Tristan McCowan

Rethinking Citizenship Education

A Curriculum for Participatory Democracy

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Continuum Studies in Educational Research

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Chapter 1

Mapping Citizenship

We live in a world in which 'democracy' is the preeminent form of government. Only a handful of states (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Burma and the Vatican City) do not declare themselves to be democracies. And yet, our world is far from being *democratic*. Citizens of most countries have little political participation aside from periodic choices between a limited number of established political parties. The financial demands of running for public office put it beyond the reach of most citizens. Certain groups – such as indigenous peoples, those with disabilities and those with limited literacy skills – can be systematically excluded from political influence, even in those cases in which they have formal citizenship. Furthermore, only 14 countries in 2006 had female leaders, and just under 17 per cent of political representatives worldwide were women (UNICEF 2007).

When we turn attention to the so-called 'developing world', the picture is starker still. Populations of the poorest countries are subject to the decisions of influential bodies such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, whose officials are unelected and in which voting power is proportionate to the wealth of the country. There are now more companies than countries among the hundred richest entities on the planet, and the control of these highly influential transnational corporations remains firmly with their shareholders and not with the populations of the countries in which they operate.

This scenario would seem to make urgent the need for citizenship education and political empowerment. While changes in societal structures are certainly necessary, individual and collective learning and development must also play a fundamental role. There has indeed been a rise in citizenship education in schools around the world. England introduced the subject into its National Curriculum for the first time in 2002. In the USA, it features prominently in social studies courses, and appears in different forms in countries as diverse as Mexico, Japan and South Africa. Yet its continuing existence in many countries and emergence in others cannot

be attributed solely to the challenge of widening democratic participation referred to above. It is as common for citizenship education to be justified on the basis of the maintenance of order and control in society, and of legitimization of current political institutions, as on the development of empowered political agents.

Much has been written, and indeed *should* be written, about the relative merits of these different orientations for citizenship education. It is quite right that a vigorous debate should be held over its aims, whether these be, for example, the creation of a homogeneous, cohesive society, or a critical, diverse, and potentially unstable one. Yet this emphasis on the *ends* of citizenship education has not been accompanied by an equally vigorous and informed debate over the *means*. Questions of how we do citizenship education, and of what happens when we do it, are just as complex as those of what we are aiming at. This book aims to redress the balance by focusing on the processes of citizenship education in practice. It explores the pressing questions of whether we can 'teach' the types of knowledge, skills and values that we wish young people to acquire, of whether citizenship can actually be learnt in school at all (and if so, how?), or whether there are other arenas in which citizenship might be better developed.

In doing so, the book will present theoretical perspectives (the ideas of Paulo Freire, and writing on school democratization) and empirical cases (three contrasting initiatives in Brazil) that challenge many of the assumptions surrounding citizenship education in countries like the USA and UK. It also puts forward two new concepts: the first, *curricular transposition*, is a way of understanding the passage of citizenship education from its underlying ideals, to its curricular programme, its implementation in practice and the effects on students; the second, *seamless enactment*, is a normative framework for responding to the problematic disjunctures arising from curricular transposition. The book as a whole aims to 'get underneath' citizenship education, to question the whole enterprise. Despite the large body of writing on citizenship education in recent years, a number of unwarranted assumptions have remained unexamined.

Yet, while the book focuses predominantly on educational processes, any work about citizenship education must pay some attention to the notion of citizenship itself, and thereby the aims of citizenship education. What exactly is citizenship and what is required for someone to be a citizen? What is it to be a 'good' citizen and what disagreements might we have about it? Does society need responsible and active citizens? Why, after all, bother with the whole business of citizenship education? This first chapter will address these questions of the notion and the aims of citizenship.

The Notion of Citizenship

Citizenship, at base, refers to membership of a state or political unit. While it was originally associated with city-states (from which the word is derived – *civis* in Latin being the resident of a city), it is now almost exclusively used for belonging to a nation-state. However, there are two distinct uses of the term. In the first, citizenship refers to an official status: as, for example, in the statements, 'I am a Canadian citizen' or, 'I have dual citizenship'. The second usage, however, refers not to the possession of the official status, but the fulfilling of those expectations associated with membership. So we can speak of 'good' citizens as people who, say, participate constructively in political life, or of 'ineffective' citizenship when people's rights are not upheld in practice.

Sometimes, there is an educational requirement for citizenship in the first sense – as with the 'Life in the UK' test that foreign nationals wishing to settle in Britain must now take. Yet normally, citizenship education is aiming to develop particular qualities in those who are already citizens in a legal sense – as with 'civic education' in US schools. It is this latter meaning that is employed in this book for the most part. Yet, the normative nature of 'citizenship' in this usage makes it highly complex – one person's 'good citizen' may be diametrically opposed to another's. Ironically, when Citizenship was introduced in schools in England, opposition came from both sides of the political spectrum. Those on the right (e.g. Tooley 2000; Flew 2000) attacked it for its 'ideological' stance, with its endorsement of notions such as human rights, peace and sustainable development, and criticized its encroaching on 'real' subjects like history and English. Others on the left (e.g. Gamarnikow & Green 1999; Gillborn 2006) criticized its inattentiveness to issues of race and diversity, the lack of space given to questioning current societal structures and its overarching quest for social control.

To say that citizenship education is contested, therefore, in the words of Davies and Issitt (2005: 391), is 'now almost a cliché'. The aims of citizenship education – the development of a 'good' or 'effective' or 'empowered' citizen – depend on fundamental understandings of the nature of the polity, the balance of liberty and equality and so forth. There is a significant portion of the literature on citizenship education that aims to propose a definitive version or to gain consensus around a particular conception. A prominent recent example is Banks et al. (2005), which presents the ideas of a 'Consensus Panel', proposing a set of basic principles to guide educators in their work. Nevertheless, the field resists unifying efforts, and remains diverse and fragmented.

There are a number of possible ways of categorizing citizenship. One common distinction is between 'liberal' and 'civic republican' approaches (Kymlicka 2002; Heater 1999). The former focuses on the rights that the state guarantees for the individual. In T. H. Marshall's (1950) well-known analysis, these are divided into civil (e.g. the right not to be imprisoned without a trial), political (e.g. the right to vote and stand for office) and social (e.g. welfare rights such as health and education). The civic republican position (e.g. Oldfield 1990), on the other hand, drawing on models of the ancient Greek city states, emphasizes the duties of citizens towards the state, particularly those of active participation in decision-making.

There is a spectrum of positions within both of these approaches. The resurgence of civic republicanism is partly due to the dissatisfaction of conservatives, nationalists and communitarians with a perceived over-emphasis on rights and neglect of duties (e.g. Etzioni 1996), as well as images of disintegrating states and threats to majority ethnic groups by growing immigration. These right-wing models of the civic republican position emphasize the need for social coherence, patriotism and assimilation of minority groups. Robert Putnam's (1993) study on local government in Italy, and his ideas on social capital (Putnam 2000), have also been influential in a renewed interest in civic virtue as a determinant of good governance.

Alternative views of civic republicanism have their inspiration in the participatory democracy of Rousseau (1968 [1762]) and more recent formulations of Pateman (1970), Macpherson (1977) and Barber (1984). Here, citizens do not just choose representatives but participate personally in decision-making processes as far as is possible. Contemporary conceptualizations have emphasized the role of information and communication technology in facilitating this participation. Kymlicka (2002) describes approaches like these in which participation is seen as an intrinsic good as *Aristotelian* republicanism, and distinguishes them from *instrumental* republicanism, in which participation is a necessary burden for maintaining democratic institutions.

The divide between the liberal and civic republican positions, therefore, is not a simple political one. There are also right and left versions of the liberal approach, depending on whether only very minimal rights are upheld (such as property rights in the case of libertarians) or the substantial rights required for social justice (in the case of egalitarian liberals). While the difference between 'right' and 'left' relates predominantly to the importance given to equality, the difference between liberal and civic republican approaches to citizenship concerns the importance given to

political participation. As Kymlicka (1999: 82) states, 'there will always be a portion of the population who have little or no desire to be politically active' and that 'a liberal democracy . . . should not compel people to adopt a conception of the good life which privileges political participation as the source of meaning or satisfaction'. Civic republicans, on the other hand, consider it essential that individuals have an active participation in politics and civil society, both for the effective functioning of a democratic society and for the well-being of the individual.

Another way of distinguishing forms of citizenship was proposed by McLaughlin (1992), in the form of *maximal* and *minimal* conceptions, a continuum relating to the elements of identity, virtues, political involvement and social prerequisites[1]. In relation to the first of these, he states:

> On 'minimal' views, the identity conferred on an individual by citizenship is seen merely in formal, legal, juridical terms. . . . On maximal terms . . . the citizen must have a consciousness of him or her self as a member of a living community with a shared democratic culture involving obligations and responsibilities as well as rights . . . (p. 236)

Another categorization is provided by the cross-national study of Torney-Purta et al. (2001), which distinguishes between *conventional* and *social-movement-related* citizenship, the former indicating participation through the formal procedures of liberal democracy, and the latter through direct mobilization, particularly on single issues. However, categorizations of this sort, while useful in particular contexts, are necessarily restrictive in their focus and fail to acknowledge the rich diversity of conceptualizations of citizenship. As McLaughlin's (1992) scheme acknowledges, there are a number of elements in debate, and opponents on one issue may be together on another. The analysis that follows will be structured through four of these tensions: rights and duties; universality and difference; the local, the national and the global; and criticality and conformity. These categories have been chosen since they relate to rich and complex debates in the literature – ones that in a number of ways cut through conventional right-left distinctions.

Rights and Duties

Citizenship – as a 'status' – is comprised necessarily of both legal rights and duties. Citizenship in the second, normative, sense outlined above,

will value different forms of right and responsibility (of a moral as well as a legal nature), and will differ in the weight given to one or the other. In one person's conception, 'good' or 'effective' citizenship may be the exercising of a full set of social as well as political and civil rights, and in another's, the fulfilling of one's military and civic obligations to the nation.

Historically, conceptions of citizenship have been strongly weighted in favour of duties. The 1937 publication entitled *Experiments in Practical Training for Citizenship*, for example, puts forward a view of citizenship education in England whose:

> . . . objects are to make possible the transference of those loyalties which a child develops for his [sic] school, and which so often cease there, to the wider loyalties of after life and to instil in him a desire to serve the community. (Happold 1937: 6)

As well as self-sacrifice, this paradigm aims to promote 'leadership, self-reliance and self-control, equipping boys[2] to fulfil better their responsibilities as good and loyal citizens' (p. 11). Another example of a duties-heavy approach was the *Education for Active Citizenship* promoted by the UK Conservative government in the early 1990s, which placed emphasis on community volunteering (Wringe 1992).

Other conceptions of citizenship education are explicit in their emphasis on rights. A number of commentators (e.g. Osler & Starkey 2005a; Gearon 2003b), for example, call for citizenship education to be based primarily on human rights. The emphasis here is on the universal nature of basic rights to survival, well-being and dignity, and the extension of these rights to marginalized groups, both within the nation and in impoverished regions of the globe. These rights are largely enshrined in international declarations, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989. One of the advantages of the human rights approach, as opposed to other positions emphasizing political and socio-economic equality, is the wide consensus around it, and the high level of support it can count on from governments and international agencies.

The liberal-civic republican divide outlined in the previous section is to some extent one of rights versus duties. Yet, this is not the only possible dynamic. Some conceptions of citizenship are 'minimal' or alternatively 'maximal' in both rights and duties. The libertarian perspective, for example, makes few demands on the citizen, but equally guarantees only the right to property. Socialism, on the other hand, guarantees extensive social rights, while at the same time making considerable demands on the

citizen in terms of commitment to the common good and working for societal rather than personal ends.

The question, therefore, is clearly not an 'either/or'. However, neither is it one solely of 'quantity'. What is at issue is not only 'how much' rights and duties, but also 'which' rights and duties. In nineteenth century Britain (for the restricted part of the population that was considered to have full citizenship at least), there were substantial political and civil rights, but a largely free market system operated with little social welfare. In contrast, state socialist governments, like that of the Soviet Union, provided for substantial social rights, but few civil and political ones.

Emphasis on responsibilities in current citizenship education programmes stem largely from concerns about civic disengagement and the growing 'culture of rights without responsibilities', in which people focus on what they can get from the state/society and not what they can contribute to it. Yet, Osler and Starkey (2005a) warn that:

> To insist that there are no rights without responsibilities is problematic. All human beings have entitlements to rights. To deny certain individuals their rights (e.g. the right to a fair trial or the right to education) simply because they have failed to fulfil particular responsibilities is to undermine the basis of human rights. (p. 156)

In the view of the authors, therefore, there is not 'a straightforward one-to-one equivalence between rights and responsibilities'.

It is also misleading to imply that rights and duties function independently. Human rights-based conceptions of citizenship education appear to favour the former over the latter. However, adopting the international declarations of rights on which these approaches are based, entails a considerable commitment to global justice and the transformation of current structures and practices, and these can be seen as a form of responsibility. Accepting a right as being universal – either within a particular society, or world-wide – necessarily entails duties to others. The widespread current concerns about overemphasis on rights are therefore largely founded on a misunderstanding of the notion of 'right'.

Universality and Difference

Despite the significant differences between the liberal and civic republican models, both make similar assumptions about the fundamental

sameness (or potential sameness) of citizens. This *universalist* approach has come under sustained attack from those who consider that formal equality can mask discrimination and exclusion in practice, and that *difference* must not be relegated to the private sphere. Unterhalter (1999: 102–103) states that feminist writing on the state and education policy highlights how:

> . . . governments, through an appeal to an abstract concept of the citizen, stripped of all qualities save subjective rationality and morality, have been able to maintain and perpetuate social divisions based on gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and disability.

Elsewhere, Unterhalter (2000) explores the conceptualizations of women's citizenship in four documents influential in the field of education and international development: the Jomtien declaration, the World Bank's 'Priorities and Strategies for Education', the Delors Commission Report of UNESCO, and the Beijing Declaration of the World Conference on Women of 1995. In the first two, women are cast in a predominantly passive role, being biologically essentialized, homogenized as a group and relegated to a family role in private arenas. The Delors document recognizes the importance of rights and solidarity, yet only the Beijing document:

> . . . grapples with the contradictory, problematic and gendered nature of citizenship which feminist scholarship has identified – that citizenship is the necessary condition for the realization of personal autonomy and emancipatory projects but is also an exclusionary instrument creating privileged spaces for some but not for others. (p. 100)

The problems of formal equality are also expressed by Preece (2002: 29) in relation to citizenship education provision in England and Wales:

> It is assumed that gender differences can be addressed by claiming equality of opportunity within existing definitions and social structures, rather than questioning the power relationships which perpetuate exclusion. The concern remains that whilst awareness of diversity may increase along with potentially enhanced interest in political life, structures and systems which reproduce inequality will remain unexplored.

These limitations in the English National Curriculum are highlighted by commentators such as Gamarnikow and Green (1999), Osler and Starkey (2001) and Harber (2002a) who criticize its neglect of issues such as race as well as gender, its oppressive communitarianism and its lack of a framework that is genuinely inclusive of minorities. Gillborn (2006) describes the National Curriculum provision as a 'placebo', designed to give an impression of action towards social cohesion and inclusion, while at the same time mechanisms such as high stakes testing continue to work against these aims.

Issues of difference in citizenship have come to the fore on account of demographic changes in the contemporary world and the increasingly multi-ethnic nature of countries in Europe and North America. Debates have become centred on the problem of social cohesion and on the common values and identity that might be possible in the absence of ethnic homogeneity. Kymlicka (1995) has developed a theoretical framework for the incorporation of group rights for minorities in a liberal democratic polity, based on a principle that groups should be able to retain their cultures and not be subsumed into the dominant national group, but that no culture should be exempt from questioning and scrutiny. However, the question of group rights remains controversial, as shown by the continuing debates over the extent to which communities like the Amish in the USA are entitled to exist in isolation from the rest of society (Brighouse 2006).

Conceptions of citizenship that avoid suppressing or repressing difference have been developed by political theorists such as Benhabib (1996), Young (1990), Yuval Davis (1997) and Mouffe (1992). Some theorists (e.g. Enslin 2000, Enslin & Horsthemke 2004), however, argue that particularist conceptions of citizenship can themselves be problematic, with, for example, the traditional conceptions of ethnic communities in South Africa leading to oppression on the basis of other factors such as gender. These latter theorists, therefore, argue for universal conceptions, but with attention paid to local context.

The question of universality and difference is complex since it involves questions of the boundary between the public and the private, individual and group rights, and possible conflicts between Fraser's (1998) two components of justice – *recognition* and *distribution*. Avoidance of universality altogether might be impossible, since the possession of certain attributes in common with other citizens is inherent to the concept of citizenship. Yet, the extent of that sameness remains a highly controversial issue.

The Local, the National and the Global

In previous centuries, citizenship was developed in states (first city-states, then nation-states) whose identity and unity was either naturally unproblematic or was made less problematic by ideological or violent suppression of minorities (Green 1990). Yet, as indicated above, rising migration and changes in technology and economic relations since the latter stages of the twentieth century have put the unified integrity of the state under strain. In addition to movements towards the supranational, processes of globalization have brought increasing prominence to the *local*, with identity formed and political activity often carried out at this level.

'Traditional' civic education is predominantly a nationalist one. The ways in which states have historically pursued nationalist agendas through schools is analysed by Nelson (1978). He identifies three dimensions (p. 142):

1. Development of positive feelings toward those rituals, ceremonies, symbols, ideas and persons that express or incorporate these [nationalist] values.
2. Development of competencies related to operating as a national citizen (voting, reading, speaking).
3. Development of negative feelings toward countries, ideologies, symbols and persons considered contra-national.

Despite the negative associations of nationalism, Miller's (1993) analysis concludes that despite its lack of rational grounding, it can, in moderate and non-racist forms, be a positive force in terms of moral and political well-being. He acknowledges first that 'a nationality exists when its members believe that it does' (p. 6). The implications for education are brought out well in the following passage:

> Finally it is essential to national identity that the people who compose the nation are believed to share certain traits that mark them off from other peoples . . . National divisions must be natural ones; they must correspond to real differences between peoples. This need not, fortunately, imply racism or the idea that the group is constituted by biological descent. The common traits can be cultural in character: they can consist in shared values, shared tastes or sensibilities. So immigration need not

pose problems, provided only that the immigrants take on the essential elements of national character. (p. 7)

Much education for nationalist citizenship has indeed worked to achieve this end, forging a common identity from disparate cultural and political elements (Green 1990). Miller's analysis is partially convincing in showing that identification with the nation can potentially be a force for the good, and be the only possibility for a viable polity and moral community. At the same time, it is undeniable that in many cases it is far from being that and instead is a vehicle for the suppression of minority ethnic, cultural, ideological or religious groups, the stifling of independent critical thought and the promotion of imperialism, xenophobia and parochialism.

The shortcomings of the national as a focal point and the increasing awareness of processes associated with the label 'globalization', has led to calls for a new form of citizenship. Many commentators have proposed a notion of 'global citizenship', one advocating empathy and solidarity with all peoples, along with rights and responsibilities that are valid across national boundaries (Heater 2002; Marshall 2007; Osler & Vincent 2002). Writers like Martha Nussbaum (2002), David Held (Held & McGrew 2003) and Gerard Delanty (2000) have proposed forms of *cosmopolitan* citizenship, forging a new path between the new reactionary nationalism and the false universalism of globalization. Here some might question whether it is possible to use the term 'citizenship' at all: since there is no global polity (aside from institutional apparatuses with limited powers such as the UN, WTO etc.) it is hard to speak of a 'citizen' of the world. In this case citizenship is a moral rather than a legal status, but nevertheless serves an important function in terms of redirecting understandings and practices.

As stated above, there are also movements down towards the local. A number of commentators advocate activism in the local community while retaining broader feelings of solidarity on a global level (an approach seen in the slogan 'think globally, act locally'). 'Service learning' in the USA, supported by commentators like Clark (1999), focuses primarily on local involvement. Even national programmes, such as the provision, in England, can place the strongest emphasis on participation in local arenas. In some instances, however, this can be a disempowering emphasis, favouring unthreatening local actions such as community volunteering, while shielding young people form larger-scale political actions directed at the underlying political, economic and social order (Wringe 1992).

Criticality and Conformity

Another key question concerns the extent to which citizens are encouraged to conform to authority and existing political structures, or alternatively to question and challenge them. On the one hand, it can be argued that it is necessary to instil in people certain unwavering allegiances: these may include a love of nation (or other form of state), so that they might further its interests for the benefit of all its members; respect for its laws, for the sake of order and security; and support for its institutions and the government of the day, to ensure the effective functioning of the political system. This conformist approach is strongly associated with the nationalist citizenship education approaches discussed above (e.g. Nelson 1978). An early justification can be found in Hobbes's (1651/1996) Leviathan, in which a strong and unchallenged state is seen to be necessary to control people's naturally destructive instincts.

However, there is also a tradition in liberal democracy of critical scrutiny of the elements outlined above, with its roots in Locke's (1690/1924) rejection of Hobbes's all-powerful state and assertion of the right and duty of the people to alter or remove a government that is not upholding their interests. According to this second approach, society will only maintain effective institutions if they are subjected to critical assessment, enabling them to be reformed if necessary. In addition, the quality of governments is seen to be dependent on the political awareness of the voters and their ability to evaluate the different candidates. These requirements entail an education designed not to galvanize loyalty, but to promote a questioning attitude towards the state and its institutions.

Even though, as Curren (1997) points out, critical citizenship is not intrinsic to the concept of democracy, many commentators see it as desirable even in the most minimally democratic system. Kymlicka (1999: 82) states that:

> The ability and willingness to engage in public discourse about matters of public policy, and to question authority . . . are perhaps the most distinctive aspects of citizenship in a liberal democracy, since they are precisely what distinguish 'citizens' within a democracy from the 'subjects' of an authoritarian regime.

McLaughlin (1992: 238) states in relation to the 'minimalist' conception of civic education that, 'it may involve merely an unreflective socialization into the political and social status quo, and is therefore inadequate on

educational, as well as other, grounds'. Yet, despite the educational advantages, authorities may be discouraged by the possible risks, as emphasized by Winch (2004: 475):

> There is an inherent danger of instability in the critical outlook once it has been developed. The habit of analysis and criticism cannot be turned off by society at will, and so it is almost inevitable that it will be exercised in ways that are unforeseen and unwelcome to some.

Galston (1989), in this way, presents a counter-argument to criticality, proposing that citizenship education should not require children to question their situation. He makes a distinction between *philosophic* and *civic* education, where the purpose of the latter is 'not the pursuit and acquisition of truth, but rather the formation of individuals who can effectively conduct their lives within, and support, their political community' (p. 90). He states:

> [R]igorous historical research will almost certainly vindicate complex 'revisionist' accounts of key figures in American history. Civic education, however, requires a more noble, moralizing history: a pantheon of heroes who confer legitimacy on central institutions and constitute worthy objects of emulation. (p. 91)

Callan (1997) calls this *sentimental civic education*, tracing it to Plato's appeal to myth as a means of increasing loyalty to the state. He states:

> [S]entimental political education depends in part on an offhand pessimism about the ability or desire of ordinary citizens to understand the rational grounds for the political institutions under which they live. (p. 102)

These debates raise the question of the values around which citizenship education should be constructed, and relates to the discussion of universality and difference above. Centring allegiance on the values of democracy itself may be particularly desirable in multi-ethnic states, where there may be significant minorities who do not share the history and identity of the majority. However, it is not certain whether this can be achieved in practice without other forms of shared tradition. Kymlicka (1999) cites the case of Canada, where, despite a large degree of unity on political principles, there is still strong secessionist sentiment in Quebec. It is certainly

more difficult to build cohesion around abstract principles than around the familiar and emotive symbolism of land, race and nation. Yet, cohesion at the expense of autonomous thought and action is a highly questionable objective.

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In summary, these four tensions show not only the contested nature of the aims of citizenship education, but also their complexity. The contestation is not just between, say, traditional and progressive, free market and welfare, or authoritarian and democratic, but expresses itself through a number of intersecting issues, which more often than not form piecemeal rather than entirely coherent frameworks. These issues are not always neatly associated with emphasis on equality (the customary gauge of political position): a 'left-wing' initiative might, for example, prioritize rights, difference, the global and criticality, but equally it might prioritize responsibilities, universality, the national and conformity.

It is important, at this stage, to lay my own cards on the table in terms of conceptions of citizenship. My belief is that citizenship, as well as involving a deep understanding and exercising of universal rights, should be based on *participatory* or *radical* democracy, involving a significant increase in popular involvement in political processes. This position has two justifications. First, it is a fundamental right of all people to have a say in decision-making that affects them. Second, participation can be seen as a valuable experience of human development in itself, enabling political learning and the enhancement of agency. This view will underlie the book as a whole. However, as stated above, the aim here is not to provide an argument for this conception over others, but instead to understand the complex processes of bringing about this, and other, forms of citizenship through education.

Notes

1 Implications of minimal and maximal forms for citizenship education are drawn out in Osler and Starkey (2005a).
2 The project seems only to be for boys: presumably girls would have had different training.

Chapter 2

Tensions and Disjunctures in Citizenship Education at the Start of the Twenty-first Century

Contrasting Paths

From the time of Thomas Jefferson, American scholars, political leaders and the public have emphasized that the future of democracy is inextricably tied to the education of citizens.

(Hahn 1998: 16)

In the USA, the creation of a cohesive and democratic citizenry has long been an explicit goal of the education system. The UK context could not be more different. Not only has there been widespread rejection for citizenship education from both sides of the political spectrum, but the very notion of 'citizenship' has seemed 'foreign' and has been greeted with a certain degree of suspicion (Frazer 2000). It is all the more extraordinary, therefore, that the subject has made such a dramatic entry in schools in England[1]. Following the election of the Labour government in 1997, there was renewed interest in the possibility of citizenship in schools, stemming from concerns about declining voter-turnout (particularly among young people), 'anti-social' behaviour (again, among the young) and challenges to social cohesion posed by increasing immigration. The same year, a report (QCA 1998) was commissioned, to be chaired by the political theorist Bernard Crick, providing a blueprint for the entry of the subject into the National Curriculum in 2002[2].

Since the 1988 Education Reform Act, the UK has had a highly centralized education system, with a common curriculum for all those enrolled in state schools (approximately 93 per cent of secondary and 95 per cent of primary pupils). Citizenship is now a compulsory part of the curriculum for pupils aged 11–16, and strongly encouraged for those aged 5–11,

occupying 5 per cent of curriculum time. There is now a formal (GCSE) assessment in the subject and inspections of its provision. While the forms of delivery of the subject are not spelled out in detail (a 'strong bare bones' approach in the words of Crick), there are specific prescribed outcomes. The vision of citizenship on which the provision is based has three strands: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. It combines, therefore, conservative elements of respect for the law and for others, with the more progressive aspects of active engagement in influencing government policy.

In the USA, on the other hand, a universal, centralized project of this sort would be impossible. The federal system guarantees autonomy for the individual states in terms of their educational provision, and within these, local school districts make their own policies. As a result, while civic education has a strong presence in the USA – stemming from the historical need to create a unified polity from diverse immigrant groups, as well as traditions of participatory democracy at the local level – its appearance is irregular. While there is some provision at elementary level, it is most common in middle and high schools, especially the latter. Very often it appears as part of the 'social studies' curriculum, along with other subjects such as history and sociology. According to Hahn (1999), the focus in most schools is on the Constitution, its amendments and the Bill of Rights. Moral and political values are also formed by initiatives such as 'character education'. In addition, aspects of the school day, such as the pledge of allegiance, the presence of the flag and celebration of national holidays contribute to the development of national identity and patriotism. Another important element is *service learning*, with volunteering and community involvement providing the context for the development of citizenship. Over 12 million secondary students and six million university students in the USA are engaged in some form of service learning (Annette 2000).

A number of national organizations have emerged to support these activities, such as the Center for Civic Education – with its 'We the People' and 'Project Citizen' initiatives – the National Alliance for Civic Education, the National Society for Experiential Learning and, in higher education, the National Campus Compact. Textbooks also play a key role in determining the content of civic education, on account of the lack of a prescribed framework for schools. Hahn (1999) found textbook content in general to be oriented around the three branches of government (Congress, presidency and courts), the federal system and key moments in US political history. This common content means that, despite the diversity of providers, 'there is a remarkable similarity across the states and districts' (Hahn 1998: 17). It

is a vision based very much on national (rather than global) citizenship, and on established structures and traditions of liberal democracy.

While the USA and UK share significant features in terms of political traditions and culture – a basis in Lockean liberalism, distrust of collectivism, emphasis on philanthropy etc. – they have sharply divergent landscapes of citizenship education. The UK has centralized provision focusing on the 'helpful' contribution of the individual to society; the USA has diverse and sporadic provision oriented around knowledge of the Constitution and the historical legacy of individual rights. Yet, is this contrasting provision significant in terms of the political development of young people in the two countries? What relationship is there between the types of provision chosen and the political motivations? Is educational practice in schools in fact as different as appears from official programmes? Responding to these questions requires a closer look at school practice and student learning.

This chapter will assess current research on experiences of citizenship education in these two countries and elsewhere in the world. The discussion will focus predominantly on school level[3] rather than adult education or universities (e.g. Finkel 2002; Gastil 2004; Ahier et al. 2003). An important part of the literature focuses on lifelong citizenship learning and the educative role of experiences of direct democracy such as the participatory budgets (e.g. Schugurensky & Myers 2003; Schugurensky 2004), or learning in social movements (e.g. Kilgore 1999; Woodin 2005). While experiences of real participation are essential to citizenship learning, this book will concentrate on the role of formal, and predominantly school-based, educational interventions (although in some cases this school provision involves informal learning outside).

Two clear messages emerge from the research. First, the implementation and outcomes of these initiatives are irregular and unpredictable. As Torney-Purta et al. (1999: 30) state in relation to their international study of civic education:

> Despite extensive efforts, however, there has not been universal success in any country in formulating programs that optimize the possibility of achieving these goals for all students.

Second, there are serious doubts about our ability to measure the programmes' 'success' in a way that encompasses the diverse facets of citizenship. Before addressing these empirical contexts, however, there will first be an overview of conceptual issues relating to the promotion of citizenship through education.

Approaches to Citizenship Education

Among the diverse and contested range of conceptions of citizenship out-lined in the previous chapter, it would be hard to find one that did not see education as having a fundamental role. However, the ways in which education can promote or facilitate citizenship can vary dramatically. At base, there are two principal ways in which citizenship relates to education, depending on direction of influence:

1. citizenship as a guarantee of the right to education
2. education as a means to more effective citizenship

First, citizenship 'enables' education in the sense that access to school-ing is regarded as a fundamental right. Second, education 'enables' citi-zenship in the sense of providing people with the knowledge, skills and values required for exercising their rights and fulfilling their responsibil-ities. While the former is a major concern, particularly in countries whose school systems have poor coverage, it is the latter relationship that has engaged most academic interest, due to the contested nature of citizen-ship and educational responses to it.

Unterhalter (1999) presents a more nuanced analysis of the relation between the two. The complexity of the question, in her analysis, stems from the 'amorphous' terrain of education, which:

> [E]ncompasses concern with formal institutions of learning, like schools and universities, and the people that work in them, the pedagogical processes that go on in them, and the ways in which they are organized, governed, and located in relation to state and civil society. But education is also embedded in a wider set of relationships, and is thus caught up in debates about epistemology, language, nationalism, culture and notions of self. It is also intrinsic to economic planning and a wide range of social policy debates. (p. 100)

Education, in Unterhalter's analysis, is seen to relate to citizenship in three ways. First, the former can be seen as a 'conduit' to or 'servant' of the latter, intended to make it 'develop and flourish'. Second, education and citizen-ship can be seen as interlocking spaces in which the latter is an experience of, and is expressed through, lifelong learning. The third approach, on the other hand, sees citizenship as enabling ducation, but views the latter as a relatively autonomous space, one that is 'public, private and intermediate'.

This notion of the particularity of education as a process that is not wholly defined or explained by theories of citizenship is one which underpins this book. Through the empirical studies in chapters 6–8, there will be an exploration of instances in which citizenship is created and reformulated in schools, and the ways in which these processes escape from the bounds placed on them by normative political ideals.

There is a strong case for stating that all education is education for citizenship, given that every learning experience modifies to some extent our functioning and identity as citizens. Gearon (2003a), in relation to this question, makes the distinction between *implicit* and *explicit* forms of citizenship education. This book, however, will not be able to assess the general effects of education, but instead will focus only on those initiatives that are consciously aimed at developing citizenship (whether through a discrete curriculum subject, or through a number of different subjects, through the structures or ethos of the school, or through a non-school site).

In addition, not all educational initiatives aiming to promote citizenship go by the same name. A number of different labels are used, such as 'civic', 'civics', 'political', 'democratic' and 'human rights'. It is hard to make watertight distinctions between them. Crick (2002a: 493) sees *citizenship* education as signifying a wider concept than *political* education, including participation in civil society associations as well as governmental affairs. Kerr (1999) makes a distinction between 'civics' – narrowly focused on the acquisition of knowledge – and 'citizenship education' – involving understanding and the capacity to participate. A similar distinction is made by Osler and Starkey (2005c) between 'civic education' and 'citizenship education', the latter going beyond a narrow focus on national government, and including elements of human rights and sustainability. Yet the use of these, and other terms, is irregular and does not correspond to clear conceptual distinctions. The phrase 'civic education' is widely used in the USA without the negative connotations that it has in some European countries. In this book, I will generally use the term 'citizenship education' to describe all these different types of initiative. I understand citizenship education to refer to any education that addresses the individual as a member of a polity (rather than solely as a member of a cultural group or an economic system – though not excluding these aspects).

Knowledge, Skills and Values

What exactly is citizenship education trying to achieve? Ultimately, it is aimed at bringing changes in society and in the lives of individuals, but it

does so by developing particular attributes in learners. These attributes are commonly divided into the three elements of knowledge, skills and values. In relation to his distinction between maximal and minimal conceptions of citizenship, McLaughlin (1992: 237) states:

> Maximal conceptions require a considerable degree of explicit under-standing of democratic principles, values and procedures on the part of the citizen together with the dispositions and capacities required for participation in democratic citizenship generously conceived.

This passage alludes to three elements – 'understanding', 'dispositions' and 'capacities' – ones that all citizenship education programmes must address to some degree. These relate (although are not identical) to knowledge, values and skills respectively. Citizenship education initiatives approach these elements in very different ways, relating not only to the specific knowledge, skills and values to be promoted, but also the balance between them.

Schugurensky's (2000) refashioning of the notion of 'political capital' uses the three elements of 'knowledge', 'skills' and 'attitudes' as the basis of the requirements of effective participation, along with two further elements: 'closeness to power' (the contacts and institutional structures facilitating political influence) and 'personal resources' (time, money etc.). Educational work principally focuses on the first three of these – the latter two may be indirectly influenced, but depend principally on social and political structures and organization.

'Traditional' civics classes have a strong emphasis on knowledge, focusing on Constitution, government and political institutions, as well as national history more broadly. *Skills* of citizen participation have emerged more recently as a focus (reflecting a wider shift from knowledge to skills in education). An example of an initiative breaking with traditional moulds was the 1970s political literacy movement in the UK, led by Bernard Crick, Derek Heater and Ian Lister among others, which advocated the teaching of political skills and democratic values in place of the existing emphasis on constitutional knowledge. According to Lister (1987: 49):

> The programme was less interested in promoting knowledge of politics as subject-content than in developing the political skills necessary for informed and effective participation in politics. Accordingly it encouraged a shift towards much more activity-based teaching and learning (such as problem-solving exercises; role-play and socio-drama; and games and simulations). It was concerned about supporting

values – but not the values of loyalty and allegiance to the powers that were but the values of democracy itself (which could give authority to those powers).

The third of the elements – values – is highlighted at the end of this passage, although there is little indication of how they may be promoted. In fact, values are the most challenging of the three elements. One approach is that of values *clarification*, in which students develop greater understanding of their existing beliefs, yet most conceptions of citizenship education call for commitment to a more specific moral and political vision. In this way, a number of theorists have argued for the promotion of *virtues* as part of citizenship education. White (1996), for example, argues that education must involve itself in the development of virtues such as trust and courage, which are essential for the functioning of a democracy. Callan's (1997) key work on citizenship in a liberal democracy also advocates the cultivation of civic virtues in schools.

However, the extent to and ways in which these values are adopted by students are highly uncertain. Values can be promoted in diverse ways, including *exhortation* (encouraging or directing students to adopt them), *exemplification* (teachers demonstrating them in their lives and actions) and *reflection* (students developing their understanding of them). Nevertheless, whichever of these methods is employed, the process remains problematic. Reflection is certainly preferable in terms of respect for, and development of, agency and criticality in learners, yet it is necessarily unpredictable. The inherently problematic nature of education for democratic citizenship is therefore highlighted: imposing values on students or encouraging them to absorb values unquestioningly goes against principles of respect for agency and autonomy, and yet critical reflection makes the process highly uncertain.

Arenas: The Classroom

In which contexts, then, can these skills, knowledge and values be worked with? The first instance to be considered is the pre-eminent arena of modern education – the classroom. Methods of teaching citizenship in the classroom can be grouped into four types:

A. explanation
B. investigation
C. discussion
D. simulation

Type A (explanation) involves teachers, either orally or through texts, transmitting knowledge to students about political institutions, current affairs and so forth. Investigation (type B), on the other hand, involves the students researching issues themselves, extending their knowledge of topics of interest and developing information-gathering skills. Type C (discussion) extends this by allowing discussion and debate to develop, in which students can state their views and modify them in the light of those of others. Lastly, type D (simulation) schools can stage contexts for participation, such as elections, trials and parliaments, in which the procedures are as close to reality as possible, but with no real effect.

These activities can be delivered through the curriculum in a variety of ways. There can be a discrete subject of 'civics' or 'citizenship', or a broader subject area such as social studies. Alternatively, the civic content can be delivered through other disciplines such as history. Lastly, citizenship can be a cross-curricular theme to be incorporated across the whole range of school subjects and activities.

There is one important quality that classrooms may be well positioned to develop. The demands of sustaining a cohesive polity in diverse contemporary societies have led some commentators to advocate the practice of 'deliberation' – an engagement in reasoned, respectful discussion with others. According to Amy Gutmann's *Democratic Education* (1987), schools must from an early age encourage the *deliberative character* in children through both the explicit and the hidden curricula, and create the conditions for democracy by placing people of different religions and ethnicities together in the same classroom (pp. 52–3). Rawls's (1972; 1993) requirement for the use of *public reason* in the political sphere, as opposed to private reason based on religious or other comprehensive doctrine, also proposes an essential role for schools as a common ground in which young people must learn to interact, communicate and negotiate in a public way (although not all accept that it is possible, or desirable, to let go of deeply held beliefs like religious revelation in political interaction).

Deliberation, and its development in schools, are valued by these and other commentators (see Englund 2000; Enslin et al. 2001) since it is seen to make possible a viable democratic state without excluding individual and minority voices. While it is a highly challenging task, the multi-cultural classrooms of countries like the USA, France, the UK and Australia seem well placed to develop the skills and dispositions of deliberation necessary in a diverse society.

Arenas: The School as a Whole

However, it can be argued that what are significant in forming citizens are not classroom activities as such, but the underlying structures or character of the school. Pupils can learn to be citizens via participation in decision-making about school rules or through hierarchical teacher-student relations as well as through classes on political institutions and national heroes. These features are sometimes referred to as the *hidden* curriculum (although they are sometimes made explicit and official). The influence of these more subtle factors on the development of citizenship is often unacknowledged, and can lead to contradiction, when, for example, the democratic intentions of the course are in direct conflict with the authoritarian nature of the institution.

Similar issues are raised through the notion of 'ethos' – in McLaughlin's (2005: 311) words, 'the prevalent or characteristic tone, spirit or sentiment informing an identifiable entity involving human life and interaction'. Ethos (or 'climate'), while more positive in connotations, is in many ways the same as the hidden curriculum (it can similarly refer to something either 'intended' or 'experienced' (McLaughlin 2005)). Its nature and effects are extremely difficult to determine, but there is widely held faith (e.g. QCA 1998) in its influence on student learning and attitudes. Those texts using the language of 'ethos' tend to hold less political conceptions of institutional structures, while those using the language of democratization tend to see the school as a highly political site (e.g. Apple & Beane 1999; Giroux & McLaren 1986; Harber 2000; 2002b; hooks 2003; Shor 1992). Issues of school democratization will be covered in greater detail in chapter 4.

Arenas: Outside School

However, citizenship education is by no means confined to the school grounds. In fact, there are reasons to believe that experiences outside school may be more important than those within it. John Stuart Mill, in *On Representative Government* (1991 [1861]), argued that real experiences of political participation are fundamental for human development. There are three elements to this development: virtue (particularly unselfishness and responsibility), intellectual stimulation (originality and cultivation) and activity (energy, courage and enterprise) (Mansbridge 1999). Mill saw that participation in public activities such as jury duty was essential for moving beyond narrow self-interest and taking responsibility for others, with significant societal as well as individual benefits. These ideas are consonant with

those in ancient Athens, where participation in politics was conceived very much as an educational experience. Carole Pateman's work (e.g. 1975) also sees participation as essential to individual political development, focusing on the notion of political efficacy, and on the sense of the collective, cooperation and the democratic character.

Mill's and Pateman's ideas cannot be applied in their entirety to participation of children and teenagers at school. The types of public service Mill had in mind are not all available for people in this age range, while Pateman's ideas relate principally to participation in the workplace. Nevertheless, there are opportunities for participation in real political activity for young people: writing emails of protest or support, participating in local environmental campaigns, or marching to oppose a policy of the national government can be important learning experiences.

An important distinction needs to be made here between participation in forms of *political* activity, such as those envisaged by Pateman, and community volunteering. While voluntary work can sometimes have political motivations or consequences, often it is aimed at bringing localized change for the good, while leaving the underlying structures of society intact. When schools offer opportunities for active citizenship, they very often focus on volunteering rather than political action, on account of the wide consensus around the former, and the potentially threatening, divisive or controversial nature of the latter[4].

