CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

IN ENGLAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to offer an historical appraisal on the development of citizenship education in England during the twentieth century, as a means of deriving a conceptual basis for assessing good practice at a time when "education for citizenship" has acquired recent official support as a cross-curricular theme in the National Curriculum. The study is about context, ideas, intentions, frameworks, and advice to teachers, but is not empirical in the sense of being based on experience at classroom level. The thesis covers:
(i) the four periods of development in citizenship education, namely, the pre-First World War period, the inter-war period, the period immediately after the Second World War to the 1960s, the period from 1969 to 1980s, and the pressure groups at work during these periods.
(ii) the modes of delivery of citizenship education, firstly through geography and history, secondly, through other integrated approaches, and finally in the context of the National Curriculum.

This study suggests that an overriding continuity in citizenship education has been functioning as an education for social and political control, even though the rhetoric might refer to the social and political development of the individual as a priority. It concludes that citizenship education is an aid to political reproduction which is developed and modified so as to meet the changing needs of the dominant political system and its elite. The cause of education for world citizenship, by contrast, seems to have achieved little. There has also been a tension between citizenship education in its narrower civics guise with its stress on developing national citizens, and the cause of world citizenship. National Curriculum Guidance on Citizenship Education does not suggest that the official priority has been given to developing international understanding.

Declaration

This work is original and has not been submitted previously in support of any degree, qualification or course.

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Abbreviations

AEC	Association for Education in Citizenship
BA	British Association for the Advancement of Science
CDN	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CEWC	Council of Education for World Citizenship
CG 8	Curriculum Guidance 8
DES	Department of Education and Science
GYSL	Geography for Young School Leaver
IAAM	Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters
KS	Key Stage
LN	League of Nations
LNU	League of Nations Union
MEL	Moral Education League
NATFHE	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education
NCC	National Curriculum Council
NUT	National Union of Teachers
PSE	Personal and Social Education
RGS	Royal Geographical Society

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study seeks to trace the development of citizenship education in this century in England, as an historical basis for identifying good practice, and in this light to review the current trends and practices with respect to the National Curriculum. Citizenship is different from other subjects in terms of acceptability, tidiness of structure, and ease of access in the curriculum in that many of the aspects of citizenhip were being covered in the hidden curriculum. This makes a research of citizenship education in the school curriculum complicated. Ma hon in his study,"Citizenship and the Curriculum"ten years ago noted this difficulty. [1]

> "This would appear, at first glance, to be a straightforward exercise of describing the development of an important area of knowledge and valuable social skills easily to be found in school syllabi, authoritatively defined by public examination bodies, and confirmed by subject associations. Unfortunately, citizenship education does not appear too often in the syllabus, its content and

[1] Mahon, D J "Citizenship and the Curriculum, a Review of Current Trends", M.Ed. Thesis, Univ. of Liverpool, 1980.

skills are not agreed, and it does not appear to be included too often in the list of subjects on offer by examination boards. Instead, citizenship education appears to have become regarded ambiguously as being both more than, and less than, accepted subjects on the school curriculum. For some people it is more than a traditional subject in that it must be seen to permeate all aspects of a child's experience in school if it is there that the child is to receive the skills and the values and beliefs of the society in which he now lives, and must soon work as a competent adult. For others, it is less than traditionally accepted areas of study, in that it has appeared only fleetingly on the curriculum, has been there on sufferance only as a curricular alternative, and has usually been regarded as a low status study. It has also appeared under a variety of names, and, where consciously developed, its developers have tended to ignore indirect and implicit citizenship education, as well as earlier developments in this field." [2]

Ten years havepassed, nothing has evolved to make the study of development of citizenship education any easier. Probably it was because of this untidiness in *citizenship education* in this country that there were really few studies made in this field during this century. This does not, however, indicate the unimportance of it in the school curriculum. On the contrary, it was the lack of it that prompted this study as a current contribution to the understanding of the concept of citizenship education and a provision of new knowledge in this area for further research.

This study is not based on Ma hon's study, *Citizenship and the Curriculum* but rather to bring it up to date. His study was brief and did not cover all the aspects of education in citizenship that appeared to be relevant in such a study. For instance, citizenship education covered by history and geography was not explored in his study. Nevertheless, his account of the development of

[2] *ibid.* p. iii.

citizenship education in relation to curriculum innovations and developments of the 1970s and 1980s was very thorough. He provided strong evidence of change in citizenship education during this period of time. It is also the aim of this study to review the most recent issues in citizenship education in England, as it may be argued that the current potential for growth in citizenship education is on a scale not experienced before.

This study begins with the search for a clear working definition of citizenship and citizenship education, and how citizenship education has changed its meaning over time. Though there were variants, most earlier literature on citizenship education which was meant for use in schools during this century, centred around few themes like rights, duties and responsibilities; good behaviour; loyalty and patriotism to King and country and voluntary community service. Some explained the structure of local and national government. This was evidence of how people and society in the past defined citizenship education. It was also what the Society accepted as good practice and believed should be given to all pupils in schools at that particular time. Surely such an approach could not be good practice for citizenship education today. Would it not be branded as inadequate, too nationalistic and bad practice? Part of the justification of this exercise is to explore such questions.

Continuity and Change in the Definition of Citizenship Education

A literature review suggests that theoretically at least citizenship education has been a thriving industry. There were numerous books for teachers and

pupils published from the early 1890s until end of 1940s with 'citizen' or 'citizenship' as their titles. Thereafter, there appear to have been fewer books with 'citizenship' in their titles. They all contained their own way of interpreting citizenship education and what they believed to be good practice. Therefore they provide good historical resource material for this study.

An important late nineteenth century text reprinted in this century was Malden's *The Rights and Duties of the Citizen.*[3] The author's concept of citizenship education was captured in the last sentence:

> "From the home, the school, the parish, the trade, the nation, upwards to the empire and to the world, ever widening spheres of duty, ever increasing opportunities of self-discipline, self-control and service for others, are the hard work and high privilege of the citizens of England, men and women; each a little unit in the most influential organisation in the world."

There was apparently little mention of rights in the book. It thus would appear that citizenship education in Malden's definition consisted in the inculcation of:

1. duties and responsibilities;
2. the patriotic spirit;
3. self-discipline and morality;
4. civic knowledge;
5. knowledge of country as the basis of knowledge of the wider world.

His notion of citizenship was clearly that good citizens of England or of British Empire were the equivalent of good world citizens.

Henry Hadow was a distinquished author of a book called *Citizenship*. It

[3]Malden, H. E. *The Rights and Duties of the Citizen*, Methuen, 1894.

was published in 1923. His themes for citizenship education consisted of:

1. pride in one's school;

2. local patriotism;

3. love of country.

He advocated such themes because he believed they would 'break through all the reticence and sanctity of a child's mind.' [4]

Between Malden's and Hadow's book, England had experienced the First World War and the economic, political and social changes which followed it. There was yet little difference in the minds of the two authors on the essential elements of citizenship education. Hadow showed some improvement in the sense that he widened just slightly his outlook. He analysed the balance between rights and responsibilities. But he did it only in terms of political theories, not in practice. He believed that the function of the state was itself the end. In other words, citizens ought to sacrifice for the state but not necessarily the other way around.

Two books published by the Association for Education in Citizenship reflected a sensible evolution in the development of citizenship education in the 1930s. [5] In the earlier book, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*, we could find evidence of a switch over from civic education to education for democracy in citizenship education.

> "if those democratic institutions, which we in this country agree are essential for the full development of the individual, are to be preserved, some systematic training in the duties of citizenship is

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[4] Hadow, H. *Citizenship*, Clarendon Press, 1923, p. 1.

[5] AEC, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1935 and *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1939.

> necessary, ... Men and women received in schools, factories, workshop and university a vocational training designed to fit them to be useful members of a trade or profession, and in the same way, it is felt, they are in equal need of a more subtle and difficult form of training to enable them to play their parts as useful members of the whole civilized community..." [6]

It gave a general tone of preserving democracy as the main purpose of citizenship education. This would seem to be encouraging the development of passive democratic citizenship, however, little more than an engagement in voting, rather than the promotion of active, participative democratic citizenship. The added element in the concept of citizenship education in it was the quality of a democratic citizen which would consist of:

1. a deep concern for the freedom and good life of his fellows;
2. such knowledge and power of clear thinking as will enable him to form sound judgements as to the main problems of politics and to decide wisely which party will be most likely to achieve the ends he desires;
3. the power to select men of wisdom, integrity and courage as public representatives, and such knowledge of his own limitations as will dispose him to trust and follow his chosen leaders.

A later book which demonstrated a change of definition of citizenship and citizenship education was Brimble and May's *Social Studies and World Citizenship*, published in 1943. The road travelled since Malden's time is very clear. The "empire" has been replaced by the "world". Was it the consequence of the devastating Second World War? This book was even subtitled *A Sociological Approach to Education*. The difference between Malden's book, and many like it, and Brimble and May's is obvious. The former was presumably

[6] AEC *ibid.* (1935) Foreword.

one response of the education system to the gradual establishment of an elective democracy. Malden's was at once a manual in voting procedures and an attempt to inculcate citizenship values amongst the newly enfranchised male masses that would ensure their loyalty to the governing elites. Brimble and May's rationale was that 'world citizenship' would be a buttress to the new social order to be set up after the war.

> "In order to build a new and better social system, if it is to be a truly democratic one, every citizen must be aware of his importance in, and his responsibility to democracy." [7]

More recent books on citizenship such as Heater's *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, published in 1990, and Fogelman's *Citizenship in Schools*, published in 1991, illustrated further changes. In his book, Heater gave a much clearer and wider definition for citizenship which was presented in 'the cube of citizenship'. Citizenship then would consist of:

1. elements of identity, virtue, legal/civil, political, social;

2. knowledge, attitudes and skills;

3. levels of citizenship — local/provincial, nation/state, continental/ regional, world.

The cube of citizenship is reproduced in Fig. 1 on the next page. [8]

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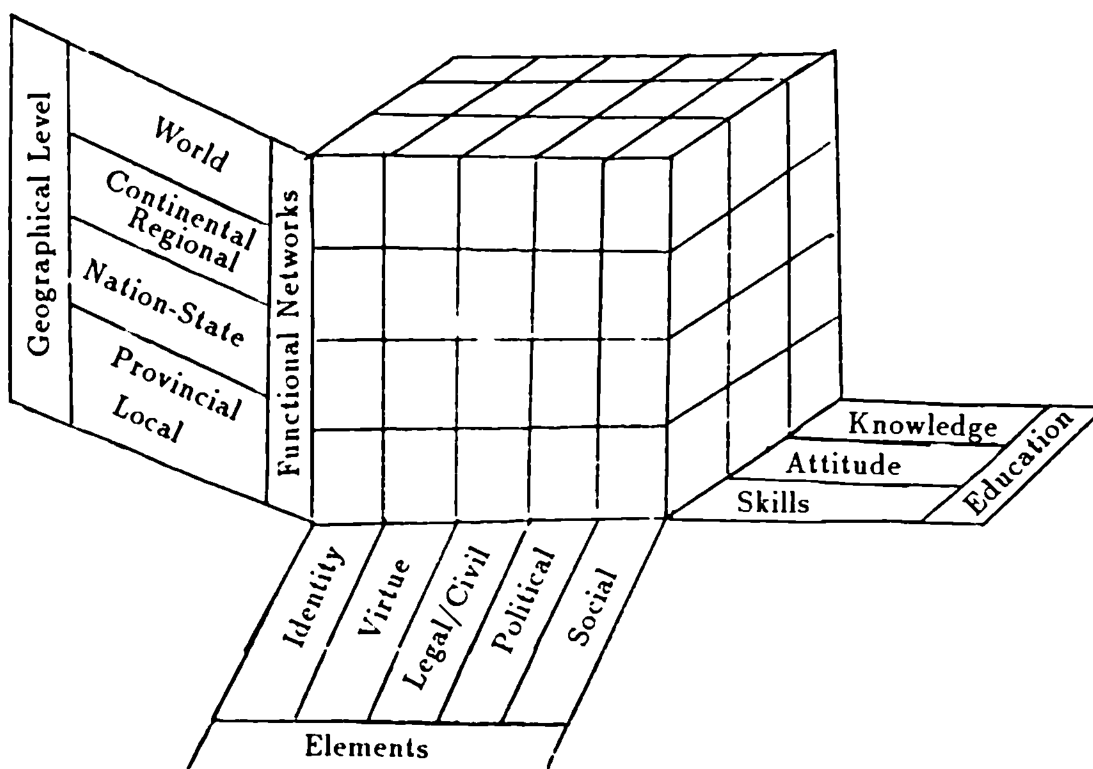
[7] quoted in Brown, C. *Active Citizenship — the wheel again?*. Document published by Univ. of York Department of Education Political Education Research Unit, 1990, p. 3.

[8] Heater, D. *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, Longman, 1990, p. 319.

Fig. 1

The Cube of Citizenship



In constructing this broad concept of citizenship, he surpassed all the concepts of citizenship defined in earlier books. Nevertheless, he did have reservation for his own definition.

> "A definition of citizenship which fulfils all these requirements may seem to make unrealistic demands on both citizen and teacher. One must not, however, exaggerate the preferred size of the cube. It must be placed firmly in a person's life, even centrally perhaps, but with plenty of surrounding space for the pursuit of private affairs." [9]

Similarly, Fogelman sees citizenship in the following way:

> "It is in the last two years that the term 'citizenship' has started to become familiar and to feel important for our schools. ...many schools have been fostering community and other relevant activities for many years.
>
> However, until recently citizenship in schools was largely synonymous with civics and teaching about the British Constitution. Whilst these aspects are not irrelevant, the concept has now broadened, not only to include a much wider body of knowledge, but also issues of attitudes, personal skills and participation. The origins of this change, and the movement of citizenship to somewhere near the centre of the educational stage, can be located in a number of places, but two are particularly important. First, there has been concern about the political and community knowledge, commitment and involvement of young people in our society...
>
> The second major element is the introduction of the National Curriculum in all our maintained schools. Although the National Curriculum itself is conceived in terms of the ten core and foundation subjects, it is only a part, albeit the major part, of what is now known as 'the whole curriculum'. NCC Circular No. 6 and Curriculum Guidance No. 3 discussed and set out the cross-curricular elements which are to be seen as an essential part of the whole curriculum. They included the five cross-curricular themes:

[9] *ibid*, p. 319.

economic and industrial understanding; career education and guidance; health education; environmental education; and education for citizenship." [10]

His concept of citizenship education was, therfore, broader, and would consist of:

1. community services;
2. rights and responsibilities;
3. attitudes, personal skills and participation;

He seemed to stress the promotion of active citizenship as the basis for education for citizenship. He did not, however, lay stress on the international dimensions. Between 1950s and 1990s there was something of a gap in the popularity of the use of the word 'citizenship' in the titles of books about citizenship, indicated clearly in Fogelman's introduction, "it is in the last two years that the term 'citizenship' has started to become familiar (again)." [11] The term 'citizenship' had gone out of fashion and was replaced by broader or narrower terms such as social studies, world studies, social education, and political education during this period of almost half a century. In the development of citizenship education in schools, the waxing and waning use of certain terminologies has been quite common.

This made it necessary to explore not only literature bearing the title 'citizenship' but also the wider field of social studies writing, which certainly contributed to methodology of education in citizenship during that time.

Apart from abundance of literature in the form of published books, au-

[10] Fogelman, K. *Citizenship in Schools*, David Fulton, 1991, pp. 1-2.

[11] *ibid.* pp. 1-2.

thoritative documents from the Ministry of Education or DES, which also contained statements of encouragement or discouragement of citizenship education, also appeared.

Syllabuses of citizenship in its own right were, however, less evident than, say, syllabuses in social studies. Thus throughout the research, actual syllabuses for citizenship education were not the main source of evidence of continuity, change and even particular styles of delivery of citizenship education; rather, more general syllabuses with such titles as social studies. For example, CSE Social Studies syllabuses such as those offered by North Western Regional Examinations Board, suggested that citizenship education was particularly appropriate for less able pupils, not essential for the more academic. [12] There was widespread evidence that history and geography were seen as the most effective deliverers among standard subjects of citizenship education. The literature of these subjects provided support for this view. The historic contributions of geography and history to citizenship education are therefore considered in Chapters six and seven.

Research on the current movement promoting citizenship education depended immensely on the official documents which have discussed citizenship education in the National Curriculum. As citizenship education is now documented, perhaps politicised, and became an entitlement of all pupils in all maintained schools, these official documents are important as they form the basis of reference for planning citizenship education now and in the future.

Earlier mention of the gap between 1950s and 1990s when 'citizenhip'

[12] Andrews, S. E. *A Critical Assessment of three internally examined Mode III CSE Social Studies Courses*, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Liverpool, 1977.

was not fashionable as an approach would seem to have been particular to the situation in this country. This was not the case in other countries, for example, in the United States or Canada, where 'citizenship' has been a popular approach throughout the second half of this century. At the philosophical level, the concept of citizenship was continually debated.

In 1963, the American writer, Marshall, produced a most exhaustive account of citizenship as an expression of rights and obligations.[13] He identified citizenship as an historical achievement of civil, political and social rights.

> "The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom-liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts and the right to justice... By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested in political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body... By the social element I mean the whole range from the modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society." [14]

Even in the United States, however, citizenship education was characteristically covered under the social studies banner. Marshall's concept of civil, political and social citizenship was adopted by the Speaker's Commission for Citizenship as the starting point for the debate on citizenship education in the 1990s. This reinforces the view held in this thesis that a knowledge of the concept of citizenship is an important basis for citizenship education, and therefore some conceptual unpacking of the idea forms an important starting

[13] Marshall, T. H. *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*, Chicago Univ. Press, 1963.

[14] *ibid.* p. 78.

point for this study.

Marshall's definition was an embodiment of a series of rights. Other philosophers considered citizenship as duty and obligation. This is also important because the latter concept of citizenship was the basis of imperial citizenship education which could still be found as late as the 1960s.

Another philosopher who looked at the concept of citizenship was Janowitz. He treated citizenship as a balance between rights and obligations.

> "It is inescapable to me that citizenship involves some sort of balance or interplay between rights and obligations. It is impossible to study a polity, especially a democratic polity without assessing the significance of citizen obligation." [15]

His key elements in citizenship training were, in fact, not a balanced set of rights and obligations but a set of obligations.

> "Patriotism and loyalty; obedience to the laws of society; respect for officials and government; recognition of the obligations of political life; some degree of self-control; response to community needs in times of stress, ordinary honesty in social relations... For me citizenship is an expression of the political relations between the individual and the state. For a democratic polity to succeed, the citizen must fulfil his civic obligations." [16]

From defining concept of citizenship through 'rights and obligations', there could be found other definitions which stressed 'the individual and the state', as in George Kelly's work. He declared his debt to Macpherson for 'reopening the question of the state, because I doubt whether a reasoned analysis of the concept of citizenship can make very much sense without it'. [17] He formulated

[15] Janowitz, M. "Observations on the Sociology of Citizenship: Obligations and Rights", *Social Forces*, Vol. 59, 1980-1, p. 1.

[16] *ibid.* pp. 148 and 156.

[17] Kelly, G. A. "Who needs a Theory of Citizenship?" *Daedalus*, Vol. 108, 1979, p. 21.

a socialist-democratic account of the relationship between the citizen and the state. Another philosopher, Dahrendorf, defined citizenship as a social role and located citizenship within the institution of the law. In fact he was looking for a guarantee for free and equal access to appropriate social resources for the individual so that the engagement of the individual citizen in the dynamic production of society was preserved. [18]

Reference to citizenship as a relationship between individual and the state led to explorations of definitions which emphasised nation-state and nationalism. Indeed the long tradition of Western thought about citizenship from Aristotle's *The Politics* has connection with nation-state.

> "A citizen is one who has a share in both ruling and being ruled. Deliberative or judicial we deem him to be a citizen." [19]

Examining it more closely, Marshall's definition was also, in a way, based on the nation-state in that

> "Citizenship is a status bestowed upon those who are full members of a community... All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed." [20]

> "The citizenship whose history I wish to trace is national." [21]

Dahrendorf too enshrined the sovereign individual within the nation-state, "citizenship and the law are inseparable, and the only law we know is na-

[18]Dahrendorf, R. "Citizenship and Beyond: The Social Dynamics of an Idea",*Research*, Vol. 41, 1974, p. 674.

[19]Aristotle, *The Politics*, Penguin, 1963, p. 112.

[20]Marshall *op. cit.* p. 92.

[21]*ibid.* p. 79.

tional." [22]

An alternative approach is evident in Hindess's work. He examined the relationship between citizenship, welfare and class. [23]

> "...the real conflict of principle between citizenship and the modern class system comes with the development of the political and social components of citizenship." [24]

He commented on the limitations of Marshall's approach to inequality in terms of both class and welfare,

> "To characterise British Society in terms of one principle of citizenship or welfare or altruism that inevitably conflicts with the market is to ignore fundamental questions about different forms and levels of provision." [25]

Exploring the various definitions of citizenship make clear the inbuilt complexities of the concept and the need to look at it in a multi-faceted way — in terms of its institutional location in civil, political, social and economic society; in relation to the individual, community and state; as an expression of the nation-state and nationalist sentiment; as a category of rights and obligations; and in terms of its relation to welfare, class and inequality.

An understanding of education for citizenship during this century must therefore be based on some or a combination of the concepts of citizenship discussed above. For example, Marshall said,

[22] Dahrendorf, R. *The Modern Social Conflict: An Essay in the Politics of Society*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1988, p. 199.

[23] Hindess, B. *Freedom, Equality and the Market*, Tavistock, 1987.

[24] *ibid.* p. 35.

[25] *ibid.* p. 46.

> "when the state guarantees that all children should be educated, it has the requirements and nature of citizenship definitely in mind...it is trying to stimulate the growth of citizens in the making." [26]

Marshall's vision of education was reflected in many traditional practices of citizenship education which involved a considerable exercise of control and regulation. This version of citizenship education has been regarded by many within the tradition as a means of transmitting socially sanctioned values. That is, it transmitted the understanding of citizenship as obligation. It was the same in the United States as well as in Britain. Janowitz has not put forward a more progresssive form of citizenship education than Marshall.

> "By civic education we mean (a) exposing students to central and enduring political traditions of the nation, (b) teaching essential knowledge about the organisation and operation of contemporary governmental institutions, (c) fashioning essential identifications and moral sentiments required for performance as effective citizens ...it would strengthen civic consciousness." [27]

For a more modern notion of the complexity of citizenship education, Lister in his *Civic Education for Positive Pluralism*, [28] extended the horizons. He indicated the need for educating citizens for a diversified world social order:

> "The question is, how might we appeal to broader loyalties and create a more over-arching concept of citizenship?" [29]

[26] Marshall *op. cit.* p. 89.

[27] Janowitz, M. *The Reconstruction of Patriotism, Education for Civic Consciousness*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1983, pp. 12.

[28] Lister, I. *Civic Education for Positive Pluralism*, Document published by Univ. of York Department of Education Political Education Research Unit, 1988.

[29] *ibid.* p. 5.

World or international perspectives have been an emphasis for citizenship education on at least two occasions during this century; one by the League of Nations and another by the Association for Education in Citizenship. The Association defined citizenship as

> "training the moral qualities necessary for citizens of a democracy, the encouragement of clear thinking in everyday affairs, and the acquisition of a knowledge of the modern world." [30]

More recently, the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship has based its working definition of citizenship upon Marshall except that a 'fourth dimension' active citizenship has been included which emphasised the public good and the voluntary social obligations to stand alongside existing perspective which involves political, civil, and social rights and duties. [31] Douglas Hurd, MP, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, offered official opinion on the citizenship question in 1989:

> "Active citizenship is the free acceptance by individuals of voluntary obligations to the community of which they are members. It cannot be conjured up by legislation or by political speeches - although both can help. It arises from traditions of civic obligations and voluntary service which are central to the thinking of this Government and rooted in our history." [32]

High level interest in citizenship education is reflected in the National Curriculum. In the National Curriculum Council's documentation, the eight com-

[30]AEC, *op. cit.* (1935) last page.

[31]Extract from *Report of the Commission on Citizenship*, 1990, p. 6. This extract is reproduced in Appendix 5 of this thesis.

[32]Hurd, D. "Freedom will Flourish Where Citizens Accept Responsibility", *Independent*, 13th September, 1989.

ponents of citizenship stated in *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship*, [33] have some of the authority of an official definition.

It is on all the bases of this background of over a century that this thesis's definition of citizenship ought to be based. The definitions of the past should be seen as carrying both constructive and reactionary messages, in helping current ideas to meet the necessity of broader definitions. Citizenship education in this thesis will be explored in terms of what have been considered authoritative views, past and present, as wider thinking variously associated with

1. imperial citizenship;
2. social reconstruction;
3. global education;
4. radical views of active citizenship;
5. the National Curriculum concept of citizenship.

As a large part of the basis of this study is historical, the methodology chosen must also be historical research. Considering the diversity of notions about citizenship in the century, the major aims of this study include:

1. To explore the historical significance and insignificance of citizenship education in English schools during this century, including all forms of delivery. (What kind of citizenship education?)
2. To emphasise recent developments of citizenship education and to illuminate citizenship education in its current guise.

In structuring the research, various problems have had to be faced. Firstly,

[33] See Appendix 2.

there was the problem of deciding the scope of this study. There existed the narrower and broader concepts of citizenship education. Consensus on the concept of citizenship has never been achieved. There has never been any attempt to limit the range of citizenship education. It was not sensible to accept the broadest definition of citizenship education, seen as encompassing all education, on the grounds of its generality. On observing and reviewing the various approaches to citizenship education which were common practice during this century, rather, two conflicting viewpoints have been selected as the counterpoints for the research.

1. A more reactionary and passive definition of imperialist and patriotic citizenship education which dominated almost the first half of this century.
2. A more progressive and active definition of citizenship education which was opposed to the first definition and included a more balanced treatment of the subject and a broader view of what citizenship should entail, including participation, human rights education and the international dimension.

To oversimplify, the author considered the first kind of citizenship education as bad practice and the second kind as good practice. There was, of course, a spectrum of opinion running between the two extremes.

The second difficulty was the various methods of delivery of citizenship. Citizenship was not a subject, and yet sometimes it could appear as a subject in the curriculum. Citizenship education permeated the whole curriculum, and yet it was almost impossible to make detailed studies of the whole cur-lum in one piece of research. Many subject lobbies claim some ownership tizenship education, and yet only history and geography have truly made their claim explicit. The author could not ignore subject contributions be-

cause citizenship education was really insignificant without subject contibutions. Thus the author decided to include history and geography as the most widely accepted citizenship subjects.

A new movement of citizenship education has increasingly influenced educational debates today. Citizenship education has been more politicised than ever before. It is suggested that this movement may well mark a turning point in the history of citizenship education in this century. The new definitions endorsed in official documents for the National Curriculum are clear, and supersede former definitions. Whether or not they subscribe to a reactionary or progressive view of citizenship education is, as we shall see, less than clear.

The thesis is divided into two major parts, firstly, the historical section and secondly, current approaches to delivery of citizenship education. Part One stretches over almost the whole of the century. Part Two more specifically focuses on the current thinking about citizenship education. It is important, of course, to trace the connections between these two parts.

Chapter 2 begins with the notion of citizenship education and the practice before the First World War during which time moral education and civics most commonly appeared in the school curriculum. Moral education still contained a strong religious influence though educators at that time had begun to introduce a more secular approach to moral education. Civic lessons contained largely knowledge of the structure of British Government and, following this, specified the duties and responsibilities of British citizens, in other words, what a citizen should do and what should not. There were included extracurricular activities seen also as promoting citizenship education. On top of this, there was a strong hidden curriculum which acted as a powerful drive to

inculcate children with notions of what constituted good citizenship.

Chapter 3 shows the impact of the First World War on the development of citizenship education. Three new concepts of citizenship education were highlighted: (i) education for peace and international understanding; (ii) education for democracy; and (iii) education for world citizenship. These new concepts were contained in the work of three relevant organisations of that time The Association for Education in Citizenship; The League of Nations; and the Council for the Education for World Citizenship. This chapter highlights the important roles played by these organisations as agencies of change, and how unfortunate it was that none of them was particularly successful. The Second World War broke out and disappointed all those citizenship educators who had held out high hopes of longstanding peace.

Chapter 4 explores the beginnings of other progressive forms of citizenship education as reflected in the Social Studies, associated usually with the child-centred enquiry approaches as opposed to the traditional teacher-centred didactic approach, and also with a social reconstructionist spirit. This chapter concludes with the new developments in citizenship education which could be found in the Schools Council projects and similar developments.

Chapter 5 brings us nearer to the concerns of citizenship education today. It shows the rapid development of political education as a major influence on education for citizenship. Political literacy was seen as vital in citizenship education as our lives became more and more dependent upon political decisions. The difference between political education in this chapter and the teaching of politics in civics was notable. Active citizenship was promoted as a new requirement. Citizenship education conceptualised as turning out passive,

submissive subjects rather than active citizens, was being seen as inadequate and bad practice. This chapter concludes with other developments such as peace education, world studies and human rights education. In fact, there are other overlapping aspects within this range of new developments in citizenship education, including such as multicultural education, gender education and so on. These four chapters cover, in fact four historical periods of development of citizenship education in the twentieth century in this country — the Pre-World War Period; the Inter-War Period; the Post-Second World War period to 1960s; and the period from 1969 to the 1980s. They serve to bring out the continuity and change in citizenship education as a cross-curricular endeavour during this century. However, paradoxically, in themselves they do not provide a full picture. What is the missing link?

Chapters 6 and 7 help to fill the gaps, by exploring the con tributions of subjects. Chapter 6 examines history as a citizenship subject, and the type of citizenship education it has delivered through the century. What is the nature of continuity and change in the components it has offered? Chapter 7 does the same thing for geography, for long another widely recognised citizenship subject. Had history and geography not made themselves responsible for particular approaches to citizenship education, would there have been any forms of citizenship education at all? In their absence, could citizenship education have developed as a discrete area of study? By the same token, would history and geography survive as prominently as they are now if they had not been citizenship subjects? Chapter 8 summarises the State of the Art of Citizenship Education by 1988, and that concludes Part 1.

Part 2 examines citizenship education and the National Curriculum. Chap-

ter 9 introduces the important issues about citizenship education today including the re-emergence of citizenship education; the work of the Speaker's Commission of Citizenship; its report to the National Curriculum Council; and an evaluation of NCC's key document, *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship.*

Chapter 10 examines the possible modes of delivery of citizenship education within the National Curriculum framework: permeating core and foundation subjects; taught through additional subjects and integrative approaches; taught through separately timetabled PSE; taught through long-block timetabling; and taught through whole curriculum planning leading to blocks of activities. It concludes that as it stands now, the most widespread view seems to support citizenship education's delivery through PSE, to fill in gaps which cannot be covered through geography and history. It is clear that the statutory orders for these subjects are not sufficient, nor sufficiently coordinated, to provide for a sufficiently expansive provision of citizenship education.

Chapter 11 draws the threads of Part 1 and 2 together, and views citizenship education in the twentieth century in terms of its continuity and change, its achievements to date, and its future development. It concludes that there is a tendency for the continuity of using citizenship education as a form of power control, not as a form of stimulus to the growth of world citizenship and international understanding.

Part I

Historical Perspectives

Chapter 2

Citizenship Education Before the First World War

The first account of systematic citizenship education was thought to have been given by Xenophon in the Cyropaedia I 2-8. [1] However, the Greek city states were better known as having had a form of institutionalised education which constituted citizenship education. Aristotle was known to have written *Ethics* and *Politics* which left with us a clear understanding that he attached great importance to citizenship education as a basis for adult life. From this time onwards there was no evidence of explicit citizenship education. For the Romans, citizenship was important in legal terms only. Similarly, there was little that was carried out as citizenship education in the Dark Ages and in western civilisation up to the 19th century. From the 19th century onwards, with the increasing process of industrialisation, the growth of nationalism and the re-emergence of democracy as a basis for government, it was seen as

[1] Hadow, W. H. *Citizenship*, Clarendon Press, 1923, p. 193.

extremely necessary for the mass education to meet societal needs. It was thus within this period that we could begin to trace a re-awakening of interest in citizenship education. In the twentieth century, citizenship education had been more commonly introduced to schools in various ways.

It can be argued that the pre-World War I notion of citizenship training contained an over-riding moral component apart from a heavy emphasis on patriotism. This stemmed from the great streams of ethical thought and religious feeling, which ever since the reformation had asserted their claims for attention in national and social life. On the one hand, there was the ideal of corporate loyalty, and on the other that of personal efficiency. Each of these ideals implied the other, and there were signs of their reconciliation in a wider conception of the nature of morality and of the ethical purpose of the school. But most schools tended to give prominence either to the social or the individual aspect of the moral life. [2]

The phrase, 'moral and religious instruction' or 'moral training' was primarily applied for such areas of citizenship education covered in schools though it was not impossible to find courses with other names. The ultimate aim was to produce overall 'good citizens' with good characters. It represented a prototype of 'personal and social education'. Existence of citizenship training not bearing the title, Moral or Religious Education could possibly have the same content as any moral lessons. The teaching method used could also be the same. Generally, the primary instruments employed were the influence of the

[2] Smith, H. B. "Methods of Moral Instruction and Training in English Public Schools and Other Secondary Schools for Boys" in Sadler, M., *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools, Vol. I, The United Kingdom*, Longmans, London, 1908, p. 107.

corporate life of the school, and the instruction given by the teachers. One could not be separated from the other. Schools normally employed the two together to produce better effects. These were supplemented by all subjects in the curriculum for imparting knowledge and giving training necessary for good citizenship — history informed the pupils of the development of civilization; geography informed them of the places and the people. Both geography and history were also responsible for education for the nation and the empire. Civics or British constitution informed them of the structure and organisation of the government; languages and literature provided stories of a moralizing kind and so on.

All these subjects stood separately but their potential contributions to citizenship education were closely linked. Therefore we could not discuss or view citizenship education in this period as tied to a particular subject. In modern terminology, it was a cross-curricular theme.

Early Concepts of Education for Citizenship in England

There is evidence that the phrase 'education for citizenship' was imported from Germany by Michael Sadler in the late nineteenth century. [3] He was an influential member of the Bryce Commission, appointed by the Education Department to direct enquiries into the foreign systems of education in 1895. In connection with this, a series of reports was issued in which atten-

[3] Whitmarsh, G. "Society and the School Curriculum: The Association for Education in Citizenship 1934-57", M.Ed. Thesis, Univ. of Birmingham, 1972.

tion was drawn to the apparent truth of the fashionable doctrine of the day which claimed that a direct relationship existed between education, social discipline and industrial strength. [4] Germany was chosen as the example to follow. Sadler was personally attracted and particularly assiduous in disseminating the ideas of the Prussian educationalist, Georg Kerschensteiner, who constantly used the phrase 'education for citizenship'. It was clear that Georg Kerschensteiner placed an emphasis on moral education within his ideas of education for citizenship. For him, it was through moral education and vocational training that

> "the pupil comes to realize the limits of his justified egoism and to understand the tasks which the state has to perform in order to protect the rights of each citizen" [5].

