Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study: Literature Review - Citizenship Education One Year On – What Does it Mean?: Emerging Definitions and Approaches in the First Year of National Curriculum Citizenship in England

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

> **Key Points**
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> The review:
>
> ♦ Is part of a series of literature reviews for the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study culminating in a final comprehensive literature review in 2009
>
> ♦ Contributes to the overall aim of developing an informed evidence base that will allow discussion of potential challenges for the delivery of citizenship education to improve its effectiveness
>
> ♦ Builds from an initial exploratory literature review in terms of scope, focus and timeframe
>
> ♦ Focuses on 'definitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship education in policy and practice' in the first year of national curriculum citizenship in England
>
> ♦ Contains three main sections: definitions of citizenship and citizenship education; approaches to citizenship education in the formal curriculum; and approaches to active citizenship both within and beyond the school.
>
> ♦ Concludes with reflections and insights for future literature reviews and the conduct of the Study.

1.1 Background Context

This document presents the first annual literature review undertaken as part of nine-year Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (hereafter *the Study*). The review builds on and extends an initial exploratory literature review which was conducted at the start of the Study (Kerr *et al*., 2002). Indeed, the two reviews should be seen sequentially. They are part of a series of reviews that will culminate in a final, comprehensive literature review for the Study to be published in 2009.

The initial exploratory literature review laid the ground for this first annual literature review in three important aspects. First, it offered an overarching framework for the conduct of the annual literature reviews. This is based on sorting the literature into three areas of focus. They are:

- Definitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice

- The political socialisation of young people and adults

- Youth transitions and the meaning and experience of neighbourhood, community and home.

These three areas lend themselves to the way that citizenship education has been framed in the National Curriculum in England – around the interrelated strands of *political literacy*, *community involvement* and *social and moral responsibility* – and also to the academic disciplines most closely related to the Study, namely education, political sciences, psychology, sociology and social policy among others.

Second, it established a baseline, or broad foundation, upon which subsequent literature reviews could build. The initial literature review was centred on an exploratory discussion of literature relating to citizenship education – published research, theoretical and policy documents – originating from 1998 to September 2002, in the three areas of focus. The timeframe reflected the period from the setting up of the Citizenship Advisory Group to the preparation for and formal introduction of citizenship as a new national curriculum subject in secondary schools in England. It covered the most recent phase of interest in citizenship and citizenship education in England and thus, the literature, in terms of policy, practice and research, of most relevance at the start of the conduct of the Study. This is a period that Gearon (2003) defines as marking the beginning of research in '*explicit citizenship education*', as distinct from research in disparate but related areas such as human rights education, values education, global education and personal and social health education (PSHE), which he calls '*implicit citizenship*', which preceded it. The Study and annual literature reviews are concerned primarily with research into the former rather than the latter.

Third, the initial exploratory literature review highlighted a number of potential directions that could be explored in subsequent literature reviews. These directions relate to all three areas of focus in the review. They are concerned with the cumulative building, by the Study's end in 2009, of a clearer understanding of the complex processes which influence the development of young people's political literacy and attitudes toward participation and active citizenship both in and out of school and, in particular, of the contribution of citizenship education programmes to such development.

The potential directions underline the need for this and subsequent reviews not only to maintain an interdisciplinary approach but also to be more targeted in their focus and timeframe.

It is vital that the annual literature reviews continue to bring together literature from a wide range of relevant academic disciplines in order to meet the dual contexts of citizenship education in schools and in communities that the Study is investigating. It is equally important that the annual literature reviews become more targeted in their focus if they are to extend and improve, rather than duplicate, the wide-ranging and exploratory nature of the first annual literature review. It is neither feasible nor desirable to attempt to address the literature relating to all three areas of focus in each annual literature review. Rather, it is more in keeping with the Study's overarching aims and objectives that each annual literature review is targeted at one specific area of focus.

In summary, the outcomes of the initial exploratory literature review have had a considerable impact on the aims, objectives and conduct of this first annual literature review to be published.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The research team decided to target this first annual literature review on the first of the tripartite division of areas of focus, that of: *definitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice*. The decision was taken to concentrate, in particular, on the question **Citizenship Education One Year On - What Does it Mean?: Emerging Definitions and Approaches in the First Year of National Curriculum Citizenship in England** in relation to the period from September 2002 onward, as citizenship education policy moved into its first year of compulsory practice in schools and their linked communities.

The decision was taken for a number of reasons. First, it is the natural point of progression from the broad base and timeframe of the initial exploratory literature review. The initial review concluded that there were in existence, in 2002, a number of '*competing models and approaches to citizenship education in schools*' and considerable unanswered questions concerning the extent of agreement on definitions and approaches to citizenship education. This begs

the question as to how far this situation has changed in the first year of national curriculum citizenship. Second, it is the area of focus that is occupying policy-makers, practitioners, researchers and commentators, at present. The efforts of policy-makers, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and support networks have been concentrated on assisting teachers and schools understand what citizenship education means in terms of their practice. Third, it affords the research team opportunities, in subsequent annual reviews, not only to revisit this question and update on progress, but also to reflect critically on the two other areas of literature included in the initial review: the political socialisation of young people and adults; changing youth transitions to adulthood and the meaning and experience of neighbourhood, community and home for young people.

The literature searches undertaken for this review mainly focus on theoretical and empirical research findings published during the period from September 2002 when citizenship education became a statutory subject in England at key stage 3 (students age 11 to 14) and key stage 4 (students age 14 to 16) to December 2003 (See Figure 1 below).

This review therefore covers the most up-to-date phase of the current citizenship education initiative in England and thus the most up-to-date published literature, in terms of policy, practice and research. However, where relevant, significant documents from before this period are also included. Each piece of literature is currently archived in a bibliographic software package, *Procite*, in order to facilitate the easy citation and collation of references in future Study documents.

Figure 1.   The Search Parameters

Overall focus:	Theoretical and empirical research and literature on citizenship education, including in the school curriculum, school community and in the wider community.
Time scale:	Work published from 2002-2003.
Age range:	Secondary school and Post-16 education and training.
Geographical Scope:	Largely UK, but also some European and international (literature published in English only).
Sources:	Published articles, research reports (published and unpublished), books, government and government international publications.

In accordance with the search parameters, relevant research and literature was identified using a number of complementary search methods. These included:

♦ Bibliographic database searches of education/social science research databases, as well as more specialist records

♦ Online searches of websites relating to citizenship education

♦ E-mail requests to researchers, NGO staff and officials from government agencies working in this area through local, national, European and international networks and organisations

♦ Hand searches of existing reviews and bibliographies of relevance to this review.

The selection of studies and literature included in this review was, based on their fitness of purpose in connection to the review question, *Citizenship Education One Year On – What Does it Mean?: Emerging Definitions and Approaches in the First Year of National Curriculum Citizenship in England*.

The purpose of this review is twofold. First, it introduces a range of literature which helps us to update and extend the discussions surrounding citizenship education introduced in the first annual literature review around the area of: *definitions and models of and approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice*. In particular, it focuses on the first evidence which documents the reality of citizenship education in schools one year after its formal introduction into the national curriculum in England. Second, the review performs the function of developing further a strong conceptual, theoretical and contextual framework in order to inform the design and conduct of the Study.

However, this review cannot, and should not, be seen as a troubleshooting guide for schools dealing with the pedagogical and practical challenges presented by the introduction of the citizenship education curriculum. While one of the overall objectives of the Study is to develop *an informed evidence-based discussion of potential changes for the delivery of citizenship to improve its effectiveness*, the insights of this one element of the Study cannot do so in isolation. This will be the task of the Study's future annual reports and publications as the evidence base on citizenship education (drawing on the elements of the Study - literature review, the annual surveys and the school case studies) develops.

Following this introduction **Section 2** revisits discussions concerning the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education and how they are defined and approached in terms of policy and practice. The next two sections extend last year's discussion of the state of preparation of schools for the formal introduction of citizenship education in 2002 and cover literature which considers the transformation of policy into practice over the first year that citizenship education has formed part of the national curriculum in England.

Recognising that citizenship education has three key components – *citizenship education in the curriculum* and *active citizenship within the school as a community and beyond the school in the wider community* (Kerr *et al*., 2003) - **Section 3** focuses on literature which considers models of delivery of citizenship education through the *formal curriculum*, while **Section 4** considers the growing literature on the benefits of and challenges to learning about, and developing the skills of, citizenship through *active citizenship approaches* both within school and beyond in the wider community. As would be expected at this early stage of implementation, these latter two areas of literature remain relatively sparse, at present. However, it is anticipated that this literature will grow appreciably in the coming years as citizenship education becomes established in schools and attracts more research, evaluation and review. As Gearon (2003) notes '*since the subject* [Citizenship] *involves wide collaboration within groups and agencies beyond the school community, a major area for future research will be those sectors external to the school that aid and assist the delivery of citizenship through active participation and wider community involvement*' (p. 1). **Section 5** concludes the review with some reflections on the insights that the literature reviewed provides for the other elements of the Study and points to future directions for subsequent annual literature reviews.

2. DEFINING CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Key Points

♦ This section focuses on the key question '***Have commentators, researchers and practitioners reached agreement on a definition of and approach to citizenship education?*** It explores on-going debates concerning:

➤ a local, national, or global focus for citizenship

➤ sites of citizenship

➤ a hidden political agenda

➤ the curriculum location of citizenship education

➤ citizenship as a curriculum or whole school ethos

♦ Having reviewed the literature the answer to this question is no. Citizenship and citizenship education remain hotly contested concepts, and debates continue around the terminology of both concepts.

♦ The debates are led primarily by commentators and academics with little input or involvement from practitioners. The definitions put forward and approaches advocated remain, fluid, flexible and situation specific.

♦ There is some movement in the debates with increasing attempts to involve practitioners. There is also an emerging division of opinion between those who advocate '*explicit citizenship education*' and those who promote '*implicit citizenship*'.

♦ There is a need to focus on how far policy and curriculum approaches to citizenship education in schools are influenced by these wider debates and understand more about the foundations upon which citizenship education is being built in schools, by school leaders, teachers and students.

♦ It is important to recognise that the debates about terminology and approach are likely to be a long-term feature of citizenship education. However, these debates will probably become more grounded in the future in the reality of evolving citizenship education practice in schools and in the attitudes of young people to citizenship learning in a variety of contexts or 'sites', both in and beyond schools.

2.1 Findings from the First Annual Literature Review

As was noted in the initial exploratory annual literature review (Kerr *et al*., 2002), one issue that has received considerable attention by those writing about citizenship education is the recognition that citizenship and citizenship

education are 'contested' concepts. Scott and Lawson (2001), for example, define the competing definitions of citizenship education in relation to citizenship; as: knowledge, action, community, rights and responsibilities, public and private morality, inclusivity and locality. Thus, despite the clear three strand definition of citizenship education put forward by the Citizenship Advisory Group (Crick, 1998) of citizenship education as:

♦ Political literacy

♦ Community involvement

♦ Social and moral responsibility

The literature included in the initial exploratory review suggested that there were still considerable questions to be addressed concerning the '*definition, purposes, and intended outcomes*' of an education for citizenship (Pearce and Hallgarten, 2000). It raised the particular question of how citizenship education should best be approached, whether through existing curriculum subjects, notably history, geography and English, or as a separate curriculum component, or by other means.

The initial exploratory review also highlighted the fact that the Crick Report had led to a statutory Citizenship Order for schools which was deliberately 'light touch' and 'flexible' and which did not lay down a prescribed teaching and learning approach to citizenship education. This, in turn, led to the concern that gaining agreement on a definition of citizenship would remain a considerable challenge for those charged with moving from policy to practice in citizenship education (McLaughlin, 2000). This was supported further by Frazer (2000) who argued that '*sheltering under the umbrella of citizenship education*' were a number of interest groups with '*a range of differing and possibly conflicting interests and concerns*'.

While it could be argued that this is the case for all school subjects, each of which contains within it competing models of content and delivery, literature indicates that the salience of concerns over the complexity of, and confusion over, the definition of citizenship is heightened due to the lack of tradition of teaching citizenship education as a curriculum subject in English schools (Kerr *et a*l., 2001). It is this argument which forms the starting point for this year's review, raising the question: ***Have commentators, researchers and***

practitioners reached agreement on a definition of and approach to citizenship education?

