CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Edited by
David L. Grossman,
Wing On Lee and
Kerry J. Kennedy

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CERC Studies in Comparative Education

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AP	Advanced Placement
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AYP	Adequate Yearly Progress
CER	Commission on Education Reform
CICED	Centre for Indonesian Civic Education
CIDE	Comparative and International Development Education
CIRCLE	Centre for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement
CME	Civics and Moral Education
CMI	Chinese-Medium Instruction
CPC	Communist Party of China
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
EI	Education Index
EMI	English-Medium Instruction
EPA	Economics and Public Affairs
EU	European Union
GPA	Government and Public Affairs
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JAIE	Japan Association for International Education
KLA	Key Learning Area
KMT	Kuomintang (Nationalist Party)
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology
MOE	Ministry of Education
NAEP	National Assessment of Educational Progress
NAFTA	North Atlantic Free Trade Association
NCSS	National Council for the Social Studies
NEA	National Education Association
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NICT	National Institute for Compilation and Translation
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAP	People's Action Party
PSHE	Personal, Social and Humanities Education
ROC	Republic of China
TIMSS	Third International Mathematics and Science Study
TOC	Target Oriented Curriculum
TTRA	Target and Target Related Assessment
UN	United Nations

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

Series Editor's Foreword

In governments, ministries and departments of education the world over, citizenship education is increasingly viewed by politicians, policy makers and other stakeholders as a panacea, if not the panacea, for the ills that are perceived to plague contemporary society, its young and their youth culture, and which education is expected to ameliorate. The loss of community associated with the disembedded nature of modern existence and the ensuing alienation and disaffection of many young people; the disenchantment of the world that has followed modernity's undermining of established and traditional sources of meaning; the factors associated with what has been called the 'risk' society of late modernity and the increased vulnerability of young people; the fragility of identity in a world of contested authority and the attraction to young people of other forms of identity constituted in terms of consumer choices, for example, rather than in national and patriotic terms – these are among the chief concerns that have led educational policy makers to citizenship education in their search for solutions. Citizenship education is expected to contribute substantially to the development of young people more at home in their communities, societies and nations, who are more patriotically loyal but who also see themselves as global citizens concerned about and committed to the solution of planetary problems of sustainable existence, intercultural conflict, environmental destruction, disease and poverty. Citizenship education is expected to produce young people with a stronger sense of cultural and national identity, but who are also more culturally sensitive, planetarily committed and globally fluent. It has become, to cite the classic expression, all things to all men.

In this book, David Grossman, Wing On Lee and Kerry Kennedy examine the ways in which these multiple and conflicting demands on citizenship education are translated – or not – into the citizenship curricula of a diverse group of societies in Asia and the Pacific. The book follows their successful volume, *Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues*, which was published as Number 14 in this series. Here the editors, who are widely regarded as leaders in the field, have gone beyond broad citizenship education frameworks to examine the realities, tensions and pressures that influence the formation of the citizenship curriculum. They asked their chapter authors from these different societies to consider two fundamental questions in this domain: (1) how is citizenship education featured in the current curriculum reform agenda in terms of both policy contexts and values; and (2) to what extent do the reforms in citizenship education reflect current debates within the society? The editors' comparative analysis of these case studies renders a complex picture of curriculum reform that indicates deep tensions between global and local agendas. On one hand, there is substantial evidence of an increasingly common policy rhetoric in the debates about citizenship education – those planetary commitments and responsibilities, those aspirations to global fluency through 'lifelong learning' for a 'globally competitive' 'knowledge society'. On the other hand, it is evident that this discourse does not necessarily

extend to citizenship curriculum, which in most places continues to be constructed according to distinctive social, political and cultural contexts. Whether the focus is on Islamic values in Pakistan, an emerging discourse about Chinese 'democracy', a nostalgic conservatism in Australia, or a continuing nation-building project in Malaysia – the cases show that distinctive social values and ideologies construct national citizenship curricula in Asian contexts even in this increasingly globalized era.