Kerschensteiner's idea of citizenship education was thus expressed through these two aspects, i.e. moral education and vocational training.

Michael Sadler was an advocate of moral education himself, and it was easy for him to adapt to Kerchensteiner's ideas of citizenship education, and to introduce the new phrase 'education for citizenship' to cover this educational area which was essentially embodied in moral education in the past, and to add more ideas to it. Thus citizenship education was pre-implanted from the start with a high moral content.

However, the reference to 'education for citizenship' could also be traced from the English predisposition to view education in terms of the protestant ethic of inner direction as character-training, and from the British non-Kantian

[4] *ibid.* p. 57.

[5] Simon, D. *Georg Kerschensteiner*, 1966, p. 57, quoted in *ibid.* p. 8.

school of idealist philosophers. The leading figures among them were T. H. Green, J. H. Muirhead, Bernard Bosanquet, and J. F. Stout. [6] For them 'citizenship' referred to ethical moral instruction and character-building. Thus during the pre-World War I period, the concept of citizenship did not develop in itself as a new subject area. Instead the school of thought of citizenship education as a mixture of 'all that was good' for the society and its citizens, continued to exist, and expressed itself mainly in moral and religious instruction.

There was also evidence of a growing demand for citizenship education in the curriculum in its own right, to be taught by direct methods, in the later and early decades of the 19th and 20th century. Acland at the Board of Education, for example, championed the cause of direct citizenship education, and in this connection, introduced the subject into the Elementary Code of 1895. [7] Morley, in his studies of Board Schools published in 1897, also shows examples of direct teaching of citizenship. He gave an interesting description of a lesson on 'rates' for young citizens. The title of the lesson was 'All for Each and Each for All'. It was intended to show the pupils the importance of rates, and what one would get as a result of prompt payment. [8]

Thus this particular type of direct citizenship education certainly appeared on the timetable of some schools during this period. It is not surprising to note that the County of Chester enacted that 'the study of citizenship shall

[6]Whitmarsh *op. cit.* p. 7.

[7]Mansbridge, A. "Citizenship" in Benson, A. C. *Cambridge Essays on Education*, Cambridge, the Univ. Press,1917, pp. 75-101.

[8]Morley, C. C. "Citizenship" in *ibid.* pp. 84-5.

proceed side by side with religious education'. [9] This early development appeared rapid but certainly was not in actual fact. Mahon has found out that

> "One real problem, however, affected its rapid development. Although there might have been the wish to include the subject as such in the school syllabus, for many head teachers and teachers this proved to be difficult with the absence of suitable supportive text books. It is perhaps this difficulty of help in approaching this area of study which persuaded schools to depend upon the interests and personalities of the teachers in directly preparing their pupils for citizenship as well as depending on the more indirect approach via other subjects." [10]

A continuity was, nevertheless, apparent in spite of the problem. We could see evidence of such practice though not common during the early decades of the 20th century. Supportive materials like those given by Sheldon were useful for teachers. Sheldon's book, *Citizenship and the Duties of a Citizen*, gave a clear insight into the content of citizenship courses and the pedagogy used. [11] The book contained thirty lessons covering different aspects of citizenship education, for example, voting, taxes, loyalty, law, crime and punishment, life in industrial society, etc. These aspects may well be themes for citizenship education for today. Nevertheless, the pedagogy employed was traditional and argueably unsuitable for citizenship education in a modern world. One other thing to note was that Sheldon gave direction to teachers that if illustrations were needed, they should be taken from other countries. It could well indicate

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[9] Mansbridge, A. in *ibid* p. 84.

[10] Mahon, J. D. *Citizenship and the Curriculum*, M.Ed Thesis, Univ. of Liverpool, 1980.

[11] Sheldon, W. L. *Citizenship and the Duties of a Citizen*, Chicago, W. M. Welch Company, 1904.

that citizenship education at this time was seen not so much as a preparation to adult life as an exercise in social control.

Most of the literature on this subject in the first decade remained 'morally oriented' rather than 'politically oriented'. However, some publications featured 'politics' in the traditional way. Some examples are: Peaker's *British Citizenship, its Rights and Duties* (1910); Malden's *The Rights and Duties of a Citizen* (1914); Boardman's *Government and Citizenship* (1912); Cunnington's *Home and States: An Introduction to the Study of Economics and Civics* (1910); Sargent's *The Meaning of British Citizenship* (1912); Sparkes' *Civics* (1912); Strachey's *The Citizen and the State* (1913); Swann's *A Primer of London Citizenship* (1915); Waldegrave's *Lessons in Citizenship* (1913); Gould's *Brave Citizens* (1911) and *Our Empire* (1912).

Moral Education

In 1900, Gould wrote about the chaotic social and economic conditions of the day on the basis of which he argued for the need of a systematic moral instruction for the school children. [12] In fact, the urbanisation in the nineteenth century in Britain has caused problems in education, in particular, the perceived moral dangers to children in the crowded cities. [13] Gould stressed that the moral instruction for children must be "systematic." It must have "allocated hours, careful planning and definite stages of development." His

[12] Gould, F. J. "The Moral Instruction of Children" in Coit, S. *Ethical Democracy: Essays in Social Dynamics*, Grant Richards, 1902, pp. 163-193.

[13] Marsden W. E. "Education and Urbanisation in Nineteenth Century Britain", *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 23, No. 1 ,1983, p. 85-124.

work covered the main ideas of new developments in moral education of the pre-war period. The main organisation that he worked with was the Moral Instruction League.

By this time, the Moral Instruction League had passed its third birthday. The major aim of the league was to offer a systematic moral instruction without religion to replace the existing religious education. Gould himself constructed an elaborate and sequenced programme of instruction for the use of pupils, leading from personal to civic to international morality from ages seven to twenty-one, the age to which he believed education should be free and compulsory. For him, the primary purpose of education was moral formation for corporate citizenship. His work included curriculum guides, teaching materials, textbooks for teachers and pupils, and a methodology for systematic moral instruction. All these were geared towards citizen-making.

The Moral Instruction League had already gained a wide spectrum of parliamentary, local and even clerical support by the turn of the century. It could possibly influence the Board of Education policy. Indeed it did, but not too far. In 1901, it held a large scale campaign in London to encourage its members to try to win support from the central authority for their idea of a new ethical moral instruction movement. In 1902, a memorial was presented to the president of the Board of Education, asking that "regulation enforcing definite daily instruction in personal and civic duties may be included in the code of Regulations for Day Schools". During the next two years, the memorial was followed up by a series of public meetings and circulation of pamphlets designed to enlist further support from Parliament and the Board of Education. When the 1904 Education Code appeared, there were signs of support for the

League's policies. Its introduction declared that

> "The purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character, and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it ... the school should enlist, as far as possible, the interest and co-operation of the parents and the home in a united effort to enable the children not merely to reach their full development as individuals, but also to become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and worthy sons and daughters of the country to which the belong". [14]

In the Board's *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers, and Others Concerned in the Work of Elementary Schools*, which appeared in 1905, the League's point of view on moral instruction found even clearer recognition. The section "The Formation of Character" declared that

> "The Good Moral Training which a school should give cannot be left to chance; on this side, no less than on the intellectual side, the purpose of the teacher must be clearly conceived and intelligently carried out". [15]

The Times, 2nd November, 1905 commented that "approval of the Moral Instruction League's effort towards systematic moral instruction in schools is implied if not expressed" in this section of the Board's publication. [16]

In 1906, the Education Code further stressed the Board's interest in the Moral Instruction League's policies by saying that "moral instruction should form an important part of every elementary school curriculum". [17]

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[14] Quoted in Hilliard, F. H. "The Moral Instruction League 1897-1919", *The Durham Research Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1961, p. 58.

[15] Quoted in *ibid.* p. 58.

[16] Quoted in *ibid.* p. 58.

[17] Quoted in *ibid.* p. 58.

Thus interest in new moral instruction had begun. In the same year, an advisory council was set up to carry an international enquiry in the subject of moral instruction and training in schools. F. J. Gould, Professor J. H. Muirhead and Dr. Sophie Bryant, and others made up the members of the Executive Committee with Sir Michael Sadler as secretary. A report of this enquiry was published in 1908. It contained a useful source of the methods of moral instruction in different types of schools. [18]

Unfortunately, citizenship education in its moral orientation as promoted by the Moral Instruction League was not taken up keenly by the LEAs. From 1909 onwards until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the League was more disappointed than optimistic in its effort to promote direct and systematic moral instruction without a religious base in schools. The League changed its name to *Moral Education League.*

However, most of the earlier literature written by Gould and others was still in use. Examples are *The Moral Instruction of Children* (1900); *Life and Manners: A Volume of Stories Suitable to the Moral Instruction of Children* (1909); *Conduct Stories: A Volume of Stories for the Moral Instruction of Children* (1910). On the other hand, however, promotional literature was still being published, for example, Gould's well known *Youth's Noble Path* (1911) and James Reid's *Manual of Moral Instruction* (1908). In 1913, Gould's *Moral Instruction: Its Theory and Practice* was published.

No matter how we describe it now, it was an era for the development of

[18] Sadler, M. *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools, Vol. 1, The United Kingdom,* Longmans, 1908.

moral education with its purpose of forming 'good citizens'. By 1914, the First World War had begun, leaving debate on the secular versus religious moral instruction unsettled. The era for moral educationists could have been over, but not in actual fact, for example, in the 1920s, there continued to flow citizenship materials favouring moral education especially those written by Gould and other publications from *The Civic and Moral Instruction League.* The League produced a syllabus for inclusion in the elementary school curriculum which was comparable to Sheldon's lessons provided in his book mentioned earlier. It has the following content:

> "Standard V (age 11-12), (a) pride in one's school and loyalty to it; (b) duty of local patriotism, how to serve one's own town or village; (c) value to local institutions.
> Standard VI (age 12-13), (a) love of country, national emblems; (b) what our forefathers have earned for us, eg. liberty and social and political institutions. (c) how each individual may serve his country and posterity; (d) the sovereign, his power, influence, and responsibilities.
> Standard VII (age 13-14), (a) the vote, its nature and responsibilities; (b) local government; (c) the nation and its government; (d) society as an organism, its development through family, tribe and nation; (e) universal brotherhood."[19]

Civics

The use of civics curricula for citizenship education was a newer phenomenon than the use of moral education. It could be discerned from the changing of the name of the *Moral Instruction League* to firstly Moral Education League in 1909, then to *Civic and Moral Education League* in 1916, and finally to

[19]Boyd, W. "Education for Citizenship" in Hadow *op. cit.* p. 196.

Civic Education League before its activities came to an end in 1919. [20]

In common use in elementary schools were civics textbooks on the institutions of government, carrying a benevolent, hierarchical and remote image of political action. In 1909, the Historical Association published its leaflet No. 15 on *The Teaching of Civics in Public Schools.* It explained its concern on the negligence of the public school on the use of civics for citizenship education, which began with

> "Boys and girls should be taught to be good citizens; so far most of us are agreed at the present day. But it seems that only a small minority believe in any direct civic instruction during school life. Attempts have been made from time to time, with varying success, to give definite lessons on citizenship in primary schools and evening continuation classes, but only one or two masters have tried the experiment in boys' public school". [21]

This was not as influential as Bourne's book, *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary Schools* which was reprinted in the same year.

His book had interested and influenced most people in education at that time, whether in England or in America. In it he introduced the idea that

> "Pupils may be instructed in the duties of citizenship in two ways: first by studying the structure of government and the duties of the individual in relation to it; and, second, by discipline in the performance of such social duties as fall to them during school life, with the expectation that thereby sound habits may be created and good citizenship may be only a continuation of the earlier training

[20] Hilliard *op. cit.* pp. 60-61.

[21] Historical Association, *The Teaching of Civics in Public Schools*, Leaflet No. 15, 1909.

in conduct. [22]

Therefore he was actually foreseeing civics and history as the main instruments for citizenship education. The civic function was stressed and gradually developed within the larger concept of citizenship education. Civics in Bourne's sense covered local and national aspects of good citizenship.

At that time, however, most civics textbooks centred around the institutions and working of government, totally knowledge-based. By contrast, Penstone's book on *Town Study*, subtitled, *Suggestions for a course of lessons preliminary to the study of civics*, was a clear example of purely local level of citizenship education. [23] It would seem that bad civics teaching and boring lessons had held back its influence in the development of citizenship education in the pre-war period. History and geography were, in their subject terms, more popular for citizenship education.

Cross-curricular Activities

Citizenship education promoted through various positive activities was also to be seen during this period. Hadow, who was particularly interested in this field of study, had reported an experiment in citizenship education in an east Oxford school. It was carried out in the form of a debate each week along the lines of the Oxford Union, to which older boys were periodically taken. The debate was on topics of current civic interest. There was a chairman and

[22] Bourne, H. *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary Schools*, New York: Longmans, 1902 (reprinted 1905), pp. 93-4.

[23] Penstone, M. M. *Town Study: suggestions for a course of lessons preliminary to the study of civics*, National Society's Depository, London, 1910.

minutes were kept. The teachers was present but on 'no prerogative terms'. [24] To some extent the proceedings resembled the activities of a form using the Stenhouse Humanities Programme of the 1960s. [25]

In addition to these activities in which pupils participated actively, they were, at other times, and at other periodic intervals, expected to join in a variety of activities based on role play about the ordinary facts of everyday civic life. These included attending a court, parish election or being a councillor. Swann's *A Primer of English Citizenship for use in schools* also contained supportive materials on citizenship education through activities. [26]

Outside the school, children were also encouraged to join benevolent movements such as Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the Church Lads, and the Boys' or Girls' Brigades. These movements provided training for citizenship in the sense that they stressed the importance of being cheerful, industrious, courteous, and helpful, and such values as loyalty, patriotism, and service to the church and community. So supportive were they of what was societally then deemed to be valuable that they had the support of the Board of Education. [27]

These were not all the practices of citizenship education during this period. A large number of schools had applied the 'prefect system' in the daily management of their schools. The election of prefects was generally held along the lines of a general election, which was certainly an extra-curricular contribution

[24] Hadow *op. cit.* p. 197.

[25] Refer pp. 76-8 of this thesis.

[26] Swann, F. *A Primer of English Citizenship for use in schools*, London: Longmans, 1913.

[27] Mansbridge *op. cit.* p. 89.

to citizenship training. Other activities might include visits to places of civic importance, or participation in events such as Empire Day. These activities would lead to some understanding and acceptance of the organisation of the state and the environment to which the children belonged.

The Hidden Curriculum

In addition to the ways in which children were taught education for citizenship, there also existed the phenomenon of the 'hidden curriculum' through which children were exposed to training in citizenship. Through the hidden curriculum, children learned much of what society deemed desirable from just being present in a hierarchically organised school, taking part in everyday rituals and activities ranging from being put into differentiated classes, attending assemblies, and playing games, reading story books and the then popular Boys' and Girls' Own papers, and learning from the unspoken example and demeanour of their teachers and others in authority. It was through it that they imbibed much about superiority and subordination, hierarchy, power, relationships, loyalty, and what was expected of them.

It would thus appear that by the beginning of the First World War, there had been much uncoordinated advocacy for the direct teaching of citizenship. In fact, evidence showed that in its achievement the movement was disappointing. The *Civic and Moral Education League* confirmed this view after their 1915 enquiry. Nevertheless, one could comfortably say that pupils in schools were being exposed overtly or otherwise to some sort of citizenship education.

The American interest in developing citizenship education during this period was exemplified by the many informative texts appearing at the beginning of this century which had American authors and were about the American context. This could be clearly seen in the *Cambridge Essays on Education*, published in 1917 where a selection of key books covering the period 1890 to 1916, were of American origin, whilst the name of Dewey gave some indication of the academic stature of people who regarded this work as important. [28]

There were also a number of American societies interested in making the study of civics an essential feature of every part of the educational system. The American National Educational Association, the Historical Association, the National Municipal League and the Political Science Association were clearly concerned to

> "awaken a knowledge of the fact that the citizen is in a social environment whose laws bind him for his own good and to inform him of the forms of organisation and methods of administration of government in its several departments." [29]

They also believed that this could be best done by bringing the pupils into direct contact with the facts of life in their own local community and thus be able to move from understanding that aspect of his social world to civics at a national level. [30] It is interesting to note that at the time when the *Civic and Moral Education League* found the practice of citizenship education disappointing in England, a survey by American Social Science Association

[28]Refer Benson, C. A. *Cambridge Essays on Education*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1917, p. 101.

[29]Haines, E. "Citizenship" in *ibid.* p. 75.

[30]See Mansbridge *op. cit.* p. 81.

on the subject in America confirmed that the subject was taught in majority of American high schools. [31]

For the Americans then, citizenship education in all its forms had an importance equal to that of other curriculum subjects. Referring to it, Bourne stated,

> "a study of an important phase of human society and, for this reason, has the same value as elementary science or history." [32]

Thus, in the United States, citizenship education in the pre-First World War period, could appear to have been more firmly based. The same thing could not be said with such assurance about this country. The First World War began in 1914, leaving many of the early ideas in citizenship education undernourished. Development work was slow during wartime. Much was left to be accomplished in the post-World War I period and beyond.

Summary

Thus during the pre-World War I Period, there was no specific structure for citizenship education. It was commonly expressed as an education to inculcate good behaviour, civic mindedness, duty consciousness, patriotism and loyalty. Two types of citizenship education commonly offered were:

1. Gould's moral-oriented type which aimed at promoting good behaviour among young citizens, with the idea that this type of citizenship education would solve social problems, especially the increase of crimes as a consequence of rapid urbanisation.

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[31] See *ibid.* p. 83.

[32] Bourne *op. cit.* p. 83.

2. Civics-type which was, in actual fact, political. The main aim was for social control. It trained citizens to know their duties as citizens.

However, both types were insufficient and subject to change. We shall see in the next chapter that neither of them was to dominate the scene during the inter-war period.

Chapter 3

Citizenship Education During the Inter-War Period

The traumas of the First World War and its aftermath inspired a wide ranging official and popular debate on the insufficiency of education for citizenship, peace, international understanding and cooperation. The agenda for education was social reconstruction through a national system. Thus the Fisher Act of 1918 obliged local authorities to contribute to a national system of education. In particular, they were to provide full-time education to the age of fourteen and continuation schools to the age of eighteen. This offered potentially an increased school population available for training in the duties of citizenship. At the same time, the extension of the electorate after 1917 from 8 million to 21 million, and the industrial unrest in 1915 caused the ministers of the crown anxiety. Lloyd George was aware of this when he told the War Cabinet in 1918 that "Here we have a great inflammable industrial population" [1], liable

[1] Johnson, P. B. *Land Fit for Heroes. The Planning of British Reconstruction, 1916-1919*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 30.

to think dangerous Bolshevik thoughts.

These events together led to the belief that citizenship education should be intensified. This intensification involved the reemphasising of national perspectives through civics, adding to it education for peace, cooperation and international understanding, the notion and methodology of direct training for citizenship, the concept of education in world citizenship, and the advancement of history and geography for this purpose. Though there was still widespread imperial education, arguments against it were introduced, for instance, in the publications of the League of Nations Union. [2]

Civics

The inter-war promotion of more civics lessons for training in citizenship, especially to implant in young people the public school spirit, loyalty, national and imperial patriotism, was manifested in the British Association's attempt to improve and intensify the civics curriculum, by investigating the existing methods employed in schools and locating good practices to produce a standardised civics syllabus. [3] It was taken up by a committee on *Training in Citizenship* under the chairmanship of Bishop Welldon. Its investigation was published in three separate reports. Within a short period, the committee's syllabus was produced in their first report in 1920. The syllabus was lengthy,

[2]Marsden, W. E. "All in a good cause: geography, history and the politicization of the curriculum in nineteenth and twentieth century England" *J. Curriculum Studies* Vol. 21 No. 6, 1989, p. 522.

[3]British Association for the Advancement of Science, Section L. *Report of the Committee on Training in Citizenship*, presented at Cardiff. Burlington House, 1920.

consisting of a collection of details under twenty-one headings. It implied a traditional method of teaching.

The committee was quite conventional in its thoughts, believing that public schools provided the best citizenship training. They had proved that they produced leaders for all levels of the community, so their practices were taken as examples to follow. The influence of a particular member of the committee, Baden Powell was great. His predictable suggestion that scouting was a helpful means in training for citizenship was taken seriously by the committee.

The second report was published in the following year. It consisted of the nation-wide responses to the investigation and gave a general picture of the variety of practices which existed. In 1922, the third report appeared, providing a bibliography on civics for teachers. There was, in fact, a very short final report published in 1923 stating the final outcomes of their venture.

The British Association Committee's approach, on the other hand, seemed geared to strengthening training for submissive national citizenship. The emphasis of work was chauvinistic and imperialistic. It was predicated on the principle that a good imperial citizen, by definition, would be a good world citizen. It was manifestly discordant with the League of Nations' broader notion for moralizing international life, seen as ways of creating understanding among nations and avoiding future war, rather than one based on a top-down imposition of ideas. This particular group of "protagonists for citizenship education were people of their time and place, ingrained with the imperial spirit". [4] The view was that

"patriotism and imperialism, so long as they were of the British

[4] Marsden *op. cit.* p. 522.

> variety, were the keys to world understanding ... Patriotism could not be complete without instilling imperial values, to be achieved by promoting the public school spirit in all secondary and elementary schools." [5]

This group influenced the nature of civics textbooks for use in schools. Some examples are: *Citizenship*, by Hadow, in which he defined citizenship as 'the right ordering of our several loyalties', [6] and *The Modern Citizen*, by Newland, which was an exposition of civic rights and duties and offered a descriptive account of the British institutions, local, national and imperial. [7] Aston also published a book of the same type on *Elements of the Duties and Rights of Citizenship* in 1921. [8]

Even civics of this 'submissive' nature was widely suspected, especially by those who believed that politics should be kept out of the school. The Conservatives were fearful of the prospects of the Labour Party gaining power and in the perceived threat to social order implicit in the General Strike of 1926. Evidence of this fear could be found in Eustace Percy's address to the North of England Education Conference in 1927, which asserted that an Old Boys' Association was better evidence of the sound teaching of citizenship than the most elaborate syllabus of civics.[9] The Hadow Report published a year earlier, also suggested that civics was not appropriate at school level. Thus the use of civics as an instrument for training in citizenship, as advocated by

[5] *ibid.* p. 522.

[6] Hadow, H. *Citizenship*, Clarendon Press, 1923, p. 1.

[7] Newland, H. O. *The Modern Citizen*, Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1934.

[8] Aston, W. D. *Elements of the Duties and Rights of Citizenship*, Univ. Tutorial Press, 1921.

[9] *The Times*, January 1, 1927, p.17.

the British Association, did not, in the event, take root.

League of Nations Teaching

While the imperial spirit remained strong until well after the war, it was fortunate that there were enough voices in the inter-war period antipathetic to the acquisitive value of imperialism and demanding a more truly international approach. For example, there was pertinent criticism by a Welsh teacher of "the suffusion of syllabuses with empire geography, and particularly to the attention given to the idea of 'possessions', backed up by Mercator's projection which exaggerated their extent. [10] Catherine Firth, lecturer in History at Furzedown Training College, also argued against imperial ideas of citizenship training, saying that a hindrance to the growth of a cooperative spirit was 'the exaggerated emphasis on competition still to be found in some schools', citing the house system as a preparation for jingoism rather than citizenship. [11]

At the international level, the League of Nations was founded to maintain peace, based on the general understanding that a recurrence of the catastrophe of 1914 could only be avoided if future generations were brought up with a conception of war that took account of the experience and awesome lessons of the last Great War. It was essential to future peace that the youth of nations

[10] Marsden *op. cit.* p. 522. See also Evans, C. "Geography and World Citizenship" in *The School and the World Community Series* Pamphlet No. 1 *The Teaching of Geography in Relation to the World Community*, Cambridge University Press, 1933, pp. 16-19.

[11] *ibid.* p. 522, and Firth, C. B. *The Learning of History in Elementary Schools*, Kegan Paul, 1929, pp. 174-5.

should be brought up so to regard it, that is to say, to add international values and teaching to the existing curriculum for education in citizenship, and to revolutionize its methodology and perspectives for this purpose.

At the national level in Britain, the League of Nations' Union was set up to help to carry out its work in the schools, believing that the problem of achieving international peace was one of education. In its fourth assembly in Geneva in September 1924, the League had passed a resolution that

> "The Assembly urges the Governments of the state members to arrange that the children and youth in their respective countries where such teaching is not given be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of its covenant."

This move gained sympathy from the Board of Education here. Therefore the Board was prepared, at its next revision of their suggestions to teachers on the teaching of history, to note the desirability of bringing the facts of the existence and work of the League of Nations to the knowledge of pupils in schools, and would also instruct their inspectors to draw the attention of teachers to this matter when discussing syllabuses of instruction in history. Thus Sherman published the article, "League of Nations in the Schools" to give incentive to teachers interested in League of Nations teaching. [12]

Local Education Authorities also showed interest on the instruction of the young in aims and achievements of the League of Nations. But it is interesting to note that the initiative in introducing League instruction, as a new concept in the training of citizenship in schools, came from the teachers themselves, especially geography and history teachers working to broad definitions of what

[12] Sherman, S. "League of Nations in the schools", *The Teacher's World*, February 5, 1926, pp. 927-8.

their subjects had to offer.

Long before the official blessing by the Board of Education, and of local education authorities, for League instruction appeared, the League of Nations Union received innumerable requests from teachers for literature on the League which would help them in giving talks to their pupils on the subject. [13]

Even so, British people, both young and old, continued to appear ignorant of the League. By end of 1920, it was clear that education for citizenship in this area had still not accomplished enough. Seven years after Sherman published her article, Gibberd produced her book, *The League in Our Time.* In her introduction, she revealed her disappointment at the slow penetration of the League's idea into the mind of English people. She said

> "I remember the political shock of my return to England after that first visit (1933). No one seemed particularly aware of the League. The speeches that had been cheered to the echo in Geneva were duly summarised in the British Press and the new developments that we had hailed with delight went without comment. Even the people who believed in the League were rather vague about it ...
>
> The experience of war stirred the older generation to construct and start the League, but they have been afraid to drive it. They run all the time on lowest gear and counsel caution. No wonder that this slow moving machine attracts no general attention ..." [14]

About the League of Nations' contribution to this particular aspect of citizenship education, i.e. peace, cooperation and international understanding, Gibberd said,

> "It is not quite complete, marred by imperfect construc-

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[13] *ibid.* p. 926.

[14] Gibberd, K., *The League of Our Time*, basil Blackwell, 1933, pp. xx-xxii.

> tion, rather timidly used, and most inadequately supported ...nevertheless the old habit of war threatens to reassert itself and, in spite of war memorials all over the country reminding us of a million British young men who died in the hope of stopping war, the League may dissolve and we may again be involved in a yet more horrible and insane nightmare accomplishing nothing"[15]

This thus compelled her to write her book, principally addressed to those who gave little attention to international questions, and who had so far been hostile or indifferent to the League. History proved that she was right. In 1939, the Second World War, which was, in many ways, more devastating than the first one, broke out.

As a whole, the official attitude towards incorporating the League of Nations instruction in the school curriculum became positive, as an investigation on the attitude and action of local education authorities, governing bodies and teachers in many types of educational institutions on this subject, carried out by the inspectors of the Board, indicated. Their findings were published in 1932 as the *Report on the Instruction of the Young in the Aims and Achievements of the League of Nations.* The Report contained six sections including the appendix. Section I was a summary of the position of the "League Instruction" in British context. Section II was about the inquiry of the Board of Education into League Instruction in 1930-31. The data collected varied widely from one area to another. The aim was to collect and compare the methods employed in order to assist teachers in handling League Instruction. Section III was about the attitude and activities of the Local Education Authorities. The findings showed that with few exceptions, every local authority in England and Wales encouraged League instruction in its schools. Section

[15] *ibid.* p. xxiii.

IV was about the schools. The result showed that both school and teachers were enthusiatic towards teaching League Instruction. In general both direct and indirect instructions were located. Section V was about training colleges. There were evidence of some opportunities offered to cover League Instruction both by history and geography lecturers. In both schools and colleges, enthusism was shown by variousLeague activities carried out outside the timetable. Section VI was really an appendix consisting of information about private and voluntary organisations dealing with League Instruction. The concept of world citizenship was also being introduced into the traditional subjects such as history and geography.

By the early 1930s, education for citizenship through the instruction of the League of Nation had failed to achieve its aims. On the other hand, there was a general understanding that to restore peace and order, both at home and abroad, and to save democracy, a form of direct citizenship education was required. Thus, the Association for the Education of Citizenship was founded in the 1934 for promoting direct citizenship education.

Direct Training for Citizenship

With the economic and political crises of 1929–31 and the rise of totalitarianism in Eastern Europe, which exerted a threat to democracy, many teachers began to feel the importance of infiltrating more appropriate and positive values, especially democratic values, to replace the existing 'submissive' citizenship. New pressures built up, which culminated in the foundation of the Association for Education in Citizenship to promote direct citizenship teach-

ing and to advocate the addition to the curriculum of political science and economics as relevant separate subjects. The argument for this was that

> "...in a relatively simple society of the nineteenth century, when government interfered little with the daily life of the people, indirect education for citizenship was perhaps adequate. Democracy worked quite well without much specialised training for citizenship, either of the voter or the statesman. Today things have changed. The political world is so complex and difficult that it is essential to train men just as consciously and deliberately for their duties as citizen as for their vocation or profession." [16]

The concept of direct training as justified by the Association means "specifically directed towards civic responsibilities" as compared to indirect training which meant

> "That contribution to training for citizenship which is given by a general education — moral, mental and physical — which aims at the development of the whole individual, but which is not specifically related to the responsibilities of a citizen, or to the particular body of knowledge and methods of thought he, as a citizen, must ultimately acquire." [17]

From an early stage, the Association attempted to introduce citizenship as a subject. Indeed the Association's ideals were practised in some secondary schools. Its influence was widespread and the democratic ideal of citizenship education was taken by some teachers, educationalists and textbook writers as the right form of citizenship education for the day. The elements of education for peace, cooperation and international understanding which were advocated

[16] Simon, E. and Hubback, E. M., *Training for Citizenship*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1935, p. 13.

[17] Association for Education in Citizenship, *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools*, 1939, p. 21.

through the work of the League of Nations earlier were less mentioned. The major stress was on education for democracy. Citizenship education was emphasised as an instrument for preserving democracy. National civics became once again more important than international civics. As such, it was followed by a plethora of textbooks on citizenship of this nature.

In 1932, Higham's *The Good Citizen* appeared, and in 1934, Newland's *The Moral Citizen*[18] which set out civic right and duties, and described British institutions, was also published. It offered a selection of political problems as exercises at the end of each chapter. The Association in turn published texts such as *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools* (1935) and *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools* (1939), which became well-known resource books in the area. As mentioned, this literature placed more importance on the values of democracy, and was in general less theoretical and contained more practical ideas than the earlier books on citizenship, especially those before the First World War. Thus we find Oliver Stanley's foreward for the book, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools* which declared that,

> "The decay of democracy abroad has led many people to the conclusion that, if those democratic institutions which we in this country agreed are essential for the full development of the individual, are to be preserved, some systematic training in the duties of citizenship is necessary." [19]

The principles of the Association on the direct training of citizenship, though not similar to those of political education, still alarmed influential groups of people, particularly those in power. The effect could be felt in the

[18] Refer to p. 45. of this thesis .

[19] Association for Education in Citizenship, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*, 1935, p. v.

late 1930s and later. In fact, the Association ran into political trouble in 1938 when it appointed Mr. Stanely Baldwin as president. He objected to a proposed pamphlet on *Bias and Education for Democracy*, and the text had to be amended.

Thus it was clear by this time that this new ideal of democratic citizenship education was not to be accepted uncritically by authority. This was reflected in both the Spens Report (1938) and the Norwood Report (1943). They were both opposed to this style of citizenship education in the school. Political science and economics to them were subjects beyond the capacity of pupils under sixteen years of age; geography and history could best provide education for citizenship. The Spens Report regarded the discussion of political questions in the classroom as inappropriate. Again this Association failed to achieve its aim of introducing 'citizenship' as a discrete subject, based in part on the social sciences. The continuity of the tradition for education in citizenship through permeation into history and geography was reinforced.

Education for World Citizenship

The concept of international understanding and co-operation for the maintenance of a peaceful world promoted by the League of Nations was in the truest sense the concept of education for world citizenship. In 1939, the Council for Education in World Citizenship was established to take over the educational work from the League of Nations Union here in Britain. The Union was by this time too involved with sensitive and political issues such as security and war, etc.

In England, the promotion of education in world citizenship had initially been taken up by the League of Nations Union. But the political thinking of people changed in late 1930s. The League itself suffered from lack of support and even definite opposition, reducing its effectiveness in promoting education for world citizenship. The reason given was that its activities were increasingly directed towards political propaganda rather than education. It truly had become a controversial body. It was unavoidable, commented Heater (1984), as instances of Japanese, Italian, and German aggression multiplied, that collective security and rearmament were more important. Thus the reincitement of patriotism, fear of foreigner, etc. were necessarily part of citizenship education which was contradictory to education for world citizenship. It was illogical for an organisation to promote both at the same time. [20]

It was really the founding of the Council for Education in World Citizenship in 1939, just before the Second World War broke out, which made popular the notion of world citizenship. Citizenship education thus began to receive attention at different levels of understanding. It disseminated the idea that citizenship education at the international level could help to maintain world peace; democratic citizens should be able to place themselves in other people's positions and to act impartially. The world was only one and all mankind belonged to it. The idea of world citizenship remained abstract, but did become more acceptable as time elapsed.

Of course, World War II broke out in 1939 and interrupted the activities of the Council. Indeed, the inter-war period had not given enough opportunity

[20] Heater, D. *Peace through Education: The Contribution of the Council for Education in World Citizenship*, Falmer Press, 1984.

for the international level of citizenship education to penetrate into the mind of many boys and girls. The work of the Council went as far as it possibly would go during wartime, but more could be achieved after the war. The Council still exists, continuing to promote the international level of citizenship.

The development of education for world citizenship marked in part a heightened level of citizenship education to encompass the global level. However, its achievement was small. This was the period in which there was a world recession, the rise of a variety of dictatorships, and the beginning of a second world war. For education in general, it was a period when interest was focused upon the desirability of structural change rather than curriculum innovation and when pedagogy favoured traditional practice. Certainly, for citizenship education, it was a time of uncertainty. Despite the support of particular pressure groups, there was a general lack of support and interest for direct world citizenship education. As a result, it only achieved spasmodic growth.

A second factor which could have affected its growth was pedagogical. Transfer of learning was a widely held theory at this time. [21] This postulated that scholarly rigour in one subject would have a beneficial effect on another. It had its origin in the psychological theory of mental faculties popular at the end of the 19th century. It was then claimed that if the faculties of memory, reasoning, accuracy, quickness, observation and judgement were trained, there would be little need for specific education in particular curricular area for the effects of training would be transferred from one mental function to another of

[21] See Lawton, D., Dufour, B. *The New Social Studies* , Heinemann, 1976, pp. 4-5.

the same type but in a different field. [22] The implication of the acceptance of this view of transfer of learning was that there was no need for additional subjects for citizenship education to be added to the curriculum. The training for citizenship could be achieved by permeating through other subjects. It was in the context of such powerful rejection that citizenship education nevertheless achieved paradoxically some importance as a curriculum area. To a limited degree, citizenship education was able to maintain its continuity as an issue for the school curriculum.