Citizenship learning, therefore, can take place either inside school or out, and through both specific activities and underlying structures and relations. The following chart shows these different spheres:

	Activities	**Structures and relations**
School	←	
	A. Explanation B. Investigation C. Discussion D. Simulation E. Student councils	Pedagogical relations Hidden curriculum Ethos
Wider society	A. Political participation B. Volunteering	Social hierarchies, political structures etc.
	←	

As seen above, classroom activities can fall into one of four categories (A-D). Participation in decision-making bodies such as student councils can constitute a further element here (E). Activities in the community, or the wider society, can be divided into those that involve voluntary work, and those that involve political participation, the latter entailing efforts to influence government and policy. However, these activities must also be seen in the light of the underlying relations and structures both in school and society (in the right hand boxes), which provide the context in which these activities take place. Within school at least, efforts can be made to alter these elements, for example by creating more horizontal relations between teachers and students, and giving the latter greater say in decisions over management and the curriculum. Citizenship education, therefore, can be expressed through three of these four boxes (altering the structures and relations of wider society may be an intended long-term consequence, but will not normally be part of the means of citizenship education).

Neutrality

Another crucial question regarding the means of implementing citizenship education is bias. Much opposition to its presence in the curriculum has been based on the problems of maintaining political neutrality (e.g. Flew 2000; Scruton et al. 1985; Tooley 2000). Others (such as Paulo Freire – discussed in the following chapter) argue that being impartial is problematic in itself, and, in any event, is hardly possible.

   Citizenship education initiatives differ in the extent to which the values on which they are based are made explicit (Kerr 2003). Initiatives also differ in terms of their openness to the discussion of controversial issues. Many argue against removing these controversial issues from a young person's educational experience, even given the dangers of indoctrination and risks of causing offence to students of strongly held views. As the Crick Report states:

> [T]o omit controversial subject-matter is to leave out not only an important area of knowledge and human experience but the very essence of what constitutes a worthwhile education. (QCA 1998: 10.4–10.5)

Many of these controversies, rather than being 'based on (say) ignorance, misunderstanding, prejudice or ill will' are 'grounded in deep and non-trivial disagreement about matters of (say) an epistemological or ethical kind' (McLaughlin 2003: 150). These 'grounded' controversies involve 'reasonable disagreement' and cannot be resolved simply by presenting

the correct evidence. Far from being avoided in education, engagement in discussion of these grounded controversies can be seen as an essential preparation for political life where the conflicts of society must be resolved. The Crick Report advocates three possible approaches to neutrality in relation to controversial issues – those of 'neutral chairman', 'balanced' and 'stated commitment' (QCA 1998) – which may be used in conjunction. Nevertheless, working with controversial issues places considerable demands on teachers' skills and sensitivity (McLaughlin 2000), and cannot always count on support from local communities. Hahn (1998: 177–9) highlights how, while theorists argue for the benefits of an open classroom and the discussion of critical issues in society, educators in US schools have generally avoided controversial issues so as not to bring opposition from parents.

The Diverse Landscape of Citizenship Education Provision

Citizenship Education in a National Context

How do initiatives around the world combine these elements and resolve these tensions in practice? A number of studies have emerged since the 1990s that describe and analyse the orientations of citizenship education initiatives, particularly those that form part of national education policy. Many of these are comparative studies, or case studies that have a comparative intention, often responding to the needs of countries implementing citizenship education for the first time (like the UK), or with renewed interest (e.g. USA, Canada, Australia) to gauge the range of different approaches worldwide. The most ambitious example of this form is the 24 country study carried out by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Torney-Purta 1999). Other large-scale studies include that of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (2002) on human rights education in 19 countries, and the 20 country study on understandings of 'active citizenship' of the UK National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) (Nelson & Kerr 2006).

A comparative study with a considerable degree of depth is that of Carole Hahn (2003; 1998), which assesses civic education provision in five countries: USA, England, Netherlands, Germany and Denmark. The rationale for the study was the need to understand the educational diversity that can exist even within countries that share much in terms of political culture and institutions. While the USA and Germany were found to have long traditions of teaching about political processes and institutions through

social studies and other courses, the Netherlands and England had very little provision (the study was carried out before the 2002 watershed in the latter). In contrast to the other cases, Denmark's approach to the teaching of democracy was principally through the modelling of democratic processes within the school itself. This form of approach (one we can term *prefigurative*) will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

Davies and Issitt's (2005) study of Australia, Canada and England assesses the different approaches to citizenship education evident in textbooks. In broad terms, Australia is characterized by 'developing thinking skills through material drawn from traditional and academic subjects', Canada by 'remembering information about constitutional structures', and England by 'exploring their personal perspectives in the context of society's values' (405). They state:

> In England the inclusion of very many matters relevant to individual young people, including health, personal finance, helping others and charities, suggest that a very broad-based focus on personal responsibility is being promoted . . . The personal is foregrounded at the expense of a sharper political awareness. (Davies and Issitt 2005: 400)

Osler and Starkey's (2001) comparison of recent initiatives in England and France identifies the major motivation of current citizenship education programmes as concern at weakening social cohesion and the political disengagement of the young, and fear for the future of democracy itself. While differing in key areas such as emphasis on national symbols (stronger in the French programme), both countries are seen to have an underlying aim to promote values of respect for human rights, obedience to the law, and strengthening of the national political and social unit. Neither, however, is seen to be genuinely inclusive of minorities.

Studies on East Asian states (e.g. Ho 2002) show different forms of citizenship education from those evident in Europe and North America. Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan, for example, place higher priority on civility and morality than active individual participation, according to Morris and Cogan (2001). This study also found a difference in the extent of *classification*, in Bernstein's (1971) terms: that is, the extent to which citizenship education is seen as a discrete curriculum subject, or alternatively, spread through the curriculum. These differences did not, however, link clearly to an East-West divide: Taiwan and Thailand were seen to have strong boundaries around the subject, and Australia and Hong Kong to have weak boundaries, with Japan and the USA varying between the two

extremes. The advantages of weak classification were seen to be to allow integration with other related subjects, to increase flexibility of provision, to prevent excessive academicization of the material, to increase teacher input and ownership and relevance to the community. On the other hand, there were seen to be advantages of separate subject status in gaining space on the timetable, specialist textbooks and training for teachers, and formal assessment. Also there was seen to be higher levels of coverage and uniformity across schools, ensuring all young people's entitlement to civic education.

In all the countries, however, non-formal contexts in schools were seen to contribute. In Japan, cooperation was promoted through aspects of the school day such as meal preparation, and special events such as sports days. However, despite this school-based participation, there was little encouragement of more political forms of participation, or of involvement beyond the school boundaries. In the USA and Australia, on the other hand, community volunteering was encouraged, and there was less reluctance to deal with controversial issues in the classroom.

Cummings (1996: 197–8) puts forward cultural explanations for differences in Japan:

> The segmented western approach of focusing on national institutions and narrowly featuring (cognitively based) civic education is greeted with incredulity by Japanese educators . . . Education there is viewed as an integral part of the broader social and cultural order.

Another difference, highlighted in Le Metais's (1997) review, is the explicitness of values, with countries like Japan, Korea and Singapore showing 'national values expressed in detailed', and the USA and England showing 'minimal reference to values in education legislation'.

As stated above, the IEA study (Torney-Purta et al. 1999) is the most ambitious of the comparative studies, providing detailed accounts of national civic education provision in different parts of the world. One example of these is the study on Canada (Sears et al. 1999), a country that poses specific challenges, being in Kymlicka's (1995) terms both a multi-nation and multi-ethnic state. First, there have for some years been efforts to develop French language proficiency in the English-speaking communities and vice versa, initiatives that are seen to have been successful in making the new generation almost bilingual. Policies addressing the position of the indigenous nations have been less successful, although the teaching of their languages is increasing. Despite the

continuing challenges, Canada is seen to have made significant advances since the 1968 report, which stated that civic education:

> . . . focused almost exclusively on political and military matters, avoided controversy, did not connect material to the present, and emphasized the memorization of 'nice, neat little acts of parliament'. (p. 125)

This assessment, however, contrasts with the less positive image provided by Davies and Issitt (2005), who observe a continuation of dry, content-based approaches.

A second example from the IEA research is Colombia, a country in which conflict and civil disorder threaten to destroy the integrity of the nation-state. The case study (Rueda 1999) describes how civic education has moved from so-called 'education in urbanity' in the nineteenth century, 'understood to be the transmission of a predefined and static code of moral virtues and guidelines of behaviour and customs that would characterize a "good" citizen' (p. 140) to one named Education for Democracy, including the following elements: understanding of political institutions; development of moral judgement; collective experience of democratic values in human rights; living together in a diverse society; and linking democratic education to the political experiences of young people (p. 140).

In the survey conducted by the authors of the report, the qualities to be promoted included: 'to develop the ability to discuss and dissent without rupturing coexistence', 'understanding . . . that democracy as a social order incorporates basic universal rules, such as respect for human rights and, in relation to the mass media, that students:

> . . . should be able to distinguish between factual information and opinion, and should confront and interpret in a critical way sources offering contradictory, confirming or complimentary information. (p. 147)

However, in Colombia this type of education was seen to be very difficult to achieve given the 'national environment with widespread violence and corruption that is not conducive to the purposes of education in democracy' (p. 149).

As can be seen, these case studies provide perspectives on the broad intentions of civic education in national contexts, and show intriguing differences in the ways governments respond to contemporary challenges. However, they cannot show the complex imperfections of implementation.

Studies aiming to gain a closer understanding of the implemented curriculum will be outlined later in this chapter.

Above and below the Nation-state

National initiatives around the world, therefore, present a range of different approaches, addressing the specific concerns of each context, whether social cohesion, multi-culturalism or the development of a young democracy. Yet, national governments are not the only providers of citizenship education. There are many other bodies that can be involved, including local governments, social movements, NGOs, religious bodies and private organizations. Civil society organizations have, in many countries, become key political actors as well as providers of public services, and are consequently strongly involved in questions of citizenship. An important factor here is that the nature of the provider is likely to have an effect on the conceptions of citizenship underlying the initiative. A public education system will tend to promote allegiance to the nation-state, whether implicitly or explicitly, and is unlikely to develop highly questioning attitudes towards the government. It is also likely to encourage participation in established political procedures such as voting in general elections. A social movement may promote a wide variety of attitudes towards the state and may be opposed to it. It is also likely to encourage political participation via popular mobilizations.

Much of the work carried out by civil society organizations is with adults. Fischer and Hannah (2002), for example, assess the *Programa Integrar* of the Brazilian metalworkers' union. Here, training in metal working skills is combined with classes in neo-liberal economic policy, dependency theory and the world economic crisis, as well as skills of negotiation for union leaders. According to the authors, this is part of a new movement in which:

> The making of public policy and the allocation of state resources are becoming increasingly understood as the responsibility of society, and not only the organs of the administration of the state apparatus. Thus, different collective bodies are pursuing and discussing forms of popular participation that complement, but also question, the traditional forms of representative participation. (p. 262)

Brazil has a large number of these local and non-state initiatives, two of which will be explored in detail in the later chapters. These localized initiatives show a departure from the concerns of the national frameworks – predominantly

those of cohesion and allegiance – towards a concern with political empowerment. In their work with young people, there is an emphasis on rights – not only those to be obtained in the future as adult citizens, but those in the present as children and teenagers.

Forms of education that aim to promote solidarity and responsibility outside national borders have been present for many years, even though in the past the language of the 'global' was less prominent (Starkey 1994). These include human rights, peace, environmental and development education among others. Lister (1987) considers these together as the 'world studies' movement, and describes its emergence in the UK thus:

> Before 1974 the dominant tradition celebrated the myth of the apolitical nature of schools; in 1974 a new dynamic appeared in the form of political literacy; with world studies a new dynamic appeared in the form of global perspectives and the search for a social education appropriate to living in an interdependent world. (p. 47)

No country as yet has wholeheartedly embraced cosmopolitan citizenship (and it is debatable whether a nation-state could do so and still ensure its own continuing existence), yet there have been a number of small scale initiatives. Osler and Vincent (2002) examine how these types of initiative are faring in four countries – Denmark, England, Ireland and the Netherlands – concluding that while there is substantial work being carried out by NGOs, particularly in relation to teaching materials, there is insufficient governmental support: 'although governments recognize a role for global education, it is rarely a funding priority with the Ministry of Education' (p. 111). Davies's (2006) overview of literature on education for global citizenship also shows the significant obstacles it faces, in relation to, among other things, curriculum overload.

The European Union presents a specific challenge, being a voluntary union with only a moderate level of power over the constitutive states. It is therefore unable to *impose* an identity or allegiance of any kind and has to compete with the civic allegiances that are strong at the level of the individual states. It does, however, try to do so through education, as part of what it calls the *European dimension* (Davies 1995). However, these forms of supranational citizenship based on regional unions are not entirely consistent with the global approach since they are not based on universal principles but on membership and identity of a limited space. As such they might be seen to constitute a new form of nationalism, rather than a move towards global citizenship.

Experiences of Implementation

The overview of citizenship education initiatives has thus far focused predominantly on official frameworks. Yet, as Morris and Cogan (2001: 113) point out:

> It is dangerous to rely on descriptions of the nature of national policies and the formal curriculum as a basis for understanding what goes on in schools and what pupils learn. These provide a framework within which schools operate – they do not ensure consistency of provision.

It is important to look more closely at the process of implementation, and the problems and possibilities arising from it. There are various reasons why the implemented curriculum might differ from the official one. Hahn's (1999: 604) survey of social studies specialists pointed to 'budget constraints' and a 'crowded curriculum' as the key obstacles to implementation, followed by 'shortage of materials' and 'inadequate teacher content knowledge'. Torney-Purta et al. (1999: 32) also found significant distance between official and implemented curricula:

> A pessimistic note is that there is widely perceived to be a gap between the ideals of democracy or social justice raised through civic education and the reality of the society and school. Some countries focused especially on this gap in textbooks, which were also criticized for being out of date. There is another type of gap in which long lists of factual knowledge are to be conveyed but only an hour or two a week of classroom study is allotted to them or they are not related to concepts that are meaningful to students.

These 'gaps' are also explored in Morris and Cogan's (2001) six-country study. First, there was seen to be significant variation between individual schools operating within the same framework. These differences to a large extent followed socio-economic lines, with those from disadvantaged backgrounds being taught social responsibility, and those from wealthier backgrounds, active and critical citizenship (these differences were less acute in Japan, Taiwan and Thailand). Second:

> From the perspective of the pupils, there was often a very clear awareness of the disjuncture between their schools' precepts and its practices. It was the latter that were seen to define the values that the school thought

were important. Thus pupils were acutely aware when the rhetoric of school policy was seen to be in conflict with other messages that were conveyed, especially with regard to the high value placed on obedience and on passing high stakes examinations. (p. 199)

The gaps referred to in these studies – particularly that of the lack of consistency between official and hidden curricula – are key to problems in citizenship education provision, and will be explored through the 'curricular transposition' framework in the chapters that follow.

Differences in provision depending on social class were also seen in Hahn's (1999: 605) study of the USA:

As we listened to students and teachers from different schools in the focus groups, it sounded to us as if students in urban schools, serving families from lower socio-economic levels, may be less likely to experience varied instructional strategies and democratic school environments than students in schools serving higher socio-economic groups. Consequently, their learning about democracy, national identity and diversity are likely to be quite different.

Cavaría (2005) raises different issues in her assessment of the implementation of civic education in primary schools in Mexico. Severe restraints are placed on teachers due to the lack of textbooks and pressures of limited curriculum time, as well as a general lack of value given to the subject in relation to the core disciplines. Nevertheless, against the odds, teachers are seen to adopt a number of strategies to ensure effective provision, working creatively with time and resources. These include: 'globalizing themes' – working with a number of topics in the same session in order to achieve full coverage in the limited time available; getting the students to research topics for themselves; designating students as responsible for different subject areas, ensuring continuing work in the absence of the teacher; and use of other didactic supports such as activity books.

This research is significant since it points to the key position of teachers in the realization of citizenship education, one often ignored by normative studies and by broad descriptive accounts of national programmes. Not only are teachers central to the effective implementation of a national policy or normative frame, but they are agents in their own right, transmitting their own specific conceptions of citizenship.

Walkington and Wilkins (2000) in this way explore the centrality of teachers' world-views in relationship to classroom practice. In terms of

their personal perspectives, the teachers interviewed were placed on a continuum from individualistic/alienated to critical/reflective/engaged. These perspectives related strongly to their vision of citizenship: in the case of the former, a restricted, formulaic vision of compliance and with the latter, a more critical, multifaceted and global vision. These positionings were seen to correspond to teaching styles, placed on a continuum from transmission to participatory learning (including role-plays, simulations and collaborative group work). These findings are another clear indication of the importance of the teacher as agent in the process of citizenship education. Nevertheless, the authors point to certain institutional constraints on this agency: some teachers with a critical/engaged perspective, for example, were discouraged from implementing a participatory framework on account of governmental emphasis on basic skills, the predominance of forms of teacher education not conducive to participatory approaches and the lack of the basic literacy skills necessary for the students to engage in independent enquiry.

A limitation of the above study is the reductive nature of its scales, both in terms of world-view and pedagogy. As seen in the previous chapter, views of citizenship are clearly more complex than a two dimensional scale: it is possible, for example, to be deeply engaged in political affairs, but maintain a solely national frame of reference and rely on traditional avenues of participation such as voting and a restricted citizen identity. In addition, the transmission/participatory division is not entirely adequate, since there may be times when a critical educator is justified in engaging in 'chalk and talk', and, second, no mention is made of curricular content, only forms of delivery. Nevertheless, the study is significant in drawing attention to the pivotal role of teachers in the implementation, and the essentially political nature of pedagogy. It also raises the key question of the link between ideals and curricular programmes that will be explored through this book.

An account of a different sort of citizenship education initiative, one which is localized and not officially endorsed by the state, is provided by Westheimer and Kahne (2000). They present a case study of an urban school in the USA that has developed a conscious framework of preparing students for active engagement in social transformation. This enquiry-based project approach with links to action in the local community encountered initial constraints from the national tendency towards basic skills and high stakes testing, as in the above study. In relation to the implementation within the school, three major issues arose: first there were concerns among teachers that civic education in a crowded curriculum may be a distraction from the development of core academic skills. Second, the project approach

was seen to have limitations, being challenging and time-consuming for teachers, and not the most effective form of learning in all instances. A third and highly significant issue concerns neutrality. While in some cases the school presented both sides of the argument regarding controversial issues, in others it took a clearly defined position. This commitment at times created problems with parents who did not share the same beliefs, and administrators who wished to steer clear of controversy. The authors also point to potential problems of active participation in the community, since students may not always have sufficient information to participate in an appropriate manner:

> Many kinds of action such as attending a protest or working with a community organization, that would be appropriate for citizens, may not be structured in ways that enable a teacher to be sure a given action will be safe or educationally valuable. Thus, while experiences at Mills [the school] demonstrate the substantial educational potential of civic action as part of students' curriculum, there are reasons to temper blanket support of this practice. (p. 35)

In summary, school level studies like those outlined above show the distance between official curricula and the reality of implementation. Various factors emerge as influences on implementation:

1. the understandings and dispositions of teachers
2. differing school contexts (e.g. socio-economic background of pupils, ethos etc.)
3. pressures from non- (or anti-) civic elements in the curriculum
4. tensions between curriculum content promoting democracy and anti-democratic structures and relations in the school (and society)

Gauging 'success'

Yet what about the last vital question: the effects on students? There are a number of studies concerned with evaluating interventions, assessing the effects, the influence or the success of particular initiatives. Many of these studies focus on political participation (particularly those instances that are more amenable to measurement), and are mostly quantitative, aiming to achieve a very wide coverage of respondents. Yet, one of the problems with research in relation to citizenship is that some valued

aspects – such as deliberation, respect for difference and positive identity –
are hard to evaluate. In addition, much of the evaluative research falls
within the discipline of political science and sees education as one of a
number of relevant variables, rather than something of intrinsic interest.

Almond and Verba's (1963) seminal study, *The Civic Culture*, for example,
found education to be the most important of all demographic variables in
determining political attitudes. This and other studies (e.g. Huntington &
Nelson 1976; Milbrath & Goel 1965; Goel 1975; Parsons & Bynner 2002)
show convincingly that general educational level has a significant effect
on different forms of political participation, such as voting, campaigning
and membership of organizations. These quantitative studies as a general
rule control for background socio-economic variables and therefore show
that there is something in formal education itself that enhances political
participation. However, they do not shed light on the particular aspects of
schooling or forms of education that are influential in this respect. The
studies do not separate out elements such as teacher-student relations,
access to multiple perspectives on current affairs and so forth.

The most ambitious recent research project in this area, and one atten-
tive to some aspects of educational processes, is the second phase of the
IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et al. 2001), which surveyed
nearly 90,000 14-year-olds in 28 (mainly European) countries to determine
their civic knowledge and engagement[5]. The survey included a test of civic
knowledge as well as questions designed to determine political opinions
and attitudes. Across all of the countries, the factor most strongly linked
to civic knowledge was the expectation of further education (a variable
that reflects aspirations and therefore has a strong socio-economic com-
ponent). Home literacy resources (measured by the amount of books at
home) was the second strongest predictor, followed by students' percep-
tions of having an open climate for discussion in their classrooms. The
third of these is perhaps the most interesting, since it involves school prac-
tice and is not just a proxy for socio-economic level. Hahn's (1998) study
referred to above also makes a strong endorsement of an open classroom
climate, seeing this as being strongly related to positive attitudes towards
democratic decision-making and to diversity.

The IEA study also assessed the relationship between these variables and
the likelihood to vote of the students. The strongest predictor of inten-
tions to vote was civic knowledge itself, followed by having learnt about the
importance of voting in school, watching television news and participating
in a school council. While the study does not provide evaluations of the
effect of civic education programmes in each of the countries, these results

indicate that particular approaches to education (i.e. an open climate for discussion and participation in school councils), and citizenship education as a whole, have a positive effect on future participation.

Like many studies of the attitudes of young people, therefore, the IEA research provides only general indications of the influence of citizenship education. Other studies, however, focus directly on particular initiatives. One of the motivations of this type of research is explained by Finkel (2002: 995):

> [T]he results can shed light on the extent to which democratic values and behaviours are affected by short-term experiential factors, as opposed to the more traditional view that changes in democratic orientations are likely to occur slowly due to long-term economic modernization, generational changes, the activities of political parties and governmental actors, and the gradual diffusion of democratic norms through the international mass media.

Research, for example, has been carried out on Project Citizen, an initiative developed by the US Center for Civic Education, 'designed to encourage civic development among adolescent students through intensive study of a school or a community issue' (Liou 2004: 65–6). Liou's (2004) study on the project in Taiwan found significant effects on student skills and dispositions, but not on propensity to participate in future political life nor on sense of political efficacy. As in the IEA study, two factors linked here to the successful development of civic skills and dispositions were an open classroom climate allowing interaction in the learning process and exposure to news in various media.

Chaffee et al. (1998) presented a positive account of the possibilities of citizenship education in their evaluation of the 'Newspaper-in-Schools' initiative in Argentina. The project, started in 1986, used free copies of local and national newspapers to promote democratic norms through political discussion in primary and secondary schools. The fact that only some schools volunteered to implement this project made possible a quasi-experimental design in which there were programme and control groups. While the programme group did not show a significant increase in political knowledge, other significant differences between two groups were found, as the study concludes:

> Our results discredit some common notions about civics education and political culture. It appears that curriculum interventions can be

instrumental in enhancing political literacy among pre-teens, despite considerable prior findings that suggest the contrary. The Newspaper-in-Schools programme helped students develop political communication habits, and stimulated the forming and voicing of personal opinions. It also fostered interest in political participation, pluralistic orientations, and support for democracy. (p. 167)

Importantly, exposure to newspapers was only effective when combined with other activities such as group debate and writing assignments. Another important finding of the study was that there was a closing of the 'knowledge gap', the distance between those from higher and lower social strata.

However, a number of studies paint a less optimistic picture of the influence of citizenship education. McAllister (1998) argues, with reference to Australia, that it is the total experience of education that contributes to political participation, and that specific civics courses add little. The author relates political knowledge to three other variables: political literacy (measured by correct identification of the local MP); political competence ('the ability to participate in the political process, and to feel that such participation would make a difference to political outcomes'); and political participation[6] (political discussion, campaign activity etc.). The politically knowledgeable person was more likely to be politically *literate*, and increases in knowledge did bring increases in competence up to a certain point, after which further increases brought negligible effect. The influence on participation, however, was small. The author concludes that civic education programmes aiming to increase political knowledge add little to the general effect of the curriculum. However, the findings here are not conclusive since the author acknowledges that in the study it was impossible to separate the respondents who had experienced civic education from those who had not.

Niemi and Junn (1998) acknowledge that much previous research since the 1960s has shown that civics classes make little difference to knowledge of politics, despite the undeniable influence of education in general. Yet their research presents rather different results. Focusing specifically on political knowledge (rather than political attitudes or activity), they found that those who had attended a civics course had a four per cent advantage over those who had not, after controlling for other factors. This is a significant finding, given that only the factors of having interest in governmental affairs and plans to attend university (to a large extent a proxy for socio-economic level) were stronger predictors. Other elements with a

positive influence on the results were studying a wide variety of topics in the curriculum in general, engaging in frequent discussions of current affairs and participation in mock elections and the like. In this study, however, the 'knowledge gap' was seen to increase, with minority ethnic groups and females having consistently lower scores, and with the curricular elements having a weaker effect on their results.

Lastly, the EPPI-Centre in the UK has made two reviews of research on citizenship education. The first, *A systematic review of the impact of citizenship education on the provision of schooling* (Deakin Crick et al. 2004), on the basis of 14 studies, draws a number of conclusions relating to policy and practice: principal among these are the need for a coherent whole-school policy and the importance of dialogue and participatory pedagogies. The review, however, acknowledges that there is a gap in empirical research as regards implementation at school level. The second, *A systematic review of the impact of citizenship education on student learning and achievement* (Deakin Crick et al. 2005), concludes that existing studies (mainly from the USA) show significant effects of citizenship education, and in particular of learner-centred pedagogies, on the cognitive abilities of students. However, this review does not concern itself with the development of abilities relating specifically to citizenship, such as deliberation skills or political knowledge.

Possibilities and Pitfalls of Empirical Research on Education and Citizenship

An important finding in the evaluative studies is that pedagogical forms and practices (e.g. an open interactive classroom, participatory structures etc.) are consistently linked to increases in civic attributes. However, taken as a whole, these studies are inconsistent in their assessment of the influence of citizenship education interventions. They differ in the effects observed on knowledge, skills and attitudes. It is unclear whether this is the result of difference in the citizenship education programmes themselves, of the contexts in which they occur or of differences in the approach of the researchers, the research design and the conceptual frameworks. In some cases, there is seen to be a significant influence on political knowledge, skills and attitudes, but the link to meaningful political participation is hard to establish. In part, this is due to the methodological problems in measuring participation and relating it to previous school experience.

Evaluations, of any sort, can be problematic from two perspectives. First, they may gauge effectiveness against criteria that are not made explicit, or which are different from those internal to the initiative. Second, the proxies for citizenship (i.e. forms of political activity) may provide a restrictive or one-sided picture. The reality is that gauging the effects of education on citizenship by any means is extremely complex. It is both difficult to determine what is to be evaluated (i.e. what 'citizenship' is) and to separate the educational intervention from other causes. As Davies (2006: 22–3) states:

> There is an 'attribution gap': the further one goes along the chain, the more difficult it is to attribute the perceived effect to the actual programme. That is, if the intended final impact is a more peaceful society, and if the society does become more peaceful, how far can one go back down the chain to say it was the result of a particular peace education programme (Warner, 2004)? Similarly, if the eventual aim of a global citizenship programme is a collection of 'global citizens' who will act concertedly in particular ways to challenge injustice and promote rights, how do we track these individuals and groups during and after their school life, and, conversely, how do we engage in 'backwards mapping' to work out what caused people to act as global citizens, and what 'percentage' was due to exposure to a global citizenship programme in a school?

The sheer scale of citizenship education's aims – the development of a democratic society – makes the task of evaluation highly complex.

In particular, there are limits to the extent to which quantitative studies can provide a full picture of the relation between education and citizenship, or even education and political participation. One concern about these quantitative studies is that they can present a misleading consensus around citizenship. Project Citizen, for example, is based on an understanding of valued citizen action as single issue politics, often in the local community (Liou 2004). This can be seen as a fragmented conception of political participation, making difficult widespread, unified action to uphold universal rights and seeing existing social, economic and political structures as essentially just, in need of localized adjustments but not upheaval or radical reform[7]. The contestability of the central premises, however, is not brought into question.

Yet even setting aside the ideological orientations, there is a more basic problem with the studies, concerning the proxies used for measuring political participation. For obvious reasons, quantifiable variables must be

used, such as frequency of contacting a local official, while the qualitative aspects, such as the nature of the communication, its intensity and significance, are rarely included. Complex aspects of political participation are reduced to overly simple proxies: for example, in the McAllister (1998) study, a single indicator, knowledge of the name of the local MP, is used to gauge political literacy. Yet it is clearly possible for people to be politically literate in a number of ways without knowing the name of their MP, and equally, to be familiar with the name of a prominent local politician while having little idea of her role or significance. A similar critique could be made of McAllister's proxies for political competence, measured by two questions: first, 'whether the respondents considered political parties important in making the system work' and second, 'whether or not respondents thought it mattered for whom they voted' (p. 18). It is hard to see how responses to these questions can ever provide a reliable indication of competence to participate in the political process.

The following, therefore, appear to be the main limitations of quantitative research on education and political participation:

1. political participation is hard to measure numerically
2. proxies for participation used in surveys are problematic
3. there is difficulty identifying and separating the different variables influencing participation
4. the nature of valued or effective political participation is strongly contested
5. the studies are often decontextualized

The complexities of the inputs (education) and the outputs (the numerous forms of political participation) mean that quantitative studies, while broad in terms of respondents, are necessarily shallow in their approach to the subject. There is good reason to believe that many of the factors are context bound, and that universal generalizations of the effects of education cannot be made. Furthermore, the complexities are increased when attention is turned to 'citizenship', which is a broader and more multi-faceted notion than 'political participation'. Yet, can qualitative research do any better? Certainly, it is highly limited in its scope, focusing on a small number of participants, and therefore unable to generate widely generalizable findings. It is unsuited to the broad surveys of political attitudes common in large civic education studies. Yet, it does appear to be well equipped for the understanding of pedagogical processes. The subtleties of the 'implemented' and 'experienced' curricula in schools can only be appreciated

through sustained attention to particular contexts. In addition, there may be certain 'artistic' elements of teaching and the curriculum that cannot be measured quantitatively: much of the influence of education depends on the immeasurable quality of relationship between teacher and student.

In relation to the effectiveness of interventions, quantitative research can show *associations* between factors, but can only suggest the presence of causal relationships. Qualitative research, while limited in its generalizability, can provide an in-depth view of the dynamics of schools and pedagogy, shedding light on some of the key factors in effective provision and exploring tensions and obstacles. This can be seen in the research on implementation outlined above, and in the Hahn study (2003; 1998), which combines qualitative and quantitative aspects. The NFER's longitudinal study due for completion in 2009, which tracks a cohort over eight years, is a potentially important development in this respect. This is not to say that purely quantitative research is redundant: in a number of cases, it is indeed important to establish the wider impact of different variables.

This chapter has aimed to show the broad range of educational interventions possible for promoting citizenship and the rich diversity of provision around the world. It has identified some limitations in the ability of existing research to understand and gauge the processes and effects of these initiatives. The available evidence shows, nevertheless, that there are significant shortcomings in the design of initiatives: few countries show the embedding of democracy in the school evident in Denmark, for example (Hahn 1998), and there are further obstacles in the process of implementation. This book aims to address both of these challenges. In relation to research, a *curricular transposition* approach is used, so as to shed light on the problematic links between the ideals of citizenship outlined in the first chapter and the educational programmes in practice. In relation to educational practice itself, the notion of *seamless enactment* will be proposed as a response to the difficulties of curriculum design and implementation.

Before outlining these ideas, however, there will first be a closer look at key aspects of current ideas around citizenship education: first, the contrasting perspectives of prominent theorists Paulo Freire and Bernard Crick; and second, the question of pupil participation and school democratization.

Notes

[1] The discussion that follows will refer mainly to England, rather than the UK as a whole: the National Curriculum does apply to Wales, but with some differences

of provision; Scotland and Northern Ireland have separate initiatives for citizenship in the curriculum.

2 Citizenship was a cross-curricular theme in the National Curriculum from 1988, but without a prominent position.

3 For a comprehensive review of (mainly UK-based) research on citizenship education in schools, see Osler and Starkey (2005b).

4 An example here is the negative reaction to pupil participation in protests against the G8 in Scotland in 2005.

5 The 24 country study – Torney-Purta et al. (1999) – referred to above, was the initial phase to this project.

6 Since voting is obligatory in Australia, voter turnout cannot be used as a meaningful measure of political participation. The same is true for Brazil.

7 Liou (2004) sees this approach as positive in counteracting the excessively consensual nature of Taiwanese society.

Chapter 3

Paulo Freire v. Bernard Crick

Towards the end of 1962, a small town called Angicos in the impoverished backlands of north-eastern Brazil was preparing for the arrival of a law-graduate called Paulo Freire. In the next few months, 300 sugar cane cutters would learn to read and write, following the young Freire's radical new adult literacy method. At the time, well over a third of the adult population was illiterate, and consequently unable to vote according to Brazilian law. The success came to the attention of the then President João Goulart, who invited Freire in 1964 to organize a national literacy campaign. The military coup in the same year, and the exile of both Goulart and Freire, put a sudden end to these efforts.

Around the same time, 5000 miles away across the Atlantic, an academic called Bernard Crick was also turning his mind to the problems of the political participation of his compatriots. The book he published in that year, *In Defence of Politics*, presented a spirited endorsement of what is often seen as the 'dirty world' of politics, showing the negotiations and compromises of liberal democracy as a necessary and noble guard against the abuses of totalitarianism.

In their distinct ways, both these men were to become strong influences on the development of political education around the world in the decades that followed. Aside from the importance of their personal involvement, their bodies of work are also emblematic of two radically contrasting approaches to political empowerment. It is important, therefore, to assess these divergencies as a way of highlighting some of the key tensions around citizenship education today.

Both Freire and Crick argue strongly for political education, and agree on the fundamental principle that all people should be free and able to participate fully in the political sphere (Lister 1994). Yet they have distinct views on the objectives of political education, its potential influence on society and the ways it should be delivered. The juxtaposition of the ideas of the two thinkers is particularly important since Freire has a very

different perspective from that underlying provision in national education systems like those of the UK and USA. I will argue below that Crick's vision is limited in certain dimensions, and that Freire's ideas, some of which are profoundly challenging for conventional schooling, should be acknowledged and engaged with.

Paulo Freire was born in Recife in the north-eastern state of Pernambuco in 1921. Though he grew up in a middle class family, he experienced hardship at first hand during the Great Depression, and in his later work for the state government came into close contact with the extreme poverty and deprivation of what is the poorest region of Brazil. Freire is best known for his work in the field of adult literacy, where he defended the importance of 'reading the world' as well as 'the word', that is to say, developing a wider understanding of society at the same time as learning technical literacy skills. His seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972), proposed a theory of *conscientization*, a process through which marginalized groups could move from a naïve to a critical consciousness, thereby creating the conditions for the transformation of society in accordance with social justice. Freire's work is broadly Marxist in orientation, but also shows influences of aspects of postmodernism and Christianity (particularly liberation theology). After his exile, he spent periods in Chile, USA and Switzerland, developing a worldwide following among radical educators. On his return to Brazil, as Secretary of Education in the state of São Paulo from 1989–1991, he had the chance to put some of his ideas into practice at a macro-level, focusing on the democratization of management systems (Lima 1999). Freire has inspired a number of contemporary educationists and educational movements, from US critical pedagogy to Actionaid's Reflect programme, his influence over time extending to school as well as adult education. Yet his influence on the mainstream school curriculum, and citizenship education in particular, remains marginal.

Crick, on the other hand, is a key influence the development of contemporary citizenship education, particularly in England. In his work, he asserts the importance of politics for society as a necessary and rich process in which all should have at least some involvement. Born in 1929, his academic career took him from short teaching posts at Harvard and McGill to a spell at the London School of Economics from 1956–1967, and professorships at Sheffield and Birkbeck before his retirement in 1984. While having egalitarian leanings, he was a strong opponent of the unthinking adherence to ideology and use of force in the communist governments of China and the USSR. Principally a political theorist, he has long had an involvement in educational debates, and was part of the movement campaigning

for political education in the UK in the 1970s. In 1997, he was invited by his former pupil David Blunkett, then Education Secretary, to chair the pivotal report of the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools (QCA 1998) (subsequently referred to as the Crick Report).

The work of both Freire and Crick has, unsurprisingly, developed over time, and it is therefore misleading to present a single version of their ideas. In relation to Freire, Cavalier (2002: 261) states:

> The journey of Freire's life, as evidenced in his later work, seems to have taken him from seeing education as key to the revolutionary struggle to right the wrongs of class conflict as apprehended through Marxist analysis to a somewhat more explicitly faith-based passion that societies will be more just and humane through the assistance of an ethically responsible education for critical consciousness.

Crick's work on political education has also changed, becoming more conservative since the 1970s, and moving towards a position of combining traditionalist and progressive ideals of good citizenship (Crick 2002a: 496). This chapter does not equate Crick's ideas with those found in the Crick Report: significant differences can be observed from the notion of *political literacy* established in earlier works, some of which can be attributed to the evolution of his work, and others from the incorporation of the ideas of other individuals and groups involved in the report[1]. The elements of 'social and moral responsibility' and 'community involvement' in some ways depart significantly from Crick's early ideas, and as Davies et al. (2005) argue, the third element, 'political literacy', has to a large extent been sidelined.

First, the chapter will assess the views of the two writers on the nature of politics and the political. Next, there will be an analysis of the justifications given for political education, and the proposals for political education in the curriculum. Finally, there will be a discussion of key questions arising from the juxtaposition and their implications for current citizenship education provision.

Contrasting Views of Politics and the Political

Conventional labels – such as 'socialist' and 'liberal' – cannot fully characterize the understandings of political education of these two thinkers.

Crick, like Freire, is committed to substantial reform in favour of social justice and equality, and opposes the unrestrained free market. Freire, in contrast to many Marxists, opposes the transmission of pre-established understandings of society and history. Closer analysis is necessary to show the significant differences in the ways in which the two figures understand political change and the means to change.

An initial contrast can be found in their usage of the terms 'politics' and 'political'. Freire uses them in the broadest sense, meaning all relations of power and forms of organization in society, whether or not they occur within the domain of official governmental affairs. Crick however, uses the word 'politics' in very specific way, particularly in *In Defence of Politics.* The term as used here does not include the micro-level of small groups, nor does it include general relations of, and struggles for, power (there being a strong implicit distinction between public and private realms). Yet, even within the sphere of government, Crick attaches a more specific meaning. Not all forms of rule and influence are seen to involve 'politics', only those that allow democratic debate and compromise, rather than totalitarian imposition (Spicer 2007). He states:

> Politics, then, can be simply defined as the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community. And, to complete the formal definition, a political system is that type of government where politics proves successful in ensuring reasonable stability and order. (Crick 2000a: 21–2)

The understanding of the political in his 1970s work is much broader, including conflicts of interests and ideals, differential distribution of power and access to resources in society (Crick & Lister 1978: 38). Further change is seen in his more recent work, where greater emphasis is given to participation in civil society organizations. Yet, in general terms, his conception is narrower than that of Freire, and relates predominantly to the public sphere.

The contrast between Crick and Freire here is not just one of convention or classification: there exists a substantial difference between the two as regards the understanding of political activity and the forms of political activity valued. In this, Crick tends towards a pluralist notion: he sees society as being composed of different groups whose interests are likely to be in conflict. Politics is, therefore, the successful reconciliation of these interests – an approach of toleration and accommodation rather than a deeper

recognition of difference. The emphasis in Crick is on formal equality and freedom of speech for all social groups:

> The method of rule of the tyrant and the oligarchs is quite simply to clobber, coerce, or overawe all or most of these other groups in the interest of their own. The political method of rule is to listen to these other groups so as to conciliate them as far as possible, and to give them a legal position, a sense of security, some clear and reasonably safe means of articulation, by which these other groups can and will speak freely. (Crick 2000a: 18)

However, this falls a long way short of addressing the discrimination and marginalization faced by certain groups in society. The Crick Report has, in this way, been widely criticized for its lack of attention to issues of race and multiculturalism (e.g. Gillborn 2006; Osler 2000; Olssen 2004; Shukra et al. 2004).

Freire, on the other hand, does not see the existence of conflicting interests as being an inherent feature of societies. Contemporary society is seen to be characterized by *oppression*, whereby the oppressed are prevented from being *subjects* of history, and become mere *objects*, determined by other people's intentions and without real agency (Freire 1972). (In his early work, this oppression was seen in terms of social class, while later – e.g. Freire 1994 – he acknowledged other factors such as race and gender). Conflicts of interest, therefore, are the result of these unnatural divisions in society, symptomatic of injustice, exploitation and lack of critical consciousness, and will lessen as society moves away from relations of oppression. Freire's main thesis – that human beings must move towards increasing *humanization* – allows for the possibility of people living with a common interest and welfare and not in constant conflict of interest.

There is, therefore, some similarity in Freire's position to Rousseau's (1968 [1763]) *general will*. Freire has faith that society can be organized in the best interests of all and that individual citizens can and will act for the common good. Crick, on the other hand, like many liberals, is distrustful of the idea of a general will on account of the possible infringements, gross or subtle, on individual liberties. Both Crick and Freire tend towards civic republican approaches to citizenship, in that they both value universal political participation, but differ in this important respect.

This difference relates to understandings of the individual in the work of the two thinkers. Both are opposed to the alienated individualism of neo-liberalism and the consumer society, and see political participation

in terms of cooperation with others. Yet Freire goes much further in this respect. In his view, the process of humanization and the transformation of society are only possible through overcoming the barriers between people and creating unity based on common humanity. Education and political participation are only possible in the context of the collective. Crick, however, while opposing the encouragement of individualist political participation (Crick 2000b: 30), has a much stronger concern with the liberty of the individual in relation to society.

