past and get to them with trained teachers. We are doing things across the board as well. As you heard in earlier sittings, we have provided a lot of CPD material, for instance, the new professional development handbook *Making Sense of Citizenship*, which my Department has funded with the Citizenship Foundation and with the Association for Citizenship Teaching. Two copies of that, which has recently been produced, have gone to every school in the country. In the past we have helped to fund the Young Citizen's Passport, which the Citizenship Foundation now sends to every school in the country. There are a whole lot of materials that we have provided to schools. There is a self-evaluation tool for secondary schools available; we have just introduced a self-evaluation tool in citizenship for primary schools too. So in all of those key areas where we believe we can make a difference we have been providing support but, as I say, my analysis of the challenge is that, until you have a trained citizenship teacher in a secondary school, you are unlikely to have it treated with the proper seriousness it deserves as a subject.

Q516 Fiona Mactaggart: That might well be the view of the Committee when we come to report but actually, an awful lot of the citizenship education is happening in primary schools, and we do not expect primary schools to necessarily have specialist citizenship educators. At that point, it really does come down to leadership from the heads in order to ensure that the curriculum does include it well. You have referred to one of your publications which focuses on that but what else are you doing to ensure that, in the primary curriculum, this is an important part of what goes on?

Lord Adonis: I referred to the self-evaluation tool, which I believe can make a big difference. In other discrete areas we have been providing assistance too. For example, we discussed earlier school councils. We have provided, with the help of School Councils UK, a new tool for all primary schools to be able to establish school councils, which has a great deal of other material about how they can engage primary school students in participation in their school. We now have NPQH for primary school teachers, which is new, and one of the focuses of NPQH training is how you help to develop whole-school policies which engage pupils and staff more fully than in the

past. So there is a set of things going on in primary schools. We also have a scheme of work which we are developing for primary school pupils in citizenship too and, of course, even though it is not a statutory subject in Key Stage 2, there is a scheme of work and there are materials which are available to schools in order that they may teach citizenship in primary schools as well as secondary.

Q517 Chairman: I want to move on. Is this citizenship programme doing any good? I thought I saw a poll last week that suggested we have some of the worst behaved teenagers in Europe. Are you disappointed by that, Lord Adonis?

Lord Adonis: I was very interested to see your exchange with Sir Bernard Crick on that subject, who said that you could not expect to have a wider effect in society as a whole until a whole cohort of students had gone through, and he referred to the eight-year longitudinal study that is taking place. I would hope that it will make a difference. There are those of us who believe that actually, teaching pupils to be better citizens in schools will have an effect after school. We are clearly expecting that it will have a knock-on effect in society at large in due course but Sir Bernard was, of course, right that we are in the early days of citizenship teaching in schools so far, so you cannot expect it to solve all of the ills outside.

Q518 Chairman: Perhaps your Department should have an ability to check some of these so-called surveys for their authenticity and their scientific method. We now have something called the BBC Research Unit, which seems to be the ability to phone up 50 people in a hurry and ask them their opinion. Going round schools, people have been very upset because they do not see our teenagers as the worst in Europe; they see very good students, working well, being absolutely fantastic. The morale of schools is affected by these things.

Lord Adonis: I would, of course, agree with that, Chairman, and of course, what the last seven or eight years has shown is consistently improving quality of education, including the ethos of schools and behaviour as found by Ofsted. So the picture that you have just painted, I think, is the reality of the schools but of course, in terms of the link between other surveys showing behaviour out of schools, I cannot make the direct connection.

Chairman: They should come to some of the schools that we as a Committee visit or even come into Dining Room B today, where we had Clermont School, which is a performing arts specialist school, performing for us excerpts from *Carousel*. What a talented group of young people!

Q519 Helen Jones: Ofsted found the teaching of citizenship in a quarter of schools as unsatisfactory, and you yourself rightly referred to the need to develop a number of specialist citizenship education teachers in schools. Do you think that aspiration can be fulfilled if the number of initial teacher training places for citizenship is actually going to fall over the next few years?

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Lord Adonis: It is not falling by much. In this year, 2006–07—

The Committee suspended from 4.32 pm to 4.41 pm for a division in the House.

Helen Jones: I think you were in the process of answering my question.

Chairman: Would you like to be reminded of the question?

Q520 Helen Jones: If, as you have rightly said, we need trained teachers and Ofsted says citizenship is taught badly in a quarter of the schools, why are we reducing the training places?

Lord Adonis: The number of training places is 220 this year in ITT. It was 240 last year, so it has reduced by 20, but that is proportionately a smaller reduction than in most subjects, where of course there has been a big reduction because of the demographic downturn.

Q521 Helen Jones: Indeed that is so but those are subjects which are already established and where a large number of trained teachers already exist, whereas they do not exist as far as citizenship is concerned. What is the logic of saying the Government wants to establish this subject and yet cutting the number of teacher training places available?

Lord Adonis: Because that 220 goes hand in hand with the additional 600 certification places a year we are providing for training for existing teachers. To see the contribution we are making to train the workforce in order to teach citizenship as a discrete subject in schools, you need to see the 600 together with the 220. So it is a significant additional number.

Q522 Helen Jones: I do but we do not do that in other subjects, do we? We do not argue that, for instance, if we do not have enough trained science teachers, we will not worry too much about the initial teacher training places; we'll have an in-service certificate, so why is citizenship different? You argued very persuasively that it could be considered as a discrete subject in its own right so why is the training looked at differently?

Lord Adonis: We do think it is important, which is why we are providing 220 places a year, which is 220 more than before the subject started and, as I say, the decrease on 240 is a smaller proportionate decrease than in most subjects at ITT. So we are making a big contribution to training, but could the number be higher? Of course it could be higher. It is a decision we have to take year by year in terms of the funding of places.

Q523 Helen Jones: How did you come to the assessment of how many initial teacher training places would be required in the future?

Lord Adonis: There is a model which the teacher Training and Development Agency uses in terms of numbers of places it believes it can fund within the overall budget which the Department provides and the needs of that particular subject, and that is what has got us to around 200 places a year in recent years but, as I say, that went up to 240 last year and is

down to 220 this year, and that is the level at which we see ourselves continuing, I would hope, depending on the outcome of the Comprehensive Spending Review for the next few years. So we do have a significant ongoing commitment to the subject, but could the number be higher? Of course it could be higher but the TDA would need to weigh the likely take-up of places, the demand on behalf of the schools and so on, of a further additional number year on year, because of course, as these 220 are trained each year, they need to find jobs in schools year on year.

Q524 Helen Jones: Of course they do, but I think you said earlier in your evidence that only a third of these schools had a teacher with initial teacher training in citizenship, so there is quite a lot of scope for people to find jobs, is there not?

Lord Adonis: There is more scope for people to find jobs but, as I say, the model which the TDA has used is what has led us to the around 200 a year over the last few years and, as I say, though it has gone down slightly this year, by 20 compared to last year, we have a continuing commitment to training at this kind of level for the period ahead.

Q525 Helen Jones: How many years would it take, do you estimate, until we had a teacher trained in citizenship, with initial teacher training in citizenship, in each secondary school?

Lord Adonis: It would take quite a number of years at the 200 a year rate to have teachers who are trained through initial teacher training in citizenship but it certainly is not the Department's policy that we wish to see in every school, as a realistic early objective, a teacher who has gone through ITT in citizenship. If we did that, of course, it would take a very long time. It is ITT combined with in-service training that we believe is going to provide us with a large body of teachers, and of course, there are many subjects in which it is perfectly possible for teachers who are trained in those subjects, with additional focused in-service training in citizenship, to teach citizenship well. History teachers, geography teachers and others in schools, according to the evidence we have, can teach citizenship to a very high standard if they have a training course in their own subject which has a significant overlap with citizenship plus additional CPD in citizenship itself. We certainly do not take the view that the profession will be sufficiently tooled up to teach citizenship across all schools simply by virtue of ITT. We see ITT plus CPD as going hand in hand.

Q526 Helen Jones: I understand that. Has the Department made any assessment of the number of, say, history and geography teachers who would have extra time on their timetable available to teach citizenship? Surely most of them will be employed full-time in teaching history and geography.

Lord Adonis: Of course, we expect all teachers to engage in CPD now. That is an expectation which the profession itself embraces. Our assessment is that all teachers have the capacity to undertake CPD each year. The CPD course in citizenship is

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

equivalent to about five days' worth of training, so it is absolutely compatible with an in-service teacher to be able to take on that level of CPD. It was the teacher Training and Development Agency's modelling of the likely demand that we could stimulate for in-service training that led us to allocate the 600 places a year for the next two years.

Q527 Helen Jones: I understand what you said about the time taken for CPD. Can I take it from your answer that there has not been an assessment done of how much spare capacity there is in the system for teachers in other subjects to also undertake the teaching of citizenship in their timetable?

Lord Adonis: I do not think you can take that, because the TDA advised us on the likely demand for places if we were to provide and fund places ourselves, which is what we are doing through the certificate, and it was advice to us that led us to the figure of 600 a year. So they will have done this assessment themselves before they made those recommendations to us.

Q528 Helen Jones: If they take up the course, they will have done the equivalent of five days of training. Is that correct?

Lord Adonis: Yes.

Q529 Helen Jones: That is in no way equivalent to a year's initial teacher training in a subject, is it?

Lord Adonis: With all the supporting work that they do too, and all the CPD materials that are available in terms of citizenship education, that is a good deal of training that will equip them to be able to teach the subject in the curriculum. Of course, it is not as much as ITT and I accept that, though it is a good and substantial course, we are advised, which can lead to teachers who are well equipped to teach citizenship in schools.

Q530 Helen Jones: It would be an interesting pattern to apply that to other subjects, would it not? Can I ask you about primary teachers? We have received a lot of evidence that primary teachers, particularly those completing the PGCE course, receive really quite limited training in citizenship education. Does that bother you at all? Have you as a Department looked at how that might affect how citizenship is taught in primary schools and the transition from primary school to secondary school, where we do expect it to be taught quite thoroughly?

Lord Adonis: Of course, we have to take this priority by priority and our key priority is in seeing that there is adequate, good-quality teaching at secondary level, where of course it is a statutory and compulsory subject and where an increasing number are actually studying the subject through to the half GCSE. I will be quite frank with the Committee that we have seen secondary as our key priority in terms of the investment we have been making in teacher training both in ITT and in CPD. Is there a role for more citizenship training for primary teachers over time? We would accept that there is but our key

priority in terms of resources and seeking to change the culture in schools and in university training departments has been secondary.

Q531 Chairman: I have to say, listening to that exchange, that if I were sitting where you are sitting and I had looked at the number of under-performing schools in this subject, I would have thought there would have been some way of saying urgently "Here are these really under-performing schools. How many of them are without a properly trained, ITT trained teacher, and can't I, as the Minister, quickly train enough to feed through, particularly to those singled out as under-performing?" You and I know, all of this Committee know, that the worst thing for any subject to be not taken seriously is for it to be taught by—I think Ken Boston always uses the phrase "the PE teacher with a gammy knee." That is the case. It is serious. As soon as a subject gets that reputation, there are some long-term consequences. Is it not in your interest, as Minister, to say, "Look, if we need 500, let's find the money to train 500 as fast as possible, because this is an important subject"?

Lord Adonis: As I say, we are actually training more than 500 a year at the moment. We are doing 220 through ITT and 600 a year through CPD.

Q532 Chairman: 600 through CPD? That is a five-dayer. You know what I am saying. I am saying, as Helen said, that full training is what you really need. We have evidence: what you need is the full training. We had the person responsible for that sort of training, and what he was clearly saying was if you really want to do it well, you have the one-year trained person. They have the energy, knowledge and enthusiasm to do it. That is what you need in these schools. You do not need the five-day person, do you?

Lord Adonis: I think you need both, do you not? After all, we have a huge stock of teachers.

Q533 Chairman: Come on, Andrew. Do not con us by saying that we are doing more than 500. You are not doing more than 500.

Lord Adonis: I have tried to be frank with the Committee, Chairman, that we do need, over time, to do a great deal more, but we need both: we need existing teachers in schools with a specific competence in citizenship which can come through CPD and we also need more coming through the system. In response to your question about weak and failing schools, of course, I as a minister—thank goodness—am not in charge of appointing or recruiting teachers school by school at all. The system would never work if ministers had to try and make those decisions in respect of 23,000 schools. The thing which we have laid great store by, as do local authorities, in the work that they do in following up Ofsted reports which find weaknesses in schools is the quality of leadership in schools, is seeing that schools which are weak or failing get the leadership that they need, including, as now very often happens when Ofsted makes a severely critical report on a school, making rapid changes of

leadership in schools. It is now quite common that the leadership will change if a school is put into special measures or given a notice to improve.

Q534 Chairman: You are training heads and aspiring heads to have the qualities of leadership so you can get them into those schools as fast as possible. Why not the people teaching citizenship?

Lord Adonis: One of the things that an effective school leader will do is to see that they have good quality teaching in all of the main curriculum areas, and one of those areas should surely be citizenship. In the system we have it is the job of effective school leaders to see that they have the citizenship teachers that they need, whether that be those that are trained in ITT or whether it be seeing that they have teachers who they can make available to do CPD in citizenship and get the certificate.

Q535 Chairman: Andrew, you and I know that there is a difference between mixing up people who have been trained for a year and people who have had five days up-skilling their professional qualification. It does not help when a minister tells the Committee that it is really 600 extra when actually they are made up of the two components.

Lord Adonis: With respect, Chairman, I do not actually share that premise because in many schools where you have a teacher who is trained in another subject, for example, a historian, there is a very significant overlap. If you look at the citizenship curriculum, there is a very significant overlap between history and citizenship. It could well be that a well motivated teacher who has the CPD and engages in all the private study that they do as part of that will be an excellent citizenship teacher, and may well be a better one than somebody who has come through ITT.

Q536 Chairman: That is not the evidence we have been getting so far in this inquiry. Anyway, we will agree to disagree.

Lord Adonis: The point I would agree with you on is that the job of an effective school leader is to see that they have somebody good who can teach the subject. The precise route by which they come to be able to teach the subject well I think is another issue.

Q537 Mr Wilson: When we had Ofsted in, one of their representatives said to us, and I quote, "Participative teaching is more difficult to achieve and we are finding that the teachers who have been specifically trained are much more confident in teaching and much more likely to give good lessons." Do you think we have enough well trained teachers, that we are good enough at producing teachers, confident enough and skilled enough to lead discussions about what are very difficult issues?

Lord Adonis: I think we need steadily more, is the answer, if by that you mean in citizenship specifically as part of how a school does ensure that pupils have the range of experience you were describing, we do need steadily more. I should note, though, as I say, that Ofsted found in respect of citizenship, though it is important to see these two recommendations

together, that 25% of schools had inadequate whole-school provision, which is something that we need to tackle seriously. They also found that in seven out of ten lessons which they observed where citizenship was taught, including the kind of practical discussions that you are referring to, the teaching was judged to be good, and it was unsatisfactory in only one in 20. So actually, the quality of teaching in the subject they found to be good; it was the organisation of the subject across schools that they found to be inadequate, and that is where I think we need to make big improvements.

Q538 Mr Wilson: I apologise if I cut across Helen. She might have asked this question. Because of the vote, I was not here. You did announce this roll-out of 600 places for the citizenship continuing professional development programme. Barry said that is a five-day course. Is that really sufficient to meet the needs in this particular area?

Lord Adonis: As I say, as an up-skilling course in the specific skills and subject knowledge that teachers need to acquire, that, together with—because of course it is five days' training together with all the supporting materials that students are expected to study as part of that—we believe that is sufficient, yes.

Q539 Mr Wilson: Is access to these continuing professional development courses going to be targeted according to need or will it be on a first come, first served basis? How is it going to be handled?

Lord Adonis: It is subject to people coming forward wanting to take up the courses, and they will be available to the entire profession nationwide.

Q540 Mr Wilson: Some people have been suggesting these CPD training courses are given a very low priority by heads because they face so many demands on their budgets. Do you see any problems with that?

Lord Adonis: In my experience, when training is made available essentially at a highly subsidised rate or free of charge, as is the case here, heads tend to be quite keen on taking it up, so we found in this area, in PSHE, where there is a certificate available which we also fund on a similar basis, in science, for example, with the Science Learning Centres, where again we fund a very high proportion of the cost of CPD, that the places are taken up. It is too early to say at the moment whether the 600 have been but if they are not, I can tell you we will be acutely concerned and will look and see what further steps we can take to encourage take-up.

Q541 Chairman: The Sutton Trust has done some very interesting research on the relationship between the quality of teaching science and whether the person who has been employed as a science teacher is a science graduate. You would not deny there is a relationship in a subject between having a proper qualification, a proper, dedicated qualification, and the quality of teaching?

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Lord Adonis: I certainly do not deny that it is important for those who teach to have a good command of the subject knowledge. The point I was seeking to make, which I do believe, having looked at the curriculum content for citizenship, is that it is not, for example, akin to physics, where in fact, having a systematic training in physics, including a degree, over a long period of time, is going to be essential for a top quality physics teacher. In the case of citizenship, there is a very substantial overlap between the curriculum content and the curriculum content of other degree areas, including, as I say, geography and history. Therefore I do not see it as on a par. But do I believe that further support is needed for teachers to see that they do have that subject knowledge—of course I do—which is the reason we are providing those CPD places.

Q542 Chairman: It may surprise you, Andrew, that I think I would prefer to see someone who is a graduate in a science subject plus the one year as probably preferable to anyone who only has the five days.

Lord Adonis: The problem, of course, as we know from science, is the high proportion of schools that, for example, do not have properly trained physics teachers. You cannot teach A level physics [. . .]

Chairman: I was not trying to take you down that track. We could be on that for a long time. I want to move on and look at spreading good practice. We have seen some very good practice. Indeed, we saw some schools where you could franchise the good system they have and roll it out, if the Department were so minded.

Q543 Jeff Ennis: We have already focused on the patchy nature of citizenship education teaching at the present time. Given that scenario, what scope is there for the Government playing a larger role in terms of spreading good practice? Are there any areas where you think the Government should play more of a lead role in that regard?

Lord Adonis: I think there is huge scope for us helping to spread good practice. That is the reason why we produce all these materials, for example, the CPD handbook for all teachers. The Citizenship Foundation has recently produced a comprehensive introduction to effective citizenship education in secondary schools, which has excellent chapters in it on how citizenship can be taught through other subjects as well. There are chapters on geography, on history, on religious education. There are a whole lot of good case studies there. We help fund materials provided by School Councils UK in respect of school councils. We help fund the Active Citizens in Schools scheme, which provides certificates in best practice for schools in that respect. We help fund the Citizenship Foundation in the Giving Nation resource pack which they provide, which helps schools to follow best practice in encouraging students to volunteer. I am told that 75% of schools have sought the Giving Nation resource packs. There is a whole set of activities that we can continue to support which I think can have just the effect that you are describing, Jeff.

Q544 Jeff Ennis: Obviously, citizenship education is not just confined to this country. There are European examples and examples from further afield where it is being promoted. Are there any best practice models that we could look at from Europe, or that you can recommend us to look at, or that you have liaised with in building up our programme?

Lord Adonis: Of course, when Bernard Crick did his original inquiry, he looked extensively at practice elsewhere and I see when you had him before you that you questioned him about it. I noticed he was not wildly excited by practice in other countries. He thought that some of our European counterparts were unduly rigid in the way that they taught constitution and so on, and that our combination of the applied and the theoretical was better than those others that he had looked at. We have our advisers and they do look at continuing practice abroad, and we do seek to inject that in. For example, I was in Finland recently, where they regard this as an important area. I think the Committee has been there.

Q545 Chairman: We get rather testy when people refer yet again to Finland.

Lord Adonis: If I can yet again refer to Finland, Chairman, and escape your wrath, one of the things I was very struck by, in Finland is the degree of pupil participation in schools. For example, school governing bodies now routinely have pupils as full participating members of the governing body. That is something we do not have here. You have to be 18 or above to be a full member of a governing body in a school in England, though you can be an associate member of a governing body younger, and an increasing number of schools do have pupils on their governing bodies as associate members. These sorts of ideas are ones that I think we should be prepared to look at and see whether there is anything we can learn from them.

Q546 Jeff Ennis: Given the lack of trained teacher specialists in the subject, would you anticipate secondary schools and feeder primary schools liaising and discussing the citizenship agenda which is being taught in the primary schools and that then feeding into the secondary schools? Would that be one of the ways we could promote good practice?

Lord Adonis: Very much so. I think that is an important area. For example, in the specialist schools programme it is now possible, through the humanities specialism, to major in citizenship and, of course, that involves developing links with feeder primary schools and neighbouring secondary schools also. You have had before you Keith Ajegbo who, as well as overseeing the review, was until this summer head teacher of Deptford Green School. Deptford Green School is a humanities specialist school with a particular specialism in citizenship and has been doing precisely the sort of work which you described.

Q547 Jeff Ennis: Does the Department give guidance on pursuing that?

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Lord Adonis: The Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, which, as you know, is the umbrella body of specialist schools, is seeking to develop further guidance for schools taking on that specialism, which I think will encourage a lot more schools to develop citizenship as a first or second specialism, and I would hope it would also develop best practice models for schools that do not take this on as a specialism but, nonetheless, want to see this as an important part of their work and can take it forward in conjunction with feeder primaries.

Q548 Jeff Ennis: You have also mentioned in earlier replies the importance that school councils play in the active participation element of citizenship, and I am a big supporter of school councils. In Wales we are making them compulsory, of course, but we are not biting that particular bullet. Do you think we ought to revisit that and follow the Wales model?

Lord Adonis: This was debated at length in the Lords on the Education and Inspections Bill because Lord Dearing took up precisely your theme. I did consult Geoff Whitty, your own specialist adviser, on this issue. Obviously I had to respond to a specific amendment on this in the House of Lords and Geoff advised us that we should wait for his report. He was meeting my Welsh ministerial counterpart and looking at the practice in schools in Wales to see whether there was any virtue in adopting a more prescriptive approach as they have done by regulation. Under the 2002 Education Act we have powers, if we wish to do so, to prescribe arrangements for school councils by order. We have the enabling power but we do not intend to prejudge Geoff's report before doing anything more.

Q549 Jeff Ennis: Given that situation then, is there not a case for more increased guidance from the Department to allow schools to more easily facilitate the secondary schools?

Lord Adonis: We have increased the guidance. As I say, we have worked with School Councils UK to develop much better materials for schools in establishing schools councils. We issued the first of such materials for primary schools only last year in this area and we have said that we will seek to update that guidance further when Geoff has reported.

Q550 Jeff Ennis: Some suggest that citizenship education could improve attainment more generally, yet the evidence-base for this is currently weak. Would you consider funding more research in this particular area?

Lord Adonis: We are funding the longitudinal study at the moment and we will pay very careful attention to its results in looking at the whole future of the subject. We do think it is important to take stock of best practice in this area, and we are certainly open-minded about future developments and we see the results being achieved in the study.

Q551 Fiona Mactaggart: You have been quite enthusiastic about the schools councils and how they have changed what schools are like when you go and visit them. One of the things in the Department's

evidence to us was a quote from Sir Bernard which suggested that if citizenship is taught well and tailored to local needs its skills and values will enhance democratic life for all of us. One of the things that we saw in The Blue School was a programme which was teaching children about the skills they need to run the school council, to run the working groups, to run the meetings and so on, and I am struck that in many school councils there is not an effort to train children in these skills, we just hope they will pick it up, and often teachers do not have these skills. I am wondering how the Government can support this kind of programme. We were impressed by it and felt that it was a very practical way of helping school councils to work well. I wonder if this is something you have thought about?

Lord Adonis: The tools I referred to earlier that the School Councils UK provide—I know Jessica Gold gave evidence to you in one of your earlier sittings—does include precisely the sorts of areas which you are referring to: how you manage meetings, how chairs should be elected and the sort of support they need to do their work and so on. These are very important areas. In my experience of visiting school councils, usually there is some kind of attached teacher who plays precisely the role you are describing in helping to train up members of the school council in conducting their affairs. That is an important role, and from what I have seen in some schools, often where there is a citizenship teacher, the citizenship teacher may play that role. I think there is a direct relationship between the quality of teaching in this area and the support that is going to be available for organisations like school councils. There is a debate in this area also. It is quite interesting. If you look at the School Councils UK website and the debates which take place there amongst members of school councils, issues like how you elect school councils, how they choose their chairs, the sorts of areas they should discuss, whether, for example, they should play a role in the appointment of staff, these are very live debates within the school community at the moment. There are debates with school leaders also. There are some school leaders, head teachers, who tell me flat-out that they think it is vital that schools councils do express opinions on staff appointments and there are others who regard this as a very undesirable step. I do not know what the answer is on some of these issues; I certainly would not want the Department to be prescribing in detail precisely how schools councils should conduct their affairs in those areas. I do see that we have a role in encouraging further debate in these areas and that is what we do by supporting Schools Councils UK.

Q552 Fiona Mactaggart: If you could encourage skills training then the debate would work better, it seems to me, because if those young people had those sets of skills they would be able, for example, to assess the suitability of a potential teacher much more effectively, they would be able to contribute to the decisions that the governing body might face and so on, more appropriately than very often they can

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

without those very practical skills. I am not necessarily talking about the constitution, if you like.

Lord Adonis: I agree with that. I think a lot of it does not have so much to do with the skills set of the staff but the degree of seriousness with which they treat the schools councils. If I can give you an example, at the secondary school I went to in Merton last week, which had been engaged in interviewing candidates for one of the deputy head posts, one of the existing deputy heads had worked with the council to go through their list of questions that they were going to ask all of the candidates for the post, the appropriateness of the questions, how they should allocate the questions between members of the schools council, all the issues we all have to deal with all the time when we are doing interviews, how they should allow follow-up to questions afterwards, the amount of time they should spend, and this enabled them to conduct that process effectively. Every school has senior staff who are trained in interviewing techniques and conduct interviews the whole time, so the issue there is not whether there is the skills set available within the school which can then be deployed in respect of schools councils, it is whether the school leadership regards this as a sufficiently high priority for them to make the effort to do it. My view is they should make that effort, I think it is immensely worthwhile for them to do so. That is the kind of cultural change we need to spread over an increasing number of schools. From what I have seen in schools, I am convinced that this is all going with the grain because it is happening in a large number of schools already.

Q553 Chairman: Certainly it is true that for some of the schools we have been to it is the energy, it is not the constitution. I would hate to think that as the schools council just putting an obligation on a school would seem to be the magic wand, I do not think it would be, it is energising the relationships that I think Fiona was talking about, but you do need someone skilled available in the school to energise the process. That is why I think you and I, and some members of the Committee, were disagreeing about the quality of training amongst that energising.

Lord Adonis: I completely agree about the need to energise these relationships and for the leadership teams of schools to take these issues very seriously indeed. The issue of some debate between us is how far you need to be specifically trained to be able to do some of these things. There are areas of curriculum content where I believe training is desirable, if not essential. For example, when it comes to helping schools councils to develop the skills they need to be able to interact with the senior management of the school to conduct interviews and so on, it should not require specific training for school staff to be able to pass on those skills.

Q554 Chairman: Sometimes they have to hire it in. In response to Jeff Ennis's question you said longitudinal research was going on, how long is the longitudinal research going to be?

Lord Adonis: It is an eight-year programme, as I understand it. I am not sure how far through they are and there will be interim reports from it.

Q555 Chairman: Who is doing it?

Lord Adonis: The National Foundation for Education Research, who are highly skilled.

Q556 Chairman: Can you send us a note on that and on how long into the eight years they are?

Lord Adonis: And whether there will be interim findings that I am in a position to let you know.²

Chairman: Can we move on to citizenship and community cohesion, something which has been put uppermost in our minds as we had this visit this morning.

Q557 Mr Chaytor: Minister, what impact do you think the new duty on schools to promote community cohesion will have on the way they deal with citizenship education?

Lord Adonis: I would hope that it would support it significantly. All of the applied aspects of citizenship which we talked about, both the full engagement of all pupils within the life of schools and the engagement of the school as a community much more in the life of its wider community outside, are integral to citizenship as a subject and also vital to a school demonstrating that it is playing its part by community cohesion more widely. There are other aspects too, such as school twinning, exchanges between staff, joint professional development between staff of different schools, particularly schools that educate pupils from very different backgrounds, which I would see as entirely complementary.

Q558 Mr Chaytor: The duty to promote community cohesion is going to be assessed by Ofsted?

Lord Adonis: Yes. It is now in the Bill as it was finally approved by Parliament last Thursday.

Q559 Mr Chaytor: If there is a critical Ofsted report on that element of the whole report, how would you envisage that being dealt with?

Lord Adonis: That would lead to a low grade in that aspect of the inspection by Ofsted to the school and the school would be expected to respond in the way that it is always expected to respond when it has a low grade in any of the main inspection areas, by putting in place a programme of activity to put that right. Of course, it could contribute to an overall low grade for the school as a whole, so it could contribute to a warning notice, a notice to improve, or a school being placed into special measures. Of course, if that were the case then the school would be expected to demonstrate to its local authority, and in due course to a re-inspection by Ofsted itself, that it had put right those elements found to be deeply unsatisfactory in the original inspection.

² Ev 185–186

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Q560 Mr Chaytor: In respect of the understanding of the diversity element of citizenship do you detect any difference in the quality of the teaching of the programmes in those schools that are more homogenous as against those schools that have a more mixed student population?

Lord Adonis: No, we do not. I know that a very significant part of your earlier discussions focused on faith schools and that is one example of a school which would tend to recruit pupils from a particular section of the community. We asked Ofsted whether they found the quality of teaching in citizenship varied between faith schools and non-faith schools because, of course, diversity is one of the aspects of citizenship which is taught, and they could not find, and did not identify, any particular issues there over and above those affecting all schools. Perhaps it might be useful, Chairman, if I read out the advice we have had from Ofsted in this area. They found, and I quote: "Faith schools represented in the qualitative sample used by Ofsted for citizenship inspection in 2005–06 showed the same strengths and weaknesses as schools in the sample as a whole. At best they had implemented citizenship well. All had attempted to incorporate citizenship in their curriculum but with varied degrees of success. Some were doing particularly well in getting pupils to participate in citizenship activity. These schools showed no less enthusiasm for citizenship than other schools. A common feature was that on the basis of good self-evaluation, effective, sometimes newly appointed, subject leaders were seeking to raise the quality of citizenship education in those schools." That was Ofsted's judgment. What they have told us is that the same pattern of strengths and weaknesses are found in faith schools as other schools, which I think would apply to your wider point about schools with more or less broad intakes.

Q561 Mr Chaytor: The 25% quota in faith schools is not necessary?

Lord Adonis: There was a wider set of issues that we were seeking to address in that debate which we were having with the faith communities about admissions. It was not by any means just restricted to the issue of community cohesion, this was about promoting access to good quality schools, about bringing pupils together from different backgrounds and seeing that as a desirable objective. It was a whole set of objectives which, as you know, we were seeking to achieve there.

Q562 Mr Chaytor: Can I ask one more question about the longitudinal study because the Department's memorandum makes a reference to the third report of the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study and it concludes that: "Certain citizenship curriculum topic areas are less likely to be taught than others; in particular, topics such as voting and elections, the European Union, parliament and governance", and later in the report it also concludes that: "Students continue to report low levels of intention to participate in conventional politics in the future. They trust their family the most, while politicians and the European Union

score the lowest levels of trust". My question is do you see any relationship between this problem of trust in politicians and the European Union and the apparent fact that these are areas of the citizenship curriculum which are less likely to be taught?

Lord Adonis: Since the evidence of opinion surveys is that trust has declined and, of course, has declined over the period we have introduced citizenship education, and indeed over a longer period, clearly citizenship education alone has not been able to reverse that decline, though, as I say, since it has only been going on in schools for four years, and for most of those pupils who have become citizens who are post-18 and voting they would have had little, if any, formal citizenship education in most schools, it is hard to draw much by way of conclusions in those areas. In boosting citizenship education in schools it is our objective to have a more politically literate generation who, for example, regard it as important to vote and to be engaged in politics in its wider sense. Of course that is our objective and that includes the areas you were highlighting, Mr Chaytor, including awareness of the European Union and areas of that kind.

Q563 Mr Chaytor: The heart of the question is, is there a danger that the touchy-feely dimension of citizenship has prevailed over the harder-edged teaching about the basics of democratic procedures and practice?

Lord Adonis: It is definitely the case that that has been true because, of course, the number of trained citizenship teachers has been smaller and we have been ratcheting up the numbers doing, for example, the half GCSE, but I would expect those formal elements to become stronger and stronger as the numbers seeing the subject through to GCSE increase. Those numbers have been increasing. As you will know from the evidence you have taken already, this year 54,000 candidates took the half GCSE in citizenship. That is an increase from only 28,000 in 2004; it is the fastest growing GCSE at the moment. We have got plans for a full GCSE from 2009 and an A level from 2009 also. The more that citizenship is regarded as a mainstream "academic subject" in schools, the more seriously all those aspects you have highlighted will be taught, not only to those doing the GCSE but also to other students as well, I believe.

Q564 Mr Chaytor: How long before the first degrees in citizenship?

Lord Adonis: I believe some universities do degrees in citizenship, do they not? I do not have the list of degrees on offer, but I have certainly seen courses that have citizenship featuring within the wider rubric. In due course, with more students coming through with GCSEs and A levels, that will further encourage the development of higher education in this area also.

Q565 Mr Marsden: Lord Adonis, I want to turn to the issues of Britishness and identity, which you have already referred to and, as we have found, they are issues which have ratcheted up in importance over

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

the last 12–18 months. We have had a vigorous debate and discussion among our witnesses about the balance to be struck between top-down instructions about identity and Britishness and discussion of identity and Britishness. Where do you see the balance to be struck between those two views of how this should be communicated?

Lord Adonis: As in all of these areas, I think there is a straightforward curriculum and knowledge-base in this area which it is important that students should be aware of. If you take the programme of study for citizenship at Key Stage 4, it requires that a student should be taught about, “the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding”. A good deal of that is factual matter, the composition of the ethnic minorities in our country, the composition of religious groups in our country, how this has changed over time and, for example, what are the countries of origin from which new communities in the United Kingdom have come. For example, I thought Trevor was very interesting before your Committee, when he said there were 42 communities in London now where populations are more than 10,000. Understanding facts of that kind, what these communities are, what their settlement patterns are, these are like other subject matters that you can and should teach. The better the teaching in these areas, the better the quality of discussion there is going to be between students about the implications of this, for how different communities get on, what sort of policies we should be having community by community, school by school, to promote good relations between communities, mutual respect, and tolerance and so on. I would see the two in this area, as in other areas, as going very much hand-in-hand: the better the quality of teaching about the basic knowledge in this area, the better the quality of discussion there will be within the schools and in the wider forums we have talked about.

Q566 Mr Marsden: I understand that, and obviously the recommendations you receive from Keith Ajebo may well significantly strengthen work in that area, but it is true, is it not, that inevitably, and particularly at secondary level, the sort of good and enthusiastic teaching that we have all been talking about is going to lead, sooner rather than later, to some rather knotty subjects and particularly in areas where there is ethnic diversity? For example, issues like attitudes towards the role of women in society and attitudes towards homosexuality are issues which will come up sooner rather than later. How do you see those sorts of things being handled within the context of the discussion about Britishness and British values?

Lord Adonis: What you want is for them to be discussed properly in schools, as in other parts of society, but within a culture of mutual respect and tolerance and with an objective of forging harmony and mutual respect. I see the schools as being a microcosm for society at large in those areas, and I would not expect schools to behave differently from

the kind of expectations that we have of other parts of society and forums where these issues are discussed.

Q567 Mr Marsden: The Chairman has already referred to the fact that this morning we went to a Muslim school in Tooting which has just come within the framework as a voluntary-aided school. Do you think the growth of non-Christian, faith-based schools presents particular challenges, if they are to be included within the national framework, to the way in which we discuss Britishness or British values?

Lord Adonis: I think it is a particular issue for them on how they conduct these discussions. I visited the school you visited, the Gatton Primary as it has now become. Did you visit it in the Tooting cinema where it used to be, or did you visit it in the new building?

Q568 Mr Marsden: The new building.

Lord Adonis: I shall never forget the visit because it is an excellent school in all kinds of ways. One of the things which struck me was the importance that they gave to citizenship education at the secondary level. For example, they have a wide range of speakers at their morning assemblies. I spoke at one of their morning assemblies; they heard others from different faiths and different parts of the community and took this very seriously. Their Chair of Governors of the Al Risalah Trust, which is the trust behind that school, is a woman who places immense importance on the education of Muslim women right up to degree level and, as you will have found from discussing with her, they have their own very serious CPD provision which they make in respect of teachers who go through the Trust and take this very seriously. I think it is an issue which affects all schools and it is an issue that Muslim schools will have to address also in their own context.

Q569 Mr Marsden: Is there a trade-off between the ability of faith schools to come within the national framework in the National Curriculum and the way in which they teach Britishness or British values?

Lord Adonis: I would say it is as important that they teach these issues as other schools, not more, not less, it is as important that they do, which means it is very important that they do and that they take these issues seriously. I quoted the Ofsted evidence showing that they do not see any big difference between faith schools and non-faith schools in these areas, but it is as important that they do so. That is why we were glad with the declaration by all of the faith leaders earlier this year, that, for example they wanted to see all religions taught within faith schools, not just the faith or denomination of the particular religion sponsoring the school. The Government strongly welcomes that declaration by the faith leaders. As you know, the non-statutory framework for religious education is now in place; that is widely observed within faith schools themselves also. We think it is important that faith schools take their responsibilities very seriously to see that all faiths are taught and that citizenship education is taught in their schools also.

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Q570 Mr Marsden: Through you, Chairman, can I ask a final question about the progression of this discussion of Britishness and values from citizenship in schools because we took earlier evidence about what might be done beyond 16, and although there is good practice there, it is very, very patchy, and yet it is known to many of us that some of the biggest problems in terms of community cohesion come precisely in that post-16 period. What more can you do as the Department to show a greater link between what is done in schools—maybe citizenship teaching in schools—and citizenship teaching in further and higher education?

Lord Adonis: If I can deal with further education, where we have a direct funding relationship with respect to the further education sector. As you know from your evidence, we have been funding the national post-16 pilot programme which involved 120 schools, sixth-form colleges, youth services and work-based training settings in a programme which continued until earlier this year. That was judged to be a great success by those who evaluated it. As a result of the success of the Post-16 Active Citizenship Development Programme we are just about to launch the Post-16 Active Citizenship Support Programme which will provide support across the whole of the post-16 chapter in developing effective citizenship programmes. I am personally launching that on 28 November, and we are providing funding for that also.

Q571 Chairman: Let us go into greater depth on that in a minute, Lord Adonis. Before you go off social cohesion, it would be wrong if this Committee did not ask you, what on earth were you up to in the Department, as a Government, when you tried to introduce the amendment of the 25% in faith schools in your House? What was that all about?

Lord Adonis: Let us be clear on what we were seeking to do. If we can go through the chronology of this. The Church of England made a statement earlier in the summer that in respect of all its new schools it would seek to provide at least 25% of places beyond the Anglican community.

Q572 Mr Marsden: What about the Catholic community?

Lord Adonis: Yes, but it was undertaken to do that for all its schools. It was not going to be voluntary in respect of schools, it said all Church of England schools would provide at least 25% of places. There was a vigorous discussion in my House led by the former Conservative Education Secretary, Lord Baker, who sought to introduce a requirement to that effect for all new faith schools, only new faith schools, across the entire faith community. In discussions we had with the other parties we said in principle that we would be prepared to give a local authority power, but not a duty—I should stress there was never going to be a national requirement—to make this requirement in respect of new faith schools. As they say, the rest is history, you know what happened. I was very clear when I spoke about this in the Lords in the first debate on the Baker amendment that we would only move on this issue if

there was sufficient consensus. We sought to explore the scope for a consensus and we found a strong consensus for new duties on schools, not just new faith schools, but all faith schools and all schools in promoting community cohesion. The Catholic Church told us that they were keen to discuss with local authorities the making available of additional places beyond their immediate faith communities for new schools but did not want to top-slice the 25% off the existing ones. On the basis of those conversations, we decided to proceed by way of this new duty for community cohesion, but we gladly accepted what the Catholic Church said in respect of making places available to the wider community over and above those which would be available to the Catholic community for new schools.

Q573 Chairman: It did not seem to do much for community cohesion in the way that debate bounced, if you like. Is there a duty to promote community cohesion? How is that going to work through in a system where increasingly the Government seems to be encouraging the development of more faith schools?

Lord Adonis: The duty to promote community cohesion applies equally to faith schools as to other schools, and they will be expected to demonstrate in a self-evaluation that they are so promoting community cohesion. They will be inspected against it both in their Section 5 inspection, which is the inspection against the main Ofsted framework, but also the faith communities have indicated to us that in their Section 48 inspections which, as you will know, Chairman, are the inspections specifically of the faith aspect of the work of faith schools, they will also put a special emphasis on looking at the community engagement of faith schools. We see this as a big step forward in respect of faith schools.

Q574 Chairman: Is it a bit dishonest to talk to anyone, the public or this Committee, about faith schools as though they are all the same? The truth is they are different, are they not? You found that to your cost in terms of the very angry reception you got for your speech on Roman Catholics—

Lord Adonis: Chairman, I never sought to say that all faith schools are the same, there is a huge diversity within the faith sector as there is within the non-faith sector.

Q575 Chairman: Can I press you on the fact that whatever way the 25% commitment in the House of Lords came, which was debated under Kenneth Baker's name and then taken away, what about the fact that the Government is at this moment fast-tracking Muslim schools into the maintained sector?

Lord Adonis: We are not fast-tracking at all.

Q576 Chairman: Are you not?

Lord Adonis: No, Chairman. Any Muslim school that wants to come into the state sector has to follow exactly the same statutory proposals as any other independent school.

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Q577 Chairman: Why did you not correct the press stories that you were fast-tracking Muslim schools?

Lord Adonis: I can assure you, Chairman, whenever I see inaccurate statements in the press I do seek to correct them, and I will happily seek to address that.

Q578 Chairman: There is no fast-tracking of Muslim schools?

Lord Adonis: A Muslim school applying to come into the state system has to undergo the same process of statutory proposals as any other school. For example, the Gatton School which you visited this morning was agreed by the local school organisation committee in Lambeth in the same way as any other school coming into the state system would have to do so. There is no special treatment for Muslim schools at all.

Q579 Chairman: That has reassured the Committee. Let us push you on Gatton School a little. We only went to the junior school which finishes at 11 years of age, but it was made very clear to us by almost everyone, the head and other people who spoke to us in that school, that they saw post-11 education as a segregated education between boys and girls. That is a very strong commitment amongst Muslim faith schools, is it not? Does that not have serious repercussions for the educational system?

Lord Adonis: As it happens, in this country, unlike the United States, there is quite a lot of single sex education anyway, so that particular aspect of Muslim education beyond the age of 11 is not a particularly revolutionary idea, is it, Chairman?

Q580 Chairman: No, it is not, Lord Adonis, but the reasons we were given this morning were not the reasons you would normally be given for single sex education. We were given the reason that it is undesirable for young boys and girls after the age of 11 to be together in an educational institution. I have never heard that from faith schools, Catholic or Anglican or Jewish.

Lord Adonis: It certainly is the case, is it not, Chairman, that quite a number of parents who choose single sex schools for their children do so because they want them to be educated in a single sex environment?

Q581 Chairman: You would be happy to see what this Committee saw in Birmingham replicated, an enormous demand from certain sections of the population in Birmingham for single sex education for girls. Not only is the school, as you must know, the largest girls school in Europe but there is the inability to have gender-balanced education in any other school. Is that not a problem?

Lord Adonis: That is a perfectly relevant issue which local decision-makers should take account of when they decide. For example, as they will no doubt have told you, if the Al Risalah Trust is keen for their secondary school at some point to receive state funding, which they see as a logical development for their primary school which has state funding at the moment, that will be subject to decisions by the local decision-makers which, before the current

Education and Inspections Bill takes effect, is the School Organisation Committee and after the Education and Inspections Bill takes effect it will be the relevant local authority. Those are issues which the local authority will itself have to make a judgment upon when and if there is any proposal by the trust to bring a secondary school into the state system.

Q582 Chairman: On the one hand you want to put a duty on schools to promote social cohesion and on the other you are going to wash your hands of what is potentially a very large increase in the number of single sex Muslim schools?

Lord Adonis: I am absolutely not washing my hands of it, I am saying there are established and proper democratic procedures for taking these decisions, and the body that will take these decisions after the Education and Inspections Bill becomes law is the local authority. Local authorities are elected, and one of the criteria that they must assess when proposals come to them is the commitment of promoters, both in respect of trust schools and other promoters coming into the state system, in respect of community cohesion. We absolutely do not wash our hands of it, but it is not me who will take those judgments school by school, it will be the relevant elected local authority. Precisely the issues you refer to, Chairman, the desirability of more single sex education in a community and what this means to both sexes in terms of the quality of education, those and many other issues are ones which councils will have to grapple with.

Chairman: Lord Adonis, we have one last section on policy coherence and most of the questions will be about that.

Q583 Stephen Williams: Can I start by picking up on an answer you gave to Jeff Ennis. In passing you mentioned the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust and how citizenship may be a specialism in some schools. The advice we were given is that at the moment you need to have history, geography or English as a key subject in order to get this specialist arts college, humanities, whatever status. Are you saying that citizenship can now rank in parallel esteem with those subjects?

Lord Adonis: You are completely right, part citizenship can be a subsidiary subject within that and schools can then seek to develop links with other schools in the way I was describing to Jeff.

Q584 Stephen Williams: We know that citizenship has only been going for four years, but do you think there will come a time when citizenship will sit alongside history, English and geography as a key subject?

Lord Adonis: Quite frankly, I have had this debate with my officials because the citizenship community would like the schools to be able to specialise just in citizenship in the same way they can specialise just in science or maths, whereas, at the moment, as you rightly say, they have to do it in conjunction with other humanity subjects. They take on a humanities specialism and citizenship can be part of that, but

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

they must also have a specialism in another area. The rationale for that is specialisms should be in areas where you can set effective targets because of performance in National Curriculum subjects. For example, in respect of history and geography, you can set targets for performance in those subjects because they are sat widely at GCSE. In respect of citizenship, you cannot do so yet because all that is available is the half GCSE. I have debated that criterion. It may be that your Committee may want to make a case for saying that is too narrow a view of what constitutes the capacity of a school to demonstrate year-on-year improvement in a particular area and there are other ways that you could demonstrate year-on-year improvement of citizenship that are not directly related just to a GCSE. That is a debate we are having inside the Department at the moment and with the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, and we would welcome your view on it because it is very important.

Q585 Chairman: There are dual-specialisms?

Lord Adonis: There are, which is one of the reasons why you could take a view that it is perfectly reasonable to have citizenship now as a free-standing first or second specialism in its own right.

Q586 Stephen Williams: Can I move on to *Every Child Matters*. I have had a look at the list of ministerial responsibilities, I do not think it is directly one of yours but it possibly lies with your colleagues. One of the five outcomes of *Every Child Matters* is making a positive contribution. Are you confident that your ministerial colleagues, both within the DFES and other government departments who have responsibility for children, are aware of the role that citizenship can play in making a positive outcome for a community?

Lord Adonis: Both Beverley Hughes, who is directly responsible for the *Every Child Matters* agenda, and Bill Rammell, who does further and higher education, are very much aware of this. Bill has been crucial in developing the new post-16 programmes of support I have described, and both Beverley and I, because I had to take the Childcare Bill through the House of Lords, gave a lot of attention to the issue of the child's voice in the development of the new foundation stage curriculum which does place a premium on foundation stage settings seeking to engage even with young children on matters of concern to them in developing provision in their area. I have had similar discussions with Beverley in respect of primary schools also and she has strongly endorsed, for example, the work we are doing in respect of schools councils at primary level. This is a matter of interest to my ministerial colleagues across the Department.

Q587 Stephen Williams: Is there also discussion that your ministerial colleagues mentioned to you that they are exploring how the children's voice can be heard in other fields of children's policy as well, not just directly in the school?

Lord Adonis: Absolutely. If I take another area in schools, for example a very topical area of behaviour management and bullying policy, this was an ongoing debate during the passage of the Education and Inspections Bill in the decision-making process leading to a school adopting a behaviour policy. As the Bill left the Commons, schools were simply required to consult a sample of pupils in developing those policies in behaviour management plans and so on. We changed the Bill in the Lords in response to cross-party discussion on this issue to a requirement on schools to consult all pupils in a school before developing policies in this area precisely for the reason you were giving, Mr Williams, about having pupils more widely engaged in discussion and the setting of policies in such an important area as behaviour management, would be likely to get much stronger support on the part of all pupils in the schools if they have been engaged in making the policy in the first place.

Q588 Stephen Williams: Picking up on another answer that was mentioned in passing, my colleague, Paul Holmes, mentioned today's report by the Institute of Public Policy Research. One of the key findings of that report was that social mobility is affected now by pupils from some backgrounds not having what they call the "soft skills", articulation, negotiation, persuasion and so on, which enables them to make the step-change within a generation to a higher income level or get into a better university. Are you disappointed that they did not identify citizenship as one of the ways that could be improved?

Lord Adonis: I would put it the other way around and say I think citizenship is an important way that students can develop these "soft skills", and all of the applied areas of citizenship which we have talked about this afternoon are ways that schools can develop. There are other ways too, there is all the education outside the classroom agenda which is dear to the heart of the Chairman, and that plays a vital role in developing "soft skills", leadership skills, team working, awareness of communities, besides your own, and so on, which are vital in developing well-rounded and confident young people. That is important. Debating is important, for example, and I would like to see a lot more debating in state schools. I always try to give strong encouragement to initiatives in this area since I personally played a part in judging a London-wide debating competition recently specifically to encourage state schools to become more engaged. Outward-bound club activities are important. The report this morning mentioned cadet forces. A large number of state schools do provide opportunities for students in cadet forces and we think that is a thoroughly worthwhile activity also. There is a whole range of activities, including citizenship but extending well beyond, which we need to see developed further in our state schools so that those soft skills can be developed more strongly.

Q589 Stephen Williams: Have you seen *The History Boys*?

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Lord Adonis: I saw the play; I have not seen the film.

Q590 Stephen Williams: I went to see it on Saturday with a history teacher friend and he said to me afterwards, “Of course, there is no room for that sort of teaching in British schools anymore”. Is that something you would agree with?

Lord Adonis: I simply do not accept that.

Chairman: I am not sure whether to welcome this or deplore it!

Q591 Stephen Williams: It is not the incident on the motorbike!

Lord Adonis: I shall answer this very carefully as I saw Mr Chaytor’s reaction! There are some practices in *The History Boys* that we would not want to encourage more in our schools.

Q592 Stephen Williams: It was the debating I was thinking about.

Lord Adonis: In terms of debating, a well-run school has good opportunities to be able to develop these aspects, and of course we are seeking to develop the concept of the extended school across the state system which has a full programme of after-school activities as well in areas like debating, volunteering, the Duke of Edinburgh’s Award, all these sorts of things we want to see more widely developed across the state system.

Q593 Mr Wilson: Can I take you back briefly to the conversation you had some moments ago with the Chairman about the requirements being placed upon governing bodies, this amendment you are bringing, the Education and Inspections Bill. Why has that come so late into the process?

Lord Adonis: Because we are a listening government.

Q594 Chairman: You are a listening government?

Lord Adonis: Yes, we are.

Q595 Chairman: That is a new one!

Lord Adonis: Around my fifty-fifth speech on the Education Bill—

Q596 Chairman: Who were you listening to?

Lord Adonis: In that particular respect we were listening to Baroness Walmsley who moved an amendment on similar lines on behalf of the Liberal Democrats in the Lords which, as I recall, was strongly supported by your spokesman in the House of Lords, Lady Buscombe, and one or two cross-benchers also. On the basis of that, the argument that we should look more widely at the views of children and the voice of the child, not simply samples of pupils in developing behaviour policies, we said we would consider this issue more widely and we came back with a government amendment which met that concern.

Q597 Mr Wilson: I am not sure but you might be confused; you are talking about *Every Child Matters* still, are you not?

Lord Adonis: I was talking about behaviour management plans in that respect.

Q598 Mr Wilson: I was asking you about putting the duty to promote community cohesion.

Lord Adonis: I am sorry, that is a different amendment.

Q599 Mr Wilson: Yes.

Lord Adonis: We were a listening government there too. That amendment was promoted by Lord Sutherland, who is a former chief inspector of schools, who was engaged in discussions with myself, both other political parties, and the churches which led to that amendment coming forward.

Q600 Mr Chaytor: Minister, why were you not a listening government 12 months ago when this Committee, in its report on the Bill, suggested exactly the same amendment?

Lord Adonis: Sometimes it takes time for these things to penetrate but I am sure the Committee will be glad that finally the message got through to us.

Chairman: It makes us very happy that we helped you improve the Bill to some extent, Lord Adonis.

Q601 Mr Wilson: Okay, you turned your hearing aid up a year after you should have done, that is a good sign! I want to know what exactly that means in practical terms to schools and governing bodies in terms of what you expect them to do.

Lord Adonis: Schools will need to demonstrate that they have proper programmes of community engagement, of pupil engagement within schools for pupils of all backgrounds, that they have proper programmes of continuing professional development in place which respects community cohesion. All of those aspects will be in the self-evaluation requirements on schools and Ofsted will then inspect against the progress that schools have made in those respects.

Q602 Mr Wilson: Would you not agree that is extremely onerous on individual schools and individual governing bodies to take those sorts of responsibilities on?

Lord Adonis: No, because what became very clear in the discussions that we had is that most good schools do this already. A good school will take these responsibilities seriously and in this area, as in so many other areas of education, what we need to do is replicate existing best practice, and there are thousands of schools nationwide that do all of those aspects I have just referred to extremely successfully. The task is to see that all schools follow the best practice which a large number of schools already demonstrate.

Q603 Mr Wilson: This is a policy for bad schools, is it?

Lord Adonis: We want all schools to demonstrate that they are doing it. Of course it is particularly important that schools that are not doing it at the moment demonstrate that they are taking steps to do so.

Mr Wilson: Can I go to the final question which is about citizenship across stages. Obviously there is a growing and quite rigorous citizenship policy going

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

through schools at the moment, what is the national strategy to take it into other areas like higher or further education? What are you going to do there?

Q604 Chairman: I cut you off a bit because I knew the question was coming later.

Lord Adonis: I described further education and the work that we are doing there, for instance in the Post-16 Active Citizenship Development Programme that we are launching later this month which will make systematic support available. In terms of higher education, as you know, my colleague, Bill Rammell, has been leading a debate about these issues in respect to the universities and how universities themselves can take forward work on community cohesion and promoting mutual respect between different communities at the university level. Bill attaches great seriousness to that work and he has made several speeches about it. He is engaged with the vice-chancellors on it and I am sure he would be prepared to write to you and tell you more about the specific projects he has got underway in this area.

Q605 Chairman: Lord Adonis, it has been a really interesting session, but we did have a session—you referred to it—with the Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality and Human Rights, Trevor Phillips, and you said as a point of interest you had read it. In that, not in the same language, not using the same words, he did remind us of the Fulmer speech where he said this British society was sleepwalking towards segregation. I think you will find, even when we questioned you today, that this Committee is minded to be quite positive about citizenship education, but do you think the Government is aware of the dangers that Trevor Phillips has outlined? Is he being taken seriously enough?

Lord Adonis: The whole debate that we have had in the last few weeks in Parliament and, I accept, over a longer period in the Reports of your Committee about how we take forward community cohesion in schools reflects the importance we attach to seeing that schools are cohesive, both in the way that they bring together different communities within their schools but also in the way that schools interact with a wider community. Those are very important priorities for us, which is the reason why we have laid the new duties that we have in respect of schools.

Q606 Chairman: Do you think if you were starting from here you would be approving of faith schools? If there were not any and you could go back to a time when they did not exist or you could have wished them away, would it make life a lot easier for you?

Lord Adonis: That is an impossible question to answer, Chairman, because faith schools were there before the state was. In 1870, when WE Forster and, my great hero, Mr Gladstone, came to develop what is now our state education system, what did they start with? They started with a national society, with Church of England schools and the newly developing Catholic schools developing in the country. What they sought to do was build a state

education system in partnership with the churches that already were the main providers of education in our country. I believe that if you look at the way we have done this over the last 136 years as it now is, we have done it reasonably successfully as a country, including quite significant changes over time. One of the things I was most struck by in the debate with our colleagues in the Catholic education service was how far the character of Catholic education has changed over recent years. One of the figures that the Catholic education service was taking great pride in in our discussions was the fact that 30% of places in Catholic schools now go to families that are not practising Catholics. That is a huge change in the character of Catholic education in our country over the course of the last 10–20 years or so. The kind of statement the Church of England made earlier this year that at least a quarter of the places in all its new schools should be available beyond the Anglican community would have been inconceivable not that long ago in the past. I look at the relationship between the state and faith communities in England as a dynamic one in which they are very alive to wider social change and their wider community responsibilities in this country. They do not have an unchanged model of what a faith school is by any means. Since the churches were there before the state was, it is very difficult to work out what one might have done if it had been the other way around.

Q607 Chairman: I take that point entirely, Lord Adonis, but if you take the other way of phrasing it, do you think societies that do not have a history of church and faith schools will find it easier to tackle the kinds of problems that we see emerging in towns and the inner city?

Lord Adonis: I am very struck, Chairman, if you look at those societies that do have a rigid divorce between church and state in respect of education, there is no evidence that they find it easier to handle these issues. The United States' rigid constitutional divide between the two, there is no evidence that religion plays a lesser role in society at large or within the debates on what constitutes a good education. France is another country where there is this divide, and we know there have been significant issues about community cohesion there. I have not seen—this is a big and important issue—the relationship between whether or not the state itself is prepared to fund faith schools and degrees of community cohesion in society at large. On the contrary, looking at our experience in this country, the fact that, for example, the Catholic and the Jewish communities historically have not had to go private and segment themselves entirely apart from the state education system in order to have a faith-based education has been a great strength of our education system and has helped produce the cohesion we want to see. I know some take different views, but it looks to me as if the evidence is quite convincing in that area. I do not see there is an off-the-shelf model of a society which is broadly similar to ours that does not have faith schools and has a more cohesive society, I see no evidence of that.

6 November 2006 Lord Adonis

Q608 Chairman: Lord Adonis, it has been an interesting session. Thank you very much for your attendance, we enjoyed it.

Lord Adonis: Thank you, Chairman, and I will write to you on those other matters.

Chairman: Thank you.

Supplementary memorandum submitted by Lord Adonis, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Schools, Department for Education and Skills

Following my appearance before the Education and Skills Select Committee on 5 November, to give evidence to your ongoing inquiry into citizenship education, I promised to send you some further information on a couple of the points raised.