It is a pleasure to see this book in the CERC Studies in Comparative Education Series – not only for the continuity it represents with its earlier companion volume in the series, but also because its editors are old friends of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong. One of the editors, Wing On Lee, was in fact CERC's founding Director.

CERC has recently been described, by the Co-Editor of the *Comparative Education Review*, David Post, as "one of the world's most important publishers of research in the field of comparative education". This volume, in its application of comparative education's research methods to the intersection of the fields of citizenship education and curriculum, is another reason why.

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Introduction

David L. GROSSMAN

Like the first book in this series, *Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues* (Lee, Grossman, Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004), this book originates from a desire upon the part of the editors to encourage dialogue among scholars in the Asia-Pacific region about the nature of citizenship education. The first book focused on conceptions of citizenship education in the region that took into account local and indigenous contexts, traditions, knowledge and values. Its chapters included analysis and reflection on the conceptual debates in citizenship education along with historical and policy studies, studies of key contemporary issues and comparative studies of citizenship education. In the second book, however, it was decided to put the central focus on curriculum issues related to citizenship education, hence the title, *Citizenship Curriculum in Asia and the Pacific*.

The decision to make curriculum the focus was a measured one, based on the editors' observation of some highly visible and common trends in the region, if not internationally. Much of the Asia-Pacific region has witnessed massive curriculum reform over the past five years. Often fuelled by a neo-liberal reform agenda, the purpose of these reforms has been to align the school curriculum with the assumed needs of the "knowledge economy." Reform objectives have focused on the preparation of future citizens who are creative, innovative problem-solvers capable of contributing to future economic growth. "Lifelong learning" has become a mantra of the reforms and the creation of "learning societies" is seen to be one way to develop human capital that can continually generate new ideas and innovations. Beneath these slogans, these so-called "knowledge societies" seem to demand the development of a critical mass of educated citizens to engage in entrepreneurial and innovative activities directly related to economic growth and development.

These trends in curriculum reform are by no means isolated phenomena. Fiala (2006) argues that a global ideology of education has emerged. In brief, this "ideology" presses education systems to pursue:

1. Full development of the individual
2. Development of the nation and the economy
3. Recognition of the importance of the values of equality, democracy and the broad rights of human beings for education (p.30)

It is now common to find these three trends represented in some form in curriculum policy documents across the Asia-Pacific region, if not globally. However, in constructing a formal curriculum the reality is that it is difficult to balance these three ends, and curriculum debates often reflect the differing priorities put on each one of these. For

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example, as Fiala (2006) points out, less developed countries have a tendency to put more emphasis on national identity and economic growth. In fact, in many cases the more Utopian goals of full development of individuals, equality, democracy and human rights may in the end have only a loose connection to the formal curriculum.

As this volume will illustrate, these global themes are central to issues surrounding citizenship education debates in the Asia-Pacific region, and gave rise to a number of key questions for us to consider. How has citizenship education fared in the process of the broad curriculum reforms across the region? Where has citizenship education curriculum been located within these new educational contexts? How has citizenship education been modified to meet new ideological purposes? What kinds of citizens are needed for these knowledge societies that are being developed throughout the region?

In this context, we invited prospective authors to submit proposals for chapters that would respond to the following set of questions:

1. How has citizenship education featured in the current curriculum reform agenda in terms of its policy contexts and values?
   1.1 At the level of policy;
   1.2 At the level of syllabus design;
   1.3 At the level of teaching materials and schools and classrooms.
2. To what extent do the reforms to citizenship education reflect the current debates within society?

Upon completion of a draft that addressed these questions in terms of their own societal context, authors were invited to a seminar to share their draft chapters in the interests of serving the agenda for cross-regional dialogue and indeed to enhance their chapters through the cross-fertilisation of ideas.