Another major difference concerns their tendencies towards political realism and idealism. Crick (2000a: 25) states:

> A political education should be realistic and should chasten the idealist. Ideals are too important to be embalmed; they must be wrestled with and confronted (confronted with other people's differing ideals), but fairly and openly.

Here, Crick draws on Aristotle, and his rejection of Plato's condensing of the polis to a unity (Crick 2000a: 17). Freire, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of utopian ideals, and strongly resists pragmatist approaches, seeing them at best as cowardly and unambitious, and at worst a deliberate attempt to perpetuate injustices for the benefit of the few. He acknowledges the utopian nature of his view, and moreover asserts that utopian views are essential to the educator and to the human being in general. At the same time, it would be wrong to overstate the difference between the two on this question and create idealist/realist archetypes of them – Crick, for example, also recognizes that a cold pragmatism is undesirable.

Crick and Freire, therefore, differ both in their use of the term 'politics' and in their understanding of the political nature of society and its ideal political development. Crick tends towards a realist position in which society must attempt to find compromises between different interest groups, while Freire tends towards an idealist position in which society potentially can move beyond divisions and injustices. In many ways, their ideas on political education stem directly from these differences.

Justifications for and Aims of Political Education

The continuing distrust in many countries of openly political content in the curriculum was discussed in the previous chapter. Both Freire and

Crick, however, assert that all forms of education, including formal school-ing, should have the political as a central component. This section will out-line the arguments put forward in support of its presence.

Freire's justification stems not only from the desirability of political edu-cation, but from its unavoidability. His work rarely refers to 'citizenship', 'civic' or 'political' education, for the simple reason that he sees these as being integral rather than specific aspects of education. One of his well known maxims is that education can never be neutral. Education will always have political implications, even if it is not addressing explicitly pol-itical issues:

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

This claim has an ontological and epistemological basis. According to Freire's view, there is a dialectic of subjectivity and objectivity in the inter-action of human beings and the world, with consciousness modifying and being modified by external reality. Human beings, however, are not uni-versally aware of their potential for transforming the outside world, being 'immersed' in their reality. This is particularly true of 'oppressed' peoples, who believe that their poverty and oppression is inescapable and somehow fated – 'a closed world from which there is no exit' (Freire 1972: 31).

Education, according to Freire, is fundamentally tied to this question, serving either to reinforce learners' sense of lack of potential for acting – being objects – or to 'liberate' them by increasing their understanding of the possibilities of transformation – becoming subjects (Freire 1985; 1996). There is no escape, therefore, for educators: they must choose which of these dynamics to foster. Cavalier (2002: 257) expresses this point well:

> There is no choice but to act. What Freire makes clear is that the *apparent* choice not to act is, in the ethical perspective he takes, actually a deci-sion to act in a way that continues the status quo and thus dehumanizes

all people, that perpetuates injustice, and that assures the present unjust situation will continue into perpetuity.

These processes are not only liberating or domesticating in relation to individual consciousness, but also to the material conditions of society, since the oppression of social groups, or alternatively liberation from oppression, depends on their critical consciousness. Education, therefore, becomes a fundamentally political act. If people are not encouraged to be critical, they will accept injustices and not work together to overthrow oppression and transform society.

Crick, in a different way, sees politics as unavoidable, since the alternative is living in tyranny, through coercion and force – in other words, to regress from civilization. Given that education cannot avoid being a preparation for life, equally it cannot avoid dealing with politics and preparing people for it:

> [N]early all recognize that our whole culture or style of life is less rich, that is less various and shapely, and is less strong, that is less adaptable to change in circumstances, if people of any age group believe that they should not or cannot influence authority . . . Any worthwhile education must include some explanation and, if necessary, justification of the naturalness of politics: that men both do and should want different things, indeed have differing values, that are only obtainable or realisable by means of or by leave of the public power. So pupils must both study and learn to control, to some degree at least, the means by which they reconcile or manage conflicts of interests and ideals, even in school. (Crick 1999: 339)

Political education is therefore justified in both individual and societal terms. An individual's life is richer if she is aware of and active in the political sphere; society, and democracy in particular, is richer if its members understand, value and are active in politics. In relation to the latter, Crick concurs with Aristotle that democracy will lead to better rule than tyranny or oligarchy, since the chances of finding perfectly enlightened rulers are very slim (Crick 2002b). Since politics for Crick is essentially the resolution of differing interests, education should equip people to resolve these differences in an amicable and satisfactory way. While Crick accepts that political participation cannot be obligatory, thereby distancing himself from the radical civic republicans, it is considered highly desirable for all. Despite their very different perspectives on the issue, therefore, both

Freire and Crick agree that political education is vital both for social justice in relation to the participation of all individuals in political processes, and in relation to the effective functioning of society.

As part of their justifications for political education, the two writers have defended it against various attacks. One of the main arguments against political education is that it opens the door to indoctrination, either in the sense of a systematic nation-wide project, or through the actions of individual teachers. Both Crick and Freire refute these arguments, and show a number of points of contact in their understandings of bias and indoctrination.

The position of Crick's 'Hansard Report' on political education was that, 'Some bias is not only probable but, if we are moral beings, unavoidable' (Crick & Porter 1978: 5). Indoctrination could, in this view, be avoided by teachers becoming aware of their own biases and making pupils aware of theirs, and by developing understanding of which groups in society hold different views and why they do so. As Crick (1999: 344) states:

> Neutrality is not to be encouraged: to be biased is human and to attempt to unbias people is to emasculate silence. Bias as such is not to be condemned out of hand, only that gross bias which leads to false perceptions of the nature of other interests, groups and ideas.

Freire, as discussed above, also considers neutral education to be impossible (and he goes further than Crick by stating that attempts to be neutral are a veiled means of perpetuating injustice). Teachers, in his view, should state their opinions, but not impose them in an authoritarian manner: 'Respecting them [the learners] means, on the one hand, testifying to them of my choice, and defending it; and on the other, it means showing them other options . . .' (Freire 1994: 65). Roberts (1999: 20) draws a distinction in Freire's thought between, '(a) transmitting a political or moral view and (b) doing this in a dogmatic way'. Both Crick and Freire, therefore, recognize that political education is a sensitive matter, and that there exists a risk of manipulation of students. Nevertheless, they see that this risk is one that must be taken.

A final point concerns the possibilities and limitations of political education. Here, both writers acknowledge that education cannot do everything. Freire responded to criticism of his early work by recognizing that education was only part of the process of social transformation:

> A more critical understanding of the situation of oppression does not yet liberate the oppressed. But the revelation is a step in the right direction.

Now the person who has this new understanding can engage in a political struggle for the transformation of the concrete conditions in which the oppression prevails. (Freire 1994: 23)

The different understandings of political activity and reasons underlying support for political education inevitably lead to differences in the form that political education will take. The next section will assess the different ways in which the two writers envisage it being materialized in the curriculum.

Political Education in the Curriculum

The 1978 report on political education of the Hansard Society and the Politics Association, which had the aim of providing a blueprint for the introduction of the subject in the English school system, represents one of the most extensive accounts of Crick's ideas on the curriculum. The proposals here revolve around the concept of *political literacy*[2] (later to be one of the axes of the citizenship education provision proposed by the Crick Report). The authors state, 'By political literacy we mean the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are necessary to make a man or woman both politically literate and able to apply this literacy' (Crick & Porter 1978: 31). The document continues:

A politically literate person will then know what the main political disputes are about; what beliefs the main contestants have of them; how they are likely to affect him, and he will have a predisposition to try to do something about it in a manner at once effective and respectful of the sincerity of others. (p. 33)

Importantly, therefore, the conception includes both understanding and a disposition to action. It takes as its base the necessarily conflictual nature of politics, seen above as central to Crick's vision. Crick sees it as necessary to understand and engage in the controversies and debates, rather than smoothing them out, pretending they do not exist. Three separate elements of political education are established in this programme: understanding the present system, developing participation skills and considering alternative directions and systems. The last of these is considered the most contentious, and the most liable to indoctrination (Crick & Porter 1978: 33). In relation to methodology, Crick adopts a conceptual approach, valuing the teaching of basic political concepts (this is true both of the

1970s political literacy and the Crick Report). Yet knowledge and understanding are not sufficient:

> Participatory skills in real situations are the essence of any genuine education for democracy . . . To believe in democracy and simply to teach outlying constitutional law is to do harm, not good: at best to bore children, at worst to render them perceptively cynical that they are being kept from understanding the real issues of the society they live in and the wider world. (Crick 2002a: 500–501)

Crick does not see it as desirable to try to transmit 'substantive doctrines' (and, in any event, sees these attempts as probably doomed to failure), instead proposing the encouragement of procedural values, namely: freedom, toleration, fairness, respect for truth and respect for reasoning (Crick & Lister 1978: 41). As a whole, political education should focus on recognizing, understanding and debating current problems, rather than mastering a body of knowledge.

Crick's approach to political education is constructed in opposition to two alternatives. First, apolitical approaches that see citizenship education as simply community and national involvement, usually in a volunteer capacity, with no possibility of critiquing and changing the current political order. The Crick Report has itself been criticized for this, being seen to engineer a false consensus through a depoliticized conception of citizenship (Pykett 2007), and promote notions of social capital without the possibility of real political change (Gamarnikow & Green 1999). However, Crick's own position, particularly in his early work, is of opposition to this type of approach. Second, Crick opposes excessive emphasis on content, symbolized by the school subject 'British Constitution', which emphasized knowledge of political conventions and details of procedure. Instead, Crick advocates an approach based on real political problems, and developing a critical perspective: 'we should be *good* citizens; but we should also be *active* citizens in the sense of learning how to combine together to change things that need changing, or to resist bad changes' (Crick 2002a: 492. Original emphasis).

Freire's approach is similar to that of Crick in that it opposes excessive emphasis on content, yet in other ways is distinct. Freire's proposals for political education are nothing other than his proposals for education, given that he sees education as being intrinsically political. He does not separate the teaching of politics from other parts of the curriculum: in fact, he specifically opposes this, on account of its implication of falsely depoliticizing the rest of the curriculum. The question to be posed, therefore, is not,

'What is political education?' but, 'What is liberating (rather than domesticating) education?'

The concept used most commonly by Freire in relation to this liberation is *conscientization*. This is the processes of gaining critical awareness as a means of transforming society:

> To surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity. (Freire 1972: 29)

Conscientization in relation to the individual learner is the process of developing the sense of being a *subject*, of appreciating one's ability to intervene in external reality. The *conscientized* person is 'subject of the processes of change, actor in the management and development of the educational process, critical and reflexive, capable of understanding his or her reality in order to transform it . . .' (Gajardo 1991: 40). In his early work (1976), the process of conscientization was described as having three stages, with the learner moving from magical, to naïve, and finally to critical consciousness. However, this categorization does not appear in his later work, and according to Roberts (1996: 187) he moved towards a view of conscientization:

> . . . not as a progression through a finite series of steps with a fixed set of attitudes and behaviours to be achieved, but rather as an ever-evolving process. Constant change in the world around us requires a continuous effort to reinterpret reality.

Freire is emphatic that this learning process is one of *praxis*, a dialectic of reflection and action. The gaining of critical consciousness will not of itself transform the world: 'this discovery cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but involve serious reflection' (Freire 1972: 47). In addition, conscientization cannot be a purely individual development, and must take place in the context of the collective, in mutually supporting horizontal relationships. Examples of this type of context are the 'culture circles' developed by Freire in Brazil for adult education (Souto-Manning 2006).

There are two key pedagogical features in the process of conscientization: *dialogue* and *problematization*. The former, in Freire's conception, is much more than verbal interaction. Traditional education is seen to be ineffective as it involves a mono-directional transmission of knowledge

from teacher to student: the so-called *banking* education. Conscientization can only be achieved through a dialogical encounter, where the student is fully involved in the educational process. This is the fundamental difference between Freire's concept of education and that associated with many of the state-socialist movements of the twentieth century. In the latter, there was an intention to 'conscientize' the masses, making them aware of their exploitation at the hands of the bourgeoisie, yet it was carried out as a transmission of pre-established content with little engagement with the learners' conception of reality. As such, in Freire's view, it could not fully educate (even if the information transmitted was itself 'correct').

Problematization involves the presentation of learners' reality so as to reveal its problems or contradictions. This allows learners to distance themselves from their immediate situation and gain a critical perspective on it. In the culture circles, this was done by presenting images (such as a drawing of workers cutting sugar cane in the fields) in order to spark discussion of injustices in society (Souto-Manning 2006). Freire emphasizes that education must begin from learners' own experience of the world, since 'Only by starting from this situation . . . can they begin to move' (Freire 1972: 66).

Freire's vision of educational change, involving a quasi-religious awakening leading to a radical transformation of society, is clearly distinct from that of Crick. There are, however, a number of common elements. Both involve a rejection of content-based approaches and assert the importance of action. Both see the key to political learning as grappling with problems that have as their base the real lives of the learners. They both oppose the telling of official lies, and aim to allow people access to the truth, even if uncomplimentary to the state.

A major difference is in the location of political learning. For Freire, by necessity, this occurs across the whole educational experience, including the general character of the institution and the extent to which the education is dialogical or authoritarian. Crick, however, sees political education occupying its own space, even if dealt with across a number of subjects. He is sceptical of arguments that 'reforms of school organization, still less "ethos", are the only way to get a better political education' (Crick 1999: 350). While he recognizes that the structures of the school and relations between staff have some significance in terms of the political development of students, he does so to a far lesser extent that Freire.

As a whole, the proposals of the two theorists are, to a large extent, responses to their visions of society and political change: for Crick, the skills, knowledge and values necessary to understand political problems

and resolve conflicts through negotiation; for Freire, the combination of awakening of consciousness and political action needed to transform oppressive relations.

Criticality

The tension between criticality and conformity in conceptions of citizenship was discussed in chapter 1. There is real conflict between the aims of, on the one hand, ensuring a cohesive and governable populace, and, on the other, developing an electorate capable of scrutinizing governments and policies and thereby of choosing appropriate ones. However, the problem becomes more complex still when we look more closely at the notion of 'critical'. What elements of skills and disposition are there in criticality, and does being critical depend on the possession of particular knowledge? Can we be critical generally, or only in relation to particular areas of enquiry? Is criticality neutral or does it depend on particular political commitments? Crick and Freire have divergent positions on these questions, ones corresponding closely to the differences between two major educational movements – 'critical thinking' and 'critical pedagogy'.

Interest in critical thinking arose in the middle of the twentieth century, particularly through the work of academics in the USA concerned about the poor thinking skills of their compatriots. The movement has its greatest inspiration in the figure of Socrates, in his faith in rationality in the quest for truth, his scepticism of the pronouncements of authority and courage to confront the sources of that authority. Critical thinking emphasizes the development of rationality and skills of evaluation of arguments, identification of assumptions and formulation of lines of reasoning. A considerable literature on this topic has emerged in recent years (e.g. McPeck 1990; Paul 1990; Ennis 1996; Bowell & Kemp 2005), including both do-it-yourself guides and theoretical discussions.

Critical pedagogy, on the other hand, drawing directly on Freire and on the critiques of capitalist society of the Frankfurt School, is an explicitly political movement of educators (e.g. Giroux & McLaren 1986; hooks 1996; Shor 1992). It starts from the premise that there are certain fundamental injustices in society and that education is a key factor in their perpetration and continuance. These injustices do not stem from a lack of rationality in individuals, but from structures and practices of oppression by some segments of society over others. Education, therefore, must be transformed, both to empower individuals and groups, and as a means of changing

the core social, economic and political structures of society that support oppression. Understandings of hegemony here create a clear difference from critical thinking. Since conventional education transmits a particular understanding of society and supports particular structures and relations, it is necessary to provide a counterbalance. This requires the presentation of particular forms of knowledge to the students that can allow them to critique dominant positions. This approach was seen in 'Mills' school (Westheimer and Kahne 2000) discussed in the previous chapter, in which clear political positions were promoted, though at times raising opposition from parents and administrators.

While critical thinking sees its contribution to citizenship as the development of clear thought to expose false arguments and enable rational choices between candidates and policies, it is criticized by the critical pedagogy movement for its apolitical nature. In focusing on the development of rational thought, it appears to ignore power relations in society, and the unjust structures and institutions that prevent certain individuals and groups achieving their goals even when they do think critically and rationally[3]. Critical pedagogy, however, also has its critics. A number of problematic questions (stemming from Freire) are raised by maintaining notions of 'correct thinking' and 'false consciousness', while at the same time respecting the autonomy of the learner and the construction rather than transmission of knowledge (Glass 2001; Mejía 2004). The movement has also been criticized for its lack of a clear proposal and the highly inaccessible nature of its academic language.

The differences between these two movements show a fundamental divide in understandings of knowledge and society, and illuminate key questions relating to citizenship education. Most progressive citizenship educators will support the development of critical skills and dispositions, but tensions remain between the Freirean 'critical pedagogy' vision of explicit political commitment and the Crickean 'critical thinking' approach of detached and rational scrutiny of arguments.

Assessing Freire's Contribution

This juxtaposition of the ideas of Bernard Crick and Paulo Freire highlights some of the key issues relating to citizenship education today. There are a number of important similarities between the two writers. Both stress the importance of the political in education, and have strongly rebutted those who, for the sake of 'neutrality', seek to close the door to politics. However,

aware of the possibilities of manipulation, they both propose a form of education that does not impose a particular political line on students (in this, the position of Freire is more ambiguous). They also coincide in their central aim of political empowerment, extending the potential for political participation to all citizens, and ensuring an autonomous and effective, rather than submissive and tokenistic participation. Lastly, in terms of method, they both take as their starting point *problems* rather than *certainties*, allowing the student to develop understanding through real issues.

Their points of disagreement stem from divergent understandings of the nature of society and social justice, the balance between pluralism and unity, political idealism and realism, and the individual and collective. As observed in the above analysis, these views lead the two theorists to justify political education in different ways, and to put forward distinct proposals. These differing trajectories can be seen in the following table:

	Bernard Crick	Paulo Freire
Nature of politics	Reconciling different interest groups.	All human relations of power; ongoing struggle for humanization and against oppression.
Justifications for political education	Politics is a highly desirable form of social organization, therefore it needs to be learnt.	Education is unavoidably political: educators must choose between liberation and domestication.
Programme for political education	Political literacy.	Conscientization.

What contribution, therefore, can Freire make to the 'Crickean' framework of citizenship education dominant in countries with a liberal democratic tradition? Freire achieved iconic status within his own lifetime, and there is no sign of this adulation abating after his death. There are courses on his thought, numerous books about him, a journal in his name and a number of Paulo Freire Institutes. His best-known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, had already sold 750,000 copies when the thirtieth anniversary

edition was published (Freire 2000). He has been a key source of inspiration for educators from a diverse range of positions on the left, from Marxists to progressive Catholics, and has a devoted following both in the global South and among radical educators in the wealthy industrialized countries of the North. However, the wide dissemination of his ideas has been accompanied by a number of forceful critiques, some originating at the time of the publication of his first works. Interestingly, the majority of these critiques are not from the political right (who, as a general rule, ignore his opus entirely) but from the left itself.

One of the strongest and most prolonged sources of critique has been from feminist writers, who see in Freire insufficient attention to the specific struggles of women. Initially, these criticisms were directed at the use of language in Freire's early work, which, along with the majority of literature of the time, used 'he' and 'man' to include (and, thereby, effectively exclude) women. Freire did heed these objections, and in his later work was careful to use non-sexist language. In general, a significant shift can be seen in his later work to acknowledge other forms of oppression – gender, race, disability etc. – alongside class, in conjunction with an increasing influence of postmodernism, in contrast to the modernist emphasis of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. However, writers like Weiler (1996) argue that his work remains highly problematic from the perspective of gender:

> [E]mphasizing this point [the question of pronouns] and have it stand for feminist critique allows Freire to ignore more fundamental questions about his conceptualizations of liberation and the oppressed in terms of male experience, or the failure to address the specificity of questions in actual history and discourse. (pp. 368–9)

Weiler identifies a fundamental weakness of Freire in the extreme generality of his writings. Ironically, while he advocates attention to the specific and the local, he very rarely himself refers to specific situations, even in his later work where he attempts to move away from the dry abstract language of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Other critiques have focused on the philosophical underpinnings of his thought. Glass (2001) identifies three flaws in the core of his argument. First, there are insufficient grounds for his claim that humanization, however desirable, is an ontological *vocation*:

> Freire thus has to accept that his critique of domination emanates from a specific historical and cultural location and must be made on the basis

of contingent ethical and political argument rather than universal onto-logical appeals. (p. 20)

In the same way, democratic socialism, however justified on political and ethical grounds, cannot be seen as an ontological necessity for humanity. Lastly, as highlighted above in relation to critical pedagogy, Freire's epistemological position lacks clarity, oscillating between a 'radical indeterminateness of knowledge' and 'a natural science kind of certainty':

> When arguing for 'methodological rigour' and 'right thinking' that yields knowledge in a 'higher stage' than 'common sense', Freire did not acknowledge the depth of the problems thus posed for the constructivist, pragmatic approach to knowledge formation that he insisted upon. (p. 21)

There are, therefore, problematic elements of Freire's thought, and as will be seen in the framework proposed in later chapters, this book does not endorse a Freirean perspective unreservedly. Nevertheless, his work provides considerable insight into the nature of education and its possibilities for transforming individuals and society. Acknowledging this alternative perspective is essential for those working within a broadly Crickean tradition. In relation to citizenship education, it might be dangerous to think in terms of 'adding a little Freire' to the existing Crick: this may be impossible, since, in many ways, the implementation of Freirean pedagogy is an 'either/or'. Yet, understandings of the political in education in general terms, and citizenship education specifically are substantially richer if Freire's approach is acknowledged. Four questions are particularly salient in this respect.

1. Should Citizenship Education Be a Separate Subject?

One serious omission in the vision of Bernard Crick is the lack of importance attached to the school and pedagogical processes. This is perhaps unsurprising, Crick being first and foremost a political theorist and not an educationist. He does acknowledge that authoritarian relations between the head and the rest of staff are unlikely to give a good example of democracy for students, and allows the possibility of the learning of democracy from participation in school bodies. Yet in general, these aspects have minor importance. Freire's theory of pedagogical relations, on the other hand, shows a wider understanding of the process of education and its

political nature. While many researchers have shown the negative political significance of pedagogical relationships (e.g. Bowles & Gintis 1976), the importance of Freire's thought is that he proposes ways in which these can be positively linked to the aims of political education.

Curricula in many countries have included political, citizenship or civics education as a separate discipline. In Freire's conception, however, all education is politically oriented and has political consequences. Even if 'citizenship' as a separate discipline remains, a Freirean perspective would still insist that wider elements, such as teacher-student relations, school organization and knowledge transmission are understood to be integral parts of the forming of citizens. From this perspective, the aim is a 'citizenship curriculum' rather than citizenship education within the curriculum.

2. Should Citizenship Education Be Concerned First and Foremost with Equipping Young People to Participate in the Existing System?

An important difference between the ideas of Freire and Crick is that the former places a much stronger emphasis on social transformation. This is not to say that Crick's approach aims to support the status quo: he does make important distinctions between law and justice, and encourages citizens to be active for political reform. He opposes the implementation of apolitical forms of citizenship education, and in his earlier work proposes 'considering possible changes of direction of government or alternative systems' (Crick & Porter 1978: 33) as a possible (if contentious) object of political education. Yet this latter emphasis is largely absent from the Crick Report, where there is little insistence on questioning the current social order. Freire, on the other hand, advocates a radical rethinking of social organization, emphasizing the importance of *hope*, and rejecting fatalistic views of the inherent corruptness of humans, who must be controlled by tight social and political structures.

There is no doubt that citizenship education, as all education, should prepare young people for life in society. Yet, while necessary, this objective is certainly not sufficient. It must also equip those people to change society, not in a random way or simply for the sake of change, but in accordance with principles of justice. Citizenship education must, therefore, allow people to imagine alternatives, to recreate the system and not simply to conform to it. Possibilities for change must include alternatives to capitalism, alternatives to the monarchy (see Garratt & Piper 2003) and other constitutional systems, and other deeply ingrained features of society. Not all aspects of current society are in need of change, but equally, no aspect should be immune from it.

3. What are the Dangers of Indoctrination Presented by Political Education?

There is wide consensus that educators should be wary of imposing their views on young people and should allow different perspectives a fair hearing. This is particularly emphasized in subjects like citizenship education, which deal with controversial topics, and which carry the risks of indoctrination. However, Freire here turns the question on its head: indoctrination, in his view, is *avoiding* political questions, since this serves to support and perpetuate the current (unjust) system. Teachers, therefore, have an ethical obligation to be 'biased', that is, to direct their teaching towards the construction of a just and humane society. Of course, the question of the exact nature of a just and humane society is itself contested, so teachers must still be careful not to impose their specific conceptions on students. Yet the important point remains that far from avoiding political questions for fear of bias, schools and teachers are ethically bound to deal with them and use them for social transformation.

4. How can Political Agency Best Be Galvanized?

Education for democratic citizenship necessarily involves the development of the agency of individuals, that is to say, their ability to be actors in the political sphere, to be active rather than passive. Yet, the question of how this can be achieved is far from straightforward. Crick rejects the notion that knowledge (even political knowledge) is sufficient, and instead asserts that it is necessary also to develop skills and values in students. This is certainly a more complete view, but still rests very much on a *transmission* model of education. Freire critiques this form, the so-called 'banking' education, which aims to deposit certain predefined elements in students' minds, and instead asserts the importance of dialogue. This insistence is not just a question of pedagogical effectiveness: it is key to political empowerment. In Freire's view, the formation of the political actor is brought about not only by the development of knowledge, skills and values in the field of politics itself. The learner must first understand herself as a subject in a fundamental ontological sense, one who is able to have influence on external reality. This deeper development of agency, consequently, makes relevant all the pedagogical relations in school, the extent to which learners are encouraged to develop their own visions, the extent to which knowledge and values are imposed, and so forth. There is little point in equipping people with political knowledge, skills and attitudes through pedagogical processes that negate the necessary sense of

agency. This aspect is central to the notion of 'seamless enactment' proposed later in the book.

These four questions by no means comprise an exhaustive list, and the juxtaposition raises other important issues, such as the balance between the individual and collective, and the tensions between formal civil and political equality and social inequalities. In many ways, these two thinkers are strongly influenced by their own life contexts, in Freire's case the suffering of the peasants and urban poor in North-East Brazil, and for Crick the twentieth century totalitarian states and their negation of individual liberties. It is perhaps wrong, therefore, to take their thought out of context and present it in a universal, paradigmatic way. Nevertheless, the confrontation of the ideas of the two writers highlights some of the key difficulties in conceptualizing a satisfactory education for citizenship, difficulties that often remain submerged, given that those engaged in the debates hold many basic assumptions in common. Freire provides important insights relating to the wider pedagogical implications of citizenship education, and the opening of possibilities for radical change. These insights need to be acknowledged if citizenship is to make the transition from fringe curiosity to central part of the curriculum, and from reinforcer of the current order to agent of change for social justice.

Notes

[1] Pykett (2007), however, considers the influence of Crick and David Kerr to have been dominant.
[2] According to Crick (2002: 490), the term 'political literacy' was first used by Graham Moodie at York University, but was turned by himself and Ian Lister to a specifically educational use.
[3] These critiques are not valid for all theorists of the critical thinking movement. More political conceptions can be seen in Brookfield 1987, Weil 1998 and Winch 2004.

Student Participation: Towards a Prefigurative Conception

Discussion of education for democratic citizenship cannot be complete without addressing the issue of democracy *within* schools – that is, education 'through' democracy rather than education 'about' or 'for' democracy. Various attempts have been made through the last and current centuries to make what is a consummately undemocratic institution more responsive to the views of those within it. Decision-making bodies such as student councils (or *school* councils as they are known in the UK) are on the rise, and pupil consultation in general has been recognized as a key aspect of school improvement.

These efforts, which in certain forms have been endorsed by governments around the world, have had various motivations. Whitty and Wisby (2007: 5), in their analysis of school councils, identify four 'drivers' for pupil voice:

- Children's rights:
  - A driver 'which recognises that children have rights, including the right to have their opinions taken into account in decisions that concern them'
- Active citizenship:
  - 'which highlights the way in which pupil voice can contribute to preparation for citizenship by improving pupils' knowledge and their 'transferable' and 'social' skills and, in doing so, enhance the quality of democracy'
- School improvement:
  - 'which recognises that consultation with pupils can lead to better school performance, whether in terms of behaviour, engagement or attainment'
- Personalization:
  - 'which utilises pupil voice to ensure that schools are meeting the specific needs of their pupils as consumers of education'

It is essential to understand these divergent justifications, so as to assess the validity of arguments for democratization and to understand the significance and sustainability of current initiatives. The particular rationales underlying pupil participation are significant because they affect the nature of the experiences provided for students, the extent to which the experiences are integrated into the curriculum as a whole, and the ways they are linked to political processes in the wider society. They also influence the areas of decision-making in which children can and cannot have a say – school rules, pedagogy, curriculum, management and so forth.

The following analysis will be based around three main groups of motivations (related to, but distinct from, the above categorization): first, those that see participation as being a fundamental right, and therefore needing no other justification; second, those that see participation as having instrumental benefits , such as improvements in student learning or school ethos (incorporating the 'school improvement' and 'personalization' drivers above); and lastly, those that see participation as an intrinsically valuable activity (including some aspects of the 'active citizenship' driver, but with some important differences).

Having assessed the justifications and arguments for pupil participation, this chapter will explore some examples of its adoption in practice.

Arguments

1. Participation as a Right

One argument for children having a greater say in school affairs is that it is their right. Juts as adults have political rights – and most importantly, universal suffrage – so children can be seen to have a right to participate in decision-making that affects them. The best-known expression of this view is in the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which is ground-breaking in its emphasis on participation. While there is a broad consensus over *welfare* rights for children, *agency* rights – those allowing children choices and decisions about their lives – are highly disputed. Although all countries aside from Somalia and the USA have ratified the UNCRC, few have really put into practice the elements of *participation* (beyond *protection* and *provision*).

The UNCRC does not propose an absolute right to participation. In Article 12 it states that children have the right to express their views freely in all matters affecting them, and that those views will be given weight. However, this occurs only 'in accordance with the age and maturity of the

child', and the right as a whole only applies to 'the child who is capable of forming his or her own views'. Nevertheless, despite the restrictions, it represents a significant affirmation.

What are the implications of a child's right to participate for schools? Certainly, areas of management and curriculum become ones in which children's views should be taken into account. In relation to these, Lundy (2007) argues that 'voice' is not enough and that the elements of *space* ('the opportunity to express a view'), *audience* ('the view must be listened to') and *influence* ('the view must be acted upon, as appropriate') must also be present. Implications of this form of approach have also been drawn out in studies such as McEvoy and Lundy (2007), exploring children's participation via e-consultation. Osler and Starkey (2005a), on the other hand, derive from the UNCRC a broader set of pedagogical principles for democratic schooling: dignity and security; participation; identity and inclusivity; freedom; access to information; and privacy. To promote these practices, UNICEF has launched a Rights Respecting Schools award, given to schools that have succeeded in 'not only teach[ing] about children's and human rights but also model[ling] rights and respect in all its relationships' (UNICEF 2008).

Pupil participation based on a *rights* approach is different from the justifications to be outlined below, since it requires neither that the experience of participation be valuable in itself nor be beneficial for any other reasons. *Consequences* are irrelevant to a rights approach, strictly speaking (although, clearly, proponents of rights-based approaches are also concerned about the effects).

Some theorists, while concerned for child well-being and development in general, argue against agency rights for children. Harry Brighouse (2002), for example, has general concerns about the freedom of conscience and religion enshrined in the UNCRC, on the grounds that they can open the door to parental indoctrination. Specifically in relation to schools, he states:

> I am emphatically not suggesting that schools should be internally democratic; children are children, and it is appropriate for adults to exert a certain amount of paternalistic power over them. (Brighouse 2006: 73)

Brighouse is here expressing the widely held view that children's lack of maturity (whether this relates to experience, knowledge, rationality, responsibility etc.) makes difficult the exercising of decision-making in the absence of adults. The author does, however, acknowledge the influence of

school ethos on democratic development and the importance of children being treated with 'dignity and respect'.

The question of children's rights is, therefore, highly complex, and is contested even by those in favour of pupil participation. Its complexity and controversiality mean that in practice this base is often skirted over in favour of the safer instrumental justifications.

2. Participation as Instrumentally Beneficial

While most countries have ratified the UNCRC, recent government endorsements of pupil participation stem less from a concern for rights as from a perception of certain benefits arising. These benefits are both for individuals (such as improvements in learning and self-esteem) and for schools and society (enhancing school ethos, improving efficiency etc.). Democratic participation is then valued not in itself, nor even for its contribution to democracy in the wider society, but for its usefulness for achieving other goals.

This approach characterizes the second EPPI-Centre review of citizenship education referred to above (Deakin Crick et al. 2005: 3), which found that 'pedagogy appropriate for citizenship education' can, among other things, 'enhance student learning and achievement', 'improve students' communication skills', "enhance students' higher order cognitive and intellectual development' and 'can impact on affective outcomes as well as cognitive growth in areas, such as the development of self-concept, increased self-confidence, and more positive behaviour'. It is important to note that these outcomes are seen to stem primarily from participatory pedagogy in the classroom, rather than participation in decision-making more broadly conceived.

This last point referred to here, the impact on 'positive behaviour' leads us on to the next form of instrumental justification, which focuses not on the benefits to the student, but to the school. While not focusing only on behaviour, the role of pupil participation in the literature on *school improvement* and *school effectiveness* is an example here (Macbeath & Moos 2004). Involving pupils in school affairs has been lauded as a means to enhancing the ethos of a school, thereby, among other benefits, making it more attractive to prospective parents. The importance of the motivations behind pupil participation is clear here, since, with a school improvement rationale, only those forms of participation that lead to positive changes in the eyes of the school management will be accepted, and not those that, while justified to the students, may be threatening or negative to the school. Davies et al. (2006) do, however, point to ways in which the improvements in behaviour

stemming from pupil participation can benefit the pupils themselves, reducing bullying and creating an ethos of care.

Pupil 'consultation' is also seen as a way of improving research on schools and thereby of improving the quality of schooling. Ruddock and Flutter (2000: 75) state that:

> In a climate that respects the market and the consumer it is strange that pupils in school have not been seen as consumers worth consulting . . . In our efforts at 'school improvement' we need to tune in to what pupils can tell us about their experiences and what they think will make a difference to their commitment to learning and, in turn, to their progress and achievement.

This approach[1] values pupil voice on account of its 'expert' perspective, and in its consequent contribution to understanding how schools can be improved – not because children have an entitlement to participate in decision-making. The end here is quality schooling and not democracy – the implication being that the participation can be taken away if it is no longer 'useful'. The first sentence here also points to the 'personalization' driver referred to in Whitty and Wisby (2007) – one which, being based on market-based individual influence, is potentially in conflict with notions of *collective* decision-making.

Instrumental approaches show subordination of the value of democracy to that of other goods, such as social order, economic growth or academic excellence. Yet, there are times when these arguments are used simply in a pragmatic way – with pupil participation justified in terms of the outcomes favoured generally by government (or another body), so as to gain a greater chance of acceptance. In this way, some theorists with an apparent intrinsic valuing of democracy (e.g. Flutter & Ruddock 2004; Harber & Trafford 1999) provide instrumental justifications as 'garnish' on their argument, as an enticement to authorities. Davies et al. (2006: 2), in this way, point to the benefits relating to democratic participation of 'agency and efficacy', but also academic benefits of 'skills of communication and competence as a learner', and personal benefits of 'self-esteem and confidence'. There may, however, be dangers to this strategy, on account of the significance of motivations for participation in its actual materialization and effects in schools.

3. Participation as Intrinsically Valuable

The final justification for pupil participation is that there is something in the participation itself that is good or valuable, regardless of any external

benefits (those holding this position may, or may not, consider it to be a *right*). Democratic participation is, from this perspective, a necessary part of both individual flourishing and the well-being of society as a whole (i.e. corresponding to Kymlicka's (2002) notion of *Aristotelian* as opposed to *instrumental* republicanism).

All democracy requires some participation, yet levels of political involvement in contemporary democratic societies are most often limited to voting in national and local elections (with a limited selection of viable candidates). According to Barber (1984) contemporary representative democracies have a combination of 'authoritarian', 'juridical' and 'pluralist' approaches, none of which provide a genuine opportunity for citizens (with the exception of politicians) to be politically active. Only *participatory* democracy is seen to provide an adequate model. While models of participatory democracy in the modern era have been developed since the time of Rousseau, it is only since the 1960s that the concept has gained real prominence, with growing demands for participation in decision-making in the workplace (seen in Pateman 1970), universities and local administration, as well as national government.

The educationist most associated with the development of participatory democratic approaches to schooling is John Dewey. His view that 'democracy is more than a form of government: it is primarily a mode of associated living, a conjoint communicated experience' (Dewey 1966: 87) highlights the key role of education. Democracy and education here are both forms of continuous communicative renewal – democracy is educational, education is democratic. The implications of this view for schools are multiple – ranging from participatory pedagogy, use of projects, enquiry and problem solving approaches, to mixed-ability and non-segregated classes and schools – developments that have been as contested as they have been influential.

Many current initiatives for participatory schooling rest on an intrinsic valuing of democracy in this way, yet they often contain in addition an element of instrumentality – one relating to democracy itself. While providing worthwhile experiences in themselves, participatory structures and relations in schools are also seen to be means by which students can develop knowledge, skills and values relating to democratic participation outside the school. In this way (and in accordance with the aims of citizenship education generally) pupils learn to become more effective participants in democracy in adult life, and to create a more democratic society.

One way of understanding these intrinsic approaches is through the notion of the 'prefigurative'. Boggs (1978: 2) defines prefiguration as, 'the embodiment, within the ongoing political practice of a movement, of those forms of social relations, decision-making, culture and human experience that are the ultimate goal'. An initial distinction needs to be made between this meaning of 'prefigurative', and another, stemming from the anthropological work of Margaret Mead. In the latter, a distinction is made between postfigurative, where younger generations learn from older ones, cofigurative, where people learn from their peers, and prefigurative, where older generations learn from younger ones. This use of the term is seen in educational theory in the case of Li (2005), for example. However, here the term is employed following its usage in political theory to signify the ways in which forms of organization embody, reflect or model the ideal society they wish to bring into being.

Historically, prefigurative movements developed in opposition to forms of Marxism – most notably Leninism – that looked to a revolution headed by a strong party as the most effective way of achieving the goal of the socialist society. In these consequentialist forms, the means were in tension with the ends, in that hierarchical organization and violence were used to achieve a peaceful, non-hierarchical society. In contrast, other forms of revolutionary organization aimed to embody the values of the desired society within their political activities, with 'the pursuit of utopian goals . . . recursively built into the movement's operation and organizational style' (Buechler 2000: 207). Boggs (1978: 5) identifies three basic concerns within the prefigurative tradition: an opposition to hierarchical relations of authority; criticism of centralized political organizations that reproduce these types of power relations; and a 'commitment to democratization through local, collective structures that anticipate the future liberated society'.

Prefigurative forms are commonly associated with anarchist movements, and represent a pillar of anarchist thought (Franks 2003, 2006; Suissa 2006; Ward 1982). Gordon (2005b) states:

> Anarchist modes of interaction – non-hierarchical, voluntary, cooperative, solidaric and playful – are no longer seen as features on which to model the future society, but rather as an ever-present potential of social interaction here and now. Such an approach promotes anarchy as culture, as a lived reality that pops up everywhere in new guises, adapts to different cultural climates, and should be extended and developed experimentally *for its own sake*, whether or not we believe it can become, in some sense, the prevailing mode of society.

The author refers to this as 'present-tense' politics, with revolution not 'a horizon event, but an ongoing process'.

Although incorporated in a variety of forms of organization such as worker writers' groups (Woodin 2007) and anti-nuclear campaigns (Epstein 1988), it is perhaps feminist movements that have been the most prominent instances of prefigurative politics in recent times. Rowbotham (1979) points to consciousness-raising self-help groups as examples where close attention was paid to forms of relationship developed in meetings:

> They do not assume that we will one day in the future suddenly come to control how we produce, distribute and divide goods and services and that this will rapidly and simply make us new human beings. They see the struggle for survival and control as part of the here and now. (p. 140)

Rowbotham and other feminist writers such as Evans (1979), Breines (1982) and Epstein (1991; 1988), point to the importance not just of changing ideas, but of actually experiencing non-exploitative relations. This approach is related to the linking of the private and the public spheres in citizenship, and the idea that 'the personal is the political'.

The literature on prefigurative political organization is predominantly associated with 'left-wing' movements, but the notion is not restricted to a particular political orientation: movements and institutions can prefigure conservative or fascist ideals too. The essential component is that there is a modelling or consonance between the prefigured and the prefigurative. As Gordon (2005a) points out, the prefigurative is, therefore, not an independent value: whether or not it is a good depends on what exactly is being prefigured.

The fact that prefigurative forms are developed 'for their own sake' (Gordon 2005b), raises some important questions concerning ends and means. Prefiguration can never be a purely strategic venture (Breines 1982): it cannot simply be abandoned in favour of a more effective strategy, since it is not only a means but also an instantiation of the end in the present. Another important aspect of the prefigurative is to act as an exemplar, given that an effective way of disseminating ideas is to show their working in practice. In this way, one of Fielding's (2007: 551) 'seven key strands of prefigurative practice' is the 'insistent affirmation of possibility'. In addition, prefigurative forms are not only instrumental in the transformation of society, but also for personal liberation (Gordon 2007),

providing important informal learning experience for those involved, both individually and collectively.