2.2 Meanings of Citizenship and Approaches to Citizenship Education

The debate about the meaning of the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education, and the approach that should be taken to citizenship education in schools, continues apace in the literature. Indeed, commentators point out that because citizenship, and per se citizenship education, is a '*contested concept*' this debate will remain an ongoing feature of the literature, though its form and nature will change over time under the influence of shifting local, national and global priorities (Kerr and Sardoc, 2002; Print and Smith, 2002; Kerr, 2003a and b; Smith and Print, 2003). This is certainly true in relation to the literature reviewed for this report. QCA, in recognition of the difficulties concerning definition, have produced a citizenship glossary of keywords and terms to assist teachers, which will be updated annually (QCA, 2003a).

It is important to understand the link in this debate between the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education. Differing meanings of citizenship translate into differing suggested approaches to citizenship education in schools. The following section of the review highlights some of the ongoing debates in this area.

A Local, National or Global Focus for Citizenship?

This is a major recurring debate in the literature. It is centred around notions of location, identity and belonging and the influence that powerful global forces are having on these notions in local, national and global contexts (Kerr and Sardoc, 2002; Osler and Starkey, 2003). The debate is given heightened prominence by the impact of recent high profile global events, notably 11 September 2001 or 9/11, the Bali bombing and the Iraq war. A number of commentators and academics see these events as the catalyst for the current period of reflection across the world, which is focusing on the meaning of citizenship and the reconfiguring of the goal of citizenship education so as to better fit the realities of the changed global order. They share Kennedy's (2003) assertion that the legacy of these events is '*the new challenge of how to*

prepare young people for democracy in contexts that are quite different from those that have been known in the past' (p. 54).

The impact of the reconfiguring of citizenship and citizenship education in the light of global change is a common theme in the literature. However, while there is general agreement with Kennedy's assertion, and with the need for curriculum change in schools in order to meet the '*new challenge*', there remains considerable disagreement concerning the scale, approach and contribution of citizenship education to such curriculum change. Commentators, academics and practitioners take three main approaches to this issue in the literature.

First, there are those who adopt an objective approach and set out a range of possible scenarios and hypotheses. Bottery (2003), for example, is one of a number of academics who argue that debates about the meaning of citizenship and citizenship education are far from over. This, he believes, stems from our growing awareness of the artificiality of the nation state and the greater forces, at large, which can constrain its powers and threaten its legitimacy. Bottery indicates that this leads to significant levels of uncertainty about the forms of citizenship and education for citizenship which will be realistic in the future, pointing towards three possible future scenarios:

- States fight back and citizenship education becomes increasingly under state control in order that values and norms of national citizenship can be inculcated into the populace.
- States use citizenship education to provide citizens with an understanding of the various functions, rights and responsibilities of citizenship at different levels (the local, the national and the global) and provide citizens with the skills to navigate their way through the complexity of these various citizenship dimensions.
- Consumerism takes over and citizenship becomes another consumer good. Educational opportunities become dictated by competition between international organisations and nation states are no longer allowed a monopoly on educational provision. (p. 118)

Continuing with this theme, Farr-Darling (2002) highlights the contradictions that can arise when some citizenship education practitioners hold a nationalist agenda (for example, *citizenship is about our nation and should teach us our rights and responsibilities as national citizens*) and others hold a cosmopolitan ideal (for example, *we should be citizens of the world and citizenship*

education should prepare us for global allegiance). She argues that such contradictions distract us from more important concerns about the content of citizenship education which she believes should teach students to accommodate differences and further social justice recognising that 'the ethical demands of education for citizenship are complex and multifaceted' (p. 245).

Second, there are those commentators, academics and practitioners who advocate new approaches to citizenship education in schools. They have a strong interest in promoting '*explicit citizenship education*' and view citizenship education as an essential driving force in bringing about curriculum change in schools. Kennedy, for example, goes on to stress the need for '*new thinking*' about citizenship education that sees it moving from a perceived '*curriculum add on*' in an over-crowded, pre 9/11 curriculum, to a recognised core subject that all students must have access to post 9/11. He argues that that core subject should be based around three broad objectives:

- To build social cohesion, inclusion and trust
- To develop tolerance and respect for diversity
- To develop critical thinking and problem-solving skills that can contribute to civic capacity.

It should assist students to develop a '*democracy of the mind*' which enables them to understand when political and social systems are under threat and gives them the capacity to respond to that threat (p. 65).

This is a theme taken up by Smith (cited in Kerr, 2003a), who similarly seeks to redefine the meaning of citizenship and citizenship education in a global age. In so doing, he proposes a concept of education for democratic citizenship which releases citizenship education from the interests of nationally and internationally dominant groups. This is based on the development of a universal curriculum framework for citizenship education which can be used by all countries in a shared multinational as opposed to the current individualistic national approach. Such a framework would have at its heart a number of core ethical questions, notably

- What should be done to promote equality and fairness within and between societies?

- What should be the balance between right to privacy and open access to information?

- What should be the balance between protecting environment and meeting human needs?

- What should be done to cope with population growth, genetic engineering and poverty?

- How can we achieve an ethically based distribution of power?

It would lead to a curriculum that was:

- based on human rights principles

- inquiry-based and deliberative

- interdisciplinary rather then subject-based in character

To implement such a vision of citizenship successfully Smith suggests that schools should:

- develop a school ethos of mutuality and reciprocity

- prepare students for active citizenship

- develop students self-esteem, confidence and social responsibility

- involve students in shared decision making across teaching and learning and wider school policies.

The issue of the meaning of citizenship and citizenship education is approached from a different angle by Lister *et al*., (2003) and by Osler and Starkey (2003). They argue, based on research about young people's everyday '*lived citizenship experiences*', for a more fluid conception of citizenship, and thus an approach to citizenship education in schools, that recognises the multiple identities and loyalties that young people have across local, national, regional and global locations. Indeed, Osler and Starkey take this line of argument further. They suggest the need to reconceptualise citizenship education in the National Curriculum in England, in the context of globalisation and young people's attitudes, to be less national and more multi-location. They term this reconceptualisation '*education for cosmopolitan citizenship*' – an education which addresses peace, human rights, democracy and development and prepares young people to shape the world at all levels from local to global.

Third, there are those commentators, academics and practitioners who advocate a more holistic approach to curriculum change in schools. They have a strong background in '*implicit citizenship*' (in disparate but related areas such as values, education, global education, personal, social and health education and human rights education). They stress the links between 'explicit' citizenship education and the related area they advocate and, the impact of those links, in combination, as a powerful force for wholesale, whole-school curriculum change. Bloomfield (2003), for example, as a geographer and environmentalist sees the notion of citizenship as integral to the promotion of Agenda 21, with strong links to education for sustainable development and environmental education. He sets out the case for the development of a school ethos of citizenship which permeates the whole curriculum rather than through any explicit taught citizenship curriculum.

Hicks (2001 and 2003), following this theme, stresses the links between citizenship education and the 'global dimension' in the school curriculum through what he terms the promotion of 'global citizenship'. As he notes (Hicks, 2003) '*a global dimension refers to the curriculum as a whole and the ethos of a school; it consists of all those subject elements and cross-curricular concerns that focus on global interdependence*' (p. 2). He goes on to advocate a 'futures perspective' to the global dimension in order to help students who will become the future consumers, voters, citizens and decision-makers in society.

Two other related areas where links have been and continue to be made to citizenship education are those concerning personal, social and health education and pastoral care, and values education. As Gearon (2003) reminds us 'while government has recently been active in developing citizenship education, this area has strong roots in earlier work on personal, social and health education'. Best (2002) explores the continued strength of the links between citizenship education and personal, social and health education as set in official curriculum frameworks and guidance. Meanwhile, Halstead and Taylor (2000) in a seminal review of related research explore the links between citizenship education and values education. They highlight the growing research on moral and social development but the under development of research on certain areas of school practice, notably collective worship and spiritual and cultural development.

Sites of citizenship

Another area of debate, linked to that about the focus of citizenship, concerns the range of places and contexts, or 'sites', where citizenship learning takes place. Citizenship in the national curriculum sees the primary context of citizenship learning as the school, its classrooms and environment. However, a growing number of researchers, based on their interactions with young people, are recognising that there are many 'sites' within and beyond schools where young people are engaging in citizenship learning. This raises the question of how best to make links between the learning from these sites.

Osler and Starkey (2003), for example, based on discussions with young people living in multicultural communities in Leicester, conclude that '*it* [cosmopolitan citizenship] *is not a process that can be realised exclusively at school. Learning is taking place beyond the school and the school needs to build on this learning and to encourage learners to make connections between their experiences and learning in the school and the community*'. They suggest the need for teachers '*to be aware of sites of citizenship learning beyond the school*' (p. 252).

This message of existing sites of citizenship learning beyond the school is reinforced in research carried out by Slote Morris *et al.*, (2003). Slote Morris and her colleagues, in a survey of over 1200 young people in Hertfordshire just prior to the formal introduction of citizenship education in schools, conclude that there is strong evidence of young people's engagement and participation in citizenship activities within and beyond the school prior to September 2002. Many of the sample are already engaging in community activities, such as working with elderly people and fundraising for community organisations. Meanwhile, in terms of participation in schools, the research team note that '*we also find that many young people are already active in their schools. They are members of sports teams; hobby, interest and curriculum clubs; and in a quarter of cases are taking an active role in the running of their school*' (p. 196).

Meanwhile, Kerr (2003c) in an article in *Teaching Citizenship*, the new practitioner journal of the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT), summarising the findings from England's participation in the 28 country IEA Citizenship Education Study, reiterates the major finding that '*citizenship education is a complex enterprise which involves a variety of citizenship*

dimensions (knowledge, skills, concepts and attitudes) in a range of educational approaches and opportunities for young people, both in and out of school' (p. 16).

A hidden political agenda?

Commentators and academics also continue to question the motives behind the introduction of citizenship as part of the national curriculum. Greenwood and Robins (2002), for example, perhaps reflecting the first of Bottery's (2003) future scenarios for citizenship education, argue that the reason citizenship is a contested concept in schools may stem from the fact that teachers are distrusting of the government, viewing citizenship as part of a hidden agenda: as a politically fashioned 'quick-fix' to the increase in youth disaffection, violence and criminality. As they state, '*one problem is that citizenship has proved to be an infinitely malleable concept in the minds of politicians' which is refashioned on a regular basis in line with the prevailing ideology*' (p. 520). This, in turn, raises questions which stem from Greenwood and Robins' reflection on historical evidence:

- Are schools the appropriate institutions to inculcate citizenship values?
- Is education and training for citizenship possible?

The curriculum location of citizenship education?

The literature reveals that the most appropriate curriculum location for citizenship education also continues to be debated amongst practitioners and academics. Various subject areas continue to compete for recognition as central players in the successful delivery of citizenship education. For example, Wellington (2002; 2003) argues that science can and should play a critical role in citizenship education. He is supported by Finegold and Campbell (2003) who state that '*Citizenship is a clarion call for science teachers and non-science teachers alike to think about what science education should mean for all pupils and to ensure that today's pupils are equipped to play an active part in tomorrow's democratic society*' (p. 19). Meanwhile, Lambert (2003), Westaway and Rawling (2003) and Freeman (2003) present an alternative case in support of the humanities, particularly geography and history, and the central contribution they can make to citizenship education. Taking a different perspective, Selwyn (2002) explores the potential of links between citizenship education and ICT (information and communications

technologies). He identifies four different applications of ICT as a tool for citizenship learning. These are the use of ICT: as a source of citizenship information; as a means of engendering citizenship discussion; to help learners produce citizenship materials and for whole school citizenship activities and practices.