Summary

During this period, increasing sectors of the population recognised the importance of citizenship education and wished to intensify it. Three main reasons were firstly, to promote peace and international understanding in order to prevent another world war; secondly, to promote democracy to safeguard it against totalitarianism; and thirdly to continue to promote loyalty to the nation. Thus the protagonists of League of Nations Teaching worked to promote international understanding as a vital component of citizenship education. Their work culminated just before the start of the Second World War, in 1939, and led to the establishment of the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

The Association in Education for Citizenship was formed in 1934, mainly to promote education for democracy to safeguard the country from the influence of communism of Russia and Eastern Europe. Its object referred to

[22] Lovell, K. *Educational Psychology and Children*, Univ. of London press, 1963, pp. 137-41.

moral education but it was too true that citizenship education in its moral orientation, fostered by Gould was not promoted by the Association. Gould was isolated in continuing the work that he believed was citizenship until he died in 1938. Civic-type syllabuses for citizenship education continued to be important because the promotion of international understanding was not seen as replacing the inculcation of loyalty to the nation.

Considering this period in terms of continuity and change in citizenship education in Britain, it was a period of active change on the surface. Down below the hearts of many politicians and conservative citizens, imperial citizenship remained a *sine qua non.* That was the main reason why the attempts to change made by the League of Nations Union and the Association for Education in Citizenship largely failed. Many of their good ideas and practices were dropped, and in terms of achievement, there was little to show. Thus we will see in the next chapter that after the Second World War, there remained need for change in citizenship education. Some of the more progressive ideas of the inter-war period, of course, survived, and as we shall find, were to be delivered through social studies syllabuses.

Chapter 4

Citizenship Education after the Second World War to the 1960s

One of the most interesting initiatives in the history of citizenship education was brought by social studies movement after the Second World War, intended to cover the areas of citizenship education neglected by traditional history and geography syllabuses. Social Studies aimed to provide a relevant education to foster 'good democratic citizenship', one which would

> "furnish a greater understanding of mankind and enable the pupils, as adults, to become socially conscious and responsible members of society". [1]

One reason for the support for social studies was the establishment of secondary education for all in 1944 and the raising of the school leaving age, at that time from 14 to 15, which gave teachers the task of retaining the involvement of non-academic adolescents poised for the adult world. It was absolutely urgent to prepare these future 'citizens' for their life in society. A large propor-

[1] Lawton, D. and Dufour, B. *The New Social Studies*, Heinemann, 1976. p. 5.

tion of them were non-academic, and having no interest in schooling. Social studies was designed to be more motivational than traditional subjects, which was thought to be able to keep the interest of these non-academic pupils.

Social studies' contribution to citizenship education was seen by some as mainly in the area of social education, thinking of the immediate needs of the pupils and for their later life in a complex and rapidly changing world. [2] Some social studies courses were also designed to contribute to political and economic education, though social education remained the major concern. The content of social studies was so variously defined that as a whole, it could contribute to all areas of citizenship education such as described by Cannon.

> "It was all things to all men, and its supporters claimed that this was its virtue, because its lack of definition made it suited to a changing world." [3]

Social studies was thus not designed so much to contribute to the body of knowledge of citizenship, but rather to foster 'an attitude of mind'. [4]

Later views did not necessarily accept this stance. For instance, Lawton and Dufour (1976) clearly stated that

> "The usual type of 'education for citizenship' cannot be accepted as the main goal of social studies for two reasons:
> 1. It is open to the criticism of being manipulation or indoctrination rather than education.
> 2. In a pluralistic society there is no universally accepted notion of what a good citizen is." [5]

[2]see Popkewitz(ed) *The Formation of the School subjects: the Struggle for an American Institution*, Falmer Press, 1987.

[3]Cannon, C., "Social Studies in Secondary Schools", *Education Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1. 1964. p. 22.

[4]*ibid.* p. 22.

These two authors, as protagonists of a later 'new social studies', were therefore clear about the ambiguity of the 'notion of citizenship education' and did not wish again to make social studies the victim of such ambiguity. Further, traditional forms of education for citizenship were seen to carry with them certain connotations of obedience and conformity. In fact, whether the main goal of social studies was indeed education for citizenship was controversial. The notion of addressing 'immediate needs' through social studies had long been a characteristic of American education. The purpose was to make good citizens of the children of immigrants crowding into urban schools in America in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. [6] Thus it provided here the link between social studies and citizenship education.

It was argued by Fenton, an American educationist, that social studies contributed to citizenship education whether in its traditional or modern form. [7] He broke the concept of citizenship into two aspects: citizen's rights (in a very broad sense) and citizen's duties, and considered the problem of 'values' as part of citizenship education. He insisted that values should neither be taught nor ignored. But the teachers should raise them for discussion, and always keep the discussion under the control of evidence within a framework of critical thinking. The goal then would not be unanimous acceptance of democracy, for example, but the examination of problems in order to arrive at a political philosophy. This teaching about values was social studies and was

[5]Lawton, and Dufour *op. cit.* p. 34.

[6]Poptewitz, *op. cit.* 1987.

[7]Fenton, E. *Teaching the Social Studies in Secondary Schools*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966, ch. 3.

undoubtedly 'citizenship'. Thus he insisted that the role of the social studies teacher would include fostering of the development in his pupils of a capacity for critical thinking: equipping pupils with the ability to use tools of enquiry against statements made by authority, including statements made and values professed by the teacher himself. In this way, social studies should contribute to the education for active citizenship.

In Britain, the situation was different. It was the demand for a socially relevant curriculum after the Second World War which began a re-interest in aspects of the curriculum which were concerned with preparing pupils for life. However, Cannon pointed out that long before it, there had been some interest in a socially relevant curriculum. [8] This took the form of direct citizenship education aimed at educating citizens for democracy and other forms of civics type syllabuses. This emphasis returned after the Second World War, and a variety of publications attested to its continuing importance. We could find, however, a growing interest in a wider definition of what should be involved in being a citizen, particularly the need for pupils to know something of relationships in the social environment in which they lived. This type of commitment helped to initiate the first social studies movement of the post-war period. Advocates attempted to take into their hands the contribution for citizenship education for the school children under a newly founded subject, social studies.

[8] Cannon, *op. cit.* 1964.

The Post-World War II Social Studies Movement

Lawton and Dufour's book, *The New Social Studies* was probably the most widely used handbook for teachers in this area after its first publication in the 1973. They included the teaching of civics at the beginning of the twentieth century as the starting point of the history of social studies in Britain, and the education for citizenship in the 1930s as an impressive point in the development of social studies. They were critical of

- the lack of distinctiveness which existed between civics, citizenship and social studies as defined by educationists earlier in the twentieth century;
- the confusion of the meanings of social studies; (for many educationists of this period, citizenship education was social studies and vice versa).
- the assumption that social studies contributed to aspects of citizenship education.

Thus a relationship between citizenship education and social studies was far more than just being recognised. This movement began in 1945 with the publication of *The Content of Education* [9] prepared by the Council for Curriculum Reform, an offshoot of the Association for Education in Citizenship. The Council advocated social studies for lower schools giving way to economics and politics, geography or history in upper schools. In a way, these four subjects were inevitably considered as social studies for the older pupils, contributing

[9] *The Content of Education*, The Council for Curriculum Reform, 1945.

to citizenship education rather differently from what social studies was seen to be to younger pupils. These subjects were regarded as more academic than practical. *The Content of Curriculum* did not directly connect citizenship education as an aim of introducing social studies. However, it included a section on social studies. It suggested that the function of the school was to help pupils to cope with changing society and the aim of social studies teaching was to help pupils to become 'effective democratic citizens'.

Integrated social studies courses received some impetus in the school after the Second World War. This period of development was referred to by Gleeson and Whitty as 'a period of work in citizenship and civic affairs', recognising social studies' contribution to citizenship education and linking social studies to citizenship education. [10] Their description of the mushrooming of the social studies courses during a period of widespread concern for citizenship education further substantiated the relationship between social studies and the call for citizenship education at that time. They added,

> "many schools introduced a whole variety of forms of social studies which specifically focused upon citizenship, democracy and contemporary social issues. Current affairs, civics and moral education grew up in a confused manner to challenge the traditional place of history, geography and R.E. Environmental studies emerged as a compromise, redefining the relations between history and geography with some biology added on." [11]

From here, it was clear that current affairs, civics and moral education which were before thought of as citizenship courses became accepted as social studies courses. There were others, however, who understood social studies to

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[10]Gleeson, D. and Whitty, G. *Developments in Social Studies Teaching*, Open Books, 1976.

[11]*ibid.* p. 4.

cover 'all things'. For example, Brimble and May looked upon social studies as the total curriculum, including religious education. [12] Thus they advocated social studies for education of citizenship not only at local and national level, but also at international and global level. Their book *Social Studies and World Citizenship* was designed for school use for this purpose. Other than Brimble and May, Hemming, Dray and Jordan made

> "the strongest bids to reform the curriculum on the basis of all subjects being the handmaidens of the central and dominating social studies." [13]

Various definitions of social studies were offered. Early in 1950, Nicholson [14] defined social studies as "the discovery of the life and work of men in their various places and in different times." [15] His definition was little different from the generally accepted idea about social studies, that is, it covered 'man and society'. He was not traditional in his outlook about social studies teaching. His suggested framework was based on a discovery approach.

In fact, virtually all the different titles for social studies mentioned in this chapter to a certain extent, interchangeably covered a course of social studies or a course of citizenship education. The intention of most of them was to provide 'relevance and practicality' during a time in which society consistently called for 'relevance' in the curriculum and the furtherance of the education for

[12]Brimble, L.J.F. and May, F. J. *Social Studies and World Citizenship*, Macmillan, 1950.

[13]Lawton and Dufour *op. cit.* p. 9, see also Hemming, J. *The Teaching of Social Studies in Secondary Schools*, Longmans, 1949; Dray, J. and Jordan, D. *A Handbook of Social Studies*, Methuen, 1950.

[14]Nicholson, F. J. *Suggestions for Teachers of Social Studies in Post Primary Classes*, Le Play House, 1950, ch. 1.

[15]*ibid.* p. 5.

citizenship in a democracy. Unfortunately, most of the courses ended up still with the idea of teaching the pupil "to accept his place in a pre-ordered society and learn uncritically his tasks as a 'responsive' citizen." [16] This reduced the function of social studies to that of traditional subjects which appeared in practice to confine their purpose to the teaching of passive citizenship. This was not to say that a truer form of social studies, for active citizenship teaching, did not exist. Examples were those advocated by Hemming (1949) which emphasised activity methods and linked the curriculum more to the needs of a changing industrial and democratic society, and which offered opportunities for active learning, for relating the lesson to contemporary events, and for co-operative study. [17]

By the mid-1950s, there were already some extremely vivid and worthwhile social education courses being practised in the schools — a category of social studies which actually promoted relevance and practicality for the formation of democratic citizenship. [18] For example, those advocated by Hemming as cited above. Having said that, we must admit that there were far more poorly designed than well designed social studies courses. The latter posed extreme difficulties for protagonists of social studies in challenging strong subject specialists for a place in the school curriculum. The social studies movement did not take root in consequence. There was no time to tidy up the differences in the titles, in aims, in content and in pedagogy of the existing social studies courses.

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[16]Gleeson and Whitty *op. cit.* p. 4.

[17]*ibid.* p. 4.

[18]*ibid.* p. 5.

The Decline of the Social Studies Movement

From a period of trial to the period of decline in the mid-1950s, social studies had, therefore, not established a framework and purpose that was clear to its sceptics. Some schools took the subject as social education and others as education for citizenship. Still some others took it as simply a replacement of the traditional history, geography, and/or religious education or even as civics courses for the less able pupils. What was evident historically was that its contribution to citizenship education was the basis of its creation. This attribute had, however, not made it convincing enough for curriculum makers to justify its place in the primary or secondary school. On the contrary, it was attacked from different angles, for example, Cannon argued,

> "they simply replaced one ideology (rote learning, narrative pedagogy,instruction in obedience) with another (anti-communist, responsible citizenship and education for industry)."

In a period of increasing complexity in social, economic and political relationships, social studies was unable to challenge the conventional subjects to cover this area of pressing need in education. One obvious reason was that the conventional subjects would not simply wait to become out of date and let a new subject, like social studies, take over their traditional function in citizenship education. On the other hand, they swiftly altered their aims, content and pedagogy to bring in necessary changes to meet the new demands of society. Another reason was the fault of social studies itself. There was always ambiguity and overlap in an ambitious curriculum which attempted to cover almost everything that was thought to be relevant to growing citizens. Rogers blamed the Ministry of Education's pamphlet *Citizens Growing Up*

which emphasised the importance of preparing young people for the responsibilities of active citizenship and yet urged the headmasters to keep in mind that 'all education is social education' making for confusion and looseness. [19] Seemingly it was proposing for no action to be taken for reemphasising citizenship education because it was already imbedded in the *total curriculum*. On the part of social studies, it could have led to a situation in which ' anything goes', in which structure, rigour and organisation in syllabus construction were neglected, and in which community service was inadvertently substituted for the systematic study of man and society. In a special section devoted to social studies in the same pamphlet, it further specified that social studies was not the only way of teaching citizenship. Nevertheless, it admitted that social studies did offer undoubtedly rich opportunities for training in social understanding. [20]

New Society's survey indicated that many headmasters took social studies to require, for example, programmes of visits to old people, or helping to raise money, etc. [21] To these headteachers, 'social studies' was variously perceived and widely misunderstood. Added to it were the differing notions about citizenship education. What "citizenship education" should consist of and what linkage social studies had with it remained the main question, but one unanswered by majority of practising 'social studies' teachers. As such how could social studies advance in a competitive English school curriculum ?

[19]Rogers, V. R. *The Social Studies in English Education*, Heinemann, 1968, p. 14. see also *Citizens Growing Up*, Ministry of Education, Pamphlet No. 16, HMSO, 1949.

[20]*ibid.* p. 25.

[21]"School Social Studies", *New Society*, Vol. 4, No. 101, 1964.

Other reasons for the decline of social studies movement were clearly explained by Lawton and Dufour (1973), Rogers (1968), Cannon (1964) and Gleeson and Whitty (1976).

However, the decline did not signify a collapse of the notion of education for citizenship in this country. At all levels of society, there remained concern as to how best to educate the growing number of non-academic pupils and to prepare for their citizenship socially, economically and politically. Preparation for the future careers or employments of these young people were also seen as aspects of citizenship education. At the governmental level, however, citizenship education would remain of concern in a different sense, e.g. how to see these pupils through politically without affecting their opinion towards the government. Thus citizenship education was still politicized, related to learning about government machinery, voting passively and not going too far beyond the traditional limits. This concern kept citizenship education in the British education system but for a different purpose. Certainly there was a general concern, at this time about "fitting young children to the society, to the world of work" when they grew up. Thus, in 1959, Crowther reported that schools needed to provide social studies courses 'to help young workers find their way in the world.' [22] Newsom (1963) identified differences between social studies and the traditional subjects in their ability to contribute to citizenship education. [23] Clearly the Newsom Committee supported the introduction of social studies for citizenship education of the non-academic pupils. When it questioned the insularity of separate disciplines in the curriculum and urged

[22]Crowther Report, *Fifteen to Eighteen*, HMSO, 1959.

[23]Newsom Report, *Half Our Future*, HMSO, 1963.

the teachers of English, history, geography and religious education to work more closely together to provide relevant programmes of social education, it in fact suggested the amalgamation of these subjects to form a social studies course. In other words, social studies was understood by them as mainly a combined subject, involving history, geography, English and religious education. In this respect, the Crowther and Newsom reports served to revive the discussion about the place of social studies in the school curriculum for meeting the needs of less able pupils. [24]

The New Social Studies

By the late 1950s, the old social studies movement was dying out. It was replaced by a period of purposeful curriculum reform of the 1960s. The 1960s was a period in which clear trends began to appear in those studies which were concerned with the preparation of pupils for life. The New Social Studies Movement had its beginning in the early part of this period.

Cannon wrote about the rise and demise of the old social studies which reflected the exact situation of social studies in the country at that moment. Thus she recommended a curriculum cure, or in her own words, a bridge over the gap between school and life. Her cure was stated as a set of three conditions which new social studies should consider.

1. the work must have a well defined content which can be adapted for pupils of a wide range of ages in a variety of educational situations.

2. it must posses^senough academic vigour to avoid Reiman's cogent criticism of

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[24] Gleeson and Whitty, *op. cit.* p. 6.

American courses, that they are sheer 'piety... or social slops'; an accusation which is unfortunately also relevant in England.

3. the aims must be clearly thought out and conceived in less manipulative terms than good citizenship or education for identification. [25]

The way in which these conditions could be met was by the introduction of social sciences into schools. As a result, the New Social Studies could offer a change in content and approach, both in having a social scientific base and hence an improved academic status, and also in promoting enquiry methods more germane to education in active citizenship. Unlike the American New Social Studies movement which signified a movement towards social studies curricula based firmly on the social disciplines, the British new social studies movement was much more concerned with legitimizing the teaching of social sciences as such in schools. The new social studies was based on the social science disciplines, mainly sociology, anthropology and psychology. At the same time, it also justified itself as a citizenship subject. In some cases, social science was preferred to social studies as the title to such a course. One of the pioneers was the social science course at Kidbrooke Comprehensive School in London. [26] The citizenship issue highlighted in this course was 'the society'. The department of social science which ran it consisted of an economist, an anthropologist, a sociologist and a few general subject teachers. One of the important points was the consideration of Cannon's conditions for cure, i.e. the consideration of aims in less manipulative terms than 'good citizenship' or education for identification, and the stress on scientific rigour of the social

[25] Cannon *op.cit.* 1964.

[26] Lawton and Dufour *op. cit.* p. 12.

sciences to avoid associating with the old social studies. [27]

Cannon also argued that not only should there be clarity in what the teachers were trying to do, but also academic vigour. Thus there should be social science courses for the able and not merely social studies courses for the less able. The intention was more than education for citizenship and preparation for life in society.

The movement was to an extent, more successful than the immediate post-war initiative. It started with a small group of teachers with the support of the London Institute of Education. The works of Philip and Priest provided examples of syllabus and resource availability. [28] More potential teachers were trained in the years that followed. Finally the Association for Teaching the Social Sciences became more actively involved to demonstrate that what was being claimed was possible. In 1967, it held its first National Social Sciences Conference in York. It was to this conference that Vincent Rogers was invited to discuss the work of the Minnesota Project of which he was the leader. [29] During the conference, Rogers introduced a large number of interested teachers and educationists to the thinking behind curriculum innovation in America and the way he introduced aspects of social sciences into planned courses for children in Minnesota schools. The conference was important for a number of reasons. Firstly it showed the possibility of successfully constructing and mounting courses which explored concepts and models drawn from the social

[27] Cannon *op. cit.* p. 24.

[28] Philip, W. and Priest, R. *Social Science and Social Studies in Secondary Schools*, Longmans, 1965.

[29] Rogers *op. cit.* 1968.

sciences and could be used with all types of children in all age-groups. Secondly, this conference served as an example for future curruculum innovations on this line.

This New Social Studies gained wider support after the conference. The lectures from the conference was produced as *The Social Sciences in Secondary and Further Education.* [30] In this book considerable guidance was given on rational planning, setting suitable aims and course outlines, contributions of which could be gained from the social sciences. Rogers also produced *The Social Studies in English Education* following this York conference. [31] In this book, he presented his findings after a period of detailed study of social studies in both primary and secondary schools. He included details of short comings of social studies in this country such as: innovatory work carried out in isolation; general lack of concerted attack on common problems; ill-defined goals and procedures; lack of conceptual vigour; suspicion of concepts and ideas drawn from the social sciences; a belief that thinking was for the sixth-form pupils only; a lack of evaluation of the outcomes of social education other than the mastery of factual information; the tendency to avoid social conflict and little concern for the implicit methodology of the social sciences. [32]

Irvine Smith was the host of the York conference. He produced *Men and Societies* in 1968, also as a result of this conference. [33] In this book he attempted to present a variety of ongoing and successful courses in the hu-

[30]See Mahon, J. D. *Citizenship and The Curriculum: A Review of Current Trends*, M.Ed. Thesis, Univ. of Liverpool, 1980.

[31]Rogers *op. cit.* 1968.

[32]*ibid.* pp. 176-185.

[33]Irvine-Smith, R. *Men and Societies*, Heinemann, 1968.

manities and the social sciences. Thus *Men and Societies* became a worthwhile reference for new social studies teachers.

In the early 1970s, Paul Mathias published his *Teachers' Handbook for Social Studies*, a major compendium at that time. [34] In the same year Lawton and Dufour's *The New Social Studies* was also published, and its widespread use testified to the great success of the movement it was designed to foster.

On the other hand, while the new social studies movement prompted the increasing publication of handbooks for social studies and the teaching of social sciences in school, they often did not demonstrate any marked improvements over the old social studies so far as citizenship education was concerned. Lawton and Dufour themselves and others criticized these handbooks as only offering an interesting way of integrating a variety of topics: 'the approach and content placed these efforts solidly in the camp of the old social studies'. [35]

But introducing and legitimising the social sciences in the school curriculum could also mean that existing social studies courses were depressed and the pupils taking them labelled as non-academic. Pupils taking higher level academic social science based courses were being introduced to what was essentially an academic perspective, thus lowering the practicality of its contribution to citizenship education, on the basis of which social studies was promoted in the first instance. Berger had commented that in this way, the pupils were studying 'man in society' but had little or no conception of the

[34] Mathias, P. *The Teachers' Handbook for Social Studies*, Blandford, 1973.

[35] Philip and Priest *op. cit.* p. 16. Hanson, W. J. *Introducing Social Studies*, Longmans, 1966.

implications of knowing of and understanding 'society in Man.' [36]

The movement had given rise to the introduction of additional subjects, academically acceptable and respectable, into the curriculum, but in doing so, the new social studies had began to lose much of what was intrinsically valuable and what had been hoped and fought for. It also tended to become more examination centred, and taught for its own sake. Thus its ability to contribute to citizenship began to deteriorate. These subjects were also competing with general social studies courses for their contribution to citizenship education, and for their place in the curriculum. Pupils' and teachers' perceptions of the new social science orientated courses have confirmed this view. Both have accepted examination courses as containing that which must be learned. The purpose was for gaining a good grade in the examination. For the teachers, the syllabus was the guideline upon which the teaching was based. Therefore it meant that the content had often been taught didactically, forgetting the enquiry method recommended initially. Despite this, the movement had become accepted as a trend in the growth of social education and a continuity of the education for citizenship in this country in the twentieth century.

In more general terms, interest in Social Studies could be seen in the attempts at curriculum innovation and reform, particularly in the period, 1964-1974. The Schools Council was set up in 1964 to commence a considerable number of curriculum development projects in the field which linked citizenship education to Social Studies and other areas of social education. The concerns expressed in Newsom Report about adolescents being adequately

[36] Berger, P. *Invitation to Sociology*, Penguin, 1966, pp. 81.

prepared for life were soon translated into a variety of new approaches, projects and relevant courses. Authoritative reports, respected educationists and groups had all made reference to the need for relevant courses in schools to prepare young people to become good citizens able to cope with the complexities and pressures of living and working in an industrialised society. Citizenship education was thus translated as the ability to cope with these complexities of life. The Schools Council was established just in time to speed up the process of innovation and implementation by introducing new ideas quickly into schools.

The Schools Council's work on this field of citizenship education was, however, all the time guided by H. M. Inspectorate. [37] Thus its own interest was influenced by the official interest. What was in fact achieved could well be what was officially desired.

Mathias had noted two features of the work which helped to confirm this view.

1. many projects were concerned with a similar range of topics and issues whether started from social, environmental, a simple subject or an integrated base.

2. much of the work of these projects involves or advocates an interdisciplinary approach and team teaching method. [38]

In this way the Schools Council projects contributed not so much as they would have wished towards positive, unbiased and neutral development of citizenship education for the pupils involved. Some impact of the American new

[37]Mahon *op. cit.* p. 53.

[38]Mathias *op. cit.* p. 29.

social studies was also shown in these projects. The Humanities Curriculum Project was an example.

This project was financed by the Nuffield Foundation and the Schools Council (1967-72), and was directed by Lawrence Stenhouse at the University of East Anglia's Centre for Applied Research in Education.

The project was concerned with the education of 14-16 year-old pupils of average and below average ability. However, the principle behind this project was that any curriculum offered to average pupils should be equally appropriate for the highest ability range. The method developed by the project involved a new role for the classroom teacher — namely, that of neutral chairman in a discussion situation involving controversial issues. The project had developed materials in the following areas:

a. war and society

b. education

c. the family

d. relations between the sexes

e. poverty

f. people and work

g. living in cities

h. law and order

Beside these kits, there was also an explanatory handbook, *The Humanities Project: an Introduction.*

The most important contribution the Humanities project made to citizenship education was the focus on controversial issues that it contained. The controversial issues were important for the education of citizenship, and had

generally been avoided or badly taught in schools. This project offered a positive change of attitude towards the treatment of controversial issues in school. The second important contribution was the new approach of active learning which was more appropriate for the education of modern citizenship. Thus the controversial issues were treated in an adult way by means of discussions and use of very interesting materials. In this way, the project attempted to cross the bridge between academic work and reality in life. 'Relevance and Practicality' were brought into the curriculum. This was an approach recommended for dealing with citizenship education.

The eight areas it dealt with contained invaluable knowledge essential to the development of citizenship of the individuals. Though the content could not be enormous, the careful selection had made it possible to cover the social, economic and political aspects at different levels. For instance, 'the family' obviously provided some knowledge of citizenship within the family; 'relations between the sexes' certainly helped in understanding and developing the acceptable social behaviour and relationships between people of different sexes. 'Living in cities' should consist of essential knowledge for the new generation and generations to come as cities are spreading proportionately to time and more and more population is to be found dwelling in the cities in time to come. 'Education' and 'people and work' are related areas of concern in citizenship education. Education prepares people for employment in the society. Citizenship education should include guiding young people for acquiring future employment. This humanities project provided this important aspect of citizenship education. Contributions of areas of education such as 'living in cities' and 'people and work' to the balanced development of citizens were re-

peatedly recognised in other curriculum development projects which had links with citizenship education, such as Geography for the Young School leaver.

A curriculum which had an overall significance to citizenship education must also cover the economic and political aspects of living in society. This one had three topics which were related to these two aspects. Firstly, 'war and society' was political in nature. War involved conflict, and conflict was unavoidable in any normal society. Solving a conflict involved understanding 'the political'. Laws were made to keep order. Knowing about law and realising the importance of keeping the law inevitably helped solving a conflict. The understanding of the politics of living helped the development of a full citizen. Secondly, 'poverty' in this project was of an economic significance which might relate to politics. A general discussion of poverty could also lead to the development of values such as tolerance and sympathy to the less fortunate. The relevant social, economic and political dimensions of citizenship education were included in one way or another in this project. Though there was bound to be a limit to the knowledge content of these three aspects of citizenship education, the project as such should be considered valuable to the education for citizenship for the intended age-group.

The new social studies was also reflected in locally developed courses. Though no complete record of all these works existed, *Dialogue*, the newsletter of the Schools Council, however, had been reporting local project activity for years. Reference to this publication would support the view that just as the Schools Council was involved in mounting a variety of social education projects involving approaches to citizenship, so also was a similar interest to be found at grass roots level in the country. For example, the Social Education Pro-

gramme which was developed through the effort of fifteen teachers' centres. This Social Education Programme was subsequently published by MacMillan for use in schools. It was interesting to note that programmes developed outside the Schools Council usually also put the emphasis on preparing pupils for life. This could be explained perhaps by the fact that they were linked to the leaders of the Schools Council projects, who carried out local work. The content of local projects would also ranged from the concepts and thinking involved in the social sciences to that requiring of the pupils only a knowledge of the duties of good citizens, the organisations of the state or alternatively an interest in the social environment and in community affairs.

The interest in local curriculum developments was supported by the Schools Council and the examinations boards. Further the increasing publications on curriculum reform also helped to sustain the interest. The examination boards have accepted increasing number of examinations in the social science-based subjects, including social studies courses in various names. Some boards accepted teacher moderation and Mode 3 syllabuses in this area.

As a consequence, by the mid-1970s, social studies incorporating citizenship education had reappeared in the curriculum in a number of guises, and for different ages and abilities. Yet, just as they had become academically respectable, so the intellectual climate which had aided the revival now began to challenge its credibility and the very reason of their existence. Citizenship education became a less mentioned subject than before. Academic subjects such as sociology and economics, which were developed as a result of the new social studies movement remained in the curriculum but they were different from the general social studies courses which were designed for their contribu-

tion to citizenship education. The intellectual atmosphere then was in favour of the development of political education which represented another change in the history of citizenship education in this century.

Summary

Clearly, social studies dominated the scene of citizenship education during this post-World War II period until the 1960s. However, the attempt to make it the main agency of delivery for citizenship education, as reflected in the immediate post-war social studies movement, was a failure. The outcome of this movement was the introduction of varieties of unstructured courses in different guises. The majority of them neither proved to be good citizenship courses, nor effectively challenged the strong traditional subject lobbies for a place in the curriculum. The cause for their failure could be summarised as:

1. in the lack of status;
2. in the perceived lack of structure (no proper definitions for aims and content - usually too broad, too vague and too ambitious);
3. the strong challenge from traditional subjects; and
4. the lack of trained teachers able to handle the new approaches.

Having failed in the first attempt, a second attempt was tried, as reflected in the new social studies movement in the 1960s. This attempt sought to cure some of the weaknesses apparent in the first attempt. The new social studies drew academic vigour from connection with social science disciplines. This theoretically at least, had the effect of increasing its status and capacity to deliver to both less able and more able pupils. It also gained itself in some cases examination subject status. Aims and content were less broad and more

fully defined. The new enquiry-method emphasis was appropriate for promoting active citizenship. Comparing it with the social studies of the immediate post-war period, it achieved modest progress. With it came sociology, economics, for example, into the curriculum, also with a commitment to aspects of citizenship education.

The success of it could be seen in curriculum innovation projects. The humanities project has been given as an example. Clearly, there could have been more. These projects drew strength from the new social studies and made themselves sources of good practice for citizenship education. By 1969, there appeared growing concern about political illiteracy among the young people in the country. There was to be a shift from a more general social science emphasis, to a more focused approach — political literacy. Political education in its new form of delivering political literacy, was ready to take over from the new social studies and as a focal approach to the implementation of citizenship education.

Chapter 5

Citizenship Education from 1969 to the 1980s

Political Education

The period from 1969 to 1980 represents a period of rapid curriculum innovation in citizenship education. In the 1960s, education for citizenship was commonly interpreted as a form of social studies or social education. However, towards the later part of the decade, there seemed to be a fundamental rethinking which translated a variety of definitions which constituted citizenship education into political education.

The starting point could be in the year 1967, when Derek Heater, a committed political educationist, wrote a letter to *Guardian* deploring the lack of political education in the school curriculum, and recommending a number of courses of action to improve the situation.[1] One of his suggestions was to

[1] Heater, D. A burgeoning of interest: political education in Britain in Crick, B. and Heater D. *Essays on Political Education*, Falmer Press, pp. 58-78.

establish a professional association to meet the needs of teachers who taught or wished to teach politics, or were merely interested in this general field. His recommendation did not materialise until after the conference, held in September in 1969 at London University, with the help of Hansard Society.

The idea of using political education for the education of citizenship was not new then. Throughout the century, there was some teaching of politics in the secondary school curriculum. But it served a different end. It was certainly not a type of political literacy education. But rather a way of politicisation of the curriculum.

Since 1934 when the Association for the Education in Citizenship was formed to promote direct citizenship education, concerns were expressed about the idea of political education in the school curriculum. Government officials and educationists generally assumed that political education meant politics and therefore feared indoctrination. The then Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education, Sir Maurice Holmes was said to be "against politics in the schools", which brought with it in his view, "the problems of bias and of teachers as agents of political parties." [2] Political education was mentioned more often by politicians and educationists after the formation of the Association for the Education in Citizenship, either promoting it or suppressing it. When Baldwin was the president of the AEC, he tried to persuade the Board of Education on this matter but the Board suggested fear that direct citizenship education would 'import into schools an atmosphere of political suspicion.' [3] It was clear that citizenship education was beginning to be seen

[2]Brennan, T. *Political Education and Democracy*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981, p. 37.

[3]*ibid.* p. 38.

as a form of political education.

From then onwards, there was the Spens Report which, while rejecting direct citizenship education in the curriculum, also linked citizenship education directly to political education, saying that 'geography...should enable boys and girls to see social and political problems in a truer perspectives...' [4] In 1959, Crowther Report linked education for citizenship to political education by stating

> "The fact that politics are controversial — that honest men disagree — makes preparation for citizenship a difficult matter, but it ought to be tackled, and not least for the ordinary boys and girls who now leave school at 15..." [5]

If one reflects on this link that citizenship education periodically had with political education during this century, one could well predict the trend of the late 1960s which looked at political education as an important agency of education for citizenship.

Two different events helped to bring out this matter into the arena of serious political discussion. The first was when, in launching the Great Debate, James Callaghan invited all the interested parties to offer their ideas as to what the purposes of formal education in contemporary Britain should be. In the absence of actual programmes for political education, its proponents had occupied themselves with little else for much of the previous decade. They were then, therefore, ideally placed to take advantage of Callaghan's offer and stake their claim. Secondly, the student unrest in higher education in the 1960s

[4] Spens, W. Sir, *Report of the Consultative Committee on Secodary Education, with special reference to Grammar schools and Technical High schools*, HMSO, 1938, p. 174.

[5] Crowther Report, *Fifteen to Eighteen*, HMSO, 1959, p.114.

received considerable exposure in the media and by 1970s, the politicians were extremely concerned about innocent pupils being indoctrinated with political leftist elements. In fact, the political educationists were more concerned with linking political education to citizenship education, making it part of the curriculum in order to combat political extremism. [6]

Coincidentally, Stradling's research on the political culture of young people in England and Wales, which was published in 1977, also drew attention to the changing social conditions which provided the necessary background for introducing political education into the school curriculum. His findings concluded with four areas of concern:

1. the widening of the franchise so that young people of 18 had the right to vote. (legal voting age was lowered to 18 as from Jan. 1970.)
2. the raising of the statutory school leaving age to 16. Boys and girls had only two years after leaving school to prepare for adult life and exercise their citizenship rights in voting. (statutory school leaving age was raised to 16 as from 1972-3)
3. the development of an apolitical youth culture.
4. the development of a more positive attitude to political education in schools and colleges.

This changing social condition called for making political education an appropriate form for citizenship education. The Politics Association became the major force for bringing it into practice in the classroom.