Thus far, prefiguration has been considered in the context of political movements. Yet it is also possible for formal education to be prefigurative. An example of this is the 'People's Education' in South Africa during the apartheid struggle (Wolpe 1991), where the educational processes were linked to the wider processes of social transformation of the time. Michael Fielding's (e.g. 1997; 2007) work on radical state schooling draws extensively on the idea of the prefigurative. In fact, he sees these school experiences as being at the forefront of experimentation in democracy:

> This anticipation of future modes of being through processes and relations, not just structures, that exemplify and embody the viability and desirability of radical alternatives is one of the most important past and continuing contributions of the radical traditions of state education to the furtherance of democracy in this country. (Fielding 2007: 544)

Examples of these prefigurative experiences in practice will be explored in the following sections. In summary, it is possible to identify three key functions of prefigurative forms. They constitute:

1) an instantiation of the new society
2) a learning process for those involved
3) an exemplar of alternative forms of organization

There is a hierarchy between these three aspects. Instantiation – the realization of the ideal society in the present – is the most important aspect of prefigurative forms, and they need no other justification. Learning is an instrumental justification, but is highly important as social transformation depends on the development of new forms of living. A key point of the prefigurative, therefore, is that it is simultaneously preparation and realization, learning and action. Lastly, exemplification is an important side effect of the process, allowing people to see that alternatives are possible.

Prefigurative forms differ from other approaches giving intrinsic value to democratic structures in that they have an explicit commitment to the creation of a new form of society, rather than preparing citizens for effective participation in the current one.

Experiences of Democratic Schools

The valuing of democracy from the perspective of rights, instrumental benefits and intrinsic benefits constitute the principal motivations for pupil participation. Yet what of its functioning in practice? The remainder of this chapter will assess past and current experiences, looking first at the 'free school' movement, second at radical democratic initiatives within the state sector, and lastly at 'periphery' initiatives – that is, the introduction of participatory structures (such as 'school councils') within a predominantly non-democratic school context.

1. Free Schools

'Free' schooling emerged largely from the psychological need to move away from the stifling and restrictive nature of traditional schooling to a liberating and nourishing exploration of the world. Yet, there are also important aspects relating to democracy. The best known of the free school experiments is Summerhill, a small private school in Suffolk, England. Founded by the enigmatic educationist A. S. Neil in 1921, the school is characterized by the fact that children do not have to attend lessons. Yet there is more to the school than the low level of coercion in relation to learning. The school aims:

> To allow children to live in a community that supports them and that they are responsible for; in which they have the freedom to be themselves, and have the power to change community life, through the democratic process . . . Problems are discussed and resolved through openness, democracy and social action. All members of the community, adults and children, irrespective of age, are equal in terms of this process. (Summerhill School 2008)

The most concrete expression of this is the periodic *meeting*, at which pupils and staff together discuss and decide on school rules, with equal voting rights.

While providing a blueprint for subsequent experiments (for a detailed account of these, see Gribble 1998), Summerhill was not the first of its kind. The novelist Leo Tolstoy, before embarking on *War and Peace*, ran a radical free school in his rural estate Yasnaya Poliana for the children of his workers (Blaisdell 2000). The *Escuela Moderna* (Modern School) in Barcelona, established by the anarchist Francisco Ferrer, also aimed

to embody libertarian principles, allowing students to break the chains of both Church and State indoctrination. This experience inspired the Modern Schools in the USA, such as that of New York and subsequently Stelton, New Jersey (Tager 1986). In these cases, however, there was a more substantial political commitment than in the free schools like Summerhill, with egalitarian anarchist values explicitly promoted.

The free school experiments in general are primarily motivated by belief either in children's right to participation, or in its intrinsic value (although, as stated above, psychotherapy remains an important influence alongside democratic impulses). These schools are independent of the state, and usually charge fees, meaning that they can pursue their alternative agendas without constraints (the battle between Summerhill and the English inspection agency Ofsted being an exception here). The next section assesses the much more testing task of establishing a democratic school within a public education system.

2. Radical Democratic Experiments within the State Sector

There may be pragmatic reasons for establishing a radical democratic initiative within the state system. Not all reformers are as lucky as Francisco Ferrer, who was bequeathed a large sum from a former pupil in Paris, enabling him to set up the Modern School. Yet, aside from the need for state funding, there are also reasons of principle. A school charging fees will necessarily exclude a proportion of the population. In addition, the 'common' nature of public[2] schooling means that it is ideally placed to develop democratic communication across ethnic, class and religious lines (as discussed above in relation to deliberation). The initiatives discussed in this section are often in areas of economic deprivation and political marginalization – making the democratic experiments more challenging. Research (e.g. Hahn 1999a: 605) has shown that in general, middle class students are most likely to experience democratic school environments and participatory classrooms – making these efforts all the more necessary.

Early examples of democratic schools in the public sector can be seen in the 'Just Community Schools' set up by the psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg in the USA, in which students and the community were involved in decision-making processes aimed at consensus rather than majoritarian politics (Power et al. 1989). This type of initiative can also be seen in Apple and Beane (1999), who document four contemporary cases of democratic experiences in US schools. The schools in question – one elementary, one middle, one secondary and one technical – are all

located in or serve disadvantaged communities. As also emphasized in Harber (1996), the small size of these schools makes it easier for them to make progress towards democratization, enabling them to 'overcome the impersonal anonymity of large schools and construct more democratic communities of learning' (Apple & Beane 1999: 30). Importantly, enhanced student involvement is accompanied by increased democratic participation of teachers and the community.

In Central Park East Secondary School in New York, for example, students graduate through portfolio, assessed by a 'graduation committee' consisting of two teachers, an adult chosen by the student in question and one other student, allowing the different parties to 'think aloud together and jointly make decisions' (p. 34). The schools see participation not just in terms of pupils having their say, but in terms of identification with and working for the common good – a feature that distinguishes them from the 'personalization' driver referred to above. The emphasis on the common good, as opposed to adversarial conceptions, makes necessary collaboration rather than competition in the school, and has clear implications for pedagogy and assessment.

Democratization also manifests itself in changes to the curriculum, challenging the dominance of 'official knowledge' by incorporating the perspectives of diverse communities. However, at the same time they acknowledge that students need to be initiated into dominant forms of knowledge to some degree, in order to function within the current society – and to have the ability to challenge that society. There is also a substantial mission in terms of fostering values:

> The schools are committed to an education that builds upon student and community needs, cultures, and histories. They are committed as well to anti-racist, anti-homophobic and anti-sexist principles, and are organized around a deep concern for social justice. (p. x)

These value commitments (corresponding to the 'critical pedagogy' rather than the 'critical thinking' approach) make the projects more controversial, and can lead to divisions in the community. The more superficial initiatives described in the next section with less ambitious aims have better prospects in this respect as they garner a very high of degree of support.

This type of initiative is also analysed by Fielding (e.g. 2005; 2007) in his treatment of *radical state education*. As discussed above, the author sees

these forms of schooling to be characterized by a *prefiguring* of democracy in the wider society, one that:

> Sustain[s] the hope of a more socially just and creative society, but also confront[s] the more timid realities of contemporary policy and practice with a deeper, more enduring, more democratic accountability . . . (Fielding 2007: 545)

The author focuses on the case of St. George-in-the-East Secondary School in London, led from the 1940s by the pioneering head teacher Alex Bloom. Like the schools analysed in Apple and Beane (1999), St. George-in-the-East emphasized cooperation over competition, and incorporated this emphasis into curriculum and assessment. There were also important developments in relation to what is now called 'pupil voice'. The *school council* in operation – in contrast to the body of the same name existing currently in schools in the UK – was a joint venture of elected pupils and staff, and drew on the deliberations of various smaller panels so as to create 'a reciprocally demanding, sometimes critical, dialogue' (2005: 129). There were also 'weekly reviews' in which pupils reflected on their own progress and could comment on their perceptions of teaching and the curriculum in the school.

A contemporary example of this approach in the UK is the Bishops Park College, Clacton (Davies 2005), a school that has created 'a series of small learning communities that model the concept of "schools-within-school"' (p. 109). However, in light of the more restrictive context of the National Curriculum and accountability structures, this instance focuses on the 'negotiated curriculum' and a 'holistic approach to learning and assessment' rather than the more substantive forms of political engagement seen above.

One contemporary example inspired by the free schools, but emerging from within the state system, is the Democratic School of Hadera in Israel, founded in 1987.

> In the Democratic School, teachers and students reject the traditional forms of teacher authority and replace them with informal mechanisms entailing close teacher-student relationships and shared responsibility. (Engel 2004: 178)

Like Summerhill, students at the Democratic School choose which lessons they attend, and engage in collective decision-making through a periodic

parliament, as well as informal meetings around 'the Tree', located in the grounds of the school. However, the Democratic School caters for students from a supportive and predominantly middle class background (Engel 2004), and so does not face the kinds of challenges of disadvantaged communities described in the initiatives outlined above. While breaking with traditional patterns of authority, it 'does not impede – and perhaps even enhances – chances of higher education and social standing' (p. 179) (although there are teachers within the school who reject the 'realist' goals of qualifications in favour of 'utopian' ideals (Gribble 1998)). In addition, the school charges some fees to parents to supplement its state funding, and so may not be accessible to all.

In general terms, these radical state initiatives, like the free schools, are motivated either by the principle of children's right to participate or by an intrinsic valuing of democracy. While facing considerable challenges from their position within largely unfriendly state systems, through their engagement with the 'public', they represent a potentially more transformatory possibility than the small-scale private initiatives.

3. Periphery Democratization in the Mainstream

However, pupil participation is most prominent not in these radical forms, but in a lighter, partial form that we might call 'periphery' participation. Here, the undemocratic nature of the school and the education system are left intact, while bringing a measure of increased participation in one area. A clear current instance of this form is the UK *school council*. Unlike the bodies bearing the same name in other countries of Europe and elsewhere – which include teacher and community representatives – these are, in fact, *student* councils, involving elected pupil representatives discussing issues relating to the school, usually under the guidance of a member of staff. While the government has stopped short of making school councils compulsory in England[3], they received a strong endorsement in the Crick Report and are functioning in over 90 per cent of schools (Whitty & Wisby 2007).

Research on school councils in the UK context has tended to show some positive effects, but without a significant democratizing influence, and with discussions usually limited to uncontroversial areas (Baginsky 1999; Inman & Turner 2007; Taylor 2002). As Ruddock and Flutter (2000: 83) state:

If the school is not ready for pupil participation then a school council can become a way of formalizing and channelling students' criticisms; an

exercise in damage limitation rather than an opportunity for constructive consultation. And the agenda of schools councils often do not roam far outside the charmed circle of lockers, dinners and uniform.

Two recent studies have been carried out on school councils in England – one funded by the UK Department for Children, Schools and Families (Whitty & Wisby 2007) and the other by the non-governmental organization School Councils UK (Davies & Yamashita 2007). While the studies are optimistic in terms of the potential of the councils, they identify a number of changes that need to be made in order for the latter to become meaningful as expressions of pupil involvement. As Whitty and Wisby (2007: 7) state:

> There is a danger that, as school councils grow in popularity, schools will concern themselves with the *processes* of school councils, rather than the *purposes* they would want their council to fulfil. The frequency with which councils are set up only to fade away again may be linked to this issue. Even if current Ofsted self-evaluation and citizenship requirements make this outcome less likely, the mere existence of a school council for accountability purposes is unlikely to yield significant benefits in terms of the drivers identified above.

Researchers such as Cox and Robinson-Pant (2006) have shown ways in which the democratic nature of these councils can be enhanced, but there remains the question of the extent to which democratization can occur within the hierarchical and non-participatory backdrop of the education system as a whole. Hahn's (1999a: 593) study of the USA is revealing in this respect:

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

Similar problems regarding the representativeness and influence of student councils are also seen in Australia (Morris & Cogan 2001). Hahn's

(1999b: 235) research in Denmark, however, shows how these bodies can be effective vehicles for student voice in conducive settings:

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

In contrast to the Danish case, the problem with the initiatives above is that the opening up of opportunities for participation in a few areas only draws attention to the broad canvass of regions in which pupils (and often teachers and the community) have little or no influence. While they are easier to sustain than the radical initiatives outlined in the previous section – particularly in hostile times of marketization and commodification – their tendency to tokenism may mean they do more harm than good.

*   *   *

This chapter has focused mainly on understanding the principles behind, and the underlying nature of, democratic initiatives. Yet, what about their influence on students? Is there evidence to show they are an effective form of citizenship education?

The asking of this question presupposes a particular approach to pupil participation. As discussed above, a commitment to children's rights means that results are immaterial: children must be involved in decision-making that affects them whatever the outcome. Intrinsic approaches also value primarily the experience of participation itself, rather than any particular outcome. Yet, while these approaches may not *require* particular outcomes to justify their existence, that does not mean the outcomes are unimportant. Everybody has an interest in the types of effects that educational interventions have on students.

A key question is whether democratic schools produce students with democratic values. John and Osborn (1992), for example, assessed the political attitudes of 15-year-olds in two schools in England, one with a 'traditional' and one with a 'democratic' ethos. The study showed significant differences of attitude in certain areas (e.g. being favourable to gender and racial equality), suggesting that ethos does have an influence on citizenship

values. Nevertheless, the authors recognize that the scope of the study was too limited to provide convincing results. Evidence, in relation to this question, is generally hard to obtain. Even in relation to the broader question of the effects of political participation on political capacities, research is inconclusive (Mansbridge 1999).

As seen in chapter 2, large quantitative studies such as the IEA project (Torney-Purta et al. 2001), as well as Hahn's (1998) comparative study, point to the positive effects of an open classroom environment. However, this is distinct from the general ethos of the school and participation in decision-making processes more broadly – the link between this latter form and democratic values and participation in later life being largely obscure. In general terms, there is no necessary logical link between the values underlying an educational initiative and those of the pupils emerging from it. Social critics such as Marx, Gramsci and Orwell emerged from education systems that by and large aimed to stifle such thought. Whatever values are promoted by an initiative, or embodied within it, pupils have the possibility of rejecting or recasting them. That said, it still appears *likely* (if not certain) that democratic initiatives will enhance young people's attitudes towards democracy – as well as enabling them to develop particular skills.

Yet what the intrinsic approaches do alert us to is the importance of gauging not only the outputs of education, but the quality of experience during and within in. Qualitative research can open a window on these processes. As discussed above in relation to the prefigurative, formal education is not only a preparation for democratic life, but a potential instantiation of it. This dual role relates to the tension between a conception of future citizenship (corresponding to Marshall's (1950) notion of 'citizens in the making') and of citizenship in the here and now. Generally in education there is a tension between the aims of preparation for future life and attention to the current interests of children. These issues are particularly prominent in citizenship education due to the ambiguities of children as, first, recipients of adult protection and in need of preparation for future rights and responsibilities and, second, as bearers of specific rights and participative roles in the present.

I will argue through the remaining chapters that we need an approach to citizenship education that both attends to students' current experiences of democracy and equips them for future experiences. Yet beyond this, like the prefigurative approaches, we need an approach that instantiates ideal democratic relations and opens the imagination to the creation of those relations in a new society. Two of the initiatives explored

in the later chapters approach the task of citizenship education along these prefigurative lines. Yet, this is no easy task. As Torney-Purta (1999: 31) states:

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

Notes

1 It is not being suggested that this view characterizes the work of these two authors in general.
2 The term 'public' is used throughout this book to mean 'state' or 'non-private', rather than the idiosyncratic usage in Britain referring to elite private schools.
3 Wales, on the other hand, has made them compulsory.

Part Two

Understanding Processes

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Chapter 5

A Theory of Curricular Transposition

Citizenship education – unlike 'education' in general – appears to have a clear goal. If you ask people why they are engaged in teaching citizenship, they can tell you confidently that they are helping to make good citizens and thereby a good society. As seen in chapter 1, the idea of 'good citizen' is highly contested, but it does, all the same, represent a tangible aim.

As discussed in the introduction, by far the majority of writing on citizenship education focuses on the nature of these aims, and the associated question of whether citizenship education should appear in the curriculum at all (e.g. Callan 1997; Faulks 2006; Galston 1989; Kymlicka 2003; McLaughlin 1992). Yet such is the heat generated by discussions of what kind of citizen we should be forming, that the question of how we do it is often lost. There are good reasons to believe that questions of *means* in citizenship education are even more difficult than those of *ends.* Can the acquisition of knowledge from books, the internet and the like in itself enhance political awareness? Can skills of citizenship be developed in the classroom, or are experiences of real political action necessary? Is it possible to 'teach' young people political values? Can schools teach citizenship at all?

When attention is paid to means in the literature, it is often assumed that particular conceptions of citizenship necessarily entail particular methods. Kerr (1999: 13), for example, in his discussion of minimal and maximal interpretations of citizenship education, assumes a strong correspondence. Minimal interpretations, which 'seek to promote particular exclusive and elitist interests', are 'largely content-led and knowledge-based', involving 'teacher-led, whole class teaching as the dominant medium'. Maximal interpretations, on the other hand, which 'seek to actively include and involve all groups and interests in society', do have some 'content and knowledge components', but 'actively encourage[s] investigation and interpretation', and involve 'discussion and debate . . . project work, other forms of independent learning and participative experiences'. Yet, does such a correspondence always hold?

Is it a logically necessary link, or merely a contingent one? Under what circumstances may this link not be there[1]?

Kristjánsson's (2002; 2004) distinction between *methodological substantivism* and *methodological formalism* is relevant here. In the former (characterizing both expansive and non-expansive forms of character education), a variety of methods can be adopted to achieve the desired ends, while in the latter (characterizing other approaches such as values clarification and philosophy for children), a preferred method is specified. Yet the nature of the relationship between means and ends in each case remains obscure: it is unclear both why certain approaches adopt certain methods, and whether (and in what way) that choice is significant.

These and other questions relating to the processes of citizenship education are so pressing that it is clearly inadequate for writing on the subject to focus predominantly on aims. What is needed is a perspective that encompasses the whole educational process, from aims to the curriculum and the influences on students. This chapter puts forward a theoretical framework for engaging with these multiple stages of the educational process.

Theories of Transposition

Existing theories go some way towards answering the questions raised about the relationship between aims and the curriculum. The concept of 'didactic transposition', for example, was developed by Francophone theorists such as Chevallard (1985), Conne (1986), Perrenoud (1986; 1992) and Tochon (1991). Didactic transposition refers to the ways an item of knowledge changes as it becomes part of a curricular programme. For example, Einstein's theory of relativity does not exist in the same form in schools as it does in the scientific community: it undergoes certain modifications when moving from the latter to the former. In the literature, a distinction is made between 'external' and 'internal' transposition, the former referring to the transposition of knowledge into school curricula as outlined above, and the latter to the transposition of the official curriculum into the content taught in practice by teachers (Perrenoud 1998). (Tochon (1991) calls the latter 'pedagogical transposition'). Didactic transposition theory was initially developed in relation to mathematics, and is most applicable to the natural sciences, yet Perrenoud (1998) and others have proposed extensions to the theory to include those school disciplines that stem from social practices rather than factual knowledge.

In the English speaking world, similar ideas were put forward by Bernstein (1996; 1990), through his notions of *recontextualization* and *reproduction*. His

work emphasized the ways in which schools reproduce the forms of knowledge of dominant groups in society. There are seen to be three stages in this process. First, knowledge is *produced* in universities, research centres and the like. For the purposes of the school curriculum, this knowledge is then *recontextualized* in the form of textbooks and official curricula guidance, involving both selection and adaptation. Finally, it is *reproduced* by teachers in their classrooms.

While these theories are distinct in the political significance attributed to the processes of transposition and in their understandings of the origins and foundations of knowledge (didactic transposition theory accepting its intrinsic value, and Bernstein seeing it as the expression of the interests of groups in society), they do have some aspects in common. Both focus on academic *disciplines* (although Bernstein does discuss how the boundaries between them can vary in strength). Second, they take knowledge (or, in some cases, practices) as their starting point.

However, a theory that explains the selection of content and pedagogies in the curriculum must address another aspect – that of intentionality. All educational undertakings are based on an aspiration for change (or maintenance) or an ideal of development, whether this is conscious and explicit or not. While it may be the case that conscious or unconscious desire for the reproduction of social advantage motivates the school system (à la Bernstein), this is not the only conceivable or actual motivation for an educational undertaking. There may be a wide variety of motivating forces, including counter-hegemonic ones. Didactic transposition theory, on the other hand, pays little attention to the question of aspirations, taking it for granted that school will reflect the academic and social traditions of the wider society.

The fact that didactic transposition and recontextualization take knowledge and practices as their starting point, therefore, means that the theories work well in relation to individual subjects, where the movement of knowledge from society to school can easily be seen. Yet, they are not as readily applicable to the curriculum as a whole, being a collection of various areas chosen on the basis of fundamental beliefs and values. It is necessary, therefore, in an analysis of transposition, to take account of this previous stage at which there exists an ideal of a human being or society to be developed. It is true that large educational undertakings (such as national curricula) may be based on complex and often contradictory sets of aims and aspirations. Yet while it is much harder to observe the workings of curricular transposition in these large-scale initiatives than in the smaller ones analysed in the following chapters, the same principles do hold nevertheless.

In addition, the two theories above are strongly focused on the formal school system, in which the academic disciplines are predominant, rather

than on wider educational instances, such as adult education, child-rear-ing, and participation in social and political movements. A theoretical framework is needed that addresses educational undertakings in this wider sense, as well as acknowledging the vision of a human being or society to be created that is at their base. This book, therefore, extends the ideas of these theorists to encompass a broader conception of education. *Curricular transposition* refers to the materialization or concretization of aspirations or ideals in educational programmes, approaches and activities.

The figure below shows curricular transposition in graphic form. The second and third stages correspond broadly to the common distinction made between the 'official' curriculum and the 'unofficial' or 'taught' cur-riculum, and the fourth stage to the 'achieved curriculum' (e.g. Mullis et al. 2005). Perrenoud (1998) outlines a similar scheme showing the movement between 'current knowledge and practices in society', 'formal curriculum, objectives and programmes', 'real curriculum, content and teaching' and 'effective and durable learning of the pupils' (author's translation). (Later in the article he replaces this model with another more complex one revolving around the notion of competencies). However, Perrenoud's model represents a linear relation and does not show the movement between planes of ideal/real and ends/means. A two-dimensional model is therefore proposed in its place, incorporating these aspects, and focusing on the emergence of curric-ula from underlying aspirations, rather than 'knowledge and practices'[2].

The following figure shows the four stages:
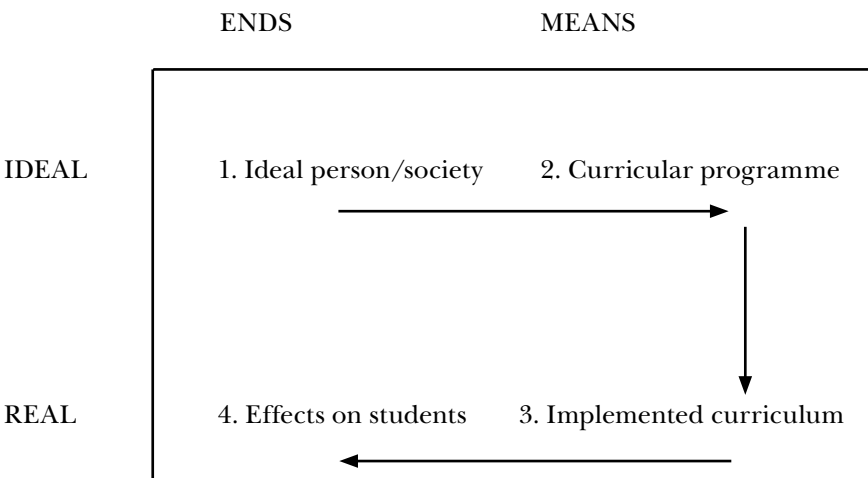
(Source: McCowan 2008)

This scheme applies generally to the curriculum, but will here be applied to citizenship education. In the first stage, there is a conception of a valued end (in the case of citizenship education, the desired citizen or polity to be developed). From that, an ideal educational programme is created, which is then modified as it is implemented in a real context. The implemented programme then influences the students (not necessarily in the way originally envisaged), affecting their abilities and identities as citizens. By way of an example, an educational body might have a conception of valued citizenship as loyalty to the nation (1), conceive that this would best be promoted through inspiring works of national literature (2), implement this through schools although with some teachers presenting critiques of the works in question (3), leading to mixed effects among the students (4).

This process involves 'leaps' between different planes: from that of ends to that of educational means (in the case of 1–2 and back in 3–4) and from the ideal to the real (in the case of 2–3). These leaps are highly problematic. An ideal of citizenship is hard to achieve through education due to constraints on devising educational methods to realize it, on implementing those methods in an institution or other setting, and on obtaining the desired change in students.

'Transposition' in music involves movement from one pitch to another without a change in the melody. So, in curricular transposition, the thread of an educational initiative is supposed to be maintained throughout the different stages. When this thread is wholly or partially broken, we can speak of a curricular 'disjuncture'.

As discussed below, the scheme has an analytical function, with the stages neither as discrete nor the chronological progression as neat as implied by the diagram. In addition, the notions of ideal and real are highly problematic, but are used here to distinguish between the existence of a curriculum as a set of ideas from one existing as actual practices of teaching and learning in a school or other setting. It is also important to note that since the scheme applies to any educational undertaking, and not just to national education systems, the ideal at the first stage can be that of a small group or an individual, and not just the dominant ideal in society, or that of the ruling class. The curricular programme again may be that of a social movement or community organization and not only something equivalent to a national curriculum, and may well not have clear written form. Equally, the subsequent stages are not unitary and homogenous, meaning that there may be multiple forms of implementation and effects.

Acknowledging the difficulties involved in the leaps is key to understanding the apparent disjunctures between the educational practices and

experiences going by the name of citizenship education, and the political aspirations on which they are based.

Attention will now be turned to the specific characteristics of each of the three leaps. The discussion of ends and means will be more substantial than that of the other two stages, on account of the relative lack of attention paid to it in the literature[3].

The First Leap: Ends to Means

Aims in the Curriculum

It has often been argued that the curriculum should have clear aims. According to this view, curricula should not be allowed to drift without clear direction or to be maintained in schools through a blind adherence to tradition, and instead should be coherently linked to the goals to be achieved. This position is characteristic of the technical-rational approach to curriculum planning associated with Ralph Tyler and other US researchers of the early and mid-twentieth century. Tyler (1949) brought a significant shift in thinking about curriculum by proposing that the content of schooling should be decided on the basis of clear, pre-defined goals. Learning experiences, according to this approach, are to be established in relation to explicit objectives, then organized so as to achieve the maximum effect, and finally evaluated and modified if necessary.

This approach (often termed the 'product' or 'objectives' model) arose in opposition to what has been called the 'content' model (Kelly 2004), in which curricula are constructed on the basis of a pre-existing body of knowledge. The selection of content in the latter may be made on the basis of either cultural transmission or a perceived intrinsic value in particular disciplines (as in Hirst's (1974) seven forms of knowledge). In response to both of these approaches, a third – the 'process' model – emerged from the 1960s through the work of curriculum innovators such as Jerome Bruner and Lawrence Stenhouse. Instead of stipulating outcomes or transmitting a fixed body of knowledge, the curriculum in this model is organized around a set of general pedagogical principles (such as fostering enquiry) or discipline-specific skills (such as developing empathy in history). While featuring in some innovative initiatives (e.g. 'Man: A Course of Study' in the USA and the 'Humanities Curriculum Project' in the UK), the process model has not managed to challenge the rise of the objectives model and the default maintenance of the content one.

In addition to the technical curriculum planners like Tyler, the primacy of aims was also upheld, for different reasons, by philosophers of education such as Paul Hirst (1974), who have argued that curriculum design can only be rational if the starting point is a set of clear aims. In this way, John White (2003; 2007; Bramall & White 2000) has criticized the English National Curriculum for 'put[ting] the cart before the horse', with explicit aims either being absent, or being tagged on to what is essentially a content-led curriculum. A difference between this group and the above is that the product approach proposes explicit instructional *objectives*, usually of a behaviourist nature, while the philosophers do not require such specificity in their aims, and tend towards liberal autonomy as an orienting principle.

Aims or objectives-led positions have encountered strong opposition. First, there has been widespread rejection of the mechanistic nature of behaviourist approaches associated with Tyler (e.g. Dwight & Garrison 2003; Kliebard 1970), and of models such as *means-ends analysis*, developed principally in the field of artificial intelligence. Yet, even in relation to the more humanistic conception of Hirst and others, it has been argued that it is not necessarily desirable for curriculum design to begin with aims. As seen above, 'content' and 'process' models represent alternative approaches. Standish (1999: 48–9) proposes overcoming the 'debased form which objective characterizations can take' through an 'oblique and indirect literary approach'. The dispute here, in reality, relates to the *explicitness* of the aims, and not their existence. Inherent in the notion of an educational undertaking is an intention, aspiration or ideal, whether this is conscious or not. While there may be good reasons for opposing planning by objectives or clear statements of aims, it would be nonsensical to deny the existence of ends in education.

Given that education has ends and means, the crucial question concerns how the latter are related to the former. It is important to remember, as Dewey (1916) argued, there is not necessarily a simple monodirectional relationship between the two. As Taylor and Richards (1985: 63) state:

> Rational planning models based on objectives have come in for considerable criticism. They have been attacked for taking a very restricted view of rationality: 'determining ends first, then determining means' is rational in some contexts, but not always in curriculum design. Here, it is argued, ends and means cannot always be divorced: certain ends presuppose certain means and vice versa. Content and learning experiences cannot always be separated, nor can aims and content.

What, then, is the nature of this monodirectional or bidirectional relationship? Tyler (1949: 65) proposed some 'general principles in selecting learning experiences', such as the need 'to practice the kind of behaviour implied by the objective', the importance of enjoyment of the activities, and the requirement of readiness of the students. In general terms, the 'planning by objectives' approach favours the use of empirical research to determine whether means are adequate for attaining ends. Others (e.g. Hirst 1974) have argued that empirical research is insufficient and that there are logical constraints on our choices of means. Sockett (1973), critiquing the Tyler position, proposes five ways in which means emerge from ends: the contingent relationship; the logically necessary; the logically constitutive where the means are seen to be either a *part* or an *instantiation* of the end; and the logically limiting where statements of certain ends logically preclude certain means. These analyses are important in showing the limitations of the Tyler model, but do not fully map the variety of (possibly non-logical and non-behaviourist) ways in which means can be derived in practice. Wise (1976) in his analysis suggests that instructional activities cannot be derived automatically from objectives, and suggests that they normally stem from a combination of 'memory, precedent and imagination' (p. 284). There are many ways in which this process may occur, some conscious and explicit, some unconscious and implicit, some coherent and some arbitrary (a point also made by Walker (1971) in his *naturalistic model*). The following section, therefore, will outline a scheme for understanding the diverse ways in which ends can relate to means, corresponding to the first 'leap' in the curricular transposition model.

Proximity and Rationale

As seen above, means are customarily seen as being effective in as far as they bring about particular ends. If the ends are achieved then the means can be continued; if not, new means can be tried. However, this is not the only form of relationship that can exist between the two. Means can also be chosen on the basis of their being in accordance with the principles contained in the ends. For example, in relation to citizenship education, if a democratic society is the aim, it might be seen as appropriate to conduct one's educational activities in a democratic manner, independently of the consequences. The latter can be termed a relationship of 'harmony', in contrast to one of 'separation' outlined above, in which there is only a relationship of cause and effect. These can be understood as degrees of 'proximity' between ends and means.

'Separation' is the most common way in which means and ends relate to one another (and much discussion of means and ends assumes that they are always separate). In this form (e.g. Davies 2006; Ryder 2002), aside from the necessary relationship of causality, there is no other required point of contact between the overarching ideals and the educational activities employed to achieve them. With the harmony form, however, elements considered important in the ends are embodied in the means. Harmony is seen commonly in efforts to *democratize* schooling, as seen in chapter 4 (e.g. Apple & Beane 1999; Gribble 1998), whereby the school embodies or 'prefigures' the democratic society desired, by adopting participatory forms of management and horizontal pedagogical relations. It can also appear in a negative form, as seen in the *correspondence* of hierarchical oppression in schools and capitalist society of Bowles and Gintis (1976).

When the harmony form is taken to its full extent, a third form of relationship – 'unification' – is created. Unification occurs when means and ends become one: in this case, where citizenship learning takes place through the exercising of citizenship itself. Here, the ends become means, in a cycle of continuing development. Unification can also manifest itself in another way, when the process of learning itself becomes the end, for example if the experience of opening the mind is seen as an ideal state of being (e.g. Dinkelman 2003). (This form corresponds to Sockett's (1973) 'logically constitutive' where the means are a *part* of the end). We can therefore distinguish between two forms of unification: 'ends-become-means' and 'means-become-ends'. It might be argued that the harmony forms above are also examples of unification, since participation in processes of deliberation in school, for example, is an actual exercising of citizenship – school being an arena of society. However, it is important to maintain some distinction between activities inside and outside educational institutions, since the latter are not just one of many social arenas, but are established for the purpose of preparing people for different forms of participation in the wider society.

Three basic forms of proximity can, therefore, be observed:

Proximity:
- separation
- harmony
- unification

In addition to proximity, the relationship involves some form of rationale or justification. In some cases this is a deliberate and conscious justification; in others, the means are chosen without a clear expression of their

relationship to the ends, but nevertheless with an implicit rationale. The following forms can be observed:

Rationale:
- empirical evidence
- authority/tradition
- moral imperative
- logical connection

'Empirical evidence' refers to instances in which the means are chosen on the basis of an observed link with achieving the ends. This might be based on personal experience: for example, teachers developing particular practices through their years of experience in the classroom. Alternatively, it might be based on rigorous scientific research. In contrast, some elements are adopted due to the weight of tradition or authority, with means adopted on the basis of continuity with past practices, or faith in a perceived source of wisdom, such as Plato or Paulo Freire. Here, the judgment of the teacher or curriculum designer is subordinated to that of the source of authority. In some cases, the distinction between empirical evidence and authority is not clear-cut. Academic research, itself consisting of empirical studies, is often accepted by others on the basis of the authority of the body or individuals conducting the research, not on the empirical evidence itself. Tradition can also exert an influence through what Walker (1971) calls the 'implicit design' of the curriculum, those elements about which conscious decisions are not made, and which therefore lead to a maintenance of existing forms.

   On the other hand, some initiatives are established on the basis of a perceived moral imperative to conduct education in a 'cooperative' and 'inclusive' (or perhaps 'hierarchical' and 'authoritarian') manner. This form of rationale must always work in the 'harmony' form of proximity. With the moral imperative there is not necessarily any empirical evidence that the means will achieve the ends: they are seen to be the best because they follow the same moral and political principles. (It is, therefore, characteristic of *prefigurative* initiatives.) This raises an intriguing scenario: in the (admittedly unlikely) event of empirical proof that authoritarian schools were more successful than participatory ones in forming democratic citizens, from the moral imperative perspective they would still have to be rejected.

   Lastly, there can be a connection between ends and means that is based on a perceived logical necessity. For example, in most instances it is hard to imagine the development of a skill without some practice of it, or the

absorption of a fact without having at some stage been exposed to it. This form corresponds to Sockett's (1973) 'logically necessary connection', and appears as one of Tyler's (1949: 65) 'general principles in selecting learning experiences'.

These rationales can be applied to all forms of curriculum. In relation to the three models of curriculum design referred to above, the 'content' approach might be seen to base itself on a rationale of tradition, the 'product' approach on empirical evidence, and the 'process' approach on moral imperative. All these forms of rationale are relevant primarily to the separation and harmony modes, since unification requires no rationale (it is justified by being identical to the end). It is important to note here that a single curriculum can simultaneously display a number of forms of proximity and rationale, being, for example, based on both authority and empirical evidence, and at different times displaying both separation and harmony.

The Second Leap: Implementation

In relation to the second leap, there is considerable empirical literature on the transformations that curricular programmes undergo when implemented in practice (e.g. Benavot & Resh 2003; Fullan & Pomfret 1977; Murphy 2004). Much research on curricular implementation focuses on two aspects: the extent to which the implemented curriculum corresponds to the intended one, and the factors that facilitate or hinder this implementation. For example, a recent study (Murphy 2004) on the implementation of the new primary curriculum in Ireland identified the following constraints: teaching resources, pupil-teacher ratio, teacher education, and teachers' attitudes and beliefs. Benavot and Resh (2003) in their assessment of the differential implementation of curricula in Jewish secular and Arab schools in Israel, distinguish between macro- and meso-level factors affecting curriculum implementation, the former relating to 'structural and institutional characteristics of national education systems' and the latter to 'community and local school characteristics' (p. 73). Structural factors include the degree of centralization, sectorial divisions within the system and institutional differentiation and competition, while local factors include the availability of specialized teachers in particular subjects, instructional resources at a school's disposal and the priorities of the headteacher.

Some key factors influencing implementation, therefore, are teachers' distinctive practices and beliefs, the resources available in schools and the

wider political environment. There are also influential elements that are internal to the initiative, such as the extent to which it has involved different groups in the process of design and the types of guidance or training provided to schools and teachers.

However, the way that we understand implementation is itself contested. As seen above, the focus in the literature is often on the constraints to successful implementation – the obstacles in the way of the necessary improvements – seen as if friction acting on a moving body in physics. Understandings of the study of curriculum implementation in which, 'the main intent is to determine the degree of implementation of innovation in terms of the extent to which actual use of the innovation corresponds to intended or planned use' (Fullan & Pomfret 1997: 340) has been termed the *fidelity* approach. This is contrasted with an *adaptive* or *mutual adaptation* approach, 'directed at analyzing the complexities of the change process vis-à-vis how innovations have become developed/changed etc. during the process of implementation'. In the latter case, curricula are seen in terms of their reconfiguration in light of local characteristics.

However, the emergence of the mutual adaptation approach was 'the result of a reluctant concession to reality, rather than a commitment to a perspective on change' (Snyder et al. 1992: 411). Another more genuinely participatory approach to curriculum implementation has been referred to as *enactment*[4] (Ball & Cohen 1996; Spillane 1999; Thornton 1995). This perspective focuses on the ways in which 'curriculum is shaped through the evolving constructs of teachers and students' (Snyder et al. 1992: 404). Curriculum materials and strategies developed externally, therefore, become 'tools' to be used and manipulated, rather than norms to be followed as faithfully as possible. Importantly, this process of construction of the curriculum is itself seen as a key learning experience for teachers and students. Research studies with an enactment perspective:

> . . . are interested in describing not just how the curriculum is shaped as it gets acted out in specific settings, but also how it is experienced by the particular participants in the settings. For them [those with an enactment perspective], curriculum has meaning only in terms of individuals' interpretations of it. (Snyder et al. 1992: 428)

As Snyder et al. (1992) point out, it is better to think of these paradigms as a continuum, rather than three discrete units. Some 'adaptive' approaches are very close to fidelity, and others are effectively enactment. The different approaches[5] relate to the *study* of curriculum implementation, that is

to say, the ways in which the process is to be understood or researched. Yet they can also be seen as approaches to the task of curriculum implementation itself. In this way, curricula can be implemented without any attention paid to local context, or some adaptations can be made, or lastly they can be constructed through the interaction of teachers, students and the curricular content in the classroom itself. In the case of 'fidelity', the underlying assumption is that external planners are better equipped to make curriculum decisions than the participants in the educational process, and that the best the latter can do is to faithfully implement them. In 'enactment', teachers, students and the community become central figures in planning and design as well as implementation.

The transposition of the curriculum from the ideal to the real plane, therefore, faces a number of challenges, and these challenges can be responded to in diverse ways. It is important to note that not all transformations in implementation are negative: for example, a teacher may creatively interpret the official curriculum in a way that is more enriching for the students than had been envisaged in the original programme. Yet while some transformations are positive – and while they are impossible to avoid completely – others are likely to be negative, particularly when there is a separation between those implementing the initiative and those designing it.

The Third Leap: Effects on Students

As with implementation, the literature on the factors affecting learning is extensive, and there is not space to rehearse it here in full. Some issues relating to learning in citizenship education specifically were outlined in chapter 2. Hahn (1998: xi) distinguishes between two paradigms of research on political learning amongst young people: first, the 'political socialization' model, prominent in the 1960s and 1970s, that gauges the different forces influencing the development of attitudes, seeing the process essentially as one of passive absorption; and second, the 'cognitive development' model, which views the learner as having a more active role in the construction of knowledge and values. Another well-developed scheme for understanding citizenship learning is the *octagon* model of the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et al. 1999). The individual learner is here seen as subject to two levels of influence: an 'inner ring' of people the learner comes into physical contact with – family, friends, school, community organizations etc. – and an outer 'octagon' of institutional

and structural influences relating to the nation's international standing, its heroes and villains, religious values, political processes and so forth. This model is important in drawing attention to the fact that a school civic education course is just part of a mosaic of citizenship learning sites and opportunities.

The effects of an initiative on students are in part dependent on the two previous stages of curricular transposition. The choice of activities in a curriculum programme – of explanation, research, discussion, simulation etc. – will have a strong influence on the knowledge, skills and values acquired by the students. The existence of separation, harmony or unification mode at the first stage can be influential for the reasons outlined above. Whether the initiative can be fully implemented, or whether it suffers significant transformations in the process of implementation, will also be influential. Student learning can be enhanced by creative interpretation of the official curriculum by schools and teachers, or restricted by their opposition or misunderstanding, or by a lack of resources. However, beyond these factors there is also the element of human agency. No two students will react in exactly the same way to the same educational intervention. However 'effectively' an ideal of citizenship is presented, students may reinterpret or reject it. As Biesta and Lawy (2006: 64) state:

> We argue that there needs to be a shift in focus for research, policy and practice from the teaching of citizenship towards the different ways in which young people actually learn democratic citizenship – which must also include attention to the ways in which young people learn not to be involved with questions about democracy and the citizenship.

It is not always possible to predict how an individual or group will respond to the diverse messages provided by the different agents and institutions in the 'octagon' model referred to above. Davies (1995), for example, in his study of European citizenship in secondary schools in England, found that while students developed greater understanding and identification with Europe, they resisted attempts to impose a particular identity on them. As Biesta and Lawy (2006: 73) continue:

> Education is a process of communication, which relies upon the active acts of meaning-making of learners and it is this unpredictable factor which makes education possible in the first place . . .