Before outlining the set of chapters that resulted from this process, I would like to take the opportunity to make some brief comments about the conceptual, geographical and political aspects of this endeavour.

The Curriculum Focus

There is not a lot of agreement about the term curriculum and its usage in the literature. For example, Glatthorn (1999) identifies eight conceptually different types of curriculum: hidden (unintended), excluded (what has been left out intentionally or unintentionally), recommended (advocated by experts), written (as found in official documents), supported (as found in textbooks, software and media), tested (embodied in tests), taught (what teachers actually deliver), and learned (what students learn). As Glatthorn points out, there is a challenge into bringing these wide range versions of what is taught into congruence. In a useful definitional exercise, Kennedy (2005c, p.84) describes four broad dimensions of the curriculum that taken together reflect for him the totality of the curriculum.

1. Curriculum as a prescribed plan for learning;
2. Curriculum as all the learning experiences encountered at school, planned and unplanned;
3. Curriculum as a reflection of the expectations that society has for young people; and
4. Curriculum as a statement of values.

Kennedy's definition assumes that curriculum takes place in a political context and represents a selection from the culture. As individuals and groups in a society will want their say, there will be different and often conflicting interests at work. According to Wood (1998), we argue for competing conceptions of the curriculum on the basis of our view of a just society and a good life, and thus every proposed curriculum formation carries a distinct social outcome, "a notion of what body of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values students should gain in order to live in a particular social order" (p.177). The crucial question, as Kennedy points out, is who selects the knowledge, skills and attitudes that make up the school curriculum. In this context we should not be surprised if there are vociferous debates over the curriculum.

Ross (2002) reminds us that no curriculum is a neutral document; any statement of what is to be learned is permeated with objectives and intentions that in turn embody values, whether implicit or explicit.

The current curriculum reform movements only reinforce the reality that curriculum is far from a fixed entity. Curriculum policies and frameworks will be altered from time to time as their purposes and emphases evolve through societal and political shifts, and in some cases, regime change. In the cases presented in this book, readers will find rather dramatic evidence of the variability of curriculum and its impact on citizenship education engendered by wide-ranging curriculum reforms in a number of societies. What are the educational goals and/or motivation behind reconstructing the curriculum? Ross (2002) argues that there are three distinct approaches to constructing a given curriculum:

1. Content-driven curriculum, a construction of formally delimited zones of subjects or disciplines (knowledge as a distinct body of data);
2. An objectives-driven curriculum, built around specific needs, for competencies of society, of the economy, or of the individual (knowledge as a commodity); or
3. A process-driven curriculum, principally concerned with or guided by processes of learning (knowledge as how to learn).

As Ross concludes, citizenship education does not fall neatly into any one of these three types, and confusingly, can be described as any one of them. Citizenship education variously can be seen as a body of knowledge, or as useful to the individual and socially desirable, or as nurturing a student's value system. The current motivation in the curriculum reform movements seems to focus on the second of these approaches. However, as

Ross points out, in the current assessment environment, there will always be a tendency to migrate towards a content-driven curriculum for testing purposes.

Faced with the ambiguity of the linkage between citizenship education and the curriculum, the editors of this book purposely did not impose on the authors any definition of curriculum. Rather, we challenged them to explore the tensions between these three dimensions of content, objectives and process in the formation of the citizenship education curriculum. We asked them to explore the ongoing debates about both the form and substance of citizenship education, and to give voice to the various stakeholders.

The Geographical Scope

As the reader can determine from a perusal of the table of contents, the societies covered are drawn from four geographical regions including South Asia (Pakistan), Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore), East Asia (Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Japan), and three "Pacific Rim" countries (United States, Australia, New Zealand). These 11 "societies" (technically we cannot use the term countries because of the inclusion of Hong Kong and Taiwan) are found in this volume as the result of a long search on the part of the editors for appropriate authors in the region. This search was not always successful, and we failed in efforts to obtain chapters from several places, e.g., Thailand, South Korea and two Pacific Island nations.