[6] Tapper, T. and Salter, B. "Political Education in Britain and the United States: Comparative lessons." *Teaching Politics* , Vol. 8, No. 3, 1979, pp. 240-1.

The Politics Association

Before the formation of this association, evidence of any official or academic interest in the teaching of politics in school was hard to find, wrote Tom Brennan in 1981.[7] The Politics Association serves as an instrument for interested teachers up and down the country to share their enthusiasm and aspiration in citizenship education. The Association's *Newsletter* was issued at the beginning but within a very short time, it was transformed into a professional journal, *Teaching Politics*. It was through this journal that views about political education were aired. The Association also produced a series of occasional publications. It linked itself closer to actual practice by entering into arrangements with publishers for the publication of relevant 'A' level books for schools.

The beginning of this period also saw the publication of the Association's first book on political education, entitled *The Teaching of Politics*, edited by Derek Heater. It contained some essays of importance in the transitional period of seeing education for citizenship in the form of political education. Professor Crick in the first essay criticised the unsuitability and unacceptability of the traditional form of teaching civics or British Constitution for citizenship education in the modern age. [8] He also warned that "the younger generation is becoming actively alienated or sullenly indifferent to our political institutions." [9] They all suggested that political education was the most appropriate format for citizenship education. In the second essay, Thompson

[7] Brennan *op. cit.* p. 45.

[8] Heater, D. *The Teaching of Politics*, Methuen, 1969, p. 4.

[9] *ibid.* p. 19.

provided a link between the old form of citizenship education with the new form of political education which the Association was promoting, saying that

> "The essential concern of civics is with the activities of individuals as members of a political society, and with their relationship to the agencies of government within that society. The core of the subject is, therefore connected with the political role of the ordinary citizen." [10]

Entwistle in the final essay argued that political education was suitable for all ages and all abilities. [11]

The Association continued to assert pressure on the authorities, so much so that the issue became an educational debate. More and more were aware of it and convinced that political education should become a relevant part of the curriculum. As a result, from 1970 onwards, books and articles dealing with aspects of political education began to appear and a steady stream of such writing has continued to attract the attention of teachers, educationists, academics and politicians. Entwistle published his book, *Political Education in a Democracy* in 1971 in which he extended his support for political education. In it he emphasized the nature of, and the need for direct political education in a democratic society, arguing that it should be achieved by encouraging active pupil participation. His approach was important in that he made political education practical. He attempted to build the bridge between school and life for ordinary pupils which was seen so important at a time when people had the vote at eighteen years and yet many were leaving school at the statutory school leaving age of fifteen. [12] Just one year later, the school leaving age was

[10] *ibid.* 1969, p. 56.

[11] *ibid.* 1969, p. 181-201.

[12] Entwistle, H. *Political Education in a Democracy*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, pp.

raised to 16 years.

Television and radio also allocated time for discussion on political education and specially prepared programmes for schools dealing with political institutions, issues and problems were presented as well. [13] Following considerable pressure, there was a revision of GCE syllabuses and preparation of CSE syllabuses in political education. The teaching and examination of politics at 'A' level also began to change. The traditional 'British Constitution' approach with its emphasis on government, institutions, constitutions and states, was modified to incorporate the behavioural approach, with its greater emphasis on actual political behaviour and informal political processes.

The Politics Association therefore acted as a pressure group seeking for legislational change and a formal acceptance of political education in the curriculum. Throughout it met with hard challenge but in the course of one decade, it had achieved some sucess. Whitty commented,

> "their timings, their use of the media, their friends in high places and so on, all seemed to have paid off."[14]

The Programme for Political Education

Following the foundation of the Politics Association, the year 1974 saw the launching of the Programme for Political Education. It represented an important step in translating citizenship education into a new form — political

35-67. see also Brennan *op. cit.* p. 48.

[13]Magee, E. "Politics at 'A' level" in Harber, C. (ed) *Political Education in Britain*, Falmer Press, 1987, p. 63-73.

[14]Whitty, G., "Political Education in Schools", *Socialism and Education*, vol. 5, no. 5, 1978, p. 5.

literacy education. It made explicit the distinction between political education stressing skills and attitude to participate from political education stressing knowledge of political institutions.

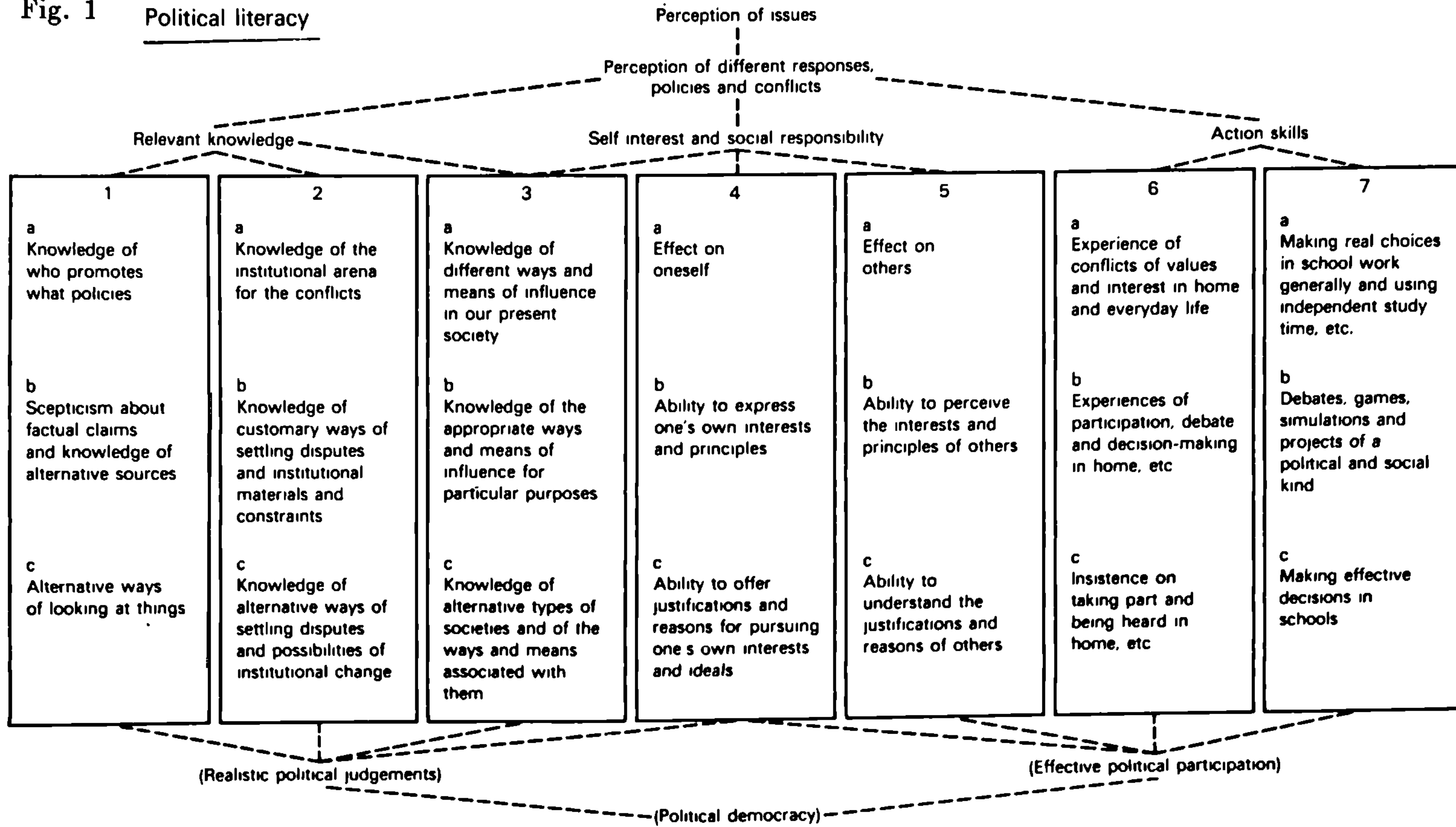
The PPE consisted of a development group at the University of London and the Political Education Research Unit at the University of York. The development group in London produced guidelines, syllabuses and working papers for discussion. It operated a school network mainly in London, the south and the south-west. The York Political Education Research Unit (PERU) did research in six case-study institutions, stretching from Yorkshire through Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire to Hampshire. Intensive observational studies were carried out in three institutions — an F. E. College in Huddersfield; a comprehensive school in Corby and a sixth-form college in Basingstoke. PERU investigated the possibilities, the problems and the limitations of political literacy approach in practice. It carried out classroom studies using observation schedule and conducted interviews with participants. It also used questionnaires and tests and attempted to involve teachers and students in the research in an act of collaborative exploration. Its main achievement was to provide information from observed practice. [15] Basing political education on the new concept of political literacy required the PPE to construct new definitions. The key characteristics of political literacy were formulated as a framework for political education. However, in so doing, it revealed wide-ranging views within the working party. Professors Crick and Lister rounded

[15] Crick, B. and Porter, A. *Political Education and Political Literacy*, Longman, 1978. See also Marshall, S. J. "The Origins and Development of Political Education", *Teaching Politics*, Vol. 17. No. 1, p. 6.

up the different views into a synthesis and published a foundation paper, *Political Literacy, the centrality of the concept*, which attempted to reconcile a theory of politics with a theory of education. Political literacy became the central point of political education.

At the end of the paper, a political literacy tree was suggested which gave guidelines for teachers to deal with political issues in the classroom. There were two versions of the tree, one in the language of political science and the other in everyday language. Both versions are reproduced in Fig.1 and 2 on the next page.

Fig. 1 Political literacy



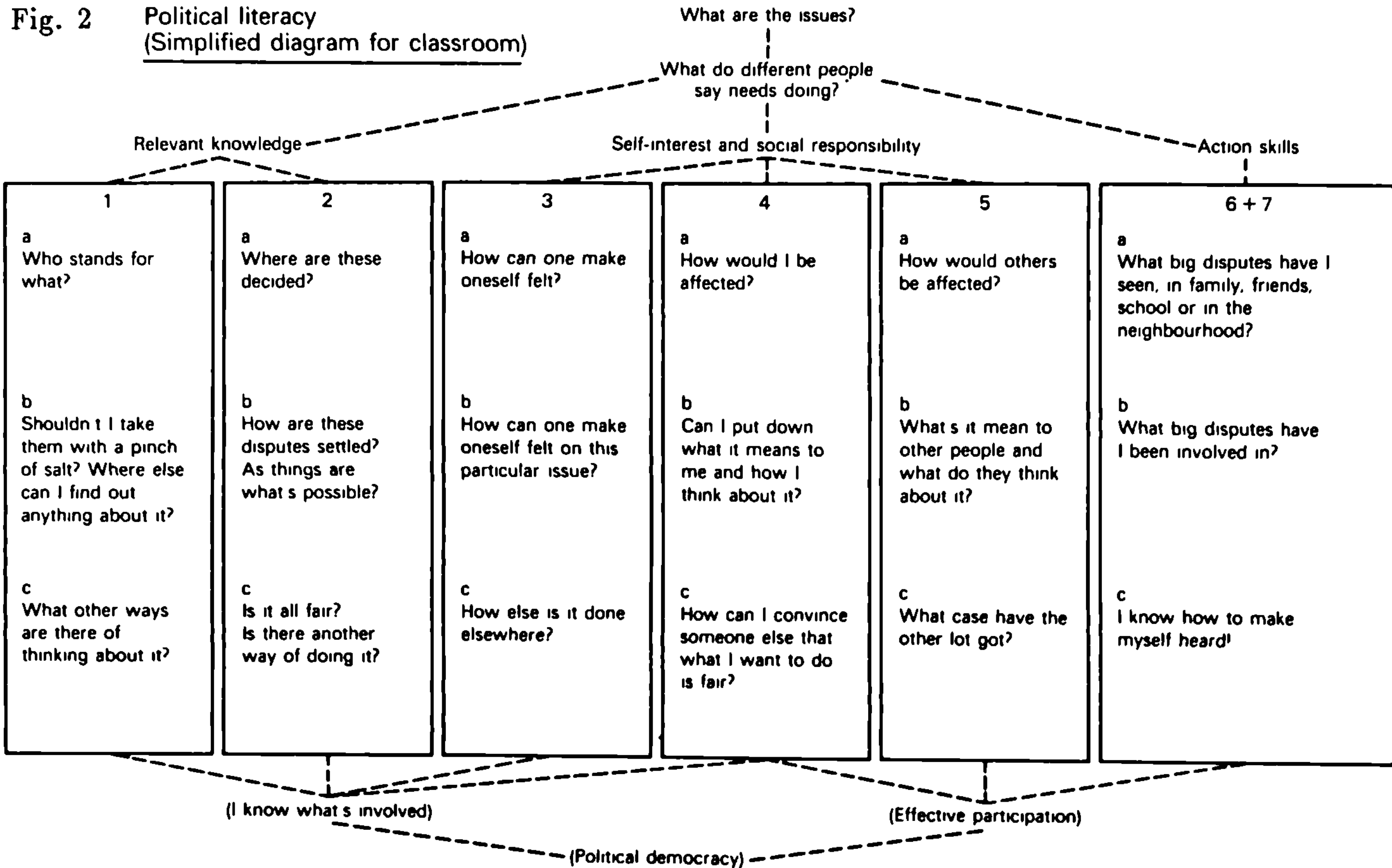


Fig. 2 Political literacy
(Simplified diagram for classroom)

Compared with previous approaches to the question of political education, there were three important shifts.

> 1. It argued that, as politics is concerned essentially with issues, then political education should be issue-focussed. Thus it was a shift away from British Constitution courses, the framework of which was provided by institutions, constitutions and the law.
> 2. It asserted a broad concept of 'politics' which included the politics of institutions such as schools and colleges, of firms and factories, of the environment, and even, of everyday life, as well as the politics of central government and local government. This was also a shift from the sole concern for government and structure to a wider concept of politics.
> 3. It affirmed that certain procedural values should underpin political education. "The teachers should not seek to influence basic substantive values... but it is both proper and possible to nurture and strengthen certain procedural values." These values are "freedom, toleration, fairness, respect for truth and respect for reasoning." This contrasted with traditional approaches to political education which taught loyalty to particular positions and particular institutions. With political literacy the commitment is to democratic values. This offered a way ahead in political education where teachers are constantly confronted by the problem being asked by society to disseminate consensus values and not to disseminate partisan values. [16]

This paper said that 'political literacy must be a compound of knowledge, skills and attitudes to be developed together, each conditioning the other.' This concern for the development of skills was new in the sense that the traditional approaches had so far limited their concern to knowledge and attitudes.

In October 1974, another paper was published by Lister who elaborated the

[16] Lister, I. "Political Education in England 1974-84". A briefing paper presented to the Global Education Centre of the University of Minnesota. *Teaching Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1987, p. 9.

aspects of political literacy. He confirmed that political literacy was already an accepted concept in political education, saying

> "Our immediate problem is that we are now passing from the rhetorical stage, where we asserted political literacy, to the second stage, where we must delineate it." [17]

He emphasised the knowledge, attitudes and skills required for making one politically literate. [18]

> "3. What kinds of knowledge would a PLP (political literate person) possess?
> (a)At the most general level a PLP would possess the basic information which is prerequisite to understanding the political dimensions of a given context... For example , in parliament, factories, schools and families, active participants need to know some basic data; something about the power structure of the institution, how it is founded; and something of its operational methods and processes.
> (b) A PLP would also know the kinds of knowledge that he/she needed, and did possess, in a given situation, and how to find them out...
> (c) A PLP would possess a knowledge of those concepts necessary to construct conceptual and analytical frameworks...
> 4. What attitudes would a PLP possess?
> A PLP would have critical attitudes in order to evaluate information...
> 5. What skills would a PLP possess?
> ...The politically literate person would be capable of active participation (or positive refusal to participate) and would not be excluded from the opportunity to participate merely because of lack of the prerequisite knowledge and skills...
> The highly politically literate person would not only be able to

[17] Lister, I. *Some Aspects of Political Literacy*, document published by Univ. of York Department of Education Political Education Research Unit, 1974.

[18] *ibid.* pp. 2-3.

imagine alternatives, (but) would also be able to devise strategies
for achieving change...

Alan Reid's case study, "The Programme for Political Education 1974-77" argued that it was PPE which played the major role in legitimising political education in the English education system. The main achievement of the PPE was that it demonstrated that courses following the political literacy approach were possible, viable and could be impressive. Following the launching of the PPE, a network of schools and colleges had been established and a team of speakers and workshop leaders had been built up. The concept of political literacy had become the major issue in subsequent discussion and planning of courses of political education. PERU had also involved in a number of research concerning political education in Britain. The research on provision of courses in political education across the country revealed that by the 1980s,

1. some LEAs had publicly acknowledged their support for political education;

2. 15 LEAs either appointed educational advisors with special responsibility for political education or assigned this responsibility to a member of their existing staff;

3. 25% of all LEAs in England and Wales supported in-service training schemes in the period 1979-80;

4. eight authorities have set up working parties and others support local developments. [19]

The study on 'The Political Awareness of the School Leaver' showed a general lack of political awareness among young people. Thus it attempted to

[19] Stradling, R. and Noctor, M. *The Provision of Political Education in Schools, a National Survey*, Univ. of York, 1981.

demonstrate the need for direct teaching of citizenship as political literacy education to overcome the problem. [20] In 1978, the PPE was officially published which made further recommendations for the political literacy education. [21]

The PPE promoted political education as the most appropriate form of citizenship education. However, after a decade of activities, it was found that it had not achieved what it hoped for as Lister reported,

> " The present situation of political education in schools in Great Britain can be summarised thus: legitimation has been achieved; implementation is limited, uneven in quality, and patchy in geographical distribution; effective political literacy education in schools is still very hard to find. Thus ten years after the launching of the national programme for political education, we still need to devise a viable way ahead for political education in schools. The political education movement is now poised to make significant progress. It needs a plan of action to do this." [22]

Official Support for Political Education

Just as the social studies dominated the 1960s as an agency for citizenship education, political education dominated educational debates in the 1970s and the 1980s as an acceptable mode for delivering citizenship education in these two decades. It began to receive hesitant official support also. Thus in 1974, the Department of Education and Science created the Assessment and Performance Unit. Its purpose was 'to provide information about general level

[20] Stradling, R. *The Political Awareness of the School Leaver*, Hansard Society, 1977.

[21] Crick and Porter *op. cit.* 1978.

[22] Lister, I. "Political Education in England in 1974-84", A briefing paper presented to the Global Education Center of the University of Minnesota, *Teaching Politics*, vol. 16, No. 1, 1987, p. 19.

of performance of children.' [23] Among the six areas of the curriculum to be investigated, 'personal and social development', which concerned itself about the preparation for life in a political society, was one. Although no group had then met to assess 'personal and social development', some force was given to consider it by the then Prime Minister, in his Oxford address at Ruskin College on Education in October of 1976. The point of his address was that schools were failing in their duty to prepare their pupils for the real needs of life, and although the thrust of his speech was in terms of making pupils literate and numerate to meet the needs of industry, by inference what he was saying also directed educationists and others to look at citizenship education. Aspects of preparing children for citizenship in a competitive industrialised democracy suddenly become important.

Derricott stated that this aspect of the speech was important for its revitalising effect upon the Assessment and Performance Unit. [24] In discussion with its chairman, he noted seven aspects of social and personal development, of which, the pupils' development of political understanding was one. [25] He also reinforced the point that this development implied a redefinition of citizenship education emphasising political education.

The growth of support for citizenship education as political education was again evident in 1976 when Shirley Williams spoke of "the great need to educate children into the mainstream of British Politics; (and that) the curriculum

[23] DES, *Assessment and Performance Unit: An Introduction*, HMSO, 1975.

[24] Derricott, R. "Social Studies in England: Perspectives, Problems and Reconsiderations", *International J. of Political Education*, Vol. 2, 1979, pp. 213-33.

[25] for the other six aspects, refer to *ibid.*

should reflect modern Britain in lessons like Politics and Economics" whilst her colleague and Under-Secretary at the Department of Education and Science went further in suggesting that politics was the 'highest form of education.' [26]

In 1977, the influential recommendation by HMI that a balanced curriculum should include the 'social and political area of experience' came out in the document, *Curriculum 11-16.* It stated that pupils

> "will need to understand different view points, appreciate conflicting motives, resist tendentious influences, and appraise critically...They will therefore require not only basic knowledge of how society is run and how resources are distributed but also an introduction to citizenship involving not so much a study of institutions but of issues, not of constitutional forms but of political motivation and of criteria for making political choices." [27]

This recommendation is compatible with the new approach to political education promoted by the PPE in which it also highlighted citizenship education. In 1977, HMI also issued, as part of their response to the Great Debate on education, a discussion document on the idea of political education and, in so doing, asserted its importance in the 11-16 curriculum. [28] It also argued for a shift away from traditional teaching of politics but concentrated on necessary concepts, attitudes and skills that the pupils needed to gain to offer informed and responsible political participation. Similar to the PPE approach to political education, this discussion document also suggested an enquiry approach. Coverage of this discussion in the media continued well into 1978. By then

[26] O'Conner, M. "On making your mark", *Guardian*, 11.7.1978.

[27] DES, *Curriculum 11-16*, HMSO, 1977, p. 12.

[28] Times Educational Supplement, "Now is the time for all good men...to stop being coy about political education", *TES*, 25.11.1977.

one could feel the growing acceptance of political education as a new definition for the education of citizenship. [29] In the years that followed, a number of DES documents echoed the same view of citizenship education via teaching political literacy. One among these was *Aspects of Secondary Education* which brought forward that

> "Teachers generally acknowledge the need for more personal education in the curriculum for all pupils by including careers education, health education and political education, and stimulating awareness of economic realities and political obligations." [30]

In 1979, the DES's support was again seen in its commissioning of the Curriculum Review Unit at the University of London to carry out a national survey of the provision of political education. Their findings have already been discussed.[31] The discrepancy in the provision was not, however, improved until the availability of funds, particularly through TVEI-related In-Service Training (TRIST) grants which gave LEAs opportunity to consider the need for programmes of personal and social education as an integral part of the school curriculum, to include political education. [32] This situation restrained political education to emerge as a single subject in the curriculum. Instead, we began to see the new mode of delivery of political education through PSE emerging. Personal and social development should include political education, as noted by Pring in 1984.

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[29]Mahon, J. D. *Citizenship and the Curriculum: a review of current trends*, M.Ed. Thesis, Univ. of Liverpool, 1980, p. 80.

[30]DES, *Aspects of Secondary Education*, HMSO, 1979, p. 42.

[31]refer to p. 96.

[32]Couley, F. " Citizenship: Political Education's longed for 'place in the sun' ?" will appear in *Political Awareness Across the Curriculum.*

> "It is difficult to see how any programme of personal and social education can ignore either the political values or the political skills required for participating in those activities and choices which affect one's own welfare."[33]

These additional funds enhanced a well-planned strategy for nationwide personal and social development courses getting underway in the 1980s.

It was then accepted that schools played an important and essential role in developing and promoting the necessary knowledge, skills and understanding to enable young people to gain, first, proper appreciation of our society's fundamental values; second, commitment to parliamentary democracy and the processes involved; third, the freedom of the individual within the law; and finally, the equality of all individuals in a pluralist society. [34] With the implementation of the National Curriculum, the NCC curriculum guidance documents elaborated on the five cross-curricular themes provided as the entitlement of the National Curriculum, for their contribution to personal and social development of each young person. Political education still was seen as having a role in citizenship education in the build up of the National Curriculum. This support could be seen in *Curriculum Matters 14: Personal Social Development from 5-16* which stated that

> "Various cross-curricular themes including health education, environmental education, economic awareness, political education and career education and guidance can play a particularly significant part in contributing to pupils' personal and social development." [35]

[33]Pring, D. *Personal and Social Education in the Curriculum*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1984, p. 100.

[34]Couley *op. cit.*. p. 8.

[35]DES, *Personal and Social Education from 5-16*, DES, 1989, p. 7.

We must, however, also note that apart from this slight mention, there were clear signs that political education has been marginalised by the NCC. Thus governmental support for political education as a component of citizenship education in the National Curriculum was not clearly visible.

The New Social Studies and Political Education

The link between political education and other subject associations and their recognition of political education as a necessary element of citizenship education also helped to bring it to the realm of school practice. While the teachers of political education were busy moving from the old form of teaching to an appreciation of what Brennan called 'political realism', social science teachers and followers of the New Social Studies also recognised political education as an important area for citizenship education though they viewed political education through their own perspective. [36] It is therefore not surprising that the purpose of their 1971 Annual Conference was to explore the problems of teaching politics in secondary and further education within the framework of social science. The outcome of the conference was a belief that the most valuable approach to this aspect of work was one which "emphasised analysis rather than description; processes rather than forms, informed objectivity rather than simple prejudices.' [37] There also existed a strong link between citizenship education and Social Studies Movement irrespective of the fact that political educationists had attempted to take citizenship education in their hands for almost two decades. This link could actually be seen as a conti-

[36] Brennan, T. *Political Studies: A Handbook for Teachers*, Longmans, 1974, pp. 6-7.

[37] *ibid.* pp. 4-5.

nuity in the development of citizenship education of this century. The social science approach to political literacy education seemed to draw heavily on sociology. And some viewed this as a split in the new political literacy approach to citizenship education. Both the social science teachers and the teachers of political studies were viewing the same pupil and his preparation for life in a complex industrial and plural society, but his relationship to it was being perceived differently as was the type of education which was deemed to be most appropriate. Perhaps Meighan was far-sighted when he foresaw a split of this kind when the Politics Association was first created. [38]

In reality, schools and colleges were still under strong influence of the earlier version of citizenship education — the social studies style. They were reminded that the New Social Studies Movement was still very interested in this general field of political and citizenship education. Political education continued to be taught through the social studies approach even if the political educationists showed some dominance over the teaching of politics across the country.

New Initiatives

As we have discussed, the 1970s was a period of development in political education. In the 1980s, we saw new developments in citizenship education out of the definition of political literacy education of the 1970s. These developments or could we say redefinition of citizenship education were linked very closely with the former definition i.e. the definition in terms of political liter-

[38] Meighan, R., Letter to the Times Educational Supplement, 10.11.1972.

acy. These were Peace Education, World Studies, Human Rights Education, Multicultural Education and Development Education. They could be seen as evidence of vitality in the field but also a threat to the general progress of political education in schools. They offered new views of the world and some global perspectives to the school curriculum. They had a keen concern for new methods of teaching and learning. However, they had problems of 'overlap' and shared a lot of content. They also had a common commitment to process-based teaching and learning such as the use of role play, games, and simulations.

These new developments threatened the Political Education movement and the social studies curriculum with fragmentation. One consequence could be to set the debate about political education back into another rhetorical stage. In addition, these new developments were also to reopen the debate on education versus indoctrination: For example, it had been commented that peace education became controversial when it moved out of the confines of an elite international college (Atlantic College in Wales) and concerned itself with the education of majorities. Other areas were not protected from attacks of a similar sort.

Peace Education

The early 1980s had witnessed a dramatic growth of interest in peace education. Doug Harwood provided the following statistics as evidence of significant take-up of peace education in schools.

> "...several hundred GCE/CSE syllabuses have been adapted for some form of peace education...4,000 candidates sat JMB In-

> tegrated Humanities, which has a 'peace-studies' option... up to 600 schools across 30 LEAs teach 'World Studies 8-13' approaches, which include a 'peace education' theme... of the 69 LEAs which replied to a questionnaire, more than 50% thought there should be 'peace studies' in schools... and 64% thought that 'peace studies' did occur in its schools." [39]

Doug Harwood was himself a supporter of peace education. He considered it as necessary to promote understanding of the causes of violence and conflict within and between individuals, groups and nations and evaluate alternative approaches to conflict resolution in terms of social costs and benefits, thereby to promote more peaceful development in the future. These necessities were generated by the peace movements of the-post Second World War Period which established themselves in the 1980s, not only in the political and social structure but also in the education system, to varying degrees as specialist areas of the curriculum. [40] Many of the teachers became interested because they felt that the issues of peace and conflict were a proper concern of education. However, the growth of peace education, whilst undoubtedly encouraged by this climate, had more to do with the earlier developments in the fields of education for international understanding and world studies which set the foundation for the growth of citizenship education in the direction which concerned the study of peace. They were in fact a rethinking and evidence of a continuity in citizenship education of this century.

The first school in Britain to develop a programme for peace education was the United World College of the Atlantic in South Wales. As an international

[39] Harwood, D. "Peace Education in Schools: Demise or Development in the Late-80s?", *Teaching Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1987, p. 147.

[40] Dufour, B. *The New Social Curriculum*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990, p. 9.

sixth-form college, it offered a programme in peace studies for the International Baccalaureate Examination in 1977. It held a conference in 1981 which put peace education firmly on the map in the UK. [41] This school and the Centre for Peace Studies in Lancaster, and the Centre for Global Education at York University, played the major role, thereafter, to legitimise and clarify the role of peace education and world studies in the curriculum of the 1980s. In particular, the highly successful Schools Council Project, World Studies 8-13 came to be seen as one embodiment of good practice in peace education. [42]

The first reference to peace education in the educational press had come in 1980 in "What should we tell our pupils?" in *Times Educational Supplement*. [43] In 1981, the NUT and NATFHE issued a joint statement on peace education, and many 'Teachers for Peace Groups' sprang up around the country. A peace education network was also set up, a group of teachers in Bristol began the Avon Peace Education Project, and several LEAs set up their own working parties on peace education. [44]

The initial concern was mainly the question of how to teach about nuclear debate, later the theme was broadened to encompass issues of peace and conflict from personal to global level. Most of the educational support came from interested organisations such as CEWC and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Materials from them balanced off the unsolicited materials on nuclear deterrence sent to schools by government sources.

[41] Reid, C. (ed) *Issues in Peace Education*, United World College of the Atlantic, 1984.

[42] Fisher, S. and Hicks, D. *World Studies 8-13: A Teacher's Handbook*, Oliver and Boyd, 1985.

[43] Reidy, M. "What should we tell our pupils?", *TES*, 31 Oct. 1980.

[44] Dufour *op. cit.* 1990, p. 86.

Peace education in the 1980s thus generated an enormous amount of enthusiasm among teachers both at school and LEA level. It was issue-based and pupil-centred, and thus fitted well into the trend of pedagogy of this decade. Though it was seldom found as a subject in the curriculum, it was a concern to be expressed in the total curriculum. According to Dufour, it had proved effective at infant, junior and secondary levels of education. [45] Some LEAs had appointed advisory staff and several had produced detailed guidelines for teachers. For example, Ealing and Manchester City Council Education Committee. [46] Lister commented that this 'movement is certainly vital to education in the 1990s if we are going to make a peaceful transition to a new society.' [47] Hicks afforded the best overview of peace education during this period. [48]

Almost as soon as peace education achieved a place in some schools, it was under attack. Marks, and Cox and Scruton provided the widest argument of attack. [49] One of the areas of attack was probably that peace studies initially focussed only on nuclear issues and favoured foregone conclusions in relation to such issues as the arms race or global inequality. It indoctrinated rather than

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[45] *ibid.* p.94.

[46] Freeman, J. *Peace Education in the London Borough of Ealing*, Ealing Education Committee, 1987, and Manchester City Council Education Committee, *Education for Peace in manchester: Guidelines and Case Studies*, 1987.

[47] Lister, I. "Global and International Approaches in Political Education" in Harber, C. (ed) *Political Education in Britain*, Falmer Press, 1987.

[48] Hicks, D. (ed) *Education for Peace*, Routledge, 1988.

[49] Marks, J. *Peace Studies in our schools: Propaganda for Defencelessness*, Women and Families for Defence, 1984 and Cox, C. and Scruton, R. *Peace Studies: A critical survey*, Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, 1984.

educated. Cox and Scruton also argued that Peace Studies was not a proper educational discipline. The strongest criticism made by Cox and Scruton was that they considered Peace Education as but one part of a move to politicize the curriculum, to lower intellectual standards and to promote the interests of the Soviet Union. [50]

There was limited research either to justify or to deny these criticisms. In 1983 Smoker and Rathenow carried out a questionnaire survey in which they asked LEAs about their attitudes towards and their provision in their schools of peace education.[51] The finding showed that in general LEAs were positive towards peace education and claimed to be providing it in their schools. Kevin Green, when researching for a study of peace education in the UK in 1986 had great difficulty in finding any, in practice, in schools.[52] He re-ran the Smoker and Rathenow questionnaire and found less support from LEAs than claimed by them before. Thus it was understandable that since then hostility towards peace education grew even stronger. Peace education has also undetachable link with development and human rights education or world studies. The growth and problems of their developments in the 1980s and 1990s are considered below.

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[50] Dufour *op. cit.* 1990, p. 95.

[51] Smoker, p. and Rathenow, H. *Peace Education in Great Britain*, Englisch-Amerikanische Studien, 1983.

[52] Green, K. *Peace Education in the UK*, Univ. of Bradford, 1986.

World Studies

The 1980s also saw a burgeoning of interest amongst primary and secondary teachers in world studies, the creation of new projects, centres and networks, the development of syllabuses and examinations and a move in some quarters towards a preference for the term global education. World studies also began to penetrate the curriculum of the lower age-group. The World Studies 8-13 Project was an example which implied that world studies was significant for all levels of schooling.

This project had involved 47 LEAs while the Centre for Global Studies at York University gave in-service training for both primary and secondary teachers, and ran courses of a similar type for a range of LEAs. Two of its publications provided reference for World Studies teachers: *Earthrights: Education as if the Planet Really Mattered* and *Global Teacher, Global Learner.* [53] Opportunities for teachers to become involved in global education were also growing through the existing networks, organisations and materials. It was known that the World Studies 8-13 Project had its own network of committed teachers and advisors and so had the Centre for Global Education. Conferences on world studies were held at regional development centres featuring all elements which they considered as necessary components of citizenship education. Most of them featured development, environment, peace and human rights themes. Undoubtedly, there existed contacts between world studies teachers and those involved in personal and social education, health educa-

[53] Pike, G. and Selby, D. *Global Teacher, Global Learner*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988 and Greig, S., Pike, G. and Selby, D. *Earthrights: Education as if the Planet Really Mattered*, Kogan Page, 1987.

tion, and perhaps TVEI, significantly indicating another shift of citizenship education to be defined within the larger framework of personal and social education under the National Curriculum.

In the classroom, world studies curricula were also increasing. It was noted that since the world studies course which started at Groby Community College in Leicestershire in late 1970s, many similar developments followed in secondary schools, mainly in the south-west of England. By now, there were abundant good materials on global issues and world development which emphasised active participatory learning. Some of the central aims of global education also featured in the DES consultation document, for example, the need to equip pupils 'for the responsibilities of citizenship and for challenges of employment in the modern world' and the development in young people 'the ability to solve real-world problems.' [54]

Despite such hopeful instances, finding world studies a confirmed space in the school curriculum of the 1990s proved unlikely. In the first place, global education is still controversial in education. Dominant critic such as Roger Scruton heavily accused it indoctrination, not education. His *World Studies: Education or Indoctrination?* accused world studies courses for presenting only radical interpretations of third world inequality at the same time maintaining a judicious silence about injustice in the communist world. [55] Others looked at it as bias and imperfect such as Jean Garreau and Ruth Versfield who criticised the World Studies 8-13 teachers'

[54]DES, *The National Curriculum 5-16: a Consultative Document*, HMSO, 1987.