Understanding Curricular Transposition

These three processes form the different phases of curricular transposition. As has been seen, disjunctures can easily occur at each stage, due to the difficulties in bridging the 'gap' between ends and means and between ideal and real – these 'gaps' being of a distinct nature in each case. However, the binary distinctions here are not watertight. Dewey (1964a: 70) draws attention to common misconceptions over the difference between ends and means:

> [T]he ends, objectives, of conduct are those foreseen consequences which influence present deliberation and which finally bring it to rest by furnishing an adequate stimulus to overt action. Consequently ends arise and function within action. They are not, as current theories too often imply, things lying beyond activity at which the latter is directed.

The notions of ideal and real are also problematic. The notion of 'ideal curricular programme' as used here, has elements of the meaning of 'ideal' as a goal to be aiming towards – the way we would like the curriculum to be – but also points to its existence as a set of 'ideas', rather than a set of observable practices of teaching and learning. Curricula, in this way, often exist in written form (the 'official' or 'formal' curriculum) as distinct from their manifestation in schools (the 'taught' or 'informal' curriculum). Yet, it is hard to say that the official curriculum is any less 'real' than its taught counterpart in terms of its existence, nor necessarily more 'ideal' in the sense of being a model of excellence.

While the above discussion has assumed separate stages of curricular transposition, therefore, it is misleading to view them as discrete. They are neither chronologically separate nor isolated from the influence of the others. The overarching aims are not always conceptualized prior to the means of achieving them, the curricular programme is often developed through implementation or developed only in relation to a particular context, and the effect on students is an ongoing process rather than an end state. Nevertheless, it is analytically useful to separate the stages in order to understand the various dynamics at work.

A further element not addressed as yet is the absence of the fourth side of the square in the curricular transposition model. This fourth stage would link effects to the creation of new ideals of citizenship. A desire for completeness leads us to want to complete the figure, yet it is not clear

whether the process is in fact or should be cyclical. The fourth side implies a modification of our ideals in the light of the effects of previous attempts to achieve them. On the one hand, this might seem like an unprincipled course of action, abandoning our highest aspirations when we see how difficult they are to achieve in practice. Yet from another perspective, if all the stages are in harmony, then our aspirations and ideals are naturally modified and recreated in the light of new directions and insights. As Dewey (1966: 106) emphasizes, ends are always beginnings:

> Every means is a temporary end until we have attained it. Every end becomes a means of carrying activity further as soon as it is achieved. We call it end when it marks off the future direction of the activity in which we are engaged in; means when it marks off the present direction.

Clearly, it is the case that there is no final point at which there are 'effects' on students. As Dewey again states: 'nothing happens which is *final* in the sense that it is not part of an ongoing stream of events' (Dewey 1964: 100). There is certainly, then, the possibility of a continuous momentum back from real to ideal, constituting the fourth stage.

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In order to understand citizenship education – and thereby to provide more effective provision – it is necessary to pay close attention to the leaps from ends to means and from ideal to real. As stated above, there is a good deal of research on the processes of implementation and influences on learners, yet these different phases need to be looked at in conjunction, and related to the ideals and aspirations that motivate them. The framework of curricular transposition provides a basis from which to analyse these processes.

The challenge is that of how to negotiate the three leaps, to cross the uncertain crevices between ends and means and between the ideal and the real. The implication of the curricular transposition framework is that successful negotiation of these leaps involves a form of 'concordance' or 'seamlessness' between the different stages. This idea will be explored through the empirical cases that follow, and outlined more fully in chapter 9.

Torney-Purta (1999: 32) states of the *octagon* model, that:

> Each nation's civic traditions, adult political culture, contemporary events and every day experiences of diversity are also shaping young

people's views. The octagonal embedded model is clearly an appropriate one for studying civic education.

The first statement here is clearly true: young people's political development depends on a wide range of factors and occurs in diverse sites. The octagon model is very useful for understanding *citizenship learning*. However, this is different from *citizenship education*. Educational initiatives can be distinguished by the element of *intentionality*. *Learning* can occur either deliberately or unwittingly; *education* is always intentional. These deliberate interventions aimed at fostering particular forms of learning that we call 'education' are highly unpredictable and often problematic morally and politically. The curricular transposition model attempts to capture the complexity of educational initiatives in this way.

The framework also highlights instances of ingenuousness in existing and past citizenship education initiatives. Governments and other promoting bodies sometimes assume that it is sufficient to have a political aim and create an educational policy to achieve it, while ignoring the significant complexities of the educational undertaking. Curricular transposition does not itself provide answers to the difficult questions of what ideals of citizenship should be promoted, of which educational activities are most effective, and how students learn. Nevertheless, it does draw attention towards the crucial questions themselves, and provides us with a lens through which to better understand the processes and the links between them. The framework will now be used to explore three current examples of education for citizenship.

Notes

1 Akar (2007), for example, points out that in some countries (e.g. United States, Mexico, Hong Kong, Lebanon) nationalism has been promoted through active, participatory learning.
2 A further difference between this scheme and Perrenoud's is that in didactic transposition, the second stage involves the selections made by the institution of school, and the third stage those made by the individual teachers. In curricular transposition, the second stage represents the official curriculum and the third its implementation in practice, the latter including factors relating to individual institutions and the wider societal context, as well as choices made by teachers.
3 For a theoretical treatment of this relationship, see Brezinka (1997).
4 It is important to note that the term 'enactment' (and 'enact') is also used in the literature on curriculum and by policymakers (e.g. CCSSO 2007) in a more

neutral sense to refer simply to 'putting into practice'. This book, however, follows the more specific use in Snyder et al. (1992).

[5] A different categorization, but one based on the same principles, is provided by Posner (2004). He distinguishes between a *research, development and diffusion* (R, D & D) model, a technicist, linear approach that sees teachers as passive recipients, and a *collaborative* model, in which teachers are 'active shapers of curriculum change to meet local needs' (p. 228).

Chapter 6

Three Brazilian Experiences

The cases explored in the next three chapters are located in a country that is of particular importance for citizenship education. Brazil is an example of extreme inequalities and political marginalization – making the task of civic empowerment all the more pressing and challenging. At the same time, it is home to a large number of innovative educational initiatives, forming part of a wider movement for democratization emerging in the 1980s with the end of the military dictatorship. These experiences – many inspired by Paulo Freire – have features that contrast in significant ways with the dominant forms in the English-speaking world. Studying these initiatives is important then, both so as to cast light on the hidden assumptions of policy and practice in countries like the USA and the UK, and also to learn from the successes and challenges of programmes that are significant in their own right. The Brazilian context – like all contexts – has a number of unique features, meaning that experiences cannot be 'transplanted' to another part of the world. Nevertheless, important lessons can be learnt.

In addition, the three cases have contrasting features, enabling an exploration of the theoretical questions raised in the previous chapters. The first of the initiatives assessed here is the Landless Movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*), a social movement for agrarian reform that runs a large network of schools, characterized by a commitment to the workers' struggle and the creation of a socialist society. The second, the Plural School (*Escola Plural*), is an initiative of the municipal government of Belo Horizonte, aiming to address social exclusion by creating a more democratic school system in the city. Lastly, the Voter of the Future (*Eleitor do Futuro*) programme, an initiative of the Electoral Tribunals, aims to equip young people for responsible and well-informed citizenship in a liberal democracy. These initiatives have very different conceptions of valued citizenship and prescribe different means of achieving them; they also have very different experiences in implementing the programmes. Before introducing the three initiatives more fully, this chapter will first assess the background context of Brazil.

Brazil – Land of Inequalities

In 2007, Brazil was ranked tenth of all countries on the Gini scale of income inequality (UNDP 2007). While it is far from being a low-income country, with a GNI per capita of $5910 (World Bank 2007), wealth is heavily concentrated, with the top ten per cent of society having a 68 times greater share than the bottom ten per cent. This leaves the majority of the population in poverty, with particular hardship suffered in the rural regions of the North-East and the urban shantytowns known as *favelas*.

Historical factors are key to explaining the injustices in the country. The Portuguese colonization from the start of the sixteenth century divided the vast territory into *captaincies* run by (frequently absent) noblemen, with few independent smallholdings. The economy was based around exploitation of natural resources using slave labour from Africa, with little effort to develop the infrastructure of the country or establish a self-sufficient system. While national industry was encouraged in the twentieth century, the economy is still dependent on agricultural and mineral exports, and there has been little change in the extreme concentration of wealth.

Economic inequalities in Brazil are mirrored by systematic political marginalization. Democracy is far from being ingrained in Brazilian culture, the colonial period having been followed by a constitutional monarchy from 1833–1889, and then a Republic interrupted by two dictatorships, from 1937–1945 and 1964–1985. The country was until recently 'a case study in elections without democracy' (Bethell 2000), illustrated by the fact that illiterate people were for a long time denied the vote, meaning disenfranchisement of more than half the adult population as late as 1946. The period since 1985, however, has seen a significant strengthening of democracy, both in terms of formal structures and citizen participation. A number of trade unions and social movements emerged in this period, and a new Constitution was created in 1988. This and subsequent declarations such as the Statute of the Child and the Adolescent of 1990 provide guarantees of substantial political, civil and social rights.

However, the progressive nature of current legislation in Brazil is not matched by its implementation, and many of these rights are not fulfilled in practice, particularly those relating to basic welfare. In terms of the political system, too, there are significant flaws. The system is still strongly characterized by *clientelism*, through which political support is given not on the basis of the long-term interests of the population as a whole, but of short-term protection from local elites, thus perpetuating relations of

dependence (Taylor 2004). Many municipalities are still run by *coronéis* (literally, colonels), heads of powerful family dynasties. There are frequent occurrences of outright vote-buying, with poor families targeted with gifts of basic foodstuffs or fuel. With the new electronic voting system, fraud is less common, although still a potential problem.

The fluidity of Brazilian racial identity has made issues of racism more complex than, say, in the USA. On account of the long history of inter-marriage between indigenous peoples, Europeans and Africans, a myth of 'racial democracy' has long been prevalent in the country. Yet, this conceals significant inequalities. Currently, the proportion of black and mixed-race Brazilians classified as illiterate is double that of the white population, and the latter's salaries are on average 40 per cent greater than those of the former, when controlling for qualifications (IBGE 2007). However, one important difference between Brazil and many other countries undertaking citizenship education programmes is the absence of recent immigrant groups of significant size. This means that a number of the problematic issues about national identity discussed in the literature on citizenship education are not present – black or indigenous Brazilians may be discriminated against and marginalized in various ways, but it would never be suggested that they were any 'less Brazilian' than the rest of the population. Another distinctive feature in relation to citizenship is the relative absence of nationalistic rhetoric and sentiment. While there is evident patriotic feeling, largely focused around sporting events, this rarely takes an exclusive or hostile character. In part this is a reaction against the nationalistic emphasis of the dictatorship years, as well as the lack of obvious military or other threats to the country. Citizenship education initiatives, for these reasons, very rarely emphasize nationalist elements.

The Brazilian Education System

In the 2003 PISA assessment, Brazil ranked last out of 40 countries on mathematics and thirty-seventh in reading, and faired little better in the follow-up assessment in 2006. Even taking into account the limitations of standardized tests and the fact the other participating countries included the wealthiest in the world, this is still a disturbing result. The figures point to a perverseness in the Brazilian system, showing, as in many aspects of society, that Brazil is two countries in one. While it has thriving graduate education provision and research centres, basic primary education for the majority of the population is far from adequate.

While primary net enrolment is now 97.6 per cent (IBGE 2007), there are high levels of repetition and drop-out, and continuing concerns about quality, particularly in the poorer regions of the country. Upper secondary enrolment (for students aged 15–17) has also risen sharply, yet the net figure is still only 47.1 per cent (IBGE 2007), and only one in ten of each age group attends university. Illiteracy nation-wide for the over-15 population runs at 10.4 per cent, with the figure much higher in rural areas, and over twice this proportion are functionally illiterate (IBGE 2007). In relation to gender, however, Brazil is distinct from many low- and middle-income countries. Girls now have higher school enrolment levels than boys at all levels, and the proportion of female university students has now risen to 57.5 per cent (IBGE 2007).

Studies such as those of Birdsall and Sabot (1996) and Plank (1996) argue that despite being 'dealt a bad hand' in terms of historical developments, Brazil has also 'played its hand badly', its education system comparing unfavourably with East and South-East Asian countries with similar economic conditions. The establishment of formal education in Brazil lagged behind that of other colonized countries of the Americas, with the elites generally sending their children to be educated in Europe. The establishment of the Republic in 1889 brought demands for a universal secular public education system and increasing faith in the potential of education for bringing technological progress, yet change was slow and by 1920 the labour force was still 80 per cent illiterate (Havighurst & Moreira 1965). Enrolments increased at all levels, however, in the period of rapid industrialization from the 1960s. The expansion of the system continued under the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994–2002), which, following World Bank proposals, invested in primary education at the expense of other levels. Yet, despite near universal access to primary education, commentators (e.g. Gentili 1995; Gentili & Frigotto 2000) point to the continuing exclusion of the majority of Brazilians through the structures and cultures present in schools.

Administration of the education system in Brazil is divided between federal, state and municipal levels. In the Cardoso era, an increasing number of primary schools came under local control, although approximately half are still controlled by the states. On account of the highly decentralized nature of the system, there is no unified education policy for the whole country and no national curriculum. Municipalities and states have considerable freedom to introduce their own distinctive policies.

As a result of this, there is no national provision for citizenship education. The subject – in the form of 'Moral and Civic Education' – had

been compulsory in the two periods of authoritarian rule of 1937–1945 and 1964–1985, but not subsequently (Louro 1986). An important development of the Cardoso era was the publication, in 1997–1998, of the National Curriculum Parameters (NCPs), intended to provide a common base for the curriculum across the country. While the NCPs are far from representing a *national* curriculum, they do aim to provide a reference point for the country, as stipulated by the new Education Law of 1996, which undertook to guarantee to all 'the indispensable common education for the exercising of citizenship, and to provide means for progressing in work and subsequent studies' (Candau 2001: 14). In the NCPs, democratic citizenship is to be promoted through the cross-curricular (*transversal*) themes of ethics, environment, health, cultural plurality, work, sexual orientation and consumer issues. There is some support for active conceptions of citizenship:

> To live together democratically means to have awareness that the role of people is not only to obey and repeat the laws, but to contribute to their reformulation, adaptation and to the elaboration of new laws. (p. 79)

The document also recognizes that social realities in Brazil are far from the moral and political ideals expressed in the Constitution. However, some commentators (e.g. Candau 2001) see the NCPs as part of an essentially neo-liberal approach to citizenship, without a commitment to universal social rights. Whatever its orientation, there is no guarantee that the NCPs will be implemented. While there may be subtle ways of ensuring their adoption (Teixeira 2000), the Federal Government cannot force the lower levels of government and schools to change their curricula.

There is, therefore, still a significant lack of citizenship education provision in the Brazilian public system. Other local and non-state providers have, however, aimed to fill this gap.

Alternative Frameworks of Education

Since the start of the 1980s, there has been significant civil society mobilization in Brazil, initially centred on the restoration of democracy after the military dictatorship, but later extending to other issues such as workers' rights, land distribution, indigenous peoples and police violence. Education is an area in which there has been particularly strong mobilization and debate, partly because of the informed and active body of teachers and partly because of the importance of schooling in maintaining

or transforming wider social inequalities. Social movements, community groups, NGOs, church groups and local governments have all been active in constructing and implementing education alternatives (Bartlett 2005; Fischer & Hannah 2002; Gentili & McCowan 2003; Ghanem 1998; King-Calnek 2006; Myers 2007; Wong & Balestino 2001). The decentralized nature of the Brazilian system has meant that opposition to dominant paradigms has taken the form not only of pressuring central government for policy changes, but also of actively constructing alternatives at the local level. A number of significant local government initiatives have emerged in the last 20 years, many under municipal governments of the Workers' Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*, PT).

Paulo Freire himself was involved in an administrative capacity in the first of these initiatives, in the municipality of São Paulo, where the PT came to power in 1988. Freire was Secretary from January 1989 to May 1991, at the head of a system involving 700,000 pupils and 40,000 employees (Lima 1999). In line with the experiences discussed in chapter four, participation was enhanced by the establishment of *school councils*, consisting of teachers, parents and students, intended to reduce the concentration of power in the hands of the headteacher and Municipal Secretariat. These councils had existed elsewhere, but were particularly successful in this administration, with 684 functioning by 1992. In addition, individual schools developed greater freedom by constructing their own *politico-pedagogical plans* (guiding frameworks forming the basis of the curriculum). There were also attempts to establish greater inter-disciplinarity, on the basis of Freirean 'generative themes' – categories established on the basis of significant community issues (Moreira 2000).

The best-known of the municipal initiatives in education, however, was the Citizen School of Porto Alegre, developed during the PT local government of 1988–2004. Constructed in opposition to neo-liberal conceptions of the citizen as consumer, the initiative came to international attention partly due to the general exposure given to the city through its hosting of the World Social Forums. It formed part of a range of significant social policy innovations such as the *participatory budget*, which allowed local communities to vote on spending priorities for their areas (Abers 2000; Hatcher 2002; Navarro 2003). The Citizen School involved democratization in three dimensions: management, access and knowledge (Azevedo 2002; Gandin & Apple 2002). Democratization of management involved measures such as the direct elections of heads and deputies and of school councils. The question of access was addressed by promoting an inclusive agenda in relation to students with special needs and street children, as

well as special youth and adult education for those who had not completed primary school. Measures were adopted to address the high levels of repetition and drop-out, leading to a decrease in the latter from nine per cent in 1989 to 0.97 per cent in 1998 (Azevedo 2002). The third form of democratization, that of knowledge, involved the incorporation of local and minority ethnic knowledge as a valued part of the curriculum. The Porto Alegre reforms were reflected elsewhere in the country from Pelotas in the South (McCowan 2006) to Belém in the North, representing a paradigm of alternative policy that would be highly influential in subsequent years.

Research

The three initiatives explored in this book, therefore, are located in a context that is striking both in the urgency of the need for citizenship education, and in the range of innovative responses. The research, undertaken in June–September 2005 and May–September 2006, involved data collection in three states of Brazil: Rio Grande do Sul (MST), Minas Gerais (Plural School) and in the case of Voter of the Future (VF), a state in the North of the country. The initiatives were chosen on the basis of their intrinsic significance and because they display contrasting political and educational approaches. None of three goes specifically by the name of 'citizenship education' or 'civic education', yet all are integrally tied to the aim of promoting citizenship.

For each initiative, in addition to a general overview, focus schools were chosen for in-depth research (five in the case of VF, and two in the cases of the other two initiatives). Documents were collected, including official curriculum statements and pedagogical materials at national, state and school levels. Interviews were conducted with three coordinators or officials of each initiative, and, in the focus schools, with the headteacher, three classroom teachers, and three groups of students aged 11–17 (a total of 51 interviews). Observations of classes and other activities were also carried out.

The documentary data was analysed to determine the underlying moral and political orientations of each initiative, and identify the official curriculum programmes. The interviews provided personal views and understandings of citizenship, and the perspectives of different actors on the processes of implementation. Observations provided perspectives on the interactions of participants in the programmes, and the responses of students to the activities undertaken. On account of the limited timescale of the research, the study could provide only tentative conclusions about the effects on students and on the wider society.

The interviews, and all other data collected, were in Portuguese; the quotations appearing here are the author's translations to English. In all cases, pseudonyms have been used for participants and schools, with real names used for the initiatives themselves and, in the cases of the MST and PS, the places in which they occur. The state in which the VF research was carried out will remain anonymous (referred to as 'Yanomia'), as given the small size of the programme, it would otherwise be impossible to maintain the anonymity of the individual participants and schools.

The Plural School

The first of the three projects explored here falls into the group of progressive local government initiatives outlined above. The Plural School (PS) is run by the municipal government of Belo Horizonte, a large city with a metropolitan area of over five million inhabitants. The city is capital of the state of Minas Gerais, a large land-locked area near the centre of Brazil, one of economic and political significance in the history of the country. While the region is wealthy in comparison to the North and North-East of Brazil, there are severe inequalities leaving a significant proportion of the population in poverty and political marginalization. A disproportionate part of this group is made up by the black and mixed-race population, mostly descendants of the slaves who were brought to the region during the gold boom of the eighteenth century.

The PS, initiated in the 1990s by the Municipal Secretariat of Education (SMED), is not so much a project or programme as a *framework* of policy and practice. The central principle on which the PS functions is inclusion. The traditional school is seen to exclude sections of the community in a number of ways: through its choice of valued knowledge, its assessment procedures, the structure of the school day and the teacher-student relationship. The framework, therefore, represents an opening of this rigid system to a plurality of individuals, groups and cultures, giving each equal value and opportunity.

The PS presents itself not as a government policy but as a grassroots movement of teachers and social movements that gradually gained state support and recognition. Nevertheless, the existence of a PT government in the city was essential to the process of adoption. The PT came to power in Belo Horizonte in 1993, and has remained there in the governing coalition ever since. Some democratization of the municipal system was seen in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with the introduction of direct elections for

heads and deputy heads and increasing participation of the community in the running of the school. While the PS represented the accumulation of prior experiences and initiatives, it was only adopted as official policy from 1995. The framework applies in different ways to the municipal system's 164 primary and 26 secondary schools[1], as well as pre-school, special education and youth and adult education provision (INEP 2007), although it is important to note that the framework is not adopted unconditionally by all schools or imposed on them, and there is therefore significant difference between them in the practical implementation of these ideas (Silva & Mello 2001).

The PS aims to combat 'school failure', represented by drop-out and repetition (pupils traditionally repeat the whole school year if they do not reach the exam level of 60 per cent). The structure of the system and its rigid criteria for repetition prevent many individuals, and certain social groups in particular, from completing primary school and, as a likely consequence, lead to their systematic exclusion from valued arenas and opportunities in society. The underlying principles of the framework are well expressed by Maria Céres Castro (2000: 3), Secretary of Education in the city from 1997–2000:

> Initially, 'school failure' seemed to reveal the inadequacy of pupils in school, which ended up legitimizing their social exclusion. Incapable of proceeding in their studies – exposed to multiple exam failure and repetition which led, in many cases, to dropout – pupils (and their families) gradually internalized the exclusion and made it legitimate as an expression of their individual incapacity or difficulty of adaptation. The right to education, seen simply as the right to access to school, became then the social form of legitimizing exclusion . . . It was understood that it was necessary to construct a new order of school capable of ensuring the inclusion of all, particularly those sections of the population that were systematically excluded and/or marginalized, guaranteeing them not only access to formal education, but above all the possibility of participating in the construction of new knowledge and the acquisition of knowledge produced throughout the history of humanity.

The distinctive feature of the PS, therefore, is its recognition that the realization of the right to education can be a form of exclusion if attention is not paid to processes within the school.

According to Moreira (2000: 122) the PS differs from the experiences in São Paulo and Porto Alegre in its aim to include people to a greater degree

in the process of production of knowledge. In addition, transversal axes, based on themes of contemporary social importance, are intended to run through all the subject disciplines. The overarching theme is 'education for citizenship', and includes environment, cultural diversity, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and consumer components.

A fair amount of research has been carried out on the PS within Brazil, particularly focusing on its approach to assessment and the restructuring of the grade system. These studies (e.g. Dalben 2000a, 2000b; Glória & Mafra 2004; Soares 2001, 2002) are on the whole supportive of the PS framework, but highlight the challenges of implementation, particularly in relation to misunderstandings and opposition on the part of teachers and local communities.

Voter of the Future

The VF programme, on the other hand, is distinctive in focusing primarily on elections and in having its motivating force outside the education system, in the judiciary. The legal origins of the programme have a strong influence on the educational orientations and understanding of citizenship.

The programme was designed initially by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) in 2002, for implementation by the Regional Electoral Tribunals (TREs), one in each state of the Federation. The inspiration came from observation of a similar programme in Costa Rica. In August 2003 a meeting of representatives from the TREs and from UNICEF (which was invited to participate) produced a booklet entitled 'Voter of the Future Project: Learning to be a Citizen', outlining the orientations of the programme and a framework for implementation in the states (TSE 2003).

The main aim of the initiative is to develop young people's abilities to be responsible and effective citizens in a liberal democracy. In Brazil, voting is obligatory for people aged 18–70, with financial penalties for those who fail to do so. Those aged 16 and 17 are allowed to vote but are not obliged to. TSE statistics from 2000 show that the voting rate among this age group was under 50 per cent in most states, and only 13.5 per cent in the Federal District. UNICEF's (2002) research project on Brazilian youth, entitled 'The Voice of the Adolescents' showed that a staggering 41.3 per cent of 16- and 17-year-olds were not aware that they were entitled to vote. Nevertheless, many of this age group considered politics (even in the form of party politics) to be important, and a number were politically active or involved in local community groups.

The aims of the initiative are laid out in *Learning to be a Citizen*:

- To strengthen the citizenship of children and adolescents aged 10–15 who are enrolled in the school system.
- To encourage young people aged 16 and 17 to participate in the democratic process as enabled by the Citizen Constitution of 1988, facilitating their enrolment over the next elections.
- To alert young people to the vices that distort and contaminate the objective and essence of the right to vote, conscientizing them on the ethics of politics and the exercising of the vote.
- To inform young people of good and bad electoral practice on the part of candidates and parties, with reference to current electoral legislation.
- To guarantee young people the right to expression and opinion on elections, an important moment of the democratic life of the country.
- To equip and mobilize the young people involved in the initiative for the conscious and free exercising of the vote, guaranteeing them an emancipatory citizenship in the future.

(TSE 2003: 5)

Activities are supposed to be particularly prominent in electoral years, with full parallel mock elections for those aged 10–15, and campaigning for voter registration for 16- and 17-year-olds. The initiative is intended to be a partnership between different sectors of society, particularly: officials of the electoral system, officials of the child and adolescent justice system, schoolteachers, NGOs, human rights activists and volunteers (TSE 2003: 6). It has been designed on a centre-periphery model, initiated by a national body and disseminated to the regions, meaning that there is significant difference in the uptake of the individual states, with substantial activities in some, and only a token acknowledgement of the initiative in others. Some states (e.g. Yanomia and Barobia[2]) staged high-profile launches for the initiative in order to raise awareness in the community at large.

The main part of the research on VF was carried out in the state of Yanomia, located in the North of the country in the Amazonian region. Yanomia, like the rest of this region, is still largely undeveloped and very sparsely populated. Poverty levels are slightly lower than in the North-East, but there are few economic opportunities. In terms of politics, the state shows a number of the challenges facing Brazilian democracy: nepotism, vote-buying, clientilism, limited literacy skills among voters and restricted access to reliable information. There is a strong dependence on public sector employment, much of which is allocated in return for political

support, meaning that many people's livelihoods depend on the election of particular candidates. The VF programme was launched in Yanomia in December 2003, with ten primary and secondary schools (eight public and two private) involved in the capital – adherence to the programme being voluntary.

The Landless Movement

The Movement of Landless Rural Workers or 'Landless Movement' (MST) is widely recognized as the largest and most influential social movement in Latin America. It grew out of the actions of scattered peasant uprisings and progressive wings of the Catholic Church responding to the urgent need for agrarian reform (Forman 1972). In Brazil, approximately one per cent of landowners control 50 per cent of farmland, while there are as many as 4.5 million landless peasants (Brandford & Rocha 2002, Caldart 2000). The country moved from 30 per cent urban population in 1945 to 70 per cent in 1990 (Oxfam 1991) on account of hardship in rural areas and changes in agricultural production, with many of those forced from the land migrating towards a new form of poverty in the *favelas*. The movement was officially founded in 1984 and functioned initially in the south of the country, although it has now spread to 23 of Brazil's 27[3] states.

The state in which the research was carried out, Rio Grande do Sul, was the founding place of the MST, and is still a reference point for the movement as a whole. It has historically been an agricultural centre, originally through cattle, but later diversifying to other crops such as soya and tobacco. The region's identity is dominated by the figure of the *gaúcho*, the wandering cowboy of the outback, jealously guarding his independence from society. This figure can be seen as a root of two apparently contradictory tendencies in the state: on the one hand, a conservative, machista traditionalism, and on the other, an independence of mind that has made it the cradle for a number of progressive political and intellectual movements in the country. The MST is very much coloured by Rio Grande do Sul's distinctive character, and a number of its influential figures were born there.

The general aims of the movement are:

1. To build a society without exploitation where labour has priority over capital.
2. To ensure that the land is at the service of all in society.
3. To guarantee work for all, with a just distribution of land, income and wealth.

4. To constantly strive for social justice and equality of rights, whether economic, political, social or cultural.
5. To encourage humanist and socialist values in human relations.
6. To combat all forms of social discrimination and promote equal participation for women.

<div align="right">(MST 1995)</div>

Central to the movement's activities is land occupation, whereby a group of families squats on unused agricultural land in one of the large estates. An *acampamento* (camp) is formed, in which high levels of organization and cooperation are required to sustain the itinerant community. As Gorgen (1989: 17–18) states:

> The time in the camp also serves as an apprenticeship for community life, living together, organizing to claim one's rights, learning about society, and preparing technologically and organizationally for the future use of the land.

The Brazilian Constitution states that idle farmland must be allocated for land reform, and after long struggles with the government, the families will often win the right to stay. The camp then becomes an *assentamento* (settlement) and the families can then begin to farm their own land, which they do either individually or collectively. Aside from land occupations, other forms of protest have also been used, such as demonstrations, road marches, occupation of public buildings, urban camps, and, in extreme circumstances, hunger strikes (MST 2001: 199–203). The use of violence is not sanctioned by the movement, but its activities inevitably put it in conflict with the police, as well as with the landowners' militias. This has resulted in frequent injury and loss of life, the worst case being the massacre of Eldorado de Carajás in 1996 in which 19 landless people were killed.

Soon after the first settlements were established, it became clear that some form of educational provision would be necessary for the children of the landless. Furthermore, a large proportion of the adults were themselves illiterate and needed to develop basic skills to improve their agricultural work and enable effective political participation. A few primary schools emerged, along with adult literacy classes, staffed mainly by those few members of the community who had completed school. After struggles with local authorities, communities managed to have their schools officially recognized, and thereby gain state funding and provision of teachers and materials. Education soon became a key priority for the movement, and today there exists a network of 1500[4] schools that have provided for

160,000 children, many of whom otherwise could have expected no more than a few years of poor quality primary education. In the southern states, an innovative form known as the *itinerant school* has been established, a mobile institution that follows its students when a camp is uprooted and moved to a new location. There are also many thousands of students in youth and adult education, as well as provision in early years education, technical secondary courses, and higher education courses in partnership with established universities. The first formal teacher education courses at secondary level were run in 1990, and in 1998 a university programme for teachers was established, using a distinctive approach termed *pedagogy of the land*, emphasizing the movement's political and rural concerns (MST 2004).

These quantitative gains are an achievement in themselves. Yet the aim of the MST is to transform the fundamental nature of education as well:

> Faced with the tradition of an elitist, authoritarian, bureaucratic, content-heavy, 'banking'[5] school, with a narrow and pragmatist conception of education, [we have] the challenge of constructing a popular, democratic, flexible, dialogical school, a space for a holistic human development in movement. (MST 2004: 15)

In this process of pedagogical transformation, the key influence is Paulo Freire, but the movement also draws on figures such as Jose Martí and Anton Makarenko. The principle goals of the MST education system are to:

- eradicate illiteracy in the camps and settlements
- make sure that all children are in school
- train teachers for the camps and settlements
- elaborate and develop a new pedagogy to strengthen rural culture
- gain the support of entities and people who share the educational principles of the movement

(MST 2001)

As with the Plural School, a large amount of research has been carried out in Brazil on the MST. Much of the significant body of literature has come from activists of the movement itself, and sympathetic outsiders (e.g. Bogo 1999; Gorgen 1989, 1991; Stédile & Fernandes 1999), although there are some critical portrayals (e.g. Martins 2000; Navarro 2002). The movement's educational activity has also attracted some international interest

(e.g. Brandford & Rocha 2002; Kane 2001). Some of the key features appearing in the literature have been rural education (Menezes 2001; 2003), democratic participation (Janes 1998; McCowan 2003), teachers and teacher education (Beltrame 2000; Diniz-Pereira 2005), and the use of local knowledge (Knijnik 1996).

The following chapters will only assess MST primary and lower secondary schools, and not the many other forms of education with which the movement is engaged. In many ways, the technical, higher, adult and non-formal education in the MST show much more explicitly and clearly the distinctive approach of the movement. Here, however, only primary and secondary education will be assessed, in order to preserve some form of comparability with the other initiatives, and because the book is principally concerned with the ways citizenship can be promoted through formal education for young people.

One distinctive element in the MST is that education is organically linked to the social movement. This idea is best expressed by Roseli Caldart (2000; 2001), perhaps the most influential education theorist in the movement. One of her key motifs is *pedagogy in movement* in which she sees the educational work of the MST as one that is constantly being created and recreated by the practical experience of educators in camps and settlements, in dialogue with theoretical influences. Another is the importance of the *Sem Terra* (landless) identity, which, following Thompson's (1980) analysis of the English working class, she sees as fundamental to the development of the social movement as a political actor.

An area in which the MST has aimed to address social inequalities is gender. As seen above, one of the movement's six principal goals is 'to combat all forms of social discrimination and seek the equal participation of women'. The National Sector of Gender has consequently been established to help achieve this within the movement. One manifestation of this goal is the requirement that one of the two delegates representing each community and state must be a woman. By the year 2000, nine of the 18 elected members of the national leadership were women, a considerable achievement in a country where fewer than ten per cent of the representatives in the Lower House and the Senate are female. Nevertheless, the traditional machista attitudes and practices of the wider society can still be seen within the movement, and women can struggle to be accepted in roles other than those of the home and child rearing.

Another difficult issue concerns the running of its state-funded schools. For the movement, this is problematic since the local authorities can impose teachers unfavourable to its aims and thereby undermine the distinctive

philosophy of the school. Yet the MST resists running its schools privately, partly because it lacks the funds to do so, and partly because it is strongly in favour of the idea of public schooling. From the point of view of the state, MST schools are problematic as they have a specific ideology that may not be sufficiently 'lay' to justify state school status. Nevertheless, local governments recognize that the MST is playing a fundamental role in providing basic schooling in many rural areas, and thus tolerate it.

*   *   *

This chapter has sketched the backdrop to the three initiatives. It is one that is characterized by extreme inequalities and political marginalization, but also by determined popular movements for change. While sharing the same basic context, the three cases show very different responses to problems in society and distinct approaches to the promotion of effective citizenship. The following chapter will assess these differences, and the curricular programmes emerging from them.

Notes

[1] A number of institutions have both primary and secondary provision on the same site.

[2] Pseudonyms.

[3] This figure includes the Federal District.

[4] Only 200 of these, however, have the complete eight grades of primary school, and only 20 have secondary provision (MST 2004).

[5] i.e. Freire's conception of 'banking education'.

Chapter 7

Relating Ends and Means

The curricular transposition framework presented in chapter 5 highlights the 'leaps' that must be made between different stages of the educational process. The leap that has had the least attention in educational research and debate is the first – that from overarching aims to curricular programme. This movement is far from straightforward as it involves a choice of means in order to obtain certain ends – a choice that can have various bases, including empirical evidence, appeal to authority or tradition, logical connection or moral imperative. In addition, the relationship between means and ends is not restricted to one of consequence: there may also exist a relationship of *harmony*, when the means embody principles contained in the ends, or *unification*, when means and ends become one.

This chapter will assess the relationship in the three cases in Brazil outlined above. The aims and the curricular programmes were identified from the documents collected and interviews conducted in each initiative. The focus here is not on specific learning objectives contained in curricula, but on the overarching aims or underlying principles of the actors, relating to moral, political, epistemological and ontological beliefs. These aims are sometimes explicit, being directly expressed by the initiative, or implicit, derived from general statements. Clearly, the individuals involved in the initiative and the various documents have subtly different views: these differences are acknowledged, while at the same time attempting to identify common principles. Those elements of the aims and curricular programmes that relate to citizenship are given prominence, for example understandings of rights and duties, political participation and civic identity.

In terms of the curricular programme (involving content, method, relations and structures), none of the three initiatives has a single curricular document providing an authoritative reference point. The ideal curriculum envisaged by each is formed by a variety of actors (mainly in coordinating

bodies, but with some teacher input) and expressed in a range of documents, including national and state publications, school level documents and teaching materials. Interview data is also drawn on to enhance the understanding of certain aspects.

In the analysis, the aim is not to show the historical process by which the curricula were derived, in terms of the planning and writing of curriculum documents, and the contributions and deliberation of different individuals and groups (as in Walker 1971). Instead the focus is on the *relationship* between the ends and the means.

The Landless Movement

Aims and Ideals

The MST subscribes to a predominantly Marxist view of history, seeing the widespread poverty and inequality in Brazil as the result of the historic and continuing exploitation of the workers by an economic elite (MST 2001). The *Politico-Pedagogical Plan* of the MST's Treviso School (2001: 3) starts with the following passage:

> We live in a capitalist society, structured according to a neo-liberal regime. A society in which profit is above all else, leaving human values to one side, reinforcing social and cultural inequalities, increasing exclusion and undermining the foundation of society, that is the family.

The response, therefore, is primarily a transformation of the economic system leading to collectivization of wealth. With resources distributed evenly, political equality becomes a possibility, but the MST in this case advocates not a centralized state, but a radical democratic system, albeit with hierarchical structures of representation. In this, the MST distances itself from some other Marxist movements, as shown in the following statement from the booklet *Principles of Education in the MST*:

> We have already learnt that social transformation is a complex process, which cannot be reduced to a simple seizure of political or economic power. It implies a process of a number of other changes that will be capable of building a new type of power, no longer oppressive or repressive like this one . . . (MST 1999a: 7)

The aim for the MST is 'the transformation of those "torn from the land", those "poor in every way" into citizens, prepared to fight for a dignified

place in history' (MST 1999b: 5). The movement, therefore, sees the citizen as someone who 'fights' for her rights, instead of automatically receiving them. Following Freire (1972; 1994), political participation for the MST is linked to the notion of becoming a 'subject of history', of having the capacity for transforming the world, and being aware of that capacity. As the headteacher Vicente stated, people must be 'subjects of their own history, profoundly knowledgeable of their own reality and able to intervene in that reality'.

The MST does make some allowance for difference in its conception of citizenship, and, as discussed above, is energetic in supporting the equal participation of women in decision-making in the movement (McCowan 2003). On the other hand, there is a large degree of universality in the MST's conception. The movement's utopian vision is one of equality and solidarity, in which all people work for the good of society as a whole. In this, the individual is to a large extent subordinated the *collective*, a notion that is strongly held to in opposition to the perceived individualism and fragmentation of contemporary society.

The overarching aim for the MST, therefore, is the creation of a new socialist society, fundamental to which is the transformation of alienated, individualist people into active, empowered citizens who are 'subjects of history', and act in the interests of society as a whole.

Curricular Programme

Education is strongly present in the MST's vision of change in society. First of all, the current school system is seen to support injustice:

> Education is organized and developed so as to guarantee the structural continuance of the neo-liberal system, forming mere workers, without the ability to make a critical reading of society or to form their own conceptions, that is to say, an alienating education, one that has as an ally in this task the mass media, principally television. (Treviso School 2001: 3)

A form of schooling must therefore be developed to foster the new society based on socialist and humanist values, and be organically linked to the movement for agrarian reform. As the teacher Nilda states, 'It is a school that has a history of struggle.'

MST schools maintain the 'traditional' subjects of maths, science, Portuguese, history and so forth, yet aim to transform their nature, and combine them with a range of activities outside the classroom. Six elements emerge as distinctive to the MST approach. The first of these is the

integration of political elements into the conventional subject disciplines. By way of an example, the history component of Milton Santos School for the sixth grade is as follows:

> From the basis of the current Brazilian reality, search in the past for explanations for the happenings of the current time, awakening in the learners interest for the themes which allow them to situate and position themselves in Brazilian reality. The black community, oppression, women, concentration of land ownership and exploitation are the principal themes worked with in the 6th grade.

This passage shows the movement's emphasis on the historical roots of current problems, the interpretation of events in relation to the class struggle, and the efficacy of popular uprising. However, the political elements of MST education go beyond lesson content:

> To consider democracy a pedagogical principle means, according to our educational approach, that it is not enough for students to study or discuss it; it is also necessary . . . to experience a space of democratic participation, educating oneself through and for social democracy[1]. (MST 1999a: 20)

For this end, emphasis is placed on students organizing their own school activities. They must do this, first, because it is their right to have a say in their own education, and, second, because it is a valuable learning experience. The civic abilities of political organization and action are thus acquired through participation in these activities in school. The most radical examples of this are seen in the MST teacher education courses (Caldart 1997), but it is also common in primary and secondary education. Students are expected to participate in the *school council*, the highest body of management of the school, along with teacher and community representatives. They also form *pupil collectives*, which discuss student issues, and if necessary take them to the General Assembly (MST 1999b).

The emotions must also be engaged in political education. Central to MST activity is the *mística* (literally, mystic, or mystical), a term referring to ceremonial activities that engage the heart and the imagination. The *mística* is described as follows:

> The *mística* expresses itself through poetry, theatre, bodily expression, chants, music, song, MST symbols, work tools, and the recovery of the memory of the struggles and of all the great people who have struggled

for humanity. It becomes a celebration and aims to involve all those present in a single movement, to experience a single feeling, to feel themselves members of a collective identity . . . which goes beyond themselves and beyond the MST. (MST 1999b: 23)

The *mística*, therefore, is intended to galvanize the members of the movement in united action, spurred on by images of the future (the goals of land reform, justice, the socialist society) and of the past (previous struggles, MST martyrs and revered figures).

Next, there is a strong emphasis on work, particularly agricultural work, performed in a collective and cooperative manner. There are two ways in which work is to be incorporated in the school curriculum: first, by equipping students for employment (that is, productive self-owned labour), and second by including work as an educational method (MST 1999a: 16). In relation to the latter, schools are encouraged to organize work-related activities within school hours, such as tending to the vegetable garden, cleaning, decorating, handing out school meals and preparing the *mística* (MST 1999b: 15). The agricultural work also undertaken inside and outside school serves to foster positive rural values and identity, and to gain skills and knowledge in agricultural techniques.