However, the debates about the contribution of citizenship to subject areas, and vice-versa, are not clear cut in every subject area. For example, Blaylock (2003) welcomes what he terms '*the frontier between Citizenship and RE*'. He sets up citizenship and RE as subjects in conflict and draws up a list of questions that religious education teachers need to answer if they are to protect RE from the influence of citizenship education. Watson (2002) also questions the commonplace assumption that citizenship education and religious education (RE) make suitable bedfellows, due to continuing uncertainties about the form of citizenship that will eventually emerge as the focus of citizenship education. In short, she argues that RE's future relationship with citizenship education depends on how citizenship education shapes up: whether it is open to '*difference and questioning of consensus; is global in scope and dialogical in methodology; and radical, outward-looking and engaged in big issues pedagogy*' (p. 48). Somewhat controversially, however, Huddleston (2003) enters the debate by arguing that citizenship and RE are not compatible but simply do different jobs. He argues that they are capable of being examined separately but also together for the mutual benefit of both subjects.

Such debates aside, perhaps one the most useful discussions of the ways in which established subject areas can contribute to the successful delivery of the citizenship curriculum is presented by Batchelor (2003). In an article in *Teaching Citizenship*, Batchelor argues that despite the claims of various subject areas that they can and should teach citizenship effectively, citizenship coordinators in schools will need to issue guidelines in order that subject specialists understand the specific requirements that an education for citizenship entails. Batchelor therefore identities three ways that citizenship education should be addressed in other subject areas. They should make explicit:

- how the subject they are teaching contributes to understanding of citizenship;

♦ how it can exemplify the operation of values and concepts important for citizenship and

♦ how it may help students to develop their skills of analysis, critical judgement, expressing a point of view or participating cooperatively with others (p. 36).

In addition he identifies questions that both teachers and students alike need to reflect on in the learning situation:

♦ how does this link to citizenship concepts such as rights and responsibilities?

♦ how would it have felt to be in the position of different people discussed in the activity?

♦ what ideas concepts or theories do I need to link to this material which are not necessarily part of the 'other' subject?

♦ in what ways does this item exemplify the values and dispositions at the heart of citizenship? (p. 36).

Citizenship as curriculum or whole school ethos?

Finally, an important debate which remains central to the literature on the approach to citizenship education developed by schools is highlighted by Newton (2002) who argues that the '*need to have some real curriculum time for citizenship is counter balanced by the importance of recognising that it cannot be delivered through the formal curriculum alone*' (p. 527). In short, Newton calls for the recognition that effective citizenship education requires a whole school dimension including behaviour policy and opportunities for pupil participation in school and the wider community. This is echoed by Kennedy (2003) in his call for '*authentic teaching that moves beyond abstract academic concepts*' and gives students opportunities to '*engage with both the knowledge they are expected to learn...and with activities that will give them experience with the "practice of democracy" both in their classrooms and outside their classrooms*' (p. 65). These issues will be discussed further in Sections 3 and 4 of this review which focus on citizenship in the curriculum and active citizenship opportunities in the school as a community and beyond the wider community.

2.3   Summary and Implications

Summary

In answer to the question: ***Have commentators, researchers and practitioners agreed on a definition of and approach to citizenship education?*** The literature reveals that the answer is resoundingly: no, on both counts. Citizenship and citizenship education remain hotly contested concepts and debates continue around the terminology of both. These debates are led primarily by commentators and academics, at present, with little input or involvement from practitioners. They are centred on exploring underlying principles in order to provide a rationale and justification for particular definitions of and suggested approaches to citizenship education. A range of definitions are put forward, and the approaches that are both advocated and built in practice appear to remain fluid, flexible and situation-specific; an issue that will be explored further in the next two sections of the review. However, despite this conclusion there is evidence in the literature that the debates have moved on during the first year of statutory national curriculum citizenship in a number of respects. There is:

♦ increased consideration of the implications for citizenship education practice in schools, not only in terms of the espousal of the goals and principles of such practice but also in taking the debates into arenas, such as the ACT journal *Teaching Citizenship*, where they can be accessed by and influence practitioners

♦ clearer demarcation of viewpoints in the debates, particularly between those who support '*explicit citizenship education*' through a taught element in the curriculum, and those who advocate '*implicit citizenship*' developed through related areas of the curriculum and wider school ethos

♦ movement from theoretical to more practice-based perspectives as evidenced by the stronger voice for children and young people in the debates. It is no longer solely the personal views of commentators and academics but emerging perspectives founded on the outcomes of dialogue with young people

♦ growing sense of realism about the state of citizenship education in schools and a recognition that schools are not starting national curriculum citizenship with a blank piece of paper. As Slote Morris (2003) and her colleagues conclude '*few, if any, schools are starting from the zero – base, and many young people are already busy 'joining''* (p. 197).

Implications

The continued debates concerning the definition of and approach to citizenship education have a number of implications for both the future conduct of the Study and policy and practice in citizenship education. These include the need to:

- recognise and accept the 'contested nature' of the terms citizenship and citizenship education and the fact that the debates about definition and approach are a likely long-term feature of citizenship education

- keep abreast of emerging meanings of citizenship in the literature, as well as the 'micro' (local, institutional) and 'macro' (global) influences on those meanings, and understand the implications of those meanings for approaches to citizenship education in schools

- consider not just citizenship education practice in schools but the factors that combine to influence such practice, and in particular the extent of any influence of the debates about the meaning of citizenship education. What are the underpinnings for citizenship education practice in schools?

- take into account the attitudes and views not just of school leaders and teachers but increasingly of young people in exploring policy and practice in citizenship education both in schools and in the wider community. Young people provide a powerful perspective on 'lived citizenship experiences' both in and out of school

- investigate the emerging curriculum locations and approaches to citizenship education in schools, in tandem with the range of 'sites of citizenship learning', and explore the extent of the interface between citizenship learning in schools and in the wider community.

The literature on the meaning of citizenship and citizenship education suggests that the on-going debates in this area are likely to be having an impact on approaches to citizenship education in schools. The next section of the review focuses on literature which considers approaches and challenges to citizenship education in the formal curriculum.

3. POLICY INTO PRACTICE: APPROACHES AND CHALLENGES TO CITIZENSHIP IN THE CURRICULUM

Key Points

- This section addresses the key question '***What does research and commentary tell us about schools' plans for and delivery of citizenship education as a national curriculum subject since September 2002?***'.

- The literature is sparse concerning how schools are approaching citizenship education in the curriculum as we are still at an early stage of the citizenship initiative. The literature consists largely of reports from government agencies, from OFSTED and QCA, rather than from researchers and practitioners. It will take time for practice to emerge and be more widely disseminated.

- In answer to the key question, the literature shows that the situation in schools, concerning plans for and delivery of citizenship education, remains fluid flexible and uncertain. While a small number of schools have a clear understanding of what is meant by citizenship education and are forging ahead with confidence in their planning and delivery, the majority are beset by confusion, ambiguity and uncertainty.

- Many schools remain unclear about definitions of citizenship education in terms of what the core citizenship curriculum is and how their existing practice can contribute to it. There is particular confusion between '*explicit citizenship education*', as set out in the curriculum Order, and its relationship to '*implicit citizenship*' through the contribution of PSHE, values and school ethos.

- A number of challenges remain to the successful implementation of citizenship education. These include providing adequate teacher training. Much of the current training has been taken up by citizenship coordinators and not been widely disseminated to other staff. Assessment also remains a point of contention and concern with no real consistency across schools and a lack of teacher confidence in this area.

- The wider debates about definitions of citizenship and citizenship education are mirrored in the deliberations in schools about how best to approach citizenship in the curriculum. However, what is not clear is the extent to which the deliberations in schools are directly influenced by these wider debates.

3.1 Last Year's Findings

The initial exploratory literature review addressed the progress of citizenship education, covering the period from the publication of the Crick Report in 1998 to the preparation of schools for the introduction of statutory citizenship education in secondary schools in England from September 2002. As was stated, literature on the ways in which citizenship was being introduced as a curriculum subject was sparser than in other areas; a somewhat understandable situation considering infancy of the initiative at the time of writing. Indeed the review concluded that little was known about the actual progress of schools in this respect. Some of the ambiguity surrounding plans for the implementation of citizenship was, however, believed to stem from the way the Crick Report led to a statutory Citizenship Order for schools which is deliberately 'light touch' and 'flexible' (see Section 2.1 above). Moreover, in addition to concerns about ambiguities of curriculum content, concern was raised about the delivery of citizenship education. In particular: the level and adequacy of teacher training on teaching sensitive and controversial issues in citizenship education through active approaches (see also National Union of Teachers, 2002); and whether agreement can be reached about how citizenship education should be assessed and reported.

The discussion which follows therefore takes the findings from the first annual literature review as its starting point in addressing the question '*What does research and commentary tell us about schools' plans for and delivery of citizenship education as a national curriculum subject since September 2002?*'. This question raises a series of supplementary questions which contribute to providing an answer:

♦ Have staff in schools who deliver citizenship education received adequate training and, if not, how has this affected the rolling out of the citizenship initiative?

♦ How are schools assessing and reporting citizenship education?

♦ What appear to be the key challenges that remain to the successful introduction of citizenship as a curriculum subject?

Each of these questions is considered in turn in the next section.

3.2   Citizenship in the Curriculum

Curriculum Content, Location and Approach

The searches for this review reveal that the literature remains sparse concerning how schools are approaching citizenship education in the curriculum. This is because we are, as OFSTED (2003) note, at a '*very early stage of a major school initiative*' (p. 4) in citizenship with the new subject still 'emergent' in terms of curriculum content, location and approach. The most comprehensive insights are provided by OFSTED (2003) and QCA (2003b). OFSTED report the findings from visits to 25 schools to evaluate provision of citizenship as a statutory national curriculum subject. Meanwhile, QCA (2003b) report on the monitoring of citizenship education based on a survey of 10 per cent of primary and secondary schools, teacher focus groups, school case studies and consultation with young people in schools.

OFSTED (2003) indicate that at the end of the first year of statutory citizenship within the curriculum the progress made was not as clear or comprehensive as would have been hoped. Of the 25 schools inspected so far, the management of the introduction of citizenship was described as 'unsatisfactory' in over half. Moreover, the citizenship curriculum was only found to be developed well in one fifth of the sample. These schools tended to be those that had treated citizenship as a 'new subject' in the curriculum despite the existence of prior arrangements that could contribute to citizenship provision. The OFSTED report sets out a number of reasons for this situation in schools. These centre primarily on concerns about the lack of effort of schools in defining and reaching a '*shared understanding…of what citizenship involves*' (p. 4) as a platform for developing effective approaches to citizenship education in the curriculum.

The report questions whether schools fully understand '*what National Curriculum citizenship involves and its contribution to pupils' education*' and concludes that '*in most schools, fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of citizenship have not been given due consideration*' (p. 7). The net result is ambiguity among school staff about the terms 'citizenship' and 'citizenship education' and a considerable degree of confusion and uncertainty about how best to approach citizenship. As the report states '*The majority* [of schools] *either confuse National Curriculum citizenship with the 'cross-*

curricular themes and dimensions' approach of the early 1990s, or, more generally, with the use of the word 'citizenship' as a catch-all term that summarises their expectations and ethos' (p. 9). This confusion explains why the main curriculum approach to citizenship education in the schools visited is as part of existing Personal, Social and Heath Education (PSHE) programmes. This curriculum approach is described by OFSTED as '*unsatisfactory*' and is viewed as a possible result of the 'light touch' description of citizenship advocated by the Crick committee. In short, this may have promoted a degree of complacency in schools resulting in a '*low key*' response to the Citizenship Order. As a result of the first round of inspections of Citizenship in schools, OFSTED, therefore, recommend that schools:

♦ consider whether they have properly recognised and understood National Curriculum citizenship and its aims

♦ establish a clear definition of citizenship education which distinguishes it from PSHE and other subjects

♦ ensure a broad, coherent and progressive curriculum is in place

♦ establish high standards for citizenship comparable with those in other subjects.

A number of commentators and researchers pick up on the sensitivities of the relationship between citizenship and PSHE. Calvert and Clemitshaw (2003), for example, highlight a further danger which may result from locating citizenship education in the PSHE camp: the fact that citizenship may become ghettoised by locating it in an area which is already low status in many schools (see also Davies and Evans, 2002).