[55]Scruton, R. *World Studies: Education or Indoctrination?*, Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, 1985.

handbook for not providing exercises which actively confronted gender, race and class inequalities, arguing it legitimised race, gender and class inequalities by ignoring them. [56] Criticism also came from one political educationist who thought world studies would suffer from the danger of being 'process rich and content poor.' [57]

On the other hand, there existed a wealth of governmental and international documents which regarded world studies as a legitimate goal of formal education. [58] As mentioned above, implicit support could also be found in some of the National Curriculum's stated aims. But the way the National Curriculum was designed, makes clear that world studies cannot appear as a separate slot in the curriculum.

Human Rights Education

It could be said that legitimisation of human rights education only came with the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948. United Kingdom being a signatory to the United Nations pledged its schools and colleges to promote human rights education. However, until recently human rights education has been a very underdeveloped area. Since 1948, a succession of important documents on human rights have come from the United Nations and its agencies and more conventions and charters were signed on this matter. In 1950, the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and*

[56] Garreau, J. and Versfield, R. "World Studies: 8-13. A Teachers' Handbook. A Review", *World Studies Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1987, pp. 8-10.

[57] Lister *op. cit.* 1987.

[58] Dufour *op. cit.* 1990, p. 143.

Fundamental Freedoms, was signed in Rome. In 1961 the *European Social Charter*, was signed at Turin. An important document for the teaching of human rights was released in 1974 which was the *UNESCO Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co- operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms.* Among other things, the signatories, of which the United Kingdom was one, agreed to

1. formulate and apply national policies aimed at strengthening the ways in which education can contribute to developing respect for human rights;
2. provide the financial, administrative, material and moral support necessary to implement such policies;
3. ensure that the principles of the *Universal Declaration* become 'an integral part of the developing personality of each child, adolescent, young person or adult applying these principles in the daily conduct of education at each level';
4. encourage the teaching of issues connected with 'the exercise and observance of human rights'.[59]

The Council of Europe had also been very active by then. In 1985 it published its recommendation document on *Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Schools.* [60] This Recommendation pinpointed effective human rights education as a necessary pre-condition for a healthy democratic society and called for its teaching and learning vertically through all age-groups and horizontally across a range of subject areas. It set out that

[59]see the Declaration of UNESCO, 1974, sections IV-V.

[60]Council of Europe, *Recommendation no. R(85)7 of the Committee of Ministers to member states of teaching and learning about human rights in schools*, Strasbourg, 14 May 1985.

"throughout their school career all young people should learn about human rights as part of their preparation for life in a pluralist democracy." [61]

In Europe, seminars on human rights education for pre-primary, primary and secondary schools had also been held in the 1980s. [62]

The year 1974 and the rest of the decade did not see wide application of this UNESCO declaration for human rights education in this country. The specific mention of human rights education was not found in any DES documents that followed. Indirect reference could, however be found. [63] For example, *A Framework for the School Curriculum*, published in 1980 did suggest instilling respect for religious and moral values and tolerance of other races, religions and ways of life as one of the aims of schooling which certainly touched on human rights issues. Similarly Swann Report *Education for All*, stated that majority of secondary pupils from a range of ethnic backgrounds had strong views on questions of immigration, discrimination and rights. From this point of view, human rights education was urgently needed. [64]

However, non-governmental and interest groups tapped this resource and became more numerous and more active in the 1980s. Amnesty International and the Minority Rights Group were the most active. In 1984, Amnesty International published an eleven-unit pack for secondary schools on *Teaching and Learning about Human Rights*, covering controversial topics like disappear-

[61] Report of the Commission on Citizenship, *Encouraging Citizenship*, HMSO, 1990, p. 102.

[62] Council of Europe, *40th Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar on Human Rights Education in Pre-primary Schools, Donaueschingen, 20-25 June 1988*, Strasbourg, 1989.

[63] Dufour *op. cit.* p. 183.

[64] Lord Swann, *Education for All.* The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, HMSO, 1985, p. 377.

ances and torture. In the same year, the Law Society and the School Curriculum Development Committee jointly initiated the *Law in Education Project.* Though it consisted of a balanced treatment of rights and responsibilities, it handled its human rights issues through the examination of the Nazi persecution of the Jews. It was this episode which prompted the founding fathers of the UN to commit the organisation to promoting 'universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.' [65]Thus UNESCO encouraged schools to engage in work to support this objective, providing the following aims:

1. fostering the attitudes of tolerance, respect and solidarity inherent in human rights;

2. providing knowledge about human rights, in both their national and international dimensions, and the institutions established for their implementation;

3. developing the individual's awareness of the ways and means by which human rights can be translated into social and political reality at both the national and international levels. [66]

Amnesty International joined with the Centre for Global Education in 1985 to organise the first national conference for primary and secondary teachers on human rights education. The conference was perhaps a turning point. Starkey commented

> "For the first time human rights was placed at the centre of the agenda of people actively involved with curriculum development

[65]Refer to Article 55 of the Charter.

[66]See *Final Document of the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights,* quoted in Graves, N. J. *Teaching for International Understanding, Peace and Human Rights,* UNESCO, 1984, pp. 59-60.

and processes of change in schools." [67]

The Minority Rights Group had also produced materials including *profile on Prejudice*, a pack for secondary schools on human rights and minority groups. It also undertook in-service training in human rights education and offered schools up-to-date information on the treatment of minorities around the world. The Centre for Global Education at York University has been involved in in-service education and curriculum development in human rights education since 1982. It began a major three-year Human Rights Education Project in September 1989 on behalf of Amnesty International. With the existence of the Education in Human Rights Network, interested teachers could hold regular meetings for discussing human rights education.

Thus by the end of the last decade, activities to promote human rights education across the country were many but human rights education was not yet seen by the government of the 1990s as an area of particular importance. Dufour wrote:

> "On 12 May 1988...(I) wrote to the Minister of State for Education enquiring about the place of Human Rights Education within the National Curriculum. In reply, the Schools Branch of the Department of Education and Science pointed to Clause 1 of the Education Reform Bill, 1988,...'The Government', the letter went on, 'sees no need to add Human Rights to the list of proposed foundation subjects, or to single out an understanding of human rights from among the general aims mentioned in Clause 1. It is best dealt with in the context of the existing foundation subjects (for example through English, History and Geography) and through other non-foundation subjects such as Political Education and Law." [68]

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[67] Starkey, H. (ed) *Teaching and Learning about Human Rights*, Report of a conference for primary and secondary teachers held at University of York, 11 May, 1985.

[68] Dufour *op.cit.* 1990, p. 195.

This quotation thus gave us ground for cautious optimism. The newest interest in citizenship education was awarded by the NCC, a curriculum guidance document on *Education for Citizenship.* In it was found only a sentence on human rights which stated that the areas of study might include "the major conventions on human rights - The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), The European Convention on Human Rights (1950), and The United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child (1989)." [69]

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is closely akin to anti-racist education in the UK. Although it has its origins dated back to the 1950s, it was really a newly developed area of concern in education in the 1970s and 1980s. The main feature of multicultural education then was the acceptance of a pluralistic society as a positive feature in England. There were many ways of interpreting it, suggesting varying degrees of commitment to or toleration of autonomy and diversity from the white majority towards ethnic minority communities, in school and outside. While a strong position was taken against discrimination, policy often failed to acknowledge the extent of structural inequality and the persistence of racism which ethnic minority groups endured.

In practical terms, however, we saw many developments during this period of time. For instance, in 1973, the DES abandoned the use of the term 'immigrants' to refer to ethnic minority pupils. In 1976, the Race Relations Act was passed, which set up the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and tightened the laws on direct and indirect discrimination. All LEAs were given

[69] NCC, *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education For Citizenship*, 1990, p. 7.

guidance on the implication of the Act. The DES linked multiculturalism with the poverty of the minority groups through its *Educational Disadvantage Initiatives* (1974-80). In 1980, DES announced that the school curriculum must take account of multicultural Britain. [70] This was followed by many LEAs developing statements and policies on multicultural education. Multicultural education was placed higher on the agenda in school and society.

In the 1980s, multicultural education has developed in many people's mind as anti-racist education, believing that the disadvantage of the minority groups was not the problem of poverty but the problem of racism, thus calling for the urgent need of anti-racist education in the school curriculum. Certainly, there was already evidence of some schools in the late 1970s with direct treatment of race and racism as a curriculum topic along with the broader issues of disadvantage and inequality. [71] One of the main features was the growing lobby of black educationists and parents who focused on racism as the major cause of disadvantage. Their concern was not being over emphasised. We could find, in the 1980s more clashes involving racism in the streets. [72] For example, the beginning of the 1980s witnessed the inner-city riots in 1981, and the stringent British Nationality Act of the same year which introduced further controls on rights of entry and residence in the UK.

The reaction of this concern of the existence of strong racism in the society was manifested in *Swann Report* of 1985. [73] It was about inner-city schooling

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[70]DES, *The School Curriculum*, HMSO, 1988.

[71]Dufour, *op. cit.* p. 121.

[72]*ibid.* p. 120.

[73]Lord Swann *op. cit.* 1985.

as well as education in the 'all white' schools in the suburbs and counties of the UK. The recognition of the necessity of implementing multicultural education in schools could be found in *The Curriculum from 5-16* which advocated a multicultural dimension for the school and college curricula:

> "The curriculum...should... be of a kind which opens the minds of the pupils to other traditions and other ways of viewing the world, and which challenges and dispels the ignorance and distrust which breed racial prejudice and discrimination." [74]

Another statement about multicultural education was found in the NCC Circular No. 6, published in 1989:

> "Major cross-curricular dimensions which are not necessarily delivered through courses of personal and social education but which promote personal and social development include equal opportunities, and education for life in a multicultural society. They required the development of positive attitudes in all staff and pupils towards cultural diversity, gender equality and people disabilities." [75]

This kind of authoritative statements are important even though many schools have already adopted some forms of multicultural education in the 1970s and 1980s. The Arts and Humanities subjects, for example, have been developing multicultural approaches for a long time. [76] Thus by the 1990s, all areas of curriculum could draw on good practice and resources.

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[74]DES, *The Curriculum from 5-16*, HMSO, 1985.

[75]NCC, *Circular No. 6. The National Curriculum and Whole Curriculum Planning: Preliminary Guidance*, 1989, para. 11.

[76]Dufour *op. cit.* p. 126.

Summary

During this period aspects of citizenship education emerged in various guises, including political education, peace education, world studies, global education, development education, and human rights education. Citizenship education was also still delivered through the 'new social studies'. As a consequence, there appeared enormous amount of overlap. These overlaps were intrinsically a constraint. Clearly not all, if only for logical reasons, could appear in the curriculum. In which form then, should citizenship education be delivered? No absolute answer to this question appeared but to find a solution, it was necessary to identify the overlaps, and set criteria of choice.

The overlaps appeared to be heavily in the content. For instance:

1. World studies, development education, global education and human rights education all seemed to treat the world broadly as a single system. A theme about development, for example, economic development of a third world or first world country could, fit into any of these courses.
2. All of them dealt with controversial issues, which could be political, economic, social or environmental in nature. For example, nuclear disarmament could be a topic in anyone of them.
3. On the skills component, there also appeared to be overlaps. Thus social and personal skills in making choices were stressed in political education, human rights education, development education and world studies or global education.
4. On the values and attitudes component, all seemed to promote fairness, tolerance, cooperation, mutual understanding and peace.

5. On the approach to delivery, all of them had adopted the enquiry, activity-based, and participative approach.

They thus provided education for citizenship in similar ways. What criteria then, should we set for our choice of mode of delivery? Certainly when we looked at the overlaps, we noticed that most of them were not new themes, and they had already appeared in traditional history and geography. These components could continue to be delivered in these two subjects. If so, why did we thus need separate cross-curricular activity, or vice versa, as all contributed essentially to citizenship education? In the limited space for any one of them to penetrate separately the already full curriculum, one choice was to permeate the components which would fit into geography and history. But there were other elements, for example of human rights, which could not possibly be fully covered in either history or geography. A practical choice, then (and now) was to treat them in PSE for which in most secondary schools, there was already a slot in the timetable. Thus this overarching mode of delivery through history and geography and PSE forms the most appropriate approach for citizenship education in the National Curriculum. This direction of development was already apparent in the early 1980s, and to be seized on later. Political education as a separate subject for citizenship education proved not to be the answer in practice, as it had hoped for in the 1970s and 1980s.

Another important issue was the importance of history and geography in continuing their roles for providing major elements of citizenship education. These two subjects made explicit their claims as citizenship subjects, and their contributions in this century will be examined in Chapter 6 and 7, and their potential to continue their roles with reference to their statutory orders in the

National Curriculum will be assessed in chapter 10.

Chapter 6

History and Citizenship Education

History for Moral and Patriotic Citizenship

Claims for history as a citizenship subject dated back long before it became an academic discipline. When Herodus, the father of history began to write history, it was for its social relevance. Since then, history has experienced a number of phases of development but its utility as a citizenship subject continued. Early this century, F. J. Gould published a large quantity of literature using history as a source for citizenship education — promoting moral and patriotic citizenship in young children. [1] Other publications from historians and from the Board of Education also demonstrated the value of the subject for citizenship education.

Gould saw history as an all-embracing subject which could, properly

[1] Refer to chapter 2.

taught, provide social, moral and civic education for training children to be good future citizens. His approach was humanistic. But he also proposed to use history for the training of patriotism and social loyalty. At the same time, he was aware of the importance of an international perspective as we shall see later. Through story-telling and through history, he worked out numerous schemes for training for citizenship. Support for him was evident in the 1904 Elementary Code in which history was approved because of the emphasis it gave to the lives of great men and women, and the lessons to be learned from them, by means of which the characteristics of the good citizen were thought to be inculcated. Gould's work indicated the potential he saw of history's capacity to promote citizenship education. His writings began to be published for this purpose from the 1880s until he died in 1938. [2]

In fact, when history was first introduced in the school, its only objective was, as Gould had often mentioned, to inculcate those values, social and political which the nation and the people had come to accept as characteristic of itself. As time passed, history was later seen as limited in its role for providing this aspect of citizenship education. In late nineteenth century, Laurie had commented:

> "To the school-boy...(History) is of value in so far as it brings to his knowledge wonderful deeds done in the discharge of patriotism and duty. In all other respects, it is utterly barren of good results, and involves a futile expenditure of valuable school-time. A dim outline of royal genealogies, of dates, the intervals between which are full of plottings and counter-plottings, and of parts which, however capable of interpretation by the matured

[2] Hayward, F. H. *The Last Years of Great Educationist: A record of the work and thought of F. J. Gould from 1923-1938*, Duckworth, 1942.

> capacity...to the raw experience of the child or the boy, little more than an exhibition of the worst passions that afflict humanity, and all these epitomised into small compass and only partially and fragmentarily acquired such is school history. It seems to us, therefore, that the reading of history in the primary school is little better than an abuse of time."[3]

Laurie had a narrow view of citizenship education. For him, citizenship concerned only training to be patriotic, dutiful and passive citizens. His *History in the Primary School* was published nearly four decades earlier than most of Gould's work on history and training for citizenship.[4] He believed like Gould that history could bring out "the bold relief, the grand characters" who through their heroic struggles for right and freedom "had gained the privileges we now enjoy", and by their great discoveries had made it possible for England to grow into a mighty empire."[5] From this point of view, history in the late nineteenth century was certainly seen as a subject for training of citizens. It served its purpose by mere dispensation of knowledge. The teaching of history was said always to have included the acquisition of a body of knowledge: facts of events, dates, great names, etc. If the acquisition of such knowledge was all that mattered, the activities of the few great rulers and the course of a few great wars were enough to provide models for future citizens. That was what history was actually about in those days. False representation, bias and imperialistic feelings were unavoidable. That did not alter its value as the main subject for citizenship training of the day.

By the last decade of nineteenth century, some historians and educationists

[3]Laurie, S. S. *History in the Primary School*. 1867, p. 144.

[4]For instance, Gould, F. J. *Moral Teaching as Life Revelation*, Watts and Co., 1915.

[5]Laurie *op. cit.* p. 144.

had begun to be more alert as to a wider scope of history for citizenship education, to lead away from partiality, bias and the false representation of the patriotic approach. Pitt published *English History, with its Wars left out* in 1893. [6] It was a reflection of a change of attitude towards history for citizenship education, believing that 'drum and trumpet' history could no longer achieve the objective of training for future citizens. Pitt's book marked the beginning of history textbook revision.

History had increased in popularity both in the universities and in the schools by the beginning of the twentieth century because of its change of content and because of its relevance to citizenship education. In particular, by the time of the 1902 Act, the teaching of history within the curriculum of both public elementary and secondary schools had begun to lay particular emphasis upon political and constitutional aspects which led many historians to believe that the teaching of civics was the special task of history teachers. The primary aim behind the framework of many history textbooks began to be

> "that of the inculcation of the ideas of citizenship which themselves developed from a mere prescription of various rights and duties to that of equipping the future citizen with a full knowledge of how his society had evolved." [7]

Having to know how society had evolved required no short history. Thus the discernment of 'movements' and 'trends' over large sweeps of history was encouraged in school syllabuses in order to convey an awareness of human

[6] Pitt, G. *English History, with its Wars left out*, T. Compton, Jun, 1893. See also Dance, E. H. *History The Betrayer: A Study in Bias*. Hutchinson, 1960, p. 127.

[7] Cook, T. "The Teaching of Local History in Schools since 1902", *History of Education Society Bulletin*, No. 22, 1978, p. 42.

progress and to foster a realisation of the past as an essential prelude to the present. It was generally urged that the pupil should be led to a greater awareness of the national society in which he lived and how it had developed to its present stage. Emphasis on national citizenship was clearly shown, for example, in Withers' writing:

> "It is because of its bearing on the future of our civic and national life, even more than on account of its value to the imagination and the understanding that the study of history may claim an honoured place in the timetable of our primary schools." [8]

By 1905, Bourne's famous book *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School* was published. He was the well-known professor of the College for Women at Western Reserve University of the United States. Most people involved in education at the time, whether in England or North America would have accepted in part his contention that:

> "pupils may be instructed in the duties of citizenship in two ways: First, by studying the structure of government and the duties of the individual in relation to it, and second, by discipline in the performance of such social duties as fall to them during school life, with the expectation that thereby sound habits may be created and good citizenship may be only a continuation of the earlier training in conduct." [9]

Textbooks for civics and history for civic education at this time, indeed far beyond this time, tended mainly to describe institutions and offices of government. Bourne's book definitely reflected his discontent about using

[8] Withers, H L. *The Teaching of History and other papers*, Manchester Univ. Press, 1904, p 200.

[9] Bourne, H *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary Schools*. Longmans, 1902 (reprinted 1905), p. 93-4. Refer also to p. 35 of this thesis.

mere knowledge as a tool for training good citizens. He called for a more active involvement of pupils within and without the school to make training for citizenship more effective.

Not only Americans were influenced by Bourne's work. Here in Britain, evidence of a new dynamism in historical studies was indicated, at school level, by the Board of Education's publications. [10] The first edition of *The Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* in 1905 included a chapter on the problems, objectives, content, methods and aids of history teaching in elementary schools. It offered a fresh look at the new ways of history teaching under which its contribution for training of future citizens was reconsidered. [11] For secondary schools, the introduction of new ideas on these lines was inevitable too. The Board's circular, *History*, published in 1908 and *Modern European History* published in 1914 both offered some cautiously progressive ideas in content, notably in local and European history and in methods. [12] The catalyst of, and principal pressure group for, this new-found ferment in the teaching and study of history was the Historical Association, founded in 1906 by a number of distinguished teachers in schools and universities. Thus in 1909, this Association indicated its commitment to an important role for history in citizenship education by publishing the leaflet No. 15 on *The Teaching of Civics in Public Schools*.

The belief that history could contribute to citizenship education was ac-

[10] Elliot, B. J. "An Early Failure of Curriculum Reform: History Teaching in England 1918-1940", *Journal of Education Administration and History*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1980, p. 39.

[11] Board of Education, *Suggestions for the Consideraton of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools*, HMSO, 1905, pp. 61-64.

[12] *ibid.* 1980, p. 39.

cepted by majority of the teachers as well as educationists of that time. At the same time, the notion of nationalism, as important in politics as in education, died hard as indicated in the Wiltshire Memorandum, 1910. It stated that:

> "The amount of information a child can retain is small, and efforts to make it extensive are thrown away, but it is most important that a child should realize before he leaves school how his country is governed, what he inherits from the past, and what duties he owes as a patriot, and a citizen". [13]

For sure, the committee had realized the massive amount of facts to be studied in history. Rigorous selection of content on agreed criteria was perhaps the only sensible way to reduce it. Nevertheless, the general consensus seemed to be that anything could go except national history. This was reflective of the continued stress on national citizenship whether it was promoted through history, geography or the whole curriculum. The emphasis was consistently on national history. The training it would provide was therefore training for citizenship at the national level, in particular.

Hayward was more progressive in his thought. He had noted that mere dispensation of knowledge was an insufficient and ineffective way of training for citizenship. [14] Thus he urged for more stress to be laid on the transmission of values.

> "the high sense of duty, the patriotic devotion, the subordination of self interest to the good of the community and the magnificent conception of public service." [15]

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[13] *Minutes of the Wiltshire Education Committee*. 24 June, 1910, pp. 16-17.

[14] Hayward, F. H. *Day and Evening Schools: their management and organisation*, Ralph, Holland and Co., 1910, pp. 355-7.

[15] *ibid.* p. 355.

Very much involved with the great public schools, Hayward was also a supporter of public elementary schools. He urged that the spirit of great public schools should be imported to the elementary schools as he saw the moral climate of the school was as important as historical facts in promoting good citizenship. This idea of his is still present in the minds of many educationists. The ethos of the school is still believed to be an important area for shaping young children for better citizenship today.

The presence of both continuity and change in history and in citizenship education continued during the First World War. There were a number of publications which geared towards a more positive form of citizenship education. The war itself also had an impact on the discussions as to the type of citizenship education which society should seek for after the war. Hughes' *Citizen to Be* was a typical one, in which she expressed the hope that the elementary history syllabus would rid itself of "the details of remote wars, of court intrigues, of royal pedigrees, of much constitutional history." [16] Certainly Hughes meant her book to be used in history lessons. Her shift from viewing history for promoting patriotic citizenship to progressive citizenship was characteristic of the beginnings of a general shift away from more chauvinistic views. When the First World War was over, it was possible for history to include wider views on citizenship education.

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[16] Hughes, M. L. V. *Citizens To Be*, Constable, 1917, p. 148.

History for International Citizenship

Significant changes in the attitude towards using history as a form of citizenhip education were necessitated by post-World War I society. A history which reflected nationalism, and which was capable of producing law-obeying citizens of the nation was seen as insufficient to lead the new generation into social reconstruction. On the one hand, there was the pressure to introduce an expanded concept of citizenship education. On the other, there were variations among the historians as to how history could best be used to transmit citizenship education.

Two polarised ideas about history teaching for citizenship could be traced. [17] Firstly there was the 'horrors of war' — the *pacifist school of thought*, which believed that history teaching could help to avoid war, and argued that nationalism was the prime cause of war. So narrow, nationalistic history content should be removed from the syllabus. Protagonists of this school of thought believed in the ability of history to promote international citizenship and thus to avoid war. They advocated the study of world history which would foster international cooperation and social progress. Secondly, there existed a continuing support for the study of national history — the *nationalist school of thought*. It stressed patriotic pride in the navy, the army and the unity of the empire. It accepted history's contribution to the education for imperial citizenship and showed little enthusiasm for change. This group had probably unconsciously launched an attack on the pacifist school of thought in history teaching as early as 1916 at the A.G.M. of the Historical Association, where

[17] Elliot *op. cit.* p. 40.

all speakers favoured the teaching of naval history, and the whole audience was 'exhilarated with the imperial ideas'. The only organisation at that time which was in support of *the pacifist school of thought* was the League of Nations Union which argued for the inclusion of the aims and instruction of the League of Nations in history. History syllabuses according to this union should be purged of war if they were to become an effective instrument for peace.

This *nationalist school of thought* was as emphatic in preserving imperial ideas as *the pacifist school* was in promoting change. However, both schools had some common grounds of agreement on history teaching, and on history as an instrument for citizenship education. They both agreed that the past could be used to explain the present, therefore history teaching must include contemporary social, economic and political issues, not least citizenship issues.

The belief in the efficacy of history to explain and draw conclusions spread far beyond the university teaching of the subject. In 1918, despite the difference of ideas between the pacifist group and the nationalist group, the discipline of history entered a new period of popularity. It stood in high esteem in universities and schools and with the Board of Education, examination boards and the general public. With the expansion of the syllabus to include contemporary European and world history, and often that of each school's locality, a new relevance was promised. History could foster local, national, European and world citizenship. These underlying objectives for history were reinforced in 1923 by the Board of Education, in its Pamphlet No. 37, *The Teaching of History*. It stated that the period after the First World War was a period

> "in which the arguments for studying history, both on the civic and international side, have been brought home to us and intensi-

fied in a way never possible before." [18]

The pamphlet went on to give a clear view of the character of history teaching in the primary and secondary schools. In the primary sector, the pamphlet suggested that the pupils should follow a course of general stories drawn from all countries, by which the first interest in history should be inspired. [19] In secondary schools an unbroken course in English history from the first form onward to the first school examination was proposed. The work should be planned in line with the Board's Circular on *The Teaching of History in Secondary Schools*, No. 599, 1908. This advocated the giving of a complete survey of English history, with European history as ancillary to it. The advance in History in the schools had to some extent kept pace with the public desire to study the history of other countries which had been stimulated by the First World War. The aim of history teaching was to implant firmly in pupils' minds what the committee considered as fundamental outline and to extend their range of ideas, enrich their minds and give them a world-wide interest. [20] In modern terms, it would be to foster international citizenship. In the advanced course, a period of English history and a corresponding period of European history should be given. This would provide history a wider opportunity to cover the expanded notion of citizenship of the inter-war period.

Equally history teaching was intended to have concern for social and civic issues. The pamphlet had a section on social and civic education in which it discussed the more recent development in history for this purpose. Social

[18] Board of Education, *The Teaching of History*, Pamphlet No. 37, HMSO, 1923, p. 9.

[19] *ibid.* p. 12.

[20] *ibid.* p. 17.

history was given attention in all classes. It was hoped that through the study of the account of the developing life of the whole people of the country, some kind of social education could be promoted. This connected well with the increased attention given to local history which was another growing feature in history.

The concern for civic and social issues in the teaching of history indicated that the teaching of civics as a separate subject was not taken seriously. Most teachers, unlike those in the United States, preferred to allow the lessons which civics would import to flow naturally from the ordinary school course. General opinion was that history could contribute to this part of citizenship education. Thus it followed that some teaching of modern history and modern problems was vital in history lessons.

Throughout the 1920s optimism for history both as a subject in itself and as a citizenship subject continued. It was urged by Hadow's committee in 1926 that the study of history was of "first importance". [21] This positive view reached a peak by the end of the 1920s and continued to be strong in the 1930s. The protagonists of citizenship education (The League of Nations Union, The Association for Education in Citizenship) did not hesitate to seek more support from all subjects to promote the study of citizenship in schools. From the two major books published by the Association in the 1930s, it was clear that the Association sought to promote citizenship education through all subjects in

[21] Board of Education, *The Education of the Adolescent.* 1926, p. 195.

the school curriculum. [22] The League of Nations Union also continued their campaign to encourage the subject lobbies to include the aims and instruction of the League of Nations in their teaching, as a device for promoting, in particular, international citizenship. Anybody who glanced at the Covenant of the League would detect a number of words, supposedly for the purpose of educating for citizenship, which were either ethical or moral, and particularly so in the Preamble:

> "In order to promote international co-operation, and to achieve international peace and security...."

The teachers were urged to take care to use these words and phrases with a certain frequency in general instruction, and thus informally prepared the way for their employment in the recital of the League's activities. The ultimate goal was for them to assimilate and practise these values. [23] Most of them were related concepts of international citizenship, such as cooperation, peace, security, obligation, law, justice, sincerity, representations, voting, aggression, political independence, arbitration, convention, decision, dispute, mutuality, freedom of conscience, mitigation of suffering, etc.

Some work in relation to history teaching was carried out by the League. History was advocated as a subject capable of dealing with international citizenship issues. In its agenda for second session, 1935, the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching drew up a programme for the teaching of

[22] Association for Education in Citizenship, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*. 1935 and Association for Education in Citizenship, *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools*. 1939.

[23] Gould, F. J., *The League of Nations Spirit in the Schools*. Watts and Co., 1927, p. 3.

history. Some changes of conventional history teaching were necessary. It endeavoured to formulate certain general considerations in this connection with regard to the teaching in the matter of international relations and the League of Nations. [24]. Its interest in using history to cover this area indicated the preconceived notion of history as a citizenship subject. The following year, a report was made on *The League of Nations and Teaching of History and Geography.* [25] Suggestions were given on how history and geography could be used as a tool for teaching the League's notion of citizenship. In Britain, the League of Nations Union was in the position to carry out promotional work and provide help to teachers. It commented that history

> "undoubtedly offers ample opportunity for implanting in the hearts and minds of young people League ideas, such as the guaranteeing of an international system of law involving the limitation of national sovereignty in consequence of the renunciation of war as a final argument, the necessity for collaboration between peoples in the economic and intellectual sphere, and the ideal of humanity and peace." [26]

The Association for Education in Citizenship was another organisation which added pressure to introduce citizenship education into the school curriculum. Having failed to set up a separate subject for citizenship, its alternative method was to give impetus to other subjects to cover the citizenship area. Thus in its publication, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*, Doyle claimed history's responsibility for the education of a democratic cit-

[24]League of Nations, "Second Session of the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching", *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, Vol. 2, 1935, p. 173

[25]League of Nations, "The Teaching of History and Geography". *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, Vol. 3, 1936.

[26]*ibid.* p. 16.

izen. Four years later in *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools*, Strong made a similar statement:

> "If it comes as some surprise to certain readers of this book that there are so many subjects in the elementary school curriculum through which it is possible for citizenship to be taught, there are, on the other hand, probably few teachers who would be disposed to deny that history is the most positively civic subject of all." [27]

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, it was assumed that neither education for international understanding nor education for democracy sufficed in themselves as an effective education in citizenship, judged as peace education. Neither the League of Nations nor Association for Education in Citizenship succeeded in their common aim to prevent war.

The challenge for history to contribute to world citizenship was more apparent not immediately after the Second World War but from 1950 onwards. This was evident in Education Pamphlet No. 52. [28]

> "In 1952 the Ministry of Education published a pamphlet called *Teaching History*. It was concerned with the whole field of history teaching from primary through to adult education. This further pamphlet, on world history, does not seek to replace *Teaching History* but rather to consider one of the principal challenges to traditional history syllabuses that has developed since the date when the earlier pamphlet was published. It is a movement which has already shown itself in the introduction, into schools and public examinations, of syllabuses no longer concerned mainly with British history, or with Commonwealth or European history, but with topics taken from world history, intended to encourage a better understanding of world affairs today." [29]

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[27] Strong, C. F., "Training for Citizenship through History" in *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools*, AEC, 1939.

[28] DES, *Towards World History*. Education Pamphlet No. 52, HMSO, 1967.

The main change that world history introduced was the attempt to make the world look like a whole. Topics of major civilisations in the past or of world significance were treated in their own right, free from bias and impartiality. This type of world history syllabuses represented a new development in history teaching at this time. It was the continuation of the link between history and citizenship education in the context of promoting international and world citizenship of the inter-war period. World history still remained in the current history curriculum, though the emphasis was more often on national history than world history.

History as Social Education

After the Second World War, the social studies movement posed a challenge to traditional subjects for their contribution to citizenship education. For those in favour of traditionalism, geography and history were the most appropriate subjects in citizenship education as reflected in the Norwood Report, which stated

> "It is in such a treatment of history...that we believe the best contribution can be made in schools to the growth of an informed democracy...the instruction (i.e. citizenship) springs most naturally from the study of ordinary school subjects, particularly history..." [30]

Among historians, Burston argued

[29] *ibid.* p. 4.

[30] Norwood, S. Sir, *Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools. Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council, a Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education*, HMSO, 1943, p. 100.

"there are few who would doubt that history can help to make our pupils better citizens. Some go farther, and say that if history is properly taught, no new subject, such as civics is needed." [31]

Burston's conclusion was that

"History imparts that touch of intuition which the sagacious citizen needs in handling the future, and we must never forget that the citizen's task is invariably to decide future policy, rather than to pronounce judgement on the past." [32]

These were examples of the rhetorics supportive of history as a contributor to citizenship education. In actual fact, history was already facing a challenge.

In 1950, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters (IAAM) reported that current methods of history teaching had been attacked in the light of new ideas about the aims of education and about the content of curriculum. [33] However, it held firmly that history was

"well fitted to exercise and improve certain skills of mind: weighing of evidence, detecting bias, appraising the probable, and separate it from the impossible, recognising cause and effect; recommending it also for its capacity to enlarge sympathy and to develop a questioning attitude. Special attention, it was argued, should be paid to those branches of history which increase interests in one's surroundings...in particular, it was urged that pupils should know something of the problems of organised societies and of their political inheritance so that citizenship should not be merely negative and passive." [34]

[31] Burston, W. H "The Contribution of History to Education in Citizenship", *History*, Vol. 33, 1948, pp. 225-40.

[32] *ibid.* pp.239-40.

[33] Betts, R. "Developments in History Teaching in England and West Germany", *Teaching History*, No. 34, 1982. p. 10-13.

[34] *ibid.* p. 11.

Certainly the IAAM was arguing for history's relevance for citizenship education. So long as its social purpose could be preserved and content and method of teaching for this purpose improved, there could be no danger that it was losing ground. But then history was open to the challenge of social studies — an approach which was thought would better meet the needs of society. New attitudes toward education encouraged the expansion of material for history in terms of aspect (social and economic) and scale (world and local). History had already too much subject matter to be covered in school syllabuses. Thus there arose the problem of selection. Further, some space needed to be created for covering expanded matter, most of which had a citizenship orientation or at least implied the transmission of citizenship values through the content and experience of history lessons and activities. Such problems of selection created opportunities to follow American examples whereby history was linked to social studies. In America, history had already been subsumed into integrated courses in elementary and secondary schools — mainly in social studies. But in Britain, the subject lobby was strong. History would not easily be dislodged from the school curriculum, but needed to respond to this challenge. Thus history began to change its content and aims to contribute to what social studies claimed as their area of citizenship education. When social studies was losing ground and new social studies movement began in the 1960s, history's challenge to cover the social area of citizenship was gaining support, leading to the movement of the new history.