In terms of pedagogical approach, MST education is characterized by an adherence to *dialogue*. In the Freirean sense, dialogue involves a radical alteration of the relations between teacher and student, and of the process of knowledge construction and acquisition:

From our pedagogical practices we could verify the truth of the principle that says: no one learns through somebody else, but also nobody is educated alone . . . That is to say, it is not only the teacher-student relationship which educates: it is also the relationship between students and between teachers . . . Everybody learning and teaching amongst themselves . . . The collective educates the collective. (MST 1999a: 23)

There are also efforts to integrate the local knowledge of the community and the rural population with academic school knowledge.

Finally, the movement sees student participation outside the school as an essential learning experience:

[I]t is good to bear in mind that the pedagogy which forms new social subjects, and which educates human beings, goes beyond the school. It is much bigger and involves life as a whole. Some educational processes

which sustain the Landless identity could never be realized within the school. (MST 1999b: 6)

These forms of participation include popular mobilizations such as land occupations and protest marches, or participation in support work for other MST communities and attendance at movement gatherings and conferences.

The MST curricular programme, therefore, is characterized by attempts to modify the nature of schooling, while maintaining a conventional school format within the state system. It does this by integrating political content into lessons (relating to land reform and the wider social struggles), diversifying school activities to include cooperative work and movement rituals, transforming teacher-student relations and structures of management, and encouraging political activities outside the school.

The Ends-Means Relationship

What is the basis on which the MST chooses its curricular programme? In the movement literature, reference is made to the fact that curriculum implies a selection of content, and that this selection is inherently political. The MST is clear about the principles that orient its choice:

> It is . . . a question of using . . . the principle of social justice, that is to say, to select those contents which, on the one hand, relate to the equal distribution of knowledge produced by humanity, and on the other hand, which have the pedagogical potential necessary to educate citizens for social transformation. In other words, we must analyse each piece of content to be taught, asking ourselves to what point it contributes to the concretization of the other principles which are dealt with in this booklet. (MST 1999a: 15)

This final concept of *concretization* is important. The MST holds to the idea of overarching principles that are made concrete in educational practices. The concretization is supposed to occur on the basis of the practical experiences of educators:

> They [the elements presented in the booklet] are a systematization of different experiences aiming to implement our pedagogical principles, and to make our schools a space for forming the Landless. We have already seen that the process of pedagogical construction is necessarily

dynamic and must be constantly reflected on by all of its subjects. (MST 1999b: 45)

However, while educational approaches are supposed to be derived from practical experience, there is also strong influence from key thinkers – particularly Paulo Freire – and from current 'orthodoxies' of educational theory in Brazil such as social interactionism, interdisciplinarity and participatory assessment.

The key point, however, is that the means chosen, whether through practical experience or the weight of authority, are intended to be in *harmony* with the ends, in the sense that they must be undertaken in the same spirit, or following the same principles. For example, the movement places great emphasis on cooperativism as a basis for organizing work in society: it consequently requires that its educational activities be organized in a cooperative way, i.e. through collective classroom learning, student participation in decision-making, collectives of teachers rather than top-down management, and so forth. Part of this 'harmony' is that values must be exemplified by the teachers:

> In order for a value to be incorporated in the lived experience of people, it must be observed by the students in the lives of the educators. Witnessing is therefore important, that is to say, the teacher's way of being and of relating to others is also part of his or her pedagogical practice. (MST 1999b: 24)

However, there are times at which ends and means remain separate. This can be seen in the place of work in the curriculum: as seen above, the practice and the values of unalienated work are incorporated into the school day (harmony), yet the movement also aims to equip its students with knowledge and skills for engaging in productive employment in later life (separation). There is also a separation of ends and means in the MST in that the educational work in general is intended to help achieve the extrinsic goals of land reform and changes in economic and political structures in society.

Lastly, there is another sense in which the means and ends merge completely (unification). The movement facilitates the participation of students in political activities outside the school, such as protest marches and land occupations. Here the students are learning and developing as citizens (means) at the same time they are exercising their citizenship (ends) – as advocated by Mill (1991) and Pateman (1970). There is no separation here between the preparation and subsequent performance.

The Plural School Framework

Aims and Ideals

The PS initiative, on the other hand, is formed around a notion of social inclusion. Society is seen to be characterized by the exclusion of certain segments of the population from valued arenas, from access to key services and from the exercising of political power. The overarching aim is to reverse this situation, making these arenas available to all. The term 'plural' here refers to the plurality of experiences of the different schools in the municipality, and not to 'pluralism' in its general political sense. 'Inclusive school' would be an equally good description of the initiative (a point made by Luciana, an official in SMED).

The PS is the initiative that places most emphasis on difference in its varying forms. While there are universal entitlements, the differences between citizens are acknowledged and supported. Instead of people adapting to the requirements of society, society is seen to have to adjust to accommodate different forms of people:

> We seek to construct a school in accordance with the plurality of cultural experiences and the necessities of the learners, a school which recovers its condition as a time and space of socialization, of lived experiences and construction of identities. (Barroso School 2004: 11)

In relation to rights, the PS, like the MST, supports a conception of these being 'won' by the people through the struggle:

> So we see in the case of Belo Horizonte today, the participatory budgets . . . where the community mobilizes itself and goes to the plenaries to fight for the building of a crèche, for the building of a clinic, this means, this is being a citizen, but the group must be together and there, in search of a right . . . (Interview with Luciana)

Importantly, rights and participation for the PS are not attributes of a future state, once adulthood has been reached, but are enjoyed by children too. The framework is opposed to the traditional view in which:

> The separation between time for education and time for action, time for childhood and time for adulthood, made time in school have meaning only in as far as it was a *preparation* for other times. Childhood and adolescence stopped having meaning as periods in themselves, as specific

ages of the lived experience of rights. The child and the adolescent are not recognized as subjects of rights in the present. (SMED 2002: 16. Original emphasis.)

The PS, therefore, shares with the MST an opposition to the formal political equality of liberal notions of citizenship that are inattentive to power imbalances in society. However, the response of the PS is distinctive in looking for forms of inclusion, and in its valuing of difference and diversity.

Curricular Programme

The PS represents an attempt to radically alter the nature of schooling. Since school is an important source of exclusion, it is also a key site for reversing the situation. Luciana stated:

> I think that in a country like ours, a crucial thing is to have an inclusive school, a school for everyone, guaranteeing the right to education. And to guarantee this school for all . . . these children, young people and adults that we see as having a trajectory of exclusion, whether in the family, in their own lives, means that . . . the traditional school won't do, it means rethinking the organization of pedagogical work, the organization of time, the organization of spaces, so that school welcomes all.

To ensure the full citizenship of all members of society, therefore, school must be made inclusive, and must function in a way that will allow all students to participate outside in the wider society. The transformation that the PS intends for the school aims to be deep and comprehensive:

> Changing the vision of the curriculum does not imply just changing the contents and programmes, but thinking of a new 'school knowledge' and of 'school culture' in a wider way. (SMED 2002: 45)

Perhaps the best-known feature of the PS is the introduction of 'formation cycles'[2]. These are a means of combating the chronic levels of grade repetition among certain social groups, ensuring that students progress together as an age group (Dalben 2000a; Mainardes 2007). The traditional eight grades are replaced by three cycles of three years (the extra year enabling students to start at the age of 6 rather than 7). These are childhood (6–8), pre-adolescence (9–11) and adolescence (12–14), with the curriculum

tailored to the specific stages of development of the child/adolescent in each cycle. The PS does try to make other provision in conjunction with the cycles, to provide extra support for those who are falling behind their peers and those with special educational needs.

In addition to this overhaul of the grade system, the PS represents a radical new approach to knowledge and the subject disciplines. Moves away from traditional subject divisions and towards an integrated curriculum are to be achieved through the use of projects – such as that recommended in SMED (2002) on advertising of children's toys, aiming to develop a critical awareness of the media – and through the *transversal themes*:

> The proposal is that this curriculum should be constructed from the basis of a collective definition of the themes that represent the problems put forward by the current situation, not in parallel to the curriculum subjects, but transversal to them . . . (SMED 2002: 27–28)

This forms part of an attempt to bridge the gap between remote academic lessons and the needs of the local community, reconciling 'popular culture' and 'historically accumulated knowledge' (SMED 2002: 67).

Related to the challenging of subject boundaries and control of knowledge, is the emphasis on Freirean dialogue, seen previously in the MST, leading to 'increasingly horizontalized relations' being established in the school (Barroso School 2004: 14). The principle of dialogue makes necessary changes in forms of assessment too. As stated in SMED (2002: 40):

> The instruments of evaluation, however varied they may be, must reflect the philosophy of the Plural School, being an expression of a pedagogical relationship based on dialogue and the collective search for solutions. In this way, the evaluative process ceases to be an instrument of sanction, becoming an instrument of the construction of a more plural educative process.

Another element is the importance given to the participation of students in school:

> It is necessary to continue calling the pupils to participation. Participation as an integral part of the school community, with co-responsibility, commitment and interaction . . . through the incentive to the creation and integration of *grêmios*, newspapers, radios and pupil assemblies . . . (p. 29)

The *grêmios* are pupil associations, elected by the pupils themselves, which organize cultural, sporting and political activities in the school and act as a forum for pupil discussion and for representing student views.

The concern of the PS for social exclusion relates to a number of factors. First, there are socio-economic ones – the poorest in society, many of whom live in *favelas*, who have traditionally been unable to attend school. There is also significant focus on the issue of race, particularly the discrimination and exclusion of the Afro-descendent population. To a lesser extent, there is also a concern with issues of gender (e.g. SMED 2002: 56). However, an area that stands out in the programme of the PS is the attempt to integrate those with special needs and disabilities into the mainstream classroom. This is pioneering work in Brazil, where these students often attend special schools or receive no education at all. LIBRAS (Brazilian sign language) translators are employed so that deaf students are able to accompany the lesson within the same classroom. The municipality runs a Centre for Pedagogical Support for the visually impaired as well as a computer programme to give blind and visually impaired students access to IT. There is also pedagogical support for students considered to have behaviour difficulties (Barroso School 2004: 26).

These efforts are intended not only to uphold the rights of people with special needs, allowing them access to education of quality, but also to provide learning opportunities for other students, through coming into contact with people who are 'different', and from whom they are normally segregated. SMED (2002: 67) proposes the following objective:

> To offer to the pupils the conditions and possibilities for living together in plurality, considering the differences between races, classes and gender, developing attitudes of respect and mutual consideration.

Some of the elements of the PS curriculum programme, therefore, are similar to those of the MST. Both, with strong Freirean influence, aim to introduce dialogue in the classroom, to install participatory structures so that students and the community are involved in decision-making, and to integrate local and academic knowledge. A distinctive feature of the PS, however, is that there is a more concerted effort to transform school 'spaces' and 'times', leading to changes in the grade system and subject disciplines. There are also more concrete steps to include all types of students in the same classroom. However, there is much less emphasis than in the MST on the development of political knowledge, skills and values that will enable current and future political action and participation.

The Ends-Means Relationship

The link between participation within and outside school is shown in the following passage:

> [A]ll [the politico-pedagogical plans] propose the development of the citizen for participation in society. All these proposals note that schools will develop these collective subjects in as far as they make them partici-pants in the construction of humanized school spaces. (SMED 2002: 15)

Like the MST, therefore, the PS requires *harmony* between ends and means, since the aim of constructing the inclusive society is seen to require teaching and learning to be conducted in an inclusive and participatory manner. Importantly, these means appear to be adopted on the basis of a *moral imperative*, rather than empirical evidence showing that they are appropriate for achieving particular ends.

SMED (2002: 65) states explicitly that the objectives of the curriculum follow on necessarily from the politico-philosophical orientations:

> The proposal of general objectives for the curriculum, consistent with an educational framework which aims to value diversity, plurality and the differences of socio-cultural experiences, must start with a critical analysis of the concept of curriculum . . .

The criterion for choosing the means is therefore their being 'consistent' (*condizente*) with the underlying orientations. These orientations are both epistemological ('social interactionist constructivist', in the words of the deputy head Rita) and political (social inclusion). The curricular activities emerge from these 'general objectives'.

However, there are occasions on which means appear to be derived in ways other than being consistent with these principles. For example, there is acknowledgement of empirical research as a basis for curriculum design:

> We start from the supposition, *confirmed by the human sciences*, that within the period of basic education (7–14) there are smaller cycles of socialization and formation that must be respected and pedagogically organized. (SMED 2002: 21. Italics added.)

This might be considered an appeal to authority as much as empirical evidence, with the sciences being invoked as an indisputable source. There

are also other occasions (e.g. SMED 2002: 25) in which 'researchers' are called on to justify particular activities. Vygotsky and his 'zone of proximal development', for example, are invoked by Barroso School (2001: 10).

The PS, in summary, while showing different ways in which means are derived from the overarching aims, is characterized particularly by a need for the school to model the ideal society it is intended to create. There is little evidence, on the other hand, of educational activities being organized to achieve separate and future goals of creating democratic citizens: the democratic ideals are brought into the present and into the school.

The Voter of the Future programme

Aims and Ideals

The third initiative, VF, is characterized by strong support for liberal multi-party democracy. However, it sees that the existence of formal structures does not guarantee a successful democracy, and that there are serious problems with its functioning in Brazil. These problems are principally those of electoral corruption and clientilism, and are caused by a combination of unscrupulous, self-interested politicians and an apathetic and ill-informed electorate. As Amanda, a programme co-ordinator, stated:

> Our country is suffering various crises in the political sphere because of a lack of awareness. So we need to motivate these pupils to reflect more, not to exchange their vote for basic provisions . . .

The system, according to this view, is basically good, and if the people can act in a moral, responsible and critical manner, then society will function justly and well. The necessity of political participation for all citizens is made clear in the introduction to a storybook for schools created by the programme:

> We understand that school has a mission to transmit basic knowledge in relation to the matters outlined above [citizenship, rights and duties etc.], reducing, in this way, the number of politically disinterested people, that is to say, those people who are proud to say that they don't like politics and leave their participation as citizens to others, and end up sorting out their lives any old way. (TRE-SE 2004: 1)

This passage confirms the notion of participation as a duty (in contrast to the other two initiatives, where it is seen as a right), and restricts

participation to 'conventional' channels of liberal democracy. In relation to this electoral participation, there is a strong emphasis on political parties and their policies rather than candidates (responding to relatively weak awareness of the former and a strong dependence on the personalities of the latter in Brazilian politics). Pupils must learn 'to vote for ideas, programmes, proposals and work, and not to vote for promises and people' (TRE-BB 2004: 5). The initiative is careful, however, not to favour any specific political party:

> . . . the objective is to create in these adolescents, our future voters, awareness of the importance of the vote . . . but with one observation, with care not to influence them in their party political choices, we leave these party political choices in the charge of other values, you see, of the family, of other groups the adolescents are linked with. (Interview with the judge Antonio)

The 'moralistic' aspect of the initiative is seen in *Learning to be a Citizen*: among the six objectives of the initiatives are those to 'inform young people of good and bad electoral practices', and to 'alert young people to the vices that disfigure and contaminate the objective and the essence of the right to vote' – the strictly defined moral perspective contrasting particularly with the constructivist Plural School.

Furthermore, VF does not see elements of individual and group identity as being of significance for citizenship. The citizen in this initiative is understood to be the possessor of a set of rights protected by law, and a set of duties to respect the law, irrespective of differences. While there is opposition to discrimination against particular groups or individuals, there is no attempt to address the exclusion of particular groups by providing differential treatment: attention is focused on allowing individuals to assume and exercise their full set of rights and duties along with all the others. In addition, and in contrast to the other two initiatives, citizenship is to a large extent seen as a future state, one attained once formal right to vote has been granted, and for which children must prepare themselves[3].

Curricular Programme

VF, therefore, is characterized by an adherence to the structures and principles of liberal democracy, with an awareness of the current abuses and malfunctionings of the system, and proposing in their place upholding of the law and active, responsible citizenship. Education is seen as a means

for individuals to develop the necessary knowledge and moral qualities to participate effectively, and keep those in power accountable.

VF is different from the other two initiatives in that it is not a full curricular framework, instead consisting of particular activities run in schools at specific periods of the year. It therefore inserts itself into an existing school curriculum, without attempting to transform that curriculum. *Learning to be a Citizen* proposes that the programme should involve the following activities:

- classes, lectures and seminars
- visits to the legislative chambers, the judiciary and other organs of public administration
- other participatory forms developed in the community: essay, poetry, music and drawing competitions; presentations of drama and dance; demonstrations, campaigns, mobilizations, treasure hunts, games and marches

The 'classes, lectures and seminars' referred to above are to be delivered by schoolteachers, TRE officials or judges, and can address issues of 'citizenship, rights, duties and the fundamental guarantees of the individual in society, using, for this, the Federal Constitution, the electoral code, electoral law and the Statute of the Child and Adolescent' (TSE 2003). In terms of delivery, 'The methodology will consist of interactive classes and/ or lectures, with distribution of specific texts and utilization of audiovisual resources' (TRE-BB 2004: 7).

In addition to lectures, *Learning to be a Citizen* outlines four possible workshops to be conducted with children in schools. The first recommends for teachers to:

> Organize the children and adolescents in a circle and ask each to speak about the last experience of exercising citizenship he or she had, describing the space or environment in which the scene occurred.

Students here develop their conceptions of citizenship by drawing on their own experience, although the teachers are later encouraged to 'correct' them in accordance with the legal definitions. The other three workshops follow a similar format, focusing on the following themes: citizen rights, election campaigns and voting.

However, the most prominent activity in the programme is the mock election. These elections are sometimes for school officials such as class

representatives, but the programme literature (e.g. TRE-SE 2005; TSE 2003) recommends using mock political parties, based around forms of rights, namely: life and health; liberty, respect and dignity; sport and leisure; public security and combating violence; and education, vocational training and culture.

> The pupils will organize themselves in parties and will defend their public policy through campaigns, within and outside the school, through drama, music, marches, among other things, in interdisciplinary work. At the end of the year, on a day to be confirmed, there will be an election of the parties of public policy, using the voting machines. (TRE-SE 2005)

A few of the students also have the chance to develop their skills not only as voters but also as candidates, preparing and delivering a political campaign. In some cases there are parallel elections for the real candidates at municipal, state and federal levels.

Another important form of activity in the VF is the competition. Poetry, music and art competitions are intended to develop students' creative expression and communication. However, most common are essay writing competitions, on topics such as, 'My future is the vote', 'The vote and your citizenship', 'I won't sell my future' and, 'I am citizenship' (TRE-YA 2003: 9). Also important in the programme are visits to public institutions, the two most common destinations being the municipal legislative chamber and the TRE itself. In some cases, the visit includes some form of debate.

The official curriculum of VF is clearly different from that of the MST or PS in that it contains very little reference to structures or relations in the institution, or to teaching methods, pedagogy or pedagogical relations in class. The absence of these elements from the official curricular programme does not, of course, mean that they are any less present or influential in practice. The lack of explicit attention to them is likely to mean that the 'conventional' structures and relations of school will predominate. In terms of participation, the programme does not prioritize the involvement of the community, nor is there mention of involving students in the construction of educational activities, although their opinions are seen to be valued in classroom activities.

The Ends-Means Relationship

VF has a clear notion of its own aims and objectives, and states these explicitly. It also distinguishes these from the means of achieving them. However,

there is no discussion of, or indication given as to, the link between the two. Unlike the other two initiatives, VF does not require harmony between the underlying principles and the way the educational activities are carried out. It has a set of goals in terms of knowledge, skills and values to be developed in students, and establishes a set of educational activities to achieve them (separation of ends and means). The latter largely consist of simulations, whereby competences developed in the school can be later transferred to real-life situations (e.g. mock elections will enable students to vote effectively in later life). As stated in Santos Dumont School's programme, after the mock election, the students are supposed to be able:

> To identify the best candidate to vote for, through his or her political proposals and his or her suitability for the job, using as a base the characteristics of the pupil representatives and teacher councillor.

These simulations may be useful in aiding the development of political skills, but are not equivalent to 'unification' mode – except in those instances in which the pupils are electing their own class representatives and experience firsthand the consequences of their choices. In some cases, it can be argued that there is a certain arbitrariness about the choice of educational activities in VF – that there simply is not a justifiable link between ends and means. There appears, for example, to be little justification for choosing essay competitions as a means of promoting citizenship, rather than, say, preparing a group presentation on the subject (apart from the incentive to participation provided by the prize). On the other hand, it might be argued that there is a form of harmony in action. Since VF can be seen to have competition and competitiveness as key components of its political belief system (rather than the cooperativism of the MST) it therefore makes sense to have competitive educational activities. In the same way, the fragmented and individualist nature of its curricular programme can be seen to stem from its fragmented and individualist understanding of citizenship.

*   *   *

These three cases have shown some of the diverse ways in which curricular programmes can be established, having as their base – either explicitly or implicitly – a set of aims or ideals. While ends and means in the VF exist predominantly in a relationship of *separation*, in the PS and MST they are in *harmony*, with cases of *unification*, particularly in the latter. As will be

explored further in the chapters that follow, the degree of *proximity* has a strong influence on the types of educational experiences provided, and on the ways pupils interpret those experiences.

This chapter, however, has outlined the *official* curriculum in each case, free from the challenges, constraints and compromises of everyday school life. The next chapter will assess the implementation in practice, highlighting the key role of teacher enactment in this process.

Notes

[1] This phrase is not here used in the mixed-economy, welfare state sense of 'social democratic', but of democracy in a social setting.

[2] *Ciclos de formação.*

[3] The publication *Learning to be a Citizen* does show alternative orientations, emphasizing the rights of children as well (this is likely to be due to UNICEF influence). However, this is not strongly evident in the state programmes.

Chapter 8

Enactment at Work

It is clear from the research that the three initiatives as implemented are at times strongly divergent from their ideal form. In some cases these are neutral or positive changes from reinterpretation and adaptation to local context. In others, they represent a failure to put into practice the ideals of citizenship learning. The second section of this chapter puts forward an argument that these transformations are predominantly due to the figure of the teacher, the extent to which teachers are involved in the design and implementation process, and the extent to which initiatives emerge organically from teachers' own political projects, or alternatively through a feeling of exclusion or non-identification, they resist, subvert or ignore them. An *enactment* perspective involving teachers and students as active agents in the curriculum is put forward as the most promising approach.

Before a closer analysis of the factors at play, however, there will be a sketch of the implementation and effects of the three initiatives.

Curriculum in Action – the Landless Movement

As a whole the MST schools showed a fairly high level of integration of the movement's vision in their practice. This varied a great deal between classrooms, and to some extent between the two focus schools, Salinas and Treviso. Some elements, such as the creation of work teams, were easier to achieve than others, such as Freirean dialogue. Nevertheless, overall there was a sound correspondence between the ideal curricular programme and school practice.

The close link between the political and the pedagogical was clearly borne out in the schools. An example is the work of the teacher Elizete in Salinas School. Influenced by the *ethnomathematics* approach developed by

Knijnik (1996) and others, she had developed distinctive ways of relating mathematics to the community's wider needs:

> Eight years ago he [my father] used to sell a box of lettuce for R\$5[1]. Today, he continues to receive R\$5. We did the calculations, for example, of the rise in a kilo of meat, how much a box of washing powder had gone up . . . and the supermarket doesn't pay him any more but manages to charge more to the people who are buying it. So maths, in this way, is a great source of working with economic and social issues of the country.

History lessons, as might be expected, were also a key site for political discussions, especially in terms of presenting 'another version of history'. Two lessons were observed exploring the colonization of Brazil from the perspective of the indigenous peoples, rather than the Portuguese, as is normally the case. A geography lesson was used to explore economic dependency of Latin America on the USA and the issue of international debt. Even religious education became a vehicle for political discussion, as observed in Daniela's class in Treviso School. She used the textbook, *Occupying the Bible*, created by the MST in order to put a more political light on Christianity, to highlight issues of poverty and inequality in society.

The issue of neutrality was repeatedly raised in interviews, and in observations teachers were seen to grapple with it in practice. No instances were observed in the MST of a political perspective being forced on students, nor of students having their views dismissed or disrespectfully contradicted. Horácio, deputy head in Salinas School, emphasized that in these political discussions, positions are not imposed on students:

> Often in the classroom we discuss the question of agrarian reform and so on and there are some who don't agree, who think that it's not fair and so on, to take land away from those who have land . . . It's fine that it happens, and in school it should be like that, the objective is that they construct their consciousness, their knowledge.

However, there were cases observed in which positions were put forward without encouragement of critical engagement or discussion. Interviews were ambiguous in terms of the extent to which it was seen as necessary for teachers to 'engineer' a consensus: an ambiguity that is characteristic of MST literature as well, where critical engagement is valued but in the context of clear and predefined moral and political positions (e.g. MST 1999a).

Yet while a number of instances of integration of political content into classes were observed, it was not universal. Some classes (e.g. Science and English) were often indistinguishable in content from those in a conventional school. In this, Treviso showed a more consistent treatment of the political than did Salinas. In both schools, much appeared to depend on individual teachers, and their beliefs and commitments.

Evidence of Freirean dialogue in practice was mixed. Aline, a 14-year-old student, who had also studied in schools in the local town, gave a good indication of the distinctive atmosphere of an MST school:

> I think that if I continued living there [in the local town] and studying at that school, I wouldn't think in this way . . . It's like they, they don't teach right, you know. They don't want the children to have a clear vision of what's happening in the country or of those things. They just teach you the content that they have to and that's it . . . And here in the school, it's different. Here in the school you can speak to teachers in the hallway. You can say what you think, you can ask anything about politics and the political parties and so forth . . . That's why, that's why I like it here more. I think that this school made me grow a lot as a person.

While some lessons involved unreflective copying from the board, for the most part the MST schools did provide space for students to express their views and develop criticality in the way highlighted here by Aline. There was also considerable affection shown between teachers and students. The teacher Yoni, for example, would frequently hug pupils in class, and this was not uncommon with other teachers too. In addition, students were generally respectful of the need for quiet during lesson time, and teachers did not have to struggle to maintain discipline.

In terms of the wider aspects of school contributions to citizenship learning, there was evidence of the use of student self-organization, *mística* and collective work. The student representative at Treviso School related that the voice of the students was increasingly heard in relation to the facilities and decorations in the school, and even in relation to teaching styles. Ruth, headteacher of Salinas School, spoke of the way the class council enabled students to resolve their own problems of disputes and disruptive behaviour. The school had two representatives for each class (one girl, one boy) who met once or twice a month with the headteacher and deputy to discuss student issues. According to Horácio, 'they have total freedom to criticize the leadership of the school'. However, there

were some limits on student influence, as highlighted by the younger children at Salinas:

Pupil 1: They have a meeting, and we put forward everything, like, the problems of the class. We speak, we discuss everything and gradually find a solution to the problems of the class.

TM: Do they do what you ask for?

Pupil 1: If it's something okay, here inside which is possible without much problem, then they do it.

Pupil 2: But not everything!

Pupil 1: Now if we expect something more, I mean, out of the ordinary, then that won't do.

TM: Can you give an example of the types of things you ask for in meetings?

Pupil 3: Like, we ask for the day that we're going to celebrate the June festival.

In restricting student action to recreational events, therefore, the structures for student representation do not appear very different in practice from the conventional *grêmio* . However, as a whole, the practice in the two schools was participatory, and did allow spaces for students to develop their capacities through the participation.

In relation to the gender dimension of this self-organization, classroom observation showed equal participation of girls and boys in discussions, and proportions of girls in representative positions were higher than those of boys. The teacher Yoni was actively involved in a women's organization and tried to incorporate this in her practice and in the school as a whole. However, there were cases of stereotyping of gender roles. An example was in Elizete's class, where boys were chosen to do the measuring of the classroom and the sports pitches, while girls wrote down the measurements. Elizete explained this gendered division of roles by saying that her strategy for dealing with frustrated and aggressive students was to give them active physical tasks. The boys in question were chosen to run around with the tape measure in order to keep them occupied. However, in general, MST schools were challenging the low representation of women in positions of political power in the wider society, by having girls in representative positions at the student level, and women in key decision-making roles at the staff level.

Mística appeared mainly in the form of dramatic presentations. In a religious education class observed in Treviso School, the students were

rehearsing a sketch they had written, showing a group of peasant families approaching the mayor to ask for land. The mayor agreed but subsequently reneged on his promise, so the families resorted to occupying the town council by force. The sketch was intended to show the desperation that poverty and broken promises leads to, and bring alive the political issues for the students through the drama.

The *mística* appeared to have a sporadic presence in school, rather than being a programmed, regular occurrence, aside from the singing of the MST anthem. However, there were other aspects of the physical environment that enhanced the symbolic significance of the school space. In the Treviso School staffroom there was a poster of Che Guevara and one of the MST, while in the hallway, there was one of President Lula in an MST cap, an MST flag and a poster of a peace campaign. In the entrance there was a 'museum' display, showing old agricultural implements and other artefacts from the original land occupation: an example of the importance of collective memory for the movement.

The schools were also engaged in political activity beyond their gates. A form of protest commonly referred to in the two schools was that of the Independence Day marches, in which, instead of glorifying the Republic, they made a strong critique of the injustices of the country and promoted the cause of land reform. Other opportunities for wider political development were provided by the youth camps held yearly on Salinas School's football pitch, where the conditions of the original land occupation were recreated so as to give the young people a stronger understanding of their parents' struggle. In 2004, the students at Salinas also made a visit to a real camp to experience cooperative living at first hand.

The evidence from the MST schools, therefore, is that there are some departures from the ideal programme. The 'gravitational pull' of conventional school practices has meant that elements of student democracy and Freirean dialogue have not materialized to the extent that the movement had envisaged. Nevertheless, there was evidence of significant elements for citizenship development in the form of political discussion in class, greater respect for students and space to express their views, collective work and the relation of academic knowledge to local needs and understandings. The extent to which these elements were integrated into the school day depended on the teachers' ownership of the MST project – a point that will be discussed at greater length below.

What were the implications of these experiences for the development of the pupils? As the headteacher Ruth emphasized, an immediately striking aspect of the MST schools is the simple fact of young people who would

normally have a very short school career are going on to secondary and university level and to teaching and other careers. However, in addition to these 'quantitative' aspects, there were also distinctive elements of citizenship learning. Salient characteristics of students in the MST schools were awareness of political issues, particularly those of inequalities and social class; scepticism of official forms of media; belief in the conscientization of the people as a means to wider social transformation; confidence and articulateness in expression of political views; a commitment to collective work and self-organization; and pride in rural and working-class culture and identity. However, these characteristics were not universal across the student body, and in each case there were significant instances to the contrary.

First, the students showed awareness of the problems of Brazilian society and of political action to resolve them. According to the teacher Roberta, the students come to school already with a strong political sense:

> They are very critical, you know, the truth is that this generation now in school . . . they have consciousness of what's happening, about why things happen in this way. It's not that, for example, 'Why is there poverty? Oh no, it's because God wills it' . . . No, it's because there exist policies, the economy is a certain way . . .

In general, students showed some knowledge of the current political situation and of political structures and institutions, although this varied widely. There was some confusion about the different figures of political significance among the younger children. One pupil stated:

> Like the story of Paulo Freire, he was a teacher who also fought to teach underneath the trees . . . he was one who died . . . So we always remember his story . . .

This passage shows the romanticization of past figures, with Freire presented as a martyr (not historically accurate) and as someone close to the earth and the people (only partially true). Yet the students generally did show criticality in relation to the media. While few had access to newspapers, the majority watched the television news on the Globo channel. Salinas School pupils stated:

TM: And how do you see this reality? Through the television or . . . [interrupted]

Pupil 1: No. The television shows only the good side.

TM: Really?

Pupil 1: Because it should show . . . the true side.
Pupil 2: The bad things.
Pupil 3: That way everyone would think better.
Pupil 2: Get to know things.
. . .
TM: Why does it only show the good side?
. . .
Pupil 2: It's like this, whoever has money controls things . . . If someone
          shows that the mayor isn't doing anything . . . they can get into
          big trouble. Because whoever has money is in control. We who
          don't have anything stay quiet.

This awareness of the media among a number of students was all the more significant since many of the teachers cited the negative influence of television and its values as a key obstacle to the implementation of the MST vision in the schools.

A further notable aspect was that the pupils showed a belief in and a commitment to the process of conscientization (Freire 1972). This was seen to be a necessary prerequisite for political change, both in relation to choosing electoral candidates who would support the needs of the people, and in engaging in other forms of political action. Interestingly, when asked how school could help in this process of conscientization, pupils in Treviso School did not emphasize the acquisition of knowledge or analytical skills, but, 'companionship, solidarity, friendship'. This reflects the prominence of these values in the MST programme.

However, conceptions of citizenship were not always those of political transformation (bearing in mind that respondents' understandings of the word 'citizenship' are not equivalent to their underlying political values and aspirations). Pupils at Salinas School stated of citizenship that, 'It's helping others, sharing what one has', with citizens as people who 'respect others', 'can live with others' and 'are honest'. A more combative conception was shown by pupils in Treviso School, putting forward the elements of 'claiming our rights' and 'going after what we want'. They also displayed a notion of political oppression, highlighting the fact that elderly people who were illiterate were exploited, and thereby not able to exercise their citizenship.

A striking characteristic of the students in class was that a large number were articulate and confident in their speaking. Elizete contrasted the MST students with those from the nearby town:

Who pays these marvellous salaries of the representatives? It's us! But I speak about this here and it gets a debate going in the classroom, the

children get excited, everybody wants to speak. There [in the town] they don't, there are one or two who express themselves, who have political awareness, but the majority don't . . .

The students also showed a commitment to collective work, in accordance with MST goals. A pupil in Treviso School stated in relation to the work teams:

[T]he majority of the pupils think it is [enjoyable], because it wasn't the teachers who decided, they didn't force us to do this . . . All the pupils like to have a tidy school, an attractive school, a school that you can arrive and say, 'Ah, that's my school' . . . It's also good because of working together, we also learn from that. Like, the cleaning, the tree-planting, the vegetable plot, we learn from that.

Here, the student emphasized, first, the importance of a sense of decision-making, responsibility and ownership. In terms of learning, there are aspects of collectivity, and also of technical skills. In addition to the work teams, classes took responsibility for cleaning their classrooms at the end of the day. I was struck by the naturalness, lack of complaint and efficiency with which the students tidied and swept their room after the bell went in Treviso School.

In a 'self-organization' class observed in Salinas School, the students (aged 13-14, and in this case all female) were deciding how to raise money in order to pay for a school trip to a theme park. Significant skills of self-organization were observed, in terms of discussion, decision-making and recording of the meeting. While one of the students had a lead role in the discussion, all seven made contributions and were listened to. At some points, voices started to be raised and more than one discussion was under-way at the same time, but usually one of the students said 'one at a time', and order returned. Agreements on each particular topic were reached only after lengthy discussion and consideration of a number of different possibilities. One student with a notebook wrote down each item as it was decided.

In addition to these instances of participation in the school, Ruth high-lighted political action outside its boundaries:

The school does not distance itself from this struggle. Children initiate campaigns . . . the school is in constant movement. Always campaigning for teachers, for the quality of school transport, the widening of the civic space, our children are always in this debate.

Yoni also referred to a number of instances in which students from Salinas had engaged in occupations of public buildings and other political actions.

For the MST, a key part of the political struggle is the development of the identity of the landless people, in order to galvanize working-class solidarity and combat debilitating feelings of low self-esteem. Treviso pupils, when asked what they had learnt during their time at school, stated:

Pupil 1: Ah, that you have to be a good citizen, also that we mustn't hide where we're from . . .

Pupil 2: What we want to do. Never hide, never be ashamed of the name of the MST.

Pupil 1: Never be ashamed of the struggle that our parents had, because if it wasn't for them, today we'd be stretched out, lying on the ground, cold and hungry.

In general, students at the MST schools displayed a remarkable degree of personal well-being and enjoyment of school, a point emphasized also by teachers in interview. There was very little sense of antagonism towards the school as an institution – a common phenomenon among teenagers in many countries. In terms of political knowledge, students were characterized by some degree of understanding of current affairs and awareness of issues of social class and inequalities, but in some cases also a degree of naïveté and confusion, especially in the younger children. In relation to political capacities, the students showed confidence in their communication and the ability to express their opinions, and the ability to organize themselves and make decisions collectively. In relation to values, they showed commitment to the overcoming of social inequalities, particularly through a process of conscientization, and in Treviso School an identification with the MST and rural identity.

Curriculum in Action – the Plural School

In terms of adoption, there is supposed to be universal uptake of the PS framework across the municipal network. In line with the 'plural' approach, schools are allowed considerable freedom of interpretation, but are strongly encouraged to adhere to the main principles. In practice, there is great variation between schools as regards the extent to which the PS has been integrated, as well as between different teachers. While a

number of visible elements of the programme had been successfully implemented – such as removal of grade repetition and the inclusion of students with disabilities – in other ways changes had been resisted.

Implementation of the formation cycles, for example, has been a great success in terms of *adoption*, since it has been introduced universally in the municipal system. The proportion of pupils with a disparity between their age and their school grade in Belo Horizonte as a consequence dropped 62 per cent between 1996 and 2006 (IBGE 2007). However, *implementation* has been more problematic, with many teachers and parents opposed. In Cantagalo School, the official names of the classes follow the new cycles format, but teachers in practice usually approached them in the same way as the old grades. Teacher resistance was supported by parental reservations, as the headteacher Ermenegilda noted: 'People still demand of you: "but I want my child to repeat the year".' There was also resistance to the efforts to transform conventional approaches to knowledge.

As in the MST, political discussions were brought into the classroom, particularly in the work of a few teachers. Counter-hegemonic perspectives were presented in the history classes of Dora and Segundo, in relation to the 'discovery' of Brazil and the Second World War. In a history class observed in Cantagalo School, the students were asked to research the current conditions of factory workers in their local community, then relate these to conditions studied through history texts on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

What evidence, however, was there of Freirean dialogue in these classes? Dora's lessons clearly conveyed a large amount of important information on political concepts, the historical context and current political situation. The lessons, however, could not always have been called *dialogical*, with the students partaking in at most factual answers to the teacher's questions, without presenting their views and engaging in deliberation with other students. This appeared to be due partly to the closed nature of some of the teacher's questions, but also to the constraints of the classroom environment, particularly the traffic noise that made conversation and concentration difficult. The teacher Segundo's strategy, on the other hand, was to play 'devil's advocate' in political discussions: a strategy that was successful in developing lively debates, enabling students to question their assumptions.

One characteristic that was almost universal was a lack of aggression on the part of the teacher: classes were almost always managed with calm and positivity. As in the MST, it was not rare to observe a student hugging a teacher (in the case of female students and female teachers), and in general a great deal of affection was shown. There were very few exceptions to

this observation. Only occasionally, students causing disturbance in class were sent to the coordinator's room. This is despite the fact that the classes on the whole were large and boisterous, with significant noise levels, making it difficult for teachers to make themselves heard.

In summary, observation showed pedagogical styles that were caring, open and supportive of the development of students' self-esteem, but instances of use of Freirean dialogue through which relations of power are reconstructed were limited to a few teachers.

The most striking aspect of the PS experience, however, was the level of democratic participation shown. While there were a number of structures through which students could participate, the *grêmio* was the most prominent. The coordinator Luciana gave a positive assessment of them:

> Some very much had a sporting or very cultural character . . . But what we have seen is a politicization of these *grêmios* so they come with other discussions that come to question and intervene in the functioning of the school . . .

The more politicized function of the *grêmio* was seen to be in evidence particularly at Bandeirante School. At Barroso too, the *grêmio* organized a consultation with students to establish their position on the teachers' strike. At Cantagalo, however, these democratic structures were much less evident. For a start, the *grêmio* was almost nonexistent:

> TM: Is there a *grêmio* in the school?
> . . .
> Pupil 1: Ah. I've heard there is, though I've never seen it.
> . . .
> Pupil 2: There is a *grêmio*, but I've never seen their proposals, there isn't even an election . . .
> Pupil 3: You see, they organized a time for meeting that was only convenient for the organizing group, it wasn't for other people in the school.

Other interviews at Cantagalo showed that the students were keen to have democratic structures and relations in the school, but that these were largely absent. This highlights the general problem in the PS of extending the framework to all schools.

In relation to inclusion in the classroom, the most prominent work was with disability and special needs. Observation showed that a number of

students with varying disabilities were studying in mainstream classrooms, and had support for their learning. One class observed in Barroso School had a sign language interpreter for the five deaf students, who made a simultaneous translation of the teacher's and students' speech. While the deaf and hearing groups were to some extent segregated in their communication, meaning that the latter students were not always aware of the former's comments, all students had access to the main content of the lesson.

In relation to gender, the eighth grade students in Barroso School were very positive about the equal rights of boys and girls in school, and that in the playground, they jointly played games that were traditionally reserved for one of the sexes. In general, they saw discrimination and prejudice as something that was discussed often in the school and about which people were aware. As in the MST, girls were more prominent than boys as representatives in decision-making bodies (such as the *grêmio*), and were as participatory in class as boys. Both focus schools had female headteachers, and in general, girls had female role models not only in relation to classroom teachers but also in senior-management positions.

There were some instances of teachers raising questions of race and racial discrimination in class. Segundo, for example, led a history class in which students presented their research on slavery in Brazil. The subsequent discussion involved questions of university quotas for Afro-descendants, forms of modern slavery and the students' own experiences of racism (the students were mostly black and mixed-race themselves). The class ended with encouragement from the teacher for people to stand up for their rights, even if it was against their nature to make denunciations.

In contrast, I observed a scene in the Cantagalo staffroom, with the headteacher Jessica discussing how to implement the obligatory Afro-descendant history with a teacher who was having difficulties in this respect. Jessica recommended a textbook that would allow the teacher to treat the subject in a 'light' way, focusing just on the cultural aspects, while still fulfilling the obligations. This 'cultural' treatment is a means of avoiding controversial political elements.

Like the MST, therefore, the PS shows some inspiring instances of transformation of school practices – involving school democratization, the creation of inclusive classrooms, and the opening of spaces for political discussion – but also instances where changes have not gone beyond the rhetorical level (i.e. approaches to school knowledge and grade structures). There were strong indications of the uneven dissemination of the framework through the municipal system, with generally strong practice

in Barroso School – where there was a presence of teachers personally involved in the development of the PS – and, with the exception of a few teachers, resistance and obstacles in Cantagalo School. There was also great diversity in the practice of teachers within the same school.