OFSTED findings and conclusions are largely supported by the evidence from QCA monitoring of citizenship education in the first year of statutory provision (QCA, 2003b). QCA confirm:

♦ uneven development of citizenship education in schools with a 'small number' developing very good practice but the majority still not getting to grips with the implications of citizenship for the school curriculum and school life

♦ variety of different approaches to citizenship in different schools

♦ lack of confidence among many teachers about citizenship education and calls for reassurance that the approaches they are taking are the right ones

♦ use of PSHE as the main vehicle for the curriculum delivery of citizenship education.

Interestingly, the QCA monitoring report also includes a summary of the outcomes of a new strand concerned with exploring pupils' perceptions of the curriculum. This is still in the early stages of development, but along with the introduction of discussion with students as part of the formal OFSTED inspection of citizenship in schools, it suggests a growing future area of research and evaluation in the literature for the future.

There is also some discussion and debate in the literature about the merits of different curriculum approaches to citizenship education. This picks up on the argument presented in Section 2.2 of this review, that certain subject areas are more suitable for the teaching of citizenship education than others. The literature goes on to explore how far citizenship should be a segregated and separate subject area in the curriculum and how far it should be cross-curricular in approach. For example, Turnbull (2002) argues that the departmental segregation of citizenship will work against the genuine and effective assimilation of citizenship education into every subject area: a prerequisite for the effective implementation of citizenship education in schools. This is further supported by Wilkins (2003) who indicates that timetabling citizenship discretely can lead to it becoming someone else's problem within the school, with the development of a whole school approach becoming difficult as a result.

However, following a similar argument to that presented by Batchelor (2003), research into 14 schools conducted by UNICEF (McKenzie, 2003) found that while support for the cross-curricular implementation of citizenship is definitely in evidence, before this can take place effectively, some knowledge of how the citizenship curriculum can be delivered through other subjects needs to be carried out. The literature is not as forthcoming as might be hoped on this matter for though there is evidence concerning the extent of curriculum audits (QCA report most schools have carried out an audit of provision) there is little evidence of what has been audited and of how, if at all, the outcomes have been used to inform curriculum planning for citizenship. However, OFSTED hint that half the schools they inspected for their report had misinterpreted the use of audits for citizenship within other national curriculum subjects and religious education (RE).

Jerome (2001), however, indicates that the apparently opposite views on the curriculum location of citizenship education (*citizenship education should be a*

discrete subject area versus citizenship education should be integrated across the curriculum) should be viewed as part of a continuum, rather than as mutually exclusive positions. He argues that one size of citizenship cannot fit all and the success of the initiative rests on its very flexibility. In short, citizenship will be most successful where it becomes a unifying element within the curriculum, and where schools use it to further their existing aims as well as appreciating how it helps them to empower young people.

Teacher Training

The evidence concerning the training opportunities made available to teachers to help them implement the new citizenship curriculum is patchy. While there is information on the extent of the training available and which school staff attended, little is known about the impact or adequacy of the training both on teachers and on whole-school plans to roll-out citizenship in the curriculum.

OFSTED (2003) report that '*most schools have provided key staff with training opportunities but some training has been ill-informed or had little effect*'. The extent of training available is corroborated by the QCA monitoring report and also by the findings from a survey of 60 schools carried out by CSV (Community Service Volunteers) (2003). CSV found that in the schools surveyed training opportunities had largely been made available to citizenship coordinators and, sometimes, to a small group of teachers but in very few cases (less than 8% of the sample) to all teachers. QCA, meanwhile, report that three-quarters of respondents had some form of training for citizenship provided either through external courses or LEA events.

Despite the fact that little is known about the impact of the training on those who attended and how they used the outcomes in their schools, there is concern in the literature about the adequacy of current training. There is particular concern as to whether teachers have been suitably prepared to understand and implement all the strands of the new core citizenship curriculum. This core curriculum is what Gearon (2003) terms '*explicit citizenship education*' as opposed to '*implicit citizenship*' (that contained in disparate, related areas such as PSHE). CSV, for example, report that over one third of schools surveyed requested additional training in the community involvement and political literacy strands of citizenship. This leads the organisation to recommend the improved training of teachers who are not

'specialists' in citizenship, particularly teachers of PSHE, picking up on the call by NUT (2002) for the development of a national training strategy for citizenship teachers. OFSTED, meanwhile, suggest that in some cases the training reinforced misconceptions about citizenship, such as the need for a 'low-key' approach and the placing of citizenship education as part of PSHE and ask schools to review their training approaches.

Assessment

Newton (2002) argues that the assessment of citizenship is necessary due to the fact that many teachers and students, rather than valuing a subject for its inherent qualities *per se*, no longer take subjects seriously unless they are formally assessed. Indeed, she argues that more research and debate on the best ways to assess citizenship education are necessary as this may be one of the key factors which impacts upon how firmly citizenship education becomes established as a serious subject in the English national curriculum. However, to date, this is yet another aspect of citizenship which remains both contested and patchy in its implementation.

What is clear is that assessment and reporting of citizenship education is currently a major concern for many schools and an area that needs immediate attention. This leads OFSTED (2003) to conclude that '*assessment is currently a weak aspect of citizenship, and few schools have progressed very far with it*' (p. 17). However, there is some evidence that schools are making progress in tackling this area. QCA report that many schools are planning a mixture of approaches to assessment while there is small, but significant, take up of the new GCSE short courses in citizenship studies at key stage 4. Indeed, based on the evidence from teacher focus groups and school visits, QCA contend that '*the quality of teaching and learning at key stage 4 is better where a qualification or award is used for citizenship, providing structure, rigour and currency with both staff and learners*' (p 14). QCA continue to offer further guidance on assessment and exemplification of standards to assist teachers and schools in moving this aspect of citizenship forward (QCA, 2002, 2003c).

This pattern fits with the argument put forward by Jerome (2002) that it is only once teachers have a clearer sense of what citizenship means in practice and of the range of experiences that contribute to achievement, that the exemplars of good practice in assessment and reporting will become clearer. CSV,

meanwhile, call for the development of a Citizenship Award that covers the full student ability range in schools.

Challenges to Citizenship in the Curriculum

The main challenges to approaching citizenship in the curriculum are those concerning content, location teacher training and assessment as outlined above. However, there are a number of associated issues and challenges that are also addressed in the literature. One such issue is the fact that citizenship may prove difficult to implement in the contemporary pluralist society we now inhabit (Turnbull, 2002). Turnbull questions how realistic it is to expect ethnic, religious and gendered groups to confirm a single and common view of citizenship which may deny many of their cultural identities and histories. This argument is taken further by Wilkins (2003) who, in research based on 12 in-depth interviews with teachers, found that teachers themselves believed that the current notion of a 'good citizen' was redolent of middle class suburban ideals and social and cultural conservatism.

Further challenges (and recommendations for overcoming them) are highlighted by CSV (2003), which reports on a survey of 60 schools undertaken to mark the first anniversary of citizenship as a curriculum subject in secondary schools, and by OFSTED (2003). These include:

- Student participation does not extend to planning and developing the citizenship curriculum; a situation that needs to be rectified.
- Teachers and schools are struggling with addressing active citizenship, both within and outside the school, and require urgent support and training in making effective links to the community
- Funding has not been made available to support the costs of involving students in the community and involving the community in the delivery or citizenship within schools.
- Resources for citizenship are plentiful yet variable in quality; the DfES should set up a central website to guide teachers thorough the maze of resources currently available.
- Standards in citizenship, particularly in terms of teaching and learning and the quality of students' written work, are not comparable to other curriculum subjects and need to be reviewed and improved.

Meanwhile, based on her recent in-depth experience exploring the development of national curriculum citizenship in one school, Watchorn

(2003) identifies ten challenges for citizenship education which she hopes will 'strike a chord' with other schools and teachers of citizenship. They include:

1. Some attempt at definition must be made
2. Content and process must be closely aligned
3. Citizenship opportunities must be taken when they arise
4. Citizenship should be explicit
5. Citizenship needs to happen!
6. Teachers require expert training in citizenship
7. The relationship between citizenship and PSHE must be clear
8. The role of senior management needs careful consideration
9. Citizenship needs resourcing financially
10. Students must be aware of their learning experience

These ten challenges neatly encapsulate the scale and scope of the challenges facing the development of citizenship in the curriculum.

3.3   Summary and Implications

Summary

What is the answer to the main question posed at the beginning of this section: '***What does research and commentary tell us about schools' plans for and delivery of citizenship education as a national curriculum subject since September 2002?***' and to the supplementary questions:

♦ Have staff in schools who deliver citizenship education received adequate training and, if not, how has this affected the rolling out of the citizenship initiative?

♦ How are schools assessing and reporting citizenship education?

♦ What appear to be the key challenges that remain to the successful introduction of citizenship as a curriculum subject?

An important point to underline is that the evidence base is still sparse, consisting largely or reports from government agencies, notably OFSTED and QCA. There is little evidence from researchers or practitioners about what is happening in schools. This is to be expected as these are still early days as the new citizenship initiative beds down in schools. It will take time for practice

to emerge and effective approaches to be identified, researched and disseminated more widely. However, where research evidence exists, it is possible to provide answers to the above questions.

First, in terms of plans for and delivery of citizenship education, the situation appears to be fluid flexible and uncertain in schools. While a small number have grasped the nettle of what is meant by citizenship and forged ahead with confidence in their planning and delivery, the majority of schools are beset with confusion, ambiguity and uncertainty. Many schools remain unclear about definition, in terms of what the core citizenship curriculum is and how their practice can contribute to it. There is particular confusion between '*explicit citizenship education*', as set out in the curriculum Order, and its relationship to '*implicit citizenship*' through the contribution of PSHE, values and school ethos. Teachers seek reassurance that they are approaching citizenship education in the right way. For some commentators this flexibility and uncertainty is viewed as problematic and in need of resolution, while others see it as a reflection of the inherent development needs of the new subject area.

Second, training for teachers undertaking the delivery of citizenship education appears to be sparse. What training that has occurred has been has been taken up primarily by citizenship coordinators. However, the fact that many teachers continue to feel under-prepared to deliver citizenship education suggests that either the training outcomes have not been disseminated to other staff, or that the key messages in the training have added to the confusion and uncertainty, or a mixture of the two. Either way providing adequate teacher training for citizenship education remains a critical, on-going challenge.

Third, the same answer applies to assessment and reporting of citizenship. The assessment and reporting of citizenship also remains a point of contention and concern. Where evidence exists, there appears to be no real consistency across schools as to the assessment they undertake. Further, teachers indicate that they do not feel confident in involving students in the assessment process and would like further training in this area. One interesting development that requires further investigation is the impact of the new GCSE short courses for citizenship at key stage 4. Indeed, QCA has plans to evaluate these new GCSE short courses in 2004 to 2005.

Fourth, a number of other challenges to the successful implementation of citizenship education are additionally highlighted in the literature (including a lack of funding for citizenship activities, an overabundance of resources of variably quality, and the challenges posed by teaching students in a pluralist society). How far these challenges continue, and how far they will necessitate action in the future, remains to be seen as citizenship becomes embedded within the curriculum.

Finally, it is possible to see in the literature the wider debates about definitions of citizenship and citizenship education (as outlined in Section 2) mirrored in the deliberations in schools about how best to approach citizenship in the curriculum. Clearly the debates about curriculum location are of most relevance but there are also echoes of those concerning the focus of citizenship education and the nature of the relationship between '*explicit citizenship education*' and '*implicit citizenship*'. There are also signs of awareness of the need to consult with young people and recognise the importance of student voice. However, what is not clear is the extent to which the deliberations in schools are directly influenced by these wider debates. Are school leaders and teachers aware of the wider debates and using them to influence their approach to citizenship in the curriculum, or are they taking a more pragmatic, individualistic approach based on common sense, circumstance and the concern not to fall foul of OFSTED?

Implications

The deliberations and challenges concerning curriculum approaches to citizenship have considerable implications for the conduct of the Study. These include the need to:

♦ Investigate the extent and nature of any links between the wider debates on the meaning and definition of citizenship and citizenship education and their impact on teacher attitudes and approaches to curriculum planning in citizenship in schools.

♦ Probe in more depth who has received training for citizenship in schools, the adequacy and impact of such training, and the training gaps that still exist.