The New History and its link with modern citizenship

By the 1970s widespread change was evident in the teaching of history. The Historical Association sponsored the publication of *Teaching History*, a journal which could bring new teaching strategies to history teachers in all corners of Britain. The Schools Council set up two projects : *History, Geography and Social Science 8-13* and *History 13-16* in the early 1970s. Both of them initiated change in history teaching. The movement known as the 'New History' was underway.

History, Geography and Social Science 8-13 project adopted a unique approach which favoured the fostering of active citizenship. It looked at every teaching situation as characterised by the interaction between four variables - children, teachers, schools and environments. Of course citizenship formation was seen as interaction of more than just these four variables. The following ideas taken from *Spotlights* connected it to citizenship education: [35]

1. the project emphasises critical thinking;
2. the project emphasises empathy;
3. the project's subject area is a *sensitive* area;
4. Place, Time and Society 8-13 must be closely related to the rest of the curriculum and to the rest of schooling;
5. the project emphasises *interrelation* rather than integration.

The idea of interrelation rather than integration as reflected in this Schools

[35] Blyth, W. A. L. *Spotlights*, Schools Council Project: History, Geography, and Social Science 8-13, Univ. of Liverpool: School of Education, 1973.

Council *History, Geography and Social Science 8-13* project provided the source of key concepts for the teachers to base their selection of content, as in the issue of empathy. It also demonstrated history and geography's relationships with other social sciences and how more effectively they could be used to foster education for modern citizenship. Clearly, it emphasised the fostering of critical thinking which was necessary for participation. It also laid less emphasis on content and more on the process of learning. [36] Thus teaching was through the enquiry approach and content was selected according to the educational objectives to be achieved and the historical skills to be acquired. In this way, history was made capable of enabling pupils to develop the various skills of active citizenship. It provided initiation for changing the link between history and citizenship from its more passive role to its more active role.

The *History 13-16* project was another example of the new history which adopted a more progressive enquiry approach. The project was really seen as to help teachers to help themselves after the publication of the article, "History in Danger" by Mary Price in 1968. [37] This project also aimed to encourage teachers to promote more pupil participation in their study of history, thus in a way promoting the ideas of modern participative citizenship.

The project inherited old ideas of chronology but appeared to accept a more rational use of history in education. It considered history and integrated studies in *A New Look at History*, a publication of this project which considered the teaching of new history. [38] It made the case for history as a

[36] Jones, R. B. (ed), *Practical Approaches to the New History*, Hutchinson, 1973.

[37] Price, M. "History in Danger", *History*, Vol. 53, 1968, pp. 342-7.

[38] Schools Council, *A New Look at History*, History 13-16 project, Holmes McDougall, 1976.

useful subject. It also considered new methods of history teaching. Holmes McDougall published four pupil series in association with this project. The relevant series for citizenship education came as the *Modern World Studies* series, consisting of *Conflict in Ireland*, *China*, *Arab-Israeli Conflict*, and *The Move to European Unity*. They not only brought forward the discussion of political issues, but also the discussion of controversial issues.

Developments in new history have taken place in the universities where the content of undergraduate history courses began to change. The most significant swing was towards the modern period and towards world history. Blows found that the great majority of universities taught English and European history post 1939, and almost all offered courses on American, and nearly half on African, history. [39] Asa Briggs, in an interesting discussion of recent developments in history after school, has pointed to social history as being one of the two areas of most rapid developments in the 1970s. [40] Methods of teaching and studying history were also changing. These changes were translated to the school situation. During the 1970s, there was also a noticeable swing from preoccupation with the content of the history lesson to a concern for the ways in which children came to understand history. Thus the two Schools Council projectsdiscussed earlier both contained a chapter on the nature of history. Curriculum planning was objective-based, getting teachers to think carefully about what they were seeking to achieve and, in particular, it led to a heavier emphasis on deductive thought and skill acquisition, another aspect

[39] Dufour, B. *New Movements in the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Maurice Temple Smith, 1982, p. 154.

[40] *ibid.* p. 154.

related to citizenship education.

The assumption underlying the chronological outline syllabus, that the pupil could gain a sense of development and change, and a grasp of chronology was called into question, though not totally discredited. The History 13-16 Project, for example, adopted a 'study in development' as a part of its examination syllabus. Pupils studied the development of medicine from early times so that they may better understand 'the process by which change takes place in human affairs and continuities from the past survive into the present'. [41] As the chronological outline syllabus declined in popularity, so study in depth became more fashionable. The new history was reflected in the structure of history syllabus. The History 13-16 Project survey of 'O' level and CSE Mode I syllabuses in 1971 and 1972 respectively found that, in both, 94 % of pupils studied modern history either as British social and economic history, as British and or European history, or as world history. [42] The rapid increase in the popularity of world history in school was a striking feature of history teaching in the 1960s, and was perhaps a comment on Britain's declining world position and increasingly multi-racial society. It continued to flourish in the 1970s, but faced increasingly competition for time from the various branches of social history, particularly local and environmental history, family history and historical demography.

The increasing emphasis on activity method of the new history had led to attention being paid to simulation and drama technique. Teachers favouring

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[41] Schools Council, 1976, quoted in Steele, I. "The New History in Schools: From Content to Understanding" in ibid. p. 160.

[42] *ibid.* p 161.

simulations had argued that they called on a range of skills, including the ability to use sources, communicate ideas, and appreciate other people's points of view, as well as providing the experience of making decisions. Thus, it was claimed the new history provided a better working relationship between the pupils and the teachers through the methods of simulation, and activity approach.

Many of the ideas of the new history were not new, but the perceived threat to history's place in the curriculum gave them added impetus. [43] This new approach made for a stronger commitment to the transmission of citizenship values and skills in history lessons. Elton explained that history teaching in school should not attempt to pre-empt what university courses offered, but should develop a kind of mind,

> "flexible and open to new ideas but at the same time capable of assessing them against the traditional, aware of mankind in its variety,"

which would be valuable for the vast majority if not all school pupils whatever their future intentions might be. [44] In this way, citizenship education could find a comfortable home in history, and history could demonstrate its capacity to incorporate it. Holloway and Heater were theoretical writers holding this view. [45] They both argued that an association between history and

[43]Patrick, H *The Aims of Teaching History in Secondary Schools*, University of Leicester School of Education, Occasional Paper, 1987, p. 4.

[44]See Elton, G. R. "What sort of history should we teach ?" in Ballard, M. (ed.) *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History*, Temple Smith, 1970, p. 226.

[45]Holloway, S. W. F. "History and Sociology: What history is and ought to be", in Burston, W. H and Thompson, D. (eds.) *Studies in the Nature and Teaching of History*, Routledge, 1967. See also, Heater, D. "History and the Social Sciences" in *ibid.* p. 134.

social studies was necessary. Heater suggested that the syllabus should be constructed either chronologically or on an era basis, and the material should be selected for its usefulness in exemplifying social science concepts, as well as for its inherent historical significance.

The idea of association of history and social studies, had brought about a significant and lasting effect on the methods of the teaching of history in British schools. In the context of the development of and changes in citizenship education it was worth looking at since its main objective was to bring out relevance of the subject for the practical needs of the pupils in their daily life and in their future life. The fact that the new history was more flexible than the old meant it could create more opportunities for citizenship issues to be explored. Through the enquiry method, the children could acquire information and perceive relationships, draw conclusions and make decision. The mental training and the broadening of experience that this made possible was a fine education for young people. In this way, both the nature of history and the citizenship value of history were seen to be maintained.

After a decade of development, new history was officially questioned on the grounds that 'real' history was being devalued through this approach. In many schools in the 1980s, history continued to be taught through a chronological or an era approach. Enquiry approaches did not take off widely. In many schools the emphasis remained on history for its own sake. Historical facts were stressed more than approaches. Its contribution to citizenship education thus tended to swing back to that of providing civic education. But it was at least generally different from the 'drum and trumpet' history of the earlier period. Some references of history's preparation for its continuing contribution

to citizenship education also remained. It could be found in the document *History from 5-16.* [46] Two of the aims of history teaching stated in this document were:

> "to contribute to personal and social education by developing certain attitudes and values; for example a respect for evidence; and toleration of a range of opinions;" [47] and
>
> "to communicate clearly, employing a wide range of media." [48]

Both of them were related to current aims for citizenship education. At the end of this document it made a number of claims of history's capacity to cover different areas of citizenship education and cross-curricular dimensions and themes. The following are some of them:

> "1. History is well placed to enrich the school curriculum, and to prepare young people for life in contemporary society. It can contribute for example to developing *economic understanding* in that a great deal of history is concerned with material questions of production, trade, the generation and distribution of wealth and the social consequences of these activities. History has traditionally been, and remains, one of the main sources of *political and civic education.* It should help people to learn about the development of our major political institutions (parliament, the monarchy, central and local government and the political parties) and practices (the franchise, pressure groups and free speech, for example). Pupils also need to know of the major past and recent political issues over which people have disagreed, and they should acquire the political skills and attitudes upon which democracy is based, such as debate and toleration. A well-conceived course of history should not only pay scrupulous attention to objectivity and avoid political bias — it will, by its very nature, give young people the means to identify

[46] DES, *History from 5-16*, Curriculum Matters 11, HMI series, HMSO, 1988.

[47] *ibid.* p. 3.

[48] *ibid.* p. 3.

and resist indoctrination.
2. History has a particularly important role to play in preparing pupils to participate in multi-ethnic society.
3. Health education is another cross-curricular area where history can play a part. A study of the development of medical practice and public health initiatives can help young people to see that in medicine, as in democracy, the efforts and struggles of the past are embodied in arrangements which can all too easily be taken for granted if their historical perspective is missing. The study of the history of public health will also provide interesting insights into the assumptions, beliefs and organisation of societies in other places, at other times.
4. History is centrally concerned with the human and social area because it is essentially concerned with people, either as identifiable individuals or as people in groups of varying sizes, from families to states, nations and beyond.
5. Because history is essentially concerned with human actions and intentions it inevitably involves the making of judgements about people's actions. It therefore contributes importantly to the moral and spiritual areas of learning. It also demonstrates that the concept of morality is common to all societies, albeit differently perceived and interpreted. It enables schools to affirm our society's own values and attitudes, and helps to make clear to pupils that a defining human characteristic is the continuing search for ultimate meanings and purposes." [49]

At the end of this document, it again emphasised that:

> "A successful course in history ought to contribute towards the development of broadly-educated people who are effective in their various roles as citizens, parents and contributors to the common good." [50]

Thus it brings to light the continuity and change of history's link to cover different areas of citizenship education throughout the twentieth century.

[49] *ibid.* p. 25-27.

[50] *ibid.* p. 28.

Having said that, attention should also be drawn to Purkis' article in *Teaching History*, "The Unacceptable Face of History?". [51] It brought to light some of the hidden agendas of history teaching, such as the continuing influence of R. J. Unstead, considered as the brand leader in school history. Though in the 1960s and 1970s, history had been felt to be experiencing rapid change, which seemed to favour the promotion of citizenship education, Purkis revealed that the most influential of the history school texts in primary and secondary education remained those of Unstead , published in the 1950s.

> "History teachers everywhere would agree that for more than twenty years our brand leader has been R. J. Unstead, some of whose early works the publishers A. & C. Black are now re-issuing. Although some of the material has been re-arranged - for example, making what was originally one book into two by adding photographs, maps, an index and sometimes a bibliography - the text remains substantially what it was in 1959...
> His approach is structured, safe and conventional, using a chronology that traditional teachers, especially those non-specialists teaching in primary schools, remember from their own schooldays. He emphasises the long-running, happy and glorious success story of the great(white) British people." [52]

The potential of history and its link with citizenship education in the National Curriculum will be discussed in chapter 10.

Summary

We have traced four different links between history and citizenship education during this century. These four links coincided with the four periods of devel-

[51] Purkis, S. "The Unacceptable Face of History?" *Teaching History*, Vol. 26, 1980, pp. 34 8.

[52] ibid. p. 34.

opments of citizenship education discussed earlier, in Chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5. In the first place, history demonstrated its connections with moral and civic education early this century, when citizenship education transmitted was also mainly in the form of moral and civic education. History was, in fact, being used as the main subject for this purpose while contributing to an imperial breed of passive, patriotic citizens. There appeared to have no emphasis on participation and active citizenship, which would indeed not have been generally well regarded at this time.

In the second place, history changed its emphasis in its link with citizenship education after the First World War, when there was an overall broadening of the concept of citizenship. This was the inter-war period which was covered in Chapter 3. This time, there appeared active efforts to link citizenship with international citizenship. It claimed that it had the capacity to foster international understanding, to promote peace, and to create mutual understanding between peoples of the world. The cautious introduction of world history into the curriculum was another indication of its switch of emphasis from association with the narrow and strictly national form of citizenship education, to the wider international and global citizenship education. As we have seen, the pressure for change during that time, came from international organisations like the League of Nations. History's link with this broader outlook on citizenship education continued into the post-war period. To an extent it was intercepted in the 1980s when the new history was questioned and we witnessed at least a partial return to chronological and era approach in history teaching. Even so, there remained a continuity in the link between history and the wider concept of citizenship education.

The third link of history with citizenship education was the link with social studies directly, and the link with social education indirectly. This was the period of social studies movement which we have already seen in Chapter 4. History claimed itself to be able to contribute to what social studies could offer to citizenship education during the 1950s and the 1960s. The demise of the old social studies was interpreted as the gain of the history and geography lobbies. In other words they were able to convince various layers of the society that they could contribute effectively to social education, and perhaps in a less confusing way than social studies courses. During the period of the older social studies movement, history was emphasised as being able to "enlarge sympathy", to deal with "problems of organised societies and their political inheritance", and so on.

The fourth link was established with the introduction of the new history in the 1970s. This was the period of development of political education and new initiatives as different forms of citizenship education, we have seen in Chapter 5. During the same time, the new history provided a clear demonstration of continuity and change in its link with citizenship education in various ways. It showed a relationship not only with the broader view of citizenship education, but also a hidden relationship which it had long had in its capacity to foster civic education. The association with social studies was still emphasised. The new history introduced new approaches to learning and teaching, whereby pupils were exposed to enquiry, process learning, activity, and participation. This was potentially a vital new link in promoting active and democratic citizenship. How this developed after 1988 will be dealt with in chapter 10.

Chapter 7

Geography and Citizenship Education

Early claims for geography's contribution to citizenship education

The relationship between geography and education for citizenship has for long been associated with one of the subject's claims for a place in the curriculum. Suggestions that geography should be included in the school curriculum, for example, were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the grounds of the increase in Britain's international and overseas trade coupled with the gradual development of a middle class of merchants demanding greater knowledge of the world. [1] In other words it was claimed that knowing and understanding of other parts of the world served a citizenship end. However, there was no evidence that these counsels were ever widely put into practice. How

[1] Graves, N. J. *Geography in Education*, Heinemann Educational, 1975.

could geography contribute to citizenship education if it was not part of the curriculum in school ? The answer was obviously that it had to secure a place in the curriculum first. In retrospect its success in gaining a place in the curriculum was arguably partly due to its contribution to citizenship education. The achievement began largely in the nineteenth century. Thus Watson, who made a study of the growth of modern subjects in English schools found it difficult to trace a single reference to the teaching of geography in secondary schools in earlier times, though apparently at Westminster school members of certain forms were instructed after supper (in summer only) in the finding of places on 'mappes'. [2] Much of the evidence suggested that whatever geography was taught by private tutors or learned individuals through the books which were undoubtedly published in the seventeenth centuries, the public and grammar schools did little or nothing to teach the subject. It was only in the eighteenth century that one began to see some stereotypical forms of geography being taught in a number of schools, concentrating on basic physical and political geography, increasingly by means of catechetical methods.

Geography for imperial citizenship

With the coming of the nineteenth century, geography began to be used increasingly for disseminating imperial citizenship — the notion of 'citizenship' which dominated the Victorian era and lasted till the middle of the twentieth century. At this time there was also a marked growth in the teaching

[2] See also Graves, N. J. 'An investigation into the teaching of Asia in English and Welsh secondary schools', in Gupta, S. D. and Romanowska-Lakshmanan, T., (ed) *T. G. U. Abstract of papers*, Calcutta, 1968.

of geography in schools, though it obtained only a tentative place in a few universities [3]. The scope of geography teaching was very limited, however. Generally it would consist of lists of towns, rivers or names of countries; committing to memory numerous little rhymes, jingles or catechisms. The aim was to imperialise with emphasis on the British Empire and its peoples while playing down the underdogs of all other nations. A citizenship training was intended, albeit highly chauvinistic — imperial citizenship as we would name it in modern terms. Thus children learned by heart negative stereotypes of other peoples as if they were lists of rivers or towns.

In those glorious empire days, geography certainly offered knowledge important for the citizens of the day the science of distances, the science of the merchant, the statesman and the strategist, which appeared to make a command of geography vital both for the maintenance of the empire itself and the ascent of men to the most acclaimed positions of profit and power within it. [4] National pride swelled as the accounts of British territorial discoveries and colonial expansion were disseminated. Explorers like David Livingstone and Charles Darwin with their discoveries of new lands, were great names to conjure with. [5] Geography's dissemination in schools was strongly supported by the Royal Geographical Society, bringing together its twin purposes of pro-

[3] Goodson, I F *School Subjects and Curriculum Change: Case Studies in Curriculum History*, Croom Helm, 1983.

[4] Robertson, G. S "Political geography and the Empire", *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 16, p 48

[5] Marsden, W. E. "All in a good cause: geography, history and the politicization of the curriculum in the 19th and 20th century England", J. of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 21, No. 6, 1989, p 509-26.

moting imperial growth and geographical education, its thinking based on the claim that geographical understandings would help

> "the future colonist to appraise the value of a country, the empire-builder to draw up advantageously the boundaries which partitioned continents, the military man to plan a campaign and the entrepreneur to control a large international business". [6]

The Royal Geographical Society was indeed an influential part of the political establishment. Its leading members were imperialist in their views, as in the case of Douglas Freshfield. Even though pedagogically a progressive, he still considered it appropriate to condition British children to believe their role to be the greatest rulers, merchants and colonisers in the world. He once expressed that children had to be educated 'for this high destiny, through the study of geography' [7] The Royal Geographical Society was completely in accord with the Church of England and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools. Thus in the Reports of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878-9, HMI reinforced the role of geography as a patriotic study, for "it makes our children alive to the position of their country in the world." [8]

At this stage , much of the knowledge that was taught remained at the first stage of the classical geography's twin objectives. [9] This meant a memorisation of facts which would neither interest the children nor provide them

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[6]quoted in *ibid.* 1989, p. 513.

[7]*ibid.* 1989, p. 513.

[8]see Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878-9, HMI, p. 643.

[9]Classical geography sought to organise knowledge in two stages: in the first stage, facts and details of geographical phenomena were collected and presented, and in the second stage these were given coherence and made intelligible by being subsumed under a number of laws. Refer also to Goodson *op. cit.* p. 61.

with a balanced understanding of contemporary issues. This association of geography with fact learning made it unfitted for use in elite secondary schools. Its academic status was improved after Mackinder read his famous paper "On the Scope and Methods of Geography" which aroused the attention of many geographers and geographical educationists alike. [10] In it, he formulated his ideal of the subject, defining it as tracing the interaction of man and his environment. In pursuit of this aim, the need was to link the study of physical and political geography. "It is the duty of geographer", he wrote, "to build one bridge over the abyss which in the opinion of many is upsetting the equilibrium of our culture. Lop off either limb of geography and you maim it in its noblest part." [11]

His man-environment conception was one thing which together with Herbertson's later formulation of the regional concept revitalised the teaching of geography in British schools. Mackinder was not only a theorist. He subsequently applied his theoretical ideas to practical questions in his teaching and writing. [12]. His synthesis of geography with history, which he believed strongly made good sense for the education of children in the elementary schools, was explicit in his well known *Geography and History* series. He saw both geography and history in the schools as important contribution to "the equipment of the modern citizen", [13] hence keeping alive the oldest claim of the subject,

[10] Gopsill, G. H ,*The Teaching of Geography*, Macmillan, 1973.

[11] His paper was published in *The Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*. Vol.9, No. 3, 1887, pp. 141-74.

[12] A selection of his papers and school textbooks are included in the bibliography

[13] Roxby, P. M. "Mr. Mackinder's books on the teaching of geography and history", *Geographical Teacher*, Vol.7, No.40, 1914, p. 404.

i.e. its contribution to citizenship education. He considered that

> "For the ordinary, intelligent citizen, history and geography are, or should be inseparable, jointly helping him to orientate himself, his home and his country in time and space. It is therefore vital that the future citizen should win both 'perspective in space' and perspective in 'the stream of time'." [14]

His series covered all the years in the elementary school, systematically extending the knowledge of history and geography but with much emphasis on the British Isles, which he believed was the basic knowledge which all citizens ought to know. The last book of the series, *The Modern British State*, was an introduction to the study of civics, and marked the final stage of the school course. For him, geography and history gave the children a broad outlook on the modern world. By the end of the elementary school, they could approach the study of the social organism, as members of which they had to play their part in life. Thus his last book of this series was an "admirable analysis and description of the component parts of our 'body politic', clear, concise and illuminating." [15]

Mackinder was more than a geographical educationalist. He was a major geopolitician and eminent member of the imperial establishment, and for him citizenship for the British meant imperial citizenship. He wrote in the *Geographical Teacher* in 1911.

> "Let our teaching be from the British standpoint, so that finally we see the world as a theatre for British activity. This, no doubt, is to deviate from the cold and impartial ways of science, when we teach the millions, however, we are not training scientific

[14] *ibid.* p. 404.

[15] *ibid.* p 407.

> investigators, but the practical striving citizens of an empire which has to hold its place through the universal law of survival through efficiency and effort." [16]

Thus for him, geography is the most suitable subject for promoting citizenship education. In pedagogic and conceptual terms, his books for children were also in advance of time. But in the days of the early part of this century when feelings of imperialism and nationalism were both strong, there was no doubt where Mackinder's loyalties lay. While the true scientist he agreed should be seen to be politically neutral, he was clear that loyalty to country and empire had to come first. Thus Mackinder was highly successful in relating geographical education with imperial citizenship. The fact that some of his books went even to the ninth and some to the fourteenth edition suggested the wide application of his formula of geography and history for the social purpose of education of his day.

If geography is to contribute to citizenship education, geography must, first of all, be available for most children in school, and must be well established at the university as well. But geography was at the beginning of this century still less than well established in the secondary sector. This greatly reduced its usefulness in practice for citizenship education. No matter how influential Mackinder was, the teaching of geography in British schools left a good deal to be desired. Geography was widely presented as a "dull and uninteresting subject", still tainted by catechetical approaches, and the content was, no doubt, nationalistic and imperialistic. [17]

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[16] Mackinder, H. J. "The Teaching of Geography from the imperial point of view and the use which could and should be made visual instruction", *Geographical Teacher*, Vol.6, No.30, 1911, p. 79.

[17] Rooper, T. G. "On Methods of Teaching Geography", *Geographical Teacher*, Vol. 1, 1901,

The foundation of the Geographical Association in 1893 to further the knowledge of geography and the teaching of geography in all categories of educational institutions from preparatory school to university in the United Kingdom and abroad was extremely well timed. [18] Some of its recommendations were built into the 1902 Education Act. By 1904, geography was being included in the regulations for secondary schools, and this led geography qualifications to be included in examination board regulations. As soon as this was achieved, geography had made its first step towards a more extended offering in the schools, and had also provided the platform for bringing about the creation of a university base where the discipline could be created by scholars. At this time the promotion of geography teaching as a means of introducing education for modern citizenship was still latent. Geography syllabuses were mainly straightforward geography.

Geographical education for imperial citizenship was explicit in many geography textbooks until the mid-twentieth century. One of the reasons was perhaps the authors depended heavily on second hand material from travel books which usually purveyed a Eurocentric view of the situation, in which the bravery of white people predominated. [19] A common example was the way they wrote about the pygmies. Most writers said that they were dark and diminutive, collected forest produce and hunted small animals with blowpipes. [20] Horniblow, in his *Lands and Life Series: People and Children of*

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p 7

[18]Goodson, *op. cit.* p. 62.

[19]Marsden *op. cit* p 519.

[20]ibid. p. 519.

Wonderful Lands concluded that they were "not very nice people". [21] Fairgrieve and Young described negroes as the 'tattooed cannibals' in their *Human Geography: the Imperial Commonwealth*, published in 1931. Preece and Wood described the African agriculturist as "indolent with no incentive to steady work and progress and of little value for plantation work" in their widely used *Foundations of Geography*, published from 1938. In general, the stereotyping was negative. In *Africa*, Pickles devoted the majority of the space to the British territories of west Africa, which clearly represented imbalance of treatment as between the Empire and non-British lands. There was very little indeed unimperialistic treatment of the peoples of other lands in geography textbooks in the first half of the century, even though since the inter-war period, there were claims from geography that it contributed to fostering international citizenship.

Geography for promoting international understanding

The First World War did not stop the use of geography as a means of education for imperial citizenship. Many of the textbooks remained imperialist. Those which were published in the nineteenth century were still in use. Despite the continuity of imperialist education, there was also change. The counterpoint of League of Nations teaching was one of the influences for change. The constructive use of geography to promote international understanding,

[21] Hornblow, E. C. T. *Lands and Life Series: People and Children of Wonderful Lands*, The Grant Educational Co., 1930, p. 59.

cooperation and peace was another.

There was great need for social and regional reconstruction as a result of the war. The whole of society believed that education could contribute to the cause of peace. 'Citizenship' became, for the first time in this century, a major issue in all educational debates, and it aroused the interest of all subjects, geography being no exception.

Thus in 1919, the Council of the Geographical Association reported:

> "In teaching geography in schools we seek to train future citizens to imagine actually the interaction of human activities and their topographical conditions ... the mind of the citizen must have a topographical background if he is to keep order in the mass of information which he accumulates in the course of his life, and in these days the background must extend over the whole world." [22]

It was quick to announce geography's relevance to the new form of citizenship education. Both human and physical geography was brought out as aspects necessary for citizenship education. Not confining to local and national citizenship, the relevance of geography to cover global citizenship was also pointed out.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science made the first nationwide attempt to survey citizenship education in 1920. Its survey concluded that geography was a citizenship subject. Thus several geography syllabuses were instanced in their first report as examples of courses for citizenship education. In the second report, the committee suggested that the increased importance given to citizenship education was demonstrated by the increased importance given to history and geography as school subjects. British Associ-

[22]Council of the Geographical Association, "The Position of Geography" *Geographical Teacher*, Vol. 10, 1919, p. 91.

ation's Committee was also conservative in its notion of citizenship. The idea of world citizenship was rejected even though geography could have been the best subject to contribute to it. Thus the committee concluded that

> "world citizenship is doubtless the ideal of every serious reformer, whether he be a missionary of religion, of the League of Nations, of imperialism, or of communism, but the civics of the family, the school, the parish, the district, and the constituency are probably wide enough for most boys and girls to study in detail." [23]

Many educationists also had the same feeling. They recognised geography's contribution to imperial citizenship more than to world citizenship. Thus one headmaster claimed that

> "the whole history and a good deal of geography and much English literature and classical teaching offer plenty of scope for inculcating citizenship." [24]

What was implied was more likely to be inculcation of imperial citizenship rather than participative citizenship. Another reported that in his school,

> "there are no definite lessons (for citizenship education) in the middle part of the school. History and geography are, however, giving a distinctively 'imperial' bias ..." [25]

Geography was mentioned so many times as a subject for education for citizenship. Separate citizenship courses were not generally recommended by geographers. Thus in 1926, Fairgrieve published his famous *Geography in*

[23] British Association, *Report of the Committee on Training in in Citizenship*, Section L, presented at Edinburgh, Burlington, 1921, p. 362.

[24] *ibid.* p 363.

[25] *ibid.* 1921, p. 635.

School and put forward his claim of geography's contribution to citizenship education. He began saying that

> "the function of geography is to train future citizens to imagine accurately the conditions of the great world stage and so to help them to think sanely about political and social problems in the world around." [26]

He believed that the teaching of geography had a value not merely in school but also in the preparation for the realities of life. Thus he said

> "geography enables man to place himself in the world and to know where he stands with regards to his fellows, so that he will neither exaggerate nor diminish his own importance; it enables us to understand other people, to some extent, by comparison with ourselves. By a study of geography we are enabled to understand facts without a knowledge of which it is impossible to do a duty as a citizen of this very confusing and contradictory world." [27]

His claim and argument for the use of geography in the aspects of contributing to factual knowledge of citizenship was never challenged, and his work had been used as 'the bible of many young geography graduates about to embark on a career in secondary schools.' [28] His influence characterised the kind of geographical education and the opinion of the function of geography in education in the inter-war period and in the twenty-years following the Second World War. However, as already noted, Fairgrieve was also an imperialist.

The 1926 Feb. 5 issue of the *Teachers World* gave sympathetic attention to the subject of teaching about the League of Nations in school. Much of it drew attention to geography's contribution to include League Instructions. Robert

[26] Fairgrieve, J. *Geography in School*, Univ. Tutorial Press, 1926, p. 18.

[27] *ibid.* p. 20.

[28] Graves, N. J. *Geography in Education*, Heinemann, 1975, p. 53.

Finch indicated the aspects of geography indispensable in teaching about the League: Interdependency of nations, progress of civilization in combating diseases, reforming the labour force, imports and exports and economy growth. [29] The creation of the League in the inter-war period stimulated a new aspect of citizenship education which geography could support. Finch pointed out

> "teachers of seniors have naturally learned to make use of the various publications of the League of Nations Union in the preparation of geography lessons, and in keeping themselves well informed of changes and development that fall within the scope of their subject."

The League Union also published the quarterly "News Sheet" which consisted of invaluable information for teaching about the League of Nations in geography lessons.

For the juniors, Finch advised teachers to use 'League News' edited by F. J. Gould as resource for teaching about the League. [30] This represented the centre-point of the League of Nations teaching against imperial citizenship. Geography played a role in contributing to the wider concept of citizenship promoted by the League — the international and world citizenship. Its ultimate goal was to inculcate the concept of international cooperation and peace. The war had not only stimulated the creation of the League of Nations but with it had come the new concept of citizenship by extending ideas of national and imperial citizenship to incorporate international and world citizenship. Geography was seen as the most suitable subject for this purpose.

By the late 1920s and into the 1930s, there was evidence of some improve-

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[29] Finch, R. "Geography and the League", *The Teachers World*, Feb. 5, 1926, p. 934.

[30] *ibid.* p. 934.

ment in geography teaching. The Hadow Committee conceded that, "during the last twenty-five years the method of teaching geography has noticeably changed." It added that the main objective of geographical teaching then was to develop, as in the case of history, an attitude of mind and a mode of thought characteristic of the subject. The utilitarian reason to justify geography's presence in the school curriculum was that

> "travel and correspondence have now become general; the British dominions are to be found in every clime; and these facts alone are sufficient to ensure that the subject shall have an important place in the school timetable." [31]

With the general change of notion about citizenship, Hadow, the author of the Report, writing for the preface of *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools* noted that,

> "Citizenship is the heritage of all of us, and we all share the responsibility of bringing it to the highest stage of efficiency which the nature of the subject admits. Some topics, e.g. history, geography, economics and politics, are immediately germane and relevant; in other cases, such as biology, mathematics, art, and literature, the connection may be more direct, but the line of approach is equally continuous, and the whole makes up a corpus of education no branch of which can be safely neglected. The work of the classroom can be strengthened, collaborated by external activities, directed to the one end of inculcating the best kind of life, with as little possible of bias and partisanship and with the utmost of concentration and dispassionate judgement." [32]

Geographical knowledge was considered as relevant to wider definitive citi-

[31] Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Comittee: the Education of the Adolescent* (Hadow Report), HMSO, 1927.

[32] AEC, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*, Oxford University Press, 1935, Preface.

zenship education, to be so, it had to widen its scope. Goodson commented on the 'expansiveness' of geography in the 1930s, saying that it had become more and more a 'world citizenship' subject. Geographers themselves in the 1930s put geography ahead of other subjects in its contribution to the education of world citizenship. Professor Fleure asserted

> "...until the web of regional relationships the world over becomes apparent and significant to the average citizen, there can be no real conviction of the need for world citizenship, and without that conviction and conciousness, the claims of national citizenship cannot be seen in their proper perspective and are easily exploited to the detriment of other peoples and of the cause of human progress as a whole." [33]

He saw 'world citizenship' as important as national citizenship and for him geography was "the only medium through which he is (a citizen) likely to get essential outlines of a vital world picture." [34]

The pressure to promote geography's claims for a key role in citizenship education had obviously come from decades of debate on citizenship education and from response to pressure from the *Association for Education in Citizenship* in advocating for a separate subject of citizenship education. Such pressure had resulted in many geography textbook writers expressing the aims of citizenship as their primary aims no matter what the contents of their books might be. Pickles, for example, stressed the purpose of his *The British Isles* as "Training the minds of the most intelligent of our future citizens", though

[33] Fleure, H. J "Geography" in *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*, AEC, 1935, p 66

[34] *ibid.* p 67.

the book was narrowly geographical in its coverage. [35]

The influence of the League of Nations was evident in its propaganda for the use of geography as a means of teaching world citizenship and the complex inter-relationship between the peoples of the world. Evidence of such propaganda could be found in various League of Nations publications

the greatest number of such publications in relation to geography came out in the 1930s. *The Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, in particular, devoted a small section in each issue for geography. The article 'Geography and World Citizenship' in 1935 December issue claimed that the ' fundamental concept of modern geography' was itself contributory to education of world citizenship. [36] Further, in the third issue of 1936, the geography panel of the League of Nations Union Education Committee of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, by assuming as its principal task at this third session, the framing of a programme of work in geography teaching in relation to the study of the interdependence of nations and the resultant need for international co-operation, expressed explicitly their view that world geography commonly demanded more attention than it received in its task of establishing the notion of the interdependence of different region of the world. They considered that

> "a knowledge of character and of the necessary relations between human society and the environment in which they live is essential to the creation of the spirit of peace and international agreement, and that geography teaching, regarded as a means of disseminating this knowledge adapted to all ages, must contribute to the birth and development of such a spirit and to a realisation

[35] Pickles, T. *The British Isles*, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1935, p. v.

[36] Roxby, P. M. "Geography and World Citizenship", *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, No 2, 1935, p 179-86.

of the existence of a world order." [37]

In the same issue on "the League of Nations and the Teaching of History and Geography" further claims were made in geography's ability as a subject for the education of world order:

> "The great importance of the teaching of geography in connection with education in international cooperation is beyond question. Such education calls for a new intellectual attitude, comparable to the sense of mutual respect between individuals. The natural attitude of human mind is egocentric; and the teaching of geography affords a favourable opportunity for the transformation of this attitude and the enlargement of its horizon. Relative, as opposed to absolute, conceptions, and scales of magnitude, are even more readily combined in geography than they are in history, because they leap to the eye. Geography has the advantage of being able, from the first studies in physical geography, to give an equal place to all countries and all regions of the world. Individual countries are always viewed in relation to their climate, configuration, and resources, in that part of the world to which they belong; and the unity of the world is thus brought into prominence. Such teaching cannot, by its very nature, be other than objective, since it implies the idea of natural regions, which, by definition, are opposed to the artificial element inherent in political frontiers. The idea of hostility between peoples is excluded from it, and the mind is imbued with a spirit of 'relativism' which is well calculated to foster mutual understanding between nations and to make the younger generation feel that co-operation is the fundamental principle of the existence of even human society." [38]

Thus on the whole the United Kingdom educational committee of the League of Nations looked at the League as an organisation of definite geo-

[37] League of Nations, "Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching" *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1936, p. 149.