To capture this geographically diverse set of societies, we have opted to use the term "Asia and the Pacific" in our title. There is a great deal of terminological confusion over terms such as Asia-Pacific, Pacific Rim, etc., and a great deal of debate over their meaning and usage (see for example, Dirlik, 1998). It is not our purpose here to engage in this debate. To be sure, the studies in this book cover a wide geographic range. Yet, despite the spatial diversity, there are some underlying connections among these places, notably economic. With the exception of Pakistan, these societies are all member "economies" of APEC, but in fact this was not a conscious criterion for the selection of the cases. In reality, our notion of "Asia and the Pacific" is a construction, based largely on our own location in Hong Kong. Like most geographical designations, it is not real, natural or essential. It is socially constructed and can be politically contested. At the same time, it is a highly relevant construction if it is viewed from the perspective of Hong Kong as the geographical centre, notably because it is derived from the agenda of our work and existing networks in our Centre for Citizenship Education (see the Centre website for further information: http://www.ied.edu.hk/cce/).

The Political Scope

Perhaps more significant than the geographical diversity is the range of political systems found in these case studies. In no sense can we characterise all of these societies as "democratic." They range from highly authoritarian states to highly developed democracies, and variations between these two poles. The poles are comparatively easy

to identify and label, but states that combine democratic and non-democratic elements, or so-called hybrid regimes, are more difficult to categorise. In the literature they are variously categorised as semi-democracies, illiberal democracies, semi-authoritarian regimes, or authoritarian democracies, but the underlying point is that a considerable number of political regimes are neither purely authoritarian nor purely democratic. Munck and Snyder (2004) suggest a four-point scale along a continuum that includes authoritarianism, semi-authoritarianism, semi-democracy and democracy, built along Dahl's notion of the twin dimensions of participation and contestation. However, they also indicate it is very difficult to define the critical and perhaps multiple thresholds that separate authoritarian from democratic regimes even on these two dimensions. They further argue the need for more nuanced measures that distinguish between authoritarian and democratic participation and contestation. They find that a focus on electoral politics neglects extra-electoral factors. They suggest four extra-electoral dimensions that should be considered in understanding the variety of non-democratic regimes: Who rules (e.g., a party, the military, or a person), how do rulers rule (e.g., networks, ethnic ties, mass-based party), why do rulers rule (e.g., religion, ideology, greed), and how much do rulers rule (e.g., the degree of state control)?

It is certainly beyond the scope of this study to resolve the highly complex and contentious task of labelling political regimes. Authors were asked to take into account the political context of the citizenship education curriculum, and this necessarily involved the use of their own labels. While we leave aside the question of whether predominantly Western liberal and highly legalistic notions of democracy can serve as templates for political regimes worldwide, we must point out that in several of the chapters we are examining citizenship education in the context of non-democratic or at best quasi-democratic regimes. In other words, in this book we allow for the possibility of non-democratic citizenship education as well as its democratic counterpart. This is by no means an endorsement of non-democratic regimes or their practices. In this regard the reader should know that there was considerable discussion of the decision to include the cases of the two most authoritarian regimes on the political continuum, China and Pakistan, in a book devoted to citizenship education curriculum. To the editors the alternative, i.e., to narrow the scope of the book by excluding the most extreme cases while including some societies whose political regimes have different blends and mixes of authoritarian and democratic elements (e.g., Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong), seemed untenable. In the end, the interests of casting a wide net of inquiry covering a range of regimes across the authoritarian-democratic spectrum seemed more appropriate, and served the larger agenda of increasing dialogue across traditional boundaries.