You asked for more information about the longitudinal study on citizenship education being conducted by the National Foundation for Educational Research. I have enclosed a brief note which explains the aims of the study and a summary of its latest findings.

I also thought that it might be helpful to send the Committee an additional note describing the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) Certification course in citizenship education, which was the focus of a great deal of discussion in the session. We are making 1,200 places available over the next two years to turn teachers of other subjects into qualified citizenship teachers and to broaden and deepen their knowledge of existing citizenship teachers.

Finally, I have attached some further information on the Post-16 Citizenship project which will supplement the information which you had already received in written evidence from the Learning and Skills Network (ISN) and in oral evidence from Bernadette Joslin.

January 2007

Continuing Professional Development Certification course

- Following a successful pilot of the CPD Certificate course in the North West, Midlands and London/South East regions in 2005, Andrew Adonis announced DfES to fund a total of 1,200 places at 17 HEIs over the next two years for teachers to undertake to the certificate.
- The course will enable citizenship teachers to broaden and deepen their subject knowledge in order to improve the quality of their teaching and raise standards.
- 17 HEI's have been actively recruiting teachers and most of the courses have started already. The remainder of the courses will begin this month. Ofsted will be monitoring the implementation of these courses.
- The course is a continuing professional development course for existing teachers. It is aimed at people who have already completed Initial Teacher Training. The CPD course serves to broaden and deepen their subject knowledge to turn existing teachers of other subjects into qualified citizenship teachers.
- HEI's can deliver the course "thick"—over one term or "thin"—over three terms—12 months. Most courses require five days of contact time plus self.
- The CPD courses is based on a set of standards which have been developed and are based upon current TDA Qualified Teacher Standards. These standards demand increased levels of subject knowledge and skills and the core requirement of all of the HEI courses relate to these.

THE CPD HANDBOOK

- In April this year we published, in association with a number of other organizations with expertise in citizenship education, a CPD handbook *Making Sense of Citizenship* to support teachers.
- Two free copies have been sent to secondary schools. We have also sent copies to Advanced Skills Teachers, LA Advisors and CPD recruits.
- Five chapters of the handbook, including the chapter on Primary Schools, are available online.

The Longitudinal Study on Citizenship Education by the National Foundation for Educational Research

- The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) commissioned the NFER to undertake a groundbreaking longitudinal study of citizenship education in schools over eight years (2001–09). The study tracks a cohort (over 10,000) of the first year group of young people to receive continuous entitlement to citizenship education from age 11–18.

-
- The study has four components:
 - A tracking survey of young people in Year 7 (age 11–12) in 2002–03, through Years 9 (age 13–14), 11 (15–16) and 13 (or equivalent when they are aged 18). Questionnaires are also completed by the students’ citizenship teachers and school leaders.
 - A cross-sectional survey which takes place every two years and surveys Year 8 (age 12–13), 10 (14–15) and 12 (16–17) students and their citizenship teachers and school or college leaders.
 - Longitudinal case-studies in 12 schools.
 - An on-going literature review.
 - The latest report was published in May 2006 and has a specific focus on active citizenship and young people. This was in direct response to a growing recognition of the link between citizenship education in schools and wider policy initiatives which attempt to increase the participation and engagement of children and young people in society.
 - The report uses the latest data from the Study in three ways:
 - to update the progress of the development of citizenship education, as an active practice, in schools generally from 2003–05;
 - to probe the nature and extent of the opportunities and experiences that students have had in relation to citizenship as an active practice in their schools, and in wider communities (ie in contexts beyond school) and the challenges involved in providing such opportunities and experiences; and
 - to explore the readiness of citizenship education practice in schools to contribute to wider policy initiatives, notably the make a positive contribution outcome in the *Every Child Matters: Change for Children* programme and civil renewal action plan. The report’s discussion and conclusions focus on the key challenges to the promotion of active citizenship in and beyond school.
 - The findings from the 2006 report update are listed in brief below:
 - Analysis suggests that the main change in approach to citizenship education in schools has been an increased focus on curriculum aspects of citizenship education provision. The proportion of schools described as progressing and implicit, in the typology of schools developed in 2003, remained largely unchanged in 2005. However, the proportion of schools described as minimalist decreased, while the proportion described as focused increased.
 - Schools continued to use a variety of citizenship delivery models. However, there was a notable increase in the use of dedicated timeslots and in the use of assembly time.
 - Teachers were more likely in 2005, than in 2003, to believe that citizenship education was best approached as a specific subject and through extra-curricular activities.
 - School leaders and teachers were more familiar with a range of key documents related to citizenship education in 2005 than in 2003.
 - Teacher confidence in teaching citizenship-related topics saw a moderate increase in 2005, although overall confidence levels remained relatively low.
 - Students were more aware of citizenship in 2005 than in 2003. The main ways in which they reported learning about citizenship was: through personal, social and health education (PSHE), religious education, as a discrete subject and tutor groups. Descriptions of citizenship education that encompassed “active” components, such as voting and politics, were relatively uncommon amongst students, although a sizeable proportion identified the importance of belonging to the community.
 - Although traditional teaching and learning methods continued to dominate in citizenship and other subjects, a range of more active methods were also used. There was also an increase in the use of computers, the internet and external agencies, and a decrease in the use of textbooks.
 - There was a substantial increase in the proportion of schools with an assessment policy for citizenship education in 2005, and the use of formal assessment methods was considerably more widespread than in 2003.
 - Teachers received more training in citizenship in 2005 than in 2003. Despite this there was a high demand for further training in relation to subject matter, assessment and reporting and teaching methods.
 - The main challenges to citizenship education were felt, by school leaders and teachers, to include time pressure, assessment, the status of citizenship and teachers’ subject expertise with student engagement and participation seen as lesser challenges.

For further information about the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study and details of previous annual reports visit www.nfer.ac.uk/research-areas/citizenship

The Ministerial Working Party

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION WORKING PARTY

Background

- The working party was set up to provide support for the implementation of citizenship education and its remit covered primary and secondary schools. Perhaps inevitably it tended to focus more strongly on the secondary sector in advance of the introduction of statutory citizenship there.
- The working party met once or twice a term and there were around 20–25 people involved, drawn from a range of backgrounds. The biggest single group was teachers and head teachers but there were also local authority advisers, officers from the QCA, Ofsted and the TTA, and representatives of some faith groups and citizenship organisations. There were one or two Members of Parliament who had taken a particular interest in citizenship education such as Yasmin Alibhai Brown and Andrew Rowe MP.
- The working party was chaired by the Minister with responsibility for Citizenship, initially Jacqui Smith, who found the group a useful forum for discussion of key issues but also for doing some important practical work towards policy implementation eg in commenting on the QCA schemes of work and offering guidance on the development of resources.
- In 2002, the Citizenship Education Working Party was reconstituted on the basis that it offers a unique forum for discussion bringing together all the most involved groups and ensures that citizenship education is viewed at a strategic level.
- Although looking at citizenship education across the whole age range, it should have a particular focus on 14–19 including the transition at Key Stage 3–4 and the provision for 16–19.
- The membership should reflect this emphasis and would, therefore, include people from schools, FE, training providers and the voluntary and youth sectors, as well as QCA, TTA and Ofsted. It would also be important to have representation from business and enterprise education. It would be good to have one or two young people on the group.
- The specific tasks of the group include:
 - giving advice to the Department on specific issues—such as identifying where there was a need for particular support in delivering citizenship education;
 - facilitating co-ordination between the key players on significant issues like accreditation, assessment and training;
 - acting as a sounding board for policy development especially on Key Stage 4 and beyond and, in this regard, helping to ensure that the progressive and developmental nature of citizenship education is maintained and strengthened;
 - helping to develop thinking and practice on key aspects of citizenship education eg Citizenship and ICT, Citizenship and Key Stage strategies, Citizenship and standards, Citizenship and Enterprise Education;
 - disseminating thinking and practice from the Department to colleagues and organisations with which the members were associated and providing feedback;
 - providing a critical overview on important tools like the website and keeping a watching eye on things like the eight year longitudinal research project;
 - identifying and possibly co-ordinating the interests of different units, particularly within the Department, which have a concern and an involvement in developments in citizenship education, such as the Children and Young People's Unit; and
 - The establishment of such a group with this remit would send a very positive message about the importance attached to citizenship education and the Government's commitment to support its delivery.

The group is now called the Ministerial seminar group and contains people from DCA, Home Office and DCLG and the immigration board, Association of Citizenship Teaching and Ofsted.

It is chaired by Lord Phillips of Sudbury and vice chaired by Jan Newton, DfES Advisor on Citizenship Education.

Monday 11 December 2006

Members present:

Mr Barry Sheerman, in the Chair

Mr Douglas Carswell
Mr David Chaytor
Jeff Ennis
Paul Holmes
Helen Jones

Fiona Mactaggart
Mr Gordon Marsden
Stephen Williams
Mr Rob Wilson

Witnesses: **The Most Reverend Vincent Nichols**, Archbishop of Birmingham, Chairman of the Catholic Education Service; and **Dr Muhammad Abdul Bari**, Secretary General, Muslim Council of Britain; gave evidence.

Q609 Chairman: Can I welcome Archbishop Vincent Nichols and Dr Bari to our proceedings? I have already said to them that this is a very important inquiry for us, this inquiry into citizenship, what we mean by it, what the scope of it is and how it is best delivered in the educational setting. We are drawing somewhere towards the end of the inquiry, so we have put a lot of store on this session, and I should warn you, Archbishop and Dr Bari, that the Committee gets dangerous towards the end of an inquiry when we actually know something about the subject. What I want to ask you is, in terms of how we tackle citizenship and skills, is this something sort of trendy and fashionable, at the moment, is it something that has always happened in schools that you are familiar with, and how do you see citizenship at the moment; can we start with Archbishop Nichols?

Archbishop Nichols: Preparing to come here this afternoon has been very interesting for me, because I have had to do a bit of reading and find out a lot more about the expectations around the topic of citizenship. I have come up with a little definition which was helpful to me and I want to keep in mind, at least. Citizenship I would define as the active and creative role that every person is called to play in the local, national and global community. That is a kind of starting-point. Another thing then relates very well to the three interrelated components which seem to have been put forward by the DfES and others, making up the substance of citizenship; those three are social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. It is around those three that I would hope to shape my contribution and hopefully make it helpful to you. Taking those three, there are certainly some things that are very familiar and, in that sense, would not be novel in the work and procedure of a Catholic school, but there would be others that I would have to say I have no memory of delving into when I was at school and I think they would centre around particularly the last, the political literacy. I think those three headings are the ones I would dwell on and could go on about a little bit, I could give evidence under each of the three, but I would rather pace it as you wish rather than I wish.

Q610 Chairman: Thank you, Archbishop. Dr Bari?

Dr Bari: Thank you, Chairman. I think, when it comes to the ethos of Islam, education is a holistic

one, where citizenship, responsibility or duties, they are integrated within the Muslim education, so it is not a separate subject as such, it is part of one's own endeavour as to how to deal with others, with the society, with the state. Muslims consider this loyalty to a country where they reside or where they are born as an inevitable responsibility, so it is a civic, political aspect as well as a religious aspect. A good Muslim who understands Islam, our religion, would be from his, or her, own initiative loyal citizens in their responsibilities towards their neighbours, to society, towards Parliament even, all themes come together as a package in Islamic education. I think Muslim faith schools, in spite of all the difficulties, are trying their best to inculcate the ethos of a holistic theme in education, where citizenship is an integrated whole of the subject.

Q611 Chairman: Can I ask you both, in terms of the way in which we use citizenship to grow healthy communities, communities that understand each other, that can work together, that can live together in harmony, do you think that this is one of the most important parts of citizenship?

Archbishop Nichols: I think, of the three sections, the three components, I would not take any of them as being more important than another because I think they are integrated together. For example, that strand, that component of social and moral responsibility is an essential foundation, and I think, for me, demonstrates very clearly that neither citizenship nor community cohesion can ever be properly understood in morally neutral terms, or not morally neutral activities. Quite simply, they are the seeking of a good life together and that implies within it a moral coherence and some ability to think ethically and morally. So of that strand there are great foundations that every school should be laying down from its own ethos, from its own moral cohesion. I will go on a bit further and say if a school cannot give an account of its moral ethos, of its code of life, then it is going to struggle actually to have the foundation on which to build the first component of citizenship and cohesive society, which is social and moral responsibility. I think the second is equally important, of community involvement, and that tests schools in their links with the community of which they are a part or which surrounds them. Some schools, I think, have natural advantages

because they are, for example, a Catholic school. By definition it is part of a wider community, indeed a worldwide community, so it has some immediate links on which to move into action in community involvement. The third factor is, and I will keep coming back to these three, political literacy, and that, I think, is the more challenging one, probably, for many church schools. There is much evidence which I could give you of the way in which schools practise within their lives rudimentary forms of political involvement and learning the skills of debate and voting, and all the rest of it. I think all those three are integral and you cannot say that citizenship is more about one than the other; it is about all those three being together.

Q612 Chairman: Archbishop, even with the best of intentions, some of your critics, of faith schools, would say that it is quite difficult to understand the broader community and living together in that community, faith schools actually militate against that because faith schools, by their very definition, cluster a faith around that school and reinforce that community's separateness. Is not that a barrier to opening up to other communities?

Archbishop Nichols: I know that is what people say but it is helpful sometimes to look at some of the evidence and not to confuse schools with society. Schools, education, are precisely a reality in which people are prepared for what lies ahead, so schools are not kinds of mini practice grounds for what society is like, but they are trying to lay the foundations of effective citizenship and effective social cohesion. I think a school should be examined and tested on what it does and I would say there is evidence aplenty to show that Catholic schools, and I speak for those, actually lay the foundations, for example, of respect. The recent Ofsted study said that Catholic schools in the secondary phase are twice as effective as other schools at generating the value of respect. That is a pretty central, solid foundation and I do not think it supports those who say, "Well, they're inward-looking, enclosed communities that are concerned only about themselves." Of course, Ofsted evidence tells you—I am sure you do not need me to tell you this—that Catholic schools, ethnically and socially, are as diverse as any and they have greater proportions of some, etc. You know all those facts; you do not need me to tell you.

Q613 Chairman: It does worry us sometimes, as we sit here and take evidence, some of the evidence we had when we were looking at admissions to schools, that faith schools seemed, on the evidence, to be more prone to be selective, even if that selection was done in quite a sophisticated way, in the sense that we did note a lesser number and a lesser percentage of special educational needs students and students on free school meals. If you look at the range, it seemed to be that faith schools were taking fewer of those, in percentage terms, than non-faith schools. Is not that surprising?

Archbishop Nichols: I am not sure of those statistics, frankly, because they are not quite the same as the ones I have got. I think you need to go back to the fundamental point: faith schools, Catholic schools, respond to the wishes of parents and that is where the drive comes from. In that sense, parents choose schools for their children; that is the right principle, rather than schools thinking they are picking the students that they want.

Q614 Chairman: You would disagree with that latter view?

Archbishop Nichols: The principle from which I understand education is that it is a partnership between family and school and that the people with prime responsibility for education are the parents, and the school and the state are to assist and work together with parents, but, as far as possible, the choice of school should be with the parents.

Q615 Chairman: Dr Bari, what is your view on this?

Dr Bari: I think parental opinion is very important. At the end of the day, education is for individuals becoming good human beings. I want to emphasise these words 'human beings'. It is so important. One is talking about human beings as holistic things, definitely the political aspect, social, all aspects are part of the whole human being. We have seen in history that good citizens of a certain country could be very detrimental to probably good citizens of another country; that is why we have some world wars and many wars. Citizenship has to be taken in the context of creating human beings that can relate to the benefit of the wider society and the state. In that sense, I can talk about Islamic ethos of education as very holistic, and what our religion teaches is our unilateral responsibility towards our neighbours, towards society, in respect of what is done. This is important in the holistic aspect of Muslim education. The Muslim faith schools, definitely at the moment, are Muslim-specific but we have to appreciate that the Muslims constitute probably—they come from various backgrounds. I have been related with one of the schools in Tower Hamlets and 10, 12 ethnic minority people are within those schools, and these schools teach citizenship in a holistic manner. In the framework of individuals' identity, and identity is fundamentally important for every child, an identity, multiple identity, there is a very strong aspect of religious identity, an aspect of racial identity, an aspect of citizenship or national identity and they are not exclusive to each other, so they are complementary to each other. The citizenship education in the school that I am a governor of is given, on the whole, perspective and we have seen, when a child is given self-esteem and self-confidence in his, or her, own ethnic background, religious background and overall background, as in the neighbourhood, then that child can relate to the wider society far better than the one who does not have self-esteem or self-confidence in his, or her, identity. By nature, faith schools are selective, but over the last few months we have seen there has been some debate and Muslims in general have agreed to have 25% of children from

other faiths. Muslims did not have any issue on that, we agreed, and if anything comes from that Muslim schools will be welcoming 25%, or whatever percentage of children, from any other faith, so that is not an issue for us. What is important is, along with the political literacy, most important is emotional engagement, so that children, the community, feel ownership of the whole system and that relates to many of the aspects of political decisions governing also communities' performance in terms of educational, employment and other performance. The community, especially those communities who are settling in new environments, coming from a very different background, but they need to feel that they are part of that civil society; it is a two-way process. They have to come and try to accommodate and work with the wider society, integrate positively. At the same time, those who settled in this country many decades ago and also are in the dominating community, they have to go forward as well. As I say, that is a reciprocal responsibility. I think emotional engagement is so important for giving proper citizenship education for our children.

Chairman: Thank you for that, Archbishop and Dr Bari.

Q616 Mr Wilson: I think we all agree at one level, no-one would disagree with this concept of citizenship, it is all a bit "motherhood and apple pie" really, depending on whose interpretation of it, or definition, you think is right. Citizenship lessons in schools is a concept being pushed on schools by politically-correct-minded, muesli-crunching people from places like Islington, is it not?

Archbishop Nichols: I do not know who lives in Islington.

Q617 Mr Wilson: The Prime Minister used to.

Archbishop Nichols: I see. If it is understood in the kind of way that I think some of the official thinking was being presented, I think I can see it serving a good purpose. I think, clearly, given those three different components that I have outlined, there will be substantial parts of the pursuit of them that will be integral to the life certainly of a Catholic school and I would imagine in many schools. There are some which I think are very proper objectives for a school to have. For example, I was in a primary school the other day and they have a school council and they have nominations, hustings, elections, the leader of the local council comes in to read out the results and install the new school council. We never had anything like that, but I think that is an excellent way for children to begin to understand, to gain political literacy, or, in the words of Sir Bernard Crick, to learn the ways in which they can take part in processes in society by which, for example, his example, they could hope to change unjust laws. I think things like political literacy are very important.

Dr Bari: I think, wherever it comes from, if it serves the purpose that is fine, whether bottom up or top down. I think, where we see citizenship, and we have taken it on board and, as I mention, in spite of

resource difficulty, Muslim schools, in general, have incorporated citizenship in their PSHE and in many aspects of the curriculum, not as a separate subject, probably. What we have seen over the years, since 2002, probably, I do not know, whether state schools have done their job properly, so these are big questions.

Q618 Mr Wilson: Do you not think that what it is actually doing is organising lessons in indoctrination, and somebody should stand up and say that is exactly what it is and that we should not be doing it and that it is nonsense?

Dr Bari: I think education is not indoctrination, and people may have certain views, and very strong views, but everybody has a choice.

Q619 Mr Wilson: Children do not have a choice about the lessons they go to, do they?

Dr Bari: Children do not have a choice.

Q620 Mr Wilson: Then they have to accept it, do they not?

Dr Bari: Whatever the syllabus is that the governors and teachers decide, yes, but in the classroom. I have been a teacher for many years in the classroom, there is tremendous variety, you can teach in what way you like, so diversity in teaching style is important. I can just remind you of one of the verses of the Koran: that there is no compulsion in religion. If there is compulsion then it is not Islam's spirit. You cannot force anyone to accept certain things. I know children could be vulnerable compared with the teachers and the establishment but it is our collective responsibility to give sound education.

Q621 Mr Wilson: Can I just be clear then, citizenship lessons in Muslim schools will be voluntary rather than compulsory?

Dr Bari: It depends on the governing body and on the basis of the instructions. Whether voluntary or compulsory the governing body has to decide how best it can be accommodated in the holistic education process of the whole school; that is what I am saying, that it is part of the whole, not just an isolated subject.

Q622 Mr Wilson: If I may ask the Archbishop, one of the problems there is with citizenship, I think, is that it is putting together a quite varied range of things—politics, morality, values, race, diversity and lots of things like that—and it is pushing them together when they all should be dealt with independently. Teaching about Britishness should be taught in history, should it not, for example?

Archbishop Nichols: I think the comments I have made so far would illustrate a measure of agreement with you and a measure of disagreement. I do not think any teaching, frankly, is morally neutral. I think we have lived at a time when there has been a mistaken belief that what is done in a classroom is value-free; that is absolute nonsense, it always has been. It is perfectly clear, from research that has been published just recently, about character education and the formation of virtues, that 16–19

year olds look to their teachers to embody virtue, to embody values, and that always goes on in the classroom. There is no morally neutral education, and therefore what is very important in the school is, whatever subject is being taught, it is clear the perspective from which it is coming. That is what stops education being indoctrination. Indoctrination occurs when the values are covert, when they are hidden, and not when they are placed up forward, and people know exactly what is being presented and they are free to discuss it. I will come to your point, if I may. Therefore, citizenship is not a separate zone in an education curriculum. It has to be coherent with the whole ethos of the school and the curriculum as a whole, and when that happens it is seen to be integral to the whole effort of the school and not therefore like a cuckoo in a nest, trying to subvert what else is done in school.

Q623 Mr Wilson: As you have said yourself, it is about ethics and ethos, it is not about trying to push all these things together into one subject which will be forced down the throats of children. Your schools, presumably, have these ethics and ethos so they should not need citizenship lessons because they should be good citizens anyway, should they not?

Archbishop Nichols: I think they will, but there are specific skills too, as I used the phrase before, the active and creative role of every person that they are called to play in their local political community, there are specific skills to those.

Q624 Mr Wilson: They do that, anyway do they not?

Archbishop Nichols: I do not think they did when I was at school, frankly.

Q625 Mr Wilson: Do they not do that now?

Archbishop Nichols: I think they do it increasingly so, and I think the prompt over the last few years, over the citizenship agenda, as long as it is not taken in a doctrinaire manner, is a helpful prompt to many schools and to ours.

Q626 Mr Wilson: What do you think citizenship education should entail, the lessons, what should be in those?

Archbishop Nichols: I would probably agree with Dr Bari, that this is going to be determined, to some extent, school by school, but I would expect a school to be able to demonstrate how it handles those three component parts of what I understand to be formation for citizenship. It should be able to show quite clearly how it pursues the social and moral responsibility formation of its youngsters. It will do some of that there, occasionally it will do it in debates, in this or in other ways, asking in visiting speakers to present some of the issues of the day and seeing how they thought children handled it. It will demonstrate how it does its community responsibility, and they might do that throughout the years and in a variety of different ways, many of which I could illustrate to you. I think it should also

be able to demonstrate how it begins to pull some of those together in active political literacy and involvement.

Q627 Mr Wilson: Broadly are you happy with the current approach to citizenship education and advice and guidance, and all those other things from the DfES?

Archbishop Nichols: I would have to turn and ask Father Joe, to be quite honest with you, I do not interface with schools all the time. I think Mrs Stannard, when she was here, expressed a reasonably positive view of the impact it has on our schools. Looking at it from a slightly more distant point of view, I would not wish it to be seen or presented in the Catholic school, I have said this already, as a kind of segment that runs against the grain of the rest of the school activity. I do not see any reason why it should and I would resist it if it did.

Q628 Mr Wilson: Have you any criticism whatsoever of the citizenship education in schools; either of you?

Archbishop Nichols: I am not aware of a great deal of criticism in Catholic schools, other than the normal ones of pressure on time; it is a stretching of an already crowded curriculum, but I am not aware of great resistance to the general thrust of citizenship education and what they are trying to achieve. While Dr Bari speaks, I will ask Joe if he would like me to change that.

Dr Bari: I think, state schools or faith schools, at the moment what I see, as a teacher as well as having some other roles, is that citizenship education could be more holistic; it also depends on the individual schools. It appears that this is taken sort of as a piecemeal rather than as an integrated whole; that would be my personal criticism.

Archbishop Nichols: May I quickly suggest that I echo the view that Dr Bari has just given and just to add more emphasis; the need to be attentive that citizenship as a strand of education remains integrated with PSHE and other aspects of the curriculum and does not become too detached.

Q629 Mr Chaytor: The Education and Inspections Act, which completed its passage through Parliament a few weeks ago, contains a new duty on schools to promote community cohesion, and, as part of the discussion around that, an agreement was reached between Government and the major faiths that new faith schools would be required to admit up to 25% of children not of the faith. First of all, can I clarify something which Dr Bari said earlier, that Muslim faith schools are content to admit children not of the Muslim faith in their existing schools: is this what I understood you to say earlier?

Dr Bari: When the consultation was being carried out, we had met education officers and ministers and we, Association of Muslim schools, Muslim Council of Britain, educationally were represented. We said that it is not difficult at all for Muslim schools to take 25%, or whatever percentage there is, from non-Muslim backgrounds.

Q630 Mr Chaytor: In existing Muslim schools?

Dr Bari: Yes, and in newer schools.

Q631 Mr Chaytor: In terms of the Catholic Church, the 25% will apply only to new schools, is that right?

Archbishop Nichols: No, we did not agree to an intake of 25% just like that. What Lord Baker sought was to impose 25% and, as you will remember, that was rejected by the Lords eventually. The agreement that we came to was that, in the provision, in the planning of new Catholic schools, on the basis of local agreement and of consultation with people in the locality, those schools could be planned and built so as to contain additional places for those that wanted them up to 25%, which is very different from a normal provision for Catholic schools of 25% sliced off for those who are not of the Catholic faith.

Q632 Mr Chaytor: The 25% is in addition to what would have been the normal intake of those schools. I understand that.

Archbishop Nichols: Yes, with local agreement and in response to local demand.

Q633 Mr Chaytor: My question is, how does each of you see the development of citizenship education being different in a school which comprises children wholly of a faith as against a faith school which includes children of other faiths, or should it not make any difference whatsoever?

Dr Bari: I think for us it is not difficult because what happens, our religion is very diverse, it is like Christianity, we have Shia, Sunni and really many variations and denominations. If a Muslim school can accommodate all sorts of people within the diverse Muslim faith then there should not be any difficulty in taking other faith groups. Overall, the emphasis is, as I mentioned, to create good human beings. Whilst citizenship is a part of that aspect, where citizenship responsibility, responsibility towards others, neighbours, they come as not only political or as national curriculum teaching but also from a diverse perspective. We have thought between ourselves and we came to an agreement that it would not create any difficulty for us.

Q634 Mr Chaytor: Do you see there is an advantage to the development of citizenship education in having non-Muslim pupils in Muslim schools, or does it make no difference?

Dr Bari: It depends upon the individual school situation. That could be an advantage, that could be a disappointment, but if the decision is taken then the school and the governing body should work on that. We could not foresee any difficulty in accommodating this.

Archbishop Nichols: In response, I think I would have to start by saying that, on average, there are virtually 30% of children not of the Catholic faith in Catholic schools anyway.

Q635 Mr Chaytor: Why was the Church so resistant to the suggested 25%? You argue that it is a strength to have an ethnically mixed and diverse pupil body; why should you resist it?

Archbishop Nichols: Let us not confuse ethnicity and religion. We have very ethnically diverse schools as they are. Even when they are 80, 90% Catholics, they are ethnically very diverse.

Q636 Mr Chaytor: Why the pressure to keep those which are not ethnically diverse as they are?

Archbishop Nichols: No, those that are religiously diverse, the diversity, on average, is 30%. The provision that Lord Baker put forward was that a school would be built on its customary basis, which is the basis of Catholic need, and then 25% would be taken off. That would mean, in effect, turning away 25% of the pupils for whom the school was built; that was why we objected to that. The fact that there will be a proportion of students who are not Catholics in a Catholic school has proved not to be a problem, and on the whole we would welcome the opportunity of expanding the opportunities for people to come to Catholic schools because we believe Catholic education is humanly sound and delivers a good education for whoever receives it. That is our experience in this country and it is our experience across the world, that many, many people go to Catholic schools and benefit enormously, whatever their religious adherence.

Q637 Mr Chaytor: Would you argue, therefore, that the proportion of faith schools in the total provision of schools should be increased and that there are no issues for social segregation whatsoever?

Archbishop Nichols: I would go back to my original point, and that is that education must be responsive to the wishes of parents. I think it was the argument of the Church of England over the last five years that they wanted to expand the provision of Church of England schools because that was going to respond to the parents' need and what they want.

Q638 Mr Chaytor: There is not an increasing proportion of Church of England parents in the population as a whole, rather the opposite, I would have thought?

Archbishop Nichols: I do not know about that. The parents sometimes choose their children's schools because they like the education that they deliver, not necessarily or solely because of religious adherence. The situation the Catholic Church has been in for the last 100 years is that it has not been allowed to plan or build schools beyond its own need; we have been restricted to that. I welcome this new agreement, which might mean we are not so restricted and are able to spread the benefits of Catholic education more widely.

Q639 Mr Chaytor: You have not really answered the question as to whether an increasing proportion of faith schools in the nation as a whole would lead inevitably to greater social segregation?

Archbishop Nichols: Again, I do not see any evidence for the basis of that assumption.

Q640 Mr Chaytor: Northern Ireland?

Archbishop Nichols: Where do you want to begin? This is put forward constantly. I would happily leave you a letter which was sent to Lord Baker from a man called Tony Spencer, who worked for the DfES in Northern Ireland and founded the Integrated School Trusts, and therefore speaks of these issues probably with more authority than most people, and certainly than I do.¹ He says there are absolutely no applications of the situation in Northern Ireland to this country, because, in a nutshell, Northern Ireland is a socially divided country, and part of the substance of that division is religious identity, and that is not the case in Britain.

Q641 Mr Chaytor: What about Bradford?

Archbishop Nichols: My impression would be that, in Bradford and in Birmingham and in places like that, what we are talking about is a social division, what we are talking about is an economic division and not a division that is reinforced particularly by religious identity.

Q642 Mr Chaytor: Could I ask one other question on a different issue? One of the characteristics of faith schools in the teaching of citizenship context must be that a set of values is handed down from generation to generation. I am interested in the aspect of citizenship which encourages critical thinking and questioning. My question to both of you is would it be seen to be a successful outcome for a faith school if the result of a programme of citizenship education led a young person to reject the faith at the age of 16 or 18? Would that be success or failure in the context of a faith school?

Dr Bari: I think, tolerance, respect, celebration, these are not only religious value but our natural diversity. Throughout history human beings have acquired these and tolerance is probably the minimum, the bottom line. I think we are expected from our religion not only to tolerate but respect other people's opinion, whether we agree or not, and that brings us to the issue, of being changeable, as you mention; religion is a choice, individual choice, people can change. In our religion, of course, there is no coercion, I should say there is discouragement, on changing of religion, but if somebody decides to change religion there is no way Islam will ask someone to force or coerce them to bring that person to religion, because, at the end of the day, every human being is responsible for his, or her, own act; that is according to the verse of the Koran. If an adult takes individual choice then that is his, or hers.

Q643 Mr Chaytor: Would it be seen as a triumph for the citizenship teacher who had developed such creative thinking, or would it be seen as a matter of regret?

Dr Bari: No. I think the citizenship teacher, or any teacher, should teach pupils critically to ask questions, so it is not only a citizenship teacher, it is a science teacher, I am a science teacher. As a science teacher, or whatever teacher I am, the main part of

education in school is to create mental faculties so that people can ask questions. Obviously, questions have to be based on empiricism or on the basis of knowledge, not emotion. This critical analysis of what it achieves, if this influences a child of that age to remain in religion, so be it, and to change the religion, then what could you do?

Archbishop Nichols: I am very grateful to you for opening up this question of the purpose of citizenship at least to produce a critique. I think it was Sir Bernard Crick who constantly used the phrase "it should produce critical democracy." I think some exponents of citizenship seem to see it as a way of generating conformity with current social mores, which I think is quite underhanded and not right at all. I am also grateful for the scenario you put of a 16 year old stopping being a Catholic, or stopping practising his faith. I can assure you, that has gone on for a long time, and it would not be the product of citizenship, and nor would it be, necessarily, for me, a great regret. The purpose of Catholic schools is not, as the priest would be wanting to say, to get bums on seats in church, that is not the point; the point is to educate people to their full dignity. I could switch into religious language very easily, but I will not. That is the purpose of it, and part of that is to generate a critical faculty. The fundamental stance of somebody committed to the truth of the Catholic faith is that they will respect that process of thought and criticism. Maybe moving off onto a different path, they will remain confident in their Catholic faith and they will be assured that the bottom line, the outcome of a person's life, and therefore of education, is not drawn when a person is 16.

Chairman: If we can change our focus just slightly to open on the more controversial issues of diversity and Britishness, Stephen is going to open up on this.

Q644 Stephen Williams: Can I start off with the Archbishop and just read out, for the record, a short extract from a sermon you gave on 26 November, if you do not mind your words being quoted back to you. You said: "It is simply unacceptable to suggest that the resources of the faith communities, whether in schools, adoption agencies, welfare programmes, halls and shelters can work in cooperation with public authorities only if the faith communities accept not simply a legal framework but also the moral standards at present being touted by Government." Could I ask you to expand on that and tell the Committee which moral standards you object to being touted by the present Government?

Archbishop Nichols: You must understand that the context of the sermon was a civic mass, so what I was doing in that was reflecting a little bit on the nature of civic life and the distinction between civic life and political life. What I was encouraging the community, which those in front of me there represented, to see was the importance of civic life as co-operation between all of us, and that is an important foundation, and indeed I think contribution, to a more particularly political life whose main objective is good order, and therefore the formulation of laws and legal expectations that

¹ Ev 198–199

we must all meet and happily would strive to do so. I illustrated the kinds of values in the sermon, and if you want to quote those bits at me as well I am very happy. They were things to do with the beginnings of life, about the substance of human life, the creation of human life, they were to do with the endings of human life and they were to do with requiring a Catholic agency, such as an adoption agency, to act on the belief that it is as morally acceptable for a child to be placed with a same-sex couple as it is to be placed with a man and a woman in marriage. It was the potential of that obligation being placed on them to which I was objecting.

Q645 Stephen Williams: Could I tease out some of those issues then, Chairman? Archbishop, in your remarks earlier in the session, you mentioned several times political literacy, and emotional literacy is something that I hope all faith schools would want to equip their pupils with as well, and clearly that falls within the PSHE lessons and the moral ethos of the school. Within the context of citizenship, I am not talking about emotional literacy, it is about empathy for others in society as well, and whatever the teachings of the particular faith, whether it is Catholicism or Islam, when children go into the wider world they will meet people who come from same-sex relationships, or are the children perhaps of people who are in same-sex relationships who have engaged in a civil partnership, and so on. In the context of citizenship, how do you equip the children who attend Catholic faith schools to deal with the world as it is rather than how you would like it to be?

Archbishop Nichols: I would like to repeat a comment that I made earlier, that I would not expect citizenship to be a forum in which there was a kind of moral neutrality suddenly declared, because that is not how life is either. We do have to struggle, in conversation, in discussion, with what makes for human goodness and what makes for human happiness. Clearly, what I would expect in any part of Catholic education, whether it is an ethics class or a citizenship class, it should not really make any difference, would be both a willingness to look at the reality, to stand firmly against what is evidently evil, which would be discrimination and hostility and any expression of violence, of language or of action, towards people who are different, whether that be in their sexual orientation, their ethnicity, or whatever, and yet also a readiness to explore the reasons for the moral framework that our country has been used to for a long time.

Q646 Stephen Williams: I think, Archbishop, you mentioned that teachers should not come from a neutral standpoint. Would you expect the teachers in Catholic schools to encourage debate and controversy within the context of citizenship lessons, or somebody either in the class or the teachers could put an opposing viewpoint to the teachings of the Church, for instance, on sexuality or abortion, euthanasia, which are the other subjects you mentioned?

Archbishop Nichols: According to the age of the children, I would expect this in any class, and certainly I would expect it in an RE class. You do not have to have a citizenship class in order to generate discussion.

Q647 Stephen Williams: Could I turn to Dr Bari, Chairman, largely on the same line of questioning? In your earlier answers you mentioned that you wanted Islamic schools to turn out holistic human beings who relate to wider society. On the same point as I put to the Archbishop, in the context of a citizenship lesson in an Islamic school, how do you prepare your children for the wider world as it is, where they will meet gay MPs, people who engage in same-sex relationships, civil partnerships, and so on, who do not necessarily accept the teachings of the Islamic faith?

Dr Bari: I think there are realities in this world and social trends change throughout the ages, and Britain has changed, Europe has changed and most societies change, but this change could be cyclical as well. What Islam and, in many senses, Christianity have, as religions, are some core values and principles. What the education will do, whether institutes of education or PSHE or in RE or in science education, these real issues that are in the society have to be discussed, and from the religious point of view it is clear that Islam and Christianity, according to religious principles, do not accept certain ways of life. It is like some people accept certain things, some people do not, but it is not the teaching of Islam that you force people to accept your life as well as you hate or discriminate. That is probably the fundamental theme, that, in spite of disagreement on many aspects in our personal way of thinking and their social style, there could be agreement in differing. This will be treated as people coming from different backgrounds, different perspectives, and in Muslim schools pupils should be taught to tolerate this; not accepting, from the religious point of view, and not hating or discriminating. That will be the fundamental core of teaching in Muslim schools, I think.

Q648 Stephen Williams: My colleague wants to come in on this as well, so if I may end with one final question on a related inquiry that we have at the moment into bullying, which is just about to draw to a conclusion. One of the findings in the evidence which has come to us is that the majority of schools, whether they are faith or otherwise, currently do not have a policy on homophobic bullying. Do you expect Islamic schools and Catholic schools to have a policy specifically about homophobic bullying which gives a whole-school statement that homophobic bullying is wrong and unacceptable, and are there policies in place to tackle it, in respect of either type of school?

Dr Bari: I think phobia should not be the issue of a religion because, from a religious point of view, if you hate someone then you are not maintaining a Muslim spirit. A Muslim should not hate anyone because of a view or the practices of other people, so accommodation is needed. I think that should be

like any other discipline policy, or exclusion policy; there should be policies, an anti-bullying policy, there should be policies on this as well. There is no room for hate and phobia against certain types of people because of their belief or practice.

Q649 Stephen Williams: That is a welcome statement, but do you believe that Islamic schools within the state sector in Britain actually have policies which say that homophobic bullying is wrong?

Dr Bari: I am not fully aware; probably my colleague knows, who has been working with Muslim schools across the country. We have only a few, probably 140 schools, very small schools, some of them are new, and I do not know whether this policy is already available at the moment in all of these schools. I am not expert on that.

Q650 Stephen Williams: Exactly the same question to the Archbishop?

Archbishop Nichols: My guardian angel (Fr Jo Quigley) tells me that when these issues are discussed in Catholic schools the general consensus is that it is very, very important to have a clear, unambiguous policy put into practice about bullying. If you begin to pick out particular sections then the list of special policies is going to get very, very long and probably there would not be too much room on the walls to put them all up, because you are going to pick out every potential target group and have a discreet policy for each one. I think his advice, from the teachers who have discussed these things, is that a strong, coherent policy which addresses all bullying is the most effective way of dealing with this.

Q651 Stephen Williams: It is “no” then?

Archbishop Nichols: A strong, coherent policy which deals with this is in place in every school.

Q652 Mr Marsden: Archbishop, can I just return to this general area of the tension between what the Roman Catholic Church promotes and believes and what is discussed in classrooms in your schools? It would be true to say, would it not, that far from every member of the Roman Catholic Church, including practising young Catholics who go to Mass every Sunday, accepts key tenets of the current Church hierarchy on issues such as homosexuality, or divorce, or contraception?

Archbishop Nichols: By all means, I will engage with this, but it seems a broad and odd theological question to put.

Q653 Mr Marsden: Is that the case, would you say, that there is a division of view within the Roman Catholic Church about some of these key issues?

Archbishop Nichols: I do not think there would be much of a division about divorce, if by divorce you mean the acceptability of a marriage that has fallen down being concluded and putting civil agreements through the divorce courts; that is not against Catholic teaching.

Q654 Mr Marsden: What about the other two issues I have mentioned?

Archbishop Nichols: Contraception, I think there would be really difficult issues and contentious disagreement on the use of contraception and the different ways of birth control within a marriage, yes. On homosexuality, I think the Catholic Church makes a very clear distinction, which I can elaborate on if you like, between the orientation of a person and their sexual behaviour. The Catholic Church would stand very firmly for the equal dignity and right of a person, no matter their homosexual orientation, and would argue very strongly that it is a real foreshortening of human dignity to identify somebody by their sexual orientation, which, unfortunately, I think our society does. As to the moral codes concerning sexual behaviour, there is a single principle on this, which is that sexual intercourse belongs within marriage, and that is the principal teaching of the Catholic Church.

Q655 Mr Marsden: The reason why I was pressing you on those points was that I wanted to come on to the way in which you do actually, in practice, engage in Catholic schools with some of the issues to which I have referred. There is a tension, is there not, between what you said, I think you used the phrase 16–19-year-olds look up to teachers as expressers of values, or models of virtue, or something like that, and the fact that not all teachers, even in Catholic schools, will accept necessarily some of the key tenets of the Catholic hierarchy’s views on these issues? How do you deal with that in the context of the classroom? Do you say, “Well, this is my view, the Church says this, let’s have a debate about it,” or do you, if you are a Catholic teacher, say “This is what the Church says” and keep shut?

Archbishop Nichols: It depends on the age of the children, in my experience. It is quite different in a primary school than it is in a sixth form. The last time I was a chaplain in a sixth form college, what we used to do was invite different members of the staff, for example, to come and present their philosophy of life and their framework and engage with the sixth-formers in an open discussion in that way. Those things are handled differently according to the class that is being conducted and according to the age of the children and according to the relationships in the school, frankly. Those teachers who come and teach in a Catholic school know precisely the framework and the ethos that they are working out of, and most of them welcome it, because it is clearer than in a school which has no defined ethos.

Q656 Mr Marsden: You would not see a problem then in citizenship education, as currently defined, engaging with and embracing those controversial and difficult issues within the context of Catholic education?

Archbishop Nichols: I would expect those difficult issues to be dealt with in RE. We do not need citizenship education to engage with them; they are engaged with anyway.

Q657 Mr Marsden: With respect, are you telling me that the list of issues which I and my colleague Stephen Williams have touched on are dealt with routinely in Catholic RE classes?

Archbishop Nichols: We have just developed, with the full co-operation of the Teenage Pregnancy Unit, a programme All That I Am, which is to do with personal and sexual education and it deals with all those issues and it does so in a very mature and proper fashion. Yes, they are dealt with, and we do not need citizenship education to deal with them.

Q658 Mr Marsden: Chairman, if I could come on to Dr Bari. You may be aware, Dr Bari, that the Government has commissioned Keith Ajegbo, in fact who came before this Committee at the beginning of this inquiry, to look at whether, in fact, there should be the inclusion in secondary education of an overview of more recent British history so that those children at schools will have a clearer idea of the society in which they are now operating. I think the time which has been given is 100–150 years. Is that something you would welcome in the context of citizenship education and is it something that would be of value and applicable in Muslim schools?

Dr Bari: I do not know whether it falls in citizenship education or history education, but I think history is important and British history has probably a wider sphere and our Commonwealth countries probably come in, and provided all these things are brought in, in a very positive, holistic way, I do not see any issues, but it all depends on experts and hopefully experts come up and see how best they could benefit the pluralist base in Britain, at the moment.

Q659 Mr Marsden: Archbishop, could I come back to you and put a similar question, particularly in the light of, I think, again, when you spoke at the beginning, you talked about citizenship, I think, as having local, national and international aspects. Would you have a problem with the sort of thing that Keith Ajegbo is looking at and may be about to recommend? If you did not, how would you see the coverage of Britishness over the last 150 years being taught in Catholic schools?

Archbishop Nichols: To be quite honest, I am not sure exactly what you are referring to.

Q660 Mr Marsden: Let me clarify. The Education Department have commissioned from Keith Ajegbo, whom I think is Deputy Head at Deptford School and who came before this Select Committee at the beginning of our inquiry, a survey, a consultation, to consider whether there should be more coverage in secondary schools of the history of Britain over the last 150 years, with a specific focus on how it has created the sort of society in which we live today. That is what Keith Ajegbo is looking at currently. The recommendations, we understand, are going to come before the Government after Christmas and that was what my question was related to.

Archbishop Nichols: I do not feel very competent to give you a clear answer, frankly. History is very important but, again, history is the most speculative of all studies, and I am just not terribly confident about giving an answer.

Q661 Mr Marsden: Britishness as a concept, is that something which you see as a pluralistic issue or something which can be handed down?

Archbishop Nichols: If you mean Britishness as an identity, I think it is really quite difficult to struggle with, actually, and obviously there is plenty of public debate about it. I think every one of us lives with a number of identities and I do think they are interlinked. I think the first and the most formative of all identities is the family. I think that is the foundation on which others develop and grow. I think often the local community, however that is expressed, it might be a sports club, it might be all sorts of things, is the stepping-stone. I am quite certain you cannot impose a wider identity of Britishness, or whatever, when those foundations are not there; you cannot jump from nothing to being British. You have first of all to have some stability in your own life, you need widening circles of identity, which will indeed, I think, in my case, feed into a broad identity of Britishness. I find it very difficult to envisage how it can be encouraged, except as a broadening out of experience and a sense of self that one has already.

Q662 Helen Jones: If I could perhaps just follow this up. There is a belief, and the Government has proposed, that this idea of Britishness and what it is to be British ought to become more central to citizenship education. My question to both of you really is about that kind of definition. There seems to be a kind of amorphous feeling that we all know what it means to be British, and if you ask some people they will give you a very limited definition of that. My question to both of you as regards faith schools is, can you come to a definition of Britishness, which you can pass on to children, which includes the values, the history of the kinds of communities which both Catholic schools and Islamic schools deal with, which may not be quite the same as, if you like, the tabloid version of Britishness, for want of a better word? That is a very simplistic way of putting it.

Archbishop Nichols: I think your question demonstrates how difficult such a notion of Britishness is to struggle with. There is an implicit suggestion in your question that there is a problem between being Catholic and being British; now there has been in the past. This place over here witnessed it very dramatically a few hundred years ago.

Q663 Helen Jones: I am sorry to interrupt you; that was not what I was implying at all. I was saying, many people have a definition of Britishness which might be very different from the ones that the communities hold. I am not suggesting that they are less British.

Archbishop Nichols: I am sure that is true and, if I may quote Mr Wilson, I am sure somebody living in Liverpool, where I grew up, has a very different notion of being British than has somebody who lives in Islington. I think it is very difficult, but I think it has to be built gradually.

Dr Bari: Britishness is not a constant, one dimensional issue, it evolves. Britishness 150 years ago was different to Britishness today, with many communities, many faiths, and Britain in the post-war, post-modernist age, definitely it is the freedom of ever-changing society. Also, it includes, in my opinion, all the dimensions, varieties and, if I can use it, the flowers of the garden in this isle, human flowers. If present Britishness cannot cope with accommodating all the flowers in this garden then it will go one dimensional, which will be failing. I think, in that aspect, I would come back to the religious text; our religion teaches us that human beings have been created in tribes and communities and races so that they know each other. At the end of the day, the one who is good or pious, he, or she, is the best. In that sense, modern Britishness, with all its diversity is evolving and we are taking it forward in Muslim schools, *per se*, through the curriculum, through the Islamic studies and through the ethos, they are more or less accommodating with this. I do not think there is any specific answer to this. It is a continuous evolution, because the Muslim community itself is an evolving community and there are newer communities and they are within the fold of the Muslim community. Hopefully, because our religion teaches diversity, the Muslim community will be able to take forward the British identity, Muslim identity and all multiple identities together to the forefront.

Q664 Helen Jones: Could I ask you, Archbishop, can you define Britishness as adherence to a set of values, things which have evolved through history, tolerance and respect for the law?

Archbishop Nichols: Yes, I am familiar with the list. One of the points of research which I mentioned earlier on character education, the 16 year olds actually come up with a list of values, which is very telling. I am not sure how an Italian would react if we said "These are British values," because they would say, "Well, actually, they're Italian values too." How do you move on? I know we British are decent human beings but how do you get beyond being decently human to something which is more specific to this country; that is my problem. Of course I agree with those values, but I am not sure they are explicitly British.

Q665 Fiona Mactaggart: I was wondering if you would be surprised by research which suggests that young people who identify themselves through their faith most strongly are actually the least likely to be politically active in the form of voting or other political activity?

Archbishop Nichols: I have got research on my desk which shows the opposite, so I am surprised.

Q666 Fiona Mactaggart: There is in every faith, I think, certainly, for example, the Muslim faith, if you look at a group like Hizb ut-Tahrir, there are extremists who suggest that voting and participation in the democratic process is against their religion. What advice do you give teachers to deal with that phenomenon, which must exist in your Muslim schools, Dr Bari?

Dr Bari: I do not know whether they exist in Muslim schools, but the one organisation that you mention, they used to say what you said and there were other problems with a more extreme organisation than them who considered voting not only haram, but anyone who would be voting would be Kaafir or infidel. In the Muslim community, we have been tackling this issue, and an overwhelming number of Muslim people in Britain have rejected them. A big debate is going on and we see now that those Hizb ut-Tahrir that you mention, many of them are now gradually coming into the mainstream. What we say is that if we can debate and argue and discuss with them then there is the potential that many of them will come back, rather than probably proscribing them, as unfortunately sometimes it is proposed. Proscribing any organisation will simply take them underground and it is not going to help anyone. In the same way, in the university there are radical views, and radicalism is probably a part of human nature, and probably a youthful quality is rebellion or radicalism. As parents and as society, though, we have to discourage radicalism. Sometimes tragically they come from a certain age and they go; so it is a matter of continuous debate, discussion and holistic discussion with our young people so that they are not marginalised and they do not feel themselves marginalised.

Q667 Fiona Mactaggart: Archbishop, could you provide us with the research to which you referred?
Archbishop Nichols: I will.²

Q668 Mr Wilson: Just something which the Archbishop said, in response to the line of questioning from Stephen and Gordon, on sexual orientation and sexual relations and civic morality; you said, and I quote: "We don't need citizenship education to deal with that." Surely you cannot choose which bits of citizenship education you want to do and which bits you do not want to do?

Archbishop Nichols: No. I am sorry. The point I was making was that these issues, which are quite rightly brought up, are dealt with in RE and PSHE. We have developed excellent material, in co-operation with the Teenage Pregnancy Unit, precisely to deal with these issues.

Q669 Mr Wilson: If they were to be dealt with as part of the curriculum, would they be taught in your faith schools?

Archbishop Nichols: I am sorry, I did not quite follow. What I am saying is they are dealt with in our schools.

² Ev 198-199

Q670 Mr Wilson: I know, and what I am saying is, if the curriculum for citizenship included modules involving those sorts of issues, would you be against those being taught in your schools, because you think you have them already?

Archbishop Nichols: I would expect them to be taught, as I have said a number of times this afternoon, in a way that is consistent with the pattern and the teaching of a Catholic school. I do not believe citizenship education should or can claim to be a morally neutral area in which a whole set of other moral values are subversively introduced.

Mr Wilson: Thank you. That is very clear.

Q671 Stephen Williams: Much the same as what Fiona Mactaggart asked; please can you send the Committee your excellent material, as you called it, on the teaching of homosexuality and abortion in Catholic schools? I am sure we would be interested to see it.

Archbishop Nichols: It is quite substantial but you are welcome to it.³

Q672 Chairman: It has been an extremely good session and we have learned a lot, but what do you think of Trevor Phillips' view that we are sleep-walking towards some pretty dismal future, in terms of the segregation of our communities? Do you share his pessimism, or do you think, from a faith perspective, an active involvement of faith in the community can make a difference?

Archbishop Nichols: I have been of the view, for quite a long time, that the effort to build a harmonious

society, which consists *de facto* of so many different cultures and faiths, can never work on one version of the secular model. It can never work like that because aggressive secularism actually denies people of faith the right to be who they are, it tells them to take their faith and put it in a private box, and that is no basis on which to gain their corporate effort in building a common future. There is a version of secularism which I think is coherent which accepts that the broad political institutions are secular in their nature, which also creates a public forum in which people are allowed to contribute their best, which for many people is motivated and shaped by their religious faith. That model, I think, does hold out a good future for us.

Dr Bari: I am not pessimistic at all, but we have to be realistically optimistic and, for that, we all need to work together. Britain is having lots of new communities and newer communities are coming. I think it would be the strength of overall British society to accommodate all newer communities, maybe having very diverse views, but, as I mentioned, diversity is in human nature. Unless a group or individual breaks the law, creates hatred and creates other social problems we are fine. I think we are in a position to debate, discuss and take the agenda forward of creating modern Britain with this pluralised Britishness. I am realistically optimistic.

Chairman: On that note, thank you very much. It has been a very good session. Thank you for your time. If you think of anything, on the way home or when you get home to your respective destinations, that you should have said to the Committee which would have added value to our discussion, please do be in communication with us. Thank you.

³ Ev 198–199

Supplementary memorandum submitted by The Most Reverend Vincent Nichols, Archbishop of Birmingham

Thank you for your letter of 5 December and for the opportunity to give evidence to the House of Commons Education and Skills Select Committee on Monday 11 December. I am grateful to you for this opportunity.

During the session I undertook to provide some further written material for the Committee.

1. In response to Ms McTaggart's request, I enclose an extract from recently published research entitled *Character Education*. It addresses the question of the indicators within faith schools of political engagement.⁴

This research is also supported by research into Catholic Schools and Citizenship. But this research is not due to be published until March 2007.

2. In response to Mr Williams' request for information about teaching in Catholic schools, concerning homosexuality and other related subjects, I have arranged for the full documentation of the relevant course material, under the heading *All That I Am*, to be delivered to the Committee. This is bulky documentation and is best not sent by mail.⁵

3. In response to the Chairman's reference to Northern Ireland, I enclose a copy of a letter addressed to Lord Baker in the context of the recent Education and Inspection Bill debate. It was this letter to which I referred in my evidence.⁶

⁴ Not printed.

⁵ Not printed.

⁶ Not printed.

I also enclose a list of the sources which I have used in preparation for the evidence that I gave. I hope this is useful to you as much of the resources have only recently been published. I also enclose a copy of the notes which I prepared for the session and to which I referred at some points.⁷

I enclose a copy of *Quality and Performance: A Survey of Education in Catholic Schools*. The data in this report is Ofsted data.⁸ The data concerning the effectiveness of Catholic schools in generating respect for others, to which I referred in my evidence, is to be found on pages 20 (primary school) and 22 (secondary schools). At the same point there is evidence of the effectiveness of Catholic schools at creating an environment which is free from bullying. This is relevant to some of the points made in my discussion with Mr Williams.

December 2006

Witnesses: **Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu**, Head Teacher, Guru Nanak Sikh Secondary School; **Rabbi Mark Kampf**, Deputy Head, and **Mr Tim Miller**, Deputy Head, Jewish Free School; and **Ms Rachel Allard**, Head Teacher, The Grey Coat Hospital Church of England Girls Comprehensive School; gave evidence.

Q673 Chairman: Can I welcome Tim Miller, who is a Deputy Head of the Jewish Free School, Rabbi Mark Kampf, who is a Deputy Head of the Jewish Free School, Rachel Allard, who is the Head Teacher of The Grey Coat Hospital Church of England Girls Comprehensive School, and Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Head Teacher of the Guru Nanak Sikh School? Welcome to you all, and thank you for sitting there listening to the first session, to which I saw you all paying rapt attention, better attention than some members of my Committee, I think, sometimes. This is going to be quite a brisk session, so I am going to persuade my colleagues to ask relatively succinct questions and I hope and know that you are going to come back with reasonably succinct answers. I will start with Rachel, just in terms of your view, you are really hands-on people in schools, you are really at the sharp end; how is citizenship embedding in the institution which you head, Rachel?

Ms Allard: My school is 300 years old and its original charter set it out as one of its goals to bring children up to be solid citizens; so, for us, citizenship is something we have been doing for 300 years. When the actual requirements of citizenship education as part of the National Curriculum were brought in, we reviewed what we were doing already, because we felt that our aim is to prepare our students to take their place in society and to understand that they have a role and know how to play that role. We were very interested to see where we felt we were actually already doing the things that were required and where we needed to reflect on how we could introduce more; we felt that schools equally were encouraged to teach citizenship across the curriculum, to have separate lessons. I think possibly the emphasis is changing, or has changed, but at the time we felt that what we wanted to do was do it in a cross-curricular way and that we were able to achieve good citizenship education that way. I think we still have work to do on that in some of the areas in which we were not doing so well before, for example, the financial preparation areas.

Q674 Chairman: Thank you for that. Rajinder Singh?

Mr Singh Sandhu: In contrast with Rachel, we are one of the younger schools. We opened as an independent school in 1993 and became a state school in 1999. As somebody who had come through the system in the UK, I went to primary and secondary school in Wolverhampton, in the state comprehensive system, when our Chairman told me that he wanted to open a school I was in two minds until he said that the purpose of opening this particular school was to create our future Mother Teresas, Nelson Mandelas and people who would go out and help humanity. That was a brief given to me in 1993. Through the early years, the school struggled very much financially because it was a new concept. We were given plenty of advice on how to become elitist, how to open up a school which would cater towards private education and therefore would make money, but the school never wavered from its early concepts. I think the current citizenship syllabus, if anything, has formalised what the school did. There are lots of very good things about citizenship and in a lot of ways it fits in very, very nicely with the concepts in Sikhism, and the “three pillars” the school has always worked upon, always remembering God, irrespective of the religion which you are in. The school works very closely with other faith schools and other state schools to ensure that it is encompassing everybody’s views. Alongside that, our key concept is “Kimt Karna” which means working very, very hard, and, if you are an employer, treating people with sensitivity. The third aspect is sharing your fortune with others. These are the key principles on which the school has always functioned and I think lots of it has come into the current citizenship syllabus, in terms of teaching them things, although there are aspects within our RE department, I might say, within the citizenship and we had to make decisions. For example, on citizenship the teacher has a log, I ask the kids to make a log of all the things they do to help out in the local community, but within the religious side if you do good things they should be kept invisible, so there is a sort of slight contradiction in terms. We welcome it and it has helped to form us into a Guru school.

⁷ Not printed.

⁸ Not printed.