In terms of the effects on students, students strongly engaged in the *grêmios* reported significant political development. Thaís, head of the *grêmio* in Bandeirante School, described the process of broadening her understanding of political issues as a result of her participation:

> The *grêmio* campaigns for things for the school, for example, you see there's a teacher missing. Ah! You complain to the head. But it's not the fault of the head that there's a teacher missing, that the desks are broken, that there aren't enough materials. Ah! There aren't enough funds. Why aren't there enough funds? . . . It's a national problem. You begin to see that the structure of society is much bigger. So we begin to get involved in larger issues than this, not only in the *grêmio*.

For Sueli, head of the *grêmio* at Barroso, the experience was also one of widening horizons. Her participation in the *grêmio* led her to attend the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre along with a delegation of teachers from the city, an experience that helped her to see local problems in the larger context. Silvia at Bandeirante School also commented on how participation in the *grêmio* requires a 'public' understanding of, and working with, others, across their 'private' differences:

> . . . you have to live with difference in the *grêmio* because you have people of all types. You can't arrive and say 'you won't participate because I don't get on with you'. So it's like that, you have to end up separating the personal act from that. The *grêmio* is for everybody.

For this reason they try to engage people who do not normally attend meetings by organizing different types of events, including football competitions.

Students like Thaís and Silvia, therefore, had very rich processes of political development, but they are not representative of the whole pupil body. Although now in a state school, Thaís had previously attended a private school, and came from a supportive family background. In general, there appeared to be significant difference between those involved in running the *grêmios* and the rest of the students, with valuable political experiences

largely confined to the former. In relation to the causes of this lack of participation, Sueli stated:

> Because, the people, it's not important for them, they think it's us that are working to improve things . . . They live in their own little worlds and they don't mind about other things, so it's complicated . . . to be participating, it's difficult. These people aren't even participating in their classes, let alone the *grêmio.*

Yet while she attributes responsibility to those not participating, the *grêmio* did not appear to be making itself accessible to all. In addition, perceptions of the function of the *grêmio* differed markedly. First year secondary level students interviewed at Barroso School, who were not part of the *grêmio,* expressed scepticism about its political nature, and its efficacy as a voice for the students.

However, taking a broader perspective than the *grêmio,* there was evidence of a general increase in student participation in decision-making. The headteacher Ermenegilda believed strongly that the students had undergone a process of political empowerment:

> They have an awareness already, they know about rights, they speak, they demand what's due to them, even outside the class council, they come to us, to the head's office, to ask for something or complain about some teacher . . .

An example of changes in power relations across the municipal system as a whole is the evaluations of teachers by students being introduced in Barroso and Bandeirante Schools. Segundo also highlighted the empowerment of his students to critique his own teaching, and not to accept 'the teacher as the master of knowledge'. Even three Barroso students who were not active participants in the *grêmio* emphasized the changes:

TM: Do you think in general the voice of the student is heard?
Pupil 1: It has more weight than the voice of the teacher I think.
Pupil 2: Yes, it's because the students are in the majority . . . One or other voice doesn't count for much, but the voice of the people, I think it has more power than the voice of the teachers themselves, of the headteacher.

Pupil 3: And also we can demand things, what we want, we can claim our rights, you see.

TM: And do you manage it?

Pupil 2: We even get rid of teachers who aren't teaching properly.

While the pupils have perhaps overstated their influence in relation to teachers here, the key point is the *perception* of their right to power in the school. Not surprisingly, teachers were a little nervous about student power, and of the evaluations of them that the students were beginning to carry out. As the coordinator Kelly stated:

The school's not the same is it was years ago. The school's more democratic, the pupils are freer. But this also causes other problems, because we teachers aren't very used to this more democratic way of doing things.

So, while participation in the *grêmios* may have been limited, there is evidence of a significant shift in power relations in the schools, and empowerment of the students.

In addition to processes within the school, Ermenegilda saw direct political participation itself – in the social movement form – as a key means of developing citizenship. Students in Barroso School were active in these forms of participation:

We worked in a building much worse than this . . . the children mobilized themselves, a group of teachers and pupils . . . They went to the street, they closed off the street, there were politicians there, there was a really strong participation and afterwards . . . we managed to get the funds through the participatory budget from the city council. (Interview with Ermenegilda)

Student campaigning was also instrumental in obtaining soundproofing from traffic noise for the classrooms. Another campaign was mounted in order to ensure more teachers for the school: the protest led to students being arrested, and the consequent publicity put pressure on the SMED, who on the very next day provided extra teachers. Dora stated in relation to this incident:

What did it need? It needed our pupils to get hit and go to prison. Pupils under 18 years of age to be arrested and to go in a police van with

handcuffs and everything. But have they had a better citizenship class? I think they haven't.

One area in which significant changes in student attitudes were expressed was disability. Students in Barroso School, even those who were fairly negative about the PS framework in general, were very positive about the experience of sharing the classroom with students with visual and auditory impairments and learning difficulties. They had not come into contact with people with disabilities outside school and they considered it an enriching experience to engage in this interaction for the first time. Observations showed students in general to accept the presence of people with disabilities in the classroom with great naturalness.

A final aspect was the students' understanding of the PS framework itself. Thaís and Silvia were highly supportive of the PS, even organizing *grêmio* events to raise awareness of it. However, the irony is that despite the significant gains of the programme in relation to educational inclusion and democratization, most students had little understanding of the PS framework and were not generally supportive of it. Other research (e.g. Dalben 2000a) has shown similar rejection amongst parents and local communities. This lack of understanding is seen in an interview in Barroso with students described by the teachers as 'bright'. Despite showing themselves to be articulate and generally knowledgeable, they had very little awareness of the underlying aims of the PS framework. When asked why they thought the SMED had introduced automatic promotion, they replied that it was probably a money-saving mechanism, to avoid paying for them to repeat.

The rejection of the PS programme seems to contradict the development of the inclusive attitudes outlined above. Yet, what students were opposed to in PS was not inclusion in the classroom, but challenges to traditional knowledge and assessment. Students (and certainly parents) seem to want traditional forms in this area.

In summary, the PS shares with the MST evidence of a widespread increase in the influence of the student population in school decision-making. There was also evidence of intense political development of a small number of people in the *grêmios* (but not, importantly, of those outside the leadership). There were also instances of participation in political action outside the school, and development of inclusive attitudes and practices among students in response to introduction of inclusive practices in the school. However, and in apparent contradiction to the above, there was widespread misunderstanding or rejection of the framework of the PS itself.

Curriculum in Action – Voter of the Future

The case of the VF was the most precarious in terms of implementation. While there were examples of inspiring practice, the initiative on the whole did not manage to integrate itself into the school day and create significant educational opportunities for students. Efforts were focused on high-profile events such as mock elections and debates, heavily publicized by the TRE, but without deeper influences on the curriculum.

One exception was the work of the teacher Glauco. He explained:

> We always start the class with what I call the 'daily news item'. They [the pupils] undertake to bring in a piece of news that they can get in any source . . . So they prepare a card and we choose a pupil to speak about his or her news item, at the start of the class . . . I always try to show them especially the relation to the public sphere. No one takes an isolated decision that's not going to affect many people . . . 'Why is it that the roads are full of holes? Because there's no money. But is it really that there's no money? Or is it that the money is being badly spent?'

The issues raised in the VF programme are intended to be dealt with by teachers in their regular classes, in addition to the special activities. However, there was very little evidence of this taking place, except in a few instances. Political discussions and debates were brought into the day-to-day curriculum to a greater extent in the private schools Caymmi and Amazonas – yet this can be attributed more to the schools' general approach to citizenship than to the specific intervention of VF. In other cases, more than integration into the school day, VF was characterized by 'one-off' lectures or debates. An example was a lecture given by the judge Antonio in Viola School, focusing on three main ideas: avoiding vote-buying, not defacing the city with election publicity materials during the election campaign, and holding elected representatives to account.

The programme literature proposes that these lectures be 'interactive'. However, evidence from the students was that these interactive forms of delivery were not being used. One student, Cassia, from Caymmi School remarked:

> I think that . . . lectures are very boring for young people . . . [B]y picking up the microphone you are considering yourself superior, with all attention centred on you. Lectures for young people have to be in the form

of workshops, everyone in a circle, sitting on the same level, speaking on the same level, doing activities. It was a bit boring, so that at the end you weren't really awake. And also young people like to question, if there's no space to question they're not going to pay attention any more.

Three important points are made here. Traditional lecturing styles are seen first to be boring for students, and second to not give them the opportunity to question. The student proposes as the effect of this second element that they will not 'pay attention any more', but she could equally well have pointed to restrictions on learning opportunities. These are common criticisms of 'chalk and talk' teaching styles. The third point is more subtle, but potentially more significant. Cassia sees that the act of picking up the microphone symbolizes a hierarchy of power that is inimical to the type of democratic relation being promoted.

Later she suggested that it would be better not to have a judge coming to speak at all, but to have debates just among the young people. Another student, Carla, also remarked on problems with the delivery, which she saw as the explanation for the real engagement of only a minority of pupils in the programme:

Young people like dynamic activities, something more real, you know, they don't like lectures much, talking, talking, they get bored. If adults get bored then imagine how much young people do.

In the lecture observed in 2005, Antonio did aim to adopt a register that was appropriate to the age of the students, and to make the content relevant to their lives, yet there was little evidence of a shared construction of knowledge.

Sometimes unintended events were used to reinforce the moral and legal points. Antonio described an instance of vote-buying within the mock election at Amazonas:

Nobody was going to vote for João[2], everybody was going to vote for Maria because everyone liked Maria . . . When we opened the result there was a surprise: Maria only got one vote, which was her own . . . So, after a day or two, it came to light in the school that João had taken his father's money and bought the conscience of his colleagues, buying sweets and fizzy drinks . . . So we had a meeting with them, and annulled the result of the election . . . We had another election, but what was most important was the conversation that we had with them . . . We made João see that he

made a terrible mistake . . . I said to them [the others], 'You have gone most wrong because you sold what is most important, your conscience, so you can't keep João to account for anything, none of those proposals that he made, what he promised . . .'

The value of electoral honesty was in this way re-enforced at the 'micro' level.

A major event of the programme was the debate in the municipal legislative chamber, held in 2004 and again in 2006. The students posed questions to the candidates, and, while there was some ambiguity as to whether the children had actually formed their own questions, they surprised the programme coordinators, and the candidates themselves, with their awareness of political issues. This event included a greater element of discussion of real political issues than is commonly the case in VF.

Discussions in the programme were normally constrained by concerns for neutrality. Voting for the real candidates in a parallel election, for example, raised problems of political preference that the TRE was keen to avoid. For this reason, many states preferred using imaginary public policy parties or class representatives instead. Yanomia did not use real candidates in the 2004 municipal elections, but decided in favour in the 2006 presidential and state elections. However, one school (Amazonas) decided it could not participate since a number of students were relatives of candidates, and the likelihood of arguments and even physical violence was too great. The personalized nature of politics in Yanomia made political discussion difficult in general.

The tendency in the programme, therefore, is to focus on procedure – the process of voting, political structures and so forth – and steer clear of substantive political debates. The headteacher Sonia made it very clear that within her school there was to be no party political discussion. Teachers had to leave those kinds of views 'at the school gates'. The pressures towards neutrality meant that students were rarely provided with the opportunity to discuss key issues in relation to inequalities and exploitation. The critique put forward by Freire (1972; 1994) and critical pedagogy theorists (e.g. Giroux & McLaren 1986) of the unwitting support for repression represented by 'neutral' approaches is applicable here.

Despite the aim of the initiative being to provide a major shift in young people's political socialization, the activities were sporadic and in most cases did not bring a significant change to school practice. In addition, the initiative was most prominent in schools that already had an active engagement with citizenship learning, and did not reach the most disadvantaged

areas. In some cases, however, individual teachers and schools did use the programme as a stimulus for their existing practice so as to bring students into contact with electoral debates and develop political understanding.

Some tangible effects were observed in the VF programme. Students developed knowledge, skills and values in relation to voting and the electoral system. Those who participated clearly took on board the importance of a responsible choice of candidate and the need to keep politicians to account. However, wider influences on democratic attitudes and practices were not apparent. The superficiality of implementation appeared to be reflected in the superficiality of student development.

The initiative did appear to have achieved its aims in terms of raising awareness of the vote itself. Students could distinguish between voting based on personal material gain and that based on long-term benefit for society as a whole. A student at Morães (12 years old) reported that, 'It's not voting for that person who's attractive, who puts out adverts, who's going to give you something.' A number of the students had also absorbed the issue of analysing candidates on their performance and voting them out if they did not fulfil their promises. They also clearly enjoyed the process of voting itself.

The debate with candidates in the TRE referred to above was also a significant experience for students:

> They were really engaged, they participated . . . at the time of the debate, they got up and asked questions to the candidates . . . There were lots of interesting questions, which were just as good as the television debates . . . There were times at which the candidates even were left a bit disconcerted by the questions that they put to them! (Interview with the teacher Anabela)

Attending the debate was an important learning experience for the student Carla: '[I learnt] a lot, a real lot. To ask, to know how, what answer they were going to give me, the way they try to hoodwink us, you know, avoid the question . . .' She was also positive about the effects of the initiative in general:

> [L]ike a donkey, he has two things here [pointing to her eyes] so he can only see straight ahead, but when he takes it off he has a wide vision. And I think this happened with many people at the school, you understand? . . . So he [the student] can choose better, he can vote better . . . [A]nd when you give this broader vision to the pupils, they take it home. They debate this with their fathers, with their mothers.

Carla was chosen to represent the students of her school in the 2006 debate, and introduced the initiative to an audience of about 200 people with considerable confidence. Yet, while there is evidence of political development here, Carla, like the *grêmio* leaders in the PS, is clearly not representative of the whole student body. In relation to Antonio's talk, she stated:

> Carla: No, we learnt a lot of things. The plebiscite, what a referendum is . . . It was interesting.
>
> TM: Do you think it was a useful experience for everyone?
>
> Carla: I would say that it wasn't for everybody. Because some people go there and they make the most of it, and others go just to clown about . . . It was interesting for those who went to absorb everything there was to absorb of the project . . .

Here use of the term 'absorb' is significant here, in terms of the pedagogical approach. The emphasis of the curricular programme in fact was on the *transmission* of information, skills and values, and not on participatory construction of knowledge and understanding. This type of directing of the students was generally avoided in the PS, although it could be argued that the MST was prone to pre-empting the political views to be adopted. In general in VF we can see the majority of the students adopting the discourse of the project, and showing that they have learnt the key elements of assessing candidates, not accepting vote-buying and so forth. However, it was much harder to tell if they had truly adopted these new values. Later, Antonio continued:

> [W]e can perceive that they managed to learn all the notions in the booklet, they managed to learn all that we have presented to them, so I believe that the critical sense took hold, the little seed that was planted.

Despite mention of a 'critical sense' here, adherence to the 'transmission' mode of pedagogy is clearly evident.

The interviews in general suggested that political knowledge was rudimentary. Some students were not aware that they could vote at 16 and 17 (a major *raison d'être* of the initiative). When asked whether the students were interested in discussing political issues in the classroom, Glauco replied:

> It rather depends. There's still a lot of that thing of whether I'm being affected by it. For example, a discussion on potholes in the city is much

more interesting than a discussion of some scandal, something very far from them, that they don't feel directly affected by. I think that this is a jump that we must make still. There is still not enough reading[3] to understand that something happening over in Brasília really is affecting my life here.

Here Glauco raises the issue of making the link between the local and national, and the interrelations between the private and public. These links were seen to be successfully made by students in both the PS and MST (in the former particularly those involved in the *grêmios*).

While there were some advances in the students' knowledge and skills in relation to voting and political awareness in general, there was little evidence of development of wider citizenship capacities. Although the *Learning to Be a Citizen* booklet emphasizes understanding of rights, there appeared to be little development of the notion in the students, aside from the right to vote itself. One of the students in Morães School spoke at length about the importance of history for understanding gender relations, and for working to bring equality between women and men today. However, there is no evidence that this understanding and ability of expression was due to the intervention of VF, which pays little attention to gender issues.

In addition, in keeping with its lack of prominence in the curricular programme, democratic participation of students in the school was very limited. Schools did not appear to have adopted decision-making bodies for pupils, and there was no evidence of a significant shift in relations or ethos. Neither were there opportunities for the students to participate politically outside the school.

One part of the data important for understanding the initiative is an interview with secondary level students at Caymmi School, who were presented as being 'less engaged'. One student, Cassia, stated when asked about the initiative:

The idea's great as a political theory, but it could integrate politics in a different way, not making the pupil a simple voter, but rather a politician . . . because when you've got the critical sense that the building of a square, the paving of the roads is not a favour for you, but an obligation, having this sense . . . and knowing that you are a social politician participating in youth movements, you are going to know who to elect . . .

Later in the interview, the student Robson said in relation to Antonio's talk:

> Some things also I didn't agree with . . . He spoke about, that . . . poorer people don't have the awareness to vote . . . that for a person to vote you have to have structured schooling . . . But you see, it's the politicians themselves who don't want this to happen so they can monopolize people. So I think that, I don't believe in anything in politics . . . That a person, he's hungry . . . he's going to vote for whoever helps him at that particular moment . . . He's called a 'vote prostitute' because the politicians, they distribute food in the interior[4], they give tiles, they give bricks to the people who are short of money. Of course they're going to vote. Even they understand that, they end up making the poverty which allows them to . . . [cut off]

Cassia agreed with this, adding: '[P]ublic education . . . I don't think it's going to get better, because the politicians don't want . . . the young person to have this awareness.'

These more critical attitudes towards politics – which in many ways show a sophisticated understanding of the political and relations of power in society – made the students appear disengaged from the programme. While the school interpreted this disengagement as stemming from apathy, it was in fact due to their understanding of the limitations of the initiative. Similar dynamics were apparent in Amazonas School, where the pedagogical coordinator Pamela attributed the disengagement of some students to their scepticism of politics and their feeling that the project was just another 'trick'.

In summary, therefore, the programme was successful in transmitting a set of values in relation to electoral honesty and responsibility. There was an increase in basic knowledge about voting and political processes, an appreciation of the importance of the vote and of the relationship between one's choice and the welfare of the country/region, and development of skills in using the voting machine. However, in many cases there was absorption of the discourse of the programme but not necessarily its full internalization. In a minority of cases, there was development of significant skills and knowledge associated with mounting a political campaign and acting as a representative. However, there was no significant increase in awareness of, or commitment to, rights, or of other aspects of citizen identity or action, and little development of democratic participation outside voting. Importantly, the initiative appears to have largely ignored the existing

political knowledge and action of students, and interpreted disengagement from the programme as a lack of interest in politics in general.

The Centrality of Enactment

Taking first the question of implementation, these three cases have shown differing degrees of correspondence between ideal and real programmes. The distance between the reality of implementation and the ideal curricular programmes – that is, the leap from the second to the third stage of curricular transposition – can be understood to a great extent by the notion of *enactment.* Initiatives cannot be implemented in more than a superficial or rhetorical sense if they do not emerge organically from teachers' practice. As will be argued below, a process of enactment of the curriculum by teachers together with students is effective in ensuring implementation, as well as being desirable from a moral and pedagogical perspective. Enactment is understood to involve the participation of teachers and students in curricular decisions, and the reinterpretation of the curriculum through the pedagogical interactions in practice.

This section will assess factors affecting implementation, starting with those relating to teachers, and later considering the influence of wider political and pedagogical factors.

Teachers

The particular characteristics of individual teachers are highly significant for implementation. Teachers have their own moral and political positions, and these significantly affect the way they enact a moral and political curriculum. Teachers also vary in relation to the energy, commitment and creativity they bring to teaching in general.

The headteacher Vicente emphasized the importance of individual teachers in integrating the ideas of citizenship into their specific subjects:

> The intention is that the pedagogical framework . . . should be for the whole school . . . But it's clear that sometimes some areas of knowledge have more difficulty in working with this . . . So a lot depends on the personal will of the teachers, to achieve, to find ways of at the same time working with specific things in their discipline, and to work with the more general, wider proposal.

Elizete's work in Salinas School is evidence of the importance of individual teachers. Despite working with a subject (maths) not normally associated with civic empowerment, she was able to provide an educational experience for the students through which they could develop their understanding of, and pride in, the rural context, and develop political knowledge and understanding, using mathematical activities throughout. The science teacher's class in the same school, on the other hand, showed little effort to relate the scientific material to the students' lives.

The centrality of teacher enactment was highlighted by Roger in the same school, who attributed the occasional distance between the MST proposal and the practice in schools to the fact that many teachers 'do not live it [the approach]'. The deputy head Horácio is an example of a teacher who, despite not coming from the landless community himself, has this kind of commitment:

> The fact of my coming here was an ideological decision . . . I could work in the school next to my house . . . but the struggle for this . . . to have a school with this orientation, I feel good as a teacher here, I feel fulfilled . . .

The PS, being the loosest framework in terms of specific content, is not surprisingly the one which shows the greatest diversity between teachers. Some (e.g. Dora and Segundo at Barroso and Rose at Cantagalo) were observed to give high priority to the development of critical attitudes, and others to give little attention to it. An example of enactment from VF is Glauco and his efforts to engage students in political discussion and develop awareness of the public sphere. His practice shows how effectively the programme can be implemented if integrated into the school curriculum.

The influence of headteachers was also important. There was a strong contrast between Ermenegilda and Dora, head and deputy of Barroso School, who were strong supporters of the PS framework, and had participated in its development, and Jessica, head of Cantagalo School, who had strong reservations about the underlying principles and implementation of the PS. Segundo confirmed that, while the PS is a policy of the whole municipal system, 'If you have a leadership which isn't very keen for this to happen, in practice it doesn't happen.'

However, while the specific biographies and aspirations of individual teachers were central, the extent to which they could work together and identify with one another was also seen to be a key factor in the successful

implementation of the initiatives. One of the strong points of Treviso School, from the MST's point of view, is the fact that all the teachers are from the settlement. The fact that the teachers have spent a number of years working in the school and working together as a team is highly positive in terms of the functioning of the school. Daniela had been teaching there since 1989, before the settlement was officially formed, when they taught underneath a tree or in makeshift huts. She emphasized the importance of being present during the construction of the school and being part of its history. As the teacher Delson stated, 'The history of the school goes hand-in-hand with the history of our lives.' A former pupil at the school, he emphasized the importance of the connection between teachers and the community:

> I see that . . . one of the differences is that we are . . . part of the community. It's not simply being an educator in the school . . . We participate in the assemblies, we participate in the meetings, we know the everyday life of these families, just as the families know our daily structure as well . . . and this often helps our work, our pedagogical function in the school . . . In the experience that I had in the city, I didn't even get to know the father or the mother of my pupils.

He continued:

> We are a very solid group of teachers, you know, very well structured. We fight together, we cry together, we smile together, we play together, we plan together. The anxieties which Daniela has are shared with the other colleagues, but what Daniela has that's good, that's productive, is also socialized . . .

These comments were borne out by informal observation of the staffroom and other shared spaces. Delson also made the point that it takes quite a group of teachers to submit themselves to evaluation by the students, to listen to what the students say and modify their work accordingly.

In contrast, one of the major problems in VF is the lack of contact of the wider teaching body with the programme. Glauco did show the desire to share his work with other teachers, and encouraged them to adopt his practices, yet these individual efforts were often not enough. Speaking generally about the work with citizenship in the school, he stated:

> I think that this project would work better if we could achieve a better harmony between those who are carrying out the project and the other

teachers. We still need to sit down and discuss better, to evaluate better . . . the strategies that are working in order to reinforce this and set aside what isn't working.

The fact that the programme was centred on a few figures led to a problem of continuity, with activities coming to a halt in certain schools when key teachers left.

Both the MST and the PS claim that their educational frameworks have been constructed 'from the bottom up', with the involvement of teachers and the local community, and, to a lesser extent, students. They are consciously defining themselves in opposition to curriculum models developed by external technicians for implementation by teachers on a passive population (as discussed above in relation to Snyder et al. 1992). The curriculum in action at Barroso School and the two MST focus schools all had involved significant teacher and community participation in the establishment of the original politico-pedagogical plan, and in its subsequent development. The headteacher Ruth stated that, 'Everything we have managed to achieve today is the fruit of a collective discussion'.

There are, however, some limitations on this participatory intention in practice. In the MST, despite the insistence on bottom-up development of pedagogical practice, there is inevitably some degree of top-down implementation, on account of the national booklets distributed to each school. The 'systematization of different experiences' referred to above can easily become an authoritative document to be followed. The PS is frequently referred to in the documents (e.g. SMED 2002) as merely official recognition of practices that were already underway in the municipal school system. However, this study, in line with previous research (e.g. Dalben 2000a; Glória & Mafra 2004; Soares 2001), shows a clear feeling of imposition on the part of some teachers. As Jessica states, 'It came from the top down, camouflaged as if it were developed [in the school]'. The PS did in fact emerge from the practice of teachers, but that of a minority of progressive teachers, and not the majority who were continuing with traditional practices. The SMED official Julia said that as a teacher at the time, it was thrilling to be part of the development of the PS, but that there were other teachers attached to traditional approaches who felt alienated – not to mention those who had started since the introduction of the PS.

VF, unlike the other initiatives, does not claim to have emerged from the practices of educators, nor to have been developed with their involvement. Additional issues are raised by the fact that it was created by a non-educational body. While the programme was not *imposed* – with schools participating of their own volition – it was not created with the involvement

of people within the school. In addition, teachers did not on the whole have a strong link with the project in terms of contact time. Glauco had only two meetings with staff from the TRE, for the purpose of 'information exchange'. In general, there was little involvement of teachers in the construction and development of the programme.

Neither does VF count on the involvement of the local community. *Learning to Be a Citizen* proposes that 'the idea is to organize an educative community for the formation and awakening of citizenship'. Yet, in the documents of the individual states, there is no indication of provision being made for this community participation. Neither is there is any mention of involving students in the construction of educational activities, even though their opinions are seen to be valued in classroom activities.

Teacher characteristics, capacities and dispositions that effect enactment are not, of course, static. They develop naturally over time, and can be influenced intentionally through interventions. Teacher education is therefore a key factor here. Roberta, a teacher in Treviso School, stated:

> There's no point wanting a teacher who has been trained with a conservative vision, one in which the teacher is supposed to go into the classroom, and not discuss politics, and not discuss sexuality, religion, one who is supposed to go there and exclusively discuss, or rather, transmit the theories of his or her discipline . . . Are you going to demand that he or she changes after 18 years, 15 years of training in this way of thinking? It's very complicated. So we have to rethink the whole training of teachers so that they arrive at the time of working with learners in the classroom already with another conception.

Roberta described how she had to undertake exactly this type of transition, when she joined the school at the foundation of the settlement. In order to facilitate this development, the MST offers significant opportunities and incentives for teachers to study, often on courses provided by the movement itself (there are MST teacher education courses and general degree courses in partnership with public universities).

Similar issues are evident in the PS. Segundo saw the main problem with implementing the PS framework is the lack of preparation of teachers: 'I think that teachers are not prepared to work in it [the PS], because we come from a traditional, graded education. The university also has this logic . . .' The PS, therefore, appears to be suffering from the lack of tailored teacher education of the sort provided by the MST. VF also lacks a substantial training programme for teachers. 'Multipliers', of which there

are one or two at each school, have occasional training at the TRE, and the judge Antonio makes some visits to schools to give orientation to the teachers. Yet the provision is very limited.

This section has highlighted some of the features relating to teachers that affect implementation. Teacher enactment – their ownership of the educational undertaking and their creative reinterpretation of it in conjunction with students – is seen as key to the successful passage of the initiative into practice. Not all aspects of implementation, however, can be explained through this lens. There are other aspects of school and society that create the conditions in which certain practices can and cannot occur.

School Environment

A number of the factors influencing implementation stem from the pedagogical context of the schools. One perennial element referred to by Nilda (MST coordinator) was the lack of time in school for political participation: 'Since the school has a particular timescale to fulfil, and more specific tasks, it ends up not participating in the struggle at all and isolating itself'. There is pressure from the requirements of the curriculum, particularly exams, and, in the case of the MST, the transition to secondary school outside of the community:

> We believe in a popular education, a differentiated education, an education that prepares us to continue here . . . but we are in a type of system . . . that as much as I want to work in another methodology . . . I come back to scientific content because they [the pupils] are going to need it next year, because they are going to secondary school, you understand? So we end up sidelining a bit our history of struggle as activists . . . (Interview with the teacher Elizete)

Connected to this is the influence of textbooks:

> This is a worry, because the truth is that our municipal and state schools are linked to the power of the state. We perceive with the existing textbooks the difference of history from the victors' viewpoint. (Interview with Nilda)

She explains that while there is an MST textbook on history, and other teaching materials for adult education and early years, they do not have their own textbooks for primary and secondary levels. According to Nilda,

this is partly due to a lack of money, and partly to do with a lack of people to systematize the knowledge and organize the books.

Classroom environment was another influential factor. While there was generally a very positive atmosphere in class in the PS schools, classroom management did at times prove to be challenging. Some activities that could have been significant in terms of developing citizenship were hindered or made impossible through the lack of an environment in which teacher and students were all engaged and could hear what each other was saying. Teachers opposed to the PS framework commonly attribute this lack of discipline to the new policies, particularly the moves away from grade repetition.

Other school-level factors influencing implementation included the physical environment – temperature, noise etc. – and the resources and facilities available to schools – both physical and human. Together these factors constrained or facilitated teachers' enactment of the curriculum.

Wider Political and Social Context

In addition to the above factors within the schools, there were also wider elements in society influencing implementation. In some cases, the implementation of the initiatives was directly influenced by political dynamics outside the school (in addition to the indirect influences of the prevailing political system and climate). Marco and Maria Paula, MST coordinators, spoke of state opposition to the MST as the principal obstacle to implementation.

Marco: [It's] also the question of the incentive of the state itself . . . Instead of encouraging, we found lots of threats, and also reprisals, co-optation of educators . . . So it's a really strong obstacle at the state level and also the national level . . .

Maria Paula: I think so . . . The inspectors go to the itinerant schools and they completely misinterpret it, our flags, our songs. I think they think that we're training people to be troublemakers . . .

An example of government interference in Treviso School occurred when the municipality made the school remove a board with the MST flag. In addition, the regional official, who was opposed to the movement,

tried to slow down funds won by the school through the participatory budget.

Funding was also an issue in VF. There were general cuts in the TRE, and according to the respondents, VF would be the first project to go, being an initiative aimed at political education. 'Conscientization makes for a lot of hard work!' one TRE official remarked. Political awareness-raising attracted opposition from some quarters, and so was likely to slip down the list of priorities.

A number of other significant factors emerged, such as the dependence of the PS on the survival of the current government in power, and in the case of VF, party political influence on the appointment of headteachers and the presence in class of the children of local politicians. It appeared at times as if the concern of the promoting body was first and foremost to provide positive publicity for the judiciary, and only secondarily to provide meaningful and sustainable educational experiences for the students.

The political environment, therefore, can provide considerable constraints on citizenship education. It can also be a key facilitator – as in the MST, where teachers are engaged in the movement's political activities, and in the PS where there has been a wider movement for democratic change with the election of the PT.

There are also a number of wider social factors – such as poverty and family environment – that have a significant effect on the learning process. The work undertaken by the initiatives to empower the most marginalized groups was at times hindered by the very socio-economic disadvantage it was addressing. The municipal schools in Belo Horizonte receive children from the poorest communities, a number being in suburban and *favela* areas, with a strong presence of drug-trafficking, which not infrequently involves the students themselves in different ways. Luciana spoke of families below the poverty line, without a table and chair in their houses or enough to eat. It is hard in this context for students to dedicate themselves to their studies.

Interestingly, being from a *privileged* socio-economic background could also be an obstacle in terms of political learning, according to Glauco:

> Many of these children are used to having everything given to them. They don't need to struggle to get things. That is another serious problem that we have. For their parents there's always a cost.

The direct influence of parents on their children, and that of the community in general, were also seen to be very important. In the MST this

was seen primarily in a positive light. Horácio considered family influence fundamental for political consciousness:

> I think that it [the students' propensity to express themselves] has something to do with the history of the parents. It has something to do with the way the families formed themselves . . . From this experience of collective struggle . . . they understood the force that ideas have and the force that comes from organization for mobilization . . .

One of the principal factors that distinguish education in the MST from the other two initiatives, is the nature of the community. As Maria Paula explained:

> I would say that . . . the camp is a big school. When an individual goes to the camp and starts his [sic] education there in the camp, he is already in a school . . . Because it's very different working with a child in nursery school in a settlement, from nurseries in the town. In a settlement you have all the experience of living in a collective . . . And it's different from a child . . . who . . . stays just at home and his home is within another home, which is behind a wall.

This illustrates the idea raised frequently in the theoretical literature (e.g. Caldart 2000) of the movement itself as a school.

Teachers at Treviso described how they went round to all the houses in the settlement asking families for their views on the school, and used this consultation to form the basis for planning. Yet, despite the fact that high degrees of parental involvement in education are evident in the MST, some conflicts could also be seen in relation to parents' insistence on traditional subjects so as to equip their children for the job market.

Problems of family involvement characterized the PS particularly. Jessica saw lack of parental support as the key obstacle to success in the school:

> [H]ere in our community the families don't get involved . . . So this lack of family structure, this question of domestic violence itself, almost of the abandonment of the child, this is what makes difficult any project that we try and put in place.

For Segundo, on the other hand, it was not that the community was irresponsible, but that they, like the teachers, did not understand the PS framework, and rejected it in favour of traditional approaches.

Problems relating to the composition of the school community were also seen in Salinas School. Elizete pointed to changes over time, which had made it more difficult to sustain the MST vision in the school, with the proportion of pupils from the settlement falling from 80 per cent when the school was founded, to 30–40 per cent now.

> At the time I was a pupil, never a week passed . . . without doing a *mística*, without doing some drama, we don't have this any more. This year, we haven't even managed to get the vegetable garden together . . . The proximity to the MST has diminished . . . because the pupils are also, not so much children of *assentados* [residents of the settlement], and those that are . . . their parents have gradually lost the link . . .

Changes, therefore, have come to the relationship between the school and the MST. There have even been complaints from some of parents not from the settlement over issues such as the singing of the MST anthem and the practice of other forms of *mística*. This points to a possible element of weakness in the MST approach, in that it depends on the kind of conditions present when a settlement is first formed, and may be ill-equipped to adapt to the reality of second generation community members (Cohen 2004).

It is clear, therefore, that the implementation of these initiatives owes a great deal to social influences, particularly the centrality of the family and the community as sites for the development of critical capacities and of political awareness and commitment. This leads us to a notion of 'community enactment', through which the programmes must be owned by the communities, and learning experiences must be located within the communities as well as the school. The headteacher Ruth pointed out that one of the challenges of the closeness between school and community is that it requires a very coherent position on the part of the teacher. This form of coherence between personal and public life is certainly challenging, but forms part of an organic link between school and community that plays a vital role in citizenship education.

Enactment in Question

There are strong indications in the three initiatives, therefore, that teacher enactment reduces the problematic disjunctures in curricular transposition in the implementation phase. This means that the initial aspirations of the initiatives and their concretization in curricular programmes

become a more meaningful pedagogical experience for the students if the teachers own the programme and creatively express it through their own work. The most successful examples of practice – the work of individual teachers Elizete, Dora, Segundo and Glauco for example, and the Barroso and Treviso Schools as a whole – were those in which teachers had either been part of the construction of the programme personally or had 'made it their own' and integrated it with their own politico-pedagogical understandings. The problems faced by the PS of extending the framework to all schools in the municipal system are not as much to do with the challenges of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and schools, as with the absence in those schools of teachers personally engaged with the framework. If teachers do not endorse the initiative from the inside, then implementation is necessarily shallow. For example, formation cycles are spoken about by name, but in practice the logic of grade structures is continued.

The external environment – such as opposition of the authorities, physical resources in schools and an overcrowded curriculum – did place constraints on the implementation of the programmes. The engagement of the community – and ideally 'community enactment' – is also highly important. Yet the factor that emerges as key to implementation is the engagement of teachers. Partly this depends on their individual dispositions and capacities, and the extent to which they have had access to teacher education conducive to a more democratic practice. And yet a central factor – and one often overlooked in the literature on the practice of citizenship education elsewhere – is the involvement of teachers in both the pedagogical and political processes: first, the emergence of the programme from school practice rather than a project imposed from above; but also, the linkage between the programme and wider democratic movements. Participatory structures in the PS, for example, are supported by the existence of structures in the wider society such as the participatory budget, which create an environment in which people expect to have a say in decisions that affect them. The participation of MST teachers in a real political struggle that is bringing a tangible change to the lives of one of the most excluded communities in the country gives sense to their political work in schools.

Nevertheless, as seen in existing research (Snyder et al. 1992), enactment is not easy to achieve. One of the problems is that it is demanding in terms of teachers' energy and creativity. As Kelly stated: 'Now it's much easier working in a school where they say, "It's going to be like this, this and this until December", than one which you have to help create.' So the comfort of freedom from responsibility that comes from limited autonomy can dissuade

teachers from adopting a more 'enactive' role. In this task, the MST and PS have been considerably more successful than VF, which has achieved only a superficial integration into the educational environment of the young people. Yet even the former two face considerable problems. While the PS was initially a grassroots experience that was systematized into government policy, in the process of its dissemination it became an imposition for the majority of teachers who were not originally involved, and who interpreted contemporary changes in the school system (e.g. lack of discipline) as having been caused by the programme itself. This resistance cannot be dismissed as 'conservatism' and is not easily dispelled through professional development courses. The MST, on the other hand, can boast an extraordinarily united teaching body, many of whom were personally involved in the construction of both the movement and its pedagogical framework. Yet its schools do not exist in a vacuum and there are constant tensions with the government authorities, the teachers posted to MST schools from outside the movement and the opposing values of much of the rest of the school system and society. These remain significant barriers, but they should not detract from the inspiring possibilities opened by these initiatives.

Effects on Students: An Unpredictable Space

As discussed above, while gauging the civic qualities or capacities of students is difficult, it is an even more uncertain task to assess the factors that affect their acquisition. Yet, despite the complexities, it is possible to build a picture of plausible influences. The MST and PS, which showed the most complete and dynamic implementation and organic development of means from ends, also showed the most extensive processes of student transformation. There is a strong indication that the greater coherence of these two initiatives at the two previous stages of curricular transposition was influential. First, the existence of harmony modes of transposition between ends and means was significant, particularly in the form of democratic processes within schools. As Dora said of Barroso School:

> So I see that a good proportion of our students manage to understand and live that democracy and then live it outside. Because if it is lived in the school . . . if he [the pupil] manages to participate in the life of the school where he is seen as a citizen with rights . . . for him it seems clear to have that role outside, to be an aware citizen.

One element of this is the existence of a space for discussion in schools – as illustrated by Aline's comments above on MST schools. Interestingly, the main factor given by Aline is the availability of teachers to speak with and listen to the students, valuing the element of communication per se rather than the transmission of specific political knowledge, skills or values. In VF, in contrast, the lack of substantive political debate and emphasis on neutrality certainly had a restrictive effect on student development.

As discussed above in relation to implementation, the links between school and community are central here, with this space for discussion needed both in the classroom and at home. As Roberta stated:

> Because the families went through a process of necessity, of politicization . . . of being four years in a camp, with all the discrimination from society, with everything that goes on you end up seeing things in a different way, don't you? So they come from a family which in some ways already has a critical sense, in relation to current affairs.

These statements highlight the complications of separating influences of the school on student development from those of external factors. Roberta asserted that because the students were already critical, it was easier to deal with the political issues in the classroom. The question therefore remains of whether school can deal with these political issues in the absence of a politicizing context outside. As seen in the previous section, the changing nature of the local community was making it harder for MST schools to sustain their vision.

While a number of students in the MST highlighted the element of school discussions as the key factor in their citizenship learning, the pupils at Treviso School emphasized the work teams. As well as these forms of *harmony*, the *unification* of ends and means, while less common, was an important opportunity for student development when it did occur. It is clearly significant that these more radical forms of political involvement were endorsed by the headteachers as well as teachers of schools like Barroso and Salinas.

Teacher enactment at the implementation stage also appears to have been highly influential in relation to student development. Students showed trajectories of enhanced political understanding in those schools and classrooms in which the teachers owned the curriculum, had participated in its development and were creatively reinterpreting it. In contrast, the superficial implementation of the VF programme is mirrored by the absorption

of rhetoric concerning voting and particular skills, but not a deeper political development in students. Yet enactment involves student as well as teacher ownership and recreation of the curriculum. While in the MST and PS the extent to which children had been included in the *initial* design of the curriculum was not clear, both initiatives showed a commitment to engaging the learner in day-to-day decisions about the curriculum.

However, even in the case of the MST and PS, the effects were very uneven. This is partly due to the fact of their inconsistencies at the previous two stages of transposition. For example, many teachers in the PS were actively resisting the framework and delivering a traditional curriculum. However, this is not the only factor at play here. Even with 'perfect' enactment, results are still unpredictable. This is because human agency means that particular results do not come automatically from particular interventions. Whatever the learning environment established, the learner can recreate, transform, distort or destroy the intended message. Luciana pointed to the unpredictable nature of the relation between democratic schooling and citizen empowerment:

> It's an expectation, but it depends very much on how each person constructs his or her own path. Some might really come to work in a more collective way . . . But . . . it's a seed you sow, and the fruit that grows depends on the person, on how they lead their life, it depends on how they insert themselves in the larger group . . .

Luciana here highlights the element of the individual's relationship with the collective as a determining factor. Yet there are a multiplicity of factors. What is certain is that the leap between the implemented curriculum and the effects on students is one that cannot be easily bridged. This is not necessarily something to be lamented: it is simply a characteristic of human learning, and in some ways represents the beauty of the educational process.

This chapter, therefore, while only able to make tentative claims about the effects of the initiatives on the students, provides some indications of the importance of elements at the previous two stages of transposition. A 'seamless enactment' of educational activities that themselves have emerged organically from the political ideals, appears to provide the most effective learning environment for students. (This notion will be the subject of the following chapter.) Nevertheless, there is always an element of unpredictability in the process, stemming from the individuality and agency of the learners.