♦ Continue to monitor the impact of developments in assessment and reporting in citizenship and, in particular the impact of the new GCSE short courses for citizenship. This may herald a growing divide in schools between how citizenship is approached at key stage 4 compared with key stage 3.

♦ Build in increased opportunities to consult students about the extent of their involvement in curriculum planning and assessment practices in citizenship as part of the annual surveys and school case studies

It will be interesting to see, as the Study progresses, how far the current flexibility in the curriculum approaches to citizenship in schools proves necessary for, or an impediment to, the emergence of effective citizenship education practice within the curriculum.

4. POLICY INTO PRACTICE: APPROACHES AND CHALLENGES TO ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Key Points

- This section addresses the key question '***Are schools successfully involving their students in active citizenship activities both within and beyond the school?***'

- Before answering the question it is important to recognise that the term '*active citizenship*' is still emergent in policy and practice. There is a broad range of opinion as to what it entails. Though there is agreement that citizenship education has a key role to play in promoting active citizenship it is not clear what the scope of that role is in practice.

- In answer to the key question, the literature suggests that the majority of schools are focusing narrowly on citizenship education in the curriculum and have yet to fully consider the implications of the active citizenship dimension. However, there is a danger that this narrow focus may limit the potential to develop active citizenship approaches in the future.

- The literature indicates that there are clear generic benefits for students and institutions, as well as particular benefits for certain groups of students, that arise from taking part in active citizenship activities both within and school and in the wider community.

- There is acknowledgement that active citizenship is one of the hardest aspects of citizenship education to develop and implement within schools, and more especially, in the wider community. Accordingly, fears are raised in the literature that participative activities will play second fiddle to the curricular aspects of citizenship.

- The literature raises the question as to whether schools and other institutions in society are ready to provide 'real' active citizenship opportunities for all young people, given prevailing cultures and structures that are largely hierarchical and undemocratic. One suggestion is to produce best-practice guidelines to stimulate activity.

4.1 Approaching Active Citizenship

As was stated in the Introduction to this review, the aspect of active citizenship, of encouraging and providing opportunities for young people to engage and participate as part of the school community and wider communities beyond school, is the least well developed in terms of literature on current practice in schools and beyond. This is understandable for, as

highlighted in Section 3, the main emphasis in the first year of National Curriculum citizenship has been on defining what citizenship is and deciding how it should be approached through the curriculum. Though this is a narrow view of the citizenship curriculum, given the overarching aim of promoting active citizenship, it is intelligible as a necessary first step in embedding the new subject in schools. It is no coincidence that it dovetails with the primary focus of OFSTED in reporting on the first year of statutory citizenship (OFSTED, 2003).

However, this narrow view of citizenship education raises questions as to how far schools fully comprehend what is meant by active citizenship. In particular, it raises a concern as to how far the curriculum approaches being adopted by schools will enable them to develop active citizenship in the coming years both within the school and in the wider community. To what extent will these curriculum approaches encourage or stifle the development of active citizenship?

At the same time, active citizenship has attracted considerable interest from researchers and commentators in recent years, particularly in relation to increased student participation and the promotion of schools as democratic institutions. This has been, in part, fuelled by significant legal and political developments in the promotion of human and participation rights at local, national, European and international level, with many now enshrined in international and European conventions and national legislature.

Given all this, the approach to this section of the review is slightly different from preceding sections. Rather than opening with a key question, it is first necessary to set active citizenship with the context of the broader movements in society and in education policy and practice. This context is vital in order to comprehend where commentators and researchers are coming from when they define the scope of active citizenship, both in terms of within school and wider community dimensions, and to understand the nature of the interrelationship between active citizenship and curriculum approaches. It also then enables the identification of a key overarching question to frame the review of literature in this section.

4.2 Active Citizenship in Context

There are a number of converging trends in modern society which are focusing attention on what has been termed '*active citizenship*' – the active dimension as opposed to the knowledge component of an education for citizenship (Kerr and Sardoc, 2002; Potter, 2002). These trends relate to political, legal, social and spheres. The interplay between the trends is complex. However, though they have differing starting-points and drivers of change, they are united by a common concern with the educational sphere and, in particular, with the education of young people and young adults to be 'active citizens'. The two examples from differing spheres that follow illustrate these points.

As was stated in the initial exploratory literature review undertaken at the start of the Study (Kerr *et al.*, 2002) the main driver in the political sphere is the apparently growing lack of interest and involvement of young people and young adults in public and political life, what has been termed a general 'democratic deficit' in society (Jowell and Park, 1998; Putnam, 2000). This has led to renewed interest in citizenship or civic education across the world. Indeed, as was stated in the Crick Report (Crick, 1998), the desire to address this 'democratic deficit' is one of the driving forces behind the introduction of citizenship as a new statutory National Curriculum subject in England.

Meanwhile, the current push for active citizenship has additionally stemmed from the drive in legal and social spheres to promote human and participation rights at the local, national, European and global level. Indeed, many of these rights are now enshrined in international conventions and European and national legislature. While much of the focus has been on the rights of adults, there have been growing attempts to increase participation rights for young people in modern society. A number of these attempts are high profile moves which are having a considerable impact on educational policies and practices at differing levels.

For example, at the international level, the development of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) has helped to underpin the rights of children and young people to participate in society. Article 12 of the convention affords children the right to '*express an opinion and to have that opinion taken into account, in any matter or procedure affecting them*'. In addition, the *Human Rights Act* which came into force in the UK in October

2002, gives people a clear legal statement of their basic rights and fundamental freedoms.

At the national level, the *Children and Young People's Unit* (CYPU) has been set within the Department for Education and Skills (DFES) to provide an overarching strategy for the consultation and inclusion of children and young people in policy development. In 2001, the Unit published a common framework with which to implement the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, (CYPU, 2001). At the same time, it also launched the *YVote?/YNot?* project which sought the views of young people about their disengagement from the democratic processes and what could be done to reverse this process. The project led to two reports published by CYPU in 2002 which set out the key actions that must be taken to reconnect and engage young people in political life, including voting. One report was written specifically for young people (CYPU, 2002a) and the other one for a wider audience (CYPU, 2002b).

Research is currently being undertaken by the National Children's Bureau (NCB), funded by the CYPU, to build on good practice in the consultation and involvement of young people, to identify barriers to effective participation and to tap into young people's views and perspectives on participation (NCB, 2003). This notion of consultation and participation is also enshrined in the *Education Act 2002* (Statutes, 2002) which requires that students' '*views are to be considered in the light of their age and understanding*' concerning '*decisions that affect them*' in school life. Finally, the current consultation on draft guidance to schools administered by the DFES entitled *Working Together: giving children and young people a say* (DFES 2003) reflects the commitment of the UK Government to increase children and young people's participation.

What these two examples underline is how the differing starting points and drivers of change behind the promotion of active citizenship converge in the education sphere to create a broad canvas of opinion as to what active citizenship entails and how it can be achieved in practice. Opinions about what active citizenship is and how it can be achieved include:

♦ promotion of universal human rights
♦ securing of childrens' rights

- development of effective citizenship education programmes

- growth of democratic schools and school structures

- creation of strong partnerships between schools and their local communities

- promotion of effective school councils

- spread of more active and participatory teaching and learning approaches, a focus on the emotional literacy and behaviour of children and young people.

They encompass not only individuals but also structures, processes and approaches, as well as whole-school and curriculum dimensions.

Clearly, citizenship education, according to commentators and researchers, has a major contribution to make to the process of promoting active citizenship. Indeed, existing research into citizenship education suggests that in order to succeed in securing young people's rights and to begin to address the wider democratic deficit in society, the development of participation opportunities for young people both in and beyond school is key.

For example, the IEA Citizenship Education, based on a survey of 90,000 14-year-olds in 28 countries, including England, drew a strong link between the development of young people's civic knowledge and their civic participation. As the Study concluded '*there is a positive correlation between civic knowledge and participation in democratic life. Specifically, the higher students' civic knowledge the more likely they are to participate in political and civic activities as adults*' (Kerr *et al.,* 2001; 2002; Kerr, 2003c). The Study also drew attention to the notion of '*school efficacy*' - the belief of students that working together with other young people on 'real issues' that matter to them they can improve things in school. This notion of '*school efficacy*' is also positively related to civic knowledge.

Despite the best efforts of commentators and researchers the issue still remains as to what the contribution of citizenship education to active citizenship entails in practice, in schools and beyond. This section of the review therefore considers the growing literature on active citizenship and opportunities to participate (both within school and beyond) in order to address the following overarching question: ***Are schools successfully involving their students in active citizenship activities both within and beyond the school?***

There are a number of supplementary questions which contribute to the answer:

♦ What are the benefits of developing active citizenship opportunities for students?

♦ Which factors appear to present challenges to students' learning about, and developing the skills of, citizenship through active citizenship opportunities?

♦ Would guidelines for schools help them to develop and deliver such opportunities?

Each of these questions is examined in turn in the sections that follow. There are two sections for ease of convenience in attempting to provide an answer. The next section examines the questions in relation to active citizenship in school and the following section in relation to active citizenship in the wider community.

4.3   Active Citizenship in School

Active citizenship in school encompasses opportunities, both structured and unstructured, for students to engage and participate at whole-school, curriculum and classroom levels. All aspects of school life can potentially contribute from school ethos and values and citizenship education as a curriculum subject, to school and class councils, the use of visitors and extra-curricular activities. Alexander (2002), a strong advocate for the advancement of democratic schooling, argues for the notion of a '*citizenship school*' – '*a school in which citizenship is practiced as well as taught*' (p. 33).

So what does the literature tell us about the development of active citizenship in schools? It is interesting that the two major sources of information on school approaches to citizenship education in the curriculum, QCA and OFSTED, are relatively silent on active citizenship in school and, more especially, in the wider community, through QCA published guidance for schools on working with external partners (QCA, 2003d) and commissioned studies on pupil participation (Hannam, 2003b) and pupil voice (Rudduck, 2003). QCA (2003b) lists '*citizenship as a process for involving pupils in the organisation and running of schools*' and young people's engagement with their wider communities, as issues for further investigation in 2003-04.

Meanwhile, OFSTED's focus is narrowly on student entitlement through school councils and the use of visitors (OFSTED, 2003).

Active Citizenship in Practice: Potential Outcomes and Benefits

DfES (2003) state five general potential added-value outcomes for schools that may arise from the greater participation of their students in decision making within the school:

- improved academic achievement

- improved behaviour and attendance

- the creation of a more inclusive environment

- enhanced curriculum provision

- the creation of listening and democratic schools

These outcomes are addressed in different ways by researchers depending on their foci and areas of interest. Hannam (2001; 2002; 2003a and b), for example, explores one of these potential outcomes in greater depth arguing that while there are those that claim that pupil participation, particularly that fostered through citizenship, can make a positive contribution to raising school standards and pupil attainment, the debate is not yet won. Indeed, he argues that much more work needs to be done in this area to explore the '*processes whereby participation impacts on individuals*… [and] *their relationship with outcomes*' (Hannam, 2003a: p. 32). Moreover, he calls for further research on the effects of the participation of some students on the non-participation of others, and the effects of social background and gender. Early evidence leads him to argue that this may provide a counter challenge to those who argue that citizenship education can threaten the standards agenda. The positive links between increased student participation and school improvement and standards are supported by Trafford (2003) based on the experiences of encouraging this approach in one school over a number of years.

There is also a growing body of research on the potential benefits for students and schools of the effective use of school and class councils. Davies (1998) argues that effective school or class councils can help reduce student exclusions. Amongst more recent research Taylor and Johnson (2002), based on telephone interviews and case study visits in primary and secondary schools, underline the important role school councils can play in developing notions of citizenship in children and young people. This is further supported

by Inman and Burke (2002) who pinpoint the contribution of school councils to the fostering of an inclusive and democratic environment in schools based on respect and equality between members of the school community.

Meanwhile, Rudduck (2003), in a study commissioned by QCA, focuses more particularly on the developing of the pupil voice within schools. She argues that such development can have two clear benefits for schools and pupils alike:

♦ It can help students to develop their identity by developing '*a critical awareness of their own ends, means and capacities*'; and

♦ It can develop students as expert witnesses by drawing on their experience and capacity to change teaching and learning in schools.