11 December 2006 Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Rabbi Mark Kampf, Mr Tim Miller and Ms Rachel Allard

Q675 Chairman: Thank you. Rabbi Mark Kampf?
Rabbi Kampf: I would echo much of what my colleague said before. Your question was about embedding and I was embedded in the school. This is a question which I think we need to elaborate on. Our school was started in 1732 and its purpose was to have our students live in a diverse society. We also took a strategic view, when citizenship came in, we took a cross-curricular approach, plus it is being taught within what we call Jewish education within the school, so it has the framework of the Jewish faith, together with the cross-curricular approach, and we did an audit of the curriculum, the syllabus, and saw what was not being taught. Because the teachers' workload was as such, we took a pragmatic view of what could best be delivered, things like political literacy, for example, through assemblies; so we did an audit of what we could deliver, where was it best delivered and that is the sort of programme we are on now.

Q676 Chairman: Thank you. Tim, do you want to add anything to that?

Mr Miller: I think all I would wish perhaps to add to what Mark has said is that, in a way, our approach has been that we do not stop the clock at 12 o'clock and say "We're now doing citizenship," it is very much an approach of students learning by doing, and I think that relates to all three of the central tenets of social and moral responsibility, political literacy and community involvement. It is a very, very key part of the school and our approach that we involve our students, and we have 2,000, so that is a lot of people to involve all the time. I would not claim that every single one of them is entirely active in this respect, but we involve as many students as we possibly can in a whole range of what might well be called citizenship activities, which might involve work in terms of supporting younger students, it might involve work within student council, within our buddying systems and our peer mentoring systems, work in which they are exposed to the concept that they are members of a community in school. We hope they understand the sense of being a good citizen, in the first instance, through that. The purpose of both Mark and I coming, the "two for the price of one" deal that the Committee is getting today, from JFS, is very much I think that, from my perspective, and my role in the school is Head of Sixth Form, I am seeing the outcomes, if you like, in terms of what has been the experience of students over their first five years and then their last two years in school before they go on, as almost all of them do, to university. I think, when one is conducting the interviews we do to write their UCAS references, one of the things we are looking at, and we have a checklist of things we are asking them about, is their experience in school, out of school in their communities, their youth groups, and so on, where they have become active as citizens in society in that way. I think, when they go on to university, certainly our evidence, as far as we have got it, and we try to keep in close touch with our alumni, very much so, is that they do

adapt well, having come from a faith school, they adapt well to the outside world, to university life, participate in that fully, and in the secular world they enter thereafter.

Q677 Chairman: Can we whiz through, in terms of essential information about you? Are all the students at your school Jewish?

Mr Miller: Yes.

Q678 Chairman: You have to be Jewish to attend?

Mr Miller: They have to be Jewish. That stipulation, however, in a sense, is a very broad one. Although the school's outlook is Orthodox Judaism, it is, in a sense, a very broad church, if I may use that word, in relation to the practice of the students, I think. When the students come into the school, for the most part they are not particularly rooted within their Jewish faith. One of the things that the school, in its ethos, strives to do, besides creating tolerant and caring citizens of the wider community, is introduce those students to and provide them with that framework within their own faith.

Q679 Chairman: What percentage of free school meals would you have?

Mr Miller: It is 10%. In terms of social class and all of the other indicators, students from single-parent families and all of that, it is a pretty average school, from that perspective.

Q680 Chairman: It reflects the balance in your community?

Mr Miller: Very much so, yes, I would think so.

Q681 Chairman: Rajinder Singh, are all the pupils in your school Sikhs?

Mr Singh Sandhu: We have students from the Islam faith, Hindu faith, we have got our first Christian child in the primary school. Until recently, if the school has become oversubscribed, we have actually been very active in ensuring that the school reflects the community.

Q682 Chairman: What is the percentage of Sikhs compared with other students?

Mr Singh Sandhu: It is about 95%, at the moment, and that is mainly because, the school is so heavily oversubscribed we are having to go by the criteria which the governors have been looking at in parallel with the decisions being made in Parliament, in seeing how the admissions criteria could be changed so that the school reflects the community outside.

Q683 Chairman: Free school meals?

Mr Singh Sandhu: It is about 10 or 11%.

Q684 Chairman: Rachel; what about your school?

Ms Allard: Until fairly recently, the school was a mixture, which occurred by accident, because it had admissions criteria for Church of England, until we realised, a number of years ago, actually, by oversubscription, as you have described, that was

creating a school where all the children were Church of England. The governors changed the admissions criteria to allow for some open places, some non Church of England Christian places; we also have students who come, because we are a language college, by language aptitude, so that there are opportunities for a larger number and a broader range to come into the school. That has been in operation for about three years, so that is growing up the school, and greatly to the benefit of the students also.

Q685 Chairman: What percentage of free school meals would you have?

Ms Allard: We have about 9%, at the moment. I think that does not really reflect our population though. The PANDA put us in the top 17% of the country for deprivation, but many of our students go out to lunch because we do not have enough dining space to provide lunch for them all. I think there are numbers who probably would qualify but do not bother to claim.

Chairman: Thank you very much for those introductory remarks.

Q686 Jeff Ennis: Mark and Rachel emphasised in their opening comments, Chairman, the cross-curricular approach that they took to citizenship education. Rajinder, could you also indicate whether you took a cross-curricular approach?

Mr Singh Sandhu: It goes beyond a cross-curricular approach. I said at the beginning about the whole-school approach and how it is intertwined with RE, intertwined with the whole ethos of the school, which is actually going out to help others. The school teaches quite passionately that kids put others before themselves, that humility is a place of strength. One of the things which worried us at the beginning, in 1993, when the school was opened, about the concepts which have earlier been touched upon, indoctrination, and so on, in fact, I think, along with some schools in the country, our assemblies, both at primary level and secondary level, are run by the kids, there are no priests involved, the kids run their own assemblies. I speak at the end or a member of the senior team and that sets the tone throughout the school. The sixth-formers help in every aspect of the school life. They do not do it because it is enjoyable, or anything, it is an aspect of helping others. Another thing, if I could mention it, is that currently the school has a huge building programme, at £16 million; as a voluntary-aided school, we are responsible for 10% of it. That is an issue, as the governors have been raising money, but as a school population rather than resort to asking the kids to help in different ways the kids have never been asked once to raise money for the school. Instead, they have been funding the maintenance of an orphanage in Colombia, and, through Oxfam, they have built classrooms in Kenya. My point is that very often citizenship runs right throughout the whole school; it is the ethos of the school.

Q687 Jeff Ennis: Given that every different school before us at this moment in time takes a cross-curricular approach to citizenship education, is there any aspect of citizenship education which does not lend itself to being taught on a cross-curricular basis, or does it all fit neatly into that sort of approach?

Rabbi Kampf: It does not all fit neatly into a cross-curricular approach, which is why I said that, within our RE—which we call Jewish education—the moral, ethical part, which was touched on before we arrived here, what we are doing currently within our faith teachings is about critical thinking, which is about moral and social dilemmas, and citizenship, in a sense, simply dovetailed with that. The moral framework and the discussion fit very well within what we are doing currently within the faith education; we also teach part of the curriculum, if you look at it, it is the PSHE curriculum, so that fits together. When you say does it fit neatly, it does not fit neatly, the curriculum is crowded and we try to identify what teachers are teaching currently, and we felt, as Tim said a few minutes ago, we do not want to take the approach “Let’s stop what we are doing now. Now we’re going to be good citizens, and teaching citizenship, that’s enough of that, now we’re going to move on to real life, which is getting our results that we need to get because that is what we are judged on.” We do not want to take that approach; we want the children to feel that it is part of the school, it is quite right for you to be involved in the school community and outside the school community.

Q688 Jeff Ennis: I do not know whether Rajinder or Rachel have got anything to add to what Mark said, in terms of that question?

Ms Allard: I feel that when we first did our audit we found that the vast majority of work did find a home in a cross-curricular way and that where it was not already happening one could find places for it. You can ask a maths department to create the financial literacy elements that you want to introduce, for example. That does not mean it is all easy to do. I think it is easy to fit in but the teachers in each of the different subjects do have a particular subject way of looking at what they are teaching and there are training issues. If we want to continue in this way, we will need to look very closely at how they really bring out what are the specific citizenship aspects of the topics that they are being asked to cover, and those are big training issues, I think, you cannot minimise them. At the same time, if we look at possibly moving to the alternative model of having specialist citizenship teachers and a particular slot, our timetable is a very, very crowded one and to find a place where you can reduce something so as to create a new slot and employ new teachers to teach in that slot is a challenge that we do not find is any easier to deal with, and perhaps would be less easy to deal with. As a language college, we teach languages for all up to GCSE and 60% do two languages; those things take time. As a church school, we teach RE

11 December 2006 Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Rabbi Mark Kampf, Mr Tim Miller and Ms Rachel Allard

and it would have a vast amount of the citizenship curriculum within it; that would go up to GCSE for all students. We are not looking at a curriculum which has a lot of space for introducing new, separate topics, but I do not think one can minimise the challenge of making sure that teachers who are doing citizenship in a cross-curricular way really are dealing with the issues as the citizenship curriculum expects them to be dealt with.

Q689 Jeff Ennis: Thank you for that. I think, Tim, in your opening remarks, you mentioned that your school has got a school council, and I understand that all three schools giving evidence at the moment operate school councils. I am just wondering how significant a role you feel that school councils are playing in delivering the citizenship education agenda in schools; how important is it to have a school council to help do that?

Mr Miller: I think it is exceptionally important. I think it plays a very important role. I think, in the first instance, one is looking at how it has a role in relation to political literacy. We have a student council which has all its representatives in the years from seven up to 11 elected by their year groups. It is chaired by the head boy/girl team, who are themselves elected by the whole of the sixth form, the staff and the year 11 prefects. That is the electoral college for that, and it is given very high status, I think, by the fact that when there are meetings these are attended by usually almost all the members of the senior leadership team, always the headteacher at the meeting, and when an agenda is arranged by the head boy/head girl team, in conjunction with our student leadership co-ordinator, a member of staff, who is herself a politics teacher so has a role in that respect as well, they will perhaps wish to raise an issue about, I do not know, IT and will go to the head of IT to not quite summon him before the student council but invite him to come along in order to respond to the debate which takes place. While we would not say that we have a system of accountability on the part of staff, I think that would be exaggerating, I do think there is an acknowledgement that staff engage with the student council, and that is effective. The student council is an area for which I also have some responsibility and I think there is much more we can do in making it more visible across the school and things we can do there. I do think it is very important to have that as an element in political literacy and anything which addresses issues of community responsibility too. It also opens up to students issues of decision-making and what would be the consequences of if we did that, why they do that, and those kinds of dilemmas, I think, are very important to confront students with.

Q690 Jeff Ennis: Do you think there is a possibility that schools ought to be considering allowing representatives from school councils to attend school governing body meetings in an observation capacity, or indeed to sit on as an associate member of a governing body?

Mr Miller: I know that some schools do that. We have a particular involvement that the governing body has a catering sub-committee, and in order to avoid the student council being tied down all the time over “Should we have this on the school menu or not?” we have student representatives on that governors sub-committee. Certainly, when we are appointing senior members of staff, although students are not sitting on the appointments committee, we do always make sure that visitors to the school, applicants, have an informal lunch or session with, for instance, members of the head boy/girl elected team.

Q691 Jeff Ennis: Would that level of school council involvement apply to the other two schools?

Mr Singh Sandhu: Yes, we have quite an active student council. If I may just go to the earlier question of citizenship, I think schools which have run good citizenship, or it is really cross-curricular, that if we have good teachers who actually are well trained in that respect I think we are fortunate. Some schools cannot do it because of the teacher training there. Going on to the student council, we actually run it like this, we are sitting here, that is the way it is run by a very good member of staff and the school is involved in the Jack Petchy award, where £300 a month is given to a particular student who makes an effort. A student councillor decides how actually to use that award and is very much involved in a lot of it. We have not graduated onto the governing bodies yet, but that is under consideration. They have also been involved in a dialogue with a local councillor on issues in the neighbourhood, particularly on environmental issues so they are very much involved. I think the local councillor was put though their paces by the student council which is very, very active within the school.

Ms Allard: I would say that our student council is also a very important forum for learning the role of democracy and the way it works. One of the things which is happening at the moment at our school is that the student council—and we have three because we are on two sites and they have Lower School, Upper School and Sixth Form Councils—they are considering the student councils’ constitution, how that should properly be. One of the challenges is to work something out which would then be applied across the school and would be the best way, for example, of electing the members of the school council and how they should proceed. It is a very formative experience for them to be thinking about these things and creating their own constitution. We also do similar things to what was mentioned at the Jewish Free School, we do have involvement of our students in senior appointments, though not all appointments, and our head girl is invited to meetings of the governing body.

Q692 Mr Carswell: Towards the end of the last session there was a very interesting series of questions and answers about Britishness and multiculturalism, and, if I may, I want to put

11 December 2006 Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Rabbi Mark Kampf, Mr Tim Miller and Ms Rachel Allard

some of those questions to you; as headteachers of faith schools, I would be very interested in your perspective. For a long time, the notion of Britishness has been defined, some may say redefined, by officialdom in terms of multiculturalism; we are being told constantly we are a multicultural country. It is implicit that there is a sort of cultural relativism to being British, yet there is now a very interesting debate taking place about multiculturalism. Trevor Phillips has said some very interesting things; Mr Blair said some very interesting things. If there was a wholesale re-evaluation of multiculturalism, would it have any impact in terms of how you approach citizenship? Do you think that this debate on what is and what is not multiculturalism would affect the way you, as a faith school, teach citizenship?

Ms Allard: I will have a go. It is a tough one. We feel that our school is the primary community for our children and it is an accepting community, all children are welcome, and what they bring is part of what all of us can benefit from; so I suppose, in that sense, you would say it is a multicultural perspective. We also have a shared history, it is a 300 year old school, as I mentioned, and one of the things that I always do with year seven is teach them that 300-year history, and to find that they have this shared history fascinates them, they all love to know that they all belong to this institution and that they are all part of it and they inherit it as a group. They come from all over, we have a huge range in our school of cultural backgrounds, but they love to join in sharing that history. I think perhaps, in microcosm, that is a kind of expression of what the debate within this country might be. When we ask our students what their cultural adherence is, many of them do define themselves as British. Whatever their further cultural origin might be in relation to their grandparents and parents, many of them will define themselves as British.

Mr Miller: I think Rachel mentioned the school being the primary community and I think, in JFS, one can see a series of circles that go ever outwards from the school to their own Jewish community, to certainly a sense of Britishness and beyond that. A number of our students, quite a number, I do not have any exact figures, come from a range of places around the world; we have a lot of South African students, a lot of students have come from, in terms of their family background, not necessarily themselves, Iraq, Iran, from Israel, and that I think creates an international flavour, to an extent, as well. Certainly we want them to be aware of an international context to their lives. As I said in the opening remarks, one of the things that the school also strives to do is ensure that students are certainly as aware of the sense of their faith as they are of their sense of Britishness. We have no issue about their sense of Britishness, or, at least, Englishness, if you look at how quickly people are out of the building to go and watch England World Cup football matches, they certainly have that. I think the other thing which is important is that we do lay a lot of stress on students of respect for their

history; we have both exhibitions about Holocaust and every summer we have a group of veteran soldiers who come in to do if not all the history lessons about their experiences in mostly the second world war and meet with year nine, year 10 students about this. There is a sense of respect for the past and certainly, after what Rachel said about the history of the school, which is a very long one, again that is something which I think is an attractive element for the students and gives them a context and a place and a rooting within a continuum, that they are there now and many of their parents were in the school and some of their grandparents were at the school when it used to be in the East End.

Mr Singh Sandhu: I think, as one of the younger schools, we face an opposite dilemma really, that the bulk of our children are fourth, fifth generations coming into the school and are very much British through and through, but what they seem to have lost actually is what Sikhism stands for. One of the main reasons is that the parents have endeavoured to take them to a Gurdwara at the weekends, etc, and because the priests have not been able to have a dialogue with them in English, as most of the kids could not understand Punjabi, particularly at the sort of level which reading from the Holy book requires. The actual concept of what Sikhism stands for has been lost through and through. They seem to think that just wearing symbols is what Sikhism is about, and I think what the school has done actually is confirm their values, one could say, that this religion stands for respect for the religion, stands for doing good to others, and so on. I think it sort of helped the school, but, as far as the Britishness is concerned, that has never been an issue within the school.

Ms Allard: I would like just to add something, if I may. I spoke at first very much from the welcoming in of the little ones and I would like to add that one of the things that we lay a lot of stress on as they grow older is developing the outward-looking aspect. I warmed very much to what was said about the fact that schools in London inevitably are international schools, they are composed of not only students who define themselves as British but many who come from many other places and perhaps will stay for only a short time. The place of Britain in Europe and Britain in the world, represented by the United Nations, for example, is something that we need students to think about and we do work towards. In the sixth form every year they will model the United Nations or model the European Union General Assembly, or Parliament, or whatever, to help them see their place in the wider world as well as being welcomed into our smaller world.

Q693 Mr Carswell: I know I am very fortunate to have been invited to go and speak at a number of schools about our relationship with the European Union. Given that an important element of citizenship is that, as the people who live on this island, we can have a shared narrative, a shared island story, do you think that citizenship and

11 December 2006 Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Rabbi Mark Kampf, Mr Tim Miller and Ms Rachel Allard

inculcating a sense of citizenship, instead of celebrating diversity perhaps what we need to do is celebrate achievement, the achievements of the West generally but of Britain in particular: cultural achievements, medical achievements, technological achievements, philosophical achievements? Do you think that citizenship needs to be more a question of celebrating our achievements as a country than emphasising divisiveness?

Rabbi Kampf: You can define citizenship any way you like, I suppose, but that is not how we interpret it anyway. It is not about necessarily celebrating, as we look at it. The question is based on the first question as well. It is about, I think, giving students educationally a sense of self-respect and respect for others and participation in a community. That seems to me the heart of citizenship, and then the question is what is the methodology for delivering it; achievement is the method that achieves. Again, it is not about knowledge, good, we achieve A, we do B, that does not change action. We look at citizenship as not having acquired knowledge, though it is about knowledge, and it is not even necessarily about attitudes, which is difficult in a school to change anyway. Cynicism says, society has problems; go into schools and let them deal with it. Okay, thanks, so we will try to change attitudes; but, again, it is how we change, with what the Jewish faith is about, it is about participation, which is about what citizenship is, how we become positive, proactive, citizens in the local community, to the person sitting next to you, to your classmate, to your school, your family, out. To me, it is about the education, it is more than teaching, it is about changing attitudes, which leads to a change of behaviour. Therefore, what you are suggesting is a methodology to get there perhaps which may not be valid. If it becomes law and that is what we have to do, we will all do it, and you will ask us how we are doing and we are doing fine. Is it achieving its ends, I am not sure. Within the Jewish faith there is a law which says that in whichever country Jews find themselves they need to adhere to the law of that country. That is not for debate; that is the way it goes. How do you define your Britishness: "Here you are, guys, this is the framework we're in; let's go with it." In our school, and I am speaking only for our school, we need to say, as Tim said, we want to root you in your Jewishness and to play a full part in society, a positive role there. So I have not answered your question 100%, other than saying I am not sure of the outcomes.

Mr Singh Sandhu: I agree whole-heartedly with Mark and I think if we looked at, citizenship guidelines, and what is the aim, we would find it is to produce good citizens, if it is to produce really good citizens they need models, models to aspire to and models of good citizens. The strands which come out of it would be social, would be moral, would be on the political debate, it would be real role models who have helped out others. Those would be the sorts of people that kids would aspire to be, and that would be the sort of thing you are looking at in the product of your guidelines.

Chairman: I sometimes wonder, when people talk about our island story, whether my ancestors are included. I am from a Huguenot background and we were sort of washed up on the shore. Do we get included? We are included, are we: jolly good.

Q694 Mr Marsden: You have all laid emphasis on the fact that in all of your schools, and I well understand this, citizenship is embedded in the ethos and everything else that you try to do in the school, but I wonder if there is one aspect of the current citizenship education debate or the curriculum that you would miss, as it were, if you did not have it embedded in your school. What would it be; what is there that the citizenship education debate has made you change, if I can put it another way, the way in which you do things in your school?

Ms Allard: I think perhaps we have been challenged to be more specific about the sorts of things that children might learn about the way democracy is organised in this country, for example. We would say that they are learning to think about democracy and how to do things in the way that we do things in the school, the school councils and so on, but we make sure now that we do have some experience, like a model United Nations, every year. We do not do it some years, we do it every year, there are things that we do every year and with all the students, which before might have been left more to chance, I think.

Q695 Mr Marsden: It is a more systematic approach?

Ms Allard: It is more systematic, yes; for example, activities for charity even. We now have a charity week for each year group and every class in that year group must do something on one day of the week, and the method by which they discuss it and decide it will be helping them to learn all the various aspects of how you debate and decide in citizenship. It will not be just the enthusiasts; everybody will be getting involved and these experiences will be for all.

Q696 Mr Marsden: Tim and Mark, is it about putting tents of information across, which perhaps you did not put across previously?

Mr Miller: As Mark said in his opening comments, it is about, as we started off some years ago, initially doing an audit, looking at what we did within the aspect of social and moral responsibility; that was very much implicit in what the school did anyway. I think we have become much more conscious of the need to look at issues like community involvement, political literacy, as time has gone on.

Q697 Mr Marsden: I am sorry to interrupt. Is that something which has come specifically out of the original *Crick Report* and the Government's recommendations, or is it something which perhaps you would have done anyway?

11 December 2006 Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Rabbi Mark Kampf, Mr Tim Miller and Ms Rachel Allard

Mr Miller: It is difficult to answer that. The *Crick Report* and the recommendations in relation to citizenship education are themselves drawn from where society was going and the mood of the times, I think, in a way, as well, and a recognition of the kind of multicultural society in which we live. It is a bit of a chicken and egg situation perhaps there. In relation to charity, for instance, we look at what each year group should be working on, and again try to move students from perhaps a very specific issue in relation to charity, just raising money for something quite local and specific in the younger years, to ensuring that in the older years students are actually taking the lead in organising, devising and planning ways in which a charitable activity can be run and taking responsibility for it.

Q698 Mr Marsden: It is moving from passive to active?

Mr Miller: Yes; and a seven-year strategy across the year groups for how we want students to be exposed to different aspects of what broadly one would call citizenship at different stages of their education. As I say, at the end point, when they are in year 13 and going ahead to university, we want to try to reflect in our references the contributions they have made, and we see that as a very important element in selling the student, if you like, to the particular institutions to which they are applying.

Q699 Mr Marsden: Rajinder, you said, a few moments ago, that one of the issues for you had been, when I think my colleague asked about Britishness, that you wanted to emphasise Sikhism because you felt that had become, for a number of reasons, somewhat diluted. Again, is there something which has come out of the *Crick Report*, the National Curriculum, which has made you say “We really must do that in our school that we weren’t doing five or six years ago”?

Mr Singh Sandhu: I think some of the points Rachel made, about formalising it and setting the structures in place, and the starting-point for us was having a very good member of staff to have leadership in that particular area. The areas which we left out, and which have now been formalised, are environmental issues, dialogue for the children and the local politicians, local neighbourhood issues, etc.; that has come in more, which probably would not have happened if the recent guidance had not come into place.

Q700 Chairman: Is not there a bit of any of you which says “Why doesn’t the Government get off our backs; we’re educators, we know about this, we were doing a jolly good job before they started getting obsessed by citizenship”? Is not there a bit of you where you say, “Come on, we are pedagogues; leave us alone”? Is there any of that in you?

Ms Allard: I think we were producing very good citizens. It is never a pity to stop and take stock and think and reflect on whether the things that you are so happy about actually are touching the lives of

all the students in the school. I think that is probably what I would benefit from most. I do have reservations about making it into an exam subject, because I feel very strongly that what teaches the students most is action, what they remember is things they have done. It is habits of thinking and ways of organising, ways of working, which will make them into the citizens who will be active members of society in the future, confident that if they need to find things out they know how to do it and where to look and that they do have a role to play and will be welcome to play it. I think that is very important. I am not drawn strongly towards the idea of it as a subject, whereas I am drawn very strongly to the idea that we should make sure that all students are benefiting from what we offer them.

Q701 Paul Holmes: When Ofsted looked at citizenship they were critical of schools who said, “Oh, we do that across the subjects,” all the faith schools who said, “Well, we do that in RE.” I take it, from what you have said already, that all three schools would not disagree with that; you would say, “Well, we do it across the curriculum, we do it in RE and we don’t need to do it as a separate subject”?

Ms Allard: What we do in RE at my school is hugely beneficial for the students, hugely challenging. They all will take a GCSE which makes them reflect that ethics and philosophy in a way which fits very well with a lot of what citizenship is teaching, and asks them to think about it in the way that citizenship is asking them to take responsibility for their own research, their own understanding, their own response to other people’s views, their exploration of alternative views, all those approaches. I do think they are getting excellent teaching there. I do not think that a citizenship class set up, as such, would be doing anything different in that respect. We have to make sure that we are covering all the ground there.

Q702 Paul Holmes: Is it generally the same response?

Mr Singh Sandhu: I think citizenship has added to it. We were inspected in 2003 by an Ofsted team and they made extremely positive comments on the students as citizens, the ethos of the school, the aims of the school, which is why I come to the point now that government legislation has led to it being formalised. We even invited the Ofsted team to look at assemblies, although that is a separate category for the religious schools, but we were very open as to really that the message which comes from the assembly is actually filtered through to the whole school. Again, it adds to it and it does not devalue it.

Rabbi Kampf: Ofsted just came to us and they endorsed our outcomes of the *Every Child Matters* agenda, in which citizenship plays a large part. To answer your question, yes, I am cynical. When it first arrived, what did it want; again, it depends on what the agenda is. If it fits, if it can help students, help young people today become better people and

11 December 2006 Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Rabbi Mark Kampf, Mr Tim Miller and Ms Rachel Allard

does not proscribe the methodology for that then that is something seriously worth looking at and taking on board. It has not proved a contradiction to us. It is about analysing, what is it that we are supposed to do and does it meet our aims and objectives.

Mr Miller: I think it is right and proper that it should be something that is inspected, but I think that schools, in knowing their own community and clientele, whether they are a faith school or not, do need to try to address issues of citizenship in a way which they feel, as professionals, is most successful, but that does need to have some validation in terms of the approaches, which is perhaps where Ofsted comes in. I think also there is a danger in terms of what it is all for, and I am a bit worried about the issue of the island story because so many people on this island are here not necessarily because they would have chosen, in their lives, or their families would have chosen to be here, they are here for other reasons.

Q703 Chairman: They were washed up here?

Mr Miller: Absolutely; back to the Huguenots. I think there is also that element, which comes in at times, as to whether teaching citizenship is going to have an effect upon behaviour in society and create better behaved youth in society. That is also a dangerous presumption and an excessive responsibility placed on schools, I think, in that particular respect; we will teach your children Shakespeare, we do not necessarily expect them all to become avid theatre-goers. We would like them to be but it is not always going to work out like that.

Q704 Paul Holmes: Given that citizenship is a new subject, it has been around for only four years officially, but most schools would say they had done a ton of reforms anyway, there are only 200 places for training citizenship teachers every year and there are about 20,000 secondary schools, do you think that matters, that they are not training very many citizenship teachers, or would you say that it is dealt with anyway in other ways in the school?

Rabbi Kampf: As a faith school, and I can talk only for my school, we are meeting the agendas. If you are perhaps not in a faith school, that may cause some problems, as the previous witnesses, before us, outlined. In our faith school everything dovetails, they strengthen each other.

Mr Singh Sandhu: I would agree with that.

Q705 Paul Holmes: Rachel, I remember you were saying, "Well, we've got a very crowded curriculum; where would you make the time to teach citizenship separately, and we do it in RE?" Would you employ a citizenship teacher if you had the money and somebody who was qualified was applying for the job?

Ms Allard: We do think about it. If somebody came in though to teach citizenship they would be meeting a huge number of students and for very short periods of time. Whereas if you are teaching

through RE and other subjects the people who are doing the teaching know the students better because they meet them more often per week. In our particular case though, the big issue is not so much would you employ the teacher and get the specialism, because quite often in secondary schools students appreciate a specialist, it is what you will give up to insert this new item into a very crowded curriculum.

Q706 Paul Holmes: The Government has produced a continuing professional development handbook, with some best practice ideas on citizenship. Have your schools made use of this at all?

Ms Allard: The answer is, yes, from my technical expert.

Mr Singh Sandhu: I would say that, although we are talking of the closeness between citizenship and religion, and I have talked about that as well, our member of staff for citizenship is a non-Sikh and the fact is that the vast majority of our staff are non-Sikhs, actually it is a huge strength to the school because it is a matter of bringing everybody's strengths to show to the children, it really is. Going to the point about best practice, because of these issues the training is important to us, particularly where there is best practice that is even more important to us. Donna, who does our citizenship, is a non-Sikh and she does a brilliant job and she is very well informed.

Rabbi Kampf: We are not using the terms that you are referring to, and I do not know what you want me to say after that.

Q707 Paul Holmes: Is it fair to say that in general the citizen curriculum, the government training materials, and so forth, have not actually impacted very much on your three schools, except that they have made you look at what you teach and say, "Yes, we're doing that already"?

Ms Allard: Can I add a slight note, in relation to the materials you referred to. We use the case studies by circulating them round the different areas, to the different heads of department, so that they are getting that input to help them.

Mr Miller: I think it is also fair to say that the related development of the *Every Child Matters* material is something that we have seen as a very good and clear and helpful series of guidelines, and the five aspects within that are areas that we do seek to ensure that we have amply and appropriately covered across the curriculum.

Q708 Mr Carswell: You have been producing citizens successfully since 1732, you have been producing them successfully since 1993, and you have been producing them successfully for 300 years. Is there not a real danger given there is a knee-jerk reaction now amongst "here today, gone tomorrow" politicians that they are going to create a set of expectations on what the schools can do? There are bigger public policy issues which perhaps need to be addressed, but in response to a broader set of public policy failures there is a citizenship agenda which will impose on you not only a series

11 December 2006 Mr Rajinder Singh Sandhu, Rabbi Mark Kampf, Mr Tim Miller and Ms Rachel Allard

of statist, top-down constraints but will quote a series of unrealistic expectations as to what schools can do. Instead of creating these statist expectations, if we are really serious about citizenship, we should be allowing it to evolve organically actually by letting schools do their own thing, rather than being prescriptive and telling schools what to do?

Mr Miller: I think, as I was saying before, it is right that the state, through Ofsted, or whatever organ the state wishes to set up, examines and interrogates schools about what they do and requires schools to meet certain standard which conform to what society has decided, through its elected representatives. There is certainly a great danger that society at large will expect too much of schools, but I think there are many, many other organisations and elements within society which contribute towards the creation of good citizens. I think MPs, local councillors, also have their role, in terms of how they help to create the active citizens of the future. It is a worrying sign, is it not, and I am not blaming anyone here, the number of people actively participating in our democracy, that

is a worrying sign for the future, and it is something that schools, society at large, the media, I think all have to adjust to in some way. Schools do not have the only answer to it and I think we are asked to do lots of other things, in terms of numeracy, literacy, exam results, and so on. Citizenship, I think, is absolutely rooted in the kind of young people we want emerging from our schools; it is a much bigger issue. I think that society needs to look at how we are creating the active citizens of the future so that in 50 or 100 years' time there can still be situations like this, which I think is wonderful, that MPs question schools and go back and make whatever decisions you make and recommendations you make in relation to consultation across us, other people who come to this Committee, and so on.

Chairman: Thank you very much for that, Tim. That was a very kind word. Can I thank you all very much for your attendance and the quality of the answers you have given to our questions. If you do think, as I say, at a subsequent time, tonight, tomorrow, or whenever, there was something you should have said to the Committee, we are very open to hearing from you. Thank you.

Written evidence

Memorandum submitted by Danielle Stone

CITIZENSHIP

My submission places the Global and International Dimension within citizenship education with particular reference to study support and the extended schools agenda.

TEACHERS AND LEADERS ATTITUDES

My discussions and training events with teachers and school leaders suggests that schools see the relevance and the importance of strategies to globalise the curriculum and to develop projects and school links. That some of this can take place through after school clubs and in the students own time is seen as enhancing the work.

Examples of out of school citizenship studies are:

- The Young Europeans club (run by young people).
- Commonwealth clubs (run by young people).
- A language project that links with Barclay card in the UK and Germany.
- A European Awareness project that students prepare for after school.

ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOLS STAFF

I coordinate a two day European Awareness programme for schools in three towns.

This involves 15 schools and 300 young people directly and many 1,000s indirectly as the programme is cascaded within the schools. The programme brings together local businesses, politicians and civic leaders working with the young people.

Following a DfES initiative I work with the Commonwealth Policy Unit to establish Commonwealth Clubs in the county. We have one so far and three more will be established by September. We expect to achieve 10 clubs by September 2008.

I am leading a TiPD visit to Ghana in October to visit commonwealth clubs, develop school links and bring back good practice and resources.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

All four of the above examples incorporate debates about identity and Britishness.

The European Awareness projects concludes with a day of debates. The theme of the debates are often, the Euro, Enlargement, Borders, etc. Adults supporting this day are drawn from different communities reflecting a diversity in what it is to be British.

The commonwealth clubs provide every opportunity for young people to come to an understanding of why Britain is so culturally diverse.

PRACTICE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Study support has links with Jamaica, Barbados, Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Jeremy Cunningham

I have been working in this field for about thirty years, as a teacher in the secondary state system, as a researcher and writer, and for the last eighteen years as a head teacher. Both schools I headed were non-denominational community schools. I have considerable experience of curriculum development, student councils and school democracy, and particularly the relationship between fairness, due process and good behaviour in school. I am now working as a consultant with the Open University on a pan-African education project, aimed at improving the quality of teacher training.

The Crick report and the resulting Citizenship Orders marked a huge step forward in this field, and the Government should be proud that at last there is a requirement for young people to learn about their roles, rights and responsibilities as citizens. The orders make it clear that this is not just a matter of ingesting knowledge about systems and procedures, but the development of democratic attitudes and values, and the practice of skills—oracy, advocacy, discussion and debate. The Crick committee built on decades of academic discourse in the field and the framework bears witness to this. This contrasts with the situation in 1988 when as a history teacher I was required to teach the Roman laws of Augustus, as part of the National Curriculum in History, and there was no requirement to teach about our own legal system, democracy, human rights, or civil society.

GOVERNMENT DISCOURSE

Citizenship education is naturally affected by public awareness of the fundamental values of the Government of the day. There is no doubt that this Government greatly values education and has invested huge effort and resources in improving “standards”. A major problem is that the purpose of education is almost never articulated, but is deemed to be obvious to all. To read and listen to government pronouncements, the need to compete economically with China and India, comes out much more strongly than the need to create a socially just, well adjusted society both with Britain and in the wider world. Tony Blair’s and Gordon Brown’s pronouncements about Africa, poverty are signals that this is an important element of government thinking, as is the support by DIFID for international school links. However the economic motive drowns out this strand. Nothing illustrates this better than the pitiful financial support given to schools to introduce Citizenship as a new compulsory curriculum element—£3,000. By contrast, for the introduction of financial and economic awareness, which is a mere subsection of the subject area, we received £15,000—five times as much.

The Government needs to be more explicit about education for a well-ordered, just society, where economic success goes hand in hand with respect for individuals and groups.

LEADERSHIP

The National College of School Leadership embodies, in its training programmes and frameworks, the values, skills and competences expected of school leaders. I have been on two programmes—the Leadership Programme for Serving Heads, and the Consultant Leaders Programme. I have also supervised my deputy head who was undertaking the National Professional Qualification for Headship. The values elements of these programmes are vague and almost relativist. The LPSH was based on the HayMcBer business model, in which values are mentioned as if they are matter of individual choice for the particular school leader. For Citizenship to work well in schools, the school leadership cadre need to be absolutely secure in their commitment to the universal values embodied in the UN and European Conventions, and the Human Rights Act. These need to be taught to school leaders, rather like the 10 commandments, as they are the foundation for our partnership work in the “global village”—from individual to international community. At present, it is either assumed that everyone knows these—which is far from the case—or that somehow one is treading on other people’s religious or other values to be explicit about democracy and human rights.

School leaders need specific training in democracy and human rights, as the essential values of our national and global society.

CURRICULUM

After years of debate and complaint about the crowded curriculum, it was not surprising that the DfES did not dare to make Citizenship a new subject with its own curriculum time. It would have meant cutting somewhere else, and there would have been opposition and disruption. It was quite rational to allow some years of development in association with PSHE, RE, and other Humanities subjects. However it is not being done well, and this does not surprise me. David Bell, the Chief Inspector, has spoken about this. My school had the advantage of committed leadership, enthusiastic citizenship co-ordinators, and time available for suspending the timetable now and again, but my review found that the teachers who were not specifically trained for Citizenship did not teach it well, were not motivated to improve, and the students taught by them had an unsatisfactory experience. Because of the close link between PSHE and Citizenship, the tutor was roped in to teaching the Citizenship aspects. Those students lucky enough to have a motivated tutor interested in this subject had a good experience; many others had a poor one. I cannot see the rationale of maintaining Religious Education in its current form.

The PSHE and Citizenship orders and curriculum advice need to be closely related to the five national outcomes for children, without giving the schools information overload. This is still a confused and overlapping area.

CONTINUITY BETWEEN STAGES

The use of circle time in many primary schools has been a very positive development—young people as young as six can play a part in thinking about their values and rules. Citizenship in the post-16 stage is in a parlous state. Curriculum 2000, the endless round of examinations, AS modules has squeezed sixth form social and general studies. Many schools have action groups, such as Amnesty groups, model UN, debates and discussions, but it is extremely varied and there is no consistency. Key Skills have slipped a long way down the agenda.

Citizenship should be made statutory for the primary and post-16 phases. It is illogical for it to be so only between the ages of 11 and 16. The new emphasis on vocational education has the danger of bringing a purely instrumental approach to the last two years of compulsory education.

INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

In a sense, all teachers have to be teachers of citizenship, just as all teachers are teachers of language, but that does not diminish the need for a cadre of experts, (the equivalent of the English teachers', passionate experts who are constantly seeking to improve their practice. This is a difficult subject to teach well—it crosses disciplines of law, social sciences, personal health and growth (PSHE)—and it needs particular classroom managements skills, eg teaching controversial issues, managing debates, judging between competing rights, such as freedom of speech or equal treatment. When the 1988 National Curriculum was introduced, in keeping with Margaret Thatcher's views, there was no place for social studies, sociology, law or politics in the pre-16 curriculum. To this day, social sciences graduates are discouraged from taking up PGCE places as they have not been studying a "national curriculum" subject. It is time to change this, and to methodically train up a cadre of citizenship specialists who can run the subject in schools, and develop a strong subject association. More places must be made available in teacher education institutions and social science, law, economics graduates as well as History, Geography, English graduates should be encouraged to apply.

My experience of LA support for Citizenship has been good. There is no doubt that many LA's are very active—I have read about Hampshire for example. Teacher's TV has run good programmes. The resources produced by NGOs such as Oxfam, Amnesty, National Children's Bureau are impressive.

All initial training should include a citizenship element. The TDA should positively support the development of a cadre of specialist citizenship teachers drawn largely but not exclusively from the humanities.

ASSESSMENT

The DfES has given useful guidance in this area. It was wise not to insist on all schools offering a full or half GCSE, but many have chosen to do so. The arguments on whether the subject should be given the status of formal objective assessment, or allowed the freedom (as has PSHE) of not being formally assessed, will continue, and it is better for schools themselves to make the decision. The more schools that wish to offer formal qualifications, the more the need for proper training, and the more the pressure will develop in schools for the development of specialist citizenship teams or departments. For information, one of the strengths of the Humanities GCSE that we offered at one of my previous schools, was that we included an assessed section of community service, in which students were placed in old people's homes, NGOs, etc for a period of time, like work experience.

There should be encouragement for recognition of community service, for groupwork and advocacy skills.

CITIZENSHIP AND SCHOOL ETHOS—"ACTIVE" ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM

A key issue here is whether young people are to be treated as citizens. The Convention on the Rights of the Child makes young people's participation in decisions affecting them a requirement. It is a glaring omission that the Government has not taken the opportunity to ensure that every school governing body has student representation. There is not even a requirement for governing bodies to have student observers. Many other countries, including South Africa, have gone much further in linking up student councils with governors. It is time for the student voice to be given more statutory support. I support Ofsted's developments in listening to young people's views about their schools. The best way of learning about democracy is by participating in it. Having experimented with different models of student council work, I concluded in the end that there had to be a very tight and well organised link between the form group, the year group and the whole school council, with proper elections, secret ballot etc, and that poorly organised democracy was not advertisement for the process. The law requiring a daily assembly of a "mainly Christian character" is wrong and unworkable. I ignored it in favour of assemblies based on more universal values—and I could not see how people could be required to worship. However several committed religious staff were able to share their faith based values with the student body.

This links with behaviour management. There is debate about whether young people are becoming more challenging and difficult, with the balance of opinion generally agreeing that they are less automatically deferential. The Elton report and most DfES guidance underline the link between overall school ethos and classroom behaviour. Both parties—adults and young people are asking for "Respect". Best practice asks that students play a part in establishing the rules and systems, both at the micro and at the macro level. However there are very varied approaches to offences, misdemeanors and sanctions. Terms such as "No blame bullying" are taken out of context and misinterpreted. My experience (1991) was that investigating school offences and crimes, and seeing them through to conclusion, was best when based explicitly on the norms of justice and human rights, eg "innocent unless proved guilty", "separation of investigator from imposer of sanctions" etc. The operation of such systems is demanding and time-costly, and depends on a firm values foundation.

School governance regulations should make student participation in governing bodies a requirement. This should be linked to democratic procedures in school, through school councils. Advice on offences and behaviour management in schools should rest explicitly on the Human Rights Act and the UN and European conventions.

TEACHERS AND LEADERS ATTITUDES

I have commented above on the issue of explicit values. I found that the teachers of my school were generally positive about the aims of citizenship education. Many incorporated citizenship elements into their teaching. English, Drama, Geography, History, Languages and RE teachers were most positive. The Science teachers were overburdened by the amount of knowledge content they had to “cover”, and had little space or opportunity to run debates or discussions on science and public life. Most teachers however regarded it as an “add-on”—something they would try to bring in if they had the time. As most teachers taught PSHE, it was easy to see that in their hectic week, the planning and assessment of their one PSHE lesson, (co-ordinated by a year team, to share out the load) took last place and was often the worst taught.

Teachers were nervous of the “rights” discourse and most keen to ensure that the word “responsibilities” was always attached. They feared that listening to young people would give them too much confidence, even arrogance, and would make it more difficult to keep order in the classroom. In my early years of headship, I found that measures taken to consult students, such as questionnaires, focus groups etc were feared and resented by some staff.

The Government, DfES, QCA etc should continue to actively promote citizenship education through teachers’s TV and public pronouncements. They should not be defensive about it, but make it a major feature about why we are educating young people.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE WIDER COMMUNITY

Eighteen years of my career were in designated “community schools” with protected budgets to run adult classes in the daytime and evening. This model is now called “extended schools” and is being funded at the rate of one per authority. This compares poorly to local authorities that followed the community education movement in the 1960s, such as Cambridge with its village colleges, or Leicestershire with its community upper schools. Blurring the edges between school and the wider community will generally support a culture of openness and debate. At Sutton Centre in Nottinghamshire, where I taught History and Humanities, we had a day centre for the elderly on site and our students were able to meet them frequently and explore their memories of historical events. Where a school has enough room for a crèche or a playgroup, adults come into contact with young people and vice versa and opportunities are opened up for debate and discussion. These arrangements can develop the desire to campaign and act, to volunteer and participate. Extending the school day, so that teachers can work with young people in more informal settings is very conducive to participation by young people. One way the Government can encourage this is to allow there to be more Citizenship specialist schools—so that the process of planning for the specialism can lead to the development of fruitful community partnerships. Local authorities such as District Councils have invested in consultative groups with young people, with the positive result that youngsters meet their peers from across an area.

The effort to develop community approaches to education is applauded. New academies need to have governance systems that are democratic and responsive to the local community, and not merely to special interest groups, whether they are faith groups or businesses.

IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

Audrey Osler’s research (2005) with young people in Leicester found that they had a good sense of overlapping identities. Young people felt both British and South Asian. Human rights codes provide a very good way of addressing dilemmas surrounding individual and community issues. For example female genital mutilation is outlawed by conventions and communities with that particular cultural tradition cannot defend it under human rights law. The discourse of human rights allows for examination of situations where rights and responsibilities conflict—for example we may have the right to publish material that we will know will offend others, but we have a responsibility not to stir up hatred. The debate surrounding the law on religious hatred was illuminated by reference to our common value system, without securing unanimity. There should be no apology for our democratic and rights traditions, that are now supported in theory at least by every nation. Good quality citizenship education will help young people address these issues in a positive, participative atmosphere. However there is also a requirement to reject racism, sexism, ageism etc, and it is not enough simply to teach young people that there are different groups, each with their own agenda. We should be teaching young people explicitly about social justice and inclusion, without falling into political indoctrination. This is a difficult task, and refers back to the need for very good quality initial and in-service training. As pointed out before, it is not enough to leave this to teachers of other subjects, for whom it is the lowest priority in their busy schedule.

Discourse on multiculturalism needs to address issues of social justice and not treat diversity as a problem.

REFERENCES

Cunningham, J (1991) *The Human Rights Secondary School in H Starkey* (ed) *The Challenge of Human Rights Education*. London: Cassell.

Osler, A (2005) *Teachers, Human Rights and Diversity*. Trentham.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Focus Learning Trust

1. Focus Learning Trust is keen to participate positively in this current inquiry because of the perceived benefits of Citizenship teaching to the community. We believe that it is currently opportune to address this issue in view of recent racial strife.

2. OVERVIEW

This submission will argue that Citizenship teaching can bring about measurable improvements in social problems in the populace. The Government faces various dilemmas in regard of:

- Racial and Ethnic integration.
- Securing respect for the rule of law.
- Promoting participation in the political process.
- Environmental issues.
- Misuse of drugs etc.

The potential for racial hatred to spiral out of control is clearly demonstrated in recent Cultural clashes. The challenge is to provide a framework which will allow and encourage people of diverse ethnic origin, and with diverse cultures and religious beliefs, to live and work in society with mutual respect for each other, and for the laws, culture and religions of their host country. Surely the teaching of citizenship has an important role to play here, in teaching that it is necessary to be aware of British history, traditions and beliefs, and respect them, even if they do not believe them or agree with them. That same framework can address the other social issues mentioned above.

3. Focus Learning Trust is a registered Charity with 37 affiliated schools. These schools have a Christian ethos and are all registered with DfES as Independent Teaching Establishments. All schools follow the same curricular programme, which includes Citizenship. For more information please see the overview of the Brethren and Focus Schools.

4. Arguably, the introduction of Citizenship to the National Curriculum is the greatest educational initiative of recent years—certainly of this Labour Government. We admire the foresight and, clarity of vision of Professor Sir Bernard Crick and his advisory group.

5. Citizenship teaching and its principles support the great and majestic truths of Christianity, especially (inter alia):

- The teaching of responsibility.
- Respect for all people.
- Compassion for the disadvantaged.
- Respect for Government, Power and Authority.
- Respect for the Law.
- Conflict resolution.
- Environmental considerations.

6. Thus Citizenship teaching will have had a measurable effect upon social cohesion, public morals and respect for the rule of law. In a society that is patently heading for decadence the promotion of a form of teaching which has moral and spiritual implications must have a beneficial effect.

7. One practical problem in the delivery of this subject is, due to its recent advent as a curricular subject, the lack of qualified teachers. However, it is not a difficult subject to teach and FLT schools have used teachers of English, the Humanities and even unqualified persons with reasonable success. At Focus we hope to introduce both teacher evaluation and teacher training programmes. Meanwhile, the exam boards provide inset training in Citizenship.

8. Focus Learning Trust advocates whole school Citizenship schemes, with three years at Key Stage 3, followed by two years at Key Stage 4. After GCSE (at Year 11) we suggest either AS level Citizenship, or Government and Politics (an allied subject) where students in the post 16 groups can proceed via AS to A level.

9. There is a very strong relationship between Citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness. The concept of Britishness is much more than having a UK passport; it involves an understanding of the history and culture of this nation and adoption of a life style (and possibly a dress code) that is compatible with it. Tony Blair has made more than one speech on Britishness and his contribution has been helpful. We have seen cases of strong, embedded prejudice reversed by such teaching. Evidence is available of an increase of sympathy and tolerance in Focus schools, through the teaching of this social science called Citizenship.

10. The quality of Citizenship education can (presumably) only be measured by results. The National results below have been obtained by averaging the results published by the exam boards and comparing them with Focus schools' results. The comparison says much for the efficiency of our teachers. The figures are cumulative percentages.

	<i>No Sat</i>	<i>A*</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>
All schools	19,160	3.0	12.2	30.0	51.9	67.9	88.3	94.9	98.3
Focus schools	99	13.1	35.3	58.6	80.9	92.9	97.9	100.0	—

If one compares the national results with, say history, it does seem that the quality of Citizenship teaching needs to be improved.

11. Community involvement has been achieved in various ways. These include:

- help to other schools by Citizenship presentations;
- raising funds for charities;
- fairtrade;
- teaching siblings;
- the school council;
- visits to Parliament;
- visits by local MP; and
- an MOD Citizenship Day and much more.

12. Finally, Focus Learning Trust is keen to promote Citizenship both within our own schools and in a wider way, should opportunity occur.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Nuffield Foundation

The Nuffield Foundation is one of the UK's best known charitable trusts. It was established in 1943 by William Morris (Lord Nuffield), the founder of Morris Motors.

Lord Nuffield wanted his Foundation to “advance social well being”, particularly through research and practical experiment. The Foundation aims to achieve this by supporting work which will bring about improvements in society, and which is founded on careful reflection and informed by objective and reliable evidence.

The Nuffield Curriculum Centre aims to explore new approaches to teaching and learning by developing, managing and supporting curriculum projects which aim to be innovative, practical, generalisable and reflective. Increasingly projects are run in partnership with others.

The main areas of interest at the moment include Science, Mathematics, Design and Technology and Citizenship.

The Education for Citizenship project has produced a book for teachers, teacher trainers and beginning teachers entitled *Learning Citizenship: practical teaching strategies for secondary schools*, published by Routledge Falmer in 2005. It continues a programme of resource development for Citizenship across the curriculum which involves working with teachers to produce groups of lessons which embed Citizenship into other subject areas while maintaining the integrity of the subjects themselves.

In the course of this work, we have observed that schools which take Citizenship seriously—or have a “Citizenship Culture” tend to have an environment in which young people thrive and succeed. This hypothesis is now the subject of research. In light of this, the project is working with the National College of School Leadership to organise an online “Hotseat” staffed by head teachers—for head teachers.

1. TEACHERS' AND LEADERS' ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION; WORKLOAD IMPLICATIONS

1(a) Teachers' and leaders' attitudes demonstrate the full range of responses from enthusiasm to burdensome. A growing number of teachers and head teachers are, however, realising that the development of active citizenship and increased participation gives students a greater sense of ownership of their school and the local community. There is some evidence from a small research study that the development of a “Citizenship Culture” and participation can lead to higher attainment. Research evidence is currently limited but further work is underway to discover whether there is an empirical link.

1(b) A key area of weakness lies in schools where the subject is dealt with by class tutors who often lack expertise or interest and find that their workload has increased as a result. Ofsted has reported that this strategy leads to lower performance.

1(c) Many teachers are not trained to deal with controversial issues and uncomfortable when doing so. In some subjects there is usually a “right” answer. In Citizenship this is unusual. Young people hold a variety of views and they should be encouraged to question and develop a rationale for their own and other people’s ideas. There is a need for training to support the discussion of controversial issues.

1(d) School leaders must be committed to the development of the subject and give it a clearly defined role in the curriculum if it is to succeed, as Ofsted discovered from inspection.

2. IN-SERVICE TRAINING

2(a) In many schools there is a need for in-service training. There are few “experts” in the field and even those who have been trained as Citizenship teachers come from backgrounds which contributes to the programme of study rather than covering all of it.

2(b) Instead of sending teachers on courses, the outcomes would be much more powerful if teachers were given time in school to work together, with support, to develop strategies and materials that met the needs of their schools and their students. Schools vary greatly and a controversial issue in one is an abstract concept in another so approaches need to be developed to meet the needs of the locality. Diversity is an example of the need for different approaches as students’ experiences vary according to the nature of their communities. Advanced Skills Teachers, are in a strong position to assist in such developments as they are familiar with the local community and the mix of the student population.

2(c) The number of places for PGCE students training to become citizenship teachers is being reduced in line with national policy as the school age community declines. Although the reduction is less than in some other subject area, there is already an inadequate supply of trained citizenship teachers so it would seem logical to retain the current number of places.

3. ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL STAFF

In many parts of the country, LA staff offer strong support. In Swindon, for example, the Citizenship advisor organises regular meetings which, despite being at 4 pm on Friday, are very well attended. Good practice and information are willingly shared among teachers in the borough. Many are, however, overstretched and are unable to offer the degree of support necessary to develop the teaching skills of teachers with no Citizenship training.

4. CONTINUITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION BETWEEN PRIMARY, 11–16 AND POST-COMPULSORY STAGES

4(a) There is a lack of coherence from stage to stage, partly because the subject is not statutory in primary schools and is integrated into PSHE rather than made distinct. There are hotspots of excellent, innovative work in primary schools but this is not general. As a result students arrive at secondary schools having had very different experiences and have a variety of expectations of their new schools.

4(b) The absence of statutory citizenship in the post-compulsory stage often means that A level students are unwilling to participate because it appears to be an added burden in a heavily examined two year period. Greater participation occurs on a range of other courses where students are involved effectively in a wide range of activities.

4(c) In the post-compulsory phase, citizenship has been used effectively as a core for courses which aim to attract young people, who have failed at school for a wide range of reasons, back into education. Kingston College’s Pathfinder course is one example of the use of citizenship to restore young people’s confidence particularly through active participation. These students are often following a GCSE course in the subject.

5. QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF SCHOOLS, INCLUDING FAITH SCHOOLS

This is not a focus of work at Nuffield but in my role as Chair of Examiners for Citizenship Studies at Edexcel, I have observed that high quality work is appearing from across the range of schools. Faith schools, however, tend to submit internal assessment which has been teacher led rather than genuinely student focused.

6. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

At its best, citizenship education focuses on aspects of identity that people have in common and can therefore help to bridge the divide between communities. Students explore identities and develop a concept of Britishness, which aims to incorporate the current ethnic and religious mix across the country.

7. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

7(a) Active citizenship can be a useful technique for developing community cohesion, particularly when used on a larger scale than the individual school. There are examples of students being brought together for on Citizen's Day which was held in a range of cities across the country in October 2005. Other smaller scale events have encouraged students from diverse backgrounds to share their cultures in order to bring about greater understanding.

7(b) Edexcel's GCSE short course expects young people to be able to argue a case from more than one point of view. This training encourages them to develop the ability to see issues from more than one point of view, a skill which many adults find difficult to understand or acquire. There are clear links to the development of an understanding of the perspectives of others in a community.

8. IMPLEMENTATION OF "ACTIVE" ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM—IE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOL

8(a) Active aspects of the curriculum provide students with a strong sense of involvement and ownership which can enhance commitment to the school, the community and learning. The use of effective school councils, with democratic participation and implementation of the decisions, encourages young people to feel that they can make a difference. Schools are finding that there is a link to attainment when students develop these skills of participation. Chamberlayne Park School in Southampton and Deansfield School in Wolverhampton have both benefited from student participation in the running of the school and activities in the local community.

8(b) Outcomes from Edexcel's GCSE course demonstrate how participation can impact on students from the full range of schools, including pupil referral units. There is currently debate about the role of coursework/internal assessment in GCSEs. It clearly has a strong part to play in such courses which could become arid unless students have opportunities to put their skills into practice. It can be argued that because participation is important, teachers would include it in their teaching. This is unlikely to occur as there is always pressure on time and resources. Unless it is a necessary part of the exam, it will not occur. Ofsted have said that the subject is taught to a higher standard when students are on GCSE courses so it would be unfortunate to undermine the current success.

9. DESIGN OF CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM AND APPROPRIATENESS OF OTHER DFES GUIDANCE

9(a) The programmes of study for KS3 and 4 are very open ended which reduces possible coherence. This was deliberate from the inception of the subject but has led to uncertainty about what should be taught. This works well in the hands of experts and enthusiasts but can leave practitioners with little training in the subject confused. "How the economy functions, including the role of business and financial services" is a case in point. Because teachers are uncertain about the coverage of a topic as broad as this, they often leave it out completely. Many text books ignore it too or treat it in a traditional way, reminiscent of an old O level economics course! As Citizenship has now been in place for three years, it is time to review the programmes and define the content more carefully.

9(b) Schemes of work were also developed to support teachers when the subject became statutory. They are in need of revision. Many are far too extensive in light of the time that is devoted to Citizenship. Teachers are left feeling uneasy because they cannot allocate enough time to each topic.

9(c) Much of the support work provided by QCA is excellent. Teachers would benefit from more of it, particularly to support the active aspects of the subject.

10. PRACTICE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

At a recent Volonteuropa conference delegates, who are involved in organisation which work with volunteers were very envious of the UK's commitment to active participation through citizenship. It seemed rare across other European countries.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by CitizED

CitizED is an organisation funded by the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA). It works collaboratively, within and beyond higher education, for teacher education in England.

CitizED is organised principally around teacher education in primary, secondary, cross curricular, post-16 and community involvement contexts with outputs in the form of conferences, seminars, workshops, research papers and practical resources for teaching. Work takes place in initial teacher education (with the 13 providers of specialist citizenship programmes) as well as continuing professional development with, for example, leadership in the roll out of the handbook for citizenship co-ordinators in schools and in-service education for newly qualified citizenship teachers. CitizED is promoting a number of research initiatives including work on effective teaching and learning in citizenship education. An international journal (“Citizenship Teaching and Learning”) was launched by CitizED in July 2005. CitizED is working in partnership with a wide variety of individuals and organisations including the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT). Further details can be found on the CitizED web site (www.citized.info).

1. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IS A VITALLY IMPORTANT PART OF TEACHER EDUCATION (INITIAL AND CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT)

- (a) We are pleased that Lord Adonis has said that: a “key development has been the introduction of citizenship education into schools three years ago. I know there have been the inevitable teething problems, but standing back, it is the progress rather than the problems which is most striking” (speech at Millfields Community School, Hackney, 7 December 2005).
- (b) We are pleased that David Bell’s comments in the Roscoe lecture (2 November 2005) commented positively about the quality of citizenship teachers produced by HE institutions: “These courses continue to be at the sharp end of citizenship development, producing new teachers with a fascinating range of backgrounds and a commitment to the development of citizenship as a National Curriculum subject. These new teachers—alongside those already in service who have chosen to undertake the pilot professional development courses in citizenship sponsored by the DfES—are providing much needed expertise in an area of the curriculum that is sometimes misunderstood and undervalued by head teachers and senior managers in schools. The great majority of these newly qualified citizenship teachers are finding suitable posts in schools, and because of their expertise and commitment many are quickly gaining promotion”.
- (c) We are pleased that “The report of Power: an independent enquiry into Britain’s democracy” (<http://www.powerinquiry.org/report/index.php>) refers frequently to the significance of education and especially the role of teacher training (see, for example pp 204–5).
- (d) We note that programmes of initial teacher education for citizenship are oversubscribed and feel that they could be expanded.
- (e) We feel that citizED is having a significant impact on practice with the production of quality resources that are widely respected and widely used in this country and internationally. Trainers are now well supported. Professor Crick has commented favourably on our work. There have been more than 106,000 individual downloads of resources since October 2002 (currently 7,500 per month); over 330,000 page views (currently over 20,000 per month); 315 UK universities, colleges and other HE institutions are visitors; 306 USA and 135 other international HE institutions are visitors; leading Internet search firm Google puts www.citized.info as 4th most important website for “citizenship education” and the most important for “citizenship teacher education”.
- (f) We suggest that citizenship education is already valuable and worthwhile and that there are opportunities to be regarded as the international leader in this field. We have clear evidence that key individuals and agencies in the USA, Canada, Europe, Asia and Australia are keen to follow our progress and develop their own work as a result.

2. WE WISH TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE COMMITTEE A NUMBER OF ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN TEACHER EDUCATION/TRAINING

2.1 *Initial teacher education in citizenship*

- (a) Numbers allocated to initial teacher education in citizenship are currently too few. Training courses began in September 2001 with approximately 241 places allocated by the DfES. Unfortunately, there was initial confusion about the allocation of places. Some HEIs had places that consisted of citizenship in combination with another subject—often with citizenship consisting of 20% of the training. Ofsted/TTA recognised this (at a late stage) and removed the joint courses over two years. As a result principally of this confusion over the last four years the number of students completing full citizenship courses has been well below 200 per year.
- (b) Numbers allocated to initial teacher education in citizenship are to be cut. We are concerned that the 241 places that notionally exist in the system are to be cut over the next three years in line with all other secondary subjects. This does not seem a sensible way to develop a new subject.

- (c) Regional imbalance. The TTA/TDA have attempted to allocate students on a regional basis but have been unsuccessful. For example, there are initial teacher education programmes in citizenship in Plymouth, Exeter and Bristol which serve well the South West, but in some major cities and urban areas such as Liverpool and Manchester there is an absence of provision. There are no specialist initial teacher education programmes in the North East or North West or in Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, and many other counties. This weakness has occurred due to the small total number of places allocated for initial teacher education in citizenship.
- (d) Trainees not always accepting posts in schools to teach citizenship. Some trainees who complete a programme of initial teacher education find a post in school to teach another subject. This is principally due to the lack of development of citizenship education in schools relative to the work that can take place in initial teacher training programmes. (School placements in programmes of initial teacher education are precisely co-ordinated for the purpose of citizenship to ensure effective training). We believe that the actual number of citizenship teachers trained and teaching citizenship in schools is less than half what the DfES have allocated to be trained over the last four years.
- (e) Instability due to high staff turnover. The DfES/QCA/TTA/TDA/LSDA have personnel addressing citizenship education, but there have been many staff changes and consequently a sense of instability. We do not seem to have a coherent national policy on training citizenship teachers.
- (f) Marginalisation of citizenship education in Primary ITE. The positive remarks about citizenship education for the secondary sector cannot be echoed for primary. The majority of primary trainees now go through PGCE routes. PGCE courses for primary trainees are forced to marginalise citizenship education, or make only token gestures, due to the pressure on their time. The non statutory nature of citizenship education and the fact that it is combined in the Guidance with PSHE only exacerbates this situation. The result is that very few primary trainees are adequately equipped to take on citizenship teaching when they qualify. Despite some good practice in primary schools, the absence of training for the new generation of primary teachers means that opportunities to develop citizenship education in schools through new blood are missed, and transition into the secondary sector is not supported.

2.2 Continuing professional development (CPD) in citizenship education

- (a) Use by schools of resources for CPD in citizenship education. We would remind the Committee that almost £17 million was allocated for citizenship education to schools by the Standards Fund in the run up to the introduction of citizenship. We are unclear about whether this money was actually spent on citizenship education courses to train teachers in citizenship. It was not ring fenced and there were very few citizenship courses available.
- (b) Limited resource available for CPD. CitizED and ACT (Association for Citizenship Teaching) were pleased to be allocated £35,000 in total by the DfES to launch the DfES CPD Handbook on citizenship in each of the nine regions of England and provide CPD in citizenship over two sessions for teachers of citizenship. But we note that the resourcing of this has been minimal and relies on the good will of many members of citizED.
- (c) Undeveloped strategy for developing national CPD. We welcome the recent announcement that the DfES will fund 1,200 teachers on a CPD citizenship course costing nearly £600,000 over two years. However, we see no strategy for delivering such courses. Nor do we see a clear policy that will ensure the best use of expertise within and beyond higher education so that there can be fruitful collaboration with government departments and agencies and NGOs.
- (d) Lack of CPD for primary teachers. Local authority and university-led provision is virtually non-existent for primary teachers in state schools.

2.3 Strategic development

- (a) Medium term strategy needed. We believe there should be an explicit five-year strategy on citizenship education to give stability to work in this area. The strategy would cover issues related to allocation of places, links between initial teacher education and continuing professional development and ways of developing collaboration between key networks and groups within and beyond higher education, government departments and agencies and NGOs. This should apply to all phases of education from early years through to compulsory and post compulsory contexts.
- (b) Safeguard the existing higher education citizenship education network. We are concerned that citizED has not been earmarked for further support from the TDA because citizenship, we are told, is no longer a major priority of government.

2.4 *Necessary investigations and initiatives*

We suggest that there are opportunities for work to take place that will develop good practice. We draw attention to a number of examples of work that we currently regard as of high priority (and to be applied in all phases of education from early years through to post compulsory contexts):

- (a) Explore and clarify the nature of subject knowledge for teaching citizenship. This will help the process of selection and recruitment to programmes of teacher education as well as ensuring that tutors can assist the development of trainees' and teachers' understandings and practices with more skill than sometimes occurs currently.
- (b) Develop teachers' and tutors' understanding of assessment. This will be beneficial for tutors who are training teachers (initial and CPD), as well as for those who assess school students.
- (c) Develop teachers' roles in promoting democratic understanding and practice appropriate for a diverse society. Schools are currently seeking to develop their capacity to go beyond traditional teaching methods. Imaginative and innovative approaches to citizenship are necessary including the development of capacities for appropriate classroom and school ethos and in making best use of contact with others in communities beyond the school.
- (d) Emphasise international dimensions. This should be done to ensure an appropriate status for citizenship education and thus assist with the process of implementation. It will also ensure that we will develop citizenship that is appropriate within a nation state and elsewhere. Notions of global citizenship are important within and beyond England.

2.5 *Statement on citizenship education*

We wish to draw to the attention of the Committee a statement that has been developed by the steering committee of citiZED in collaboration with a range of interested individuals and agencies. We offer this statement as a way of contributing constructively to the current review of Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum and helping to ensure that citizenship is seen as something that is wide ranging but nevertheless coherent and focussed.

CITIZED STATEMENT

Citizens in a democratic society have a fundamental responsibility to engage in public life. Teachers and students have an obligation to promote equality, justice, respect for others and democratic participation. These ideals should be integral to cultures of educational institutions and embedded within and beyond the curriculum beginning with the youngest age group and continuing throughout, and after, compulsory phases. Education for democratic citizenship is therefore a core purpose of teaching and learning within and beyond schools.

Citizenship education has a strong conceptual core. Subject knowledge for teaching is increasingly defined and distinctive and includes rights and responsibilities, government and democracy, identities and communities at local, national and global levels.

A curriculum for citizenship will be enquiry based, with students making connections between their own and others' experiences, learning to think critically about society and take action for social justice. Educational institutions where this is achieved embody learning for citizenship in their organisational leadership and in their self-evaluation. Citizenship education enhances the professional values and practices of teachers and others.

Citizenship education requires students to consider public and individual issues of an ethical and political nature. These issues will be topical and often controversial. Effective education for citizenship includes the integration of conceptual understanding and the skills for civic engagement.

Citizenship education requires an integrated approach to assessment which incorporates evidence about knowledge, skills and understanding, values, dispositions and social action. The overall assessment must integrate learners' self-evaluations and reflections which take account of others' observations and the teachers' evaluations of pupils.

Citizenship education is drawn from a shared values framework and informs a wider educational strategy and ethos.

Specialist citizenship teachers thus possess distinctive knowledge, skills and dispositions. They have a strong sense of the specific potential of their work and through purposeful teaching, learning and assessment engage and empower young people.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Professor Audrey Osler

SUMMARY

This evidence addresses the following terms of reference issued by the Education and Skills Committee: citizenship education's potential to contribute to community cohesion; the relationship between citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness; and initial and in-service training. Discussion of practice in other countries is also included. I draw on my recent research in England and internationally, my experience in initial and in-service teacher training and on work with local authorities and schools. I argue that the citizenship education curriculum needs to be underpinned by human rights and cite evidence which suggests that a well-conceived human rights based citizenship curriculum has the potential to contribute to community cohesion, civic courage and greater solidarity with others, within and beyond our national borders. To do this we need to move away from the deficit model of young people currently popular with certain policy-makers and support young people in contributing to the project of democracy. There are resource implications both for the training of teachers and for training the trainers. The evidence concludes with a set of recommendations for the DfES, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority and the Teacher Development Agency.

Citizenship education's potential to contribute to community cohesion

1. Cohesive communities require a common set of shared principles. Britain, which has been characterised as “a community of communities”¹ also needs to be clear about the basis from which we can derive principles to which all in our multicultural nation can sign up. The citizenship curriculum, which is a statutory part of the National Curriculum for England and is thus part of every child's entitlement, provides us with an opportunity to promote and foster shared principles among young people. Human rights provide us with the broad principles to which we all can adhere.

2. Across Europe, there is a strong consensus that human rights provide the principles values which underpin the nation-state and the education of democratic citizens.² There is also a growing international consensus that human rights need to underpin citizenship education in multicultural democracies.³ Britain is perhaps unique in Europe in hesitating to acknowledge the human rights principles which underpin society and which need to underpin education for citizenship, despite the introduction of the Human Rights Act which has incorporated the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) into domestic law.

3. Britain has also signed up to various commitments to promote education for democratic citizenship and human rights as a Member State of the Council of Europe, but these highly practical recommendations do not appear to influence policy-making at the DfES and are not disseminated to local authorities or schools.⁴ It is perhaps a failure to provide human rights education which has led to a situation where the public often associate human rights with distant countries or with high profile court cases, rather than understand the links between the ECHR and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Human rights education should be made available to all students within the citizenship curriculum.

4. Human rights provide a framework for debate and discussion, skills centrally required by young citizens who are learning to participate democratically. This experience is supported by those local authorities, like Hampshire, who have undertaken an extensive human rights programme with teachers and schools. A number of individual schools have adopted human rights as the basis of their citizenship education programmes. Research and evaluation of these programmes at school level has demonstrated that they are able to promote student participation and student voice, support achievement and reduce conflict and violence.⁵

Relationship between citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness

5. A number of the current debates about identity, multiculturalism and Britishness present diversity as a problem we have to overcome. In a democracy we need diversity in order for democracy to work. Diversity needs to be recognised as an asset, as a public good, in our democracy. Just as there is now a widely-recognised business case for diversity, we need to recognise the benefits of diversity to our democracy and to acknowledge how diversity contributes towards the strengthening of democracy. Students need opportunities to explore how diversity can enrich and support democracy and to recognise diversity as a public good.

6. Through our research, we have defined citizenship as a feeling, a status and a practice.⁶ The feeling is a sense of belonging to a community and citizenship education can, as suggested above, support students' sense of belonging to a range of communities (local, ethnic, national, diasporic, global) and thereby support their multiple identities. Status is normally understood as national status. An undue focus on national status risks an approach which is potentially nationalistic and assimilationist. An approach which encourages what is sometimes referred to in the United States as “critical patriotism” is more constructive. This is more about the fostering of collective solidarity and civic courage. Rather than the irrational “my country right or wrong”, it is important to foster critical discourse and a desire to challenge injustice and the wrongs in

society. Not all students in the citizenship classroom will necessarily hold British citizenship but all are holders of human rights. An inclusive approach which encourages solidarity, beyond as well as within the community of those categorised as British, is helpful and indeed essential.

7. Many young people are gaining experience of citizenship skills in their local communities, in families and in faith groups.⁷ Citizenship education in schools has too readily been conceived as something which assumes a deficit model of young people (eg violent, unlikely to vote, disaffected). This deficit model needs to be challenged and many young people's positive citizenship experiences beyond the school need to be recognised.

8. As a result of our research, we also advocate an approach to citizenship education which is cosmopolitan, and which fosters an "allegiance to the worldwide community of human beings".⁸ Education policy often focuses on the need of the nation to be internationally competitive. There is a compelling need to stress international cooperation.

9. Education for democratic citizenship needs to examine the barriers to democratic participation. Too often the project of democracy is assumed to be complete. Students need to explore barriers to participation, and in a multicultural democracy need to understand issues like racism, homophobia, Islamophobia not merely as moral or human rights issues but as barriers to democracy itself. This is, for example, the approach in Sweden.⁹ Following the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry the Government suggested that citizenship education should be a key means of promoting race equality and challenging institutional racism. Although some schools do examine racism as a means of undermining democracy, there has been little guidance on this issue, other than to encourage young people to examine interpersonal racism. Some guidance from QCA attempts to deal with racism, encouraging students to think about racial discrimination.¹⁰ This guidance does not conform to Home Office guidance, enshrined in law: "A racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other persons".¹¹

Initial and in-service training

10. A large proportion of the trainee and experienced teachers seeking to deepen their professional knowledge in citizenship education lack specific academic experience in the subject disciplines most likely to support them, namely political science, sociology and human rights law. They do, however, often bring additional skills and experience to their teaching. A significant proportion of the trainee teachers recruited at Leicester (2002–04) were mature entrants into the profession. They bring professional experience in a wide range of community and professional settings, including legal and advice work. Citizenship education has the potential to help extend the diversity of experience, professional and ethnic backgrounds of the teaching profession, something which is greatly needed.

11. In 2005 the DfES funded four pilot short Certificate courses in Citizenship Education, run by a range of providers across the country. This project will be extended over a period of three years, and the pilot was evaluated by Ofsted. Informal feedback suggests that Ofsted is concerned about the issue of subject knowledge. While these Certificate courses provide a number of teachers with basic support in the pedagogy and content of citizenship education, short courses cannot, by their very nature, provide the in-depth subject knowledge required. The DfES should allocate some resources so that a limited number of experienced and expert teachers can develop an in-depth understanding of citizenship education and democratic practice through longer certified courses, at Masters' level. Such teachers could then support Ofsted and other agencies, such as the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) in ensuring that the project of developing citizenship education as a National Curriculum subject can be made sustainable and can be evaluated by specialist teams with in-depth subject-appropriate knowledge. I am currently developing an interdisciplinary Masters' level course MA Education and Democracy (one year full-time/two years part-time) which seeks to extend subject knowledge for teachers of citizenship education by offering modules in political and sociological theory and practice, and human rights law as well as pedagogic practice in citizenship education.

12. My experience working in a number of local authorities and in three universities, suggests that teachers engaged in teaching sensitive issues, with an implicit or explicit political content, are often concerned about establishing principles and values to underpin both content selection and pedagogy. This concern is felt particularly acutely in a society which is both secular and multi-faith. Both trainees and experienced teachers have found that a basic understanding of human rights principles helpful in thinking how they might support young people in learning for democratic citizenship and living together justly. All teachers need education in human rights as part of their initial training. There is an obligation on government to ensure that all teachers are informed about and understand the implications of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. This is not yet an explicit part of the initial teacher training entitlement and needs to be built into this.

Training the trainers

13. Although the Teacher Development Agency (TDA) has invested in two websites to support teacher trainers on diversity and citizenship education, there is currently little support for teacher trainers in human rights education or in addressing diversity as an asset within our democracy, or indeed, in examining racism as a barrier to democratic participation. If citizenship education is to fulfil its potential of contributing to social cohesion within our multicultural democracy, teacher trainers need urgent support in these areas.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Human rights principles should underpin the citizenship curriculum in our multicultural democracy.
2. Human rights education should be every student's entitlement within the citizenship curriculum. DfES and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority should take a lead in mainstreaming human rights into the citizenship curriculum and support efforts to do this at the Department of Constitutional Affairs.
3. The recommendations and commitments to education for democratic citizenship and human rights to which Britain has signed up as a Member State of the Council of Europe should centrally inform DfES policy-making and be disseminated to local authorities and schools.
3. Students need opportunities to explore how diversity can enrich and support democracy and to recognise diversity as a public good.
4. "Critical patriotism" rather than an uncritical or complacent "Britishness" or "Englishness" should be fostered within the citizenship curriculum.
5. Guidance on how citizenship education can foster civic courage and a sense of solidarity among all, regardless of their formal citizenship status, should be provided by the DfES and Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.
5. We need to abandon the deficit model of young people, common to much of the current citizenship education policy discourse. Instead citizenship education should build upon young people's citizenship skills which are acquired in the family, community and faith groups.
6. Cosmopolitanism and a sense of allegiance to others at local, national and international levels should be fostered within the citizenship curriculum.
7. Democracy needs to be presented as a project in progress, rather than one which is achieved and young people need to be given opportunities within the school curriculum to examine issues like racism and homophobia as barriers to democracy and opportunities to contribute to the project of fostering democracy by working to dismantle these barriers.
8. There needs to be further DfES investment in teacher training for citizenship, including support for a small number of expert teachers to acquire in-depth subject knowledge and expertise so that they can support the next stage of embedding this new subject into the National Curriculum.
9. The Teacher Development Agency (TDA) should take a lead in ensuring that all trainees are introduced to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and that they understand the implications of this set of standards relating to children's human rights for their professional practice.
10. The TDA should allocate resources to support teacher trainers in the field of human rights education; addressing diversity as a public good, essential to the functioning of effective democracy; and recognising racism as a barrier to democracy. Support for human rights education is not an optional extra but is required if Britain is to fulfil its obligations under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and other international human rights agreements.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. The Parekh Report*. London: Profile Books.
- ² Council of Europe (2002) Recommendation Rec (2002) 12 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Education for Democratic Citizenship. Strasbourg.
- ³ See for example: Banks et al. (2005) *Democracy and Diversity: principles and concepts for educating citizens in a global age*. Washington, Seattle: Centre for Multicultural, University of Washington <http://depts.washington.edu/centerme/DemDiv.pdf>
Osler, A and Starkey, H (2005) *Changing Citizenship: democracy and inclusion in education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

- ⁴ See for example, Council of Europe (2002) *op. cit.*
- ⁵ Hudson, A (2005) Citizenship education and students' identities: a school-based action research project, in A Osler (Ed) *Teachers, Human Rights and Diversity: educating citizens in multicultural societies*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.
Carter, C, & Osler, A (2000) Human rights, identities and conflict management: a study of school culture as experienced through classroom relationships. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30 (3) 335–356.
- ⁶ Osler, A and Starkey, H (2005) *op. cit.*
- ⁷ Osler, A & Starkey, H (2003) Learning for Cosmopolitan Citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences, *Educational Review*, 55/3, pp 243–254.
- ⁸ Nussbaum, M (2002) Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. In J Cohen (Ed.) *For Love of Country*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- ⁹ Osler, A, & Starkey, H (2002) Education for Citizenship: mainstreaming the fight against racism? *European Journal of Education*, 37 (2) 143–159.
- ¹⁰ Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2003) *Respect for All: PSHE and Citizenship*. Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2003) *Respect for All: racial discrimination*.
- ¹¹ Home Office (2000) *Code of Practice on Reporting and Recording Racist incidents in response to recommendation 15 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*. London: Home Office.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE)

INTRODUCTION

1. The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) is an independent non-governmental organisation and charity. Its members come from a range of places where adults learn: in colleges and local community settings; in workplaces, prisons and universities as well as in their homes through the media and information technology. NIACE's work in advocacy, research, development, consultancy and promotion is supported by a wide range of bodies including the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (with which it has a formal voluntary sector compact) and other Departments of State, by the Local Government Association and by the European Union. The ends to which NIACE activities are directed can be summarised as being to secure more, different and better opportunities for adults (especially those who have benefited least from their initial education) to learn throughout their lives.

2. Since 2004, NIACE has led work funded by the Home Office and DfES on citizenship education for adults for whom English is not a first language. This is part of the Government's strategy to make becoming a UK citizen a more meaningful event. There are now (since November 2005) two routes to naturalisation. Applicants with sufficient English language skills can take an online, multiple choice citizenship test, Life in the UK, at any of the 90 test centres. Applicants who need to improve their English language skills can follow a specialist Citizenship/English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) course, designed by NIACE and its partners. Following a specialist education course as part of the naturalisation process rather than simply taking a test is unique to the UK.

3. NIACE developed and piloted the teaching and learning materials for this course (published as *Citizenship materials for ESOL Learners*), and trained 2,000 ESOL teachers to deliver courses based upon them.

4. NIACE is currently represented on the national steering group for the Active Learning for Active Citizenship (ALAC) initiative led by the Home Office Civil Renewal Unit (CRU) and is contributing to drafting the national Learning Framework for Active Learning for Active Citizenship, also led by the CRU. NIACE has also been commissioned by the Learning and Skills Council to develop a position paper and associated action plan for learning for active citizenship, in partnership with the Home Office.

5. Although our current involvement is manifested in this particular niche, the links between adult education and citizenship are deep and well established. During the Second World War, the Institute's staff were instrumental in the establishment of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs (ABCA) which provided citizenship education (both voluntary and compulsory) for troops. For many years adult education services and the Workers' Educational Association included training for civic responsibilities (such as school governorship) as part of their curricular offer. That tradition is further continued in the work of such institutions as Northern College and Ruskin College and in education for community development. The tendency to see adult learning as being primarily about employment-related skills or "leisure learning" ignores this deeper tradition.

6. Our evidence draws on this experience to respond to five of the Terms of Reference set out by the Select Committee.

TEACHERS' AND LEADERS' ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION; WORKLOAD IMPLICATIONS

7. We suggest that the Select Committee give consideration to how teachers are consulted and supported in the delivery of citizenship education—so that a sense of professional ownership is established and quality is embedded rather than staff being seen simply as the "deliverers" of a pre-determined "product".

8. The ESOL teachers who attended training workshops and ran 18 pilot programmes for the NIACE-developed materials initially expressed concerns about the increased work load in teaching citizenship as well as English and about being perceived as agents of the state in this respect. Many of these concerns were allayed after sensitive staff development and training. However, NIACE's final report to the DfES and Home Office recommended that "[. . .] the management of ESOL provision in future needs to recognise the additional workload for the ESOL teacher delivering in the context of citizenship. The importance of adapting the materials and using local resources cannot be stressed highly enough. Although time consuming for teachers, the development of highly relevant, local and accessible materials for a group of learners is essential." (Final Report, ESOL Citizenship Development Project, NIACE, June 2005).

9. The first year of the ESOL citizenship development project also included extensive consultation with ESOL teachers, the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and other citizenship specialists. Through this process of consultation, the concerns of the ESOL teachers were addressed, their recommendations acted upon and their support was thus won.

INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

10. Whatever recommendations the Select Committee makes about citizenship education for adults, NIACE urges that the importance of teacher training and opportunities for personal development be highlighted as preconditions for success. NIACE delivered familiarisation workshops to introduce the ESOL citizenship learning materials to 2,000 ESOL teachers from 800 organisations. Evidence from evaluations and general feedback confirmed that the dissemination of the materials was successful because of the one-day training events to support it.

11. Since the national workshops ended, demand has continued and other training has been delivered by colleges, the WEA, NATECLA, LLU+ and at Skills for Life conferences to meet this demand.

CONTINUITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION BETWEEN PRIMARY, 11–16 AND POST-COMPULSORY STAGES

12. There is currently little continuity of citizenship education between sectors. The introduction of the new Home Office language requirements for citizenship has highlighted the difference between the knowledge expected of migrants learning citizenship for the new Life in the UK Test and the receiving community's knowledge of the UK and issues of citizenship. This may be a temporary phenomenon that will change once the generation of school leavers studying citizenship as part of the National Curriculum comes to adulthood. Alternatively, there may be a more deep-seated problem.

13. Play Your Part, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority's post-16 citizenship materials (taking forward the recommendations of the 16–19 citizenship advisory group chaired by Sir Bernard Crick) demonstrate both the particularity of learning appropriate for this age group and its potential to link with the aims and outcomes of the citizenship National Curriculum in schools. The national Learning Framework for Active Learning for Active Citizenship (under development by the CRU) will create a post-19 structure for learning in this area that reflects both ALAC outcomes and community-based adult learning approaches, and align with the existing principles and guidance for 16–19 programmes. Coherence between sectors is starting to emerge—but only slowly and patchily.

14. NIACE urges the Select Committee to consider whether the process of encouraging coherence and dialogue should be given a higher and more explicit level of attention with more cross-departmental planning to ensure closer alignment of priorities. In particular, we ask the Select Committee to consider the future of post-19 active citizenship learning which is at serious risk of atrophy (despite Home Office investment in a national Framework) because it fits poorly with the skills focus of current DfES PSA targets.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

15. Public debate about “Britishness” is a relatively recent phenomenon and one where many are struggling to find a tone that goes beyond nostalgia for Empire or the crude nationalism of the football supporter but which does not decry patriotism and pride in national identity. The Chancellor has made a brave attempt at finding a new language in his Fabian Society speech in January which floated the idea of a British Day, support for volunteering and “a modern view of patriotism”, identifying qualities of “tolerance, fair play and liberty” as being typically British. This discourse is, however, some distance from the experience of new arrivals who may have had negative experiences of a long, cumbersome asylum process and then difficulty accessing in ESOL provision due to long waiting lists in every UK city.

16. The UK is at a point of significant cultural transition. Populations in certain areas are highly fluid—leading to a weakening of shared norms and community values and even areas of homogeneity are facing the challenge of economic migrants from the EU and beyond yet the education system is not able to respond to adults' learning needs to make sense of change because of the rigidity associated with the delivery of the Skills Strategy. Although the BBC plays an important compensatory role in this respect, many adult educators are frustrated that current LSC priorities mean they cannot contribute properly to public education and debate around such issues as asylum seeker dispersal policies, notions of “Britishness”, the challenges and opportunities of cultural diversity and the balance to be struck between assimilation and difference.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

17. Adult education for citizenship has considerable unrealised potential in supporting and promoting community cohesion. NIACE urges the Select Committee to make explicit recommendations to Government to support and encourage local authorities, colleges and voluntary organisations such as the WEA to deliver such programmes of learning for participatory democracy.

18. The outcomes of the seven Home Office ALAC initiatives (or “Hubs”), demonstrate the potential that learning for active citizenship has for building cohesion and strengthening social solidarity in the context of a diverse and multicultural population. Over a two-year period, over 1,000 adults have participated as learners in NIACE's citizenship education work.

19. As a result of their learning, people have gone on to become school governors, leading members of voluntary and community groups, members of service-user forums and cross-sector neighbourhood partnerships, community researchers, auditors and mediators and effective advocates, also improving their economic prospects in moving from welfare or minimum-wage occupations into sustainable employment. ALAC activities have produced wider multiplier effects as individuals, groups and organisations have become increasingly effective in pursuing social justice, human rights and community development issues.

LEARNERS' RESPONSES

20. Although the Select Committee's Terms of Reference do not explicitly seek the views of learners, NIACE suggests that these can offer important insights into the real value of citizenship education for adults. We would be pleased to set up a visit for the Select Committee's members to see programmes at first-hand.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by National Union of Teachers (NUT)

INTRODUCTION

1. The National Union of Teachers (NUT) welcomes the opportunity to make a contribution to the Education and Skills Committee's Inquiry into citizenship education.

2. A focus on citizenship education, including its potential to contribute to current debates about concepts such as identity, "Britishness" and community cohesion is timely. It is worth noting, however, that citizenship represents just one aspect of the National Curriculum and of schools' own curricula and, as such, needs to be regarded as a component which makes up a more cohesive structure.

3. Within this context, it needs to be borne in mind that citizenship holds an unusual place within a National Curriculum which allows other humanities subjects such as geography and history to become options, rather than a "core" component, after the end of Key Stage 3. This means that pupils have no guaranteed entitlement to the study of other humanities subjects from the age of 14, or, where schools utilise a two-year Key Stage 3 model, potentially from the age of 13.

4. The NUT has long been of the view that the non-statutory nature of humanities subjects from the end of Key Stage 3 has a potentially "devaluing" effect on humanities disciplines generally, upon the minds of pupils, their parents, possibly upon wider society, and in some cases perhaps in the minds of school senior managers themselves.

5. It is within this context of National Curriculum level organisation that decisions about the role and future of citizenship education need to be regarded. The NUT supports the view that schools should have responsibility for organising their curriculum in order to meet the requirements of the National Curriculum as they see fit.

6. Schools, in particular, should remain free to determine whether to provide citizenship education as a discrete subject or as an embedded, cross-curricular approach, for example. In the case of primary schools, it is common for schools to adopt a "project" or "topic" based approach which can link various subjects of the National Curriculum together. In secondary schools, at Key Stage 4 in particular, it is more difficult to make such links when National Curriculum subjects such as history and geography will not be studied by every student, although each of those subjects have the potential to link strongly with citizenship, and can develop much of the skills, understanding and knowledge that the citizenship Order seeks to promote.

7. The NUT would welcome, therefore, a consideration of the role and future of citizenship education which considered also the role of humanities within the National Curriculum more widely. The NUT has called, through its 14–19 policy document,¹ for a review of the Key Stage 4 National Curriculum alongside the current review, led by QCA, of the Key Stage 4 curriculum. A reconsideration of the role of humanities within the National Curriculum—at every Key Stage—could revisit the implied hierarchy of "Core" National Curriculum subjects, "Foundation" National Curriculum subjects, and of those "Foundation" subjects which become only optional from age 14.

8. A review of the National Curriculum arrangements which could build upon and extend the notions of flexibility sought in the last major Review of the National Curriculum as a whole, in 2000, could help also to address those concerns that surrounded the introduction of citizenship as a "new" subject within what was seen by many as an already crowded National Curriculum requirement.

¹ "Bringing Down the Barriers to 14–19 Education" (NUT 2005).

9. Such a review could consult teachers, school managers, and others, on the specific content of the National Curriculum Order for citizenship, regarding which they will now have a significant level of experience, and which they may now consider would benefit from reconsideration in the light of developments since its introduction.

10. The NUT suggested, prior to the establishment of the citizenship Order, that it should include reference to the role of Trade Unions in society. Pluralism is an essential ingredient of democracy. Trade Unions are an essential part of that pluralism. The NUT believes that the case for learning about Trade Unions in a balanced and appropriate way through citizenship education would represent an excellent means of demonstrating the ability to engage in active and participatory citizenship in the workplace, given that work is such a significant factor in many adults' lives.

11. The NUT has called also for a system of diplomas to embrace both vocational and general education at a range of levels throughout 14–19 education, in a similar manner to those recommended by the recent Inquiry led by Sir Mike Tomlinson. It was proposed by the NUT that the diplomas should incorporate six core dimensions for every learner, with one of these to be “moral and spiritual awareness, including human rights and global citizenship and personal, social and health education”.

TEACHERS' AND LEADERS' ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

12. An NUT survey on citizenship education, conducted in 2002, made explicit the challenges that many schools faced in establishing citizenship provision.²

13. 65% of primary schools and 89% of secondary schools reported that they had experienced additional demands as the result of the introduction of citizenship as a new National Curriculum subject, for example. Nearly half of secondary school respondents reported that they had not had additional time to implement properly the citizenship programme, to familiarise themselves with the framework, or develop schemes of work. Significant numbers reported that there had not been discussion within schools on the implementation of the citizenship curriculum, or that such discussions had been insufficient. Substantial majorities in both primary and secondary schools reported insufficient time and resources for the development of learning and teaching in citizenship.

14. Notwithstanding the difficult early development of citizenship, teachers and school leaders are to be congratulated for the way in which citizenship has developed in schools, with Ofsted reporting significant areas of strength,³ despite the fact that citizenship remains a relatively “new” subject for a great many schools and practitioners. But the clear need for further development in teaching and learning in citizenship, which have already been reported by Ofsted among others in oral evidence to the Committee, indicate a clear continuing need for effective Professional Development opportunities, funding, and resources for citizenship if the successes of schools to date can be further built upon, and all schools are able to aspire to and emulate the level of excellence that exists in some schools.

15. The NUT would wish to reiterate some of its key recommendations in 2002, especially for a national programme for meeting training and Professional Development needs, additional (non-statutory) guidance and resource materials, and adequate funding for schools to appoint co-ordinators and to purchase resources and materials for citizenship education.

ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL STAFF

16. There are a range of services that Local Authorities could provide in supporting citizenship in schools, including through the provision of arrangements for Professional Development opportunities for teachers of citizenship, or specialist teachers of other subjects which can link to, support, or act as a vehicle for citizenship education where it is taught in a cross-curricular manner.

17. Local Authorities could additionally broker networks between schools, across both primary and secondary provision, and networks between schools and community organisations that are able to link effectively with schools in enhancing citizenship education and providing opportunities for “active” citizenship.

18. Local Authorities could additionally produce guidance which schools could draw on in developing their citizenship provision, although the availability at a national level of guidance and “case study” models of effective provision in a range of contexts (eg through a link with PHSE in primary schools; through the teaching of citizenship as a discrete subject in secondary schools; through mapping and planning citizenship education through a whole school curriculum approach) which schools could draw on according to the needs of their pupils and within their existing practice and ethos could make a significant contribution also.

² “The Citizenship Curriculum: Plain Sailing, or a Drop in the Ocean?” (NUT 2002).

³ Citizenship in secondary schools: evidence from Ofsted inspections (2003–04) (Ofsted, 2005).

 IMPLEMENTATION OF “ACTIVE” ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM

19. The NUT supports the notion that effective citizenship education should be based on the promotion of active participation in the life of the school and the community rather than being exclusively an exercise in learning about, for example, the role of Parliament, bodies such as the EU, and constitutional matters.

20. In this sense, many schools are likely to benefit from support at a national and local authority level in making effective links with organisations that pupils can learn from and become involved with. Schools will be anxious to ensure that any organisations that they seek to establish links with will have a clear understanding of the place of citizenship education in schools, the way in which schools operate, and be experienced and knowledgeable about working with children and young people. To this end, consideration might be given to establishing a “kitemark” or “standard” which organisations who wish to work in partnership with schools and young people in a way that can enhance the active participatory nature of citizenship could opt to seek to be awarded.

21. It is noteworthy that many schools have developed excellent models for active participation by pupils in the life of the school, including through schools councils and the ability of children and young people to link to school governing bodies, for example.

22. Non-statutory guidance and case study examples from existing schools which schools could draw upon to effectively include pupils in decisions about the life of the school and their own education, on an age appropriate basis, would help to ensure a genuine and appropriate role for pupils rather than a “tokenistic” approach to including pupils which will not motivate them in the same way.

23. It is ironic, however, that current proposals and existing legislation around academies and trust schools, and the changing role of local authorities in relation to education, have the potential to diminish democratic local accountability of schools. This is likely to send out a curious message to many pupils, and the increasing range of school types within the current Government’s agenda for “choice” and “diversity” have serious implications for consistent, high quality citizenship education across all schools, and the ability for schools to enhance their practice through collaboration within a system which could have the potential, rather, to enhance only competition and a “quasi-market” approach.

24. Where schools themselves are most empowered to be at the centre of their communities, and have strong support from the entire community, the NUT believes that they will be best placed to enable children and young people to take an active and participatory role within those communities.

25. The development of active and participatory citizenship needs to be sensitive to the fact that young people have differing interests, priorities and needs. The NUT believes that young people, as they learn to become active citizens, should have substantial flexibility and choice in making decisions about those activities they may wish to become involved in.

26. There are difficulties, where pupils are active in a potentially wide range of activities which could help their development as citizens, in assessing their work or involvement in a meaningful way, however, especially where young people may be involved in activities or organisations outside the school that teachers may have limited knowledge or understanding about.

27. Particular sensitivity needs to be given also to the fact that some young people devote significant time or energy to caring for siblings, or elderly or disabled relatives. In many cases this will undoubtedly contribute to their development as responsible, active citizens, although they may not wish those in schools to interfere in these private aspects of their lives, especially for purposes of assessing their development in citizenship education, and may find that their home life precludes involvement in a range of wider activities outside the school or which take place in school outside the timetabled day, which are open to their peers who do not have equivalent responsibilities.

28. There are many organisations which influence the lives of children and young people, including in relation to their education, which should be encouraged also to help promote young people’s ability to engage appropriately as increasingly active and participatory citizenship. To this end, the NUT welcomes the greater focus, evident in recent years within organisations such as the Department for Education and Skills and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority to consult young people themselves, through tailored consultation exercises, to decisions which effect them, such as in relation to the 14–19 Inquiry led by Sir Mike Tomlinson and the English 21 project conducted by QCA.

COMMUNITY COHESION, IDENTITY AND “BRITISHNESS”

29. It is important to recognise that while citizenship education in schools can contribute much to children’s and young people’s emerging sense of themselves as active citizens, who are becoming aware of their rights and responsibilities, and can help to empower children and young people to participate as they see fit to their communities, it must never be seen as the exclusive responsibility of the education service to “deliver” young adults who are responsible citizens at the end of their schooling. Local Authorities, youth advisory services, Children’s Trusts and others can and should play a valuable role also, in a partnership that includes schools.

30. It is transparent that issues of community cohesion, identity and what it means to be “British” are complex and sometimes sensitive ones for the whole of society. The NUT, in responding to the Home Office Consultation: Strength In Diversity welcomed the focus on promoting active citizenship within schools. The NUT would welcome and advocate strongly close partnership working between the Home Office, the Department for Education and Skills, and other relevant public bodies, including Local Authorities, Children’s Trusts and schools working in partnership to help promote social cohesion on an inclusive basis. Again, the NUT believes that there are a number of opportunities within the National Curriculum and with schools’ own curricula to develop such ideas in a positive manner beyond the specific requirements of the citizenship Order.

CONCLUSION

31. The NUT welcomes the hard work of schools to date in helping to promote citizenship education and, in the best examples, assisting children and young people to take a greater responsibility where they are able in the decisions that effect them.

32. Provided the necessary support is made available on an ongoing basis, the NUT believes that it will be possible for all schools to continue to build on this success, provided that those other bodies which impact on children’s and young people’s lives and contribute to decisions which affect them directly are willing to work in effective partnerships with schools and are enabled to do so.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Oxfam

1. Oxfam has been working in education in the UK for more than 30 years, developing resources and strategies to help young people understand global issues. We believe it is imperative that education provides young people with the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that they need to understand the world in which they live, to respect and value all the people in it and to participate effectively for a more just and sustainable future. I enclose copies of *Education for Global Citizenship: A Guide for Schools* for Committee members as further information about our vision and our work.⁴

2. Our evidence is also informed by my previous career—I was one of the first cohort of trained specialist citizenship teachers and until last year was a Citizenship Coordinator working in Inner London secondary schools.

3. Citizenship education must be “global citizenship” in the 21st century context: since we are linked to others on every continent socially, environmentally, culturally, economically and politically, then citizenship must be considered from a global perspective if it is to achieve its aim of effectively informing young people about the social and political world that they are growing up in and developing their capability of having an influence on the world. Others are agreeing with our global perspective: in November 2005, David Bell (then Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools) cited Oxfam’s Global Citizenship approach as a useful model for citizenship education, whilst the QCA’s Futures project and the review of the National Curriculum at KS3 are explicitly asking how the curriculum can be made more relevant for the 21st century.

4. The “global” is not a bolt-on level for the more obviously “international” elements of the citizenship curriculum orders, but rather a consistent perspective to be embedded throughout the curriculum and whole-school ethos.

5. Many commonly used textbooks are good on the knowledge and understanding elements of citizenship orders but weaker on the skills elements, particularly skills of participation and responsible action. Consequently these are seen as the remit of an almost separate “active citizenship” bit, often addressed through extra-curricular activities and therefore experienced by a minority of students only. A global citizenship approach supports the development of such skills and use of participative methodologies in the classroom can help to integrate active citizenship within the whole subject/school.

6. Tackling issues through the lens of global citizenship and using its participative methodologies opens up space for exploring identity, Britishness and cultural inclusion.

7. Citizenship is often cited as a priority by Senior Management Teams and school leaders, but in practice loses out to other priorities (eg raising attainment in core subjects, increasing ICT in timetable etc). A global citizenship approach emphasises that these priorities are not mutually exclusive, however secondary structures can make it difficult to coordinate the addressing of citizenship through these other priorities.

8. Citizenship is the subject whose programme of study is (currently) most explicitly related to the values, aims and purposes of the National Curriculum. If the aims of citizenship education are going to be fully realised in schools, then the curricula of other subjects need to more explicitly reflect the National Curriculum’s stated values, aims and purposes.

⁴ Not printed

9. Having the “citizenship” position of responsibility filled on the school’s organogram is not enough—management teams need to support coordinators in equalling the status of citizenship for staff and pupils. As a “new” subject, newly trained teachers with citizenship qualifications are often going straight into positions of responsibility in their NQT year, so training courses need to cover whole-school coordination, advocacy etc. Certainly in the early years of the subject, schools that were advertising for specialists were largely the ones that had not considered the citizenship agenda thus far, and thus the ones where newly qualified specialists needed most support. Schools that had already embedded citizenship values in their ethos and practice tended to have developed their own “non-specialist specialist” staff organically from amongst their workforce.

10. Citizenship education has huge potential to contribute to community cohesion if it achieves its aims, but in a holistic sense—taking citizenship as a cross-curricular set of values—it should be seen as leading in the school itself contributing to community cohesion, rather than being singled out.

11. LA advisers have a huge role in supporting the development of citizenship in schools, but if the citizenship advisory remit is lumped in with PSHE and/or RE, it sometimes loses out to more traditional support around the statutory elements of PSHE guidelines (SRE and Drugs Ed) and the Locally Agreed RE syllabus. This is also true of teaching in schools where citizenship has been lumped in with other subjects on the timetable.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT)

TERMS OF REFERENCE

- Teachers’ and leaders’ attitudes to citizenship education; workload implications.
- Initial and in-service training.
- Role of local authorities in supporting school staff.
- Continuity of citizenship education between primary, 11–16 and post-compulsory stages.
- Quality of citizenship education across the full range of schools, including faith schools.
- Relationship between citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness.
- Citizenship education’s potential to contribute to community cohesion.
- Implementation of “active” aspects of curriculum—ie community involvement and involvement in the running of the school.
- Design of citizenship curriculum and appropriateness of other DfES guidance.
- Practice in other countries.

NAHT welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the debate on citizenship education by providing written evidence to the Committee. We would wish to make some points that are applicable generally before commenting on the terms of reference specifically.

Citizenship education must not be delivered through a discrete curriculum but must be seen within the context of the curriculum in its entirety. It should address the needs of the citizen of the future. Education should be able to meet the needs of the population, so that people can use and apply their knowledge.

Changing values in society need to be taken into account. Knowledge of child development and personal development will be essential for all staff so that they know how children learn, not just how to follow a method. The importance of play and a first hand experience-based approach must be recognised, and not just within the early years.

Developing learning dispositions for life, resilience, communication skills, basic skills, building team and relationship skills, and philosophical and pedagogical aspects will be key, as we no longer live in a society where a job is for life. Citizens need to be aware of society and their place in it.

The development of learning aspirations is central, enabling pupils to have a concept of their own future and the place of education within it. A move to co-operative learning that brings forward individual skills, strengths and knowledge for the good of the group is needed. We need to invest in education and family support structures for education, and incorporate the voice of children and young people.

The *Every Child Matters* agenda to enable everyone to make a positive contribution, must result in a curriculum appropriate to personalised needs coupled with assessment procedures and processes that take account of this and of the holistic development of the individual. Assessment must reflect what needs to be assessed and what has been learnt and not simply judge that which is easily tested. Assessment must provide

reliable information in ways relevant and supportive to learning. Concern has been expressed that the assessment system could do more to develop imagination and creativity. Imagination and creativity are nurtured by valuing efforts. An unintended outcome of the tests, targets and tables high stakes agenda is that children and young people can all too easily see their learning only in terms of meeting examination requirements or targets, rather than having their learning and achievement valued in all areas. This can have a significant effect on self-esteem and motivation.

Recommendation 4.10 from the Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, chaired by Sir Bernard Crick, *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*, QCA, 1998, stated that: “everyone directly involved in the education of our children—politicians and civil servants; community representatives; faith groups; school inspectors and governors; teacher trainers and teachers themselves; parents and indeed pupils—be given a clear statement of what is meant by citizenship education and their central role in it.” Although there are guidelines and programmes of study, the necessary level of clarity is not always present or apparent in practice.

In the foundation stage learning related to citizenship is located in several of the Early Learning Goals: Personal, social and emotional development, Knowledge and understanding of the world and Creative development, which include learning about emotional wellbeing, knowing who you are and where you fit in and feeling good about yourself. Learning at this stage also covers developing respect for others, social competence and a positive disposition to learn. These are all key aspects in helping learners develop the knowledge, skills and understanding in order to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels.

Further discussions could consider if there is a need to separate citizenship from PSHE within the curriculum at Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2. Citizenship is much more than “civics” but it is a significant element within the personal, social and emotional development of the individual. If separated, it may not fit in with good primary practice, and therefore may not be fully implemented. We would suggest that further clarity and training is needed for all key stages to enable citizenship to be implemented in a way best suited to individual schools.

The work being undertaken by the QCA Futures and reported in the document *Subjects consider the challenge* is interesting. It is noticeable that apart from the specific aspects of individual subjects, outcomes from the individual subject summits, including citizenship, have common themes:

- The fundamental contribution of each subject.
- Balance between knowledge base and skills to use and apply—content is not the be all and end all.
- Focus on the learner for effective learning.
- Improve subject links across the curriculum.
- More flexibility needed.
- Develop critical/thinking skills and processes.
- More relevant and appropriate assessment.
- Strengthen support for teachers and CPD.

Work related elements of the curriculum should have a higher profile and not be undervalued. This is an important aspect of citizenship. We must value the knowledge that goes with vocational areas as well as the practical skills. Currently our most valued qualifications have substantial work related elements (medicine, law, teaching, veterinary practice) as an integral part of the course of study.

The Select Committee will be fully aware of the recommendations for Government, local authorities, training agencies, school leaders, teachers and other bodies from the following reports and projects.

Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools, QCA, 1998

Personal, social and health education (PSHE) and citizenship in primary schools, Ofsted subject reports 2003–04, February 2005.

QCA Futures: Subjects consider the challenge, QCA, 2005.

Annual Report HMCI 2004–05 Personal, social and health education (PSHE) in primary schools, Ofsted, October 2005.

Annual Report HMCI 2004–05 Citizenship in secondary schools, Ofsted, October 2005.

Citizenship 2004–05 annual report on curriculum and assessment, QCA, October 2005.

An evaluation of the post-16 citizenship pilot 2004–05, Ofsted, October 2005.

Initial Teacher Training for teachers of citizenship, Ofsted, November 2005.

Education for Democratic Citizenship, David Bell, HMCI, November 2005.

Citizenship through participation and responsible action, David Bell, HMCI, November 2005.

The picture is looking generally more positive but there are key messages and there is still a long way to go. Citizenship is a vital area in its own right and also for the holistic development of the individual. There is a recognised need for specialist teachers with expertise, yet development is so important that all staff must have a clear understanding. Citizenship is more than a subject to be taught and learnt. It is integral to the ethos of schools and learning environments and participation in daily life. Assessment is an area in need of further development and recently published materials by QCA for Key Stage 3 have been welcomed.

TEACHERS' AND LEADERS' ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION; WORKLOAD IMPLICATIONS

Citizenship is recognised as essential for the holistic development of the individual, to enable them to take their place in society. Citizenship feeds into everything else, with a key role to play in developing ethos and values. It is essential that citizenship is integral to the curriculum, although currently implemented through a variety of approaches such as tutorials, timetabled lessons, cross curricular subject links. A wide range of activities are included in citizenship education: school and class councils, cross year golden time, theme days/weeks, mentoring, tutoring, buddies, pupil voice events. Websites for children and young people linked to parliaments are a useful tool.

Schools need staff who understand what citizenship is about and the commitment of a member of staff with expertise. Leadership and management are central. There are workload implications with the national focus on English, mathematics and science at primary level and subject specialism in secondary schools, so although citizenship is important, it can be seen as another subject to fit in.

INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

There are key issues for Initial Teacher Training (ITT) and Continuing Professional Development (CPD) with the dominance of literacy and numeracy in the primary phase and subject specialism in the secondary phase. Training and development needs to cover the curriculum in sufficient depth to enable trainees to fully understand what is meant by citizenship education in the broadest sense. These issues are relevant for the primary and secondary phases, and equally important for non specialist teachers. Assessment is in need of further development and guidance across all ages and stages.

The recommendations from the Ofsted Initial Teacher Training report listed above should also be noted. There are not enough specialist teachers. We would query how much non-specialists understand and therefore how much priority is given to this?

ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL STAFF

The local authority has a very important role in advising, training and disseminating. They can facilitate and organise a range of events and projects to co-ordinate and bring together a variety of relevant agencies and bodies. However, the current picture is uneven. Some local authorities have facilitated, for example, pupil voice conferences and links with other initiatives, Healthy Schools, Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL). Local authorities are ideally placed for the role of bringing together bodies for CPD. Independent training is available but it is very expensive.

CONTINUITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION BETWEEN PRIMARY, 11–16 AND POST-COMPULSORY STAGES

Transition issues are particularly relevant. Information on citizenship is not always included in transfer information as it is non-statutory in the primary phase and it is not necessarily distinguished from PSHE. For older students, prior learning is not always fully taken into account to enable appropriate progression. There are obvious links here to teachers' lack of clarity about what should be taught and how. This needs to be addressed so that relevant information can be included at transition.

QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF SCHOOLS, INCLUDING FAITH SCHOOLS

The most recent Ofsted reports listed above highlight a range of issues and recommendations nationally, at local authority level and for schools. The quality of education is uneven. In primary schools citizenship is a strand within PSHE, where there is little unsatisfactory achievement. However despite some good provision of citizenship education, many teachers are still unclear about what should be taught and how. In order to improve citizenship education, more guidance would be helpful to make it clear what is meant

by citizenship and what should be covered. This would better prepare for progression to secondary school and citizenship as a statutory subject. Citizenship in primary schools is not always distinguished from PSHE so some data is limited in its use.

In the secondary sector, reports note improvements in pupils' achievement, the quality of teaching and subject leadership and management. Citizenship is firmly established in the curriculum but many challenges remain. Successful teaching has key threads and a common core, planning, participation programmes, commitment, leadership and management, citizenship as central to the ethos of the institution and good use of funding.

Citizenship education should be equally valued by faith schools, which should welcome and embrace the agenda.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

We value what the diversity of race and culture brings to British society and do not see Britishness as a specific concept to be imposed on citizens. Citizenship education should reflect this. If we want to identify Britishness, we would need to firstly define what it means. There is a danger that this could be divisive and has dimensions of social engineering. Is the aim to promote being a good citizen or being British?

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

Citizenship education is key to the *Every Child Matters* agenda, to making a positive contribution to the community. Children have less independence than earlier generations and need to be out in the community, to see it for themselves, to care about and be involved with it. There is a need to promote self-esteem. There is an economic imperative for youngsters to contribute and develop dispositions for personal development in order to contribute to the community and make informed choices. If youngsters have poverty of aspiration, they are vulnerable in the economic market, both European and global.

IMPLEMENTATION OF "ACTIVE" ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM—IE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOL

Finding sufficient resources and time in the curriculum in order to involve youngsters in decision making and the community can be challenging. Schools and their councils cover a range of areas and issues and have developed programmes for mentoring, tutoring, buddy systems, specific events, work in the community, civic and political dimensions, to name but a few.

DESIGN OF CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM AND APPROPRIATENESS OF OTHER DFES GUIDANCE

We do need to ask the question whether we have a curriculum and subsequent assessment system appropriate for the needs of children and young people. The "Futures" work being undertaken by QCA is very interesting, listed above. Citizenship must be integral not a "bolt on" and is an essential part of the ethos of the learning environment. It is far more than a subject. Schools want more support on assessing and developing opportunities for community-based activities.

PRACTICE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Practice in other countries, home nations, European and world wide is noted, but what is appropriate in other situations is not always applicable, relevant or easy to transfer, as it sits within the context of that country.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Development Education Association (DEA)

1. WHY THE GLOBAL DIMENSION TO CITIZENSHIP

- (a) *“The challenges of our age are global; they transcend national frontiers; they are problems without passports. To address them we need blueprints without borders. That is why, more than ever before, we need dedicated and talented young men and women to be global citizens who make the choice of service to humankind”*
(Kofi Annan United Nations General Secretary C21 Citizens: Young People in a Changing Commonwealth (2002))
- (b) *[. . .]“a global dimension in teaching means that links can be made between local and global issues. It also means that young people are given opportunities to critically examine their own values and attitudes; appreciate similarities between people everywhere, and value diversity; understand the global context of their local lives; and develop skills that will enable them to combat injustice, prejudice and discrimination. Such knowledge, skills and understanding enables young people to make informed decisions about playing an active role in the global community”*
(p 2, Developing a global dimension in the school curriculum, DfES, 2005).¹
- (c) *“Pupils respond extremely positively to lessons which include a global dimension. Motivation levels are high and understanding increases. You can see their attitudes to the world around them changing lesson by lesson”*
(Teacher, Pudsey Grangefield School, Leeds)

2. THE DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

- (a) The DEA is the national umbrella association promoting a greater understanding of global and international development issues within education. It was established in 1993 and has 250 member organisations covering all sectors of education and a range of civil society bodies. It provides information, advice and support to its members through training programmes, publications, events and conferences.
- (b) The DEA was involved in developing the citizenship curriculum and chaired the DfES Global Dimension to Citizenship Working Group. We developed the website, Citizenship Global, which we have now incorporated into the website: www.globaldimension.org.uk
- (c) The value and need of the work of our members on the Global Dimension to Citizenship has been demonstrated in a number of young people’s surveys. This includes the annual survey conducted by DFID as well as recent reports by Oxfam and Save the Children. They all show that young people are not only interested in global issues but seek more opportunities to engage, seeking positive change in the world.
- (d) DEA members work directly with teachers on the global dimension to citizenship education both through work with individual schools and through broader projects such as “Developing Citizenship”² and “Whose citizenship?”³. The following response is based on the experience of our members:

3. TEACHERS’ AND LEADERS’ ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION; WORKLOAD IMPLICATIONS

- (a) Citizenship and democratic approaches should be evident in style of leadership and in the organizational structures of the school. Pupils learn by example and institutions should be models of democratic participation and social justice.
- (b) The citizenship coordinator in schools must have status and support from the Senior Management Team (SMT).
- (c) The learning and critical thinking skills emphasised in citizenship are essential for all subjects.
- (d) Members report that working on citizenship, especially citizenship with a global dimension, provides opportunities for creative innovation that can inspire teachers and reinforce their commitment to teaching.
- (e) All teachers need an understanding of citizenship education even if it is not their specialism.

4. INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

- (a) The focus must be on equipping teachers with the skills for facilitating learning in citizenship. These include approaches to discussion and debate, developing an ethos in which pupils feel confident to engage, handling controversy, dealing with differing viewpoints, etc.⁴ Furthermore, citizenship and the global dimension to education require an acceptance that teachers cannot have all the answers and that there are multiple perspectives on global issues. For some teachers, this

requires a reconsideration of their role in the classroom. Teachers lack of confidence in teaching controversial issues was highlighted by a recent DEA seminar around a report for the DCA on “Schools Resources on the Contribution of Refugees to Society”⁵

- (b) Teacher networks, often supported by local organisations, are valuable for teachers to consider ways of working more creatively and these need further support.

5. ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL STAFF

- (a) The regional Enabling Effective Support initiative, which is part funded by DFID, promotes collaboration between the voluntary and statutory sector working at a local level to support teachers on the global dimension to education. Local authorities have a role in direct provision of training, brokering support from other organizations and ensuring quality.
- (b) There are excellent non-governmental organisations working at a local level and teachers greatly value their support. Although this work is valued, it suffers from a lack of sufficient funding. This means that demand for our members’ support is currently exceeding their resources to respond.
- (c) Where the citizenship advisory remit is combined with PSHE and/or RE, it loses out to support around the statutory elements of PSHE guidelines (ie Sex and Relationship and Drugs Education) and the Locally Agreed RE syllabus.

6. CONTINUITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION BETWEEN PRIMARY, 11–16 AND POST-COMPULSORY STAGES

- (a) A global dimension is essential to education at all ages and a description of progression from the Foundation Stage to Key Stage 4 is provided on p 5 of “Developing the global dimension in the school curriculum”.⁶
- (b) The skills of citizenship is an area where progression needs further consideration.

7. QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF SCHOOLS, INCLUDING FAITH SCHOOLS

- (a) The experience of members is that teachers’ understanding of the global dimension to citizenship is hugely varied. Since citizenship is a new subject a lot of training is required for teachers, particularly around the skills referred to in paragraph 2. There are a number of organisations who are available to provide this training but, as mentioned in paragraph 3, further funding is required.

8. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

- (a) Identity and culture must be seen in a global context. Our identity includes how we are linked to others throughout the world.
- (b) A top down, prescribed view of what Britishness means can only lead to alienation. Young people need to construct their own understandings of their complex and multiple identities in a globalised world. Participative methodologies can open up the space for these debates in the citizenship classroom. The *Every Child Matters* agenda implies a more inclusive approach to identity that recognises pupils’ own constructions of their identity.

9. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION’S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

- (a) Citizenship education helps to realise the rhetoric of values-based learning which in turn contributes to community cohesion.
- (b) The skills and values of intercultural understanding are a key element of good citizenship education.
- (c) Respect for other cultures is enhanced by pupils increased understanding of their own.

10. IMPLEMENTATION OF “ACTIVE” ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM—IE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOL

- (a) Textbooks tend to focus on the “knowledge and understanding” aspects of the citizenship curriculum but are weaker on the skills. Consequently the “skills of enquiry and communication” and (particularly) the “skills of participation and responsible action” are seen as the remit of an almost separate “active citizenship” aspect, often addressed through extra-curricular activities and therefore experienced by a minority of pupils. The participative methodologies of the global dimension can help to integrate the active within the whole subject/school. The DEA membership frequently support this work.