Synopses of the Chapters

In the opening chapter Kennedy introduces some underlying issues that provide a broad context for the more specific curriculum discourses found in the succeeding chapters. He provides us with an impressive list of policies and legislation that demonstrate the pervasiveness of the curriculum reform agenda across the Asia-Pacific region. He examines

how key elements of both the macro context of the "new" global economy and the micro level of the school curriculum are likely to continue to affect citizenship education. Next he considers competing influences on national citizenship education and whether these, rather than more liberalizing tendencies of economic and curriculum reform, will shape citizenship education in the future. Kennedy worries that if social and political values rather than economic values drive curriculum, pedagogy and assessment for citizenship education in the future, the result will be a citizenry ill-equipped to make judgements about the role of the nation states in complex and uncertain global contexts. Kennedy argues that citizenship education needs to encompass both the nation state and global realities, and must rest on the development of these multiple perspectives. Kennedy concludes that it remains an open question whether nation states are capable of reconstructing citizenship education along these lines.

The next four chapters are case studies from East Asia: Hong Kong, Taiwan, China and Japan. Focusing on *Hong Kong*, in Chapter 2 Lee discusses how the dynamic sociopolitical and economic changes in Hong Kong since 1997 have had impact on citizenship education in schools. In particular, he points to the interplay of globalisation and localisation in citizenship curriculum development. On the one hand, he highlights how a growing concern about national identity in the aftermath of the return to Chinese sovereignty has penetrated curriculum documents and generated several governmental and semi-governmental initiatives. On the other hand, he notes the emphasis that government curriculum reform documents have put on meeting the challenges of globalisation and the development of a knowledge economy through global citizenship education. Lee finds that the tensions between the competitive globalisation and localisation agendas are complicated by the process of Hong Kong's repoliticisation after its return to China. Ultimately how citizenship curriculum will develop in the future in Hong Kong will depend on how these tensions are resolved.

In Chapter 3 Doong shows how the new decentralised school-based curricula system in *Taiwan* has redefined the field of citizenship education at the elementary and junior high school levels, and has dramatically changed the citizenship curriculum's scope and sequence, as well as school and classroom practice. This has generated a number of heated debates, including controversies over citizenship education as a separate versus integrated subject and the emphasis on national versus nativist awareness. The debates clearly demonstrate the political nature of the reforms where the citizenship curriculum has been used as a battlefield by contending political parties. According to Doong, Taiwan's citizenship curriculum has now reached a crossroads in which it is too early to tell whether the new reform policies will survive the challenges.

In Chapter 4 Zhong and Lee report that civic education is still in its infancy in mainland *China*, though voices advocating it are growing. In the context of its existing one-party state, the Chinese leadership acknowledges that there is still a long way to go in building a political democracy (while emphasising that by democracy they mean "socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics"). Still, rapid changes in the social and economic fabric of Chinese society have led to dramatic changes in the government's definition of the essential qualities of citizenship. Zhong and Lee track the changes in

emphasis in the citizenship curriculum discourse since the adoption of the "open door" policy in 1978, and discuss the recent development of three themes in citizenship curriculum, namely nationalistic education, democratic education and psychological health education. They note that there has been a remarkable shift in the government's framework for citizenship education that now includes an emphasis on the rule of law and legal education. Although in many ways this shift remains at the level of rhetoric, the authors feel that the widening discourses on civic and moral education in China are at least indicative of a nascent trend towards democratisation, linked to China's rapid modernisation and the development of a market economy.

In Chapter 5 Otsu introduces the historical and educational background of educational reforms in *Japan* and the impact of these reforms on citizenship education. She decries Japanese students' lack of knowledge of the very meaning of citizenship, and the confusing use of different terms for "citizen." She shows how government revisions in the Courses of Study have resulted in the first opportunity for schools to create individual classes through the introduction of a new subject, integrated study. After examining Japan's current curriculum policies in citizenship education, Otsu discusses the controversies over how to foster citizenship education, especially in the new subject of integrated study. Otsu argues that a democratic and peaceful nation in a global era requires an education that is much broader than the curriculum prescribed by the government. She concludes by presenting an alternative approach to citizenship curriculum built around international education themes and objectives.