In addition to a focus on generic outcomes and benefits for schools and students, commentators and researchers point towards differential outcomes for different groups. For example, Hannam (2003a) speaks of the value of a citizenship curriculum which includes participatory opportunities for young people may be of greater value to students whose '*grades have little or no credibility with employers, and… are an embarrassment to the public success of their schools*' (p. 26). In short, success in participation can cut across academic ability, gender and ethnic background and raise morale and create a sense of purpose and worth. Lawson (2003) additionally argues that for young people with learning difficulties, opportunities to participate in society as active citizens will be of greater value than opportunities to learn citizenship as a subject.

Moreover, by creating greater opportunities for young people to participate within schools Rudduck (2003) argues that stronger and more meaningful links between the context and process of learning within school and students lives beyond school will be made. This argument is further supported by Deuchar (2003) who asserts that in order for students to become truly active citizens in the wider community, the foundations of participation need to be laid through a participatory school ethos and the full democratisation of schools (a further discussion of literature pertaining to citizenship education in the wider community is provided in Section 4.4 of this review).

Challenges to Active Citizenship in Schools

A number of challenges or obstacles to the promotion of active citizenship in schools are identified in the literature. These relate primarily to the difficulties of changing the existing structures and culture of schooling in England, which are not deemed supportive of active citizenship approaches, and ensuring meaningful participation for all students. Flecknoe (2002), for example, argues that for citizenship to become successful, schools must be democratic institutions in which structural change occurs and includes a place for the student voice in all aspects of school planning and governance. This view is supported by Alexander (2002) who draws attention to the detrimental impact on young people of the gap between what they are taught about citizenship and how schools function. As he notes '*teaching young people about the structures and processes of democracy without giving them an effective say in the life of their own school is a lesson in cynicism and powerlessness*' (p. 33). CSV (2003) draw attention to the current lack of involvement of students in schools in the planning and process of the teaching of citizenship education.

Research on school and class councils underlines the need for such democratic institutions and processes to be embedded in school structures and relationships, to be related to other citizenship provision and practices and to be based on notions of consultation, transparency, respect and change in schools (Taylor and Johnson, 2002; Inman and Burke, 2002; Trafford, 2003). Researchers also stress the importance of regular evaluation and recognition of the outcomes of such processes as a key to bringing change in schools.

However, a main challenge to changing school culture, as identified by Flecknoe (2002), is the fact that OFSTED has defined citizenship in an unhelpfully narrow and academic way which does not take into account the impact of citizenship education on the structure of the school. But OFSTED (2003), even in focusing narrowly on student entitlement through school councils, acknowledge the difficulties of meeting the participatory needs of all students through such processes. As the report notes '*a failing of this strand* [school councils] *in some schools is the concentration of experience of participation on a few pupils, without recognition of the need to find reasonable alternative provision for all*' (p. 15).

With or without the support of OFSTED, the difficulties of changing the structure of the school *per se* are highlighted in a range of literature which

argues that society and schools in England are historically hierarchical and undemocratic; a fact which may lead to active citizenship falling at the first hurdle.

While not focusing particularly on schools, Parker (2002) provides an insight as to why schools cannot become truly democratic institutions. He argues that true democratic deliberation is highly problematic in societies (such as the UK) where power and status can influence the ability of an individual to participate in deliberation, as well as the topics considered appropriate. If we apply this generic argument to an examination the school system we can immediately see that problems will be encountered if those with greater power and status direct participative opportunities. For example, students are rarely allowed to take part in defining staff policies or appointing new staff in their schools and those who feel marginalized from the ethos of the school are less likely to participate in organisations such as school councils (McKenzie, 2002). Indeed, where supported, UNICEF found that student participation was often defined narrowly in terms of school councils and other formal decision making structures rather than in terms of involvement in teaching and learning development or daily teacher-student or student-student interaction. Duerr (2003) takes this argument further, arguing that '*the school is not a voluntary system; it is generally presumed that the degree of student participation cannot match the extent of full democratic participation rights in larger society. In the educational process, there will always be areas and decisions which remain the prerogative of the institution, its representatives or the policy makers*' (p. 8).

Marks (2001) in an article entitled 'S*chooling citizens: A doomed experiment*' similarly draws on related arguments to explain why citizenship through participation is fundamentally incompatible with the school system in England (see also Fielding, forthcoming). First, he argues that schools promote the notion that adults (in particular teachers) are always right. This may prove irreconcilable with the notion that students may have a valid point of view to put across to their teachers. Taking a similar line of argument to Turnbull (2002; see Section 3.2), Marks highlights the fact that many comprehensive schools in England have an ethnically, socially and culturally diverse population. In such schools he argues that the middle class cultural values and linguistic codes through which any democratic consultation occurs will marginalize those whose cultural values and skills do not resonate with them.

This argument is elaborated further by Dillabough and Arnot (2002) who draw attention to the gender based hierarchies in schools and the need to challenge these fundamental divisions before true democracy in schools can develop.

Indeed, Hannam (2003a) one of the clearest advocates of '*participatory experiential learning*' in schools agrees with OFSTED (2002) that the flexibility of the citizenship curriculum, which allows some schools to prioritise the curricular aspects of citizenship education and others to prioritise participatory learning, may lead some headteachers to underplay the participatory aspects of citizenship.

In order to overcome some of these challenges, UNICEF (McKenzie, 2002) recommends that educational policy-makers need to communicate how citizenship teaching can be consolidated through student participation in school life in its broadest sense, beyond the confines of formal decision making processes and structures. Moreover, in order to overcome the fact that exclusion from participation may be experienced by certain groups of students, UNICEF concludes that further research into the factors influencing exclusion needs to be conducted in order to promote 'best inclusive practice' (p. 7). The UNICEF recommendations could be argued to apply equally to the experience of learning about citizenship through active citizenship within the school and active citizenship opportunities within the wider community. The next section of the review now moves on to focus more closely on active citizenship within the wider community.

4.4   Active Citizenship in the Wider Community

The literature is more diverse and less extensive concerning active citizenship in the wider community. This is probably because of the sheer scale of this aspect of citizenship, in terms of what is meant by the phrase 'wider community' and the multitude of potential opportunities for active citizenship activities. The focus is largely on developing links from within schools out to local communities, through curricular and extra-curricular activities. There is little attention to examining things the other way round: of schools making use of the active citizenship experiences that students have in their daily lives in the local community.

Benefits of the Development of Active Citizenship in the Wider Community

Potter (2002) in an influential text on active citizenship, outlines some of the benefits of involving students and staff in the wider community:

♦ Students themselves will have new opportunities to develop key skills and reflective practice;

♦ Schools will begin to reduce their democratic deficit by increasing student participation both within and beyond the school;

♦ The school and its students will provide a service to the local community;

♦ More positive relations may develop between young people and the sometimes suspicious older generation;

♦ By creating relationship with community organisations, schools are generating social capital which may benefit future collaborations.

Finally, in light of the competitive culture in which schools and community-based companies and services work, Potter points towards the need to develop a form of recognition for schools and community organisations who develop collaborative working strategies and participation opportunities for students. He suggests an *Investors in Community* kitemark to this end.

DfES (2003) argue that an additional benefit may arise from increasing student participation within the school and beyond: by involving young people as active citizens in the wider community, schools will play an important part in contributing to community cohesion and social inclusion. This funding is supported by Prime *et al*., (2002) and Attwood *et al*., (2003) who argue that knowing and spending time with other people in the locality can build strong local social networks, increase trust and provide a stepping stone to future community involvement.

Similar to the findings outlined above on active citizenship within schools, certain groups of students are seen to gain particular benefits form undertaking active citizenship within the wider community. The Institute for Volunteering Research (2003) has identified a key benefit from pilot work with 27 schools involved in delivering volunteering opportunities through schools (the DfES-funded *Active Citizenship in Schools* pilot project). In these schools there has been particular success in involving less academic pupils, or those traditionally disengaged from the school, in volunteering activities.

Challenges to the Development of Active Citizenship in the Wider Community

Despite a clear recognition of the benefits involved, teaching active citizenship through students' participation and involvement in the wider community is reported by many commentators and researchers to be one of the most challenging aspects of citizenship education (see QCA, 2003b). A number of reasons are posited as to why this is the case.

Potter (2002) in a good practice guide for schools wishing to develop this aspect of their citizenship curriculum, identifies four possible challenges to the development of a whole school policy for active citizenship. First, there are **leadership challenges**. Leadership may facilitate or block a school to work to create, provide and review the learning experiences that meet the citizenship Order in the context of the shared aims of the school. Second, there are **curricular challenges**. In order to be successful the citizenship curriculum that is developed must resonate with the wider school ethos and objectives and vice versa. Third, there are **cultural challenges**. Staff, students and parents need to be helped to understand the importance of citizenship education and their role in its success. Finally, there are **contextual challenges.** Any initiatives that facilitate an interface between the wider community and the school community must take account of what else is going on in the school in order to overcome staff anxieties around time and resources, and what is going on in the wider community in order to develop the school a valuable partner for community organisations. In a recent report on citizenship in the curriculum, CSV (2003) supports this view, highlighting three key factors which may act to affect active citizenship beyond the school walls: time constraints, curriculum pressures and bureaucracy. QCA (2003b) augments this list, suggesting that a lack of staff and school experience and confidence in this area may adversely affect the development of active citizenship within the community.

Kerr and Sardoc (2002) further argue that the constraints on active citizenship may not simply stem from within schools. Citizenship within the community requires access to public spaces. It could be argued that such public spaces are under considerable and sustained threat in contemporary society, affected both by fear and the growing privatisation of public space. Wilkins (2003) also highlights a number of factors which can act to restrict out of school activities and interface between students and the wider community. These include:

time; threats of litigation from students, parents and community members; local authorities and schools selling outdoor spaces to private developers and a general decline in young people's access to public space.

Building Successful Participation Opportunities in Schools and the Wider Community.

Two documents reporting on the DfES funded *Active Citizens in Schools Pilot Project* (Changemakers, 2003 and the Institute for Volunteering Research, 2003) provide guidelines and prerequisites for schools wishing to develop this aspect of the citizenship curriculum. The initiative on which the reports are based has involved 2,200 young people in 27 schools, of which less than half had been involved in voluntary action prior to their involvement in the project. This research argues that schools need to go through 6 stages of development in order to encourage student participation in schools and beyond:

- Developing an action plan and establishing community networks;
- Engaging young people in the programme at all stages (project planning, management and implementation);
- Gaining the commitment of the school's wider staff;
- Identifying and developing the contribution of active citizenship to citizenship education;
- Developing links with and action in the wider community;
- Developing sustainability plans.

In order to do this five key support mechanisms/interventions have been found to be useful:

- Action planning by schools and the review of progress with external support;
- Paid youth worker time in order to take pressure off already overburdened teachers;
- Cross-sector training for youth workers, community representatives and teachers;
- Communication between schools in order to share good practice;
- The development of a flexible framework which is focused and not prescriptive in order to allow for the different starting points and approaches to citizenship education in each school and their motivations for involvement.

Newton (2002) additionally provides some examples of the ways in which schools can work with the local community to extend student's participation opportunities: the creation of local youth assemblies which link to school councils; intergenerational projects which want to work with schools and help with community radio stations and newsletters.

4.5 Summary and Implications

Summary

What, then, does the literature tell us in answer to the key overarching question highlighted at the beginning of Section 4.1, namely: ***Are schools successfully involving their students in active citizenship activities both within and beyond the school?***

And to the three supplementary questions:

♦ What are the benefits of developing active citizenship opportunities for students?

♦ Which factors appear to present challenges to students' learning about, and developing the skills of, citizenship through active citizenship opportunities?

♦ Would guidelines for schools help them to develop and deliver such opportunities?

The first point to emphasise is that the evidence, to date, as to whether active citizenship activities are taking place within school and the wider community is sparse, but growing. It is currently limited to small scale studies and pilot projects. Rather the literature that is available from commentators and researchers underlines the fact that the notion of '*active citizenship*' is still very much emergent in terms of both policy and practice. It is subject to a number of change drivers at policy level. The result is a broad spread of opinion as to what active citizenship entails in the sphere of education and how and where it should be promoted. Though there is agreement that citizenship education has a key role to play in the promotion of active citizenship it is not clear what the scope of that role is in practice. In particular, the nature of the linkages between citizenship education in the curriculum, active citizenship in schools and active citizenship in the wider community, requires further exploration and unpacking.