11. DESIGN OF CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM AND APPROPRIATENESS OF OTHER DFES GUIDANCE

- (a) We live in a globalised and interdependent world which is rapidly changing. This must be taken into account further in all future guidance and support. Including a strong global dimension in all aspects of citizenship helps to prepare young people for the challenges of living in a globalised and interdependent world.

- (b) An issue with guidance and support is the lack of clarity around particular terms, for example, global citizenship; the global dimension to citizenship; the global dimension and the international dimension. This lack of clarity impacts on the way teachers work. It is essential, for example, that the “global” is not a bolt-on level for certain “international” elements of the curriculum orders, rather a consistent perspective within and across subjects.

REFERENCES

- ¹ DfES, DFID, DEA, QCA, British Council, Sure Start (2005) *Developing the global dimension in the school curriculum* DfES Ref: DfES 1409-2005DOC-EN.
- ² “Developing Citizenship” was a collaboration between Development Education Centres (DECs), international development agencies and local authorities. The evaluation report by Dr A McKenzie can be found at www.developingcitizenship.org.uk
- ³ “Whose Citizenship?” was a West Midlands project by Teachers in Development Education (www.tidec.org)
- ⁴ Davies, L et al (2005) *Global Citizenship Education: The needs of teachers and learners* University of Birmingham.
- ⁵ “Schools Resources on the Contribution of Refugees to Society” can be downloaded from www.dea.org.uk
- ⁶ DfES, DFID, DEA, QCA, British Council, Sure Start (2005) *Developing the global dimension in the school curriculum* DfES Ref: DfES 1409-2005DOC-EN.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by CSV

INTRODUCTION

This submission is presented by the Director of CSV Education for Citizenship, Peter Hayes. CSV had campaigned for the introduction of citizenship as an essential part of the curriculum and an entitlement for all pupils and made submissions to the Speaker’s Commission on Citizenship (1989) and to the Crick Working Group (1998). Dame Elisabeth Hoodless, the Executive Director, was a member of this Group. When the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) was inaugurated in 2000, CSV was, and remains, a founder member. The ACT submission to the Committee has been shared with CSV and our organisation supports its tenets and conclusions.

CSV contends that citizenship education should be focused on the experiential and the participative, with young people facing up to problems in their communities (local and global), researching and finding the means to solve them, taking positive action and reflecting upon their achievements. We believe that what transforms a volunteering experience into one of active citizenship is the process of reflection. Our aim is that all young people, having been introduced to citizenship in schools should become an asset to their communities for the rest of their lives.

CSV Education has been promoting, supporting and providing resources for active citizenship in schools, colleges and universities for nearly 40 years. For the past three years we have produced annual reports on the implementation of citizenship in secondary schools (from 2002).

TEACHERS’ AND LEADERS’ ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Our reports have shown that there is considerable support for citizenship among teachers, many feeling that it has helped to develop links between school and community. They also think that attitudes towards it have improved since it was first introduced. 30% of teacher respondents in 2004 thought it had improved pupils’ behaviour, although there is a split view on the extent to which citizenship has improved levels of achievement overall. Those who teach it refer to the need for more support, in particular for finding opportunities for active citizenship beyond the classroom.

We have a less clear view on school leaders’ attitudes. Anecdotally we are told that successful implementation of citizenship is highly dependent on support from SMT where they perceive gains in whole school ethos and learning beyond the intrinsic value of the subject. It is reported that some leaders do not see citizenship as a priority area and do not always appreciate the synergies between the subject and other “new” areas of the curriculum including enterprise and work-related learning.

INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

CSV's has, and continues to contribute to, both these forms of training. Through a staff member's involvement with Citzed we are making a distinctive input to the cross-curricular strand of citizenship in ITT. For CPD our Active Citizenship Toolkit (2000) and its associated training course for teachers and LA advisers remains popular, and another staff member has worked with a team piloting certification in the north-west.

From the outset we have noted a serious deficit in the number of teachers of citizenship being properly trained. In 2003 we found in 51% of cases that only the citizenship co-ordinator in schools had been trained and just 8% revealed that the majority of staff had received training. 37% indicated that they would like additional training in community involvement. A year later there was no significant change in the nature of these responses.

CSV believes that for ITT the quality of the training experience for the 150 or so new trainees each year has been generally positive and beneficial to schools and that these are the "expert" citizenship teachers of the future. The amount of CPD training has been insufficient, due, in large part, to under-funding and the inability or even unwillingness of schools to release teachers for training. This may have had a detrimental effect on the all-round quality of citizenship teaching and, in some circumstances, on the morale of teachers who feel under-prepared to teach the subject.

CONTINUITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION BETWEEN PHASES

CSV has not yet researched this area, although we have a small grant from CfBT to study continuity and progression in active citizenship between Year 9 and Year 10 in 2006–08 in 10 schools. Our impression is that children at the upper end of primary have often received positive experiences of citizenship and many have a well-developed voice for expressing views and developing active projects based on their ideas and research (cf the BBC/CSV "Citizen UK" programme at KS2, 2005–06). There will be particular challenges at secondary level for sustaining and progressing this momentum, with an overcrowded timetable and subjects competing for space. It is encouraging that the examining bodies who offer the GCSE in citizenship studies have placed a clear emphasis on the active and practical both in coursework and examinations.

QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF SCHOOLS

CSV is not qualified to provide scientific feedback in this area although the Barclays New Futures award scheme for citizenship (1995–2006) has enabled us to gain regular access to more than 900 secondary schools. Our impression is that overall quality is patchy, with some excellent and embedded practice at one extreme and some tentative steps to full provision at the other. Anecdotally we have observed some effective practice in faith—notably Roman Catholic—schools whose ethos frequently provides a foundation on which active citizenship can be built (eg an expectation of helping and providing support to others in the public domain). We have been particularly impressed by the contribution of special schools to innovative practice in citizenship and some of those we have worked with have given a lead to their mainstream partners.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

We believe there is enormous potential in this area and a significant number of schools are already forming effective partnerships with the private, public and voluntary sectors to contribute to neighbourhood renewal and regeneration. Young people through activities, including advocacy and campaigning can tackle issues including racism, bullying and homophobia. In particular, active citizenship can be an effective vehicle for intergenerational working whereby the young work in partnership with their seniors on ICT projects, community histories etc.

Young people who may be otherwise disengaged or excluded from the formal education system have often found an "alternative curriculum" through citizenship by which they can make a positive contribution and be recognised as a resource, rather than a liability, to their communities.

It remains incumbent on national and local government, Local Strategic Partnerships and cross-sector working to ensure that the glue is provided to join citizenship programmes in schools with agendas for local cohesiveness and sustainability.

IMPLEMENTATION OF "ACTIVE" ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM

CSV champions those aspects of curriculum which promote opportunities for the student voice, "empowerment" and community involvement. In addition to training, teachers need guidance on how to work most effectively with external organisations to build effective practice of mutual benefit to school and community.

They need additional human resources: since 2003 CSV has been running Teacher Support Teams of community volunteers who can provide various forms of support to hard-pressed teachers. They can help to identify opportunities for active citizenship locally, provide additional support in the classroom to aid groupwork and, if all health and safety checks are adhered to, work with groups of young people outside the classroom.

It is vital that schools, with whatever support is available, “grasp the nettle” of genuine community action for their pupils. At the moment lack of time for planning, over-rigid timetables and the fear of litigation cloud the development of citizenship beyond the classroom. But new opportunities abound, with Extended Schools and the full range of activities beyond the school day. Pupils can volunteer to play a major role in these activities (eg as Sports Leaders) and so develop as active citizens.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The issue of CPD should be urgently addressed with suitable funding from Government and time for teachers to be released to train and go on to achieve certification and qualifications in citizenship.
2. Local funding eg through LAs or GOs should be made available to extend the volunteer Teacher Support Teams concept nationwide. This will help to support overstretched teachers and build effective and sustained partnerships between schools and their communities.
3. Further work should be commissioned on how schools can best address the entitlement to active citizenship for all pupils.
4. Schools, with their partners, should review and extend the scale and range of out of school activities which are genuinely citizenship and allow for skills development beyond the classroom.
5. Partnership models for effective citizenship that combine businesses, schools and the voluntary and community sectors should be promoted and developed at regional and local levels.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Dr Hugh Starkey, University of London

SUMMARY

Evidence presented to the Select Committee in October 2005 showed that citizenship education based explicitly in human rights principles increases student involvement, enhances academic results, improves relationships within schools and leads to greater job satisfaction for teachers. This submission contends that the reason these improvements have not been reproduced more widely is that there are insufficient numbers of teachers whose training has included the basic principles of democracy and human rights. Without this background teachers have difficulty in engaging with key issues such as social cohesion.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- That initial and CPD training for teachers of citizenship include study of the fundamental human rights principles underpinning our democracy.
- That the DfES in supporting and developing citizenship education, involve colleagues from other Government Departments where there are shared agendas of promoting human rights and social cohesion (DCA, DTI, Home Office).
- That future guidance and schemes of work for citizenship education produced by DfES and QCA, unlike existing materials, should emphasise the contribution of citizenship education to building democracy by promoting social cohesion based on cultural diversity and preventing racism.

EVIDENCE

Introduction

1. Citizenship education is learning to live together in a multicultural liberal democracy. Given the diversity of the backgrounds of students in maintained schools, teachers need to feel secure that citizenship education is appropriate to all, irrespective of religious, political or cultural affiliation. Citizenship education requires to be firmly grounded in the universal principles defined in human rights instruments that underpin liberal democracy. Knowledge of these principles is essential for teachers of citizenship. It can provide a sense of security for teachers who are required to help students engage with controversial issues.

Citizenship education and human rights

2. There is a growing consensus that education for democratic citizenship should be firmly rooted in an understanding of human rights as internationally agreed principles.¹ Human rights provide the underlying principles that inform the whole of education policy and from which the specific values and principles for citizenship education can be derived. Where teachers have this basic knowledge and understanding, citizenship education can transform relationships in the school and lead to increases in achievement. An inclusive citizenship education focuses on building on students’ senses of belonging and developing a consciousness of themselves as citizens with human rights and reciprocal responsibilities to respect and defend the rights of others.²

3. The principles that underpin the democratic institutions of the UK are easily accessible but rarely articulated. Since 1946 the UK has been a member of the United Nations whose principles are enshrined in its Charter and in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Although the Universal Declaration provides a set of moral principles rather than legally enforceable rights, it is specifically referenced in the preamble to the *European Convention on Human Rights* signed by the UK in 1950 and brought into UK law in the Human Rights Act 1998. The Human Rights Act is essentially a constitutional document whose principles therefore inform every aspect of national life and the work of Government.

4. *The European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* guarantees the fundamental freedoms essential for a liberal democracy. The Convention is based on the premise that justice and peace in the world are best maintained by effective political democracy based on the participation of citizens. The Department for Constitutional Affairs has recently started a programme to enhance public understanding of human rights. Citizenship education has a significant role in this process.

5. As the Select Committee is aware from the evidence submitted to its inquiry into *Every Child Matters*, the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* provides a context and guidance for education and child welfare policy also based on a universal standard. Citizenship education can help to inform students of their rights to provision, protection and participation. Schools that take seriously their obligations under the Convention to ensure real opportunities for students to participate report a transformation of the school environment and increased achievement as well as staff satisfaction.³

6. As the Government has acknowledged in establishing the Commission for Equality and Human Rights, human rights are also a framework that allow society to challenge all kinds of discrimination and disadvantage. As the Secretary of State said in launching the White Paper:

“People’s identities are multiple and complex. We have to keep challenging the prejudice and discrimination that hold people back, including the barriers that mean that at every skill level, if you are black or Asian British you are less likely to get an interview, less likely to get a job, less likely to get a promotion. But we have to do so in a way that recognises the whole person, not simply the one aspect of them that the prejudiced and the discriminators pick on.”⁴

Citizenship education and social cohesion

7. Citizenship is a feeling, a status and a practice. Citizenship is a feeling of belonging to a community. The Parekh Report defined Britain as a “community of communities”.⁵ As a status, citizenship is associated with nationality. However, nationality is not the only status held by citizens. Citizens are also bearers of human rights. Citizenship in practice involves contributing to the communities with which one identifies. Citizenship education should not be primarily concerned with nationality, otherwise it becomes exclusive or possibly assimilationist as is the case with citizenship education in France.⁶

8. In France, students come to understand the basis of the constitution and Republican principles by studying the various symbols of the Republic. The national programme of study for citizenship in England has wisely avoided this approach. However, citizenship education should help students understand the fundamental principles of democracy and human rights that underpin our national institutions. In his oral evidence to the Select Committee in October 2005, Sir Bernard Crick decried the learning of human rights articles by rote. I would entirely agree that such rote learning is inappropriate. However, there are many other ways of helping young people and, indeed, teachers to familiarise themselves with the actual text of human rights instruments. My experience is that teachers and young people often find inspiration in the words of the Universal Declaration and the Convention on the Rights of the Child and warmly appreciate opportunities to study them.⁷

9. Young people studying citizenship in schools in England come from a wide variety of backgrounds and many, perhaps the majority, have links with other countries through families and friends. Whilst it should be expected that all who study in Britain feel that they belong here, many students will also have senses of belonging to other countries as well. Some may have dual nationality. This is a result of globalization. Citizenship education is not education for Britishness, though it should seek to encourage understanding and acceptance of the core values, principles and procedures that underpin British democracy. I have found that teachers training as specialists in citizenship education find it useful to think in terms of education for cosmopolitan citizenship.⁸

10. Education for cosmopolitan citizenship is grounded in universal human rights. It celebrates diversity and links between individuals irrespective of national borders. It recognises that many people have feelings of patriotism, but that these are not necessarily the prime source of identity. Those who feel only a weak sense of national identity (and that includes many teachers in Britain) may well be active citizens at local level or be involved with voluntary movements with global outreach such as Oxfam or Amnesty International. Cosmopolitan citizenship acknowledges a commitment to the planet and recognises the right and responsibility to take action as citizens at local, national or global levels.⁹

11. The Department for Education and Skills has been represented in the on-going work of the Council of Europe in promoting education for democratic citizenship for a multicultural society. This work is based on the premise that:

“[. . .] education for democratic citizenship is a factor for social cohesion, mutual understanding, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, and solidarity, that it contributes to promoting the principle of equality between men and women, and that it encourages the establishment of harmonious and peaceful relations within and among peoples, as well as the defence and development of democratic society and culture.”¹⁰

However, this approach is largely absent from the Department’s CPD handbook.¹¹

Challenging racism

11. It was the Government’s intention in introducing citizenship education that it should promote cultural diversity and address the institutional racism identified in the Macpherson Inquiry into the handling of the death of Stephen Lawrence. As the Home Secretary said in responding to the report:

“My Right Hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Education and Employment is taking a number of steps aimed at promoting cultural diversity and preventing racism in our schools. Citizenship education, which will foster an understanding of cultural diversity in Britain, has a prominent place in the revised National Curriculum.”¹²

However, as the Select Committee heard from Scott Harrison, HMI:

“What we are finding is more teaching of what you might perceive as the central political literacy/ Government/voting/law area than, for example, the diversity of the UK, the EU, the Commonwealth, which are somewhat neglected, I think, because some of them are perceived to be dull and some of them are particularly sensitive areas that some teachers go to with great reluctance. I am talking about, for example, the diversity of the UK, which in the Order says, the ‘regional, national, religious, ethnic diversity of Britain’. Some people find that difficult to teach.”¹³

I am contending that, to overcome this difficulty, teachers do not need detailed knowledge about all the cultures and religions now represented in the UK, but rather an understanding of the implications of this diversity for social cohesion in Britain. The baseline is a common understanding and acceptance of human rights and a commitment to antiracism as an essential value in a democracy.¹⁴

12. If citizenship education focuses on the implications of the diversity of the UK and the need for mutual respect based on a common ethic, rather than on the more obvious manifestations of difference, it can encourage and promote intercultural dialogue as a means to extending and enhancing democracy.¹⁵ Teachers can help students to acquire the skills of “intercultural evaluation”.¹⁶ This can help to avoid communities developing in parallel with no links between them, or, as it were, with their backs to each other.¹⁷

CONCLUSION

13. In October 2005, the Select Committee heard evidence from a school in London and a Local authority in the South of England. Both reported that heads and teachers recognised the importance of human rights principles. This leads to new forms of relationship in schools. Students who are seen as citizens in their own right rather than as potential citizens develop an increased sense of responsibility to others and a greater appreciation of the work of their teachers. Participation and dialogue are priorities in these schools and the witnesses reported enthusiasm for the approach and a transformation in attitudes and results. A fundamental requirement for the training of citizenship teachers is that they are helped to understand these human rights principles and adopt a broad rather than nationalistic definition of citizenship.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Recommendation (2002) 12 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to member states on *Education For Democratic Citizenship* (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002 at the 812th meeting of the Ministers’ Deputies). This reasserts “the primacy of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the other Council of Europe and United Nations instruments in guaranteeing to individuals the capacity to exercise their inalienable rights in a democratic society”.
- ² On rights and responsibilities see chapter 9 of Osler, A & Starkey, H (2005) *Changing citizenship: democracy and inclusion in education* (Maidenhead, Open University Press).
- ³ See, for instance the oral evidence from Keith Ajegbo and John Clarke to the Select Committee in October 2005.
- ⁴ DTI. Speech of Patricia Hewitt on launch of White Paper on the Commission for Equality and Human Rights 12 May 2004.

- ⁵ Runnymede Trust (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. The Parekh Report*. (London, The Runnymede Trust).
- ⁶ Starkey, H (2000) Citizenship education in France and Britain: evolving theories and practices, *The Curriculum Journal*, 11(1), pp 39–54.
Osler, A & Starkey, H (2001) Citizenship Education and National Identities in France and England: inclusive or exclusive? *Oxford Review of Education*, 27/2, pp 287–305.
- ⁷ Starkey, H (1996) Intercultural education through foreign language learning: a human rights approach in A Osler, H-F Rathenow and H Starkey (eds) *Teaching for Citizenship in Europe*. (Stoke on Trent, Trentham).
- ⁸ Osler, A & Starkey, H (2003) Learning for Cosmopolitan Citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences, *Educational Review*, 55/3, pp 243–254.
- ⁹ Osler, A & Starkey, H (2005) *Changing citizenship: democracy and inclusion in education* (Maidenhead, Open University Press).
- ¹⁰ Recommendation (2002) 12 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to member states on *Education For Democratic Citizenship* (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002 at the 812th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies).
- ¹¹ Huddleston, T and Kerr, D (2006) *Making Sense of Citizenship: a continuing professional development handbook*. London: Hodder Murray.
- ¹² Jack Straw in *Hansard*, 29 March 1999: col 767.
- ¹³ Oral evidence to Education and Skills Select Committee October 2005 Q25.
- ¹⁴ See Osler, A & Starkey, H (2002) Education for Citizenship: mainstreaming the fight against racism? *European Journal of Education*, 37/2, pp 143–159.
- ¹⁵ The European Union has designated 2008 Year of Intercultural Dialogue Commission of the European Communities (2005) *Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council concerning the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)* (Brussels, Commission of the European Communities).
- ¹⁶ The expression is from Stuart Hall. See: Hall, S (2000) Multicultural citizens, monocultural citizenship? in: N Pearce & J Hallgarten (Eds) *Tomorrow's Citizens: critical debates in citizenship and education* (London, Institute for Public Policy Research).
- ¹⁷ This idea is found in Will Kymlicka. See, for example: Kymlicka, W (2003) Multicultural states and intercultural citizens, *Theory and Research in Education*, 1(2), pp 147–169.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Changemakers

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Changemakers welcomes the opportunity to contribute to this important and timely inquiry into citizenship education.

1.2 This submission provides an overview of the objectives and main activities of Changemakers, outlines our track record in relation to citizenship education, summarises the benefits of our approach, identifies some key challenges for schools and, finally, proposes a set of specific recommendations which we believe would improve citizenship education.

1.3 We would be delighted to meet with the Committee who may wish to hear more from our staff, the young people involved, and the professionals who work with us to deliver our activities.

2. CHANGEMAKERS

2.1 Changemakers provides a platform and process for young people to get actively involved in their communities. We create active and involved citizens with a positive and proactive approach to the world in which they live and their part within it.

2.2 We provide:

- Youth led learning programmes, volunteering and funding schemes.
- Training and consultancy in citizenship, enterprise and leadership.
- Research and development in the field of youth led community action.
- Publications and resources for young people and their educators.
- Advice and guidance to policy makers and practitioners on the youth led approach.

2.3 We maintain a large and varied network of young people, schools, youth organisations, policymakers and employers who are all committed to enabling young people to define and take responsibility for themselves and their communities.

2.4 Changemakers was established in 1994 by a consortium of British NGOs including Demos and the Secondary Heads Association. It is now headed up by CEO Adam Nichols, with offices in London and Newcastle and activities throughout the UK and across the world.

3. OUR TRACK RECORD WITH CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

3.1 Changemakers has nearly a decade's experience of developing and delivering citizenship education in schools. Since the introduction of the citizenship curriculum, Changemakers has worked directly with over 60 schools and influenced the practice of many more.

3.2 Our approach is based on a model of experiential learning that has been shown to be highly applicable to citizenship education in schools and an effective way of bringing citizenship alive. There is an emphasis on working with other agencies and on building a progression from adult led activity to young people taking the lead in developing their own projects and supporting other students.

3.3 From 2001–04 the DfES funded a national pilot programme for Key Stages 3 and 4 called Active Citizens in School (ACiS) which involved Changemakers in working with 18 schools and ContinYou (formerly Education Extra) working with 10.

3.4 The DfES has funded the dissemination of the programme through production of a resource pack and through seminars hosted by LAs. Following the first round of seminars half the LAs involved purchased additional support from Changemakers to help develop the programme.

3.5 The external evaluation was carried out by the Institute of Volunteering Research (IVR). It indicated a high level of success, and simultaneously identified the key challenges that schools face in trying to develop different approaches in the classroom and opportunities for involvement in the wider community.

3.6 A further piece of research has explored the impact of ACiS on post-16 involvement and has demonstrated the value of pre-16 active citizenship in enabling and encouraging ongoing engagement in young people's future lives. Opportunities to take responsibility and to be involved in activity outside school were cited by young people as particularly important.

3.7 Changemakers has developed and delivered a number of related strands of work, all of which can link with supporting citizenship education. These include Y ACT (the Young Advocate scheme), Y BANK (Youth Bank in Schools) the Social Enterprise programme and Millennium Volunteers.

3.8 The Changemakers approach connects citizenship education with a wide range of other contemporary policy areas (see diagram in appendix 1):

- Enterprise education.
- Student voice.
- Extended schools.
- Every Child Matters.
- Youth Matters.
- The Respect agenda.
- Russell Commission and youth volunteering.
- Civil renewal and community cohesion.

4. BENEFITS OF THE CHANGEMAKERS APPROACH (Identified by the IVR Evaluation of the DfES ACiS programme)

4.1 For young people:

- Became more involved in their community.
- Gained in confidence.
- Improved team working skills.
- Greater ability to get their point across.
- Gained more awareness of the needs of others.
- Made new friends.

4.2 For schools:

- Supported a change in ethos.
- Positive effect on students' behaviour.
- Improved relationships between pupils and staff.
- Reputation of the school enhanced.

4.3 For the wider community:

- Formed new links with schools.
- Changed attitudes towards young people.

5. CHALLENGES FACING SCHOOLS

5.1 *Time and priorities*

The greatest obstacle identified by the schools with whom we work is pressure on teachers' time. This is particularly apparent in the difficulty in finding the time or flexibility in the school day to do the initial planning and establishing contacts with other agencies. Where time is allocated it often gives way to other priorities.

5.2 *Time available in the school day*

The structure of the school day places restrictions on opportunities for active citizenship. There are limitations on after school activities, particularly for special schools and in rural areas where students live some distance from the school.

5.3 *Approaches to teaching and learning*

Teachers often need training and support to facilitate active citizenship. It requires a particular set of skills to support young people to make their own decisions, work in teams and take a lead. The ethos of schools is in some cases not supportive to this approach.

5.4 *Community links and cross sector working*

Linking with the wider community can generate valuable learning opportunities and resources. However, schools often struggle to fully utilise support from agencies and workers outside the school due to a variety of factors including time pressures, different working practices and styles, logistical and communication problems. Active Citizenship support staff based within the school are better placed to help schools develop the programme than workers who visit the school for limited, set times.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Building community links and capacity:

- Build the capacity of organisations beyond school to support citizenship education.
- Allocate funding for community link staff within schools to work with students to develop learning opportunities beyond the classroom by working in partnership with other agencies.
- Consider piloting an “Education Community Links Model” to help develop student centred links with the wider community.

6.2 Cross sector training and networking:

- Develop a multi-agency element in initial teacher training and continuing professional development.

6.3 Citizenship curriculum:

- Identify learning through participation and responsible action as the central feature of the citizenship curriculum.
- Clarify the meaning of entitlement in relation to active citizenship so that it builds on the experience and interests of each child and is not interpreted as giving all young people the same experience.

6.4 Measures of success:

- Develop more sophisticated means of measuring school success to include levels of active participation alongside academic attainment.

6.5 National profile:

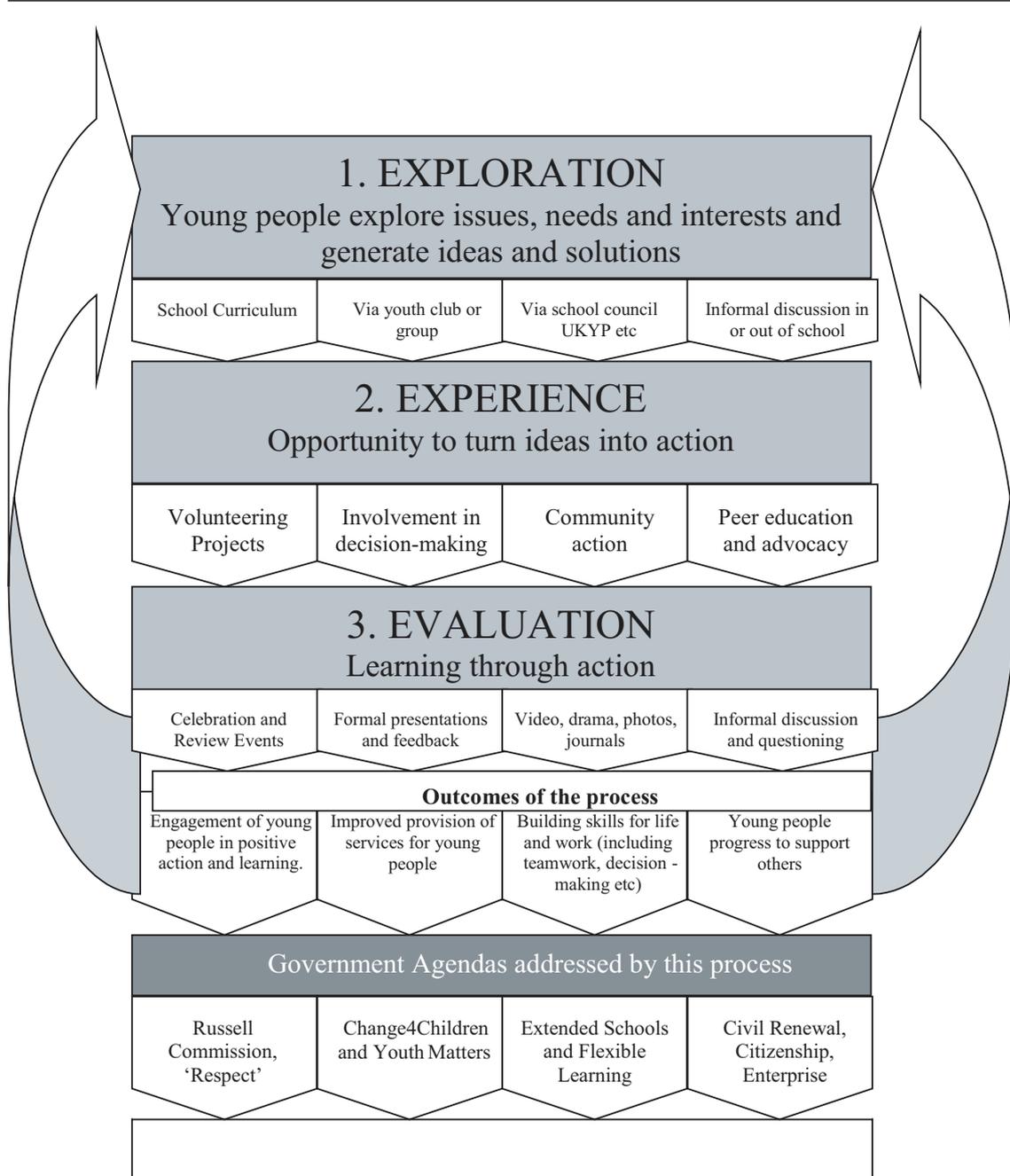
- Invest in a national high profile Active Citizenship Scheme for pre-16s, building on the ACiS pilot, that encompasses activity in and beyond school.
- Give young people a central role in disseminating and promoting the approach and invest in training and support as part of a range of progression opportunities for young people.

March 2006

APPENDIX 1

YOUNG PEOPLE'S ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT—A STRATEGIC MODEL

The diagram below illustrates how the process of Exploration, Experience and Evaluation can be used as a basis for cross sector work that can meet a wide range of objections for young people and directly address key government agendas.



Memorandum submitted by the Hansard Society

Established in 1944, the Hansard Society is an independent, non-partisan educational charity that operates across the political spectrum to strengthen the democratic process and improve the relationship between the public, elected representatives and political institutions. The Hansard Society works to promote effective parliamentary democracy by carrying out an intensive programme of work aimed at strengthening the political system and enhancing engagement in civic and political life.

The Hansard Society's citizenship education programme develops and promotes online and offline activities that bring young people, teachers, youth workers and decision makers together to engage in participatory democratic activity. By engaging, involving and informing these groups, young people's voices become part of the larger public debate on an issue and form part of evidence-based policy making and delivery, enhancing democratic processes and ensuring effective policy development.

The Hansard Society's citizenship education programme has worked for many years to promote citizenship as a subject and encourage the participation of young people in formal political processes. This involves a range of activities such as mock elections in schools, providing National Curriculum resources, and both online and offline platforms where young people can debate the political issues of the day with parliamentarians.

We note the inquiry's terms of reference and with these in mind the following material from the Hansard Society addresses specific questions asked by the inquiry in its call for public evidence, and submits further evidence that we believe is relevant to the discussion on citizenship education.

Young people have a right to learn about the political system of their country, to learn how laws which govern their lives are made, how their representatives are chosen and how they themselves can have a say in decision making. This is one of the goals of citizenship education. Its success will depend largely on the quality of teaching they receive.

In order to teach effectively, teachers need to have good subject knowledge. Citizenship is a new subject in the curriculum and, as a result, there are very few specially trained citizenship teachers. Many schools will not even have one specialist citizenship teacher. Moreover, teachers' confidence about certain aspects of the citizenship curriculum, including about the political system, is very low. The outcome can be seen in the judgment of Chief Inspector of Schools, David Bell, who stated that "Citizenship education is the worst taught subject in secondary schools" (speech to the Hansard Society 17.01.05).

The 2004 CSV report, *Citizenship in the Curriculum Two Years On* found that, as far as teachers were concerned, training in the teaching of aspects of political literacy was still important. Further to this, the NFER's *Citizenship education longitudinal study: second cross-sectional survey 2004* found that "three quarters of staff interviewed felt that they needed additional training in topics related to the political system" (NFER Research Report no 531, May 2004). The draft monitoring and evaluation report by QCA into Citizenship 2003–04 noted that "when asked to identify specific areas of citizenship where teachers were least confident the most frequently mentioned were political literacy, central and local government" (QCA draft 1.10.04).

More recently, the NFER mapping study of the citizenship curriculum against DCA priorities (September 2005) found that while there were a large number of resources surrounding citizenship education, there was a clear need for "train the trainer" resources. Teachers did not feel confident in teaching the political literacy strand of the curriculum and as a result were looking for support in making it real and local to young people—all aspects required under good practice in order to engage a young audience.

While numerous resources exist to support most of the emerging work within the citizenship curriculum, there are few that exist primarily to educate the trainer with regards to the British political system. In the area of political literacy there is a common concern to avoid traditional "Civics"-type models, which can seem dry and remote to students. What is required is a resource that equips the teacher with this knowledge and places it in the context of personal and topical issues with which to invigorate their teaching. As a result, teachers will feel more confident about teaching the political literacy strand of the citizenship curriculum.

The Hansard Society and Association for Citizenship Teachers (ACT) are currently in the process of developing such a resource. We hope that, through better understanding of the parliamentary system, the quality of teaching that students receive within the political literacy strand of the citizenship curriculum will be enhanced, contributing to a positive learning experience for students and hence greater engagement with and willingness to participate in formal politics.

When young people experience higher quality, more effective political literacy teaching they will be better able to understand and engage with government and the state, developing a greater awareness of the way they are governed and of their rights and responsibilities.

It is imperative that the senior management team actively support and promote citizenship education in the school through ensuring sufficient resource provision, including curriculum time, and by giving citizenship co-ordinators the authority within their schools to audit and advise on current citizenship teaching practice.

In addition, the Hansard Society believes there is currently a danger of citizenship's formal educational programme being too remote from Parliament. Whilst schools and government departments have adopted guidelines for involving young people in their governance and decision-making processes and are providing a range of opportunities for participation, Parliament as the centre of democracy has not responded accordingly.

We recommend that Parliament provides opportunities for interaction and participation with young people, and that it strives to demonstrate best practice in this area.

Parliament must provide relevant and interesting information that can be widely distributed and made available to the public both online and offline. This entails radical improvements to the parliamentary website to ensure it is both informative and interactive, further investment in citizenship education resources by Parliament, and a comprehensive outreach programme.

The Hansard Society also believes specific changes should be made to the Parliamentary Education Unit's approach. The resources provided by the PEU meet the knowledge and understanding requirements of the citizenship curriculum but not the requirement to develop skills of inquiry and participation. Information about the history and workings of Parliament are welcome, but young people need more information about how to become involved: an approach that places a greater emphasis on participation than on rote learning.

In order to be more strategic in its approach, the PEU should champion the youth participation agenda within Parliament.

The Crick report placed great emphasis upon the importance of educating young people in the values and practices of democracy. The culture of schools might have to change, particularly in terms of the capacity of school management and classroom teachers to listen to pupils and value their involvement in school matters. In particular, schools should make every effort to engage pupils in discussion and consultation about all aspects of school life on which pupils might reasonably be expected to have a view, and, wherever possible, to give pupils responsibility and experience in helping to run parts of the school.

If citizenship is to be successful, there needs to be a “citizenship culture” in schools, where pupils are encouraged to participate in school and in the community and to articulate the values of the school.

Young people’s interest and enthusiasm for politics is apparent from the success of a wide range of projects the Hansard Society has been involved in. It is also clear that building knowledge and understanding of the political process, and offering young people opportunities to become involved, holds the key to creating sustained participation in politics.

We hope that citizenship will evolve in schools as a very potent part of young people’s education and at the heart of school and community improvement.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by UNICEF

This submission is made to provide evidence on the relevance of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to Citizenship Education, under the identified terms of reference.

CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION

1. UNICEF UK runs two programmes in the UK: education and the Baby Friendly Initiative. The prime objective of the education team is to encourage and support teaching about the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in schools. The teaching of the UNCRC is required by Article 42 of the Convention, which the UK ratified in December 1991. There has been no significant progress on including the Convention in the curricula in schools or in teacher training, since the Committee’s recommendation in October 2002.⁵

2. Recent research has shown that when children are taught about their rights as described in the UNCRC, in a rights-consistent environment, they become more respecting of the rights of all other children. In turn this increased respect tends to be reflected in more harmonious classrooms, more socially responsible behaviours and higher levels of achievement. In essence, when rights education provides an overarching values framework for the functioning of schools and individual pupils, there is a subsequent improvement in the overall ethos and performance of the school (Howe & Covell, 2005; Wrings, 1999).⁶

CITIZENSHIP IN THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM

3. The Programme of study for citizenship at Key Stage 3 and Key Stage 4 sets out that:

“Pupils should be taught about the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society.”⁷

There is no reference to any bill of rights, ie the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the UN Declaration of Human Rights, nor the Human Rights Act 2002, to provide guidance for teachers. Human rights and legal rights are sometimes quite different, and there should be stronger guidance for teachers. In particular, there should be easy access to the text of different documents to guide teachers and pupils. When citizenship was recognised as a statutory subject in England’s curriculum, UNICEF UK identified this as an opportunity to introduce the UNCRC. To date it has produced and distributed over one and a half million copies of free summaries of the UNCRC and its children’s-rights comics designed for classroom use.

The positive impact of teaching about the UNCRC in a systematic way immediately became apparent in 1998 when analysing feedback from schools piloting the UNICEF UK educational resource: *Talking rights; taking responsibility. Activities for secondary English and Citizenship*. One teacher commented: “We found the resource highly beneficial and were pleased with the way it helped develop a greater tolerance of individuals in the group and proved useful in moulding pupils’ attitudes to each other to a more positive

⁵ Committee on the Rights of the Child, Thirty-first session, Consideration of Reports submitted by State Parties Under Article 44 of the Convention. Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 4 October 2002.

⁶ Report on the RRR Initiative to Hampshire County Education Authority, July 2005 http://www.unicef.org.uk/tz/teacher_support/assets/pdf/rrr_research_fullreport_05.pdf

⁷ Citizenship, The National Curriculum for England, Key Stages 3–4, 1999.

end. It provided a focus and deeper understanding of real issues facing young people today.” Another said “The pupils responded extremely well to the activities, found them very enjoyable and started changing their attitudes towards each other, became more tolerant and respectful of others’ opinions.”

Year 8 and 9 students were similarly positive about undertaking the activities suggested in this resource:

- “(I learnt) I have many rights but if I abuse them the responsibility falls on me.”
- “I am not shy any more and I am confident in talking in front of the class.” (Many students said this)
- “I have learnt to listen to other people better, before I would sometimes ignore people.”

The positive effects on attitudes and behaviour are similarly noted in the Report on the Rights, Respect and Responsibilities (RRR) Initiative to Hampshire County Education Authority, July 2005.⁸

THE UNCRC AND THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE INQUIRY INTO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

4. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as a topic of citizenship education is particularly relevant to the last five points in the terms of reference:

- Relationship between citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness and design of citizenship curriculum and appropriateness of other guidance:

One of the benefits of teaching the UNCRC, reported by many teachers, is that it is global, and this is recognised by children. Therefore, an ethos of knowledge and respect for rights can do much to reduce both bullying and racism and xenophobia, as children/young people in the UK empathise with children and young people from other places and cultures, recognising them as sharing the same rights as themselves, and also suffering from rights abuses.

The DfES *Putting the World into World-Class Education* lists learning about human rights, and, in particular, children’s rights as one of eight key concepts for children living in a global society.⁹ The UNCRC can provide a common ground of knowledge that relates directly to children’s own experience, and schools involved in “links” with schools in other countries can use it as part of their linking framework.

- Citizenship education’s potential to contribute to community cohesion:
A similar argument to the above applies here: knowledge of child and human rights has the power to build cohesion in communities since the values and standards are relevant to all humanity. A citizenship education curriculum built around child and human rights values will have a strong uniting force for all other initiatives.
- Implementation of “active” aspects of curriculum—ie community involvement and involvement in the running of the school:
UNICEF UK is developing a “campaign” called “Join it all up”. This refers to the articles of the UNCRC as providing a “values” rationale for all the policies and practices schools are required to do. Relating everything to the UNCRC standards, which children/young people need to survive and develop, shows how policies are interlinking and self-supporting.
- Practice in other countries:
Child and human rights are taught in many other countries as a matter of course. Similarly democratic structures for dialogue and discussion, giving pupils easy access to decision-making bodies, are common in many countries.¹⁰

UNICEF UK’S RIGHTS-RESPECTING SCHOOL AWARD

5. UNICEF UK has gained a great deal of first hand experience and knowledge of the impact of teaching about the UNCRC in schools through its Rights Respecting School Award, currently being piloted in over 30 schools across the UK. This new nationwide award scheme promotes the UNCRC as the basis for enhancing teaching, learning, ethos, attitudes and behaviour. A Rights Respecting School not only teaches about child and human rights but also models rights and respect in all its relationships: teacher/adults-pupils; pupils- teacher/adults; pupils-pupils. The Award programme is complementary to the Healthy Schools Award and Eco Schools and can be part of a programme to build a positive school ethos.

6. The Rights Respecting School Award supports and promotes the embedding of the UNCRC firmly within the ethos, culture and practices of each school. It comprises two levels of development, each with their own benchmarks covering four main dimensions of the school:

- Knowledge and understanding of UNCRC on the part of all sections of the school community.

⁸ Findings from the RRR initiative in Hampshire show that behaviour improved: in some schools there was a reduction in detentions by up to 50%, exclusions have been reduced by up to 70%; there is less bullying and higher self-esteem and aspirations amongst young people. Report on the RRR Initiative to Hampshire County Education Authority, July 2005 http://www.unicef.org.uk/tz/teacher_support/assets/pdf/rrr_research_fullreport_05.pdf

⁹ Putting the World into World-Class Education, page 6.

¹⁰ See The Euridem Project, A Review of Pupil Democracy in Europe, Lynn Davies and Gordon Kirkpatrick, April 2000.

- Classroom climate and culture (the “rights-respecting classroom”).
- Pupil voice and empowerment.
- Whole school environment, ethos and the wider community, including parents/carers.

Level One describes the school that has made good progress across all four dimensions with clear features of Rights Respecting Schools in place. Level Two describes the school where the benchmarks are as fully embedded as can be realistically and reasonably expected.

7. Hampshire LA is a partner in the promotion of the UNCRC as a central aspect of the school ethos, promoting an initiative called Rights, Respect and Responsibility across 300 primary schools since 2004, with funding from the DfES Innovation Fund. Following on from Hampshire’s model, there are now more than 20 LAs expressing an interest in working with UNICEF UK to introduce the Rights Respecting School Award (RRSA) into clusters of schools. The RRSA will be fully launched in spring 2007.

CASE STUDY: KNIGHTS ENHAM JUNIOR SCHOOL

Knights Enham had already developed a good whole school pedagogy, vision and ethos using assertive discipline and circle time. However, it felt that “something” was missing. There was still sporadic anti-social behaviour, where children were often in conflict with each other; there was a lack of motivation and understanding that children were an important part of the community and the world; and, deprivation often led to low future expectations. The school, therefore, decided to take up the Rights Respecting Schools initiative.

Initially they decided to immerse one year 6 class in the whole ethos of children’s rights, keeping the other as a control group. They saw an incredible impact on the children involved with the initiative so, from September 2003, went “whole school” with the approach.

In its report in December 2003, Ofsted found one of the school’s main strengths was a “clear and positive school ethos which is supported and enhanced by the Rights of the Child programme”. The report also highlighted that “through RE, PHSE and the Rights of the Child programme, pupils understand the importance of tolerance and respect for others. They value justice and fair play.” Further, that “the Rights of the Child and circle time sessions provide very good opportunities for the development of self-esteem. There are few incidents of bullying and these are dealt with swiftly and effectively.”¹¹ The school has seen attendance improve, exclusions drop and SATs results improve.

RECOMMENDATIONS

8. To include the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in the citizenship curricula for both primary and secondary schools and Initial Teacher Training, as required by Article 42 of the Convention and as recommended by the Committee on the Rights of the Child in its report to the UK government on the implementation on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, October 2002.¹²

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Institute for Global Ethics UK Trust

The Institute for Global Ethics UK Trust (IGE UK), a registered charity since 1995 and incorporated in 2001, aims to promote ethical behaviour in individuals, institutions and nations.

In the UK, this is pursued through four principle roles; as convenor (organising a series of consultations at St Georges House, Windsor Castle to elevate public discussion and practical action) as educator (delivering the UK-wide impetus awards programme for young people and Ethical Fitness seminars to private, public and voluntary organisations) as communicator (organising the annual Five Nations Conference on Education for Citizenship) and as networker (working collaboratively with organisations which pursue similar objectives).

IGE-UK’s impetus youth programme which can be delivered through citizenship education has very relevant experience which it wishes to contribute to the Committee’s discussions, in particular on citizenship education’s potential to contribute to social cohesion, and implementing the active aspects of the curriculum. We make three recommendations following a brief overview of our work.

Impetus aims to be a leading programme in developing a culture of shared ethical values and human rights across the UK.

¹¹ Inspection Report, Knights Enham Junior School, Andover, Hampshire, 8–10 December 2003. <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/reports/116/116014.pdf>

¹² Concluding observations: 46a and f; General measures of implementation: re Article 42—making the Convention and its rights widely known, re Article 29 Teacher training and human rights education. Annex A, reference to Committee report of 1995: D. Suggestions and recommendations, no 26 re Article 42.

We believe the Human Rights Act (and other human rights instruments) and the ethical values which underpin it—mutual respect, honesty and integrity, fairness of treatment and individual freedom and personal responsibility—can provide a new cultural reference point around which to foster relationships and perspectives of both an ethical and legal basis. The “Parek Report” (2000) which contained the recommendations of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, echoed multi-cultural reports before it, when it stated that “human rights principles provide a sound framework for handling differences, and a body of values around which society can unite”.

Working in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland for three years since its official launch in 2003, impetus has learnt that local relationships and perspectives based on shared ethical values can create fertile soil for implementing and maintaining a culture of human rights standards, and the mechanisms for dealing with conflict.

Impetus awards are given to every project that demonstrates:

- (1) Exploration of human rights and obligations.
- (2) Creative application of shared values.
- (3) Whole School/organisation involvement.
- (4) Engagement with local communities.

Teachers have used impetus to:

- bring a specific dialogue about ethical values and human rights to existing work;
- establish class projects or long term whole school programmes that model democratic relations and foster an ethos of shared ethical values; and
- as a means to build links with local and global communities.

Young people themselves have started impetus projects which allow them to build on their experiences, understandings and tackle their concerns.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Human Rights Act and the shared ethical values which underpin it provide a framework around which to define and implement a cohesion dimension to citizenship education.
2. Opportunities need to be developed which allow what young people discuss and think about outside of school, to become a learning experience in school. Citizenship education policy and practice needs to build on young people’s experiences, understandings and concerns.
3. There needs to be renewed national leadership in the promotion of citizenship education which highlights the learning and democratic possibilities that exist if schools adopt a participatory approach to delivering the citizenship curriculum.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Save the Children

SAVE THE CHILDREN UK AND THE WORK OF THE DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION TEAM

Save the Children are working to create a better world for children. We work in the UK and around the world, delivering lasting change. Our focus on children’s rights is underpinned by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Through our programme of work in education we concentrate on the most marginalised groups of children and young people, including those who are at risk of being excluded from school.

The British Government has a duty to make sure that all citizens have access to their rights and a secure understanding of their responsibilities as citizens of this country and of the wider world. By teaching children from a young age about their rights and responsibilities, a platform is created on which to build for the future.

The Development Education Team at Save the Children UK is committed to ensuring that citizenship teaching must include the principles of the UNCRC. An understanding of the UNCRC means that children and young people in the UK are inspired to take action to fulfil their own rights but also to act to ensure the rights of their peers around the world are promoted, protected and fulfilled.

AIMS OF THIS SUBMISSION

1.1 This submission presents the position of Save the Children UK on the need for more explicit articulation and practice of the UNCRC within curriculum content, aims and school ethos in England.

1.2 In recognition of innovative practice, research and developments in the field of citizenship education in recent years, it argues for stronger links to be made between the clear interface that exists between human rights education (and consequently child rights) and citizenship education.

1.3 In keeping with its education mandate and drawing upon Article 42 of the Convention, Save the Children UK seeks to ensure that the UK government, as signatory to the UNCRC, considers the opportunities presented by the formal education system for the teaching and learning of issues related to child rights and responsibilities.

GUIDELINES FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND PHSE IN ENGLAND AND WALES

2. Since its non-statutory introduction into Schools in England and Wales in 2000, citizenship education has now become a statutory requirement at Key Stages 3 and 4 whilst maintaining its non-statutory status at Key Stages 1 and 2. In the primary school this is mainly addressed by cross curricula activities, inclusion in elements of other subjects as well as in the school's daily life eg assemblies, school councils, playground rules.

3.1 Working within this framework and whilst recognising those aspects of the guidelines which point towards issues of Child Rights education, Save the Children UK demands teaching and learning about Child Rights education as an explicit guideline of the citizenship curriculum across all Key Stages. Save the Children UK views this as a vital addition to existing guidelines in order to ensure that Article 42 of the UNCRC which states that:

States Parties undertake to make the principles and provisions of the Convention widely known, by appropriate and active means, to adults and children alike¹³

is observed by all relevant actors (government, education authorities, curriculum bodies, schools, teachers), with the aim of ensuring that the obligation to inform children of their rights and responsibilities as outlined in the UNCRC is respected by all.

3.2 Whilst expecting the curriculum at Key Stage 1 to include learning about basic rights and responsibilities, Key Stage 2 is envisaged as the appropriate point at which UNCRC would be formally introduced. This position is taken based on the increasing capacity of children at this age to be aware of issues that do not only relate to them and their immediate community but also to issues of global significance.

3.3 Save the Children UK recognises the rich learning environments within schools working to establish good practice in citizenship and PHSE, both in individual subject areas and whole school approaches, as an ideal opportunity for promoting effective and relevant education on the UNCRC.

THE BENEFITS OF CHILD RIGHTS EDUCATION

4.1 A study by Save the Children into Citizenship education and the UNCRC in primary schools¹⁴ cites the importance of teaching about rights as part of citizenship education as a catalyst for lifelong effects. By understanding that there are laws and conventions that define and describe the rights to which they are entitled, children can feel empowered. They can also begin to recognise when these rights are being denied. The study also showed how empathy created from learning about the exploitation of children who are denied access to their rights acts as a stimulus to the development of rights respecting attitudes. A foundation is hence established of positive attitudes towards human rights and responsibilities in general that should remain with children into adulthood.

4.2 Our experience shows that Childs Rights education that includes participatory methods of teaching can increase positive behaviour and a positive attitude to learning. By giving children an element of ownership of their learning within clearly defined boundaries, which reflect the need not to negatively impinge on the rights of others, they can learn to become active partners in their school experiences.

4.3 The improved attitude of pupils towards each other has also been identified along with an increase in concern towards respecting and protecting the feelings of others. This learning is essential in order for children to grow into responsible citizens who understand the responsibility that they have towards others and the need for them to take an active part in society in order to protect their rights and the rights of others.

4.4 Recent studies show possible correlations between teaching about the UNCRC (particularly when participatory pedagogies are respected), improvements in children's attitudes to schooling and to others, and their future participation as responsible citizens within their local and wider communities.

4.5 Children feel empowered through learning about their own rights and become more aware of and more supportive of the rights of others.

¹³ UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 42.

¹⁴ Klein (2001) Citizens by Right, Citizenship education in primary schools, Save the Children.

 RECOMMENDATIONS

5. Save the Children strongly recommends the introduction of education about the UNCRC as an explicit guideline within statutory and non-statutory curriculum content, with related stages of learning, links to wider/related curricula areas, guidance on breadth of opportunities and expected possible outcomes.

CONCLUSION

We argue for the explicit inclusion of the UNCRC within curriculum guidelines both statutory and non-statutory in England, to draw attention not only to the requirements of government to respond to Article 42 of the Convention, but also to the benefits of Child Rights education for individuals, schools, communities and by definition to the wider national and international context. We draw attention to the role of Child Rights education in contributing to positive expectations of human relationship and responsibility and to the need to defend and respect rights on a global scale.

Save the Children UK emphasises that effective and sustainable Child Rights education does not aim to develop the rights of individuals over others but ensures that all citizens, individually and collectively, access opportunities available to them and recognise the role of others in making this happen.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Regent College

1. SUMMARY

This paper makes the following key points:

- Post-16 education in England lacks unifying values (p 2).
- Citizenship education post-16 is uneven and ad-hoc (p 3).
- Citizenship education should be at the centre of post-16 education and training (p 3).
- There are probably enough government and international initiatives and guidelines in this area (p 4).
- What is needed is to combine these initiatives into a coherent strategy with some additional resources (p 5).

2. REGENT COLLEGE

2.1 Regent College is a highly diverse and inclusive city-centre sixth form college serving the city of Leicester. We have around 1,000 full time equivalent students, mostly aged 16–19 studying courses at all levels from Entry to Advanced. Our success rates are at or above most benchmarks, our university progression rate is high and our AS and A level value added is outstanding; in the top 10% of sixth form colleges nationally. The college is increasingly popular with local school leavers from across the city and 16–19 numbers have grown by 28% in four years.

2.2 Around 80% of our students are of black and ethnic minority heritage, including a number of new arrivals (EU citizens of Somali heritage, refugees and asylum seekers). Our students speak over 30 different languages, 60% claim education maintenance allowance and 61% come from widening participation neighbourhoods (the 12th highest WP factor of any sixth form college and the highest outside London, Birmingham or Manchester).

2.3 Regent has been part of the LSDA Post-16 Citizenship project from the start and is now a Citizenship champion college. The college's values include a commitment to "education of the whole person for personal and social development, independence, self-confidence, self-expression and democratic citizenship". The college is a very diverse learning community in terms of ethnicity, culture, language, religion, national origins and previous achievement and the college values and celebrates this. We actively educate about diversity and encourage students to understand and engage with others and engage critically with local and global concerns. The college has a good record of encouraging democratic involvement of students in college life and participation in local and global campaigns and we work with a number of organisations and communities to enhance students' understanding of the world they live in. The college promotes international links, exchanges, projects and conferences; most recently with the Home Office, the British Council and the Department for International Development.

3. POST-16 EDUCATION IN ENGLAND LACKS UNIFYING VALUES

3.1 The 16–19 curriculum in England lacks a coherent core or explicit unifying principles beyond the achievement of qualifications and progression to employment or higher education. For many students this

stage of education can be a fragmentary and uncoordinated experience which contains much that is good but fails to build fully on their interests or to hang together meaningfully for them. Efforts to help the curriculum “gel” using tutorial and key skills are often regarded as marginal by students.

4. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION POST-16 IS UNEVEN AND AD-HOC

4.1 There is no statutory requirement and little incentive for providers to develop citizenship programmes. These are highly dependent on the enthusiasm or commitment of particular individuals or teams within colleges or schools. The national post-16 citizenship pilots led by the Learning and Skills Development Agency (LSDA) have led to a number of different voluntaristic approaches to post-16 citizenship education. However, as yet there is no statutory requirement of the sort in force pre-16.

5. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION SHOULD BE AT THE CENTRE OF POST-16 EDUCATION AND TRAINING

5.1 Whatever else they may achieve or aspire to, all our students are citizens and one of our key aims must be to help them to develop the skills and potential which will allow them to be active, effective and fulfilled as such together with an adequate knowledge base about local and global issues to build on.

5.2 We believe that citizenship in its broadest sense as defined by the 16–19 Crick report and building on Key Stage 4 of the National Curriculum, can provide a unifying theme giving purpose and shape to the 14–19 curriculum within the context of students’ own interests, their previous learning and their potential for lifelong learning. Citizenship can be an organising principle for a curriculum which helps young people learn about interdependence, their developing relationship with others beyond their immediate friends and family, their wider social roles and the possibilities of wider collective action at both local and global levels. By 16, most young people are ready to engage critically in this way and are both idealistic and practical enough to conceive that they could contribute to real change for the better. They are also developing and negotiating a more complex sense of identity and this raises new opportunities for reflection, critical dialogue, research and therefore learning.

5.3 With the introduction of the new general and specialist diploma lines over the next few years it will be particularly important for students on all programmes to develop a common set of personal and learning skills and to give all programmes a strong social purpose and common core—giving young people’s programmes a wider meaning which goes beyond simply providing the credentials for progression to Higher Education or employment in a particular sector.

6. THERE ARE PROBABLY ENOUGH GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES AND GUIDELINES IN THIS AREA

6.1 Sir Bernard Crick’s report on Post-16 Citizenship education outlined a very helpful framework for a citizenship curriculum. One of the themes of *Every Child Matters* is “making a positive contribution” which maps closely onto citizenship pre-and post-16. *Community Cohesion* initiatives in many cities in the UK usually emphasise the need for young people to be involved in diversity awareness, cross-cultural and interfaith dialogue and activity and to have a stake in the development of their neighbourhoods.

6.2 The Government paper *Putting the World into World Class Education* advocates “instilling a global dimension into the learning experience of all young people” and covers very similar ground. *Youth Matters* and the expansion in youth volunteering proposed by the Government should lead to many new opportunities for learning through active citizenship, both locally based and, for some, internationally.

6.3 QCA’s work on the characteristics of a future curriculum suggests that amongst other things it should “contribute to social justice and be futures-orientated and deal with the big issues in young people’s lives”. The proposed *QCA 11–19 Skills framework* which will replace the Wider Key Skills and includes Personal, Learning and Thinking Skills (PLATS) includes skills of “active investigators, creative contributors, reflective learners, confident collaborators and practical self-managers”—all of which can be developed through a structured programme of citizenship activities. The proposed *Extended Project* may be accredited via the PLATS and could be the product of student-led research or activity which relates to local or global issues which concern them.

6.4 In terms of wider thinking about a curriculum for the 21st century, the *RSA Opening Minds project* proposes a competence based approach which includes competences for citizenship and internationally the Council of Europe has developed much good practice at the European level through its Education for Democratic Citizenship initiative. *UNESCO’s Delors commission’s* four pillars of learning includes “learning to live together” and other UNESCO initiatives eg: Education for Sustainable Development relate closely to this.

7. WHAT IS NEEDED IS TO COMBINE THESE INITIATIVES INTO A COHERENT STRATEGY WITH SOME ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

7.1 These initiatives and guidelines can be knitted into a coherent core curriculum for 16–19 education which is sufficiently flexible and could be modularised (using the QCA framework for achievement) to meet the needs of this age group. We believe that this should be a priority if we want to build on young people’s

entitlement to good citizenship education pre-16 with appropriate provision post-16. This will require some high profile demonstration projects or pilots and some investment beyond the small sums currently available via the LSDA project.

7.2 One example of such a project is Regent College's proposed Leicester Global Citizens' College which is a partnership proposal with Leicester University's Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education. This will bring many potential benefits for learners in Leicester and beyond. Successful achievement of key elements of the college programme will qualify young people for membership of a Leicester Academy of Global Citizens which will be steered by its members.