Notes

1 Approximately US$2.50
2 'João' and 'Maria' were names invented by Antonio.
3 The word *leitura* (reading) in Portuguese, particularly as used in educational circles, often carries the meaning of 'understanding' more than literally reading a written text, i.e. in the sense of Paulo Freire's 'reading the world'.
4 i.e. outside the state capital.

Part Three

Responses

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Chapter 9

Seamless Enactment

All human experience teaches that methods and means cannot be separated from the ultimate aim. The means employed become, through individual habit, and social practice, part and parcel of the final purpose; they influence it, modify it, and presently the aims and means become identical.
(Emma Goldman, My Further Disillusionment in Russia, *1924)*

This book has aimed to challenge some common misconceptions about education. The idea that a goal like 'citizenship' can straightforwardly and automatically be promoted by 'education', let alone 'school', rests on a flawed understanding of both the process and the institution. The previous chapters have explored inconsistencies in the literature in relation to understandings of educational processes, and real cases of citizenship education initiatives in which these tensions and challenges are evident.

The outcomes of educational undertakings are hard to predict for a number of reasons. First, having in view a particular set of aims or aspirations, the task of choosing educational means to achieve them is far from straightforward, particularly when these aims entail understanding and attitudes as well as skills. Second, on implementation in practice, these educational means – in the form of a curriculum – are transformed in a number of ways due to the specificities of local contexts and teacher practice. Lastly, the influence of the undertaking on students is dependent on the ways in which they absorb, recast or reject its messages. As explored in the previous chapters, each of these three stages requires of the initiative some form of 'leap'. The leap is between ends and means in the first and third cases, and between ideal and real in the second. This process of change – here referred to as 'curricular transposition' – presents a significant challenge to the realization of any aim through education. In the studies presented in chapter 2, there was extensive evidence of these disjunctures occurring in practice in citizenship education initiatives – corresponding to what

Torney-Purta et al. (1999: 32) describe as the 'gap between the ideals of democracy or social justice raised through civic education and the reality of the society and school'.

This penultimate chapter proposes the notion of 'seamless enactment' as a response to the potential disjunctures that can occur in the processes outlined above. Seamless enactment is an approach to the curriculum in which there is a harmonious movement between ends and means, and between the ideal and the real, both in terms of the underlying principles and the human agents involved. While these ideas are here related specifically to citizenship education, they are applicable to any form of curriculum. This is a normative framework, in contrast to the descriptive and analytical function of 'curricular transposition'.

The Notion of Seamless Enactment

Chapter 5 outlined the approach to curriculum known as enactment (Snyder et al. 1992). Here, instead of a top-down implementation in which school practice aims to reproduce an official framework as faithfully as possible, the curriculum emerges from the meeting of teachers and students, using external resources as tools rather than constraints. From a normative perspective, the enactment approach is preferable to a 'fidelity' one on pedagogical grounds (allowing for more authentic adaptation to local needs, and enabling greater engagement of minds) as well as on moral and political ones (respecting teachers and students as individuals).

The notion of 'seamless' enactment extends the ideas in Snyder et al. (1992) in two ways. First, it sees enactment as a process that can apply to the first and third leaps – the formation of means from ends and the effects on students – as well as the implementation of a curricular programme. It also introduces the element of harmonization of underlying values or principles. The enactment is 'seamless'[1] because all the stages are an expression of the same politico-pedagogical principles, and can count on the involvement of the key agents throughout the educational process.

The curricular transposition model outlined in chapter 5 proposed viewing the educational process in terms of three principal movements: from a set of aspirations to an ideal curricular programme; the implementation of that programme in practice; and the effects of that programme on students (see graph on page 90). In the first of these phases of transition, seamless enactment entails 'harmony' or 'unification' between ends and means. In relation to education for democratic citizenship, harmony

will involve the embodiment or *prefiguring* of democratic aims in the pedagogical relations and processes of decision-making in the school (as explored in chapter 4). In these cases, the means 'enact' the ends, in the sense that they bring them to life in their processes and not just in their consequences. The most complete form of seamless enactment, however, occurs through unification. In this form – where students learn from their engagement in real political activity, such as participation in public debates, campaigning or protest – ends and means merge completely.

Clearly, it is not the case that most educational initiatives (even those in 'separation' mode) customarily adopt *any* means to achieve the desired ends. Normally, there are seen to be ethical constraints on the selection of means, such as those of wittingness and voluntariness proposed by Peters (1967). However, 'harmony' is distinct as it is not just about excluding certain methods (such as indoctrination or corporal punishment) on ethical grounds. It involves an embodiment of the specific values of the ends within the means.

One thinker who discusses at length the need to avoid conceiving ends and means as separate entities, is John Dewey (1955 [1916]). As discussed in chapter 5, he questioned the notion of means as 'things lying beyond activity at which the latter is directed' Dewey (1964a: 70). Specifically in relation to education, he opposed the constricting of practice through pre-defined and externally imposed aims that are not responsive to the nature of the educational process and the volitions of those involved. However, this approach is distinct from 'harmony' in that it involves an adaptation of aims in response to the specificities of context, rather than an adaptation of means in response to the nature of the aims. Nevertheless, his understanding of democracy as a process and a form of human relation underlies the spirit of seamless enactment generally speaking. In fact, a process conception of democracy necessarily entails a merging of means and ends as proposed here.

Another theoretical scheme of relevance here is the categorization of curriculum design into *content*, *product* and *process* models. Ross (2002) analyses citizenship education provision in relation to these models, critiquing the English National Curriculum's predominantly *product* focus. According to the author, 'Objectives-driven models assume that one can predetermine the shape to which a learner will be moulded' (p. 55) – a shape that is not infrequently a notion of a 'good citizen', as 'one who is "good" for the state: particularly at the required instances of elections, acceptant of the legitimacy and authority that the process offers, and little more' (p. 57). In addition, there are also serious problems with the product model in terms

of evaluating success in achieving specific outcomes, given the difficulties of assessing a 'life skill' like citizenship.

As outlined in chapter 5, the three models have different *rationales*: the 'content' approach being consistent with a rationale of tradition, the 'product' approach with empirical evidence, and the 'process' approach with a moral imperative. However, we can also observe distinct forms of *proximity*. Despite the impression given by the names of the models, all three do in fact have aims, whether or not these are conscious and explicit. In the product model these are expressed in detailed objectives, but draw on wider ideals. The content approach is also concerned with consequences, but ones that are not external to the initial content – i.e. the ideal person is formed through mastery of it. The process approach, while eschewing explicit outcomes, inevitably has aspirations or ideals around which the educational undertaking is based: the difference is that, unlike in the product model, the educational processes are not subordinated to them.

In terms of proximity, therefore, the product model shows a clear separation of ends and means. Once objectives are established, means are chosen to achieve them on the basis of their effectiveness in achieving the particular result. The content model appears to display separation, in that the cultural transmission or initiation into intrinsically worthwhile activities is not necessarily linked to any one particular mode of delivery. However, in practice it is likely to show a form of harmony, in that forms are likely to be chosen on the basis of a parallel 'cultural transmission' of tried and tested teaching methods from previous generations. Finally, 'process' always requires a harmony between the two, in the sense that the values inspiring the initiative (i.e. an inclusive society) are reflected in the pedagogy (an inclusive classroom). We might also see a form of 'unification' here, if, for example, we see dialogue as an instantiation, rather than just a modelling of cooperative living in society.

Of the three, therefore, the process model fits most comfortably with seamless enactment (it also involves teachers and students as pedagogical agents to a far greater extent than the other models). In terms of contemporary examples, Ross (2002) suggests Sweden as an example of the process approach in citizenship education. (Osler and Starkey's (2005a) proposal for children's rights to express themselves through pedagogical principles is also an example of this approach). Purely content-based initiatives – seen in traditional 'civics' classes – have been largely discredited, since most promoting bodies see the need for developing skills and dispositions in addition to mastering a body of knowledge. A current example, however, is the new 'Life in the UK' test for aspiring citizens and permanent residents

in the country – similar to the Citizenship Test in the USA. The test consists of 24 multiple choice questions that the candidates answer electronically, having prepared themselves using prescribed text books. Interaction with other citizens, in any form, is conspicuously absent. There is a striking incoherence between the government's aim of social cohesion and its 'educational' criteria for new citizens. Finally, outcomes-based citizenship education initiatives (the third model) are highly favoured in current times, as seen in UK schools. Yet, as Ross (2002) argues, these are highly problematic, first, since they predefine particular forms of citizenship performance, and second because they are inattentive to the significance in the development of citizenship of the *experiencing* of pedagogical and political processes.

Seamless enactment, therefore, entails a radical rethinking of the relationship between ends and means. Yet, how does it respond to the ideal-real leap? In the second phase of curricular transposition, seamless enactment also entails a departure from dominant approaches. Here, the full involvement of teachers both in the design of the initiative and its implementation is required. While others – such as civil servants and elected representatives – may be involved in the establishment of an initiative's aims and content, this process would not occur without the presence of teachers. Second, those delivering the programmes must share the core values of the initiative. This does not mean that all teachers must have the same political positions, but that they must understand and be committed to the fundamental principles (e.g. democratic decision-making, a just distribution of goods etc.). Seamlessness in the first phase – between ends and means – therefore requires seamlessness in the second: if the ends are to be embodied in the means, teachers must endorse and, to some extent at least, live and exemplify the core values of the initiative.

It is important to note here that enactment does not mean that there are no transformations: in implementation, there will always be effects from the pedagogical and political environment in which the initiative is taking place. However, the significant disjuncture of having an initiative imposed on teachers or being implemented in spite of them is avoided.

In the third phase, effects would not be separated from the processes of design and implementation. Students are not 'objects' on which educational interventions are carried out, but are involved in decision-making in both the initial construction of the programme and during the learning experiences themselves. They are aware of the aims of the initiative, have a personal commitment to them and are involved in the programme's development. While they may not agree with every aspect of the programme

(and in some cases conflict between different perspectives can be positive) they understand and support its overarching purpose. Again, this does not mean that the outcome becomes predetermined. Students may still recast and reinterpret the message of the initiative and themselves develop in unexpected ways. In a case of fully seamless enactment, the effects of the programme would no longer be external or separated from the educational act itself. There would be an integrated and spontaneous expression of educational and citizenship practice.

The notion of *proximity* could therefore be applied to the second and third leaps as well as the first. In implementation and effects, 'separation' would imply a top-down imposition without the involvement of teachers and students, 'harmony' would indicate a concordance between their values and those of the initiative, and 'unification' the design and development of the initiative by teachers and students themselves.

The workings of seamless enactment can be seen in the empirical cases explored in the previous chapters. In the MST, for example, the political goals are embodied in the procedures of school (harmony): students and teachers are involved in decision-making and the curriculum is developed by the school community as a whole. The teachers and other school staff are mostly members of the movement, meaning that they have a personal commitment to the goals and feel ownership of the curriculum. The students have also participated in some way in the design of the curriculum and have their views taken into account in its materialization in class. In addition, teachers and students are involved in the movement's political activity outside the school (unification), and links are made between this and the classroom activities. This degree of linkage between stages of the curriculum, between arenas of learning and between the different agents – i.e. a seamless enactment of the movement's goals – means that an intense learning experience is provided. (Whether or not the movement's specific political goals and values are desirable is, of course, a separate question).

The PS shows similar features of seamless enactment, particularly as regards the high degree of harmony between ends and means manifested in the democratic nature of the school – with broad pupil involvement in decision-making – and inclusion of students customarily left on the margins of the school system. However, the alienation of broad swathes of the teaching force prevents the extension of this enactment across the system. In VF, on the other hand, seamless enactment is conspicuously absent. There is little attempt to embody the initiative's aims in school practice or provide opportunities for learning through active citizenship (unification). In addition, teachers on the whole have only superficial contact with

the initiative and ownership of the material. The few teachers who were exceptions to this second point did show inspiring examples of practice.

Bringing means into line with ends in this way raises the possibility of seamlessness between school and society. Seamless enactment involves a link between educational processes and the lives of the teachers and learners, including their political activities outside educational institutions. In the MST it was seen that the conscientization of students was facilitated to a large degree by their location within families and a community in which critical attitudes, a space for discussion and political action were the norm. It could be argued that a lack of fit between democratic school practices and an anti-democratic environment in the wider society comprises a form of disjuncture along the lines of the curricular disjunctures discussed above. Extending the notion of 'community enactment' outlined in the previous chapter, this could lead to a form of 'societal enactment', in which society as a whole embodies democratic principles and provides learning opportunities. Seamlessness, therefore, may require a linking of *arenas*, with political learning occurring seamlessly inside and outside school. This is not to say that a democratic school cannot exist in a non-democratic society, only that citizenship education is enhanced by this linking of *arenas*.

As can be seen, seamless enactment reduces the distance and even blurs the distinctions between the different stages of curricular transposition. Taken to its fullest extent, the whole framework of curricular transposition begins to disappear (or perhaps converge on a single point). We can distinguish between 'harmony' across the whole of curricular transposition, in which all stages embody the same principles, and 'unification' where the stages become one. When the processes are fully integrated in an organic whole, there are no longer separate stages and spaces between them. There is no longer a clear separation between ends and means, between the curricular programme and its implementation and effects. These processes are simultaneous, or there is constant movement between them, and involve the same agents in a single educational moment.

Why Seamlessness? Why Enactment?

What justifications, if any, might there be for a seamless enactment approach? First, it may well be beneficial from the perspective of the *effectiveness* of an initiative, in so far as it provides a better chance of achieving the initiative's goals than one characterized by disjunctures. As discussed

above, citizenship education is unlikely to be successful if its democratic message is in conflict with the undemocratic nature of the institution. Teachers and students will engage more fully in the educational undertaking if they feel ownership of it, and both understand and endorse its overarching aims. In an area as contested as citizenship education, teachers can transmit values that are not their own in only a very superficial manner. Furthermore, participation in decision-making is also an opportunity for students to develop knowledge, skills and values relating to democratic citizenship.

This said, seamless enactment cannot rest on a pragmatic justification. The notion of *effectiveness* exists within a *separation* mode, and depends on empirical evidence of the consequences of an initiative. In seamless enactment, consequences are not the only criterion by which the initiative is judged. Moreover, they are not entirely external to the initiative, but are embodied within it. So while prefiguring democratic relations within the school can have a number of positive side-effects in relation to the goals of democratic citizenship in the wider society (and even other non-democratic goals), it cannot, and does not need to be, justified in terms of the achievement of these goals.

A second possible justification is that the participation of teachers and students to a much greater degree is desirable on moral and political grounds. Involving teachers and learners in the educational process shows a commitment to democratic values, showing respect for persons – seeing them as ends in themselves rather than means to other goals. One of the reasons that the stages of curricular transposition are so unpredictable and liable to disjuncture is that each of them is mediated by (often uncoordinated) human agents. In the first phase, those designing the initiative (who are fallible and unavoidably not in possession of all relevant knowledge) establish means. These means are then implemented via people (usually different from those designing the initiative) who themselves alter that programme in the course of their teaching. Lastly, the results of the programme occur through students, who interpret the message in different ways. In the 'fidelity' approach to curriculum implementation, these human intermediaries are at best to be ignored, and on occasions to be deliberately suppressed. The response is therefore one of *control*. The unpredictability of outcomes is to be reduced by a 'teacher-proof' curricular programme, one which is as resistant as possible to local adaptations. This controlling approach is largely unviable, since human beings cannot be made completely machine-like in this way. Yet, it is also clearly undesirable in terms of respect for persons.

What, then, would be the implications of the seamless enactment framework for an *undemocratic* citizenship education initiative, one based on unquestioning loyalty to the nation, firm hierarchies and subservience to authority? A harmonization of ends and means in this case would mean that the educational activities would have to be carried out in such a way that students absorbed knowledge and values unquestioningly, maintaining a distant relationship of respect and obedience for their teachers. This harmony would in fact be likely to enhance the effectiveness of the initiative in achieving its goals. In relation to the second element of involving teachers and students, some participation of these agents – one encouraging a feeling of ownership of the initiative – would enhance the implementation and delivery of the initiative. Yet, this would not be a genuine expression of democratic participation, there being no principled reason for involving these actors. So, while ensuring coherence between ends and means would be beneficial in any conception of citizenship, seamless enactment as a whole is only possible in a democratic one, since only then will the involvement of the participants in the educational process be an expression of the underlying orientations.

The notion of *agency* is therefore essential to seamless enactment. As Peters (1967) argued, education (as opposed to training) requires voluntariness and wittingness on the part of those engaged in it. This entails at least some endorsement of, and commitment to, the initiative along the lines proposed here. Beyond that, participation in the delivery and implementation of the initiative is itself an educational experience, leading to an enhancement of agency. This is particularly relevant in citizenship education – at least in those conceptions of active, critical citizenship – in which learners develop as political agents capable of influencing events around them (as seen in Freire's notion of becoming a 'subject').

A second principle on which seamless enactment rests is *coherence*. An educational initiative can only be coherent if its stages are in harmony, i.e. if in its teaching of respect for diversity, for example, it incorporates the same value in its pedagogical processes and relations. If we really hold a goal or ideal to be of value and to orient our lives (whether it be democracy, inclusion, social cohesion, academic rigour, creativity etc.) then it must characterize the way we carry out the educational act, as well as furnishing it with an aim.

A first objection that might be raised against seamless enactment is that there is surely nothing wrong with 'separation' mode if it achieves the desired results. While it is unlikely that an initiative will produce citizens with democratic values through undemocratic means (particularly if the

learners are aware of the conflict), it is not impossible. However, as stated above, what is wrong with the separation mode is that it reveals (and helps to instil in learners) a particular relationship to the values it is trying to achieve, seeing them as provisional and dispensable.

A second objection that may be raised against the idea of seamless enactment is that it assumes that control of teachers and students over the curriculum is a positive thing. White (2007: 14), for example, states that:

> The curriculum should have some bearing on the shape of our future society. What this shape should be is a political question: it is for the democratic electorate to make decisions about it. The teacher should have no more voice in this than the postman.

It is clearly the case that in a public system of education, the public should be involved in establishing aims. However, this is not precluded here. A seamless enactment approach does not give teachers exclusive control over the curriculum (as in the so-called 'secret garden' of pre-1988 England), but includes them in the processes of decision-making, alongside other sections of the community, in such a way as to avoid transmitting it 'through' and 'in spite of' them. Again, in relation to students, what is being proposed is not that they independently choose their own curriculum, but that they are involved in the design and development of the course, alongside teachers and others. This conversation between those engaged in an educational undertaking and those outside it would prevent conservatism or a simple reproduction of teachers' and students' existing views.

An associated objection is that many teachers simply do not have the disposition or ability to play a substantial part in developing curricula. If we see this involvement as a *right* of those participating in the educational process, this objection is no more valid than an argument against universal suffrage based on the fact that some people are not informed and critical voters. Even if it is not a right, there are still reasons to believe that the experience of participating in constructing the curriculum will enable skills (and possibly dispositions) to develop, along the lines of Mill's (1991 [1861]) ideas of democratic engagement. The 'conversation' with outside parties will certainly help in this process. In the case of students, there are clear limits to their meaningful participation, particularly when it comes to very young children. However, there are always some opportunities for participation at any age, and, again, the experience of participation serves as a virtuous cycle of learning.

There is, however, a more radical response to objections based on the need for democratic control of aims. Seamless enactment taken to its fullest extent leads to a collapsing of the curricular transposition scheme onto a single point. Aims, here, conceived as something external to the educational process, begin to dissolve. As discussed in relation to *unification* in chapter 5, there are two ways in which the frontier between ends and means can be broken down. First, this occurs when learning takes place through the exercising of the end (e.g. developing citizenship though political participation itself). Second, learning can become an end in itself when the process of opening and expanding the mind is seen as having intrinsic worth. There is perhaps a further stage when these two forms (*ends-become-means* and *means-become-ends*) join. Here, the educational processes and aims become a single instance of preparation and realization. Citizenship and education in this way become a unified process of reimagining and recreating, both in the realm of ideas and action.

Note

[1] The term 'seamless' is not used here in the sense of a smooth transition between different types of educational institution, as in Young (2006).

Chapter 10

The Uncertain Journey

This book has aimed to shed light on the complex relationship between education and citizenship. Both components ('education' and 'citizenship') are highly contested in themselves, and the ways in which they influence one another are multiple and often obscure. The focus has not been on the heated debate over whether citizenship should be part of a national curriculum and be compulsory in schools. This question has been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Brighouse 2006; Callan 1997; Kymlicka 1999; Tooley 2000), and is predominantly one of political philosophy – regarding individual liberties and the requirements of a democratic society. Instead, this book has focused on the more strictly educational question of how citizenship education 'works', in its theoretical and practical forms. Whether or not all children (and perhaps adults) should *have* to undertake citizenship education, few would dispute that it is beneficial for an individual to have knowledge, understanding, skills and positive dispositions relating to citizenship and political life. (Even sceptics such as James Tooley (2000) accept this). The exact nature of these qualities – and the question of who has the right to decide what they are – remain contested. Yet even if a set of aims can be agreed on, there is still the question of whether and how 'education' can achieve them. It is this last, crucial (and often ignored) question that is at the heart of this book.

Two new theoretical frames have been proposed here as a means of responding to the above questions. The first – curricular transposition – is a tool for understanding the trajectory of an educational programme, as it moves through the processes of design and implementation. Using this lens, three contrasting cases were analysed in order to explore the principles underlying citizenship education initiatives and the factors influencing their successful realization. From this, a second, normative, frame was developed – seamless enactment – involving the harmonization and ultimately unification of the different stages and actors of the educational process.

There are three main implications arising from the seamless enactment framework, and from the book as a whole:

1) citizenship should not be seen as an external goal at which educational processes are aimed
2) citizenship education involves a transformation of the institution in which it is conducted
3) citizenship education must go beyond educational institutions

Citizenship Should Not Be Seen As an External Goal at Which Educational Processes Are Aimed

One of the respondents in the research outlined in the previous chapters – the headteacher Jessica – joked that whereas in the past people used to say, 'Only God can save you,' now they say, 'Only school can save you!' Education is often seen as the magic wand with which all of society's ills can be waved away. Of course, it is to be celebrated that governments have concern for different forms of educational provision. Problems arise, however, when beliefs are held about the ability of education to achieve particular goals. These beliefs are problematic for two reasons. First, education is an inherently unpredictable enterprise, and so faith in its ability to bring about specific individual or societal ends in an automatic way is unfounded. As Unterhalter (1999) argues, it is impossible to wholly define and determine education through citizenship, the former existing in its own 'particular institutional space'.

Second, the imposition of a goal on education may have a pernicious effect on the educational act – forcing it to conform to particular outcomes and thereby reducing the chances of a collective opening of minds, and a deepening understanding of the world.

The goal of the development of citizens or a democratic society is a pressing one – particularly as regards the empowerment of marginalized groups and the development of criticality. As outlined in chapter 1, despite the predominance of democracy as a form of government, there is an urgent need for *democratization*, and increasing popular participation in decision-making and political processes around the world. Yet it is a mistake to believe that schools can simply 'make it happen'. A number of commentators (e.g. Brighouse 2006; Rooney 2004) have emphasized that the problems motivating citizenship education programmes in many countries – political apathy among the young, breakdown in the social and moral fabric of society, distrust of political institutions etc. – have their solutions not in educational

interventions but in reforms of the political system itself. Yet, even if all of the problems in the political system were ones of lack of individual and collective knowledge and dispositions, schools would still struggle to fulfil the expectations. As discussed in relation to the 'third leap' above, however well designed an educational intervention, students – except in a situation of extreme indoctrination – will selectively absorb, reinterpret, transform or reject the messages. The values and dispositions in question are particularly unlikely to be adopted in their entirety in a context – common to many countries with well-established education systems – in which many young people consciously reject the institution of school.

Furthermore, part of the justification for the participation of teachers and students in curriculum design in the seamless enactment framework is that predefined notions of citizenship should not be 'presented' to schools. Surely, any attempt to instil a *specific* form of citizenship on pupils through education – one that has been predefined by others – goes against the principles of democracy and respect for persons that are supposed to inspire the undertaking in the first place. A truly democratic initiative will always leave the door open to 'failure' in the achievement of its aims, but paradoxically it is in so doing that it does achieve its aims.

Biesta and Lawy (2006: 72), in this way, raise issue with 'the assumption that citizenship can be understood as the *outcome* of an educational trajectory' (original emphasis). In the first place, the transmission of a predefined conception of citizenship is considered an anathema, with 'a continuous interrogation of possible meanings of citizenship' seen to be integral both to citizenship education and democratic citizenship in general. Moreover:

> The idea of citizenship as outcome is also problematic because it is fabricated on the assumption that citizenship is a status that is achieved only *after* one has successfully traversed a specified trajectory. (p. 72)

As the authors emphasize, citizenship – in its sense of valued membership of a polity rather than simply holding a passport – is not a status, but 'something that people continuously *do*' (original emphasis). These objections echo Ross's (2002) critique of the objectives model. With a 'process' conception of citizenship, on the other hand, rather than 'the simple acquisition of certain fixed core values and dispositions' (p. 73), education would equip or capacitate young people for engagement in political processes, and allow them a space to build and exercise their own conceptions.

The open nature of an educational engagement (in contrast to one of *training*) means that it cannot be a conduit for a fixed and rigid conception

of citizenship. It can only support a notion of citizenship that is open and fluid like itself, a citizenship based on enquiry, reimagining and recreation. Citizenship and education in this way become one, a practice that is its own aim.

Citizenship Education Involves a Transformation of the Institution in Which It Is Conducted

The odds are stacked against school as a provider of citizenship education. The establishment of national education systems around the world can be attributed (see Green 1990) to projects of social control, the consolidation of the nation-state through the development of nationalist ideology and bureaucracy, and assimilation of cultural 'outsiders'. Aspects of contemporary citizenship education, such as the development of active, political engagement, criticality in relation to authority and the empowerment of marginalized groups, are a far cry from the founding mission of most schools.

Given these challenges, it might be tempting to give up on schools altogether as sites of citizenship learning. Social movements, community groups and campaigns appear more promising sites for the development of these skills and dispositions. And yet, schools remain highly important for the development of citizenship. Classroom activities can be useful in transmitting information on a large range of topics outside the experience of the students. While it is important to move away from dry 'civics' approaches, knowledge of political affairs, institutions and processes will always be an essential prerequisite of effective citizenship. Simulations, while not a substitute for real experience, also have the advantage of giving students a taste of contexts to which access may be difficult, and provide opportunities for them to adopt roles they could not in practice (for example, being Prime Minister and cabinet, or the UN Security Council). A further point relates to reflection. The benefits of participation can only be fully obtained if the learner reflects on the experience, thereby developing understanding of it and allowing it to inform future action. Classroom-based activities represent an important opportunity for collective reflection of this type.

In addition, classrooms are a space in which diverse populations come together. While most countries are characterized by a degree of segregation of schools on the basis of factors such as social class, race and ability, compulsory state schools remain a site in which individuals share experiences with different others. As theorists of deliberative democracy (see

Enslin et al. 2001) have emphasized, these represent a potentially invaluable space for the development of understanding, communication and decision-making across difference. There is also the pragmatic aspect of schools being places in which time and resources are dedicated to encouraging learning. Given that the process of deschooling called for by Illich (1970) and Reimer (1970) looks unlikely to occur in the near future, children and teenagers will continue to spend a large proportion of their lives in schools, so these institutions must be engaged with and transformed. Curricula around the world are progressively moving towards an economistic conception of human development, and it is important to defend the civic dimension, among others.

So while citizenship education should always go beyond schools, it should also include them. Yet, how might citizenship manifest itself in schools in a way that avoids the institution's inauspicious founding origins, and makes the most of the opportunities provided by a public space? In a previous piece of research in Brazil (McCowan 2006), a Municipal Secretariat of Education told me that he was against having 'citizenship' in the curriculum:

> But we do not determine that the theme should be dealt with in any specific place. Because dealing with it in one place means in practice understanding that citizenship in the real world also occupies one specific place.

This is an important insight. The identification of citizenship 'competencies' that can be mastered through a discrete, dedicated lesson does not fit comfortably with a conception of citizenship in which deliberation and active participation imbue people's lives. The MST and PS in this way aim to form citizens through transforming the entire school experience, involving the curriculum as a whole and the running of the institution. At the same time, there are arguments against spreading citizenship across the curriculum. As Torney-Purta (2004) states in relation to the US context: '[T]he cross-curricular or diffused approach . . . is likely to be ineffective. When everyone is supposed to be responsible, often no one takes responsibility.' Ofsted, the English inspection agency, also favours discrete provision. Its view of citizenship as 'the worst taught subject at secondary level' in 2005, was based in part on the problems posed by the delivery of citizenship through other subjects, rather than as a lesson in itself. However, this position is open to similar criticisms as those levelled at the 'objectives' model of curriculum design: having citizenship as a separate subject with

its own examination may aid students' attainment of specific knowledge and skills, and certainly facilitates quantitative measurement of them. Yet, whether it aids the development of democratic citizens and a democratic society is a different matter. As Halstead and Pike (2006: 130) argue, 'visibility' in citizenship education is not necessarily an indication of quality.

Schools, if they are genuinely to promote democratic citizenship, must become prefigurative sites. As outlined in chapter 4, there are three main aspects of the prefigurative. It involves, first, instantiating the new society; second, being a learning process for those involved; and, third, acting as an exemplar of alternative forms of organization. In relation to the first aspect, there must be a process of democratization. Schools may never be 'democratic' institutions in the way that, say, a farming cooperative may be, but that does not mean that significant changes cannot be made. Participatory bodies such as student councils are a step in the right direction, but should be accompanied by a broader change in school culture in which key decisions on management and curriculum involve pupils, staff and community. All this, of course, is hard in the context of a centrally, and only semi-democratically, controlled school system and curriculum, inspired, as they often are, by business models. As Faulks (2006: 129) points out:

> The values associated with citizenship, such as cooperation, compromise and care are seriously compromised when they are taught against a background of dominant market values such as competition, self-interest and materialism.

Paulo Freire's great insight concerns the political significance of pedagogy. Democracy is thereby prefigured in the running of the school, but also in the processes of teaching and learning. The process of becoming 'subjects of history' – political actors able to control their collective destiny – is dependent on a pedagogical relationship in which the learners are 'subjects' rather than 'objects'. This does not necessarily mean that pupils choose what they learn, or speak more than the teacher does. It signifies that they are acknowledged as subjects of a learning process, rather than objects of transmission, and that instead of absorbing a predefined view of citizen and polity, they engage in scrutinizing policies, considering alternatives and rethinking society. Freirean dialogue may be harder to achieve in mainstream primary and secondary classrooms than in 'culture circles', but again elements of it can be successfully used.

Prefigurative experiences are not just about equipping people for democratic participation within the current system. They allow, and indeed are

engaged in, the imagination of a new society. This relates to discussions of criticality in chapters 1 and 3. Citizenship education, in line with more 'conventional' programmes such as VF and 'critical thinking' approaches, should encourage young people to evaluate policies, judge the qualities of candidates and make informed decisions in elections through scrutinizing evidence (a form we might call 'weak' criticality). Yet, there is also a need for a 'strong' criticality, through which the foundations of society are questioned. Young people must be able to consider questions such as the merits and drawbacks of a presidential or parliamentary system, capitalism and other forms of economic organization, republics and monarchies, and the existence and influence of supranational organizations. If we do not engage with these deeper issues, however critically we choose between candidates at an election, we are in effect endorsing the fabric of the polity without question.

Recalling the critical thinking/critical pedagogy debate once more, the influence of social class, gender and race inequalities on the exercising of political power must also be acknowledged, and consideration given to non-dominant viewpoints. How far specific political viewpoints should be promoted, however, is a highly complex question. As Freire argued, and Crick also acknowledged, it is impossible to be neutral in citizenship education (or in any education for that matter). Teachers should not, and cannot, hide their conceptions of justice. There are also strong arguments for raising particular perspectives or sides of an argument that have little exposure in society, so as to broaden understanding of issues and allow all voices to be heard. There is a difference, however, between a teacher affirming her political position, and indoctrinating her students in it. The opening of a mind to alternatives and possibilities must always be at the heart of the educational endeavour.

There may be pragmatic as well as principled arguments for allowing strong rather than weak criticality in schools. Just as the pupils in VF discussed in chapter 8 failed to get engaged because they saw through the superficiality of the initiative, so young people will resist civic education provision if they see it as an attempt to make them endorse a system they do not agree with and have little to gain from. Citizenship education must be an opportunity for creating a new vision of society.

This new prefigurative form of the school is justified by its being an instantiation of the democratic society. Yet, these participatory forms of management and pedagogy are themselves learning experiences for the students – ones that would be hard to achieve through a citizenship 'lesson'. They are also ways of countering claims of the 'end of history' and TINA (there is no alternative), of showing the possibility of alternatives.

However, two difficult questions arise from the proposal of prefigurative schools. First, while a form of prefiguration can emerge in a country like Brazil – which is highly decentralized and has wider contemporary movements for radical social policy and pedagogy – what are the chances in the more stifling environments of countries like the USA, the UK or Australia? Schools in these countries are, on the whole, far from prefiguring democracy. In relation to the two aspects of seamless enactment outlined above, there is first a lack of *coherence* in that the goals of democratic citizenship are not generally supported by democratic structures and processes within schools and in the education system as a whole. The element of *agency* is again lacking, as there is only very indirect democratic control over the curriculum, and none for those under 18. While teachers have some say over delivery, they generally receive a set of predefined outcomes. As explored in chapter 4, there are a number of isolated cases of inspiring democratic schooling (e.g. Apple & Beane 1999; Gribble 1998), even in the context of increasing commodification of education and stifling of local democratic control, yet they remain highly scarce.

Furthermore, what happens to students when they emerge from their democratic oasis into the desert of anti-democratic contemporary society? This sentiment has been expressed in relation to the PS (Silva & Melo 2001), that the pupils may actually be less well-equipped to deal with the harsh realities of the world than if they had been to a conventional school. These challenges cannot be explained away, and must remain as such for educators to grapple with in their everyday practice.

Citizenship Education Must Go Beyond Educational Institutions

One commentator arguing against the compulsory delivery of citizenship education in schools is James Tooley. In the book *Reclaiming Education* (2000), he argues that the whole project of citizenship education is flawed, as is any attempt 'to impose higher-order values on educational settings' (p. 140). Does seamless enactment lead to a similar conclusion? Certainly, this book shares some of Tooley's criticisms of state provision. The jump from the premise of 'education for citizenship is highly important' to the conclusion 'government must impose a national curriculum for citizenship on all students' is indeed unwarranted, resting as it does on the unverified assumptions that ' "uncoordinated local initiatives" are not enough to provide it' and 'such a curriculum is best learnt in schools' (p. 147). Yet, for the reasons outlined above, there is still a strong case for engaging schools in the provision of citizenship education – even if not on a compulsory or

standardized basis. Tooley's reservations about the political orientation of the Crick Report are bizarre to say the least – he rejects as biased and ideological terms as apparently inoffensive as 'concern for the environment' and 'peace-making'!

Nevertheless, while school cannot be discounted, there are strong reasons for locating citizenship education in other sites as well. As discussed above, schools struggle to provide an environment in which democratic relationships can be experienced and developed. Other forms of organization may provide rich experiences of democracy in action. Simulated experiences of the type that schools can provide – such as a mock election, a model parliament etc. – can enable skills to be developed in areas to which children will not normally have access. Yet, the intensity of real experiences of political participation is likely to make the learning process deeper and more enduring. In addition, there is the element of *efficacy*. The experience of bringing actual change – rather than of simulated actions – can be a strong inspiration for learners, even if it is on a small scale at the local level (Roker et al. 1999; Schugurensky 2004). Of course, not all political action brings the intended results. Even in these latter cases, there will be important learning about the conditions in which meaningful political change can and cannot be achieved. Citizenship education, therefore, needs to take place in diverse forms of arena – the family, community organizations, political movements and campaigns – as well as in various educational settings, from nurseries to universities and adult education. This idea is emphasized by Biesta and Lawy (2006), in their calls to consider the 'individual-in-context'.

A distinction needs to be made here in relation to active citizenship. 'Serving learning' in the USA, and 'community involvement' in the UK can involve *political activity*, but for the most part are instances of *volunteering*. Positive change can be brought about in society in different ways: in a *charity* conception, the wealthy and advantaged share their resources with the less well-off on a voluntary basis in order to provide help and support for them; in a *justice* conception, the state guarantees particular rights to all citizens, leading to forms of redistribution. While volunteering is undoubtedly a commendable activity through which much can be gained – both for those volunteering and those receiving support – it is not strictly speaking part of *citizenship* (which involves *entitlements*, ones that are not dependent on the inconsistencies and unreliability of charity). In practice, however, much service learning or community involvement contains activities that have elements of both these paradigms. Volunteering to help in a local environmental project, or in a support group for refugee families,

will have multiple political implications. NGOs such as Save the Children, Oxfam and Actionaid, while having their base in a charity conception, do engage in important political activity – aiming to influence national and supranational policy over issues such as debt and trade, following a conception of universal human rights.

These learning experiences outside schools correspond to the *unification* mode, in contrast to the *harmony* mode covered in the previous section, in which schools prefigure democratic society. The distinction between these two is not rigid: the harmony mode collapses onto the unification mode in so far as the school is considered an arena in society in its own right. As pointed out earlier, the distinctive characteristic of school is that it is a place of intentional learning in preparation for future actions, and so has a degree of distinctiveness from other arenas in society.

Nevertheless, a porosity between the school site and political activity outside the school is fundamental. In the cases explored above, transformative experiences were provided in schools when there was a link between the school activities and political movements outside – the struggle for land reform in the case of the MST, and the democratization of the city in Belo Horizonte. Teachers brought into school their experiences of political action, while students used school as a launch pad for activities outside. The school also has an important role as a site for reflection on political activity outside its gates, enabling a sustained consideration of the successes and failures, the factors influencing them, and the learning processes engaged in.

Understanding Citizenship Education

Many problems in educational debates in general – and in citizenship education specifically – stem from a conflation of ends and means. Take the case of two speakers on a radio programme who are debating the school curriculum. One argues passionately that we need to return to the 'real' subjects of history, chemistry and French, instead of the new 'Mickey Mouse' subjects such as media studies and 'personal, social and health education', and that we should test students' knowledge with written exams. The second caller argues equally passionately for greater emphasis on practical courses relating to financial competence, preparation for entry into the workplace and living in society generally, using methods of teaching that involve electronic media with which young people are familiar. On the surface, these two callers are arguing about

the content and methods of the school curriculum. Yet in reality they are not disagreeing over the best way of becoming an educated person, but over what it means to be an educated person. The first caller wants to create knowledgeable people with a familiarity with 'high' culture and a range of specifically academic skills and understanding. The second caller wants to create a population with the skills for a modern economy.

Discussions of citizenship education in this way need to be clear over whether they are debating conceptions of citizenship, or models of education for citizenship. To take an example, Clark's (1999) chapter presents five shortcomings of the traditional civic education curriculum:

1. lack of consensus over what it should include
2. lack of emphasis on civic involvement
3. focus on the structure and function of national government, rather than local issues
4. looking backwards, without a connection to the future
5. emphasis on content rather than skills

With a conception of citizenship emphasizing duties rather than rights – one focusing on the nation-state, respect for authority and gaining inspiration from national heroes of former eras – this traditional curriculum appears coherent. What Clark is calling for here is not so much a new curriculum as a new conception of citizenship: one which involves activism at a local level leading to a renewal of Dewey-style participatory democracy. This vision is indeed one that must underlie efforts to bring a democratic renewal to countries living in a shell of 'democracy' as a formal system of government. How to translate it into a curriculum, however, is a different matter.

This is not to say that there should be a 'first ends, then means' approach, as in Tyler's (1949) techno-rational scheme. As seen in the above discussions, in practice there can never be such a neat chronology, and as we move towards a seamless enactment approach, the chronological separation can be an obstacle. The response to the question of how to create a curriculum for participatory democracy provided by this book is indeed a *merging* of ends and means. However, we do need to *understand* the constitutive elements, so that there can be clarity over whether we are arguing over a vision of citizenship, the way of achieving it, or whether it can be put into practice given current conditions. This also helps separate the descriptive from the normative, avoiding reigning in our imagination and restricting our visions to the 'feasible', but also understanding how ideals function in real conditions.

The role of the curricular transposition framework in research on citizenship education, therefore, is first to highlight the constitutive stages of the educational process. All educational initiatives have aspirations or ideals – whether or not these are made explicit – all have some form of programme – whether formalized or not – a process of implementation and effects on students. The second function is to draw attention to the nature of the movement between the stages – the leaps between ends and means, and between ideal and real. To gauge the prospects of an initiative, and to understand its outcomes, we need to look at the choices that have been made in the construction of an ideal programme, and the transformations in implementation and in the lives of students. Empirical research needs to explore the diverse ways in which initiatives bridge the gaps between the different stages, whether in coherent, creative, arbitrary or oppressive ways.

*   *   *

While based around an ideal of participatory democracy, this book has not put forward an argument for a specific conception of citizenship. If the task of unifying efforts around a single conception is possible, it is not the aim of this study. Instead, the focus has been on processes – the ways in which aims are translated into educational programmes and grappled with in schools and elsewhere. Yet, the dichotomy is a false one. In a seamless enactment conception, the idea of using education to 'make citizens' begins to slip away. The tasks of finding means of achieving an aim, implementing a programme and attaining the desired results begin to dissolve into a single moment of educational and citizenship practice and reflection.

In order to rethink citizenship education, we need to remember that it is, after all, 'education', and as such escapes from the rigid goals, hopes and controls that we place on it. While this book has argued for harmony and seamlessness between the different stages of transposition, between different parts of the curriculum and between school and society, it is unavoidable that there will be some degree of unpredictability. Education is not just an entitlement of citizenship, and citizenship is not a straightforward educational trajectory. Moreover, it could be argued that it is the leaps themselves that are desirable. It might be that the beauty of education is the step into the abyss, its unpredictable nature.

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