[38] League of Nations, "The League of Nations and The Teaching of History and Geography" *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, Vol. 3, No.3, 1936, p. 11.

graphical significance.[39] For them, every aspect of geography could be useful for the creation of mutual understanding and peace between nations, which was one element of citizenship education heavily emphasised in the 1930s.

The issue of citizenship was so much emphasised that Mrs. Hubback, the secretary of the Association for Education in Citizenship, offered a balanced treatment in the Yearbook of Education for 1936. On *New Ideas for Training in Citizenship*, she emphasised the use of geography for the aim of

> "developing some knowledge of the conditions, both economic and political, in which human beings live in different parts of the world, and of the problems which have to be solved,"

thus bringing geography to the forefront of the subjects contributing to the needs of the people and the training of citizens in the inter-war period.[40].

In 1939, when the Second World War broke out, the Association for Education in Citizenship published its second book on the teaching of citizenship in elementary schools. All subjects contributed to this book. For geography, J. B. Dempster, geography master of Dulwich Central School claimed geography's contribution "in the possibilities it offers for developing a sympathy for the lives and problems of other people."[41]

There was certainly enough rhetoric in the 1930s on the claims of geography as an effective means of citizenship education. However, in actual fact, the textbooks used by children were still slow to change. The teachers should

[39] "Suggestions regarding the Teaching of History and Geography", *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, No 3, 1936, p. 48.

[40] Hubback, E M. "New Ideas for Training in Citizenship" *The Yearbook of Education*, 1936, p. 532.

[41] Dempster, J. B. "Training for Citizenship through Geography" in *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools*, AEC, p. 81.

have been well informed about citizenship issues in education. Some geographers were inspired by these issues and supported their inclusion in geography teaching. Some made further and stronger claims. But again, the number could be fairly small. In most schools, the old geography was still dominant, Fairgrieve's work probably best illustrates the kind of geographical education which was in the ascendancy in the inter-war years and in the twenty years, following the Second World War. [42] Some characteristics of his influence were the emphasis on 'reality' and thus the development of a considerable vogue for field work in geography during this time; many schools collaborated in the first British Land Use Survey organised in the inter-war years by L. D. Stamp. [43] Since 'reality' could not be always observed at first hand, the needs of various kinds of teaching aids, pictures, slides, films and other audio-visual aids to learning was stressed. [44] Other developments were the use of sample and case studies. Just before World War II, Fairgrieve led the way by writing a series of books called *Real Geography* in collaboration with Ernest Young. [45] Since case study seemed to accord well with the use of Herbertson's natural regions and with the prevalent pre-occupation with regional geography of many university teachers of geography, the regional syllabus was almost the only syllabus used in schools in the inter-war years.

Following World War II, there was renewed enthusiasm for promoting citizenship education through various subjects. Geography was again most fre-

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[42]Graves *op. cit.* p. 42.

[43]*ibid.* p. 45.

[44]Fairgrieve himself pioneered the use of the silent film in the teaching of geography and the publication of sets of 'geographical pictures'.

[45]Fairgrieve, J. and Young, E. *Real Geography* (six parts), Philip, 1939-51.

quently linked with education in world citizenship. The challenge in education to reconstruct the school curriculum began in the reorganisation taken up in England and Wales by the 1944 Education Act which provided universal free secondary education for all. While the Act did not directly affect curriculum, the post war period witnessed a contest of subjects for space in the curriculum. A useful ploy was again to make claims for the subject's relevance to matters like education for citizenship. Geography had already, over the inter-war period made strong claims for this role, as we have seen. The result was positive to some while negative to others the 'expansiveness' of the subject was a worry to many geographers, a worry that geography would lose its own identity and intellectual characteristics as a discipline. [46] Indeed as early as 1939, Preece and Wood had already regarded geography as becoming too much like social studies, losing some of its physical emphasis. Following the cessation of hostilities, the claims of the social studies lobby were a worry to geographers. In regard to this social studies orientation of geography, Honeybone (1954) argued that

> "geography had became grieviously out of balance; the geographical synthesis had been abandoned; and the unique educational value of the subject lost in a flurry of social and economic generalisations." [47]

There was a shortage of qualified geography teachers in the schools, especially secondary modern schools. The untrained people necessarily sought ideas from various sources, not least those proselytising social studies, and

[46] Goodson *op. cit.* 1983.

[47] Honeybone, R. C. "Balance in Geography and Education", *Geography*, Vol. 34, No. 184, 1954, p. 51.

applied them directly to their teaching without considering the intellectual identity of the discipline itself. The acceptability of geography as a discipline thus remained in question. After the Second World War, geography experienced the challenge from the impact of the American social studies movement. To counter-attack this impact, putting the 'Ge' back to geography was seen very necessary.

"Putting the 'Ge' back in geography" proved an important rallying call. We have already noted, the influence of the social studies movement which sought to absorb geography into sandwiched courses, in particular, in secondary modern and comprehensive schools. This occasioned a ferocious attack on social studies in Wooldridge's article "On taking the "Ge" out of geography." [18]

The American experience provided a model, seen as superb by many over here, for the English post-World War II secondary modern and comprehensive schools. Following the American model had been accompanied by a decline in physical geography in the 1930s and the 1940s. The physical side of the subject was overwhelmed by the growth of social studies — the human aspects of geography becoming absorbed into social studies courses. Geography as an independent subject largely disappeared from the American High School scene. This was the fear of Wooldridge in Britain. However, the situation here was different. There were clearly attempts to develop a species of social studies for non-selective schools of England and Wales by combining history,

[18] Wooldridge, S. W. "On taking the Ge out of geography", *Geography*, No. 34, 1949, p. 163

geography and civics. [49] In this case, the contribution of geography to citizenship education was not entirely lost, but was offered through these combined courses. It was argued by the protagonists of social studies that citizenship education could more effectively be delivered in this way. However, this was seen by geographers as destroying the coherence of geography.

In 1950, Royal Geographical Society had published a pamphlet, probably written by Wooldridge, defending the position of geography in the curriculum, taking a hostile line towards social studies. [50] It recorded that in many schools, geography, influenced by this new trend had become largely "a superficial study of a series of social and economic topics, to the almost total exclusion of the physical basis." [51] Some of these courses were still called geography on the school timetable but they were scarcely distinguishable from the 'social studies'. It could consist of local study with scraps of social survey leading to an acquaintance with the civic services of local government. This was seen threatening to geographers no matter to what form of citizenship it could contribute.

The Geographical Association had also published an article in *Geography* showing that American experience in social studies was not a happy one for geography. [52] While Scarfe did not approve of an American-type social studies orientation, he nevertheless claimed "geography has an important function in

[49] Graves *op. cit.* p. 45.

[50] RGS, "Geography and social studies in schools" in M. Williams *Geography and the Integrated Curriculum*, Heinemann, 1976, p. 81.

[51] *ibid.* p. 81.

[52] Scarfe, N. V. "Geography and Social Studies in the USA", *Geography*, Vol. 35, No. 168, 1950, p. 90.

fostering international understanding ..." For him, geography was the basis for all education for peace.

Further claims of geography for citizenship purposes were made by Strong for the UK Commission for UNESCO in 1952. [53] He claimed that geography provided the very stuff for the growth of international understanding. Geography should, with its companion, history, be an obligatory subject for all children at the secondary stage of education. Only then we could ensure a common approach to citizenship first in the local community, secondly in the national community, and finally in the community of nations. But it was clear that British geographers did not feel that by combining geography with other social sciences, it would offer a better education for the child, in particular, a better citizenship education. Faced by this strong challenge, the first stage of the social studies movement in Britain following the Second World War was a failure. Cannon had recorded this failure with the schools returning to traditional curriculum. [54] There seemed to be a general air of disillusion and discontinuation of such teaching. The opinion was that social studies was losing ground after a brief experiment. [55]

Evidence of the failure of social studies in the mid-1950s was also shown by Graves. He argued that social studies had "never achieved a wide measure

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[53] Strong, G F. *Teaching for International Understanding*, HMSO, 1952, p. 44.

[54] Cannon, C. "Social studies in secondary schools" in Williams *op. cit.* p. 110. See also chapter 4 of this thesis.

[55] Oliver, S P. *The Scope and Presentation of Social Studies in England*, unpublished Associateship Report, University of London Institute of Education, 1954.

of popularity in our secondary schools, no matter how taught."[56]

At this stage, a subject identified as 'non-academic' such as social studies had little chance of success in the English education system. Its failure in the mid-1950s proved it. Geography, taking advantage of social studies' failure, began to incorporate more relevant citizenship issues into the discipline itself while considering a separate subject, social studies, for this purpose was unnecessary. For example, Scarfe, in 1967, put forward again the aim of geography as

> "To train citizens to think honestly, dispassionately and courageously for themselves about social and political circumstances in the world."[57]

Marchant, too, among other things argued that geography aimed 'to create a critical body of citizens who will not swallow whole the headlines of the press."[58] Geographers like Honeybone, Scarfe and Marchant, were really advocating a balanced approach for geography whereby it was neither being absorbed by social studies, nor being totally physical, neglecting the human and social aspects.

The quantitative revolution

By 1965, the apparent serenity of the geographical education scene was to be shattered by changes which were occurring within academic geography, within

[56]Graves, N. J. "Geography, Social Science and Inter-disciplinary Enquiry" in Williams *op. cit.* p 139

[57]Scarfe, N. V. "The Objective of Geography Education", *J. of Geography*, Vol. 67, 1968.

[58]Marchant, E. C., "Some responsibilities of Teachers of Geography", *Geography*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1968, p. 135.

education theory and within the sturcture of the education system. [59] Though all these changes were not incompatible with the presence of citizenship education in the curriculum, the aggregative, quantitative techniques did move geography away from its function as a human subject and its sense of place orientation.

When the quantitative revolution began, there was confusion among geographers, educationists, and teachers. Ideas about quantitative geography were first communicated through teachers courses and conferences, in particular, the Charney Manor Conference, and through the publication of *Frontiers in Geographical Teaching* in 1965. [60] There seemed to be a certain degree of confusion about the subject itself and the issue of its contribution for citizenship education was forgotten for a while. Quantitative geography did not express explicitly its capacity to contribute to education in citizenship. On pedagogy, the new geography was progressive and child-centered. It emphasised actual learning and experiencing rather than the traditional factual learning by rote. Thus argued Walford, the main changes were from a factual orientation towards one concerned with concepts, methods and values. This scientific approach was exciting and challenging and included examination of spatial data which involved the knowledge of social, economic and political processes, and involved the pupils in training in decision making, which accorded closely with the plea, then often heard, to make geography relevant as well as rigorous. [61] On these grounds, quantitative geography contributed potentially if not cen-

[59] Graves *op. cit.* p. 78.

[60] Chorley, R. J. and Haggett, P. *Frontiers in Geographical Teaching*, Methuen, 1965.

[61] Walford, R. *New Directions in Geography Teaching*, Longman, 1973, p. 5.

trally to education in citizenship. The scale of its contribution depended very much on the selection of materials and the actual teaching involved. If collection of data was through fieldwork, and processed through team work, then geography should contribute to social education in the sense of training in community citizenship.

The introduction of the quantitative geography from USA was not the only challenge the geographers faced from 1965 onwards. As we went through the 1970s, it was clear that a considerable methodological debate was proceeding in the discipline. [62] Systematic geographers disputed with regionalist; quantifiers with non-quantifiers; exponents of model-building with defenders of more traditional approaches; those who believed in the development of generalizing and predictive models with those who felt that geography would always be concerned with retrospective explanations of the unique.

While some welcomed quantification in geography, many others criticised it for various reasons, not the least, for 'citizenship' reasons. Gowing, for example, expressed the view that the new geography was too academic and unable to satisfy the needs of the society. [63] Morris believed that geography should contribute more to

> "knowledge concerned with the growth of personal qualities and a sense of national and international citizenship, rather than the continued pursuit of academic geography." [64]

[62] *ibid.* p 69 See also Burston, I., 'The quantitative revolution and theoretical geography", *Canadian Geographer*, 1963, p. 151-67. This paper is also included in Ambrose, P. J. *Analytical Human Geography*, Longman, 1969.

[63] Walford *op. cit* p. 153.

[64] Morris, J. W. "Geography in the Schools of Tomorrow", *Geography*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 1966, p. 313.

Quantitative geography was certainly academic and also orientated almost by definition to impersonal , aggregate processing of data. Hence, by 1980s, some of the participants in the Charney Manor Conference of 1970 assembled again and were joined by others for a review of the decade. Instead of advocating further quantitative geography, this time they reflected a distinctively qualitative approach to the subject which had emerged in the 1970s as part of the revulsion against quantification, and showed a greater concern for citizenship, social, economic and political issues.

Qualitative geography

Welfare approaches to geography were one response to the growing dissatisfaction with the inability of a quantitative and model-based geography to address themselves sufficiently to society's most pressing social problems — the discipline was failing to respond to contemporary social needs. [65] Seeking for more citizenship issues to be included in the discipline, the welfare approach did not necessarily conflict with the model-based paradigm and the application of quantitative methods. It was argued that the challenge to contemporary geography was not to overthrow positivism but

> "to design an education which combine the technical strength of the quantitative and model-building era with a passionate concern for the condition of mankind." [66]

[65] Smith, D. M. *Human Geography: A Welfare Approach*, Arnold, 1977, p. 13.

[66] Smith, D. M , "Who gets what, where, and how: a welfare focus for human geography", Geography, Vol. 59, 1974, p. 297.

Hence, well known models and statistical techniques were modified and applied in a more socially relevant form.

Another qualitative approach was that of radical geography. Its development had great significance for education of citizenship. In North America when it first emerged, it was to response to the social tensions within North American Society. [67] The civil rights movement was raising fundamental questions concerning racial inequalities. This posed the question to the academicians their role for the provision of citizenship education. Had they produced such a society, how could they make use of their subjects to inforce better education for citizenship? Geographers thought that they should pay more attention to important civic and social issues which affected all citizens everyday. Those who were strongly disillusioned with the quantitative geography, particularly believed that geography should be concerned with the relevant social and environmental issues. This group had powerful reasons to develop a critique of the depersonalization and depoliticization of their subject. [68] Peet was the earliest radical geographer urging for change and advocating a switch away from the quantitative geography. [69] In Britain, Huckle and Gill were among those advocators of radical geography, rigorously claiming the significance of making geography a subject for training future citizens.

Social and behavioural approaches represented other branches of qualitative geography developed during this period. They played similar role in

[67]Cook, I., "Radical Geography" in Huckle, J. *Geographical Education: Reflection and Action*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1983, p. 74-5.

[68]Refer Huckle, J., "The politics of school geography" in *ibid.* p. 75.

[69]Peet, R *Radical Geography*, Methuen, 1977. See also Peet, R. "The development of radical geography in the U.S.", *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1977, p. 244.

making geography a better citizenship subject. Another development in relation to promoting geography for its citizenship function was the launching of Schools Council projects in geography. Firstly, two projects, *Geography 14-18* and *Geography for the Young School Leaver (GYSL)* were launched. Both projects contributed to citizenship education. Later another project *Geography 16-19* was also launched.

GYSL, in particular was designed for preparing pupils for living in society, particularly urban society. It indicated a new direction in school geography whereby new aims, new content and new strategy were introduced. One of the main principles which influenced the choice of the three themes was that the work should be concerned with all aspects of pupil development, of which development of citizenship was definitely one. Another was that the themes should be of interest and relevance to the pupils. The other which also implied the project's possible contribution to citizenship education was that the method of teaching used should encourage full pupil involvement and participation. [70] This included a move to emphasise themes which were of importance to social and citizenship education. Firstly, leisure, urbanization and work, the subject of the three themes 'have social relevance', and [71] were more closely aligned with the present and likely future experiences of the pupils. The task was that of 'answering questions about the real world in which pupils can be interested and involved'. The discipline thus became not less but more important because it was not being learnt for its own sake

[70] *ibid.* p 14.

[71] Refer to Teachers' Guide, p. 12.

but to help in the understanding of issues of importance and concern.' [72] The study of contemporary social issues was judged by the project team to be very important decision-making and 'the distribution of immigrants and slum property.' [73] Secondly, the project focused its attention on concepts and theories rather than descriptive information, which would be of interest and value to the pupils even after they left school. Thus Beddis, co-director of this project wrote:

> "The hope is that the pupils following the broad guidelines of the themes will acquire a knowledge and understanding of the world and its people that will be of interest and value to them, and that the ideas to which they are being introduced will be in harmony with those held by teachers and researchers at advanced levels of the discipline." [74]

Throughout the three themes, objectives were based on the broad categories of ideas, skills, values and attitudes. Pupils were to use a wide range of skills in working through the themes, such as interpreting data, analysing statements and communicating through writing, drawing and discussion. Values and attitudes could be developed in considering social and environmental issues upon which there were often differing viewpoints. [75] By using a radical approach, it did in actual fact demonstrate geography's contribution to various aspects of citizenship which were played down by the quantitative approach.

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[72] *ibid* p 14

[73] Parson, C. *The Curriculum Change Game*, Falmer Press, 1987, p. 40.

[74] Beddis, R. A. *The Schools Council Curriculum Development Project, Geography for the Young School Leaver, Implications for School Geography*, paper delivered to the Schools Council Geography Conference, Walsall, 1975, p. 2.

[75] *ibid.* p. 14.

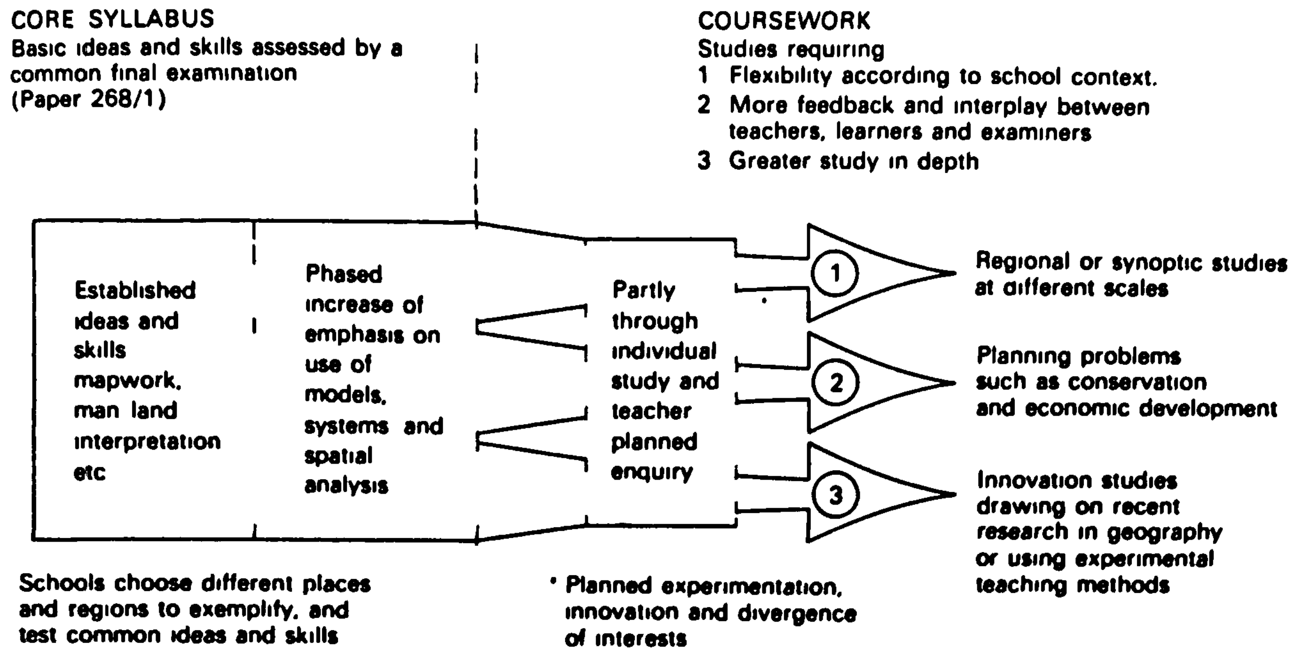
Favourable comments on this line during the 1970s served as evidence of geography's revised potential to contribute to citizenship education after the almost frozen period when the quantifiers were at work. Nevertheless by the 1980s, important social, economic and political issues had encouraged geographers to pay for more attention to multicultural education, considering the need for it in multicultural society in England. [76] As a result, GYSL could be criticised for not paying sufficient attention to the issues of racism in schools and society, and to acknowledge the dangers of racism inherent in geography teaching.

Not only did GYSL follow a strong issue-based approach, Geography 14-18, and Geography 16-19 were of the same nature. They, too, contributed positively to citizenship education. Geography 14-18 was a response to the challenge of the new geography of the 1960s. Research by this project revealed a growing dissatisfaction amóng many teachers, in particular with the over-emphasis on factual recall in examination papers and the dominant position of regional geography in many syllabuses. They were also critical of the lack of opportunities and incentives to make the teaching of geography to able pupils more stimulating and intellectually exacting. It seemed to them that the opportunity was being missed to make the teaching of geography relevant to real world issues by linking it with planning and development problems in developed countries and the third world. Thus this project facilitated a change in this direction to overcome the existing weaknesses in geography teaching. The Cambridge GCE 'O' level Geography 14-18 syllabus provided a set of criteria for selecting core syllabus and coursework. This is reproduced

[76] Boardman, D. *The Impact of A Curriculum Project*, Univ. of Birmingham, 1988, p. 71.

as Fig.1 on the next page.

Fig. 1 A set of criteria for selecting core syllabus and coursework



The core syllabus provided schools to teach the same common geographical ideas and skills using illustrative examples which they themselves had chosen, guided by the set criteria. The coursework was organised on the basis of six assessment units, broad categories of which was also shown on Fig. 1. This coursework units provided pupils to develop ideas about their own locality, for example. Individual study unit encouraged pupils to develop their own initiatives in the areas of their interests. In doing so, they first consulted with their teachers the area selected. In a way, it improved the relationship between the teachers and the pupils. The teaching as a whole generated a high degree of interaction between teachers and pupils, and among pupils, through a variety of problem solving activities, therefore it encouraged the social development of citizenship, as well as the development of skills in problem-solving which was vital for modern citizens. This project was concept-based which avoided the traditional method of rote learning. It covered topics on the development of both developed and developing countries, which contributed to citizenship education. Thus *Geography 14-18*, as a whole, provided a framework of teaching and learning geography which demonstrated the role of geography for citizenship education.

Geography 16-19 dealt basically with the broad theme: Man and Environment. All the themes illustrated their contributions to environmental education. The themes which illustrated their contributions to economic understanding and political literacy education, and helped to develop values and attitudes towards our environments were:

1. The Energy Question;
2. Regional Disparity;

3. Migration of People; and

4. Alternative Approaches to Development.

All of them involved the discussion of some economic and political issues. In general, this project adopted an enquiry approach and stressed the development of values, which was an important aspect of citizenship education. [77] These three projects just discussed represented a second generation of Schools Council's projects which were more positive towards citizenship education.

Lower down the age-range, the Liverpool *History, Geography and Social Science 8 13* project was designed for the same purpose for the primary phase. The overt consideration of values and attitudes and the focus on the identified key cross curricular concepts were indications of a shift towards making geography more relevant for the education of citizenship. These key concepts were: communication; power; values and beliefs; conflict and consensus; continuity and change; similarity and difference; causes and consequence.

A tougher approach during this period was that found in John Huckle's book, *Geographical Education: Reflection and Action.* [78] It strongly advocated the importance of a radical geography for a changing world to include issues like urbanization, population growth, environmental destruction, resource depletion, disparities in living standards, and exploitation.

A number of citizenship issues in the context of geographical education were highlighted in Huckle's book. For example, Hicks presented a more integrated approach to world studies and the teaching of global perspectives

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[77] See Marsden, W E *Evaluating the Geography Curriculum*, Oliver and Boyd, 1976, p. 92.

[78] Huckle *op cit* 1983

through geography. [79] A number of publications soon appeared on the teaching of world studies or world citizenship. One of which is *Teaching Geography for a Better World*, in which Huckle contributed papers on geography and world citizenship, and on developing political literacy through environmental issues. Burnley covered human rights education. [80] Another related citizenship issue was multicultural education in which geography's potential contribution was also demonstrated, the main reference point being Dawn Gill, who was responsible for the journal, *Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education*. Development education was another orientation, obviously related to geography at this time. *People before Places: Development Education as an Approach to Geography* was a publication of this type. [81]

Geography continued to contribute to citizenship education. This is evident in Part 2 of this thesis, which concentrates on National Curriculum and citizenship education.

Summary

Four issues discussed in this chapter, namely, (i)geography for imperial citizenship; (ii) geography for promoting international understanding; (iii) quantification in geography; and (iv) qualitative geography, have been seen to display varying degrees of appropriateness to the cause of education for citizenship.

(i) Imperial Citizenship

[79] *ibid.* pp. 89-98.

[80] Fien, J and Gerber, R. (eds), *Teaching Geography for a Better World*, Oliver and Boyd, 1988, pp. 70-84.

[81] Daniels, A. and Sinclair, S. (eds), *People before Places: Development Education as an Approach to Geography*, Birmingham Development Education Center, 1985.

Looking at the first issue, we noticed that geography over a long period served the purpose of inculcating imperial citizenship. Geography textbooks, in particular, portrayed the greatness of Britain at the expense of other places in the world. Thus pupils studied a lot about this country and little about other countries. In addition, the text pictured the 'backwardness' of other peoples, seeing them as inferior species of human beings. We found there was a continuity in the inculcation of imperial citizenship until well after the Second World War, in spite of the fact that geography had, on the other hand, by the inter war period, already added the elements of international citizenship to its study.

After the First World War, there was the opportunity for a shift of direction. The change of geography textbooks advocated by the League of Nations, denoted a change at the centre whereby texts which described other peoples unfairly, for example, text containing descriptions of lazy Africans were to be withdrawn. Certain biased interpretations of other nations were also to be dropped. However, this change was not widely put into practice, as said earlier, and biased textbooks were found to be used by children well into the 1960s and even later. In this way, there existed a concurrence of continuity and change of geography's contribution to imperial citizenship. While change was advocated, the way geography was taught continued to purvey implicit and even explicit messages of imperial citizenship.

(ii) Geography for fostering international citizenship

There have similarly been both a continuity and change in the use of geography for fostering international citizenship during this century. Firstly, it is arguable that geography in its imperial guise contributed something to the feeling of

international citizenship. Even though the textbooks were imperialistic in nature, no other subject served to provide knowledge about people and places of the world. Knowing them could promote understanding of them. The scale and notion of international citizenship needed to go much further than this, of course. During the inter-war, with the support of the League of Nations, etc., more overt attempts were made to use geography as an instrument of promoting international understanding and world peace. This continued after World War II, at the same time coexisting with the twilight of education for imperial citizenship. Since the 1960s, it could be argued that the central focus had been more on environmental and development issues rather than on preventing war, as in the promotion of development education through geography in the 1970s and 1980s.

(iii) Quantitative Geography

Another shift of balance came with the quantitative revolution of the 1960s. The link between quantitative geography and citizenship education was largely negative. It resulted in a lowering of the priority of geography's general contribution to citizenship education. On the other hand, as this chapter has shown, the progressive methodology employed by quantifiers was positive in encouraging problem-solving and participation, useful skills for citizenship education. This methodology served as a potentially positive force, therefore.

(iv) Qualitative Geography

Revulsions against the more mechanistic features of the quantitative revolution led to a counter-revolution in a more qualitative welfare approach. The qualitative approach could be said to cover a range of potential contributions to citizenship education such as economic and industrial awareness, develop-

ment education, social education, including such themes as the community, roles and relationship in society, employment and leisure and public services, in the context of the citizenship components advocated by the National Curriculum Council. Here again, however, there were negative nuances because this shift of geography to promoting understanding well-being had been inhibited by the heavy stress on the national component of these elements, to be considered in Chapter 10.

Chapter 8

Citizenship Education by 1988: the State of the Art

Competing for the Citizenship Education Franchise

The foregoing historical appraisal of citizenship education offers a firm base for an appraisal of the state of the art of citizenship education in 1988. 1988 was a pivotal year for citizenship education in the light of the far-reaching Education Reform Act of that year, which introduced an historic change in the system of English education. In its demand for a broad and balanced curriculum, cross-curricular issues, of which citizenship is one, have returned to the forefront of educational debate. What then will form the best structure and content for citizenship education? What will be the best mode of delivery? Who has the ownership of citizenship education?

In Chapter 2, the work of the Moral Education League was expounded.

Its view of citizenship education, it claimed, helps to produce the 'all round good' citizen. In today's context, it can be agreed, the inculcation process involved in promoting passive and submissive citizenship is contrary to later more progressive concept of citizenship education, demanding a development of the skills of more active participation. Of course good moral behaviour is required for good citizenship, but it should be coupled with ability to participate as pointed out by Engle and Ochao.

> "Citizenship is conferred on an individual by a state or nation. A citizen is a legally recognised member of a state or nation. Within this strict sense citizenship is the set of relationships that exist between an individual and a state. These relationships include both rights and responsibilities. In the case of democracy the rights of individuals include the right to be heard and to participate in their own governance, the right to equal protection of the law, and the right to basic freedoms such as those of religion, speech, and the press. The responsibilities of the citizen include respect for the law and the responsibility to participate in the governance of the state by voting, holding office, joining political parties and interest groups, and the like. The citizen's responsibilities also include the responsibility to be informed, for participation in a democracy is irresponsible if it is not informed." [1]

On the positive side, one part of its advocacy, that is, the promotion of kindness, helpfulness, and tolerance continued to be relevant.

There is more evidence of continuity, however, in the ideas of the League of Nations and League of Nations Union in laying stress on the international dimension, breaking it down to education for peace, cooperation and international understanding, as can be found in the similar advocacy by the Council

[1] Engle, S H. and Ochao, A. S. *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Decision Making in Social Studies*, Teachers College Press, 1988, p. 16.

for Education in World Citizenship. Chapter 3 discussed the failure of the LN and LNU effectively to arouse in people's consciousness the concept of world citizenship in spite of the amount of efforts spent on educating citizens towards this end . The Second World War was a shattering blow to hopes of a continuous world peace their advocacy had served to foster. This thus begged the question whether or not it was unrealistic to pretend education could readily contribute to world peace. The lack of achievement in this area arguably lay less in the procedures followed by these organisations, than the sheer incapacity through lack of power and influence to resolve macro-political problems.

In Chapter 5, we examined peace education, world studies, and human rights education of the post-Second World War era, and their claims to cover this same aspect of citizenship education, namely, the concept and practice of world citizenship. From where the discussion ended, we noted that none of these initiatives had achieved wide support in fighting for a place in the curriculum, even though the content was derived from modern thinking, based in part on international conventions and charters about peace, development and human rights. New approaches which would develop the skills of participative and active citizenship were applied. There was certainly no imperialist and conservative thinking behind these activities. One problem, of course, was they were all competing for the same and very limited amount of time in the curriculum, as well as displaying a great deal of overlap, not least in the supporting political thinking, alleged by right-wing writers to be indoctrinating children with left-wing thinking.

The subject lobbies have probably been the most effective agencies in terms

of the practice of citizenship education in this century. One reason was that they were more firmly established with a trained teaching force from an earlier date as compared with the cross-curricular agencies. The forces of reaction supported many of the interpretations of citizenship education adopted by traditional subject teachers. In Chapters 6 and 7, we saw how widely and strongly the history and geography lobbies promoted the cause of imperial citizenship. More recently, apart from its accepted role of covering the political structure and government machinery of the country, history has laid claims for developing empathy and human understanding. Geography, in its emphasis on people and places, claimed this promotes international understanding.

The Association for Education in Citizenship, as we saw in Chapter 3, sought to cover generally all areas of citizenship education though its emphasis was to produce clear-thinking democratic citizens. Its intervention was timely in the light of inter-war European events. The rise of authoritarianism and communism in Russia and Eastern Europe, and the fear of fascism, were probably the strongest outside forces in helping the Association to fight its cause, and to reinforce its claims. The achievement was, of course, no more tangible than that of the League of Nations agencies. More than half a century has passed since the Association was established and closed. Again more numerous and powerful outside forces blocked the AEC's innovative activities. The Association's recommendation for more active democratic form of citizenship education was perhaps a little in advance of its time.

More recent organisations espousing the cause of citizenship education have, of course been the Social Science Association and the Politics Association. The Social Science Association advanced social studies as a fruitful

means of covering citizenship education. Again, as Chapter 4 shows, the social studies movement was another ineffective deliverer. The reasons which we have already seen were problems within the definition of social studies itself, and the challenge from traditional subjects. The problems of the subject was mainly that it attempted to cover too broad an area. Some of its themes significantly overlapped with the offerings of geography and history. Indeed many saw it as a mere amalgam of history and geography with some social science.

The Politics Association provided greater focus, arguing that fundamental to citizenship education was the development of political literacy. As discussed in chapter 5, its influence was more considerable than earlier agencies except for the subject associations. The achievement of the Politics Association in heightening awareness of the nature of political education was significant. None the less, its claims to be a priority part of citizenship education were played down in the NCC's definition.

What is Good Practice?

In the light of many competing and overlapping claims for the soul of citizenship education, how do we locate 'good practice'? Good practice must obviously include a sense of realism of practicality. Let us look at Engle and Ochao's four criteria for good practice in citizenship education. [2]

1. Some basic knowledge

> "...citizens in a democracy need a broad liberal education. No

[2] *ibid* pp. 18-26.

education that is confined merely to vocational ends will do. Nor are piecemeal excursions into a few academic areas unrelated to the problems that confront society likely to provide the broad liberal education needed. In today's interdependent world, piecemeal treatment of the problems confronting citizens will certainly fail. It is imperative that citizens gain the widest possible perspective on world affairs if they are really to participate in the ordering of this affairs."

2. Commitment to the democratic ideal

"schools can contribute to the development of a commitment to democracy on the part of young citizens in two ways. First, they can help students to understand democracy as a reasonable outgrowth of human experience, as the study of history...would do. Second, schools can set a good example of respect for democracy. The most obvious way to is that the governance of a school should be a reasonable facsimile of a democracy rather than a dictatorship. School rules, as with laws should be fair and reasonable and young people should be helped to understand the reasons for them. Students should also have a voice in the enactment of the rules. Governance should never be coercive or arbit rary. The school should never underestimate the willingness of students to participate in their own governance. As with the adult society, the rights of the minority should be faithfully respected.

3. Basic intellectual skills

"The skills needed by citizens in a democracy considerably exceed those frequently listed for the social studies, such as map-reading skills, library skills, communication skills, group work skills, and the like ...by contrast, the skills needed by the citizen in a democracy are more complex in nature and the focus is on the utilization of knowledge in making decisions and in implementing one's decision in the social and political arena. The skills thus involved need to be exercised in a more holistic manner and are most usefully learned in the context of problems as broad as those characteristically dealt with in the real world."