7.3 The key objective is to create a vibrant centre for global citizenship education in Leicester to develop transferable good practice. The aim of the college will be to promote global and social awareness, democratic practice and community cohesion through intercultural, interfaith, peace, development and humanities education as well as to develop young people's leadership, teamwork, communication, research, problem solving and conflict resolution skills. We will build on existing programmes to develop a coherent and progressive set of opportunities appropriate to the various needs and interests of students and we will recognise their achievements via a framework of college-defined awards using existing accreditation where possible.

7.4 The College will offer a menu of activities which will develop and accredit young people's knowledge and skills. These are grouped into three categories each of which has a different emphasis. Successful achievement in all three areas of the college programme will be recognised as a college Global Citizens' Diploma.

A. Knowledge, opinion, dialogue and debate

- Active participation in the College lecture and discussion programme.

B. Independent research, evaluation and presentation

- Extended project on a chosen topic.

C. Interpersonal and group skills, democratic participation

- Volunteering, community, representational, advocacy or campaigning activity.
- Internship in a voluntary, community, governmental, legal human rights or campaigning organisation.
- Peer mentoring/mediation.
- Sports leadership, group participation or event organisation.

7.5 The College will have a strong commitment to equality, human rights, peace, pluralism and the possibility and benefits of democratic collective action to bring about change. Students would be encouraged to be questioning and critical in their approach, to appreciate global, local and individual perspectives and to examine all points of view; in short to be informed, skilled and active cosmopolitan global citizens.

7.6 This is a new kind of initiative based on a broad concept of the role a college and its students can play in the local and wider community. Our mission is "Creating the future: raising achievement" and this proposal flows directly from our commitment to the highest educational standards as well as inclusiveness and relevance. This is an approach to curriculum design which starts from a wider social purpose before defining accredited outcomes. We believe that if we can educate for mutual respect, dialogue, creativity, democracy and participation we can help to equip young people with the skills to tackle the problems we face—from the local to the global. We believe this is the best kind of investment any society can make in the future.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER)

1. INTRODUCTION

This submission has been compiled by David Kerr, Principal Research Officer, at NFER, who directs NFER's portfolio of research projects in citizenship education at national, European and international level with a team of other researchers. Details of current and previous NFER research projects in this area are provided in Section 1b below while Section 5 contains further details about the author's citizenship education credentials.

The submission pinpoints the most recent research findings in citizenship education that are of particular relevance to the areas of interest in the Committee's terms of reference. It dovetails with the references to NFER research findings in the submissions from a number of other organizations and government departments, notably the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), Citizenship Foundation, Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) and Schools Council UK. The findings are drawn from the

cumulative annual reports of the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study since 2001, notably the third annual report entitled *Listening to Young People: Citizenship Education in England*, which was published in 2005.

However, the Committee should note that the Study's fourth annual report, entitled *Active Citizenship and Young People: Opportunities, Experiences and Challenges in and beyond School*, has been completed and is due to be published by the DfES at the end of April 2006. The report provides the most up-to-date evidence about the progress of citizenship education in schools in England from 2003–05. It focuses, in particular, on young people's experiences of active citizenship in the academic year 2004–05. This focus is highly relevant to the Committee's terms of reference and it is hoped that this latest research evidence can be heard through the further oral evidence sessions to be held in late spring.

1(a) *About the NFER*

The National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales (NFER) has been at the forefront of educational research and test development for 60 years. The Foundation is a not-for-profit organisation and is a registered charity. Our aim is to improve education and training, nationally and internationally, by undertaking research, development and dissemination activities and by providing information services.

NFER undertakes around 200 research projects every year and our work spans all sectors of education, from pre-school to lifelong learning. We provide high quality, evidence-based research for policy makers, managers and practitioners. Our unrivalled experience enables us to offer a wide range of services and information sites, making NFER a one-stop-shop for anyone interested in education and educational research.

1(b) *NFER research in citizenship education*

NFER has a distinguished track record in carrying out innovative and influential research and evaluation in citizenship education for policy-makers at national, European and international level. The Department for Evaluation and Policy Studies (EVP) is the base for the NFER's research into citizenship education, headed by David Kerr at <http://www.nfer.ac.uk/research-areas/citizenship/>. Some of the leading research studies conducted and/or currently underway include:

- IEA Civic Education Study—NFER conducted the English country description and national surveys on citizenship for the IEA CIVED study involving a comparative sample of over 80,000 14-years-olds in 28 countries. This was the largest ever study undertaken in citizenship education.
- Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study—NFER is half-way through a nine-year longitudinal study of the introduction of the citizenship curriculum in England for the DfES. This ground-breaking study is assessing the short-term and long-term effects of citizenship education on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of young people. The Study is following a cohort of over 18,000 young people from age 11–18 as well as surveying their teachers and school leaders. It also involves a number of longitudinal school case studies.
- National Evaluation of Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme—NFER has recently completed a three-year evaluation of the post-16 citizenship development project programme for the DfES. The evaluation ascertained how well citizenship education was developed for 16–19 year olds in a range of settings.
- Pupil Assessment in Citizenship Education—NFER is currently managing a European-wide study on pupil assessment in citizenship, funded by NFER and CIDREE, the Consortium of Institutes for Development and Research in Education in Europe.
- Evaluation of 2005 European Year of Citizenship through Education—NFER is also evaluating the impact of the 2005 European Year of Citizenship through Education, across its 48 member states, for the Council of Europe.
- Mapping Citizenship Education Resources—this project has just been completed and was commissioned by the Department for Constitutional Affairs (DCA) to map the citizenship resources available of most relevance to the DCA priorities concerning citizenship and human rights education.
- IEA International Civics and Citizenship Study (ICCES)—NFER is part of an international consortia which is managing the international co-ordination of this new IEA Study. The Study looks to survey 14-year-olds, their teachers and school leaders about their citizenship experiences in and beyond school in participating countries and produce national and comparative findings in 2009. Topics addressed include students' acquisition of civic knowledge and understanding, development of civic capabilities and understanding of issues concerning identity and belonging.

2. RESEARCH RELEVANT TO THE SELECT COMMITTEE'S AREAS OF INTEREST

2(a) *Where are we at with citizenship?*

Citizenship education became a new statutory national curriculum subject for 11–16-year-olds in England in September 2002. There was a particular emphasis in the policy statements for citizenship education, both in schools and colleges, on developing students' political literacy—the knowledge, understanding and skills required to play a full and active part in “public life” in the many communities to which they belong, including the school/college community. This was seen as the new element of citizenship education.

The last three years have seen schools attempting to make sense of the “light touch” Citizenship Order and turn it into effective practice, and those in 16–19 exploring approaches to active citizenship. So how are schools and colleges faring? While recognising that these are still early days for citizenship, research evidence suggests that progress has been patchy and uneven. Though there has been undoubted progress, there are still aspects that require further development. A recent report by Ofsted¹ argued that citizenship was amongst the least well-taught subjects and that about a quarter of schools had made insufficient provision in this new area. This backs up findings from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (hereafter “the Study”).

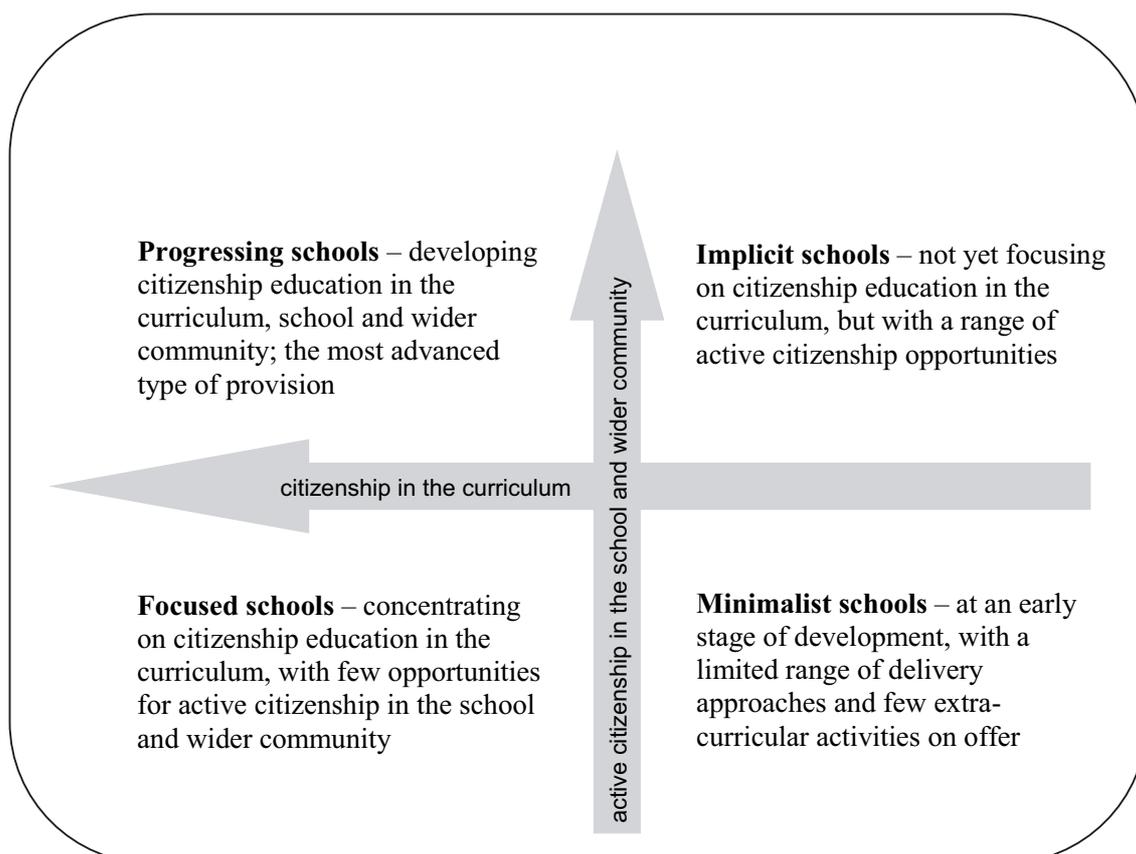
The Study started in 2001 and will run until 2009. It is funded by DfES and carried out by NFER with the overarching aim of assessing the short- and long-term effects of citizenship education on students. To date, the Study has improved our understanding of citizenship education by:

- identifying the main types of citizenship education provision in schools in England;
- determining the factors, at management, institution and learning context levels, which underlie successful citizenship education provision in schools and colleges; and
- ascertaining the views of young people about their citizenship experiences in schools and colleges and about wider citizenship issues.

KEY FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

What are the main approaches to citizenship education in schools?

The Study has identified four types of approach to citizenship education in schools: schools that are progressing in citizenship, others that are focused, those that are minimalist and those that are implicit in terms of citizenship (see Figure 1).



The main difference in the typology is the relative emphasis that schools give to citizenship in terms of curriculum provision and active citizenship developments in the school and wider community. Progressing schools are the most advanced in terms of curriculum provision and active citizenship developments, whereas in minimalist schools there is the greatest scope for improvement in both areas. Implicit and focused schools each have their own strengths: namely, active citizenship in the former and citizenship in the curriculum in the latter. In a nationally representative sample of schools about one quarter of the schools surveyed fall into each category. This suggests that citizenship education provision in schools in England is currently uneven and patchy, with one quarter of schools offering only a minimal level of provision: a finding that concurs with recent Ofsted conclusionsⁱⁱ. In addition, many schools are still to develop a holistic and coherent approach to citizenship education.

How and where are schools and colleges providing citizenship opportunities?

The latest Study findings reveal that citizenship is delivered most typically in school and college contexts where:

- citizenship is delivered through PSHE (Personal Social and Health Education) and/or through assemblies;
- school/college is viewed as an institution that is “moderately democratic” by staff;
- there is a traditional teaching and learning environment, where note taking and listening while the teacher/tutor talks are more prevalent than more active discursive approaches;
- there is a positive classroom climate (ie students feel free to express their opinions and bring up issues for discussion);
- there are a variety of extra-curricular opportunities on offer for students; and
- there is less of a concentration, according to students, on teaching about political literacy (ie political and legal processes and institutions) and more on other citizenship topics.

What factors underpin the most successful provision?

The Study also identifies a series of factors—at management, institution and learning context levels—which underpin the most successful provision of citizenship education in schools and colleges. These include:

At management level:

- senior managers who actively support and promote citizenship education in the school and college;
- sufficient resources allocated to citizenship education, including time (eg curriculum space and time for planning);
- an effective and manageable assessment strategy through which students’ achievements can be recognised; and
- on-going planning and reviewing to sustain the development of citizenship.

At institution level:

- a clear and coherent understanding of what citizenship education means;
- high status of citizenship, promoted by a well-respected coordinator who is “a citizenship champion”;
- staff training and development that builds confidence and improves teaching and learning strategies;
- a participatory school/college ethos that supports the aims of citizenship education and positive relationships within the school/college community;
- delivery approaches that are diverse and effectively link the curriculum, school/college and wider community dimensions of citizenship education; and
- tailoring of citizenship education to the needs, skills, interests and experiences of young people.

At learning-context level:

- positive relationships between the school/college and the wider community that enable the school/college to foster opportunities for the students to engage with individuals and organisations beyond the school/college;
- dedicated and enthusiastic staff, with the skills to facilitate as well as teach;
- dedicated timeslot for citizenship, whether as a discrete course, a module within a programme or a specific project;
- involvement and participation of students in decisions about their learning, and the development of a student voice; and
- focus on critically active forms of learning, including discussion, debate, dialogue and reflection. The best examples are where students are helped to think, reflect and take action.

What factors impact on students' development of citizenship knowledge, understanding, skills and attitudes?

Broadly, these influencing factors can be divided into two groups:

- School/college factors: citizenship (education) experiences offered by schools and collegesⁱⁱⁱ.
- Student background factors: personal, family and community characteristics (eg home literacy resources, age, ethnicity, gender).

The Study demonstrates how the following are important and influential factors:

- school/college experiences of citizenship—students currently define citizenship as more to do with rights and responsibilities and issues of identity and equality than with political literacy and formal political processes;
- home literacy resources—the more books students have at home, the higher their civic knowledge and the greater their intended future political engagement;
- age/year group—students' sense of belonging to the school community increases with age in comparison to attachment to other communities;
- ethnicity—Asian and Black students have the most positive views about volunteering compared to other groups; and
- gender—compared to boys, girls think that volunteering has fewer costs and more benefits.

This suggests that young people's development of citizenship-related dimensions is influenced not only by their experiences in school and college (both in the curriculum and in the school/college community) but also by their wider experiences beyond school.

The specific research findings, concerning the Committee's areas of interest, that follow are drawn largely from the third annual report of the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study. It is based upon a large, nationally representative sample of 237 schools and 50 colleges and reports the responses of 238 school and college leaders, 876 teachers and college tutors and 6,400 students across years 8, 10 and 12 (students age 13–14, 15–16 and 17–18 respectively) in the academic year 2003–04.

2(b) *Teachers attitudes to Citizenship*

Teachers and school leaders remain positive about the outcomes of citizenship education, believing that it will have a number of positive impacts on students' participation, engagement, skills, awareness and tolerance.

2(c) *Initial Teacher Training and CPD*

There is little evidence in the sample of schools involved in the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study of the impact of initial teacher training and CPD. This is not surprising given the relatively small numbers of newly qualified citizenship teachers who are trained each year (250) compared to the number of secondary schools in England. In terms of continuing professional development (CPD), few teachers say that they have heard of the Association for Citizenship Teaching and limited numbers have had access to CPD training in citizenship. Access to citizenship CPD remains dependent on the attitudes of senior managers in schools and what they see as overall training priorities for their school. Teachers surveyed demand more citizenship CPD in relation to three priorities: improving their subject knowledge; helping them to understand assessment issues; and, increasing their confidence in more active teaching and learning approaches.

2(d) *Role of Local Authorities in supporting school staff*

There is some evidence of Local Authority involvement in CPD training and support for schools. However, such support is inconsistent across the country with LA staff having limited capacity to support schools because of competing priorities for their time and lack of funds.

2(e) *Continuity of Citizenship from KS1 to post 16*

Students in all year groups report that citizenship is more noticeable to them in secondary schools than in 2002.

The third annual report confirms students' development of citizenship dimensions (knowledge, skills, understanding and attitudes) is neither even nor consistent. The findings reveal lower levels of citizenship knowledge; student efficacy; personal efficacy; active student participation; trust and embeddedness and belief in the benefits of participation among the Year 10 students who took part in the survey, when compared with those in Years 8 and 12.

It also confirms the complex nature of young peoples' citizenship experiences and attitudes and the range of factors and influences that can impact on their development. These include contextual characteristics or factors (such as age, gender, ethnicity and family characteristics), the different contexts or "sites" of citizenship education including the school, the family, peer groups, and students' local and wider communities, and the various actors that take part in the (formal and informal) educational processes at these different "sites".

The report suggests possible changes in this interrelationship and its impact on students' development of citizenship dimensions across a number of age ranges and educational stages. Findings suggest that there may be a considerable "dip" in development around Year 10, when students are age 14–15. However, at this stage of the analysis it remains unclear whether these findings are cohort specific, will be replicated in future years, or indeed if such a "dip" exists nationally. This requires further in-depth investigation.

It suggests that policy-makers should:

- Consider the implications for current and future policy in citizenship education of the uneven development of students' citizenship dimensions over time.

2(f) *Quality of Citizenship across all schools including faith schools*

As already underlined, the overall quality of citizenship across all schools, including faith schools, remains uneven, inconsistent and patchy. While there are schools that are developing excellent practice, and making links between citizenship in the curriculum and active citizenship in the school and through links with wider communities, this is not the norm in all schools. There remain a worrying number of schools where citizenship is not a priority and, as a result, where students are not receiving their statutory entitlement to citizenship education in the National Curriculum.

Schools are finding it particularly challenging to deliver the more active components of citizenship and ensure sufficient opportunities for engagement and participation for all students. There is also no one standard delivery approach to citizenship in schools. While there is increased separate curriculum time given to citizenship, often alongside personal social and health education (PSHE), citizenship is also delivered through a range of other approaches including: through other subjects; as a cross-curricular approach; through tutorial and form tutor time; and, through collapsed timetable days and activities. Delivery approaches are dependent on a wide range of factors including ethos and values (a strong factor in faith schools), senior managers understanding of citizenship education and the impact of standards and league tables, among others. The range of approaches means that students are not always aware of when they are being taught citizenship and are not always successful in linking their citizenship learning within schools.

However, the third annual report also highlights that schools, two years after the statutory introduction of citizenship, may already be influencing students' development of citizenship dimensions. There are signs in the report that school experiences can have an influence on students' conceptions of citizenship, their civic knowledge and on their sense of efficacy and empowerment.

2(g) *Debates about Britishness and identity*

Students, teachers and school leaders who have taken part in surveys and case study visits during the Longitudinal Study have made no reference to the impact of debates about Britishness on citizenship policy and practice. However, they have raised broader issues concerning identity and belonging in relation to citizenship. Interestingly, when asked to define citizenship students say that it is more to do with rights and responsibilities and issues of identity and equality than with political literacy and formal political processes. There is insufficient evidence, at present, to say how far this definition is influenced by the way that citizenship is taught in schools (ie students' citizenship experiences in school) or by students' everyday citizenship experiences in communities beyond school. However, a number of points are relevant to such a discussion. They include:

Students demonstrate that they are sophisticated users of the media in accessing information about citizenship issues at national, local and international level. They place most trust in news reports on the TV, less in reports on the radio and show least trust in newspaper reports.

Students' development of citizenship dimensions may be influenced by personal, family and community characteristics. Findings suggest a clear relationship between home literacy resources and feelings of empowerment, levels of trust, engagement, community attachment and commitment to volunteering, participation and political engagement. Differences were also found in attitudes and behaviours between male and female students as well as between those from different ethnic backgrounds.

2(h) *Contribution of Citizenship to Community Cohesion*

Several citizenship surveys at national and international level (notably the IEA Civic Education Study and Longitudinal Study) highlight a persistent minority of students (approximately 5%) in schools who express unlawful and discriminatory attitudes toward minorities, equal opportunities, immigration and new migrants. These attitudes are related to factors beyond school such as family, peer and community influences. More in-depth investigation is required as to what gives rise to such attitudes and how far the introduction of citizenship education in schools can combat them.

However, it should also be noted that the survey reveals that students' sense of belonging and attachment to the different communities in their lives may change over time. It is noticeable in the survey that students' sense of belonging to the school community increases with age in comparison with their attachment to other communities. This suggests that schools and colleges may have a key role to play in providing students with real opportunities to participate and engage through the confines of the school/college community with

which they are most familiar on a daily basis. School leaders and teachers remain positive that citizenship will improve a sense of tolerance and community within schools and increase students' propensity to participate for the good of the communities to which they belong.

Findings suggest a clear relationship between home literacy resources and feelings of empowerment, levels of trust, engagement, community attachment and commitment to volunteering, participation and political engagement.

Findings also hint at differences in attitudes between those from different ethnic backgrounds. For example, Asian students in the sample had the highest levels of student efficacy compared to other groups while Asian and Black students had the most positive views about volunteering compared to other groups. The influence of community and culture on students' attitudes and behaviour, alongside other influences, is something that requires further investigation.

This means that school leaders and teachers and policy-makers need to:

- Consider how the school as a “site” for citizenship impacts on, and is impacted on by, student experiences of other citizenship contexts and sites, such as the local community, family and peers.
- Recognise that schools cannot develop citizenship education in isolation from the social contexts in which they are situated and with which students interact on a daily basis. Schools are but one of a number of interrelated “sites” for the development of citizenship dimensions.

2(i) *Active aspects of the citizenship curriculum*

This is the focus of the Study's fourth annual report, to be published in late April 2006. The report will provide greater details about the type and range of active citizenship opportunities available to young people in their schools and communities and the challenges facing schools in providing such opportunities.

The Study has confirmed, to date, alongside other research evidence, that the linkage between citizenship in the curriculum and active citizenship in the wider school and through links with wider communities is not well developed in schools. Many schools are struggling with the more active aspects of citizenship, particularly the provision of active citizenship in partnership with communities beyond school. They are struggling both in terms of staff confidence and expertise to take these active aspects forward as well as a lack of time, money and resources for such actions, alongside other competing priorities.

It is unclear, as yet, what the impact of the *Every Child Matters: Change for Children* action plan, and the particular outcome making a positive contribution, will be on the development of citizenship education in schools. The *Every Child Matters* agenda provides considerable opportunity to link students' opportunities for participation in schools with those available to them in the wider community and provide continuity and cohesion between the two. It also has the potential to encourage students to reflect on the outcomes of such participation. However, the *Change for Children* action plan is still in its early days of implementation and schools and Local Authorities are still to decide what its impact will be on their policies and practices.

The third annual report highlighted that:

The classroom continues to be a “traditional” teaching and learning environment with methods such as note taking, working from textbooks and listening while the teacher talks taking precedence over discussion and debate and the use of new information and communication technologies (ICT).

Despite this, both teaching staff and students agree that their classrooms have a positive climate with students feeling free to express opinions and to bring up issues for discussion.

Extra-curricular activities, such as school councils and opportunities to raise money for good causes, remain consistently available across school and college settings and school leaders and teachers continue to be supportive of a democratic school ethos. However, the gap between opportunities to participate and student levels of take up remains large, with most schools offering these activities yet only a small proportion of students taking them up.

There is recognition by schools that they are “moderately democratic”. This suggests that the idealism of citizenship as involving equal democratic participation of everyone in a school is giving way to an acceptance that there are limits to participation and democracy in schools.

Schools are strengthening their community links. This may signal a growing realisation among schools that citizenship education involves not just the school, its curriculum and culture/ethos, but also how the school relates to the wider community.

The findings suggest that those working in schools need to:

- Consider whether their institution uses a sufficient range of teaching and learning approaches for citizenship education that encourage active learning approaches.
- Consider how to involve students more fully in the running of schools, beyond school councils, and in negotiation of their teaching and learning experiences.

2(j) *Curriculum design and appropriateness of DfES/other guidance*

The introduction of statutory citizenship education in schools was designed, in part, to improve the “democratic deficit” in society. This was developed through the political literacy strand of the Crick report, which was the new and challenging element of citizenship for schools. The curriculum that followed was designed to be “light touch” in order to ensure that young people had sufficient knowledge and understanding about participation and engagement in the political process at many levels, as well as practical opportunities to experience it first-hand in response to topical citizenship issues in society as they arose. The vision was for students to develop and experience political literacy in action in relation to their everyday citizenship experiences and interests in their schools and wider communities. DfES and other guidance promoted this approach.

However, research evidence from the Longitudinal Study suggests that the political literacy strand of the citizenship curriculum has proved difficult for teachers and students to grasp and take forward. This is related to issues concerning the confidence of teachers in having sufficient subject knowledge to address political literacy topics (such as government, elections and voting), particularly where the subject is taught by non-specialists, as well as the challenges in making such topics interesting and relevant to the lives of young people.

Key findings from the third annual report that address these issues include:

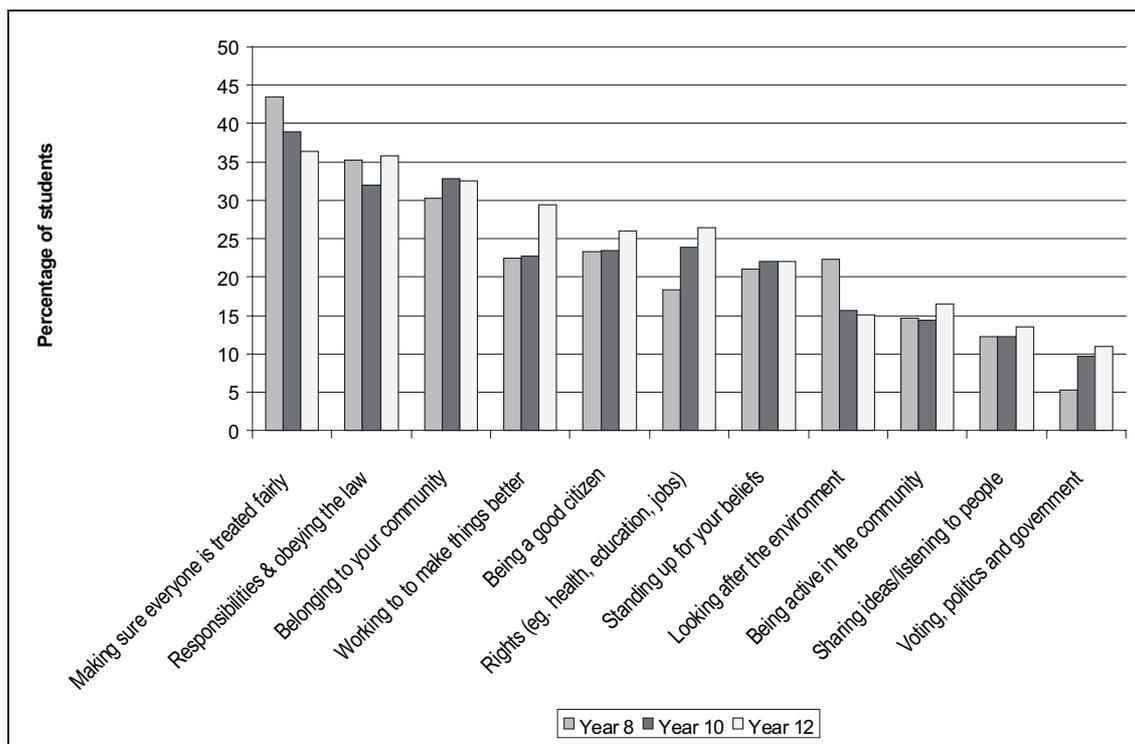
Certain citizenship curriculum topic areas are less likely to be taught than others; in particular, topics such as, voting and elections, the European Union (EU), the economy and business and parliament and governance.

Students continue to report low levels of intention to participate in conventional politics in the future, beyond voting.

Students currently define citizenship as more to do with rights and responsibilities and issues of identity and equality than with political literacy and formal political processes (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 2

MOST COMMON STUDENT DEFINITIONS OF CITIZENSHIP



Students’ citizenship knowledge about political and legal processes and institutions appears to be lower than recorded in the first cross sectional survey in 2002; particularly for students in Year 10. However, this may reflect the nature of the questions posed to students and the subjects taught in schools. The knowledge items in the survey tested knowledge about political and legal processes and institutions, including those concerning voting, political representation and legal rights. These are precisely the citizenship topics that students report they are taught least about.

The findings suggest that policy-makers and those in schools should:

- Ask whether the citizenship education programme offered to students is improving their citizenship knowledge, as well as understanding and skills.
- Support the development of students' citizenship knowledge by focusing on the topics that schools are teaching under the umbrella of citizenship education and the teachers involved in teaching citizenship topics. Take action to ensure that the core knowledge at the heart of citizenship education is being taught in schools.

2(k) *Practice in other countries*

Citizenship education policy and practice has moved on apace in other countries and regions around the world. There are no countries in Europe and few in other regions across the globe that have not either undertaken major reforms of their civic/citizenship curriculum in schools or are planning to undertake such reforms, as part of broader curriculum reviews. England is now viewed as a leading light in initiating policy reform and attempting to bridge the “implementation gap” between policy and practice. Proponents of citizenship policy and practice in England are in high demand to share their experiences with those in other countries via organisations such as the British Council, DfES international division, the Council of Europe, UNESCO and the European Commission.

Indeed, the last two decades has witnessed a fundamental review of the concept of citizenship and what it involves in communities in the United Kingdom (UK), Europe and globally. This review has encompassed countries, communities at local, national and regional levels as well as cross-national organizations such as UNESCO, European Union (EU) and Council of Europe (CoE). A central feature of debates about public education and educational policies has been the increasing stress on the importance of citizenship education. This has led UNESCO, at an International Bureau of Education conference in 2004 to identify “education for active and responsible citizenship” as a priority for action in order to improve the scope and quality of education for all young people. Meanwhile, the Council of Europe launched its “education for democratic citizenship” (EDC) project in 1997, culminating in the designation of 2005 as the *European Year of Citizenship through Education* around the slogan “learning and living democracy”. Not to be outdone, the European Commission has identified the development of European citizenship as a priority area for the EU, and recently launched an action programme, entitled Citizens for Europe, to promote increased civic participation and a stronger sense of citizenship, as well as a scoping study to provide indicators of active citizenship.

This fundamental review of the concept of citizenship has been brought about by the impact of the rapid pace of change in modern societies, in political, economic and social life, and the need to respond. The pace of change is having significant influence on the nature of relationships in modern society at a number of levels, including those between individuals, community groups, states, nations, regions and economic and political blocs. This period of unprecedented and seemingly relentless change has succeeded in shifting and straining the traditional, stable boundaries of citizenship in many societies. A series of major events across the world, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the bombings in America, Bali, Madrid and, more recently, London, the Iraq conflict and the populist revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, has resulted in important social and political changes which have, in turn, triggered considerable discussion and debate. These discussions and debates have raged within and across national, academic, professional and practitioner boundaries.

The cumulative effect has caused experts and policy makers to reflect anew on the meaning and role of citizenship education in the curricula of public educational systems and, in particular, on its influence on the formation and development of democratic, political culture in society. As a result of such reflection, discussions about citizenship education in public education have become enjoined with wider debates about approaches to issues such as human rights, equality, tolerance and social justice. Citizenship education has become strongly linked to contemporary discussions about the pressure of changes on the nature of relationships between differing groups in society as well as those between the individual and the state. Indeed, the pressure has become so great that it has triggered a fundamental review across many societies of the concepts and practices that underpin citizenship.

The review has concentrated on four particular dimensions of citizenship, namely:

- rights and responsibilities;
- access;
- belonging; and
- other identities.

These dimensions are interrelated and have been dubbed by some commentators as the “new dimensions” of citizenship. They are viewed as the dimensions that are most in need of redefinition in modern society. The review has focused, in particular, on how these dimensions should respond to four particular issues concerning citizenship in modern societies. These are the issues associated with:

- diversity—of living in increasingly socially and culturally diverse communities and societies;

- location—of the nation-state no longer being the “traditional location” of citizenship and the possibility of other locations within and across countries, including notions of “European”, “international”, “transnational” or “cosmopolitan” citizenship;
- social rights—of changes in the social dimension of citizenship brought by the impact of an increasingly global economy; and
- participation—of engagement and participation in democratic society at local, national and international levels.

It is not always easy to address these dimensions and issues relating to citizenship because of the inherent tensions between them. However, the review of citizenship has begun to see its traditional boundaries reshaped in order to respond to the rapid pace of change in modern society. The attempts to redefine citizenship have had a considerable knock-on effect on citizenship education. They have triggered and influenced debates about the definition and nature of citizenship education and the role to be played by schools, curricula and teachers, parents and communities. Reshaping citizenship has also meant reformulating citizenship education at the same time. The two go hand in hand. This has been the case in many countries and contexts, including in the United Kingdom (England, Scotland and Northern Ireland in particular) and in Europe (Council of Europe All-European EDC Policy study, 2004; EURYDICE survey, 2005). It is no coincidence that effective, active citizenship education has been included as a fundamental goal of education systems in the curriculum reviews that are underway in many countries. Schools, curricula and teachers have been given a significant role in helping to actively prepare young people for engaging with and participating in modern society.

2006 has seen the IEA launch its third study in citizenship education, the new International Civics and Citizenship Study, as a follow up to the 1999 IEA Cived study. The launch is recognition of the changes in policy and practice in citizenship education that have taken place in many countries and regions across the world since 1999. The Study is expecting a strong participation from European countries. It will be interesting to see whether England participates again given developments. Participation would provide a measure of progress in citizenship education in relation to national results for 1999 as well as in comparison to the results of other participating countries.

3. FINAL COMMENT

It is not the place of the NFER to suggest detailed recommendations to the Select Committee concerning citizenship education. Rather our role is to present the research evidence, to date, in order to strengthen the basis upon which such recommendations can be made. The research findings from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study suggest a number of key considerations for reviewing citizenship education in schools and colleges. These considerations may provide a useful aide-memoire in reviewing the evidence from other submissions. They are:

1. *What is the status of citizenship in my school/college?*

- Is citizenship education considered important in the eyes of managers, teachers and students?
- Do school/college leaders, teachers and students understand the rationale for and benefits of citizenship education?
- Is citizenship education actively supported and promoted across the institution?
- Are there sufficient “citizenship champions” in the institution to take this area forward?
- Are students actively involved in their citizenship learning and developing a student voice across the school/college?

2. *How is citizenship education provision approached in my school/college?*

- Where does your school/college fit in the typology of approaches to citizenship in Figure 1? Is it progressing, focused, implicit or minimalist?
- Is there a clear and coherent understanding of what citizenship education means across the institution?
- Are there links between citizenship in the curriculum and active citizenship developments in the whole school/college and through links with the wider community?

And in particular:

- *in the curriculum:*
 - Does citizenship have a dedicated timeslot and sufficient resources?
 - Are the knowledge and understanding areas associated with political literacy covered as well as other citizenship topics?

-
- *in the school community:*
 - What opportunities are available to students for active participation in school life?
 - How well-organised and led is the school/college council and how does it contribute to the development of a “real” student voice?
 - *in the wider community*
 - What is the state of the partnerships and links between the school/college and the local community?
 - How involved are staff and students in local, national and international communities and links?
3. *What citizenship opportunities are provided for students?*
- Is citizenship a recognisable entitlement for all students and how would they define citizenship, if asked?
 - How coherent are student experiences of citizenship in the curriculum and in the life of the school/college?
 - What opportunities are there for students to be involved in more active approaches based around discussion, reflection and action?
 - How well is the political literacy strand of citizenship covered?
4. *What is the impact of school and other factors on students’ citizenship experiences and development?*
- To what extent does your school/college tailor its citizenship education provision to the needs, interests and experiences of students?
 - How much use is made of students’ “everyday citizenship experiences” in their homes and communities in order to make citizenship relevant to them?
 - Is there a clear strategy for building strong links with local and wider communities beyond the school/college?
 - How far have individuals and groups (including parents) from the local community been involved in the planning and delivery of citizenship?
5. *What factors underpin citizenship developments in my school/college?*
- How far are the factors that underpin the most successful citizenship provision present in my school/college?
 - What is the status and impact of management factors?
 - How far is citizenship developed and supported across the whole institution?
 - To what extent are learning contexts supportive of citizenship in terms of staff expertise, active learning approaches and positive classroom climate?

The research findings should be viewed with caution. It should be remembered that the citizenship education initiative in England is still in its early stages of implementation. The findings from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study remain interim findings at this stage. It is not surprising that they present a picture of uneven and inconsistent practice within and across schools. This does not mean that there is not room for considerable improvement in many areas. However, it would be premature to suggest major changes to the citizenship curriculum until a cohort of young people have experienced statutory citizenship in schools and colleges from age 11–18 and the outcomes of such experience have been fully evaluated, published and reviewed. This will be the case when the final report from the Longitudinal Study is published in 2009.

Finally, we would strongly support the need for research and evaluation to be at the heart of any on-going and future development in citizenship education in England (and in other countries). Research means that we know a lot more about policy and practice in citizenship in schools in England now than in 2001. And by 2009 we will know considerably more than in 2006.

4. FURTHER EVIDENCE

NFER will be pleased to provide further details about the findings and issues raised in this submission. NFER researchers are also happy to contribute to any meetings or sessions convened by the Education and Skills Select Committee should committee members wish to pursue anything further. We also hope that we will have an opportunity to place the latest findings from the Longitudinal Study on Active Citizenship before the Committee once these are publicly available in April. We believe they have a major bearing on the Committee’s activities.

5. ABOUT THE AUTHOR

David Kerr (d.kerr@nfer.ac.uk) is Principal Research Officer at the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales (NFER) and Visiting Professor in Citizenship at Birkbeck College, University of London. He was Professional Officer to the Citizenship Advisory Group chaired by Professor (now Sir) Bernard Crick. The group's final report led to the introduction of citizenship in schools in England in 2002. David is currently leading at NFER a nine-year Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study which began in 2001 and aims to assess the short and long-term effects of the new citizenship courses in schools on young people. The Study has produced a number of influential reports including *Listening to Young People* (2005) and *Making Citizenship Education Real* (2004). He was previously the national research coordinator (England) for the 28 country IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED).

David is active in citizenship networks in Europe. He is currently the UK National Co-ordinator and on the CAHCIT Steering Group of the Council of Europe's Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) project. The Council of Europe has designated 2005 as the European Year of Citizenship through Education. He co-authored the Council's *All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies* (2004) and contributed to the EURYDICE survey *Citizenship Education at School in Europe* (2005) and CIDREE 2005 Yearbook on Citizenship Education. He has led a number of international seminars for the British Council on citizenship and human rights education, both in the UK and abroad, and published widely.

REFERENCES

ⁱ Office for Standards in Education (2005). *Citizenship in Secondary Schools: Evidence from Ofsted Inspections* (2003–04) (HMI 2335) [online]. Available: <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/publications/index.cfm?fuseaction=pubs.summary&id=3822> [15 March, 2005].

ⁱⁱ See also Kerr, D (2004). "How to develop citizenship education in schools: England's results from the IEA Citizenship Education Study", *TOPIC*, Issue 31, [Item 3].

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by British Council

THE "EUROPEAN YOUTH PROGRAMME"; THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH COUNCIL

The British Council was selected by the Department for Education and Skills (on behalf of the four UK Education Departments) to be the UK National Agency for the "European YOUTH Programme" ("YOUTH") 2000–07. The British Council is one of a network of National Agencies in 33 countries including three candidate EU countries—Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria. The UK budget is around £4.5 million and the activities involve over 13,000 young people.

The "YOUTH" Programme is intended to build the active citizenship and employability skills of young people, age 15–25, through non-formal learning activities. These include youth exchanges, European Voluntary Service and youth initiatives in local communities. There are also support measures for youth workers which include contact-making seminars, training courses and feasibility visits. These measures are intended to result in further activities and projects for young people. Within the UK these projects are delivered through a network of regional organisations which are engaged throughout the process. This is regarded as a model of good practice throughout Europe.

A new programme "Youth In Action" will run from 2007–13 which will have the sole purpose of giving young people experiences which will broaden their understanding of citizenship in Europe. Citizenship and diversity are strong aspirations for a united Europe and are reflected in the aims and objectives of this new programme. The new age range extends to 13-year-olds. Methods of delivery and the role of the British Council (as National Agency) are unlikely to change under the new Programme.

1. *Quality of citizenship education*

Under the "YOUTH" Programme citizenship is one of the modules for which formal and informal recognition and accreditation is available for young UK participants. This links the learning outcomes of the "YOUTH" programme to national standards. Recognising non-formal learning through the "YOUTH" programme has been strongly promoted by the European Commission.

2. *Relationship between citizenship education and current debates about identity and Britishness*

The “YOUTH” Programme provides opportunities for youth workers and young people to debate identity and Britishness in a European context.

A good example is a forthcoming UK seminar in June 2006 on “Towards Active Citizenship for Young European Muslims: a guide for leaders” to be organised by the UK Race and Europe Network (UKREN and the Runnymede Trust). The seminar will enable sharing of experiences and practice amongst young Muslims from various European countries who face similar situations in different contexts. The purpose is to empower young people to become leaders within their communities, develop a better understanding of their differences and, also, their commonalities. This will provide a starting point for future youth exchange activity around the topic of active citizenship. The seminar will be a first step towards this further engagement led by the young people themselves. Local youth organisations in Tower Hamlets will be invited to join in. There will be space for reflection on issues around belonging, immigration, identity and change.

According to the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam “Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship.” From 2006 onwards specific training modules in European citizenship for youth workers will be implemented as part of the “YOUTH” and “Youth in Action” programmes. These will enable them to understand explain and implement the European citizenship dimension of projects. It will also provide an opportunity for them to understand and experience the European dimension to their UK identity which is often unrecognised.

3. *Citizenship education’s potential to contribute to community cohesion*

The current “YOUTH” programme feeds into the wider aims and objectives of UK local youth services and a range of local NGOs which cover citizenship, participation, anti-racism and volunteering. Social inclusion is a principal theme of the programme and disaffected young people taking part in these programmes can often experience a life-changing sense of community involvement, thus contributing to improved community cohesion. The programme aims to have a minimum of 60% of participants in exchanges being described as having fewer opportunities. Local links are established which last well beyond the duration of projects and enable young people and their communities to experience a wider international dimension of identity and belonging.

As part of our current collaboration with the Probation Services in London, the Streetbeatz programme for Youth and Police Reconciliation, from May 2006, four young people will undertake brief periods of voluntary service in Poland, Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands to develop active citizenship skills. This will enable them to bring new links to their communities in London and help with the difficult task of developing community cohesion in London.

The programme can also help youth workers in UK communities experiencing high levels of conflict based on cultural/religious, political and racial differences. From 12–18 June 2006 Bradford City Youth Service and the University of Bradford Peace Studies Institute will receive financial support to bring together youth workers from the UK, Ireland, France and Cyprus for training to further develop their skills in managing conflict in multicultural societies. During a six day programme participants will share their experiences and skills and will have contact with a variety of ethnic minority communities which are actively addressing the issue of conflict management. This training will support Bradford Youth Service in its efforts to develop a sense of Britishness with young people in the area and engage them in making a positive contribution to their communities as active citizens.

4. *Implementation of “active” aspects of curriculum ie community involvement*

Under the “YOUTH” Programme and “Youth in Action” Programmes teachers and youth workers are collaborating on exchange visits that increase students and young people’s understanding of what it means to be an active citizen of Europe. The international element can be useful in helping to engage less academic young people.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by Association of Colleges

INTRODUCTION

1. AoC (the Association of Colleges) is the representative body for colleges of further education, including general FE colleges, sixth form colleges and specialist colleges in England, Wales (through our association with fforum) and Northern Ireland (through our association with ANIC). AoC was established in 1996 by the colleges themselves to provide a voice for further education at national and regional levels. Some 98% of the 415-plus general FE colleges, sixth-form colleges and specialist colleges in the three countries are in membership. These colleges are the largest providers of post-16 general and vocational education and training in the UK. They serve over four million of the six million learners participating in post-statutory education and training, offering lifelong learning opportunities for school leavers and adults over a vast range of academic and vocational qualifications. Levels of study range from the basic skills needed to remedy disadvantage, through to professional qualifications and higher education degrees.

2. The key role played by the sector and its 250,000 staff in raising the level of skills and competitiveness of the nation's workforce make colleges central to the Government's national and regional agenda for economic prosperity and social inclusion. AoC works in close partnership with the government and all other key national and regional agencies to assist policy development, continuously to improve quality and to secure the best possible provision for post-16 education and training.

CITIZENSHIP

3. AoC welcomes this opportunity to provide a view on citizenship education for the post-16 sector. In its response to the section in Youth Matters, *Young People as Citizens: Making a contribution*, AoC noted that as this section of Youth Matters responded to the recommendations of the Russell Commission for a national framework for youth action and engagement, the focus was on volunteering rather than citizenship. The broader aspects of citizenship such as young people being able and equipped to have an influence in public life and being engaged with political, social and moral issues in the world around them were not addressed.

4. AoC believes it imperative that young people are equipped through their educational experiences to become informed, responsible and active citizens and recognises the anomaly that mainstream post-16 curricula do not build on the National Curriculum requirement for studying citizenship. We also recognise the relevance of citizenship to Foster's¹⁵ recommendation that the voice of learners should be strengthened throughout the system to make their experience rewarding and successful.

5. The LSDA post-16 Citizenship Development Programme is trialling ways of providing citizenship learning post-16 in response to the second Crick report¹⁶ recommendation that citizenship should be an entitlement for all young people aged 16–19. The findings of an independent NFER evaluation concluded¹⁷ that necessary for success were “dedicated and enthusiastic staff with sufficient resources and development opportunities. Senior management support and a supportive cultural ethos within the institution are also important.”

6. AoC therefore believes that for citizenship post-16 to be effective it must be mainstreamed rather than an optional add-on dependent upon the commitment of senior management. Citizenship must be embedded within the curriculum offer and appropriately resourced and funded.

7. This will require:

- (a) Embedding citizenship within the design and assessment of the 14–19 Specialised Diploma and the proposed project for A level students.
- (b) Further development of representative structures in colleges such as student forums.
- (c) A means of formally recognising related skills and experience young people acquire through part-time work, volunteering, political and campaigning activity etc.
- (d) Addressing delivery of citizenship in post-16 initial teacher training and professional development.
- (e) Disseminating good practice developed on the post-16 Citizenship Development programme.
- (f) Development of resources and events to support delivery of citizenship.

8. AoC has a model in place that enables young people to take advantage of involvement in representative structures to build skills and have them formally recognised. AoC has liaised with NUS and CEL to provide a tailor-made training package which provides young people with the opportunity to network with other student governors. The training package also includes access to a dedicated student

¹⁵ A review of the future role of further education colleges: *Realising the potential* (2005) DfES.

¹⁶ *Citizenship for 16–19-year-olds in education and training* (2000) DfES.

¹⁷ *Taking post-16 citizenship forward, learning from the post-16 citizenship development projects*. Rachel Craig, David Kerr, Pauline Wade and Graham Taylor (2005) DfES.

governor's mailbox, to NUS national briefing documents and to a newly-launched Student Governors' Toolkit. This Toolkit comprises a series of guides and practical exercises to steer students through their role as a student governor. As an incentive to students the training programme is officially accredited through the Open College Network. Students will therefore gain valuable certification alongside recognition for work as a student governor.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by European Parliament

INTRODUCTION TO THE UK OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The UK Office of the European Parliament is part of the secretariat of the European Parliament. Its remit is to raise awareness among the media, civil society and the general public of the work of the European Parliament, and in particular of its role as co-legislator, with the Council of Ministers, in the making of the vast majority of European law affecting all areas of everyday life.

The European Parliament's main interest in Citizenship lies in the political literacy and political engagement strands, which were key concerns behind the establishment of citizenship education.

The European Parliament Office in the UK welcomes your inquiry. We, like others, are concerned at the decline in turnout at elections in the UK. Although participation increased in the most recent European Parliamentary elections in June 2004, the figure was still short of 40% in the UK.

DESIGN OF CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM AND APPROPRIATENESS OF OTHER DFES GUIDANCE

It is apparent from numerous surveys and research projects that knowledge of the EU, its institutions and policies, and how the UK is represented in the making of those policies, is very low. In addition, research conducted by the Electoral Commission suggests that a correlation exists between low levels of knowledge and the propensity to vote.

There is also considerable evidence to suggest a general disaffection among young people with "politics" and the way in which it is conducted. On the other hand, it is clear that young people are often passionately interested in political issues.

The key challenge therefore, as far as political literacy is concerned, would seem to be to find a way of showing how issues such as the environment, which do excite young people, are in fact ultimately political issues, on which elected politicians are called upon to make difficult decisions.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that, particularly as far as the EU is concerned, when citizenship teachers make efforts to meet this challenge they are hampered by a lack of teaching resources and expertise, as well as by a perception of the EU being complicated and boring.

Nevertheless, we believe that it is important to continue efforts to highlight the interconnection between issues, political institutions and the practice of democracy. Indeed, in partnership with other organisations, such as the Hansard Society and the Electoral Commission, the UK Office is working towards the creation of new teaching resources to help alleviate this problem.

Clearly, the place of the European Parliament and of the EU generally in the curriculum should reflect the major law-making role the EU Institutions perform. Modern societies are subject to multiple levels of governance and any consideration of how we are governed would be incomplete without reference to the EU.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

We would concur with the views expressed in a recent article on Global Citizenship published in the *Times Educational Supplement* of 30 September 2005 by the Minister for Europe, Douglas Alexander, who was reported to have stated that he "would like to see more information on the EU's work available to schools." He also pointed out that "[. . .] at whatever level and whatever age, having an understanding of Britain's place in the world—and the place that Europe plays within that—equips children for the world they will encounter tomorrow."

One of the defining characteristics of Britain has always been its tradition of openness: its history as a great maritime and trading nation, its traditions of economic liberalism and of political, religious and racial tolerance are all intimately related to its profoundly international outlook. The UK's membership of the EU is an important aspect of this international outlook.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- That political literacy should continue to be a high priority within citizenship education and that the directly-elected European Parliament and the EU generally should be given due prominence as an integral part of our system of governance.
- That the DfES should consider reviewing and possibly increasing the support and guidance it offers citizenship teachers in the area of the EU in order to ensure that this key aspect of political literacy can be effectively taught.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by The Children's Society

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 As a national voluntary children's organisation, The Children's Society welcomes the opportunity to submit evidence to this inquiry on Citizenship Education. The Children's Society is concerned with the welfare of all children and young people, but especially those who are at risk of social exclusion and discrimination. We have a particular interest in disabled children, looked after children, children in trouble with the law, young refugees, and children and young people at risk on the streets.

1.2 Our organisation works across England and has a well-developed practice base working directly with children and young people in a range of school, community based and specialist projects. Our work with disabled children and young people forms the basis of our submission to this inquiry. The Children's Society is particularly concerned to ensure that the views of disabled children and young people are heard and taken seriously in decisions that affect their lives and in the development of policies, practices and services. This response has been informed by the disabled children and young people that we work with.

1.3 This submission focuses particularly on three aspects of the terms of reference of the inquiry: citizenship education's potential to contribute to community cohesion; the design of citizenship curriculum and the implementation of active aspects of the curriculum.

2. THE POTENTIAL OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION AND THE DESIGN OF THE CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM

2.1 The Children's Society believes that citizenship education has an important part to play in the development of community cohesion and it does this most effectively when it is delivered within the environment of a fully inclusive school. In schools that fully embrace inclusion much attention has been given to raising awareness about disability throughout the whole school community including pupils, teaching staff, governors, lunchtime supervisors, caretakers and parents. This approach is however far from universal. The Children's Society would like to see disability awareness becoming a core component of the citizenship curriculum. We believe this will be of benefit to the whole community and must lead eventually to a shift in the general perception of impairment and disability within society as young people grow up together, learning about one another.

2.2 The Qualification and Curriculum Authority [2003]¹⁸ highlight the importance of PSHE and Citizenship as a curriculum context for exploring attitudes and values, supporting inclusion, challenging discrimination and teaching a respect for diversity. It argues that for this to happen a "whole school approach" is necessary that integrates curriculum provision with school policies and practices. The schemes of work for citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4, published in 2003, includes guidance on citizenship teaching about diversity. It specifically includes requirements to teach about diversity of national, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding. There is evidence from the Ofsted report *Race Equality in Education*¹⁹ that race equality concepts enrich the curriculum as a whole, contribute to effective teaching and learning and support pupil's attainment. Disability equality and awareness is not currently a specific requirement of the citizenship curriculum.

2.3 There has been a range of legislation, policy and guidance relating to children with special educational needs and the Government is committed to embed inclusion in every school and early years settings. The National Curriculum Statement on Inclusion makes it a responsibility of all teachers to plan for diversity. However a lack of training, funding and discriminatory attitudes in many mainstream schools still prevail. The inclusion agenda has had little impact on the proportion of children with special educational needs in mainstream schools or on the range of special educational needs catered for. Ofsted²⁰ reports that there has been little change in the overall numbers of mainstream pupils educated in mainstream schools in the last four to five years and points to a 10% increase in the number of pupils placed at independent special schools

¹⁸ Qualifications and Curriculum Authority [2003] *Respect for All: PSHE and Citizenship*.

¹⁹ Ofsted [2005] *Race Equality in Education: Good Practice in Schools and Local Education Authorities*.

²⁰ Gray P [2002] *Discrimination in Education: A review of literature on discrimination across the 0-19 age range*. London DRC.

since 2001. They noted that over half the schools they inspected were unaware of the reasonable adjustments duty from Part 4 of the Disability Discrimination Act and that accessibility plans that had been produced were predominantly “paper exercises to fulfil a statutory responsibility”.

2.4 A number of UK studies have found that pupils with special educational needs are at higher risk of being bullied or teased [Gray, 2003]¹⁹. Bullying is identified by children and young people that we work with as impacting significantly on their happiness and educational success and as one of the most important issues to tackle in schools. In an ERSC funded study by the University of Edinburgh on the views and experiences of over 300 disabled children, bullying is identified as the main reason why disabled children move from inclusive schooling to special schools.²¹ Research has also identified more subtle forms of discrimination. To combat this Meyer [2001]²² argues there is a need to focus on the development of positive relationships between disabled and non-disabled pupils. The Children’s Society’s work on bullying in schools across Rotherham has demonstrated that bullying can be reduced as a result of disability awareness raising activities.

2.5 Developments in disability awareness in the curriculum internationally, particularly in the USA have preceded developments in the UK. The National Institute for Urban School Improvement [2001]²³ has integrated disability studies into the general curriculum. They state:

“Not only should we include disabled children in our classrooms, we need to incorporate discussions of the meaning and experience of disabilities into the course of study for all children there is much less information about how to teach about the presence of disability in our society than there is to teach about the presence of disabled students in our classrooms”

2.6 In our experience the teaching of disability awareness promotes positive, respectful and nurturing relationships, familiarity and understanding and reduces fear and rejection. We know that disabled children and young people want above all else to belong and participate in community life. Disabled children and young people emphasised this point in The Children’s Society’s award winning Ask Us Initiative.²⁴

“We want to do what other children do
We want to go where other children go
We want to be part of our community not apart from it”

3. IMPLEMENTATION OF “ACTIVE” ASPECTS OF THE CURRICULUM

3.1 The Children’s Society particularly welcomes the new duties in the Disability Discrimination Act 2005, which place on schools the requirement to produce disability equality schemes. This has the potential to encourage the promotion of positive attitudes within the school and wider community through ensuring that educational programmes, anti-bullying strategies, and citizenship activities have an explicit focus on disability equality. We believe it is a matter of urgency that schools develop a greater awareness of both the existing and new DDA duties. Schools have the opportunity to use the “active” aspects of the citizenship curriculum to facilitate the involvement of pupils in the development and evaluation of their school’s disability equality scheme.

3.2 The importance of taking the views, wishes and feelings of children and young people into account in relation to decisions about their care and education is clearly reflected in a range of legislation, regulation and guidance including the SEN Code of Practice; Removing Barriers to Achievement; The National Service Framework for Children and Young People [Standard 3]; The Children Act 1989 and 2004 and *Every Child Matters*. Despite this plethora of good intentions the experience of many disabled children and young people is that they are rarely consulted and involved in decisions about their education or the development of services. In our experience many children and young people with communication impairments are not involved in the development of their personal educational plan, not invited to their transition planning meeting and often not consulted about changes of school. The Progress on Safeguards for Children Living Away from Home Report²⁵ found that in schools children are not systematically consulted on matters which affect them and many authorities are failing to meet their duties particularly in relation to young people with communication impairments or complex needs. Against this backdrop the active aspects of the citizenship curriculum could have an important role to play in ensuring disabled and non disabled pupils can contribute to the development and monitoring of disability equality schemes within their schools.

3.3 School councils have an important role to play in the life of schools and young people’s experiences of democratic processes and practices. Where they are effective they can meet some of the active requirements of the National Curriculum for citizenship and at the same time promote inclusive cultures, policies and practices. We know from our experience of developing school councils in both mainstream and

²¹ The “Lives of Disabled Children” Colin Barnes, Marian Corker, Sarah Cunningham-Burley, John Davis, Mark Priestley, Tom Shakespeare and Nick Watson. ESRC’s Research Programme on Children 5–16: Growing into the 21st Century.

²² Meyer, L H The Impact of Inclusion on Children’s Lives: Multiple Outcomes and Friendship in Particular. *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education*. 48 [1] 9–13.

²³ National Institute for Urban School Improvement [2001].

²⁴ Ask Us The Children’s Society 2001.

²⁵ Progress on Safeguards for children Living Away from Home: a review of action since People Like Us. Stuart and Baines Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2004.

special schools, disabled pupils can work alongside their non-disabled peers in influencing change in the school environment and develop a sense of empowerment and ownership from their involvement. However to be fully inclusive, flourish and succeed in achieving their goals school councils must be embedded in whole school policies and practices which foster respect for the views of students and staff.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by The Mayor of London

SUMMARY

1. Citizenship education should be based around a definition of citizenship that has at its core realizing the potential of all citizens no matter what their background. The education should be linked to local community initiatives and reflect how different individuals experience living in Britain and emphasize that difference is a strength.

MAYOR OF LONDON

2. Under the 1999 Greater London Authority Act, the Mayor has a range of specific powers and duties, and a general power to do anything that will promote economic and social development, and environmental improvement, in London.

3. While the Greater London Authority (GLA) is not a direct provider of educational or children's services, education is of vital strategic importance to the GLA's responsibilities for economic development, regeneration and social inclusion. To ensure London's economic development, the employment needs of business require high levels of achievement across the London school system. The quality and future of education are major concerns of the citizens the Mayor represents.

4. The Mayor's Children and Young People's Strategy (CYPS)—*Making London Better for All Children and Young People* (2004) contains policies and action points for the GLA and functional bodies²⁶ to better promote children's well-being, inclusion and rights in areas of education alongside social care, health, transport, planning and culture.