Given this it is not possible to provide a definitive answer to the question *Are schools successfully involving their students in active citizenship activities both within and beyond the school?* The literature suggests that the majority of schools are focusing narrowly on citizenship education in the curriculum, at this early stage of the citizenship initiative, and have not fully considered the implications of the active citizenship dimension. However, the literature also draws attention to the danger of this narrow approach limiting opportunities to develop active citizenship activities, unless active citizenship is a natural part of the planning process for citizenship education. It is vital that schools take account of the active citizenship dimension, particularly within the school, as they develop citizenship education practice.

The case studies, small scale studies and pilot projects indicate that there are clear generic benefits for students and institutions, as well as particular benefits for certain groups of students (such as those who are less academically oriented, and those with learning difficulties) which arise from taking part in active citizenship activities both within school and beyond. At the personal development level, involvement in active citizenship activities can benefit students' skills, knowledge, self-esteem, confidence and behaviour. At the interpersonal level, it can increase positive relationships, based on equality and respect, both within and outside the school, and assist school and community cohesion. At the institutional level, particularly in relation to schools, it can foster a more inclusive environment leading to improved academic achievement and a raising of school standards.

There is a clear acknowledgement in the literature that active citizenship is one of the hardest aspects of the citizenship education to develop and implement within schools and, more especially, in the wider community. Accordingly, fears are raised that participative activities will play second fiddle to the curricular aspects of citizenship. Reasons for such relegation are centred on the prevailing culture, structures and locus of power in schools and in wider society, which is largely hierarchical and undemocratic. This raises the question as to whether schools and other institutions in society are ready to provide 'real' active citizenship opportunities for all young people. There are associated challenges raised concerning a lack of resources to engage with the community and a lack of training in this area for teachers and young people.

In such circumstances the publication of best-practice guidelines appears one possible way to stimulate activity in this area. Indeed, much of the activity in the small scale studies and pilot projects concerns the identification of the core principles which underpin active citizenship, an exploration of how these can be nurtured in a range of differing contexts, and the dissemination of the outcomes and lessons learnt for the benefit of others. CSV (2003) lead the calls for the commissioning of further work and guidance on how schools can address the entitlement to active citizenship for all students

Implications

The literature on active citizenship throws up a number of implications for the future conduct of the Study. They include the need to:

- Keep abreast of changing legislation and policy in this area, particularly in relation to the outcomes of the current round of consultations on student participation and pupil voice, and the implications for emerging practice in schools and the wider community.

- Establish a clearer understanding of what is meant by the term 'active citizenship' and of the nature and scope of the potential linkages between citizenship education in the curriculum, active citizenship in the school and active citizenship in the wider community. This clearer understanding should be informed by the on-going conceptual debates and by emerging practices in differing contexts.

- Probe in more depth, particularly in the school case study component of the Study, what school leaders, teachers and students understand by the term 'active citizenship', the influences on that understanding and the implications for policies and practices.

- Identify what the real challenges are for schools in developing active citizenship, what attempts are made to overcome these challenges and how successful they are, and what the costs and benefits of active citizenship approaches are for differing groups both within and outside schools.

- Consult regularly with young people about the nature and extent of their active citizenship experiences in school and in the wider community and the potential impact of these experiences on their development of citizenship dimensions of knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviour.

It will be fascinating to see, as the Study progresses, how far the curriculum approaches taken to citizenship education in schools help or hinder attempts to address active citizenship not only in the school but also in the wider community. It will be interesting, in particular, to ascertain how many schools, despite the statutory requirement to develop the participation and responsible action strand in the Citizenship National Curriculum Order, will

seek to continue the impact of citizenship to a curriculum slot (the what is taught element) – and how many will successfully embrace active citizenship (linking what is taught to what is practised) and so nurture *school efficacy*.

5. CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND FUTURE WORK

Key Points

- The review adds considerably to the building of an informed evidence base for citizenship education even at this early stage of the citizenship initiative. It will be of benefit not only to the future conduct of the Study but also to those with an interest in citizenship education.

- The targeting of the review on *definitions and approaches to citizenship education in policy and practice* has proved timely and the use of key overarching questions has helped to sort and interrogate the literature and revealed a number of powerful insights.

- The review provides insights into the nature of the current evidence base, who contributes to it and what it reveals about policy and practice.

- In terms of the current evidence base, this is sparse and dominated by researchers and commentators rather than practitioners. However, there are some green shoots of practitioner-based research that are visible. The debates about concepts and terminology are a likely long-term feature of citizenship education.

- In terms of who contributes to the literature the review reveals the interdisciplinary nature of the contributors from education and a range of related disciplines. However, there is little sign, as yet, of a coordinated interdisciplinary approach, despite the potential for such an approach. Little is yet known about the voices and concerns of practitioners, children and young people. It is important that opportunities are created for these voices to come through in the future.

- In terms of policy and practice the review reveals that more is known about certain aspects of citizenship education than others. In particular, more is known about citizenship in the curriculum than about active citizenship in school and in the wider community. However, it is already clear that some schools are more advanced in their thinking about and approach to citizenship education than others. There is also a need to consider sites of citizenship learning beyond the school.

- The insights provide a number of ways forward for the elements of the Study, not only future literature reviews but also the survey and school case study element. It will be important for the research team to consider these in planning the next phase of the Study.

- In terms of future literature reviews it is suggested that the tripartite division for ordering literature provides a strong framework. Given this the focus in 2004 will be on *the political socialisation of young people and adults*, in 2005 it will be on *youth transitions and the meaning and experience of neighbourhood, community and home* and in 2006 return to *definitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice*.

5.1   Opening Comments

This first annual literature review, carried out as part of the nine-year Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study, has proved an extremely valuable activity.   The review adds considerably to the building of an informed evidence base for citizenship education, even at this early stage of the citizenship initiative.   Though it will be used, in the main, to inform the current and future conduct of the Study, it is also hoped that it assists researchers, commentators and others with an interest in developing effective citizenship education in policy and practice.

The targeting of the review around the area of: *definitions and models of and approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice* proved to be a wise decision.   It matches the current focus of activity concerning citizenship education.   The use of key overarching questions, likewise, has been an invaluable aid in ordering, interrogating and drawing insights from the literature.

What follows are some brief concluding comments.   These are intended to: draw attention to some of the threads running through the literature on citizenship education; explore how they can be followed up and explored further; and, highlight other literature that needs to be reviewed if an informed evidence base for citizenship education is to be constructed.   The comments are structured around three headings:

- *Insights* – what has been learnt from the literature review?
- *Acting Upon the Insights* – how can the insights be acted upon?
- *Future Literature Reviews* – what should be the direction of future literature reviews?

Though the comments are framed in the context of the Study they have wider relevance for the conduct of policy, practice and research in citizenship education.

5.2 Insights

What insights does the first annual literature review provide from its focus on *definitions and models of, and approaches and challenges to, citizenship and citizenship education* in the first year of National Curriculum citizenship in England? What does it tell us about what citizenship education means one year on? The review reveals a number of powerful insights concerning the nature of the evidence base, who contributes to it and what it reveals about actual practice, that are of potential value to the conduct of the Study. Ironically, the review is helpful as much for what it does not inform us about definitions and approaches to citizenship education in practice, as for what it does highlight.

The first set of insights concern the nature of the evidence base. What is most obvious is that these are still very early days for the citizenship education initiative as it moves from policy into practice in schools, a fact reflected in the nature of the current literature base. As Gearon (2003) concludes in a recent BERA review of UK research in citizenship education, '*It cannot be emphasised too strongly that citizenship education research, like the National Curriculum, is in a very early stage of development. Nevertheless, this is also an exciting time for researching an area of developing importance.*' (p. 20). Gearon's conclusion describes the literature which contributes to this review. The current literature base is indeed sparse. It is dominated by commentators and researchers and concerned more with conceptual and theoretical underpinnings and terminology than with actual policies and practices.

However, conversely, this also means that the small-scale studies, pilot projects and case studies, reported in the review, are at the cutting edge of citizenship education research. These green shoots of research activity are centred on the realities of schools, classrooms and communities and are invariably breaking new ground. There is often lag time between the introduction of a policy initiative, the development of practice and the researching of that area: this is the case with citizenship education. It will take time for a range of empirical research evidence to emerge and contribute to the building of a clearer picture of the impact of citizenship education.

The review also highlights that the debates about terminology and approach, in particular about the concepts of citizenship, citizenship education and active

citizenship and how they should be approached in practice, are not going to go away. They are likely to be a long-term feature of policy, practice and research in citizenship education. Indeed, they may become more heated and contentious as differing factions emerge in this area: as is the case in some other National Curriculum subjects. Though meanings and understanding of these concepts will tighten appreciably as practice evolves, the concepts themselves will continue to be influenced by the shifting sands of international, European, national and local contexts. The citizenship education context of 2002 to 2003 will not be the same as the citizenship education context of 2009 at the Study's end. In particular, in order to grow and be effective citizenship education will have to remain topical and relevant, particularly for young people.

There is also a recognition in the literature reviewed that there is already underway a shift from theoretical to more practice-based perspectives about citizenship education. This is evidenced by a clear demarcation of viewpoints in the debates between those who advocate '*explicit citizenship education*', as developed through a clearly identifiable taught element in the curriculum, and those who advocate '*implicit citizenship*', as developed through a cross-curricular approach through related areas of the curriculum, such as PSHE, and wider school ethos.

A second set of valuable insights concern the contributors to the evidence base. It is clear that citizenship education attracts a variety of commentators and researchers from a range of differing academic disciplines and backgrounds. This came through strongly in the initial exploratory literature review and is confirmed in the literature which underpins this review (Kerr *et al.,* 2002). Citizenship education attracts researchers not only from education but also from the disciplines of political sciences, social policy, psychology, youth and community studies and sociology, to name but a few. However, there is little sign, as yet, of a coordinated interdisciplinary approach to research in citizenship education. This is probably because there is not yet a recognised body of accumulated knowledge and evidence. Rather researchers tend to focus on their own particular interests and disciplines. It is to be hoped that increasing research interest in this area in the coming years is a spur to a more interdisciplinary approach. Certainly, there is much potential for learning from such a move.

It is also clear that little is yet known about the voices and concerns of practitioners and also of children and young people concerning citizenship education. This is ironic given that these are the key groups who will ultimately decide on the success or otherwise of the citizenship education initiative. It raises a warning note as to how, if at all, these voices and concerns will come through the literature in the future. Halstead and Taylor (2000), in their comprehensive review of values education, draw attention to the fact that there are some areas of practice that are under-researched and warn '*that the researchers' agenda is not always the same as the practitioners' agenda*' (p. 60). It will be interesting to see how far this finding rings true for research in citizenship education.

A third set of insights concern the state of policy and practice in citizenship education. The review is illuminating in that it reveals more evidence of what is not currently happening in terms of policy and practice in citizenship education rather than of effective, evolving practice. We know more about what schools and teachers are not doing in approaching citizenship education, rather than what they are doing. This creates a 'deficit' model of policy and practice. However, this is a positive finding in that it highlights the realities of the current challenges facing the development of citizenship education in schools and communities. It reveals where schools and teachers truly are at one year on from the introduction of statutory citizenship education, rather than where it is assumed they would be following a two- year period of grace from 2000 in which to prepare for citizenship education.

It is also clear that much more is known about certain aspects of citizenship education practice than others. More is known, in particular, about approaches to citizenship in the curriculum, at present, than about approaches to active citizenship in school and in the wider community. This is because this is where the main focus on citizenship education has been in 2002-03. We know that the situation concerning curriculum approaches is flexible, fluid and context specific. However, in terms of active citizenship, though the benefits of such activities are recognised, the current concern is more on identifying the challenges rather than taking action to overcome them.