The next section of the book shifts the focus to South and Southeast Asia: Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. In Chapter 6 Ahmad introduces the reader to the factors that underlie Islamic ideology as the raison d'être of *Pakistan* and the central organizing principle of the citizenship curriculum. He argues that the contemporary national policy debate on citizenship education curriculum epitomises the tempestuous character of the nation's policy itself. He examines the existing national curriculum policy of citizenship education and shows how that policy is implemented through the social studies textbooks. Through content analysis Ahmad identifies a set of values that textbooks seek to transmit for creating a Muslim citizen, and concludes with a discussion of the tensions between theology and citizenship education over the definition of a good citizen. He concludes that the Islamic model of citizenship education has neither taken into consideration the needs of a developing society nor presented Islamic civilisation as a progressive alternative. He urges curriculum policy-makers in Pakistan to recognise that citizenship education is not theology.

In Chapter 7 Fearnley-Sander and Yulaelawati explain that after the end of Soeharto's 32-year rule in 1998, the *Indonesian* government launched democratizing policies in electoral politics, governance and education. They examine how the contemporary citizenship curriculum has been designed to accommodate these dramatic political changes, as well as the underlying state philosophy of *Pancasila*. They describe the Indonesian government's introduction of radically democratising policies in the areas of governance and education that stress political decentralisation. In education Indonesia's policies have mandated participative school-based management and a new

curriculum framework based on competency attainment for all school subjects, including citizenship. Through textual analysis and interviews with key curriculum policy-makers, the authors then examine the degree of integration between the new citizenship curricula and other reforms of schooling that are consistent with an expanding democratic agenda in Indonesia. They are hopeful that what has been put in place will help restructure civic identity and opportunity in directions supportive of democratisation.

In Chapter 8 Bajunid describes the continuing debates in the political arena over citizenship and nationhood in *Malaysia* since its founding in 1957. He traces the impact of initiatives in the wider society on citizenship education over the last 50 years. Bajunid highlights the continuing challenges of developing citizenship education in Malaysia in order to foster a sense of multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual nationhood in an enlightened citizenry where all peoples are equal before the law. He examines current citizenship education initiatives and their potential to achieve these lofty goals. In response to these challenges Malaysia has adopted a national philosophy based on the principle of "unity in diversity." To foster collective values, education policy has adopted a standardised approach to the process of education with a common curriculum and co-curriculum for all; a common medium of instruction from secondary level onwards; common textbooks and other educational resources; common public examinations; common teacher education; common school rituals and ceremonies; and even common school uniforms. Since the challenges of creating a civil and knowledge society with a participative and enlightened citizenry remain complex and continuing, Bajunid argues that there is no space for complacency or neglect of citizenship education and human rights.

In Chapter 9 Tan and Chew review values teaching in *Singapore* through its rather brief history and highlight the curriculum shifts made to meet changing cultural and political circumstances. The authors argue that in Singapore historically values teaching has been geared solely towards national expediency without reverence for moral understanding and truth. In this regard, values teaching is more appropriately labelled "statecraft." Further, when "statecraft" is substituted for citizenship education the result may be trained but uneducated citizens. In this context the authors analyse the Civics and Moral Education programme currently in use and find it lacking. According to the authors, like previous curricula this programme is just another example of a government policy of training Singaporeans not to be educated citizens, but rather to be people who fit their concept of nationhood narrowly conceived in terms of economic survival and progress.