5. This evidence paper only responds to the appropriate terms of reference outlined in the Committee's call for evidence where there is a clear link to the Mayor's roles and functions.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

6. In the GLA's response to Home Office *Strength in Diversity*²⁷ the importance of identity and diversity in modern Britain was emphasized. The Department of Constitutional Affairs' (DCA) research study²⁸ found that students from all year groups associate citizenship more with rights and responsibilities and issues of identity and equality.

7. London is a diverse and cosmopolitan city of people from different backgrounds; its seven million people encompass 14 faiths and 300 languages. Definition of citizenship, therefore, is crucial for London because of its diverse and complex patterns of migration and settlement along with the impact of globalisation. London's demography shows first, second, third generation black, Asian and minority ethnic communities, refugees, asylum seekers, migrants and a transient workforce. Citizenship has some difficult connotations for children of these groups particularly if citizenship is tied up in British citizen status and rights.

8. The Mayor believes it central to the debate that a definition of citizenship is developed. A citizen of London is considered by the Mayor as an individual with rights and responsibilities where their diversity is a strength, they have respect for difference, with a core value of inclusion whatever faith, gender, race, disability or sexuality, everyone should be able to live their lives free from discrimination. The Mayor says "No-one should have any advantage over another except the ones they create for themselves through their talent and hard work".

²⁶ GLA group functional bodies are the London Development Agency, London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority, Metropolitan Police Authority and Transport for London.

²⁷ GLA's response to Home Office consultation document, *Strength in Diversity* September 2004.

²⁸ Citizenship education: a comparative review and evaluation of citizenship education initiatives in Commonwealth countries and Eastern Europe and their impact on civic engagement and participation, DCA 2004.

ROLE OF ALL PUBLIC BODIES IN CITIZENSHIP

9. The Mayor would support the notion that all public bodies should be required to meet a duty of public involvement in their decision and policy-making processes.²⁹ In terms of children and young people, the Mayor's policy (in his Children and Young People's Strategy) is to "promote the systematic participation of young Londoners in decision-making in all areas of their lives"³⁰. The school is and should be a key community resource in the locality and therefore its role should be considered beyond delivering the school curriculum.

IMPLEMENTATION OF "ACTIVE" ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM—IE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND IN THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOL

10. All schools have a duty to promote race equality and community cohesion through the implementation of the Race Relations Amendment Act (RRAA) 2000. There is a specific duty to take proactive steps to tackle racial discrimination, and promote equality of opportunity and good race relations. Given London's diversity this should be a key component of citizenship education.

11. Schools need to recognize their role as one of the key delivery agencies involved in a range of community initiatives including safer neighborhoods, anti-social behavior plans, community education, and the Government's neighborhood agenda. Schools could also be the home of democracy hubs. The idea developed by the Power Commission to have resource centers based in the community where people can access information and advice and "navigate their way through the democratic system."³¹

12. Developing this role would help schools deliver a more effective citizenship programme within the curriculum. It would also help define the continuity of citizenship education from primary to post-16 education. There needs to be proper capacity building available to schools and for local people to engage in this way.

13. Policy and decision makers that affect lives need to ensure they set up mechanisms, which facilitate engagement with schools and young people. For example:

- the GLA has developed a regional infrastructure of participation and involvement with young Londoners, which includes: the Mayor's Young London Website, with interactive discussion boards on issues such as safety³².
- The Mayor has set up a Young London Network, with Government Office for London, to better coordinate initiatives and opportunities for young people to have their say and influence London government decision-making.
- The Mayor and London Assembly has developed a highly-popular Schools Information Pack, with over 20,000 requested by London schools.
- The GLA has linked with schools across London, offering tangible resources and activities, and real opportunities for pupils to become active citizens.

These developments are a result of extensive consultation including one thousand children making online questionnaire responses to the Mayor's consultation on his draft Children's Strategy mostly through ICT and citizenship classes. They also support London pupils to meet the DfES London Challenge "Student Pledge" and GLA developments will continue in line with the new "Youth Matters" agenda.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

14. "A well resourced programme of engaging young people in the decision making process affecting their communities should be established" was a key recommendation of the Cante Report (2001)³³ in relation to addressing "disaffected youth" in several Northern towns which had experienced disorder.

15. The report argued for the production of a Community Cohesion Strategy which should embrace the school citizenship curriculum, so as to ensure a stronger linkage between school-based programmes (and outreach work), the voluntary sector and the various statutory services.

16. In September 2003 in response to the Home Office launch of Community Cohesion Pathfinders the GLA commented:

"It is really important that social or community cohesion is not seen as the next new initiative that overrides or takes precedence over existing initiatives. There is a danger of this as most people are not clear as to what is meant as by social or community cohesion and start to develop special projects in response."

²⁹ Power to the People. The Report Of Power: An Independent Inquiry Into Britain's Democracy, Joeseeph Rowntree Trust 2006.

³⁰ Mayor of London, Making London Better for All Children and Young People, GLA, 2004.

³¹ Power to the People. The Report Of Power: An Independent Inquiry Into Britain's Democracy, Joeseeph Rowntree Trust 2006.

³² www.london.gov.uk/young-london

³³ Ted Cante, Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team, Home Office, 2001.

17. Here lies the dilemma, trying to have the debate and discussion with public agencies to ensure there is a common understanding that community cohesion should be an objective of all initiatives and programmes that are operating in diverse communities.

18. Community cohesion should not be seen in isolation but part of a broad palette of policy, funding measures, initiatives and programmes. For the GLA, and this will apply nationally, celebrating diversity and promoting equality are very important for London but are meaningless unless the complex issues and inter-relationship of diversity, equality, disadvantage and exclusion are addressed.

19. This was reinforced in the response to the Home Office consultation on community cohesion, *Strength in Diversity* (2004), where the Mayor developed the argument:

“London’s experience is that the threats to good community relations lie much less in difference between people’s own cultural outlooks or values, than in differences between them in their real life-chances, deprivation and shortfalls in local services, combined with a political climate which does more to foster resentment between them than to encourage mutual support and understanding. These are all factors which public policy can and must tackle.”

20. The response also highlighted the need to properly understand the extent and complexity of disadvantage and deprivation for London in order to acknowledge the scale of public policy intervention that is required to make any demonstrable change.

21. This understanding of community cohesion should underpin citizenship education across primary, secondary, tertiary and community education sectors.

QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

22. Citizenship education is in place and has been linked to civil renewal programme for post-16 education with three elements of active citizenship, strengthened communities and partnerships in meeting public needs.

23. The links need to be further strengthened with other government programmes to ensure all aspects of citizenship, as experienced by different groups, are drawn upon. For example there are already programmes to strengthen local communities such as £525 million to London’s 10 New Deal for Communities partnerships. A dimension of this programme should be earmarked for citizenship education so that young people are informed and skilled up to participate more effectively in their communities. In time citizenship education delivered in school will prepare people to be active, involved stakeholders in their communities.

24. More needs to be done to link the theoretical to the lived experience and local action. The Mayor would agree with the finding in the DCA strategy of an implementation gap between the vision of the policy makers, as laid out by the Citizenship Advisory Group and in various curriculum frameworks for citizenship education, and the ability of those in schools and colleges to understand, act upon and own that vision in practice.³⁴

25. The Mayor supports the proper training and certification of teachers to deliver citizenship education. There needs to be consistency of quality and delivery of citizenship education from Key Stages 2–4. Ofsted inspections in 2002 found that the implementation of the new subject of citizenship was unsatisfactory in over half the schools inspected. More recent analysis still found the subject was being taught and delivered in different ways and there was very little systematic support or initial in-service training for teachers.³⁵ Huddleston argues that for citizenship education to be effective and relevant to children and young people so that they become active and engaged in the democratic process there needs to be a paradigm shift³⁶ in the concept and teaching practices for citizenship. This can only be achieved if teachers are properly trained in citizenship education.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by National Union of Students

1. NUS (National Union of Students) is a voluntary membership organisation comprising a confederation of local student representative organisations in colleges and universities throughout the United Kingdom that have chosen to affiliate. We have nearly 750 constituent members—virtually every college and university in the country. NUS represents the interests of around five million students in further and higher education throughout the United Kingdom. It provides research, representation, campaign work, training and expert advice for individual students and students’ unions.

³⁴ DCA Research findings (p 15).

³⁵ Teacher training in citizenship education: training for a new subject or a new kind of subject. T Huddleston, *Journal of Social Science Education* 2005.

³⁶ as above.

 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2. Further Education (FE) is an important forum for citizenship education as there are over four million students studying in FE colleges, and nearly half of all A levels are taken within this environment rather than in schools. However, NUS believes that, despite development projects and best practice publications, colleges have failed to implement the citizenship agenda within their institutions. While some colleges have an excellent system of supporting and developing “whole college citizenship” through students’ unions, there is great inconsistency within the sector. Some colleges have no system of student representation at all, whilst others vary in quality.

This was recognised by both the Foster Review into Further Education, and the recent Further Education Reform White Paper, which both advocate increased student representation within FE colleges. NUS has great expertise in supporting and leading this kind of cultural change, and is ready and willing to support the Government’s objectives for learner representation.

3. The Government’s recommendations on learner representation will improve the quality and responsiveness of FE education, but they are equally important for citizenship education. This is because they are essential in fostering a sense of citizenship amongst students. NUS firmly believe that the best form of citizenship education is experiencing citizenship in action. Students can only develop a true appreciation of the importance of citizenship if they are part of an institution where people debate and decide together, and where they are given the opportunity for proper input into the decision-making process. The report of the government advisory group on citizenship, “Citizenship for 16–19-Year-Olds in Education and Training” (2000), describes active citizens as people who are “willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life.”³⁷ This is exactly the type of person that student representation will create within FE, once the required funding and training is in place.

4. The report also identified a number of other skills that are essential for citizenship development. Students’ unions actively develop many of these key skills. The democratic nature of student representation promotes “an understanding of the rights and responsibilities associated with a particular role.”³⁸ Through their policy-making and campaigning functions, students’ unions allow students to “apply a framework of moral values relevant to a particular situation.”³⁹ Campaigns and volunteering activities equip students with “an understanding of, and respect for, cultural, gender, religious, ethnic and community diversities.”⁴⁰ Liberation campaigning and the equal opportunities statement that forms part of a students’ union’s constitution helps “combat prejudice and discrimination.”⁴¹ Student representatives generally, and student governors in particular, learn to “assess risk and uncertainty when making a decision.”⁴² Clearly, strengthening the role of students’ union and student representation within FE colleges will have an enormous impact on improving Citizenship Education.

5. FE is also potentially a young person’s first experience of democracy. Before they even reach the official voting age of 18, they can get involved in students’ union elections, either as a candidate or as a voter, and in selecting other forms of student representatives, such as class representatives. As the White Paper’s recommendations are put into practice, this will increasingly become the case. This clearly has huge potential for citizenship education. If a college has a vibrant and dynamic students’ union or student representation system, a student will experience the benefit of democracy and this is crucial in embedding a positive attitude towards political participation. This could well encourage continued participation in the future. However, at the moment there are many colleges who actively discourage democratic activity amongst their students by failing to have students’ union elections, or insufficiently advertising elections within their institution.

6. NUS also believe that lowering the voting age to 16 would be highly beneficial for citizenship education. Research has shown that voting behaviour is strongly affected by the start of the process. The more you have voted in the past, the more likely you are to vote in the future. The fact that older people turn out to vote much more than younger people suggests that there is a strong argument for starting the process earlier. The Social Market Foundation has shown there is a “birth effect” in voting, with those who have turned 18 just before a general election being much more likely to vote than those who have to wait another four or five years. Clearly, with citizenship education and students’ unions in place, young people could be supported by their FE college to participate in elections. As FE colleges have a disproportionately high number of students from ethnic or low socio-economic background, this would undoubtedly benefit such communities, where turnout is lowest.

7. Paragraph 3.14 of the FE White Paper emphasises the important role of volunteering in promoting active citizenship amongst students. Volunteering is beneficial for the students themselves in terms of developing their sense of belonging to and responsibility for the local community. Equally important, however, is the overspill effect for the wider community. As students get involved in volunteering projects that support or mentor other young people in the community, both the student and those they are mentoring can begin to develop a sense of active citizenship.

³⁷ Further Education Funding Council, *Citizenship for 16–19-Year-Olds in Education and Training* (2000), p 3, para 1.4.

³⁸ *Citizenship for 16–19-Year-Olds*, p 17, para 5.12.

³⁹ *Citizenship for 16–19-Year-Olds*, p 17, para 5.12.

⁴⁰ *Citizenship for 16–19-Year-Olds*, p 17, para 5.12.

⁴¹ *Citizenship for 16–19-Year-Olds*, p 17, para 5.12.

⁴² *Citizenship for 16–19-Year-Olds*, p 17, para 5.12.

8. However, the Russell Commission Report on Volunteering (2005) revealed that volunteering activity within colleges is low and is not perceived as important. Our own survey of FE students' unions showed that over half do not have any student clubs or societies, and 77% did not offer volunteering opportunities during 2005, the Year of the Volunteer. This is partly explained by the fact that most colleges fail to give student officers their own office space where they can provide services and offer advice on activities, such as volunteering, to other FE students. In addition, many colleges have failed to fulfil the legal requirement of the 1994 Education Act to review the Students' Union Constitution every five years. This is a missed opportunity because the institutions who have done so have adopted the Association of Colleges/NUS FE Student Union Constitution, which contains the position of Student Activities Officer and the opportunity to start clubs and societies. Student Volunteering England states that opportunities for volunteering within FE are directly linked to the existence of a functioning and well-funded student union infrastructure. NUS therefore believes that the kind of "learner voice" representation recommended by Foster and in the White Paper will become the means to grow and nurture active volunteering amongst FE students.

9. NUS also believes that Black and minority ethnic students stand to gain enormously from these proposals. The strengthening of the "learner voice" is critical in raising achievement and participation levels among this group of students, who are widely under-represented in democratic and consultative forums, even in places where they should constitute a majority. The proposals from NUS will see a focused effort to engage Black and minority ethnic students in representative structures through targeted support, which will include confidence-building and skills training.

RECOMMENDATIONS

10. *Statutory Requirement*

In order for student representation to be taken seriously and become fully embedded into the FE environment, there should be a requirement for FE colleges to collect learners' views in a consistent and systematic way. The White Paper says that the Government will "introduce measures that put learners and employers in the driving seat in determining what is funded and how services are delivered." (p 7) For this to succeed, it is vital that college corporations and their senior management teams actively support learner representation by implementing course representative structures, student committees and authentic student involvement in their corporation boards. Adequate funding is also crucial. NUS looks forward to working with the Government to ensure that these recommendations become a reality. We believe that allowing students to have a say in decision that impact their education will encourage their development as active citizens.

11. *A Minimum of Two Student Governors*

Student governors have continually reported to NUS that they feel more confident having another student member in the room, and this is the only way to ensure that the "student voice", part of the moral ownership of a college, is not swamped by sheer numbers. The Government has accepted this argument, and the FE White Paper states: "We expect learners to play a key role in institutional governance, with each governing body including at least two learner governors." (para 3.12)

12. *Monitoring*

We welcome proposals in the FE White Paper for Ofsted to monitor mechanisms for learner representation in institutions. This should include the monitoring of resources for students' unions and councils, whether institutions are organising elections, and appropriate training of elected representatives.

13. *Training*

Active and effective student governors or student representatives do not materialise out of thin air. They need to be trained, developed and mentored in order to reach their full potential, with this training being provided from the level of course representatives upwards. NUS Scotland runs a successful scheme entitled SPARQS which trains class representatives, and NUS would like to roll out this programme throughout the rest of the UK. This was acknowledged in the FE White Paper, which states: "Working with the Centre for Excellence in Leadership, the Association of Colleges and the National Union of Students we will extend the successful national scheme of support for learner representatives." (para 3.13) NUS looks forward to implementing this, and believes it will create an effective and empowered group of student representatives, and also form an important part of citizenship education.

14. *Funding*

In order to fulfil the role of promoting student representation and volunteering, and thereby providing a direct form of citizenship education, students' unions need to be adequately funded. Within FE, students' unions are funded on average with a mere 0.02% of the college block grant. In addition, many students' unions receive no funding at all! NUS believe that the absolute minimum should be 0.05% of the block grant. It doesn't sound like much, but this minimum level of funding could transform the work of students' unions, allowing them to run active and vibrant campaigns and engage with their students' to a much greater degree.

15. *The Right of Appeal*

NUS believes that within post-16 learning, students should be active decision-makers and equal stakeholders within an educational institution. This should apply to appeals procedures. Colleges should make arrangements for appeals procedures concerning disciplinary and academic matters, and also the withholding of Educational Maintenance Allowance. Learners should be fully involved in drafting these procedures, and should also be part of the panel considering the appeals.

16. *Reduce the voting age to 16*

Within FE, we are hoping to develop an adult environment with active “citizens” involved in decision-making. It would seem an anomaly to be empowering students to take an active role in decision that affect their education, and yet deny them the opportunity to vote on a national scale. Having the right to vote will also make citizenship education much more pertinent and effective.

17. *Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA)*

NUS is amazed that many students are denied the opportunity to take part in citizenship activities, such as lobbies of Parliament, because of the threat of losing their EMA. Whilst it is left to the discretion of local panels of providers to decide what constitutes an “authorised absence”, the Department of Education and Skills produces guidance on what can generally be included in this category. The fact that citizenship/representative activity is not included in the list means that many local authorities do not consider it as an authorised absence. NUS is campaigning for this guidance to be changed, so that it includes an explicit reference that citizenship activities can be considered as authorised absences.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by NASUWT

1. NASUWT believes that the citizenship curriculum must be “fit for purpose”. To this end, the Union advocates four key criteria which should be applied in relation to the citizenship curriculum; as follows:

- (i) Workload impact
 - Does the curriculum avoid the imposition of additional workload burdens on schools and teachers through effective design of content, teaching methods or assessment systems?
- (ii) Capacity for teaching and learning
 - Does the design of the curriculum support the principles of the remodelling agenda by ensuring that teachers are able to concentrate on their core responsibilities for teaching and learning? Does the curriculum ensure that teachers do not have to undertake responsibilities that could be more appropriately carried out by other members of the school workforce?
- (iii) Raising standards
 - Does the curriculum support the work of teachers to raise standards and provide high-quality learning opportunities for all pupils?
- (iv) Pupil motivation
 - Does the curriculum provide a learning context that will have a positive impact on pupils’ motivation and behaviour?

In respect of the citizenship curriculum, NASUWT believes that establishing the extent to which these criteria are met is essential if an effective assessment of the role of citizenship in the National Curriculum is to be undertaken.

KEY CRITERIA: WORKLOAD

- NASUWT has concerns about the place of citizenship education in an “overloaded” National Curriculum framework. As more subjects have been added into the curriculum the time available to teach has been condensed and the space for learning overly congested.
- The introduction of the citizenship curriculum has had some identifiable workload implications for teachers, including timetabling changes, the completion of curriculum audits and the recording and tracking of pupils.
- In some schools there have been pressures to lengthen the school day as a solution to an overburdened National Curriculum. In NASUWT’s view, the curriculum should be rationalised to ensure that it is coherent and “fit for purpose” and does not lead to the worsening of teachers’ working conditions through increases in their workload burdens.
- The QCA review of Key Stage 3 and 14–19 provision provides an opportunity to revise and rationalise the National Curriculum at Key Stages 3 and 4. NASUWT is in favour of a streamlined, coherent and cohesive curriculum framework, where the delivery of the citizenship curriculum does not create additional workload burdens for teachers.

- A wide range of curriculum models have been used to deliver citizenship education and can lead to additional work for teachers, who are required to audit the existing curriculum to identify links. The co-ordination and management of citizenship across the curriculum requires substantial organisation and administration which detracts from the time available for teaching and learning. In NASUWT's view, there is a need for clear, transparent guidance on the location and best models of delivery for citizenship education.

KEY CRITERIA: CAPACITY FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING

- Any review of citizenship education should comply with the provisions of the National Agreement "Raising Standards and Tackling Workload".
- Assessment methods should be "fit for purpose" and allow teachers to concentrate on their core responsibilities for teaching and learning. The current review of Key Stages 3 and 4 of the National Curriculum should avoid an overly bureaucratic approach to pupil assessment to ensure that it does not significantly increase the workload burdens for teachers.
- The remodelling agenda provides opportunities for schools to use other members of the school's workforce to organise citizenship education that takes place outside the "formal" classroom environment.

KEY CRITERIA: RAISING STANDARDS

- The time and space available for citizenship education has been affected by the distorting effects of a "high-stakes" accountability system based on school performance tables.
- citizenship is often seen as a "bolt-on" to the rest of the National Curriculum, rather than being fully integrated.
- Trade unionism should be included as part of the citizenship curriculum.
- Teachers have the right to receive effective support in the teaching of citizenship. While some local authorities provide excellent resources, there is a need for citizenship teachers to have consistent access to high-quality CPD.
- NASUWT welcomes the development of specialist ITT and PGCE courses in citizenship, which provide essential support for teachers delivering this curriculum area.
- There are positive reports about the quantity and quality of resource materials to support citizenship education, although some teachers report that there are fewer resources available for less able pupils.

KEY CRITERIA: PUPIL MOTIVATION AND BEHAVIOUR

- There is insufficient research available to comment on the effects of the citizenship curriculum on pupil motivation and behaviour. This is a significant concern and one that needs to be tackled as a matter of urgency.
- If citizenship is to make a positive contribution to tackling disaffection, it is important that more work is undertaken to understand the perceptions of the subject amongst teachers and learners.

BACKGROUND

2. NASUWT welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the Education and Skills Select Committee Inquiry into Citizenship Education.

3. NASUWT is the largest union representing teachers and headteachers throughout the UK.

4. NASUWT has members in post-16, secondary, primary and special education. Members of the Union are active in identifying issues and concerns around curriculum design, delivery and assessment and how these interact with teachers' terms and conditions. Issues, concerns and good practice identified by members have informed this evidence.

The role of citizenship in the modern curriculum

5. NASUWT welcomed the introduction of citizenship as a statutory National Curriculum subject in September 2002. NASUWT believes it is essential that young people develop an understanding of their rights and entitlements as citizens, and an appreciation of the political, economic and social contexts in which they operate at local, national and global levels. citizenship education enables teachers to address many of the complex issues surrounding individuals' rights and responsibilities in society, through the exploration of identity, belonging, diversity, human rights, democracy, democratic participation and global issues.

6. The citizenship curriculum provides pupils with an opportunity to express and examine their own views and attitudes, and develop important skills, which are not addressed in the same way in other National Curriculum subjects.

7. Citizenship has an important place in the modern curriculum. However, NASUWT has some concerns about the emphasis in the citizenship curriculum and the different approaches that have been developed in the UK. The citizenship curriculum in England defined by the Crick Advisory Group⁴³ in 1997 covers three broad themes:

- social and moral responsibility;
- community involvement; and
- political literacy.

In Wales, citizenship is delivered through the statutory PSE curriculum and focuses on “empowering pupils to be active, informed and responsible citizens aware of their rights and committed to the practices of participative democracy and the challenges of being a citizen of Wales and the world.”⁴⁴ In Northern Ireland, there is a strong emphasis on developing a “culture of tolerance” through citizenship education. In other European countries, citizenship refers specifically to equality, social justice or participatory democracy. In NASUWT’s view, an approach that emphasises empowerment, participation and citizens’ rights in a democracy is preferable to the current definition of citizenship as used in the National Curriculum in England which focuses on the duties that citizens “owe” to society, for example to vote in elections.

8. The inclusion of identity and notions of “Britishness” is important but makes citizenship a challenging area for teachers to teach. Definitions of “Britishness” are complex and there is a danger that this concept could be interpreted as denoting a fixed “British identity”. NASUWT believes that a curriculum which seeks to explore notions of “Britishness” and “identity” should be clear, transparent and capable of being delivered by teachers. Appropriate resource materials are needed to assist teachers’ delivery of this complex and contested area.

The citizenship Curriculum: Key Criteria

9. NASUWT believes that the citizenship curriculum must be “fit for purpose”. To this end, the Union advocates four key criteria which should be applied in relation to the citizenship curriculum; as follows:

- (i) workload impact;
- (ii) capacity for teaching and learning;
- (iii) raising standards; and
- (iv) pupil motivation.

KEY CRITERIA: WORKLOAD

An overloaded National Curriculum

10. citizenship became a statutory National Curriculum subject at Key Stages 3 and 4 in September 2002, with a curriculum entitlement at Key Stages 1 and 2. While the concept of citizenship education is welcome, NASUWT has concerns about the place of citizenship in an overburdened National Curriculum framework. NASUWT supports the provision of a broad and balanced National Curriculum which does not add to the workload burdens of teachers. However, all too often, additional content has been added to the National Curriculum with no corresponding reduction in the size and volume of the rest of the curriculum. This means that the time available to “teach” the required curriculum has become increasingly condensed, with consequent pressures on teachers and pupils.

11. The introduction of citizenship as a statutory National Curriculum subject has had workload implications for teachers, including timetabling adjustments, the completion of curriculum audits to identify where citizenship is taking place, preparation time for the delivery of a new subject, additional assessments at all Key Stages, and the recording, tracking and reporting of pupils achievements, combined with additional work for Ofsted inspections and the production of SEFs.

12. In some schools, there have been pressures to lengthen the school day as a solution in an overloaded National Curriculum. In NASUWT’s view, these pressures should be addressed by rationalising the curriculum to ensure that it is coherent and “fit for purpose” and that it does not lead to the worsening of teachers’ working conditions.

QCA curriculum review

13. NASUWT notes that the QCA is currently engaged in a debate about the contours of a “modern world-class” curriculum for the future. This includes a review of the 14–19 curriculum and Key Stage 3, following on from publication of the *14–19 Education and Skills White Paper* (2005). The review will address important issues about the content and design of the future curriculum. While NASUWT supports work to

⁴³ Advisory Group on “*Education for citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*” 1997. Chaired by Professor Bernard Crick.

⁴⁴ Eurydice “citizenship education at school in Europe: Country reports” 2005 page 3.

ensure that citizenship is not perceived as a “bolt-on” in an already “overfilled” framework, the Union also believes that a period of stability and consolidation is required, with minimal changes being made to ensure that teachers’ workloads are not adversely affected and to minimise disruption to teaching and learning.

14. NASUWT believes that it is essential for any review of citizenship education to comply with the provisions of the National Agreement *Raising Standards and Tackling Workload*. The curriculum review should seek to bring downward pressure on the working hours of teachers, cut unnecessary bureaucracy and reduce the level of prescription. These curriculum design features would reflect fully the objectives of the National Agreement and the New Relationship with Schools agenda.

Assessment

15. The DfES’S and QCA’s⁴⁵ proposed “menu” of assessment methods for citizenship, including portfolios, peer assessment and participation logs, and the use of in-school levelling processes to ensure the consistency of assessments, also raises concerns about the workload implications for teachers. While teachers use all these assessment methods, it is NASUWT’s view that teachers should be encouraged to use their professional judgement when making decisions about appropriate assessment tools. Assessment should be “fit for purpose” and allow teachers to focus on their core responsibilities of teaching and learning. In any review of the citizenship curriculum an overly bureaucratic approach to pupil assessment should be avoided to ensure that this does not significantly increase the workload burdens of teachers, and, thereby, undermine educational standards.

Modes of delivery

16. A wide range of curriculum models⁴⁶ have been used to deliver citizenship, including stand-alone, discrete subject timetabling, integration with PSHE, delivery through other related curriculum areas such as humanities and RE, and suspended timetable activities. This wide variety of potential delivery models for citizenship education can lead to additional workloads for teachers. This problem is exacerbated by the requirement for teachers to audit the curriculum to identify where citizenship is already being delivered and might “fit” as a stand-alone subject.⁴⁷

17. The co-ordination and management of citizenship across the curricula, the assessment of pupils and the recording and tracking of their achievements requires substantial organisation and administration on the part of schools. This process can be time-consuming, and detracts from the time available for teaching and learning. Similarly, time spent justifying schools’ “choices” in relation to citizenship education merely in order to satisfy Ofsted inspectors or to inform the completion of the school’s SEF further exacerbates time and workload pressures.

18. In NASUWT’s view, for the curriculum to be “fit for purpose” there is a need for clear, transparent guidance on the location and best models for delivery of citizenship education in the National Curriculum framework.

KEY CRITERIA: CAPACITY FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING

19. The choice of location of the citizenship curriculum can lead to teachers spending a disproportionate amount of time auditing the existing curriculum to identify where citizenship is already taught and developing separate timetabled sessions to ensure its delivery. The time spent on the practical organisation of the citizenship curriculum detracts from the time that citizenship teachers should be allocating to the delivery of the curriculum. Clear and transparent guidance on the location and delivery of citizenship education is required to maximise the time available for teachers to undertake their core responsibilities for teaching and learning.

20. The National Agreement contractual changes and implementation of the remodelling agenda in schools has prompted many schools to revise their curriculum practice and the organisation of teachers’ work. This has produced many positive benefits for pupils as well as for teachers and their schools; in particular by creating capacity for a personalised/tailed curriculum and for teachers to focus their time and skills on the development of strategies for improving pupil outcomes. The National Agreement and the remodelling agenda presents a very important opportunity for the DfES, QCA and schools to collaborate on the future development and organisation of the citizenship curriculum. Working with the Workforce Agreement Monitoring Group, the QCA could consider how the citizenship curriculum could be more effectively delivered by the whole school team. There is a real opportunity to build on existing DfES and QCA materials⁴⁸ on citizenship education that indicate how many schools are including educational visits, outside speakers, community and volunteering activities and the operation of school councils as part of their

⁴⁵ QCA *Assessing Citizenship: example assessment activities for key stage 3* 2006.

⁴⁶ DfES CPD Handbook *Making sense of Citizenship* 2004. Chapter 2. page 3.

⁴⁷ QCA *The schools self-evaluation tool for Citizenship education* 2005.

⁴⁸ DfES CPD Handbook *Making sense of Citizenship* 2004 page 7 and the QCA *citizenship: a scheme of work for key stage 4: Teacher’s guide* 2002 page 11.

citizenship curricula programmes. In schools with effective citizenship programmes, many of the administrative and organisational duties associated with these activities will be carried out by school support staff. Teachers and other staff will also work together collaboratively to deliver different aspects of the citizenship curriculum. Specific school personnel can also positively assist in the delivery of citizenship education; for example, the school librarian/resources manager employed to assist pupils' research information for citizenship projects.

KEY CRITERIA: RAISING STANDARDS

21. The pressure to deliver additional subjects in an already “overloaded” National Curriculum⁴⁹ has led some schools to perceive citizenship as a “threat” to the teaching time for other subjects. Moreover, the “high-stakes” accountability mechanism of school performance tables has resulted in action by many schools to weight curriculum time in favour of mathematics, English and science⁵⁰, and to give less time to other subjects that are perceived to be less critical to schools' measures of success. The publication of school performance tables does not support the provision of a broad and balanced curriculum and operates to distort the delivery of learning objectives. The effects of an overloaded curriculum and the distorting effects of school performance tables have led to citizenship frequently being treated as a “bolt-on”⁵¹ to the rest of the National Curriculum.

Curriculum scope

22. One gap in the citizenship curriculum relates to developing pupils' knowledge and understanding of industrial relations and the opportunities for workers to engage in the democratic process through recognised trade unions. As voluntary organisations in civil society, trade unions have an important role to play in developing ideas about “citizenship” and the active engagement of trade union members in the social, economic and political processes in society. It is NASUWT's view that trade unionism should be included as an area of study as part of the citizenship curriculum. As students increasingly engage in periods of work experience and work-related learning, an appreciation of the role and functions of trade unions, and measures to protect health and safety in the context of developing a wider knowledge and understanding of industrial relations and democratic participation, would seem to be an essential ingredient within a contemporary citizenship curriculum. The TUC has produced an excellent resource pack focused on raising awareness of trade unions for use in schools, which could be used by citizenship teachers.⁵² NASUWT believes that the TUC programme should be promoted widely by QCA as an integral component of the citizenship curriculum.

Initial Teacher Training and CPD

23. NASUWT welcomes the development of initial teacher training (ITT) and PGCE courses for citizenship teachers. Ofsted's report⁵³ of ITT courses for citizenship teachers found that these courses were generally well received by participants and were judged to be of satisfactory quality. The provision of ITT and PGCE courses forms an essential part of the framework of support required by teachers to focus on raising standards of teaching and learning. It is vital that this success is built upon and not compromised by future revisions of the ITT curriculum.

24. However, whilst initial training appears to be good, the training provided to teachers as part of CPD is a cause for concern.

25. The citizenship curriculum contains complex and sensitive issues that NASUWT strongly believes should be part of every child's educational entitlement (eg dealing with discrimination, tackling racism equal opportunities, and notions of identity and belonging), but which can be very challenging for teachers to “deliver” effectively. Teachers need access to high quality CPD on the teaching of citizenship, whilst some local authorities already provide excellent resources and training for teachers this provision is patchy, and may be difficult for teachers to access due to the ways in which schools make provision for teachers CPD.

26. There have been positive reports about the quality and quantity of resource materials available for the teaching of citizenship from such organisations as NFER⁵⁴ although some teachers have pointed out that there are fewer resources available for less able pupils.

⁴⁹ The DfES CPD Handbook *Citizenship in the curriculum* (2004) states that “finding the right amount and kind of timetable time for citizenship is not always easy. The school timetable can appear over-stretched with citizenship competing with other subjects for what time there is.” Chapter 2, page 2.

⁵⁰ DfES *Watching and learning 2* Earl, L et al, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, September 2001.

⁵¹ Ofsted Report *Citizenship in secondary schools: evidence from Ofsted inspections* (2003–04) February 2005, page 4.

⁵² TUC publication: *A Better Way to Work* (2005).

⁵³ Ofsted Report *Initial Teacher Training for teachers of Citizenship 2004–05* 2005.

⁵⁴ NFER Report for the Department for Constitutional Affairs (DCA) *Connecting with citizenship education—a mapping study* 2005.

KEY CRITERIA: PUPIL MOTIVATION AND BEHAVIOUR

27. Regrettably, there appears to be insufficient research available on the effects of the citizenship curriculum on pupil motivation and behaviour. This is a significant concern and one that should be tackled as a matter of urgency.

28. The teaching of citizenship should contribute to a greater appreciation by pupils of appropriate ways of participating in a democratic civil society. It should promote pupils recognition of rights and responsibilities and the need for respect and tolerance. The establishment of schools councils has been one way in which pupils have been engaged in working constructively together and sharing opinions. Such developments could well inform how young people engage with wider democratic processes, including future participation at the ballot box. The citizenship curriculum should also make a positive contribution to tackling disaffection. It is very important that more work is undertaken to understand the perceptions of the subject amongst teachers and learners. This is particularly important given that citizenship will remain a core National Curriculum subject at Key Stage 4.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Holocaust Educational Trust
ABSTRACT

This submission intends to outline how Holocaust education contributes significantly to citizenship education. Effective education in both these areas should empower young people to contribute actively and positively to their communities. At the Holocaust Educational Trust, we inspire young people to act on the lessons learned from the past. Our visits to Auschwitz-Birkenau enable young people to see for themselves the catastrophic results of a racist, fascist regime. We place strong emphasis on the importance of processing this experience into something meaningful. By introducing young people to personal stories told by Holocaust Survivors, the past is made real. For many students, these experiences are turning points. Textbook facts become alive and their contemporary relevance is obvious. Racism, antisemitism and prejudice against minorities still exist today and young people immediately make this connection. Fundamental to understanding the Holocaust and its relevance to today, are issues of social justice, political literacy and identity. The same themes are central to the citizenship curriculum. Students learning about the Nazi programme of mass murder, consider a range of social, political and psychological questions about how human beings live and die. For this to make most sense to them, a contemporary citizenship context must be created. It is within this context that we witness students feeling inspired and motivated to make a difference. They have seen where unchallenged discrimination can lead and they are determined to contribute to it never happening again. Whilst it is important that the Holocaust be taught on the history curriculum, the subject is too broad to be constrained by just one set of learning objectives. It is essential that the memory of this defining episode in history is kept alive in a contemporary context in order for its full meaning to resonate in classrooms across the UK.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) was formed in 1988 and developed from MPs and Peers harnessing renewed interest and need for knowledge about the Holocaust, after the passage of the War Crimes Act. The HET's aim was and continues to be, to raise awareness and understanding of the Holocaust and its relevance today. We believe that the Holocaust must have a permanent place in Britain's collective memory. One of our first achievements was to ensure that Holocaust education was included in the National Curriculum in 1991—for Key Stage 3 students (13–14-year-olds). We also successfully campaigned to have the assets of Holocaust victims and Survivors unfrozen and returned to their rightful owners. The HET team deliver a range of citizenship-focused programmes in both formal and informal educational settings, including an on-line citizenship resource—www.thinkequal.com and we are currently working on a new multi media resource using Holocaust Survivor testimony to reach every school in the country. We have strong relationships with a significant proportion of Britain's secondary schools and we work in higher education, providing teacher training workshops and lectures, as well as providing teaching aids and resource material. We run the Lessons from Auschwitz courses for teachers and post-16 students incorporating a visit to the former Nazi camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. In the last six years, we have taken over 3,000 students and teachers. In November 2005, Rt Hon Gordon Brown MP, Chancellor of the Exchequer announced a Treasury grant of £1.5 million to support the HET's Lessons from Auschwitz Course. This funding will enable the HET to facilitate visits to Auschwitz for two students from every school in the UK, increasing the number of students participating in the scheme from 400 a year to over 6,000. The HET also plays a strong supportive role for Holocaust Survivors, helping to deliver their testimony to a wide range of audiences and acting as point of call for those wishing to make contact with a Survivor. Having played a crucial role in the establishment, delivery and development of the UK's national Holocaust Memorial Day, the Holocaust Educational Trust continues to play a key role in the delivery of the day. We maintain regular contact and dialogue with various government departments and education bodies including the

Department for Education and Skills; Home Office (dealing with Holocaust Memorial Day, race relations and community relations); Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Department for Communities and Local Government; Qualifications and Curriculum Authority and other national and local agencies involved in delivering citizenship education.

TEACHERS' AND LEADERS' ATTITUDES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

2. The HET deliver a range of courses in schools and colleges many of which have a citizenship focus. In order to ensure our work is most effective we liaise closely with teachers and senior management before making our visits. Our programmes require commitment from participating staff and in our experience the attitudes of teachers and leaders have been enthusiastic and very positive. We believe that teachers and leaders are very welcoming to high quality citizenship provision from outside agencies providing it is professionally managed and does not impinge on budgetary constraints.

INITIAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

3. The HET undertakes regular initial teacher training in universities. Our flagship in-service training course is entitled *Lessons from Auschwitz (LFA)*. The course runs twice a year taking students and teachers from a full range of schools from across the UK to Auschwitz-Birkenau to deepen their understanding of the Holocaust. We are currently taking approximately 100 teachers per year at a cost heavily subsidised by the HET. In order for as many schools as possible to benefit from the course, the visit takes place during one day thus creating a minimum amount of classroom cover. The visit is prepared for and followed up with discussion-based seminars including hearing a Holocaust Survivor talk. The seminars—which take place at the weekend—focus on how participants can use their experience of visiting a death camp to enrich their teaching of the Holocaust within a citizenship framework. There is considerable commitment made by those participating in this course and feedback regularly highlights how teachers feel freshly motivated to engage their students about the relevance of the Holocaust today. The HET believes that high quality initial teacher training and in-service training will impact positively on the quality of citizenship education in schools.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT IDENTITY AND BRITISHNESS

4. The effect of the Holocaust on British society and therefore its contribution to the formation of Britain's identity is relevant to the citizenship curriculum. The Holocaust is a part of British history. Although the Nazis never occupied Britain it was not insulated from the effects of Nazi persecution and the mass murder of Jews. Thousands of Jews sought and found refuge in Britain and several hundred Survivors of the death camps were brought to Britain after the war. In particular, one of the British Government's most dramatic gestures was to allow the admission of 10,000 unaccompanied Jewish children and teenagers on Kinder Transport. The refugees and Survivors eventually became British citizens and built new lives and identities in this country. This knowledge contributes significantly to young people's understandings of the cultures and traditions that shape identities and make up British society.

5. Furthermore, Britain fought Nazi Germany for six years, so the courage and sacrifice of British servicemen, servicewomen and civilians was fundamental in saving the remnant of Holocaust Survivors. British troops liberated the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp and rescued tens of thousands of inmates from certain death. During the subsequent years of allied occupation, the British zone in Germany was a gathering place for Survivors of the Holocaust. Britain also played a key part in the Nuremberg Tribunal. The occupation of the Channel Islands by the Nazi regime further illustrates the geographical proximity of the Holocaust to Britain. For young people learning about the values held in British society in the past and today, some of these examples provide positive models. At the HET, we promote intergenerational learning opportunities and many young people, having learned about the Holocaust through our work, go back to their parents and grandparents to ask more; others have developed oral history projects involving war veterans. This dimension of Holocaust education encourages students to explore citizenship concepts and develops their consideration and appreciation of the views of others.

6. The HET offers an outreach programme whereby Holocaust Survivors and trained educators use real people's experiences of the past to teach lessons for the future. Programmes are designed to encourage audiences to consider the social and political context of these stories as well as their personal impact. Evaluation forms returned to the Trust regularly highlight the lasting impression made by such visits that have taken place in schools, universities, prisons and community groups nationwide. The impact of hearing a Survivor speak is something that most young people never forget. Listening to the emotions of people who were uprooted from their homes and their early experiences in Britain encourages discussion of the role refugees have played in developing and contributing to British society, and broadens young people's attitudes to collective and personal identity.

7. Our outreach programme also provides an opportunity for students to explore how the Holocaust has left its mark on the world's understanding of subsequent horrors and Britain's own role and responsibility in the international landscape. Following World War II, the international community cried "never again" in response to the Holocaust, and the newly formed United Nations adopted the Genocide Convention as

a pledge to ensure that such horrors would never be repeated. However, to society's cost the world has failed more than once to prevent or halt genocide, illustrated by its occurrence in places like Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda and now the Sudan. To understand these events, students must have some basic knowledge of the convention for human rights, the role of the United Nations and the importance of social justice. Once again, the content of Holocaust education and citizenship education are interconnected. The concept of "Britishness" stimulates discussion of national—and international—identities. By working to understand the relevance and significance of these international institutions and their roles, students are encouraged to consider their own national identities. Some aspects of the HET programmes focus on this question and emphasise the importance of collective responsibility against the dangers of bystanding. The concept of collective responsibility is defined within a local, national and international context.

8. An extension of the HET's outreach programme is the Inner City Project, which has been developed in response to the rise in racial tension and antisemitism, particularly in areas targeted by far-right groups promoting division and hatred. The project, delivered at no charge, involves our education team approaching schools in key areas to offer a sustained programme of citizenship activities. The HET team work with staff from one year group to prepare and deliver a series of preparatory sessions aimed at encouraging students to consider the concept of identity. This is then followed up with a whole day programme, which adapts the 1933 Nuremberg laws to a contemporary context. Students are required to think about what it means to be British and how they might respond to a Government that defines Britishness in an exclusive, racist way. Follow up work encourages students to reflect on the lessons learned and to explore how they might act on them. The Inner City Project has been successfully piloted in secondary schools in Tower Hamlets and Newham. Feedback has been extremely positive and the programme is ready to be delivered nationwide.

9. The HET is a key stakeholder in the newly established Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (HMD). We have two reserved places on the board of trustees and were instrumental in the inception and delivery of the day since 2000, initially led by the Home Office. The purpose of HMD is to remember those who perished in the Holocaust and to consider the lessons for today. Many schools commemorate HMD within a citizenship framework. Each year a different theme is used to focus the day and in 2004 it was genocide in Rwanda. When considering the lessons for today, one aspect of HET's approach is to encourage the embracing of difference and to promote a pluralistic concept of identity.

10. The theme for Holocaust Memorial Day 2007 is "The Dignity of Difference" which will emphasise the other victims of the Holocaust as well as the Jews. This will provide an excellent opportunity within a citizenship framework for students to consider the diversity of identities. By focussing on the Romas and Sintis, the gay community, the Jehovah's Witnesses, the political prisoners, the mentally and physically disabled and any other victims who did not fit the Nazi ideal, schools will be able to encourage mutual respect amongst their students and to challenge inequality and discrimination.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'S POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY COHESION

11. The HET is currently taking approximately 400 students per year on the *Lessons from Auschwitz (LFA)* Course. There is a strong citizenship dimension to the course and there is a requirement for students to reflect on their findings and to disseminate these in their schools and local communities.

12. In spring 2006 two students from Dudley who participated in the LFA Course were inspired to use their experience to challenge the far-right's divisive electoral campaign in their own area. Other students from London produced and distributed leaflets in their local community about the Holocaust and its contemporary relevance. A student from Hampshire found the visit to be such a turning point, she committed herself to humanitarian aid work in Africa. These examples illustrate how citizenship education can utilise historical content with a contemporary perspective and positively contribute to individuals promoting community cohesion and global citizenship.

13. Citizenship lessons are an ideal forum in which to challenge the divisive propaganda of Holocaust deniers. The critical thinking and enquiry skills promoted by the citizenship curriculum are well suited to investigating the motivations of deniers. Decades after its occurrence, denial⁵⁵, denigration and the misuse of Holocaust imagery continues to compromise the memory of the Holocaust and cause immense pain to the Holocaust Survivors, their families and those who lost relatives. Although trivialisation of the Holocaust may not be a blatant demonstration of antisemitism it is equally as damaging. It is the exploitation of the Holocaust under the guise of academic or political debate which has become one of the most important vehicles for contemporary antisemitism. Furthermore such debate is no longer confined to the extreme right but serves as the ideological glue binding left, right and Islamist antisemites. The key processes and skills developed by the citizenship curriculum can empower young people to deconstruct the lies behind Holocaust denial.

14. Previously being confined to the race-hate paraphernalia of extremist groups, Holocaust denial has now perpetrated the Internet, allowing its propagandists to pose as authentic historians and scientists and significantly increase their following. While the Internet can be an excellent place to do research into the

⁵⁵ Holocaust denial, or Holocaust revisionism as it is referred to by its supporters (and by others pejoratively to describe them when criticising their work), is the belief that the Holocaust did not occur as it is described by mainstream historiography.

Holocaust, deniers are using the Internet to target their propaganda on young people by subtly questioning the facts they are being taught at school.⁵⁶ Consequently, there is a real danger that students using the Internet as a research tool will find Holocaust denial material inadvertently and be unable to make the distinction between a denialist site and a more legitimate site. The problem of teaching about Holocaust denial in the classroom is that it legitimises the subject and suggests there is a debate where none exists. When using the Internet, however, the HET believe it is worthwhile to analyse the subject critically within a citizenship framework.

15. One of the prime concerns of the Trust is that as Survivors increasingly die it is much easier for Holocaust deniers to hijack and twist history for their own political and ideological purpose. Holocaust education is an invaluable tool for tackling this and greatly reducing the chances of students being misled. But more than that—in our experience, learning about a watershed event in human history, which dramatically altered ethical understanding today, empowers students to look at their own lives and the nature of the human responsibility. They are moved to utilise their rights as citizens and to confront directly the antisemitic roots of Holocaust denial and other forms of discrimination. Furthermore, by learning about the motivation behind Holocaust denial and by deconstructing some of the myths, students develop knowledge and understanding of issues relating to freedom of speech and the influence and role of new media technology. This knowledge is not only relevant to understanding the purpose of Holocaust denial; the processes and skills are transferable to help understand other types of prejudice and discrimination. HET educators encourage young people to make these links and to undertake action to address related issues in their community that they believe are important.

IMPLEMENTATION OF “ACTIVE” ASPECTS OF CURRICULUM—IE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOL

16. In order to complete the Lessons from Auschwitz Course, students must present their ideas and reflections of the visit to audiences of their choice within their communities. They are required to submit to the HET a summary of their post-visit activities. We then shortlist students to attend an event at the Houses of Parliament at which they outline how they have been active in disseminating their understanding of how the Holocaust is relevant today. From these shortlisted candidates, a panel of judges select the HET’s student ambassadors for that year. The role of the student ambassadors is to promote knowledge and understanding of the relevance of the Holocaust today. This is achieved in a range of ways including participating as guest speakers in the HET’s educational programmes; presenting at race equality councils; establishing Holocaust Awareness Societies at Universities; inviting Holocaust Survivors to address audiences of young people in schools and colleges.

17. There are numerous examples of students returning from the LFA inspired to become active in their school and local community in order to make a difference. In 2005, students from Derby organised coverage of their visit in both the local and national media. In Colchester, students delivered a series of talks to local schools and organised a display in their local library. They involved their local Girls Brigade, Rotary Club and Sunday school groups in other events. In Essex, students visited other local schools to give assemblies and made a presentation to the Trustees of their college.

18. Teachers participating on the LFA return are similarly inspired. One teacher in particular at Henry Box School in Oxfordshire, has used the experience to inform visits to Rwanda with his students. Along similar lines to the LFA, students returning from this visit were expected to share the experience with others. The HET team met with students and staff at the school to prepare for the visit. Participants met with their local MP David Cameron beforehand and on their return they made a film which they presented to their peers.

19. In autumn 2006 HET will be sending a complimentary copy of its new citizenship teaching resource *Recollections: Eyewitnesses Remember the Holocaust* to every secondary school in the country. This teaching tool will further enhance the provision of citizenship education by enabling students to learn key contemporary lessons from the Holocaust using an interactive CD Rom which features filmed Survivor testimony. The broad range of victim groups represented in this new resource highlights the diversity of those who were persecuted by the Nazi regime. The resource is organised into themes, including: Choices, Loss, Belief, Afterwards. The teaching and learning activities are designed in such a way as to stimulate students to consider the contemporary relevance of the visual history testimonies. These compelling stories, told straight to camera, have an important educational value because they bring to life information not found in school history books; they function on both a cognitive and emotional level; and they broach questions of fairness, justice, labelling, and scapegoating—issues that adolescents confront in their daily lives. Pilot sessions with young people using visual history testimony have illustrated how these accounts can motivate students to challenge prejudice and discrimination. The section entitled “Message to the Future”, in which Survivors state how they hope future generations will learn from the Holocaust, has particular impact.

⁵⁶ One of the earliest and most infamous publications denying the Holocaust was a 32-page pseudo-academic booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?*, first printed in England in 1974. It dismisses concentration camps as “mythology”, rejects the Diary of Anne Frank as a hoax and claims Jews were not exterminated but rather emigrated from Nazi Germany with the help of a benevolent government. The booklet was widely banned but has resurfaced in electronic form on the Internet.

20. The young people we work with are encouraged to see the connections in society, especially those of the past to the events of the present. We do not make simplistic comparisons—there can be no comparison of suffering. The legacy of the Holocaust and its fundamental themes can assist us today in understanding other events and victims. The HET believe strongly that this knowledge must translate into affirmative community action. By encouraging young people to make sense of the past, we motivate them to contribute positively to a future society free from discrimination and hatred.

FURTHER INFORMATION

21. The HET hopes that the above information will be of interest to the Education and Skills Select Committee, and would be willing to respond to any requests for further information which may assist the Committee's inquiry into citizenship education.

March 2006

Memorandum submitted by The Inter Faith Network

I am writing to you to draw the attention of the Education and Skills Committee to the recently published report of a seminar on *Faith, Identity and Belonging: Educating for Shared Citizenship* which the Inter Faith Network for the UK held in early February in association with the Citizenship Foundation. Tony Breslin, the Foundation's Chief Executive, mentioned the seminar in his oral evidence to the Committee on 26 April. I recognise that the deadline for submitting written evidence to the Committee's enquiry into Citizenship Education has now passed, but since the report is very relevant to this I am sending a copy of it to you.

The Inter Faith Network works to promote good inter faith relations between people of different faiths in the UK, to increase understanding about them, including their distinctive features and their common ground, and also to facilitate the positive engagement of faiths in public life. It is not primarily an educational body, but it has a strong interest in the role that education can play in promoting a cohesive society enriched by its diversity. Among its member bodies are a range of educational organisations which make a vital contribution to this, including the Religious Education Council for England and Wales, the National Association of Standing Advisory Councils on Religious Education (NASACRE) and the Shap Working Party on World Religions in Education.

The seminar on 7 February brought together seventy specially invited contributors from the fields of Religious Education and Citizenship Education and from different faith communities to address some of the major issues related to faith and citizenship, including:

- identity, belonging, engagement and participation in multi faith, multi cultural Britain;
- how young people can learn about the importance of harmonious coexistence as citizens of different faiths and of no religious commitment, sharing an active commitment to the common good, within our diverse society;
- the handling of the sometimes controversial and difficult issues which arise in dealing with faith and citizenship issues in the classroom;
- the theoretical underpinnings of tackling these issues within the framework of the school curriculum; and
- what resources can support teaching and learning in this area.

The day was an opportunity for exploring issues, exchanging ideas and models of good practice, sharing perspectives and experiences and looking at ways forward. It was structured around a set of presentations from contributors involved in the field of Religious Education and citizenship as well as from young people, drawing on their experience of the classroom and their engagement in inter faith activities. In addition, there was time for plenary discussions and a series of working groups, in which participants had the opportunity to explore in greater depth topics of specific interest.

It was not the purpose of seminar to make formal "recommendations", but a number of observations and suggestions made by the working groups, plenary speakers and other contributors to plenary discussions are for convenience brought together at the front of the report. As you will see they focus primarily on curriculum development; the availability of educational resources and materials; the adequacy of teacher training; Continuous Professional Development (CPD); and "whole school" issues, such as school ethos and community partnerships. We are due to discuss with a range of educational bodies how best to take these suggestions forward and hope subsequently to discuss them with the Department for Education and Skills and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

During the seminar it was widely acknowledged that both Citizenship Education and Religious Education have key roles to play in preparing young people for life in a culturally and religiously diverse Britain and that it is very important that the necessary resources, materials, training and support are made available for teachers and school to help them fulfil this task. Schools provide a unique meeting place where pupils have the opportunity to explore their own identity as well as learning how to respond positively to the diversity

to be found among their fellow pupils, in their local community and in wider society. As well as being given the opportunity to interact with people of different backgrounds, it is important that pupils develop the skills to do so with confidence.

Schools in urban and rural areas can face very different challenges when addressing issues around community cohesion. It is important that schools as a whole reach out to their local community and establish partnerships. In more “mono-cultural” or “monofaith” areas it is important for pupils to be provided with opportunities, for example through exchange visits and “twinning” schemes, to experience the kind of diversity which is not reflected in their local community.

Race relations and education for anti-racism have rightly received significant attention in recent years in the wake of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry and the community cohesion agenda is increasingly addressing the role of faith and faith communities in creating and sustaining “good relations” alongside that of race relations. While issues of faith and inter faith often are more likely to be addressed in schools in Religious Education, there is a need for schools to embrace the full breadth of the citizenship curriculum and address all aspects of diversity.

The February seminar formed part of a broader Inter Faith Network project on “Faith and Citizenship” which is exploring the approach of faith communities to citizenship in our religiously plural society. The bombings in London in July last year and the focus in their wake on tackling extremism and promoting community cohesion, have been part, but only part, of the context for work on this project, which is designed to build on the work which has been taken forward by the Network over a number of years in the area of faith and public life.

June 2006

Memorandum submitted by Dr Andrew Mycock, University of Manchester

INTRODUCTION

I am a lecturer in Politics, and Programme Coordinator of the European Science Foundation programme, “Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Europe (NHIST)”, at the University of Manchester, which compares national histories and historiographies, their overlapping and their impact on identity across Europe. My area of research concerns many of the areas and issues covered by the Select Committee in its investigation of Citizenship Education provision in England, and are timely and original in focus and approach. My doctoral thesis, “Post-imperial Citizenship and National Identity: A Comparative Study of Citizenship and History Education in Britain and the Russian Federation”, focused on the ability of post-imperial states to construct renewed or revised civic identities through the provision of citizenship and history education within the period of compulsory state education. The external examiner for my thesis was Professor Sir Bernard Crick, who passed it without revisions, described it as “lively and original”. It is currently being adapted for publication by Palgrave Macmillan with the assistance of Sir Bernard.

I believe that my research and experience regarding state education programmes of citizenship and history education would be of significant value to your inquiry and covers areas which you have, as yet, not fully considered or developed. My research has focused on the ability of post-imperial states to construct revised civic identities which accommodate complex frameworks of ethnic, religious, socio-economic and other cultural identities through the construction of complimentary and inclusive citizenship and history education programmes within state education systems. I have constructed a theoretical framework that considers the impact of empire on citizenship and identity within multiethnic, multi-religious and multicultural contexts which I have comparatively applied within empirical case studies of Britain and the Russian Federation.

I have analysed approaches to history and citizenship education across the UK, rather than solely within English contexts, within historical and contemporary contexts, focusing on each national approach discretely and within a broader multi-national framework to assess their influence on constructions of citizenship and national identity(ies). This has involved the assessment of the development of differing state education systems in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and, more recently, Wales and the impact on curriculum content, pedagogical and assessment approaches to history and citizenship education provision. Furthermore, I have analysed the relationship of discourses within state education programmes and those within the broader political and academic communities. Therefore, I have considerable experience and research analysis of the relationship between discourses on history and citizenship education and the on-going “Battle for Britishness” which I feel would be of value to your inquiry. I also have a strong understanding of such debates within broader transnational contexts, and have studied the impact of loss of empire, supra-nationalism and globalisation on debates regarding identity, citizenship and the teaching of “civics” and history in state education systems across Europe, the Commonwealth and the former Soviet Union. I believe that this comparative understanding would also be of value to your inquiry.

I have interviewed a range of academics, policy-makers and educationalists as part of my research, and also spent a considerable amount of time in schools interviewing teachers regarding the history and citizenship curricula. I have been approached to take part in the review of citizenship recently announced by Bill Rammell MP and will also be leading a programme on the impact of history on national identity which involves students and educators from across Europe at the forthcoming 10th International Culture Week in Pecs, Hungary.

I also have two peer-reviewed articles currently being published. The first, which is co-authored with Dr Rhys Andrews and is to be published in the *International Journal of Citizenship Education*, is titled “Citizenship Education in the United Kingdom: Devolution, Diversity and Divergence”. It provides a comparative evaluation of citizenship education across the United Kingdom, considering differing national approaches to provision in terms of structure, content and pedagogy. It identifies a number of areas of concern regarding the different approaches to citizenship education that have emerged across the United Kingdom, particularly with relation to civic identity, loyalty and participative citizenship.

The second article, to be published in *Parliamentary Affairs*, is titled “New Labour, Civic Renewal and the Vernacular of Citizenship Education”. The article concerns approaches to social, economic and political citizenship, constitutional modernisation and civic renewal since 1997, and the impact of the introduction of statutory citizenship education across the United Kingdom. It focuses on issues concerning theoretical and empirical interpretations of citizenship, civic renewal and social capital. It highlights the extent to which constitutional reform has challenged the coherence of citizenship education provision across the United Kingdom.