Importantly, in terms of practice, the review also draws attention to the fact that already, after only one year, there are some schools that are more advanced in their thinking about and development of practice in citizenship

education than others. They have put considerable efforts into thinking through the implications of National Curriculum citizenship and are reaping the benefits in their approach to developing and embedding practice. Meanwhile, in the majority of schools there is still confusion and uncertainty concerning curriculum approaches, assessment and developing active citizenship, leading to calls for improved teacher training opportunities.

Finally, the review highlights the need to consider the development of effective policy and practice in citizenship education in terms of a range of places and contexts, or 'sites', where citizenship learning takes place. Clearly, the school, its classrooms and environment, are a key site for citizenship learning. However, there is evidence that there are also important sites of citizenship learning beyond the school, in local communities, homes and with peers. This raises questions of how best to make links between the citizenship learning in these differing contexts

The sets of insights that can be drawn from the review are by no means exhaustive. However, they provide rich food for thought concerning current policy and practice in citizenship education. How they can best be taken forward in the context of the Study is considered in the next section.

5.3   Acting on the Insights

The insights concerning the nature of the evidence base, who contributes to it and the state of citizenship education policy and practice are extremely valuable in framing the next phase of the Study. They provide a number of reminders to the research team and suggestions for action, in terms of the Study's elements, that will strengthen the overall conduct of the Study.

The insights concerning the nature of the evidence base and who contributes to it, suggest the need for the Study in general, and more specifically through the elements of the **annual literature reviews** and **analytical framework** to:

♦   Keep abreast of and inform the growing literature base for citizenship and citizenship education. The literature base will expand and deepen in the coming years with increasing empirical evidence on policy and practice in a variety of contexts. It will be important for the Study to keep up to speed with this evidence base and also inform it through the Study's annual reports, literature reviews and other outcomes

♦ Ensure that the Study reflects the interdisciplinary nature of the evidence base for citizenship education and both draws on and informs literature and researchers not solely from education but also from other interested disciplines such as political sciences, psychology, social policy, sociology and youth studies. This interdisciplinary approach is likely to be a growing feature of research in citizenship education.

♦ Monitor the on-going debates about definition and terminology surrounding the competing concepts of citizenship, citizenship education and active citizenship and gauge their impact on thinking about policy and practice in citizenship education.

♦ Review the extent of any tightening of understanding of what is meant by citizenship education as practice evolves and whether such tightening leads to the appearance of factions or divisions among citizenship curriculum specialists who support differing approaches. The emergence of 'citizenship subject specialists' is a potential new phenomenon and little is known about what impact it will have on policy and practice.

♦ Focus on evidence not just from researchers and commentators but also on the growing evidence from practitioners and young people, through their involvement in small-scale and pilot projects which are at the cutting edge of citizenship education research. It will be important to ascertain whether there are any differences between the agendas of researchers and practitioners.

♦ Consider whether there are any areas of citizenship education that remain under-researched, what those areas are and the reasons for this.

♦ Examine what happens at the interface where '*explicit citizenship education*' meets '*implicit citizenship*' in schools and the wider community and the nature of the interrelationships established between approaches to citizenship in the curriculum and those concerning active citizenship in the school and in the wider community. This interface and the interrelationships will determine whether citizenship education in practice has a narrow or broad focus.

The insights concerning the current state of policy and practice in citizenship education suggest the need for the Study, through the elements of the **surveys** and **school case studies** to:

♦ Ascertain the views not just of school leaders, citizenship coordinators and teachers about citizenship education but also those of young people in order to construct a comprehensive picture of the impact of citizenship education. Young people are a vital source of information and insights to compare with that provided by their teachers. There may be scope for different groups to comment on each other's views and explore the reasons for similarities and differences. There may also be scope to involve those from the wider community when examining approaches to active citizenship.

♦ Explore the background influences on the thinking and actions of school leaders, citizenship coordinators and teachers in the formation of and

approaches to policy and practice in citizenship education. To what extent are decisions taken a mixture of underpinning subject philosophy and pragmatic considerations? How far are school leaders and teachers influenced in their thinking by the wider debates about citizenship and citizenship education? Are they more concerned about OFSTED and the pressure of competing priorities than about developing an overarching philosophy for citizenship education? It is the exploration of these sorts of questions that gets to the heart of the reasons for the current fluid, flexible and context-specific approaches to citizenship education.

♦ Focus on the influences on the formation of young people's citizenship dimensions (civic knowledge, skills, attitudes and opinions), both positive and negative, in a range of contexts. Though the central focus of the Study remains the school it will be important also to recognise the existence of other 'sites' of citizenship learning for young people – family, community groups, peers etc. – and to ascertain the accumulated impact of this citizenship learning. This may entail visiting local communities and/or interviewing local community representatives as part of the school case studies.

♦ Investigate differing aspects of citizenship education and the nature of the interrelationships between them. Citizenship education can be viewed as having three interrelated components – **citizenship in the curriculum, active citizenship in school** and **active citizenship in the wider community**. How far do schools share this view and to what extent are they able to develop all three aspects successfully?

♦ Monitor the impact of on-going national policy developments on policy and practice in schools. For example, what impact will the outcomes of the current consultation on pupil participation, or the new framework for OFSTED inspections, or the review of 14-19 education and training, or the first year of statutory teacher assessment in citizenship at key stage 3 in 2004, have in schools? Citizenship education policy and practice does not take place in a vacuum but is subject to the vicissitudes of broader educational policy.

♦ Ensure that the school case studies contain a spread of schools that reflect the differing rates of development of citizenship education practice and the range of curriculum approaches. It will be vital to have a spread that includes those schools that are already advanced in their development of practice and those that are beset by confusion and uncertainty as to the best way to proceed.

♦ Look to sort and categorise the survey schools in order to identify different rates of development of citizenship education practice and begin to explore the reasons behind this. This may mean that the same things are not done or asked in all case study schools but rather there is a targeting or focus on particular aspects of citizenship provision – such as student participation or teaching approaches – that are of interest to the Study.

♦ Target those schools that are more advanced in their approach to citizenship education, particularly through the case study element, investigate the reasons behind their more advanced development, and disseminate the outcomes more widely through the Study's outputs.

♦ Investigate how the study and its outcomes (such as the literature review) can help to build closer connections between citizenship education practice and citizenship education research, in other words not just helping practitioner and student voices to be heard, but also helping practitioners an young people to use research findings.

The insights from this first annual literature review also have implications for the nature and scope of future literature reviews and these are considered in the section that follows.

5.4 Future Literature Reviews

This first annual literature has confirmed the wisdom of sorting the literature into three areas of focus, namely:

♦ Definitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice

♦ The political socialisation of young people and adults

♦ Youth transitions and the meaning and experience of neighbourhood, community and home.

These areas lend themselves to the way that citizenship education has been defined in the National Curriculum and also to the range of academic disciplines most closely related to the Study.

This review has also confirmed the wisdom of concentrating on the first of these three areas of focus - d*efinitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice* and of interrogating the literature relating to this area through a series of key, overarching questions relating to a specific timeframe. Much of the activity in the first year of statutory citizenship education has been focused on schools and how they are developing policy and practice. This is reflected in the literature. Meanwhile, the key questions and timeframe have provided a sharpness to the sorting and interrogation of the literature that has resulted in clearly defined sections in this review. This has enabled the identification of a set of valuable insights for the future conduct of the Study. The use of key overarching questions and of specific timeframes will be a prominent feature

of future literature reviews. It will enable those questions to be revisited in the future as a means of highlighting changes in the literature base over time.

The tripartite division provides a strong framework for the conduct of the literature reviews and mirrors. Though the focus in this review has been on definitions and approaches to citizenship education, largely in relation to schools and curriculum, the literature underlines the importance of not seeing school and curriculum practices in a vacuum. This point is well made in the conclusion to an exploratory paper on the outcomes from the Study's first cross-sectional survey and initial round of school case study visits (Kerr *et al.,* 2003).

'The evidence presented suggests that irrespective of the opportunities presented to students to experience citizenship education as a curriculum subject and to become an active member of a school community, certain factors may act to frame the success of the approaches taken. In particular, our research indicates that student efficacy cannot simply be created but must be fostered, taking into account a series of factors such as students' stage in the school system, their cultural values and friendship groups, the local community's image of young people, alongside more structural factors such as a lack of available time, a lack of facilities for young people (including closure of school facilities out of hours). These factors, amongst others, may all act to influence students' sense of belonging to the school and their local community and their take-up of school-based and community based activities' (p. 17).

Given the aim of the literature review is to build, by the Study's end in 2009, a clearer understanding of the complex processes which influence the development of young people's political literacy and attitudes to participation and active citizenship both in and out of school, it is important to widen the focus of future literature reviews to pick up on literature relating to the '*series of factors*' beyond schools outlined in the above quotation.

It is therefore suggested that the next two annual literature reviews concentrate on the remaining two areas of focus in the tripartite division of the literature. This means that the focus would be in:

- 2004 – on the political socialisation of young people and adults
- 2005 – on youth transitions and the meaning and experience of neighbourhood, community and home

enabling a return focus in:

♦   2006 –   on definitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship and citizenship education in policy and practice.

This provides a neat symmetry in the collection and interrogation of the literature and encourages an interdisciplinary approach.   The literature will still continue to be collected in all three areas every year but will only be reported on in the year of focus on a particular area. It will also be important that future annual literature reviews continue to be informed not just by literature from the UK but also by that from a European and international perspective.

This suggested approach also mirrors the trajectory of the policy and practice in citizenship and citizenship education.   Following the establishment of a statutory entitlement for young people to citizenship education in schools, the citizenship agenda has widened in policy terms to encompass civil renewal in the wider community.   There is considerable activity at present led by the Home Office.   The Home Secretary, David Blunkett has published two influential pamphlets on civil renewal (Blunkett, 2003a and b), lessons from research on civil renewal have been produced by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2003) and there are moves to establish an Active Citizenship Centre that will offer advice, guidance and support.   It will be interesting to see how the citizenship education and civil renewal agendas coexist and the extent of cooperation and overlap in terms of policy, practice and research in the coming years.   This will be a likely feature in future literature reviews.

5.5   Concluding Comment

This review has focused on literature which addresses definitions and approaches to citizenship education in the first year of National Curriculum citizenship in England. It presents a mixed picture of current progress, though it is important to underline that this is still early days for the citizenship initiative and the literature base is relatively sparse. It reveals that there are still competing models and approaches to citizenship education in schools, and elsewhere, and that many questions as to what citizenship education entails

remain unanswered. However, it also highlights that there are some schools that are more advanced in their thinking about and development of citizenship education, particularly in relation to curriculum approaches, than others. It is these signs of progress that are of particular interest to the conduct of the Study.

It is to be expected that there will be more widespread signs of progress in developing effective citizenship education practice when the annual literature review refocuses on policy and practice in citizenship education in two years time. There is already considerable activity in policy, practice and research which will impact on that review. For example, in terms of policy DfES is coordinating a major initiative which is promoting continuous professional development (CPD) in citizenship education. This programme includes the appointment of a national citizenship CPD coordinator and three regional coordinators, the development of a practice-based Citizenship CPD Handbook, and a feasibility study on CPD accreditation for citizenship teachers.

Meanwhile, in relation to practice there are a number of fledgling citizenship networks under development which have the potential to become 'communities of practice' that share, promote and disseminate evolving practice and provide a strong voice for citizenship subject specialists. These networks include those involved in citizenship teacher training (see www.ittcitized.info\\), those linked to the LSDA managed post-16 citizenship development projects, members of the new Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) (which has a new journal *Teaching Citizenship*) and the newly appointed Citizenship Advanced Skills Teachers (ASTs).

In terms of research, there is growing research and evaluation activity related to the above networks. For example, the Citized network is developing a range of papers and studies on emerging practices in initial teacher education. A major report on the outcomes of the two-year evaluation of the post-16 citizenship development projects carried out by NFER has recently been published, with implications for pre-16 citizenship education (Nelson *et al.,* 2004). A systematic review of the impact of citizenship education on the provision of schooling is also under development as part of the series of EPPI centre reviews (Deakin Crick *et al.,* forthcoming).

One thing is certain the research base will be less sparse come the next literature review on policy and practice in citizenship education in two years time. The presence of more empirical research and practitioner-led studies is yet another sign of progress in citizenship education.

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