The final section of case studies deals with what we have called the Pacific Rim countries: the United States, Australia and New Zealand. In Chapter 10 Scott and Cogan first briefly summarise the history of civic education in the *United States*, and the current controversy between liberals and neo-conservatives over what constitutes the most appropriate citizenship curriculum for the 21st century. They see the United States as a much divided nation over such fundamental issues as what it means to be a "citizen" and a "patriot." They argue that tensions in citizenship curriculum policies and practices are mirror images of tensions in the divided society at large, and as such are not easily resolved. Their analysis is illustrated through a discussion of the development of guide-

lines in the areas of civics and government at the secondary school level. The authors discuss how citizenship education reforms reflect the current initiatives under the *No Child Left Behind* federal legislation that has instituted a high-stakes testing programme across all subjects, including civics. Scott and Cogan then discuss how the ideological debates, emphasis on testing, teacher preparation and traditional constraints in schools inhibit the development of a coherent curriculum framework for civic education. They conclude by offering suggestions for a practical approach to an "advanced" citizenship education framework for the 21st century.

In Chapter 11 Kennedy discusses how the "renaissance" of civic and citizenship education in *Australia* has failed to keep up with changes in the social, political and economic landscape. The consequence, according to Kennedy, is that civic education in the school curriculum reflects a conservative vision of how schools should prepare citizens. In the aftermath of dramatic global events that have had great impact on Australia, Kennedy describes a divergence between the curriculum discourse on civics and the community discourse on civic issues and discusses why it is that Australia's civic education seems incapable of dealing with community concerns and issues. To bridge this gap, the author argues that teachers need a broader conceptualisation of civics and citizenship education. In conclusion he offers a dynamic (as opposed to static) curriculum framework that expands the key domains of civics and citizenship so that education can engage with current issues and priorities and remain relevant for both students and society.

In Chapter 12 Mutch examines the relationship between educational policy and education for citizenship in *New Zealand* through three lenses: the past, the present and the future. Mutch describes how in the 1980s and 1990s, as a result of ideological tensions between the "new right" economically-driven agenda and the country's liberal progressive educational traditions, no real consensus has emerged about how citizenship education should be implemented. As a result citizenship education is not a compulsory curriculum area though it is embedded in several key curriculum areas, such as social studies and health education. The author includes a case study showing how citizenship education in its current form is interpreted by schools and implemented in classrooms. She notes that while currently there is no specific provision for citizenship content, there are indications that discussions about the formal inclusion of citizenship in the curriculum are becoming stronger. The author concludes that the debate over explicit versus embedded citizenship education is still open.

In the concluding and capstone chapter of the book, Lee further builds on themes in citizenship education discourse he introduced in the first book in this series. With input from the preceding chapters, he applies these themes to the domain of curriculum. Using examples from several case studies in this volume, Lee explores what he calls the "tensions and contentions" in the orientation of the curriculum and its responsiveness (or lack thereof) to rapid social change. He describes a number of fault lines that are commonly contested domains, e.g., cultural heritage, civic and moral education, language, religion and ideology. He finds that there are always tensions and contentions when curriculum policy decides what is to be taught and how it is to be taught, and these

contentions are even stronger when curriculum policy is linked to citizenship education. Though these cases are drawn from the Asia-Pacific region, they are not unique to the region. In fact, the author argues that while citizenship concepts can be quite different between Asia and the West, the "tensions and contentions" faced in constructing citizenship curriculum in these case studies have significant commonalities. Though situated in very different sociopolitical contexts, each society must deal with ideological and cultural fault lines as well as global and local pressures in the construction of citizenship education.

Lee's analysis offers further evidence that much of the debate about citizenship curriculum in the Asia-Pacific region seems to be increasingly part of or perhaps a variation of the global discourse about citizenship education. Evidence from this volume and elsewhere clearly suggest that national approaches to school curricula are increasingly forged within wider regional, cross-regional and global contexts (see for example, Benavot & Braslavsky, 2006). At the very least we can say that despite the diversity among citizenship curricula in these Asia-Pacific societies, there is strong evidence of an increasingly common policy rhetoric found in the debates over citizenship education. In this context it is the editors' hope that this impressive collection of chapters from a diverse set of societies can inform and enrich understanding of the complex relationship between citizenship education and the curriculum both regionally and globally.