A number of further research publications are under construction which draws on my doctoral thesis research that are of interest to the Select Committee. These concern the provision of history education across the United Kingdom, investigating the impact of competing nation-saving and national-building projects within post-imperial and post-colonial contexts, and the on-going “Battle for Britishness”. The latter publication considers the politicisation of the concept of Britishness, and explores historical and contemporary debates including the emergence of radical nationalist discourses.

My research interests therefore make me a suitable candidate to submit evidence to the Select Committee on Citizenship Education. My research is original and timely, and will compliment evidence already submitted by providing submissions that consider provision of citizenship education in England, and its relationship with history education and broader projects concerning constitutional modernisation, civic renewal and participative citizenship. Therefore, I feel that the Select Committee would benefit from my participation in the investigation.

POST-IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Theoretical Considerations

Political and educational elites within post-imperial states have increasingly viewed citizenship as a solution to the problems of democratic legitimacy and participation created, in part, by the imperial legacy and the range of tensions discussed above. However, citizenship, as with national identity, cannot be simply “imposed” on society without some conception of its aims and objectives. To garner approval and sustained participation, citizens must have a clear understanding of their rights and responsibilities, and the post-imperial identity they are tying notions of citizenship to. Citizenship must imply a sense of belonging that is reliant on a feeling of security and genuine inclusion for all citizens.

Therefore traditional constructions of citizenship that have informed post-war approaches, founded on social and economic rights provided through the development of welfarist statism, have been revised to consider the obligations and responsibilities of the citizen *vis-à-vis* the state. Moreover, greater emphasis has been attributed to the active citizenship through voluntarism and sustained participation with political institutions, representatives, elections and civil society. However, citizenship is a deeply contested concept and a range of theoretical discourses are reflected within contemporary approaches to citizenship within the United Kingdom, most notably communitarian, civic republican and liberal constructions. Hybridity would appear to be a central dimension of political responses to post-imperial transition, and the depth of citizenship desired. Whilst minimal conceptions encourage understanding of citizenship, and its accordant identity, within formal, legalistic contexts that do not necessitate participation beyond voting. Maximal understanding encourages a richer foundation whereby citizenship is seen in active social, cultural and psychological terms. Thus, the contested nature of citizenship has impacted on practical political solutions to the concerns outlined above, thus ensuring that debates regarding citizenship and history education have become politicised and divisive.

Attempts to construct a framework of post-imperial citizenship are challenged by a range of sub and supra-national tensions that can potentially undermine the saliency of the (multi)nation-state. However, it would appear that, as yet, the nation-state remains the primary focus of political identity. As such, political, economic and cultural loyalties are predominantly expressed within nation-state contexts. Therefore, citizenship must reflect the enduring primacy of the nation-state, and its accordant identity. This noted, the end of empire, devolution, revised migration and new supranational relationships all challenge the saliency of established conceptions of the “national” story, and the influence of the dominant group on the identity

it engenders. The ambiguity between imperial and national conceptions of identity is potentially furthered by the (re)assertion of other ethnic and social group identities within the former core and periphery. Differentiated multi-cultural approaches to post-imperial citizenship can therefore challenge the saliency of traditional frameworks of identity through the encouragement of trans- or sub-state group identities that potentially stimulate secessionist sentiments that suggest further disintegration of the imperial core, or encourage the dominant group to recourse to established patterns of self-identification. The construction of a coherent response to post-imperial transition must necessarily acknowledge and address the following issues:

- (1) The emergence of competing political and cultural communities and identities can seek to challenge and even subvert the position of the dominant group within the former core, and their particularistic view of empire. Therefore, the end of empire does not automatically induce a process that seeks to promote the primacy of the (multi)nation state.
- (2) There must be a rejection of the imperial legacy that posited citizenship as tool to garner (often enforced) loyalty rather than develop inclusion or interaction between state and citizen.
- (3) The territorial boundedness demanded by the nation-state challenges hierarchal structures of supra-nationalism founded in the ethos of empire. This not only involves the limitation of formal citizenship but also requires imperial institutions to nationalise and identify with state rather than empire.
- (4) Post-imperial states should accept that interpretations of national identity are necessarily pluralist and flexible, and encourage a sense of citizenship that requires the construction of an inclusive civic national community.

However, the successful conflation of nation, state and empire, especially for the dominant ethnic (the English), can encourage some to continue to perceive the civic and ethnic conceptions of identity as co-terminal, thus restricting recognition of the multi-nationality or multi-ethnicity of the state. This symbiotic development is mirrored within minority national and ethnic groups who seek to re-imagine the imperial phase within multi-national/ethnic contexts, and increasingly seek to express duality of civic and ethnic identity within national or other group citizenship and/or identity. Therefore, the post-imperial states are perceived to be both a nation-state and a multi-national state by differing groups of its citizens.

Increasingly, post-imperial states have sought, directly or indirectly, to refute imperial patterns of citizenship and national identity through the introduction of revised approaches to citizenship and history education within state education systems. The purpose of such programmes is to inculcate revised frameworks that reject traditional approaches, founded within imperial contexts, and promote differentiated levels of post-imperial citizenship and identity. However, this process can be influenced strongly by residual asymmetry within state education systems regarding quantity and quality of provision, defined by enduring imperialist notions of hierarchy and elitism within socio-economic, religious and national contexts.

The relationship between citizenship and history can be also defined by contradiction rather than compromise. The enduring nature of empire, particularly within the dominant group, regarding post-imperial conceptions of citizenship and national identity can potentially contradict and undermine revised state education programmes, thus extending imperial sentiments within emergent generations. Differentiated patterns of post-imperial citizenship, and the residual influence of missionary nationalism founded on hierarchy and exclusivity, can limit the inculcation of revised frameworks of civic self-recognition. Similarly, post-imperial tensions, or reforms, can restrict the preparedness of the dominant group to revise approaches to the teaching of national history, ensuring imperial constructions of identity that are potentially exclusory within multi-national and multi-ethnic frameworks endure. This can stimulate conflicting approaches founded on nation-saving or nation-building projects that promote particularistic understandings of empire and state that also exclude other ethnic or national groups.

Furthermore, the lack of imperial framework can encourage the revision of political relationship within the imperial core, most commonly involving devolution, which can encourage the development of competing frameworks of civic identity that challenge the overarching state. The emergence of competing citizenship programmes within multi-nation states can challenge the hegemony of the former core, exacerbating post-imperial insecurities and encouraging distinct sub-state citizenship that challenges the saliency of frameworks. Similarly, a framework of binary relationships is possible whereby dominant group conceptions of history increasingly are explicitly conflated with that of the overarching state, thus encouraging the construction of oppositional history programmes within other national frameworks.

However, the complexity of post-imperial (multi)nation states ensures that the legacy of empire cannot simply be rejected through the “nationalising” of education systems, and the programmes initiated to revise frameworks of citizenship and identity. The historical legacy and continued interaction with the former imperial periphery extends the period of imperial consciousness. This is furthered by the continuance of population exchange, though migratory patterns focus increasingly on the former core. Differentiated patterns of citizenship can however influence approaches to citizenship and history teaching. The presence of new migrant groups challenges existing (multi)nation-state frameworks, encouraging revised conceptions of citizenship and identity that acknowledge the influence of empire within post-colonial contexts. Post-imperial melancholia, or even resentment, combined with the enduring influence of missionary nationalism,

can potentially exclude new citizens, as emphasis on nation-saving or nation-building takes precedence. Similarly, focus on revised (multi)nation-state frameworks of citizenship can exclude supra-national dimensions linked to the former empire or emergent organisations.

Therefore, the introduction of revised programmes of citizenship and national history teaching can initiate, by replicating some of the tensions that encouraged collapse of empire, a process that leads to further post-imperial fragmentation of the former imperial core. The potential to extend exclusory frameworks of membership and identity founded on empire is significant, thus undermining the cohesion of post-imperial societies and encouraging regressive frameworks of understanding which fail to fully acknowledge the implications of imperial decline.

THE PROBLEMS OF POST-IMPERIALISM: CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Labour's constitutional reform programme has had some significant positive effects in the development of a citizenship culture that rejects Britain's elitist imperial legacy. They have brought power closer to a significant number of Britons, and have enfranchised a number of groups previously excluded, such as the homeless. By altering the vocabulary of the state, they have encouraged subjects to begin to think as citizens, and initiate the process to relinquish sovereignty from Parliament. Citizenship is no longer considered purely the respite of "others" and, gradually, Britons are accepting the notion that they too can be citizens.

The following section provides a brief overview of some of the problems concerning post-imperial transition in the United Kingdom, and its impact on citizenship and history education programmes:

- (1) Concept of citizenship: lack of congruence within UK political parties or across society as to "thickness" of citizenship and how it redefines relationship between citizen and the state. This lack of consensus is reflected in the lack of surety of constructions of political citizenship in the UK.
- (2) The lack of clarity regarding the relationship of the state and the citizen. Political relationships in the UK remain unclear to its citizens due to the lack of a codified constitution and Bill of Rights, and lack of transparency in political, economic and social relationships within national, state and supra-national contexts. The shift from "parliamentary" to "popular" sovereignty, whereby the constitutional framework protects the rights of citizens and encourages participative citizenship that genuinely affects policy, is not discernable. Programme of constitutional reform lacks clarity in overall aims and remains incomplete, and has left many citizens confused regarding their relationship with the state. Parliament remains unrepresentative of UK society in social, gender and ethnic composition. Put simply, what are we asking young people to become of citizens of?
- (3) Devolution has provided alternative repositories express civic affiliation and identity, but without significantly reappraising the central relationship of England and Britain. The reluctance of the successive governments to elucidate an "endgame" vision regarding the modernisation of the British state has ensured that devolution has not resolved nationalist tensions. Devolution has altered political relationship within the UK, providing asymmetry in proximity and structural relationships of the UK state. The gradual "Anglicisation" of Westminster has encouraged centre-peripheral relations based on confrontation rather than consensus. The devolution agenda has confirmed the duality of UK citizenship within national contexts. Many Welsh and Scottish citizens continue to view their citizenship within multi-national contexts that acknowledge a range of civic identities. Conversely, devolution has not addressed the myopia of the English, who persist in founding their citizenship as a unitary nation-state, with regional identities articulated within largely geographic and cultural, rather than civic, frameworks.
- (4) The UK's relationship with its former empire remains predominantly defined by ambiguity and selective myopia. The extent to which the UK is post-imperial is debatable. UK citizenship is still founded on the pillars of empire. Constitutional reforms have failed to address the core dimensions that have extended the UK's exclusory civic imperial legacy into the 21st century. As Britons are gradually rejecting their imperial heritage, they are not only rejecting the institutions of empire but are also reviewing their emotional connections with former colonies and the remaining territories. The continued presence of the Crown as Head of State across parts of the Commonwealth highlights the extension of imperial ties and the supra-national basis of British citizenship. The explicit relationship of the UK state with the Church of England extends exclusive imperial dimensions, thus politicising religious ascription and potentially undermining civic cohesion. UK citizenship lacks territorial boundedness, asymmetrically exclusory, and remains infused with the latent racism of Empire.

The impact of this lack of territorial security for common citizenship is significant, as issues of imperial decline, sovereignty and migration have become conflated with the search for a post-imperial British national identity based on culture and values. Territorial insecurity has strongly influenced attitudes towards the acceptance of other forms of supra-national citizenship and identity, most notably Europe. The conflicting tensions of imperial decline and European citizenship have provoked, however, differing reactions within the composite nations of the UK. The intensity of English concerns, when compared with Wales and Scotland, regarding the

- preciousness of British parliamentary sovereignty would suggest further refinement of what should be considered the imperial core. English concerns regarding imperial decline, and the impact of post-imperialism, would appear to be dominating future development of UK citizenship.
- (5) Notions of common citizenship have been undermined by demographic and socio-economic stratification of society that has encouraged the asymmetric rejection by younger and poorer citizens of certain dimensions of the UK civic framework founded on exclusivity and inequality. It would appear that conflicting interpretations of what citizenship entails are emerging. Younger and less-affluent citizens appear comparatively reluctant to actively engage or participate in citizenship but expect the state to uphold their rights regardless of this apathy. This contradicts with more established patterns of UK citizenship that accentuate acceptance of responsibilities, participation and actively seek independence from the state.
 - (6) Competing perceptions of empire have highlighted the enduring stratification of post-imperial UK society. Nationality, ethnicity, age, socio-economic status or even religious ascription can alter contemporary understanding of empire, undermining the development of a common post-imperial framework of citizenship that encourages shared dimensions of identity. The ambivalence of many Britons regarding their imperial past suggests that, although the vast majority of the imperial structure has disintegrated, the mindset of empire has been extended. Not only has the institutional framework of empire endured, but the symbols have also remained largely unreformed. This has ensured that the conflation of empire and state persists in restricting the development of a post-imperial identity that reflects the multi-ethnic and multi-national composition of the UK state.
 - (7) Although some leading commentators and politicians, such as Linda Colley and Gordon Brown, have argued that Britain should cease “wallowing” in post-imperial guilt, others, such as Paul Gilroy, have argued that a post-imperial “melancholia” persists whereby empire has been efficiently excluded from the national historical narratives in any substantial form. Post-imperial reflection has been strongly curtailed through the implicit linking of imperial decline and notions of self-sacrifice during the Second World War. As such, consideration of the ethics and psychological cost of empire have been overlooked in favour of a more positive framework of self-analysis founded on the morality of the defeat of the Nazis.
 - (8) A pluralist framework of Britishness has emerged without establishing a range of common civic attributes which can link all communities and inform a revised post-imperial identity. The relationship between integration and assimilation remains unclear. Discourses on integration have failed, as such, to acknowledge the extent to which established communities have expected newer citizens to conform to their understandings of Britishness without opportunity for renegotiation. In many cases, integration has meant assimilation.
 - (9) The failure to establish a discourse that challenges residual white racism has proven pivotal in the inability to reconsider the impact of empire. However, the graduated assimilation of new citizens, founded on their preparedness or ability to conform to dominant patterns of association, has encouraged racism between competing groups that furthers perceptions of difference. As such, the central tenets imperial Britishness continue to influence contemporary frameworks of understanding by seeking to establish oppositional “others” within UK society which undermine the development of an inclusive citizenship and accordant identity.
 - (10) A balanced approach to the reappraisal of empire has been largely undermined by the politicisation of debates regarding history and identity. Any reappraisal of empire or Britishness, is limited by a reluctance to examine the moral and psychological impact within state and imperial contexts. Contemporary value-laden constructions of Britishness are flawed historically if the ethos of empire is acknowledged. Furthermore, the reluctance to revise “orthodox” interpretations of imperial relationships has continued to inform debates on immigration and multi-culturalism. Britain continues to send out mixed messages to its former empire, extending supra-national ties and associational civic relationships whilst refining citizenship as a tool of exclusion that favours the EU.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE UK

Debates regarding citizenship and national identity have increasingly sought to define parameters of inclusion and exclusion which are motivated by concerns within some quarters regarding perceived national homogeneity founded in the belief of the dilution of legal or cultural norms which define UK citizenship and its accordant identity(ies). This has politicised debates regarding the purpose of citizenship and history teaching, encouraging a range of optimistic or pessimistic discourses. These often not only reflect the political perspectives of the group or individual regarding issues pertaining to identity and citizenship, but they also highlight views regarding the contribution and understanding of young people within state education.

Whilst young people are more likely to be a member of an informal political network or group, thus making it difficult to fully assess their civic activity, there is considerable evidence to suggest dislocation from the formal political system. A number of determinants can influence interest and participation in politics, such as socio-economic background and education, and family environment. Interest in orthodox political

activism, and membership of political parties, has declined dramatically in the last ten years, as has political knowledge. However, the idea there has emerged an apathetic “Thatcher generation” that is prepared to accept social inequality and civically disengage must be challenged. Social studies indicate that young people are prepared to engage politically, but increasingly outside of traditional or formal parameters. Though they are less likely to be civically involved, and tend to view society instrumentally, they have strong views on a range of issues and feel that they have little impact or influence on the broader process of politics.

To fail to acknowledge the importance of the next generation of citizens, to seek their views, and to encourage their participation would appear to encourage the replication of contemporary patterns of citizenship and identity. The following section identifies some of the main concerns that were raised during my research of citizenship and history education provision across the UK:

- (1) Inequalities in state education provision have not been resolved, and in some cases are actually widening. Whilst overall achievement, if gauged by qualification returns, have risen, and school facilities, resources and teaching staff have improved within qualitative and quantitative contexts, inequality, particularly in England, has continued to define educational provision across the UK. Socio-economic status strongly compromises “choice” and “diversity” in education, and failure to address inequalities promoted by selection through ability has been intensified by other, unregulated, modes of selection. The growth of specialist, foundation, city academies and faith schools has fragmented the education system in England, and ensured that more affluent members of society can utilise the system more effectively to their own benefit. This is encouraging social segregation which not only has impacts on educational standards but also the socialisation of young people. It would appear that some parents are more equal than others.

In England, educational provision is not only defined by socio-economic status, and the growth in faith schools has encouraged some selection by religious ascription. Faith schools naturally draw citizens into segregated groups that, potentially, reject alternative community-based schooling options. Segregation is becoming more pronounced within ethnic and national contexts.

- (2) Devolution has encouraged greater diversity in education provision across the UK, and divergence in educational ethos. The emergence of distinct structural frameworks, pupil selection, pedagogical practice, and curricula structure and assessment presents significant problems in the provision of a common UK educational experience. The “nationalising” of the education systems is being furthered by the differing approaches to higher education which is encouraging more students to study within their own national systems.
- (3) These inequalities within and across the national education systems of the UK have a pronounced influence on the quality of teaching. This is particularly relevant to the teaching of citizenship education. The intense debate regarding citizenship education in England has not been replicated elsewhere in the UK. Indeed, much of the discourse regarding citizenship education myopically assumes that approaches in England, and their impact, are relevant across the UK. This not only extends perceptions of English insensitivity, but it also precludes the possibility of interaction between the differing approaches.

In England, citizenship education is a statutory requirement within the National Curriculum. However, its introduction and development has not proven to be wholly successful within a range of contexts. Doubts have been continually expressed by Ofsted, the QCA and the Community Service Volunteers regarding the implementation and development of citizenship education, and its lack of consistency in its prominence within each school’s curriculum. A number of reports have noted that the management of the introduction of citizenship has been unsatisfactory in the majority of schools. Ofsted believe that the full implication of citizenship within some schools has created “genuine confusion”, its aims not being understood or, in a minority of cases, not accepted.

The Chief Inspector of Schools, David Bell, has noted that, in Ofsted’s view, citizenship was the worst taught subject in secondary schools. In only one out of four schools was the citizenship syllabus considered good. Concerns have been repeatedly expressed regarding teacher training, pupils awareness of the subject, the quality of teaching, the structural approaches, timetabling and resources, and assessment. Many schools remain uncertain about responsibility for the subject, due to the incorporation of the previous cross-curricular approach within the new citizenship curriculum. Many pupils are unaware of explicit dimensions of citizenship education when embedded within a cross-curricular framework. There are also suggestions that some schools are prepared to emphasise citizenship within lesson plans and schemes of work that do not reflect practice or content of actual lessons. Thus, it is the fear of sanction that encourages acknowledgment of the citizenship in some schools rather than any sustained desire to accentuate it.

Timetable restrictions have seen some schools embed citizenship education within PSHE. This provides more discrete and explicit provision than some cross-curricular approaches but there are also distinct problems that restrict the effectiveness. Many PSHE teachers are not trained to teach citizenship, and are uncomfortable in teaching politically contentious issues. PSHE teaching focuses on the private development of pupils, whereas citizenship is concerned primarily with dimensions within the public realm. By embedding citizenship provision within the PSHE, there are concerns regarding the ability of PSHE teachers to provide distinct and weighted citizenship

education. More significantly, Ofsted have indicated that the provision of PSHE across the English system is affected strongly by many of the problems that beset citizenship education. As such, PSHE is rarely an appropriate vehicle to ensure explicit and dedicated citizenship education of a consistently satisfactory quality.

Ofsted's subject reports on citizenship education since 2002 would suggest two influences that can strongly influence provision. Firstly, there is a direct correlation between the quality of citizenship education and its profile within the curriculum. Those schools providing discrete lessons, or embedding provision within PSHE, are more likely to be assessed as good, whilst cross-curricular provision or other methods that seek "opportunities" for citizenship are generally considered as poor. Secondly, there would appear to be a correlation between the formal assessment of citizenship and standards of provision. When citizenship has a quantifiable value, schools are prepared to allocate time and resources within the curriculum that significantly improves the quality of teaching.

There remain concerns regarding the numbers of dedicated citizenship teachers being trained, which have not increased since 2001, and the overwhelming demand for citizenship teachers with a secondary subject specialism. Though many schools do not feel that citizenship justifies dedicated teaching provision, Ofsted have expressed concerns regarding quality of teaching training for those undertaking dual specialisms. Furthermore, new teachers in other disciplines receive little formal instruction on the relationship of citizenship within their own subject areas, thus ensuring both in-service and newly-qualified teachers are often unclear of how citizenship influences their subject.

- (4) Citizenship education in Scotland and Wales is predominantly a cross-curricula theme not a statutory stand-alone subject. This has meant that its influence on the respective curricula has been less visible or controversial. In Wales, citizenship education provision is largely within PSE syllabus, with many of the same problems experienced in England. There is little consistency in what is provided as citizenship education in Welsh schools, or how it is assessed. In Scotland, as noted previously, issues regarding citizenship education have been less controversial. Citizenship education has been introduced as one of five pervading themes across the curriculum. Scottish educationalists have also avoided the stigma of political patronage, and have focused on education *for*, and not *about*, citizenship. Citizenship is embedded within humanities, which offers three options in Modern Studies, geography and history. This ensures that, though 90% of pupils are offered some form of citizenship education, it is neither explicit nor consistent in emphasis or content within the differing subjects.
- (5) It is widely accepted that differing educational approaches are acceptable across a broad range of factors, such as curriculum structure and pedagogic application. The UK is a devolved multi-national state, with a diverse population who express difference politically, nationally, ethnically, religiously, and culturally. The differing approaches to citizenship education mirror this diversity and emphasise distinct cultural national differences that should be encouraged. Nevertheless, there must be a commonality of overall purpose that reflects that the UK is a unified, if not uniform, state. There has been a lack of recognition of the influence of divergence due to national, socio-economic or religious difference.

It is clear that there has been little consideration of the influence of developing four largely independent national approaches to citizenship education would have for the civic development of future generations of UK citizens, and the range and intensity of loyalties and identities. Whilst diversity has found expression within each national education system, the cohesive dimensions of UK citizenship have lacked emphasis or clarity. There lacks a commonality of approach regarding political education, particularly the focus between competing political institutions within sub- and supra-national contexts. Furthermore, there lacks consistency in the provision of citizenship education, with each national approach differing in age range, curricula status, assessment approaches, and conception of citizenship.

The provision of citizenship education is also fragmented on non-national lines, with the influence of faith and socio-economic background undermining consistency. Some aspects of the citizenship education curriculum in each national system could prove controversial, and there is evidence that some faith schools are avoiding what they perceive are contentious issues.

Similarly, the influence of socio-economic status and family networks has been acknowledged to affect citizenship education within schools, and the development of civic knowledge, skills and attitudes. As such, inequality in the standards of education due to socio-economic environment suggests a correlated effect on the standard of political understanding and civic engagement. Opportunities for active citizenship within school, and the wider community, are potentially restricted by asymmetric patterns of funding for schools, the concentration of student delinquency, ability and preparedness of parents to contribute, and the socio-economic conditions of each school's local community.

 HISTORY TEACHING AND THE BATTLE FOR BRITISHNESS

The explicit linking of history teaching with discourses alluding to the “dilution” of Britishness has increasingly politicised the role of the state in the process of identity formation. The incumbent Labour government has been consistently portrayed as denying Britons their history, and deliberately deconstructing British national cohesion.⁵⁷ This has been supported by survey data that has emphasised a lack of historical awareness of “essential” parts of the British national story. This has encouraged the emergence of a politicised (right-wing) historiography and media discourse that had attempted to re-assert the dominance of “traditional” conceptions of the British national story, and even encouraged private provision to counter the “politically correct” history syllabus provided within the state sector.

Such criticism would appear to suggest that, at some unspecified point, there was a universal understanding, and acceptance, of a homogenous British identity, founded in Anglo-centrism and missionary nationalism inculcated through state education. It seeks to establish simplistic correlations between the redefinition of approaches to history teaching and a general lack of agreement or understanding of core attributes of British national identity. This discourse denies the stratifying influence of socio-economic status, nationality and religion in the quality and duration in the provision of education, and the divergence in national curricula across Britain since the late 1960s. Moreover, it assumes a common pedagogic approach that utilised the same resources within a consistent curricular framework.

There are number of issues regarding the debate on history teaching which have significant implications, not only on the on-going debate regarding identity and Britishness, but also on the development of citizenship education provision in state schools:

- (1) The politicisation of debates regarding history teaching has largely been founded on concerns about Englishness not Britishness, and the issues relating to loss of empire, supra-nationalism, post-war immigration and devolution has had on political and cultural relationships. Devolution has encouraged further “nationalising” of history syllabuses, which, in terms of content, aims, structure, and emphasis, are distinctive and reflective of particular cultural characteristics political imperatives, and historical legacies. This should be seen as necessary divergence that accentuates British multi-nationality and encourages the development of inclusive nationhood. It has, however, potentially significant implications for the resonance and saliency of a British identity. Two divergent arguments have emerged founded on (empire)nation-saving or nation-building. In England, debate has focused on the retention of Anglo-British conceptions of history and the establishment of a chronological timeline that promotes homogeneity of England and Britain.
 - (2) Whilst the quality of history teaching has been overwhelmingly reported to have improved across the UK since 1997, there are a number of concerns common to history teaching within each national system. Duration of history teaching lacks consistency on a number of criteria. The amount of time within the curriculum allocated can vary within national and local school contexts. It is, however, seen by many as insufficient, ensuring that teachers have to resort to rote techniques to cover the syllabus in its entirety. History remains optional after the age of 14 across the UK, ensuring that lack of equality in exposure. This challenges the academic value of history as a discipline, and encourages the cessation of historical study for the majority of students, who choose other subjects to enhance their academic progression.
 - (3) The encouragement of more faith schools has furthered the potential distortion or narrowing of the remit of history syllabuses. Whilst some, such as the historian Tristram Hunt, suggest that faith schools provide a stronger platform to understand the foundations of the British national story, it can also limit the preparedness of history teachers to provide pluralistic interpretations of controversial dimensions of the past. As such, history syllabuses can be defined by particularistic ascriptions defined by theology. Similarly, the presence of independent schools, and “independent” state-sector schools in England, can encourage bespoke syllabuses that promote selective views of the past defined by selfish interest. Whilst “value-free” history might be perceived as utopian, the potential to deny students access to a pluralist historical education that encourages interpretative analysis is significant within some schools.
 - (4) History teaching in primary schools in England is not discrete, and there are some indications that curriculum pressures, lack of expertise, inconsistent content and asymmetric provision are affecting the quality of teaching and “marginalising” the subject. As such, Key Stage 3 (11–14) has emerged as the only period where students are given compulsory and discrete history education. However, the range of the syllabus, within local, national, European and global contexts, means teachers are under significant pressure to complete successfully this Key Stage.⁵⁸ Furthermore, concerns have been expressed regarding the lack of chronological and contextual knowledge due
-

⁵⁷ Theresa May, former Shadow Education Secretary, attacked revision of the National Curriculum for history in August 1999, noting that “under Labour, even history is history” (*Daily Telegraph*, 4 August 1999). Tim Collins, another former Shadow Education Secretary, accused Labour of “deliberately unravelling old national myths rather than constructing new ones” that could undermine “the survival of the British nation” (*Today*, BBC Radio 4, 27 January 2005). Michael Howard (2005) accused Labour of “focusing on what divides us”.

⁵⁸ A history teacher from Derby High School in Bury, North Manchester, commented in an interview that the Key Stage 3 syllabus was like “fitting 1,000 years of history into 150 hours” (11 April 2005).

to broad and diverse range of areas covered. This has encouraged debate regarding the relative value of rote approaches to knowledge transferral, and the relative merits of interpretive skills-based history teaching.

- (5) For those students who choose to continue the study of history, the influence of competing examination boards in England has narrowed curriculum within a marketised system. Competition has encouraged the popularisation of certain subject areas, ensuring that, though there is theoretical freedom regarding textbooks and other resources, these are disproportionately concentrated within an increasingly narrow remit. This encourages the distortion of the syllabus, limiting depth and context of knowledge and understanding for many students, and the possibility of repeating some aspects of the syllabus beyond the compulsory period. Moreover, many new history teachers are influenced strongly by their own academic progression, founded on a narrowing range of history taught at primary, secondary and higher levels of education. This perpetuates a situation whereby the narrow range of historical knowledge within the history profession is potentially self-replicating. Indeed, many teachers welcome the prescriptive nature of the National Curriculum founded on their historical strengths, especially as heavy workloads restrict syllabus development into other areas.
- (6) There has been no sustained attempt to address the conflation of English and British historical progression within the English syllabus, thus extending the myopia regarding the multi-nationality of the UK. Welsh, Irish and Scottish influence on the development of the UK remains peripheral, and largely founded in conquest and submission. There lacks the development of political and economic discourse which acknowledges the mutual foundations of relations within an overarching Britannic national or imperial framework, or encourages understanding of the mutuality of English political, economic, social and cultural development within the multi-national United Kingdom. As such, the Anglo-British nature of the English history syllabus has begun to explicitly Anglicise some aspects of British identity, but without articulating a distinct English national framework that encourages awareness of the multi-lingual, multi-national, multi-cultural or multi-ethnic legacy of the British state.
- (7) Conversely, in Wales and Scotland, debates are framed less about nation-saving and more about nation-building that demarks nation from Anglo-British state. Populist discourses within increasingly nationalised media in Wales and Scotland recourse to simplistic notions of identity that, in seeking to assert difference from England, are also anti-British and are potentially exclusory. Similarly, in England much of the popular press promotes “traditional” conflated articulations of Anglo-British identity founded in contexts of mythical homogeneity that promotes an implicitly exclusivist agenda. This influences popular conceptions of identity, encouraging divergence in what many teachers perceive to be the core elements of their accordant national identities. There remains a lack of agreement between the national systems regarding the proportionality of local and national components *vis-à-vis* overarching UK, European and global history. There is, however, divergence in the responses of the differing national systems. In Scotland and Wales, new and better-trained teachers are benefiting from the development of higher education that provides greater national understanding and training. This has not necessarily emerged in England. The failure to define “England” continues to provide problems for UK history teaching. However, the reluctance to teach genuinely UK history within the curriculum that acknowledges the multi-national nature of the UK denies many a sense of inclusion and limits emphasis on cultural, economic and political commonality within a UK framework. Similarly, the reluctance to acknowledge European and Commonwealth dimensions of Britishness ensures that, though founded within reduced territorial contexts, nationalised history syllabuses merely extend mono-ethnic concepts of history.
- (8) There has emerged growing concern, especially in England, regarding the range of the history syllabus, and the disproportionate focus on the Second World War, and the “Hitlerisation” of the curriculum. Although date capping has not emerged, the lack of detailed examination of contemporary history after 1945 places significant emphasis on the Second World War without wholly acknowledging the development of peaceful post-war economic and political relations in Europe. These concerns have some foundation, as the Second World War is largely taught within a moral framework that accentuates the immorality of the Holocaust, and the Nazi regime as a whole, without providing sufficient context or historical balance. This narrows the framework of British history within a largely European context, limiting acknowledgement or proportionality of Soviet, Chinese or British imperial contribution or sacrifice. Some have also suggested it extends notions of difference with the rest of Europe, and residual sentiments of anti-German and anti-Japanese xenophobia. It also accentuates notions of British decline within a context of war that exaggerates self-sacrifice rather than examining broader consequences of imperial decline within contexts of nationalism, coercion and self-determinism. Whilst the defeat of the Nazi and imperial Japanese regimes are promoted as British national, but not imperial, achievements, there is a lack of examination of the complex and contradictory nature of the Second World War, and its outcomes. The study of the Holocaust is rightly justified as a powerful example of abuse of human rights, racism, ethnic cleansing and genocide, thus highlighting the potential for human nature to be distorted within a moral framework founded on racial ideology. However, the disproportionate

focus on the study of the Holocaust as an example furthers the focus on European history, and encourages a moral justification for British sacrifice in the Second World War that extends notions of missionary self-righteousness founded in empire that lacks historical foundation.

- (9) There lacks a British framework of national self-examination as the history of “others” is mainly used to provide a framework for inculcating values and morality linked within good citizenship. This allows for a clear separation between “national” history and “foreign” history. Therefore, history can be utilised to encourage critical reflection without challenging many of the established myths regarding Britishness, and perceived cultural and racial homogeneity, morality and superiority. Many elements of British “imperial” history are accommodated as “non-European” history, thus highlighting the notion of “otherness” of former part of the empire, and extending notions of difference not only within historical frameworks but also within contemporary society. This accentuates conceptions of missionary distinctiveness which suggests Britishness has, and is, a segregated identity in which new citizens can only be partially accepted or acknowledged within the “national” story. As such, UK history remains largely the history of the white majority. This encourages notions of difference, not only within racial and cultural contexts, also implicitly suggesting that UK and European history is somehow separate. Indeed, though we have seen the nationalising of the history curriculum, there remains a reluctance to re-introduce study of the British Empire. Attempts to accommodate pluralist accounts of history that reflect Britain’s diverse society, through the promotion of discrete historical awareness through projects such as “Black History Month”, might suggest an increase in understanding for students. However, it merely further compartmentalises the history of the British Empire as distinct and different from “mainstream” British history, encouraging exclusion rather than inclusion.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There is an urgent necessity for post-imperial societies, and more importantly their political leaders, to accept the lack of congruence of nation and state. This involves not only the development of more sophisticated patterns of language but also a greater awareness of the sensibilities of all citizens within a multi-national state. There must also be an embrace of sophisticated differentiated patterns of citizenship that reflect the plurality of past and present. The experience of empire provides a strong model to encourage future generations to reject the exclusory preciousness of the nation-state and to seek to establish civic and other group loyalties within a range of sub- and supra-national contexts.

This noted, the enduring nature of the nation-state must be recognised. The establishment of clear civic relationships between the state and the citizen is essential to encourage mutuality and equality within codified and transparent parameters. This ensures a constitutional legacy is established that provides an inter-generational heritage that contributes towards an inclusive civic identity. Constitutionalism can also define social and economic rights for contemporary society and provide a framework and democratic tradition for future generations to ensure democratic certainty.

The process of constructing a framework of post-imperial citizenship, and the re-imagining of accordant state identity, is a complex and contradictory process. It is fraught with tensions framed in historical and contemporary contexts, and is further distorted by the growing influences of sub-national and supra-national networks of citizenship and identity(ies). There must be preparedness for the all groups to reappraise the UK’s imperial past in an objective manner that rejects simplistic positive or negative analysis of the contribution and purpose of empire. Therefore, the dominant group must be encouraged to express their identity(ies) in distinct and positive frameworks without fear of persecution. Minority groups must become more accommodating of the process of identity (re)construction of the dominant ethnic groups. This means the allowance of expression of ethnic identity without perceiving it as a form of imperial revivalism. Bernard Crick has put this simply, declaring we need more Englishness not less. This process can pragmatically reduce the conflation between nation, state and empire, thus encouraging the development of a culturally “thin” conception of state citizenship which accommodates missionary nationalism of Englishness in relation to Britishness.

The supra-national dimensions of post-imperial citizenship continue to influence, and challenge, the construction of discrete (multi)nation-state frameworks. Thereby, the preciousness of national citizenship is moderated through the continuing presence of political, economic and cultural patterns of exchange and preferential co-citizenship. The encouragement of a post-imperial mindset that celebrates the plurality and inclusivity of the imperial experience can provide a model to address successfully the complexities of an increasingly globalised environment.

This necessitates the proactive education for citizenship of new generation to understand their imperial legacy, and its contribution to contemporary society. It is, therefore, essential that state programmes do not simply address perceived problems within society or attempt to re-establish truncated patterns of inert citizenship. The promotion of active and participative citizenship is essential to ensure that all citizens are embraced, and contribute to the continued negotiation of, an inclusive post-imperial civic identity. Furthermore, approaches to history teaching must encourage understanding of the historical development of political institutions, and the pluralist discourses that reject narrow politicised conceptions of the past.

This should not be, however, a discrete or isolated approach contained within schools. The numerous influences that the younger generation are exposed to outside of school strongly affect attitudes and behaviour within it. Young peoples' views must be addressed in open and understanding environments, rather than ignored or viewed as juvenile and/or insignificant. Failure to acknowledge the development, and views, of the next generation during their period of formal state education will merely encourage a culture of uninformed apathy, or extremism, which could further dislocation from active participation, encourage social segregation, and undermine the inclusivity of post-imperial societies.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE COMMITTEE

- (1) A constitutional convention should be convened as a matter of some urgency. Reckless short-term politicising of constitutional reform, and its partiality, could have significant implications for UK citizenship. Constitutional insecurity challenges the development of political, social and economic citizenship, and the ability of citizenship education programmes across the UK to encourage inclusive frameworks of participation, obligation and civic identity(ies).
- (2) The relationship between citizen and state must be clarified within comprehensible and transparent formats that establish clear lines of understanding of right and responsibilities. Decline in political literacy, and trust in institutions and representatives, make it difficult to establish strong bonds between state and citizen. Citizenship must be empowered by the codification of the constitutional relationship between citizen and (multi-national) state, and this must contain a Bill of Rights which explicitly acknowledges the ECHR and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This rejects the notion of a "British" Bill of Rights which merely encourages reductionism within national contexts.
- (3) Constitutional reform must be prepared to acknowledge and resolve the UK's imperial legacy. This involves the reconsidering of the position and suitability of some (supranational) institutions which continue to define the state and also some state symbols. Furthermore, citizenship laws must be simplified to promote a simplified system of citizenship that rejects the current fragmented approaches. If the UK is to be post-imperial, then it must relinquish or encourage self-determination for all remaining imperial possessions.
- (4) The picture that has emerged regarding identity across the UK does not suggest the emergence of any radical patterns of re-adjustment regarding self-identification, though it does highlight the prevalence of national and ethnic tensions across Britain. Whilst there is no clear case for the wholesale abandonment of a "British" national identity, neither is there an overwhelming indication of support for it. It would appear that, in national terms, there would seem a correlation between greater civic autonomy and identification at state or sub-state level. However, although an increasing number are prepared to prioritise their sub-state national identity in preference, or in rejection, of their British national identity, many minority groupings find greater accommodation through ascription to a UK or British civic identity. Those who promote national independence, or who perceive the existence of the UK state as the continuance of an imperialist agenda, fail to concede their potentially exclusory nature. Sub-state national identities (English, Welsh, Scottish etc) are defined largely by the dominant ethnic, narrowing the remit of cultural inclusion without, yet, providing developed civic frameworks that are wholly inclusive. Similarly, there is little recognition of the extent to which inter-marriage and migration patterns within the British Isles have altered national, regional and local dimensions of identity for many Britons.

What is clear is that UK and British identities have undergone, and are continuing to undergo, a period of renegotiation. Some would argue, however, that British national identity has always been a developmental identity that pragmatically redefines itself according to contemporary political, economic and social conditions. Indeed, those who seek to abandon constructions of British national identity fail to accept fully its fluidity and flexibility. Much of the pessimism in which "break-up of Britain" discourses are founded fail to acknowledge the acceptance of asymmetry or hierarchy in foundation and development of British national identity(ies). There has never been a singular conception of British national identity, or an insistence of the primacy of Britishness.

There is little statistical data to support notions of homogeneity of British national identity during the twentieth century. Analysis of fluctuations in strength of sentiment should be tempered by an acknowledgement of the possibility that current trends may not be new, and might merely be a reflection of residual patterns that have only been highlighted through improved survey methodology. In times of national strife, such as conflict, British national identity has proven central to notions of cohesion and solidity within society. The contemporary political climate has proven, however, highly divisive, highlighting the multi-national and multi-ethnic composition of British society, extending debates regarding British imperialism.

It is clear that notions of uniformity in identity expression in Britain are now being overtly rejected, encouraging greater expression of difference that reflects commonality and acknowledges diversity. This, in many ways, extends imperial approaches to identity founded around a loose common framework that encourages particularistic features. One crucial difference distinguishes

the range of British imperial identities and contemporary British national identity. The resonance of the imperial core is now lacking, and many citizens, old and new, lack surety in foundations of its overarching identity. As such, the British have engaged in a seemingly interminable quest to find the elusive qualities and dimension of Britishness that will temper post-imperial insecurities and provide a simplistic framework of shared culture and values to stave-off further disintegration and bind an increasingly complex society. The politicising of debates concerning Britishness and national identity is of much concern. Efforts to utilise concerns within society for political gain might simply enflame secessionist or other tensions.

Therefore, the on-going debate regarding Britishness must be reappraised. The approach of Gordon Brown and David Cameron lacks relativity if the “British” values they assert are either universal, uncodified or are compromised by the experience of empire. Recourse to “national” solutions such as a “British” Bill of Rights also lacks an understanding of the relationship of the UK with Europe and the rest of the world. Similarly, the creation of a “national” day can merely exacerbate national and other tensions. Whilst promotion of celebration on days of remembrance have been largely rejected, it seems clear that there is a political need for a British national day. The need for a national day is not one that has emerged out of public demand. What is required are more UK/British national “moments”, which acknowledge the UK’s diverse experience in Empire (involving the two World Wars and other such experiences), that require more inventive approaches than simply hijacking established events.

- (5) Consideration must be given by the Select Committee to the necessity for desire to maintain a common framework of state education across the UK. Focusing exclusively on English concerns without consideration of the relativity of such approaches not only undermines further the commonality of a UK education, but also furthers institutional separatism. The promotion of diversity has slowly undermined commonality of purpose within a UK framework. Each “nationalised” system must be prepared to acknowledge good practice in others, and encourage greater interaction.

This is particularly relevant when assessing the purpose of citizenship and history education programmes. Consideration must be given to the impact of nationally defined provision that is proving increasingly disconnected in approach, content and expected outcomes. This is particularly relevant when assessing developments in England. Debate addressing the persisting ambiguity of empire must also be encouraged, though care must be taken to ensure that politicised debates in broader society do not undermine pluralist frameworks of understanding promoted in schools. This can only be achieved by ensuring that consensus is sought with all those involved in education provision, therefore rejecting potentially selfish and exclusory representations that can undermine positive frameworks that accept diversity and promote commonality.

- (6) It is clear that citizenship education has also not been accepted completely within the educational community, with many teachers still unsure about its aims and objectives, and lacking sufficient training to confidently develop citizenship within their own specialisms. Doubts persist, in some quarters, regarding the motivations of the Labour government, and its dedication to citizenship education. Its place within curriculum is not secure, and two out of the main three political parties suggested they would discard citizenship education from the National Curriculum during the 2005 general election.

There must be a concerted reappraisal of what is the focus of citizenship education. It must consider the official and unofficial segregation that exists within state education on national, socio-economic, ethnic and religious contexts. It must seek to provide a framework to encourage understanding and knowledge within local, regional, national, state, supranational and global environments. Furthermore, efforts must be made to ensure that the provision of citizenship education is founded on the political, economic and cultural socialisation of young people, not one defined by academic award or meritocracy. The English approach, involving examinations, has been described as “crazy” by some Scottish and Welsh educationalists, but there is clear evidence that citizenship is taught better in England when it has “value” within a marketised system. This is an area requiring consideration.

Moreover, the purpose of citizenship education must be reappraised. What is it that we want young people to be a citizen of? What identities are to be encouraged? Many teachers are unsure of their relationship with the state, therefore we are in many cases merely replicating this ambiguity. Devolution has altered the framework of the UK state, and citizenship education must be able to meet the demands of this restructuring by ensuring that young people are confident of their citizenship and range of identities within a looser Union. Failure to acknowledge the considerations and approaches of all four “home” nations, and encourage commonality as well as difference, could be merely exacerbate differences and divergence in patterns of self-recognition and citizenship.

- (7) Current approaches to history teaching in the UK are fragmented and lack any significant commonality of purpose. Competing nation-saving and nation-building projects are undermining constructions of common Britishness, or an agreed British national story. The marketised system in England has reduced the range and focus of history taught, and its optionality across the UK

after the age of 14 is of deep concern. There are also concerns regarding chronological understanding, and the relationship of England with Britain. Again, a more inclusive approach towards history teaching which acknowledges commonality and diversity must be considered, without the exaggeration that media and politicians have resorted to in attempts to link with debates regarding identity.

- (8) The lessons of empire could still allow Britain to readjust towards the ensuing “super diversity” of society, encouraging acceptance of communal and diasporic affinities that can challenge national citizenship. Britain is distinct within Europe in its disregard for its imperial history within state education. Rejection of the British Empire as an integral part of the national story emphasises the piecemeal approach to the construction of the competing national history syllabuses, framed within nation-saving or nation-building contexts. The nationalising of history syllabuses has denied the commonality of the British experience of empire, and rejects a broader concept of Britishness founded in supra-national economic, political, social and cultural development. Of more concern, the rejection of holistic and pluralist approaches that embraces empire undermines the relevance of British history to many young people within multi-national and multi-ethnic frameworks of contemporary British society.

The study of the British Empire is central to the understanding of the development of the British state, and its accordant political culture. There is a failure to outline the institutional and constitutional maturing of the British state within a broader imperial framework that accentuates commonality and difference in practice and legacy. Thus, current approaches to history teaching merely exacerbate national exclusivity, founded on a mythical exclusivity regarding citizenship and identity already promoted in other areas of the syllabus. Teaching of the British Empire requires a balanced and sensitive approach that acknowledges both positive and negative dimensions as part of a symbiotic dialogue to encourage a genuine move towards a post-imperial sense of Britishness. Post-imperial reflection cannot be neatly compartmentalised within national, ethnic or religious contexts. The British Empire was defined by an enduring ambiguity that must be necessarily acknowledged. Those such as Paul Gilroy are right to highlight the need for post-imperial honesty when renegotiating Britain’s imperial past. However, there must be a preparedness for those encouraging renegotiation to acknowledge the reality of empire, and active or complicit role played in its development, “warts and all”, by a significant number of those within its periphery.

July 2006

Memorandum submitted by the British Humanist Association (BHA)

A: THE BRITISH HUMANIST ASSOCIATION (BHA)

1. The BHA is the principal organisation representing the interests of the large and growing population of ethically concerned non-religious people living in the UK. It exists to support and represent such people, who seek to live good lives without religious or superstitious beliefs, is committed to human rights and democracy, and has a long history of active engagement in work for an open and inclusive society, and open and inclusive schools.

2. The BHA has always taken a particularly strong interest in education, especially religious, moral and values education, and has participated in many official consultations and working parties. In the 1970s we co-founded the Social Morality Council, now the Norham Foundation, and worked constructively through it with people from Christian and other traditions to seek agreed solutions to moral and social problems despite our disagreements on matters of fundamental belief. We were founding members of the Values Education Council and remain engaged in it. We have for many years been active in the Religious Education Council and in many Standing Advisory Councils for Religious Education. We produce a wide range of material for use in schools, including a series of briefings on contemporary ethical issues and two teachers’ booklets on “Humanist Perspectives”.

3. Our ideas about education are shaped by our basic beliefs. We see children as people with rights and responsibilities accruing to them progressively as they grow and mature. We do not see them as possessions of their parents or of the state, but we hold that both parents and the state (notably through its schools) have duties to help fit them for life as autonomous adults, making their own decisions, including decisions about fundamental beliefs, accepting the freedom of others to differ, and both contributing to and benefiting from the community at large. The community should provide education that helps children to develop knowledge, judgement and skills—including skills of moral thinking and citizenship. Schools should be impartial, fair and balanced in dealing with controversial subjects, religion no less than politics.

4. It should be clear then that the BHA is strongly committed to statutory citizenship education in schools and we welcome the fact that prominent humanists such as Bernard Crick (a Vice President of the BHA) have played a full part in bringing it about. We endorse all the aims of citizenship education, such as those that are concerned with political and media literacy, but the most particular area of our interest is in statutory citizenship education as a subject that aims to assist in the development of young people as citizens

with critical faculties who are socially and morally responsible. Below we concentrate in brief on a few areas associated with citizenship education of special interest to our members. We would be happy to expand on any of these areas in person before your Committee.

B: NON-RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

Assemblies and “Collective Worship”

5. The addition of a new subject to the National Curriculum caused some concern about how the new material would fit into a stretched timetable. We believe that a very obvious time of the school day which can be used, in part, for the delivery of citizenship is assembly.

6. The current law requires every school to hold a daily act of “collective worship” which is to be broadly Christian in nature (most recent statement of the law is in the School Standards and Framework Act 1998)

7. The problems with this are clear. Not only is this an incoherent requirement for modern schools (lacking a shared religion, a school may do many things collectively, but “worship” is not one of them) but it ties the hands of teachers and head teachers who may wish to use assembly time for something more educational. One of those things might be the delivery of citizenship education.

8. For many years the BHA has advocated reform of the law on collective worship and we concur with many other interested organisations in believing that there is a better role for school assemblies than collective worship. Reformed school assemblies could make a great contribution to whole-school citizenship as a time when the whole school comes together to affirm shared values.

9. In many good schools, assemblies are indeed used as a time when shared values can be explored and topics that are cross-curricular. A reform in the law (see appendix 1 for a suggested amendment which would accomplish this for non-faith schools, and for further notes on this subject) and new guidance under a reformed law would contribute greatly to this.⁵⁹

Citizenship Education and Religious Education

10. RE is clearly one of those subjects through which statutory citizenship education may be delivered.⁶⁰ We believe that citizenship education is at its most effective when it is integrated fully into the ethos of a school and also that, although there is a need for much citizenship teaching as a discrete subject, it is in practice taught in many schools through other subjects, such as history, English, PSHE, or RE.

11. In the case of RE, we believe it is difficult for those producing textbooks and resources to do so in a way that the links between RE and citizenship can be fully explored and that this is because RE, instead of being on the National Curriculum, is taught (in community schools) according to 151 local syllabuses.

12. We would recommend that RE (perhaps more inclusively named as “beliefs and values education” or similar) be added to the National Curriculum, to better ensure consistency of provision across all schools. One effect of this would also be to make it easier for teachers, teaching training institutions, and educational publishers to make effective links between RE and citizenship education.

Citizenship Education and identity

13. We do not believe that children automatically share their families’ religious beliefs or that children should be described as “Christian”, “Sikh” ”humanist” etc until they have had the opportunity to explore and decide these matters for themselves. (That is one reason that many humanist parents give for wanting good RE in schools.)

14. In light of this, we believe that, when addressing issues of religion and identity in citizenship and elsewhere, teachers should be advised not to make assumptions about their pupils’ affiliations or self-definitions in this area. The best teachers, or course, do this, but we believe that religion is one area in which the ideal of a critical and totally open approach to issues is still seen as sensitive if not controversial.

15. Since one of the aspirations for good citizenship education is that it encourages the critical faculties of young people and encourages them to consider their own responses to questions of identity, we feel that the question of religious identity should be left as open as possible for them, and that guidelines such as those recommended by some educationists in the USA (see for example <http://tinyurl.com/ngxf9>) would be welcome here.

⁵⁹ Not printed.

⁶⁰ But, as a corrective against the sometimes exaggerated claims made for RE in this regard, we recommend Ted Huddleston’s article in *Teaching Citizenship*, issue 7, Autumn 2003, reproduced as appendix 2.

C: RELIGIOUS (“FAITH”) SCHOOLS

16. The policy of the British Humanist Association is that faith schools should be phased out and that all state funded schools should be inclusive and accommodating institutions. Our current education policy, *A Better Way Forward*, is attached as appendix 3 to this submission and is of interest to the present inquiry because it lays out the policies which we would see as best contributing to the cultivation of a feeling of shared citizenship.⁶¹ That being said, however, we recognise that the existence of faith schools is not the focus of the present enquiry, and so below we comment on some aspects of faith schools and citizenship education specifically.

Citizenship Education and Faith Schools

17. The most recent Ofsted report on Citizenship (27 September 2006) says:⁶² “The problem in some schools is that [. . .] citizenship (is) almost invisible in the curriculum itself. Particularly in the early days of citizenship as a new subject, many head teachers claimed their ethos as a main plank of their citizenship provision. Especially in faith schools, they cited the ethical and moral values of their pupils as evidence of effective provision. In these schools, head teachers may well point to the demeanour of their pupils as good citizens in a general sense, and to all the parts of their school’s work that contribute to this; but they have missed the point that National Curriculum citizenship is now a subject that is taught, learned, assessed and practised.”

18. This judgment, of course, finds an echo in the widely reported comments of David Bell when he was Chief Inspector of Schools,⁶³ and we believe it was also justified by the oral evidence given to your Committee by the representatives of a number of religious organisations that are school providers on 22 May 2006.

19. Comments in the oral evidence of religious representatives to your Committee that we particularly noticed in connection with this issue were: “being a good Catholic involves being a good citizen”; “It strikes me that the non-faith schools system might be needing to catch up with where we as faith schools have had little difficulty in understanding citizenship for many decades”; “from an Islamic point of view a good citizen is a good Muslim, a universal citizen. I suppose a properly run Islamic school would not require a citizenship programme at all because within its philosophy, its teachings and its holistic approach is what I would call the effective domain which seeks to turn young people into good human beings with universal values.”

Assumption that citizenship is in the faith “ethos”

20. One problem appears to be that citizenship is seen by some faith schools as something that is implicit within their own ethos and consists in young people learning to be “good” or useful to their community. This assumption is not borne out by reports such as the Ofsted report of September 2006.

21. We are also concerned by the assumption made by the representatives of faith schools that being a good citizen is a necessary corollary of being a religious person. Not only is there an unpleasant implication that one can only be a good citizen if one is a religious person (an unacceptable line for state-funded faith schools, which of course will contain children not of the faith of the school) but it assumes a definition of citizen and citizenship that is not necessarily that which is intended by statutory citizenship on the curriculum. Citizenship is in part about fostering the skills necessary for the citizens of a modern democracy and a liberal open and pluralist society to participate in that society—it is not just about becoming a “good” person.

22. These aspects of citizenship education may not always be compatible with the faith ethos of a school. For example, as one head of a Muslim school, Ibrahim Lawson, said on *Beyond Belief* (Radio 4, March 2003): “the essential purpose of the Islamia school as with all Islamic schools is to inculcate profound religious belief in the children”. This is not necessarily an aim compatible with the ideals of citizenship education and it is the case that some religious groups espouse views that are not compatible with a full commitment to equality, human rights, and democratic principles.

Delivering Citizenship Education through RE

23. We are concerned that citizenship in faith schools may be delivered mainly through RE, which seems to be the consequence of the idea that citizenship is best developed through faith. RE in faith schools is inspected separately from the “secular” curriculum and not by Ofsted—we are concerned that the delivery of citizenship through RE may therefore locate citizenship beyond the inspection remit of Ofsted and be inimical to its effective evaluation. Further, we are concerned that in some faith schools, RE (which, by law, is permitting to be confessional) may not readily lend itself to the proper teaching of citizenship.

⁶¹ Not printed.

⁶² *Towards Consensus? Citizenship in Secondary Schools* (Ofsted 2006).

⁶³ Reported at (eg) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/4180845.stm>

24. One example is to be found in the Church of England’s document “Excellence and Distinctiveness: Guidance on RE in Church of England Schools”. Although on page 6 “promoting inclusion for all” is recommended, on the same page the beliefs of those who do not believe in a non-material world are described as “ultimately sterile”—this is hardly the model of inclusion. The document also draws a distinction (page 4) between Christian children who are to be “nourish[ed]”, children of other religions, who are to be “encourage[d]” and children with no faith who are to be “challenge[d]”.

25. We would also be concerned if we thought that the teaching of citizenship through RE ran the risk of implying that values, such as those values that are explored in citizenship, are necessarily dependent on faith. One reason for our support of statutory citizenship (see 4 above) is that it allows a space for values to be discussed outside the context of RE and so is more inclusive of those whose beliefs are not religious. If citizenship in faith schools is largely taught through RE (and indeed the same point could be made about teaching citizenship through RE in non-religious schools), we are concerned that non-religious young people may feel alienated from the discussion of shared values.

Citizenship Education and religious identity

26. We would not go so far as to claim that “identity politics” are wholly incompatible with democratic politics, but we do have concerns about religious schools and citizenship which are related to the question of religious identity.

27. We realise that your present inquiry is not about the desirability or otherwise of state-funded faith schools. The claim made by the representatives of faith schools in their evidence to you that faith and faith schools encourage the development of active citizens is, however, in our view questionable and we would like to comment on it briefly. Admittedly, there is little evidence either way as to the outcomes for young people (though reports such as the most recent one from Ofsted give reason to think the opposite). There is some evidence, however, that strong religious identities are not those which best equip young people to participate in civil society.

28. Research funded by the Nestle Research Programme identified one group of young people as “Own Group Identified”: those who strongly associated their identity with their nation or religion.⁶⁴ They were least likely to vote or to take part in demonstrations. They had the lowest rate of participation in recent community and political activities.

29. Further, some who have attended faith schools have not felt that they connected them to the wider society. For example, Farzina Alam, writing in the Muslim magazine *Q News*: “Academically it did me no favours. Spiritually, it made me look down on fellow believers and people in general. Is the only purpose of such schools gender segregation? [. . .] Perhaps the school I attended is the exception to the rule but I have a suspicion it isn’t [. . .] if [faith schools] are helping create a myopic, insular generation that is uncomfortable in modern multicultural, multi-faith Britain, then I think I’d rather have my kids take their chances in a mainstream comprehensive any day.”

30. As we stated in 26 above, we would not make any exaggerated claims for this evidence—there is no comprehensive evidence either way. But we do believe that the sort of schools that are permitted by law to separate children on religious grounds through their admissions policies and to teach RE of their own devising are not best equipped for the delivery of citizenship education.

D: CONCLUSION

31. The BHA is a strong supporter of citizenship education and we believe that, to be effective, the subject needs to be much better funded and be taken more seriously by more schools (the same could be said of RE).

32. Just as many subjects can, good inclusive RE can contribute to the delivery of citizenship education, but it could never be the sole means of delivery. If it were (eg in faith schools), the BHA would be concerned as to the effectiveness of such an approach.

33. The time currently set aside (in law if not in practice) for “collective worship” could be better allocated to inclusive assemblies, one aspect of which could be the delivery of citizenship.

October 2006

⁶⁴ “My Voice. My Vote, My Community: a study of young people’s civic action and inaction”, Helen Haste (Nestle Social Research programme Report number four), October 2005.