4. Political skills

> "...the responsibility to vote is not a simple matter. It is not enough merely to know how to mark a ballot. Issues in an election are seldom clear-cut. There may be some good on both sides of any issues. Many of these issues may have no clear-cut answers, and many may entail responses that conflict with other issues in the same election.
>
> Citizens need to know how to check the reliability of their sources."

These four criteria could, it is argued, form a consensual basis of good practice in citizenship education. However, in the present situation in England, they are not enough. Practice needs to be able to fit in with the new National Curriculum criteria and of course, conform with the new Education Reform Act. Good practice can also be derived eclectically. Apart from the basic general principles of Engle and Ochao, it is important to include elements of the best practice from the various agencies which have laid claims to advance the cause of citizenship education. Among these elements, particular importance in definition should include such aspects as the development of political literacy, clarification of values and attitudes, the promotion of empathy, of active participation and, perhaps more essentially, the promotion of human rights and international understanding. Good practice must be tested against the actual rather than rhetorical contribution to these criteria.

Part II

National Curriculum and Citizenship Education

Chapter 9

Some Current Issues

Development of the National Curriculum

The development of a national curriculum certainly has brought to the fore the issue of the place of citizenship in the English education system. The idea of a national curriculum had emerged strongly during the 1970s when reference was frequently given to 'core curriculum' and 'common curriculum'. The most striking example was in White's book, *Towards a compulsory curriculum.* [1] By the late 1970s, two official versions of such a curriculum had appeared. Chitty observed that there were two models which he named the HMI model and the DES model. [2] The HMI model was reflected in the 'Red Book' which concentrated on broad areas of experience as the basis for curriculum planning. The DES model was associated with the teaching of traditional subjects. Dufour summarised Chitty's observation as follow:

[1] White, J. P. *Towards a compulsory curriculum*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

[2] Lawton, D. and Chitty, C. (eds), *The National Curriculum*, Bedford Way Papers 33, London Institute of Education, 1988.

"In the HMI model, the professional common curriculum approach was elaborated in the 'HMI Red Books' between 1977 to 1980. [3] Although subjects might continue to be the main way of organising the timetable, their choice and form would not be dictated by HMI, which was not overly concerned with the rigid defence of subjects and boundaries, but with the way broad areas of experience could be used as a basis for curriculum planning.... The common element would occupy two-thirds of the total timetable. By 1983, the idea of the 'entitlement curriculum' rounded off these ideas by suggesting that all pupils should be entitled to a broad curriculum that included vocational, technical and academic elements.

The DES model, characterised as the bureaucratic core curriculum approach, is mainly concerned with efficiency and control of the system. The collection of information about pupil performance, based on a national standardised curriculum, would ensure that teachers were more accountable." [4]

It was argued that the National Curriculum adopted the DES model which focused subjects, testing and performance. [5] Of course, this was a dubious association. Areas of experience could be associated with testing and performance, so could subject-based approach. So, the choice could have been based on political motivation.

The ten defined subjects formed the core and foundation subjects which occupy the majority of the timetable, leaving some space, but not much for additional subjects, to be chosen by schools and teachers in consultation with governors. Religious Education was pre-determined by the 1988 Education Re-

[3]DES, *Curriculum 11-16*, HMSO, 1977; DES, *Curriculum 11-16: A Review of Progress*, HMSO, 1981, DES, *Curriculum 11-16: Towards a statement of Entitlement, Curricular Reappraisal in Action*, HMSO, 1983.

[4]Dufour, B. *The New Social Curriculum*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990, pp. 201-2.

[5]*ibid.* p. 201.

form Act. Cross curricular dimensions and themes were added to form part of the National Curriculum. They were added because within this model, subjects played the major role. Integration approaches which had been developed throughout the past two decades were not given adequate spaces in the timetable. This approach incorporated some opportunities for citizenship education which was defined as a cross-curricular theme.

The National Curriculum is mandatory and statutory. It concentrates on output and testing, at the same time pre-occup_ied with traditional subject boundaries. The core subjects English, Mathematics and Science started with new arrangements in September 1989. The other foundation subjects — history, geography, technology, music, art and P.E. have different schedules. Modern language is a foundation subject in all secondary schools, and special arrangements have been made for Welsh and other minority languages.

The relative status and importance of various subjects and themes may be indicated by the differential strategies employed in their planning consultation. For example, music, art, P.E. and the cross-curricular themes are not accorded the status of a subject Working Group. The cross-curricular themes are non-statutory.

The first consultation document was published in 1987. [6] Interim reports for each subject Working Group were produced subsequently. Between 1990 and 1991, the consultation documents and the statutory orders for these subjects were also published. With those subjects and areas unaccorded with subject Working Group, the NCC published individually curriculum guidance documents.

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[6]DES, *The National Curriculum: A Consultation Document*, HMSO, 1987.

The Re-emergence of Citizenship: 1985-1990s

Since the publication of *Citizens Growing Up* in 1949, which was partly a result of the influence of the Association for Education in Citizenship of the inter-war period, citizenship education was rarely being referred to explicitly in any official document, until the mid-1980s.[6] In 1985, *Better Schools* was published, and contained reference to citizenship.

> "some awareness of economic matters, notably the question of market forces, the factors governing the creation of private and public wealth, and taxation is a prerequisite for citizenship and employment." [7]

The National Curriculum Consultation document published in 1987 made no reference to citizenship. [8] *The National Curriculum, Policy to Practice* published in 1989, mentioned as cross-curricular issues careers, health, other aspects of social education and gender and multicultural issues but not specifically 'citizenship'. [9] Another document, *Curriculum Matters 14: Personal and Social Education from 5-16*, however, made overt reference to this issue:

> "It helps pupils be considerate and enterprising in the present, while it prepares them for an informed and active involvement in family, social, economic and civic life". [10]

It agreed that teaching approaches needed to prepare school leavers as young adults and citizens. More practical recognition of a serious official concern

[6] Ministry of Education, *Citizens Growing Up*, Pamphlet No. 16, London: HMSO, 1949.

[7] DES, *Better Schools*, HMSO, 1985, para. 44.

[8] DES, *op. cit.* 1987.

[9] DES, *The National Curriculum, Policy to Practice*, HMSO, 1989, p. 3.

[10] DES, *Curriculum Matters 14: Personal and Social Education from 5-16*, HMSO, 1989, p. 1.

with citizenship education could be found in October 1989 when the National Curriculum Council gave some preliminary guidance to schools on the context of the National Curriculum in *Circular No. 6* which said,

> "Citizenship (individual, family, community, national, European and international, including legal and political dimensions) is one of the cross-curricular themes. It is clear that schools will be expected to address the themes and co-ordinate links between different parts of the curriculum." [11]

This was further elaborated in the *National Curriculum Guidance No. 3*, published in March 1990. [12] It set out in more detail the cross-curricular themes and possible ways of managing their co-ordination and teaching in the whole curriculum. Subsequently, curriculum guidance documents for all the five themes were published. [13] The eighth in the series was *Education for Citizenship*. These documents provided advice to schools on the ways of moving forward with planning for a coordinated approach and managing their implementation.

All the five themes certainly contain areas of overlap which contribute to citizenship education. The fact that *Citizenship* was brought out as a separate theme indicates a new interest in citizenship education. Taking official statements at face value, it is now accepted that citizenship education should not be left to chance but should be part of the entitlement of all young pupils in school, in particular, for pupils from 5 to 16.

[11]NCC, *Circular Number 6, The National Curriculum Planning: Preliminary Guidance*, National Curriculum Council, 1989, para. 15.

[12]NCC, *National Curriculum Guidance No. 3: The Whole Curriculum*, National Curriculum Council, 1990, p 5.

[13]See bibliography under National Curriculum Council.

The pick up of this new interest was of a speed and scale sufficient to merit the title of 'a new movement in citizenship education'. This movement really gained momentum when the issue of citizenship was taken up by politicians in 1990, leading to the establishment of the Commission on Citizenship under the patronage of Bernard Weatherall, Speaker of the House of Commons. The introduction of the National Curriculum in all maintained schools was another factor which set citizenship education in the agenda of educational debates in late 1980s and early 1990s.

The Speaker's Commission on Citizenship

The Commission was established to examine ways in which individuals could be enabled to participate fully and effectively in the community. One of its tasks was to report to the NCC on the context of citizenship education in the National Curriculum. Before its report, *Evidence of the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship* was sent to the National Curriculum Council, a national survey of the actual situation of citizenship education in schools in the 1990s was conducted on its behalf by Leicester University School of Education. Another in-depth survey of schools was also conducted by Leicester and Northants LEAs and Leicester University for the Commission. On top of that, a major consultative conference was held on 16th February in Northampton to discuss citizenship. A report on the conference was later prepared and sent out to the participants. Commission members themselves attended a private seminar earlier on the philosophy of citizenship at St. Antony's College. Out of this seminar, a report on the Commission's consideration of a definition of

citizenship was prepared for the February 16th Conference at Northampton. There were about 700 educationists, students, industrialists and representatives of the voluntary sector taking part. The conference was addressed by Mr. John McGregor, Secretary of State for Education and Science, Mr. Jack Straw, Labour Party Spokesman for Education, Professor Ted Wragg and Sir Peter Newsam. At two points in the day, those attending the conference came together in small groups to discuss specific questions on aspects of citizenship in schools. These consisted of:

1. the definition of citizenship offered by the Speaker's Commission;
2. how should citizenship be tackled within the curriculum;
3. the development, delivery and monitoring of citizenship within the school;
4. the democratic school;
5. assessment and recognition;
6. curriculum and content.

On the first question, most groups were in broad agreement with the spirit and approach of Marshall's definition on citizenship. There were, however, widespread comments on the archaic language used like 'bestowed', 'endowed', and a version in plain modern English was requested. One group objected to the phrase 'full member of society' since it seemed to imply that there could be partial membership. Other groups suggested the inclusion of specific issues such as race, gender, class and world citizenship in the definition as important. The classification of entitlements into political, civil and social was largely also approved,though one group rejected the entire approach, asking what a good citizen would have done in Romania before Christmas, 1989. Finally on the topic of individual's voluntary contribution, the idea of public good and civic

virtue, the majority agreed that these should be an important part of the idea of citizenship.

On the second question, delegates were asked to consider whether citizenship should be delivered across the curriculum, through a discrete slot or a combination of the two. It was generally felt that it should be delivered across the curriculum, but there was a need for careful monitoring and mapping. This was because some aspects were already addressed through the existing subjects and areas of study, and some areas would make a greater contribution than others. Some groups, however, were concerned that if a discrete slot was not offered to develop such areas not covered currently in existing subjects, it is likely that such areas would be missed.

The groups generally agreed that citizenship education should begin from birth and certainly should be an important part of the primary school experience. Opinions were more divided with regard to content. Some wanted a flexible approach while others wanted to identify areas of knowledge to be developed across the phases. Record of achievement was identified as the only way of adequately tracking individual progress.

On the third question of how citizenship could be developed, monitored and delivered, the majority agreed to the need for school policies to be formulated by governors, teachers, parents and students, which established an appropriate ethos. Out of this would come a strategy detailing ways in which the management structure of the school, the experiences of staff and students, and the opportunities developed could make the policy a reality.

Many groups considered curriculum mapping strategies to be critically important in identifying the contributions to be made by different curricu-

lar areas and cross-curricular themes, dimensions and skills in order to have effective implementation. This meant auditing the curriculum.

It was generally agreed that monitoring and evaluation presented a great challenge because the focus should be on qualitative rather than quantitative aspects of both the school and the student's work. Major emphasis was placed on the importance of record of achievement as a positive evaluative tool which would reinforce the skills and attitudes citizenship should encourage. Many groups were against a GCSE citizenship course but suggested the importance of widening community contributions as a proper area of achievement.

Topic four was on 'the democratic school'. Groups were first asked to consider how a school could promote an ethos which prepared its students for active citizenship. Many responses emphasised the importance of shared values and objectives, arrived at after discussion and consultation, and then adhered to by all, but with continued consultation and participation in decision making. It was also seen that schools and community should work together in an open and participatory way.

Topic five was about assessment and recognition. There was a consensus that some aspects of citizenship can be assessed through existing attainment targets, but this would have the disadvantage of mainly being restricted to factual knowledge. Aspects not related to attainment targets should be recognised via records of achievement. The RoA processes of self assessment, negotiation and interactions were important not only for leading to recognition, but also as valuable active citizenship activities in their own right.

The last topic discussed during the conference was curriculum and content. Delegates stressed the potential of experiential learning within an action

framework which broke down the barriers between school and community. Active contact between the school and the community was seen as a vital factor in the development of mutual understanding. This could be enriched by teaching of citizenship within the curriculum to add knowledge, rights and legal elements. Examples of key ideas were offered, such as police/school liaison; constitutional rights and responsibilities; membership of the European and international community; consumer rights and responsibilities. It was argued that these areas seemed too prescriptive and too narrow. The point was also made that teaching styles should be non-didactic and action-based. Groups were asked whether they agreed with a list of attitudes which should be fostered through the curriculum programmes: respect, openness, enthusiasm, involvement, a caring attitude, decisiveness, determination, and so on. Generally they agreed to these. However, they believed that the school's organisation and its teaching and learning styles would generate a much broader range of objectives than originally listed: tolerance, objectivity, empathy, co-operation, sharing, collaboration, courtesy, understanding, confidence, self-esteem, assertiveness, autonomy, empowerment and the like.

During this conference, Secretary of State for Education, John MacGregor MP, and Shadow Spokesperson Jack Straw MP, publicly endorsed the need for citizenship to be taught in schools. The Commission reviewed their Report on Citizenship in the light of this consultative conference. The substance of the discussions during this conference was thus brought to the knowledge of the decision makers, the National Curriculum Council who would publish the Curriculum Guidance for the Education for Citizenship. The effectiveness of future education for citizenship would firstly be dependent on this Curricu-

lum Guidance Document. For these reasons, the conference was of pivotal importance.

Citizenship in Schools: the State of the Art in 1989

During the last two years, therefore 'citizenship' has become once again, a familiar term in the world of education. Good practice was already there in the school curriculum before the NCC prepared the guidance for education for citizenship. Nevertheless, there was no complete record of the current situation of citizenship education at national level. Thus early in its deliberations, the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship decided to seek evidence on this question and commissioned the University of Leicester School of Education and Social and Community Planning Research jointly to conduct a survey of citizenship in secondary schools throughout England and Wales.

The findings were published by Fogelman in 1990. [14] In general, the survey confirmed that many schools had elaborate programmes related to citizenship both in terms of community service and within the more formal curriculum. However, the extent and nature of provision varied greatly from one school to another and within schools for different pupils. Many of the approaches and activities identified by the National Curriculum Council and the Speaker's Commission were already in practice in some schools. As a whole the provision was still patchy and inadequate and very dependent on

[14] Fogelman, K. "Citizenship in secondary schools: a national survey", Appendix E, in Commission on Citizenship, *Encouraging Citizens*, HMSO, 1990.

the initiatives of individual teachers. On community service, the findings strongly favoured using fund-raising as a citizenship activity, especially for children up to the age of 14. For older children, many aspects of citizenship were found to be addressed within specific subjects, in PSE and in activities related to work. There was the possibility of activities of the lower age group being repeated for the upper age group. For more able pupils in the sixth form, for example, citizenship knowledge was often incorporated in subjects like economics and politics whereas less able pupils lower down the school gained more experience from traditional integrated approach. It was also found that in general, boys' schools concentrated less on citizenship activities like helping the disabled, voluntary service for elderly people, and so on, than girls' schools or co-educational schools. Certainly, just prior to the introduction of the National Curriculum, not all pupils in all schools over the nation were experiencing a well planned, relevant and coherent citizenship education.

Commission's Report to the National Curriculum Council

The submission of the Commission to the NCC is set out in detail in six documents:

1. National Survey of Schools conducted by Leicester University and SCPR (Social and Community Planning Research) for the Commission.

2. In depth survey of schools conducted by Leicester and Northants LEAs and Leicester University for the Commission.

3. Report of the Consultative Conference on Citizenship in Schools organised

by the Centre for the Study of Comprehensive Schools for the Commission.

4. Talking about Commitment: SCPR Research into the attitudes of young people undertaken on behalf of the Princes Trust and the Commission.

5. Council of Europe Document R(85) 7 on the teaching of Human Rights in school.

6. The first section of the Report of the Commission on Citizenship, reviewed in the light of the Consultative Conference.

The Report is referred to as the *Evidence of the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship to the National Curriculum Council on Citizenship in Schools.* It was later published as *Encouraging Citizenship.* The above documents together stressed some points which were absolutely vital for education of citizenship in a modern democracy. Firstly it was made clear that "throughout their school career all young people should learn about human rights as part of their preparation for life in a pluralistic democracy." Human rights has become more and more a citizenship matter in the twentieth century, in particular after the Second World War. Secondly, the Commission emphasised that citizenship education should involve four major areas:

1. values and attitudes;
2. the acquisition of a body of knowledge;
3. the development and exercise of skills;
4. learning democratic behaviour through experience of the school as a community, and from the experience of the school as an institution playing a role in the wider community.

Thus it defined citizenship as consisting of rights, duties and responsibilities; the general good virtue and the voluntary contribution to the community.

Thirdly, the Commission stressed that the framework of the National Curriculum had already been determined. Therefore the point was how to fit citizenship matters into it. It suggested the likelihood that citizenship would be taken forward within core and foundation subjects such as English, history and geography, and in parallel as an element in Personal and Social Education. It emphasised the importance of management and monitoring through a viable curricular mapping and audit strategy. Otherwise there was the risk that citizenship would become 'lost' within the curriculum. It thus urged the NCC to look at this matter clearly.

The Commission strongly endorsed the skills and experience of community as important components of citizenship apart from a body of knowledge. It regarded the acquisition of skills as crucial to the success of the citizenship theme and the active contribution of citizens, so important in a healthy democratic society.

Finally, the Commission supported strongly the views of the delegates of the Consultative Conference that Record of Achievement was the most viable form of assessing progress in citizenship and hoped that all schools would repond to the guidance of the NCC and give this theme the weight it deserved within the planned experience of schooling offered to the student.

Curriculum Guidance 8 : A Critical Evaluation

It is so clear, therefore, that there was a concerted effort to introduce education for citizenship into the Natonal Curriculum. The impact of the many conferences held to discuss citizenship education, and those held to discuss

the Curriculum Guidance document, was disappointing. A first reading of the document suggested decency and rationality, with all its references to fairness, equality, community and shared values. [15] But a closer examination revealed that it had omitted fundamental ideas about the nature of citizenship. 'Citizenship' is a contestable term. Like any other political terms, it has no single and self evident meaning. In the lead-up to the National Curriculum, it has been debated more vigorously than ever before. However, *Curriculum Guidance 8* tended to offer its view of 'citizenship' as self-evident. As Machon observed,

> "...in spite of its own references to our 'pluralist society' and that there may be 'different perceptions' about how to provide for others, the document's self-assured tone simply celebrates the status quo." [16]

For a century the failure to provide a widely accepted definition for citizenship or for sorting out its nature has been the greatest cause for diversity of education for citizenship across the country, and for its failure to root itself in the English education system. Thus sorting out a clear definition was important, as Roche pointed out,

> "in education systems awesome imponderables about the general nature of citizenship now and in the future must be regularly resolved, for good or for ill, by Monday morning." [17]

In spite of the NCC's faith in a national consensus, the guidance document for citizenship education did not seem to seek for the 'Monday morning' res-

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[15] Machon, P. "Cross-Curricular Theme, Subject or Citizen?" *Teaching Geography*, Vol. 16, No 3, 1991.

[16] *ibid.* p. 128

[17] Roche, M "Citizenship, social theory and social change", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 16, pp 363-399.

olution. [18] For sure, it is not easy to provide a solution to clarify the nature of *citizenship*.

Many current events could have contributed to broader definitions of citizenship education. The revolution in Eastern Europe in 1989-1990, for example, could have stimulated a less national view. Similarly, the re-emergence of environmental debates could also have contributed to moving the citizenship focus from the national to the global level. These contemporary happenings which were linked to citizenship education, and which could have contributed to a re-definition of citizenship education,are examples which did not feature in the document. Three broad objectives of citizenship education were given as: the nature of community; roles and relationships in a democratic society; the nature and basis of duties, responsibilities and rights. These objectives were to be realised through eight essential components: community; a pluralist society and being a citizen, which matched squarely the three given objectives except that democratic society has become pluralist society in the second component. A pluralist society is not equivalent to a democratic society though this document did not attempt to explain it. The other five components were: the family; democracy and action; the citizen and the law; work, employment and leisure; and public services. The document ended with examples of how these components could be delivered from key stages 1 to 4. Thus, it could be argued that as a totality, the document was prescriptive and knowledge oriented. It focused on knowledge rather than values and skills which citizenhip education should stress. International matters were mentioned, but in a

[18] Nixon, J "Reclaiming coherence· Cross- curriculum provision and the National Curriculum", *J Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 187-192.

peripheral way. The whole document was set in a mild neutral tone avoiding political and controversial issues, and emphasising the warning of the Education Reform Act that there should not be any 'partisan politics' or any partisan interpretation or representation of politics in the classroom. Perhaps the only controversial issues permitted would be issues on the environment. Machon warns:

> "Education for Citizenship matters, but in the absence of an honest lead teachers... would be well advised to look somewhere else rather than this document." [19]

Machon's criticism of this document appears in a geography journal. It thus refers to geographer's discontent with the citizenship guidance document. Similar discontent has also been presented more generally by writers such as Nixon who viewed this document as presenting a 'dizzy prospect' for citizenship education. [20] He noted that citizenship education in this document did not seem to associate with the current energetic and contested debate. Many of the right words: a pluralist society, equal opportunities, global issues, the need for international cooperation were mentioned in the overall rhetoric, but in terms of delivery, there could be no question that the document was rooted in a Victorian conception of citizenship on the evidence of suggestions on how to approach the study in practice. [21] Many of the illustrations, diagnostic of the underlying thinking, were redolent of old-fashioned civics, with key con-

[19] *ibid.* p 128

[20] *ibid.* 1991.

[21] see also Marsden, W. E. "W(h)ither International Understanding", in Hall, G. *Themes and Dimensions of the National Curriculum: Implications for Policy and Practice*, (forthcoming, Kogan Page, 1992.

cepts of laws and rules. The organisations recommended for consideration in citizenship education included the St. John's Ambulance, the Red Cross, the Scouts and Guides, the Duke of Edinburgh Awards Scheme, Outward Bound, Operation Raleigh, and 'of the greatest importance', the Police Service, which can 'help in developing the ethos of a school' and 'support active, participative citizenship through enterprises such as Junior Crime Prevention Panels'. International organisations such as UNESCO, Amnesty International, and so on were conspicuou by their absence. [22]

Compared with the Speaker's evidence on citizenship education which was sent to the NCC for consultation, the Curriculum Guidance document appears simplistic. The former was a huge report, consisting a fair amount of human rights issues and education for European citizenship whereas the latter contained these matters only at a rhetoric level. Anything on political education was dropped in spite of the fact that there exists now much good practice in political education which could be drawn on. The overall priority would seem to be encouraging passive and contended national subjects, than active international citizens. The next important current issue on citizenship is the mode of delivery which will be covered in the next chapter.

[22] *ibid.*

Chapter 10

Delivery of Citizenship Education within the National Curriculum Framework

Possible ways of delivering citizenship education in the National Curriculum have been mentioned in *Curriculum Guidance 8* for Key Stage 1 and 2, and for Key Stage 3 and 4 separately. [1] For KS 1 and 2, the following are suggested ways:

1. through the extension of existing practice, e.g. talking to adults in authority, role play, visits, residential experiences;

2. through schemes of work based on National Curriculum programmes of study which provide opportunities to promote education for citizenship. e.g. caring for others (in Science 3), needs and opportunity (in Technology 1);

3. through topics focussing on education for citizenship which have clear ob-

[1] NCC, *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship*, 1991, p. 16-7.

jectives and are well structured, e.g. myself and others;

4. through community links and planned blocks of activities. e.g. carol singing in hospitals and sheltered housing, litter campaigns.

For KS 3 and 4, five suggested ways are as follows:

1. permeating the whole curriculum;
2. taught as part of the PSE course programme;
3. treat as part of a pastoral tutorial programme;
4. treat as planned blocks of activities. e.g. police weeks, charity days;
5. through National Curriculum subjects, Religious Education and additional subjects such as social sciences and classics.

The ways suggested for these two phases are different because the structure of the primary curriculum is less subject-centred that of the secondary curriculum. In actual fact it should provide a structure within which it is easier to incorporate citizenship elements which are not part of the traditional subjects. Another reason is obviously that citizenship elements to be acquired at the primary stage are different from the secondary stage despite the fact that continuity and progression necessary from one stage to another.

Curriculum Guidance 8 devoted a chapter to a whole school policy for education for citizenship. This implies that permeation through the whole curriculum approach is favoured officially. For this strategy to work, a whole school policy on citizenship education is necessary. A whole school policy will cover the formal curriculum, the ethos of the school and relationships with the wider society. To develop the whole school policy, it is necessary to have consultation with teachers, parents, governors and community representatives.

(But why not pupils?) Pupil presentation is itself a citizenship activity which should be promoted if citizenship education is to be promoted. It might no longer be possible to elect student governors.

Firstly a mapping and audit strategy is required to locate citizenship education in the curriculum, to find out how citizenship is taught and how positive and participative citizenship is promoted throughout the school. At the same time, it is also necessary to consider other existing policies within the school or of the LEA including major plans for the future. To map the location of citizenship education requires looking at the whole curriculum and the inter relationships between them. It has been pointed out that there are links and overlaps within the cross-curricular themes and dimensions and the components of citizenship education are found in various core and foundation subjects as well as additional subjects. It has also been suggested that social sciences contribute a conceptual framework within which citizenship could flourish. *Curriculum Guidance 8* further suggested that Religious Education is a source for promoting the development of values, responsibilities and rights.

> "Religious Education, which is part of the statutory basic curriculum, is particularly important in promoting the study of values and beliefs, relationships between individuals and society, and duties and responsibilities and rights." [2]

Citizenship education is found in traditional integrative approaches too. They do not appear to have a good location in the National Curriculum but many projects of this nature have been developed throughout the past three decades. T by the Schools Council have been adopted by a large number of schools, such as the *Humanities Project* and *Geography for the Young School*

[2]NCC, *op cit* p 14.

Leavers. These were progressive approaches, certainly with the aim of promoting citizenship education and fitting the pupils for the adult world. Many schools are still using these approaches. All these areas should surely be explored when mapping citizenship education in the school curriculum.

Delivery of citizenship education also takes place in the context of the climate of the school as a whole the relationships between pupils and teachers in a community. Thus the organisation and management of the school itself provide the tone of the school where they share their values and set rules. When constructing the whole school policy, this aspect of contribution to citizenship education should also be considered. The Elton Report, *Discipline in Schools* pointed out the way in which schools were run had a significant effect on pupils' standard of work, behaviour, self-discipline, self-confidence and attend nce. It also noted that a school in which each pupil was known and valued could play a major role in developing a sense of belonging. It could bring about awareness of the value of participative citizenship and provide role models to which pupils could relate back to life later. School policies on equal opportunities should help pupils to develop the positive attitudes of citizenship such as equal rights and opportunity.

This pointed to the value of the 'democratic school' as itself a contributory factor to citizenship education. The 'democratic school' was not discussed in *Curriculum Guidance 8*. However, educationists of citizenship were aware of its value. This was evident at the Citizenship Consultation Conference, held on 16th Feb. 1990, at Northampton, as we have seen. The report of the conference gave more details about the discussion on democratic school. It pointed out that many responses emphasised the importance of shared values

and objectives arrived at after discussion and consultation, and then adhered to by all but with continued consultation and participation in decision making. Not least, all schools contained extra-curricular activities which provided opportunity to enhance citizenship skills, to exercise responsibility and to apply knowledge and understanding acquired from the classroom.

Permeating core and foundation subjects

Citizenship education is most likely to be successful when it is built on the best of current practice and does not present schools with unfamiliar models. One now widely accepted, if only partial solution is to build the components of citizenship into core and foundation subjects. This is the permeation model. It is also one of the approaches recommended more widely by NCC for the teaching of cross-curriclar themes, [3] and is recommended in Curriculum Guidance 8. Therefore the problem of finding a place for citizenship education in the already overcrowded curriculum is in part and theoretically resolved. At the same time all teachers are seen as needing to take some responsibilities for citizenship education. On the other hand, for this approach to be successful, efficient coordinating and management is required. It would work better with a team or at least a coordinator to look after the implementation of citizenship education within each subject to avoid repetition or omission. For the start, a mapping and auditing of the subjects' contribution to citizenship education or vice versa are important. For example, one way of doing it is to consider the contributions of the eight components of citizenship against the attainment

[3] See NCC, Curriculum Guidance 3: The Whole Curriculum, NCC, 1990.

targets of each subject and build up a linkage between them. Fig.1 on the next page shows how citizenship components can be linked with attainment targets in geography.

Fig. 1

Links between Geography Attainment Targets and Citizenship Components

Geography Attainment Targets	community	a pluralist society	being a citizen	the family	democracy in action	the citizen and the law	work, employment and leisure	public services
1. geographical skills								
2. knowledge and understanding of places	√	√						
3. physical geography								
4. human geography	√	√		√			√	√
5. environmental geography							√	√

The attainment target, human geography is linked to the citizenship components, community and a pluralist society, work, employment and leisure, and public services. This is true because human geography deals with people and community and all aspects of life in the community. Likewise, environmental geography links with work, employment and leisure and public services. Environmental geography deals with the environment, including the positive and negative impact of work, for example, on the environment. When these links are teased out, different components of citizenship education could be taken care of by different subject teachers, avoiding omission or repetition.

This approach sounds familiar to most schools. However, the problems which it can encounter would sound familiar to them as well. NCC *Curriculum Guidance 3* has pointed out some of these problems. Firstly, it may be difficult to ensure appropriate teaching and learning methods as it involves all the foundation subjects and all teachers teaching the subjects. For sure, the approach for teaching these subjects should vary from one another. This approach has another potential disadvantage in that there is frequently no ownership for citizenship education accepted by individual teachers — no ownership, no responsibility! The subject teachers focus on their own discipline and citizenship becomes a peripheral element within these subjects. There is a danger that it becomes so unimportant that it is marginalised. This has, in effect, been the historical experience of this century. Thirdly, when citizenship components are spread over all the foundation subjects, a lack of central focus on each theme may result in difficulties in coordination. Thus for this approach to work well, there need to be a whole school policy for each theme. This would mean extra work and perhaps extra time and extra human resources. From

evidence of what has happened so far, the government's preference of a cross-curriculum delivery of citizenship is clear — Government, rights, duties and responsibilities through history; moral behaviour through Religious Education, community and the world through geography, etc. Experience suggests that this type of permeation is more successful in the rhetoric than the reality. It is noticeable that the statutory orders of geography and history have not explicitly attempted to make the case for these two subjects to play a role in citizenship education, though there was dutiful comment in the final reports of the working parties.

History and geography have been traditionally recognised as playing the major role in disseminating citizenship knowledge as much as citizenship values to the pupils, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. In the National Curriculum framework, the central focus of history and geography has predictably been on the subjects themselves.

In the editorial in *Teaching Geography*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1991, David Boardman identified causes for concern in the *Geography in the Statutory Order*. In the first place he noted the removal of enquiry skills from AT1 which seriously weakened the position of one of the main developments in geography teaching during the past two decades. Enquiry skills contribute to the development of citizenship, whether personal and social development or development of the power of reasoning. Another disquieting feature of the Order was the removal of certain statements of attainment relating to values, attitudes and opinions. The examination of values and attitudes is clearly as important in teaching geography as in promoting citizenship values. Some of the statements of attainment in human geography were also amended, with those addressing

controversial political, economic and environmental issues marginalised.

Marsden pointed out that the *Statutory Order for Geography* has not highlighted, though neither has it completely avoided mention of the development of international understanding, to him a critical element in any progressive citizenship education programme. In the Secretary of State's terms of reference to the Working Group:

> "No lead was given in the terms of reference to developing international understanding though there was in fact a chink of light in the reference to the physical, economic, political and cultural relationships that link peoples living in different places throughout the world." [4]

The European dimension was also found almost disappearing from the primary phase on the grounds that the load for key stage 2 needed lightening. In general, lightening of the load helped to reduce the global aspects which would promote international understanding. Geography's most widely accepted role in citizenship education, ie. contribution to the promotion of world citizenship, was to a degree weakened.

Another important aspect given minimal attention in the *Statutory Order for Geography* is the explicit relationship of geography with citizenship education. The only mention, include in reference below, is rather peremptory.

> "Attainment targets and programmes of study for geography contribute to cross-curricular themes, including environmental education, economic and industrial understanding and citizenship. The NCC has published guidance on each of these themes." [5]

[4] Marsden, W. E. *op cit.* (forthcoming)

[5] DES, *Statutory Order for Geography*, HMSO, 1991, p. 7.

Political education and critical study did not appear to be covered. Where there was slight mention, the tone suggested that the world is relatively unproblematic, so presumably emphasising problem-solving skills was not appropriate. Having said this, there was some address to citizenship education in the Final Report of the Working Group. [6] In it geography was decribed as making an essential contribution to the development of citizenship by evaluating the 'consequences for people, places and environments of decisions at all levels from local to global' and investigating 'issues relating to changes and clarity and identify different viewpoints'. In the Order, however, geography's role in clarifying applicable values and attitudes was minimalised. The contribution to other cross-curricular areas was also just mentioned. [7] The 'positive' point about the Order was that it did not, in any way restrict education for citizenship infusion in relation to geography. The way ahead for geographers is to make use of this opportunity provided and design actively cross curricular matters to which geography could contribute in geography-focussed but cross-curricular topics. Geography non-statutory guidance document contained almost a page on cross-curricular dimensions and themes, including citizenship, but this again was too little compared with the potential contribution of geography to citizenship education. It is evident, however, that geography must take a major responsibility for contributing to citizenship education in the context of the international dimensions. Even the Statutory Order leaves sufficient space for this.

[6] DES, *Geography for Ages 5-16: Proposals of the Secretary of State for Education and Science and Secretary of State for Wales*, London: HMSO, 1990, p. 76.

[7] DES, *ibid.* Section 6, para 28.

The History Interim Report embodied a different approach. There was much early controversy, the Secretary of State demanding more British history and giving a sharper focus for British experience. [8] This was particularly met in the Final Report. Both Interim and Final Reports maintained a case for citizenship education. Four attainment targets were proposed which would make history justifiable as a subject in education. The Statutory Order modified the attainment targets and reduced them to three. The narrow nature of this Statutory Orders again did not provide the link between history and citizenship education. It seemed that though citizenship had already been identified as an entitlement for all pupils in maintained schools, it was not emphasised in any statutory orders, and thereby its implementation left to chance. History's non-statutory guidance document predictably and, in terms of official thinking appropriately, devoted more space to citizenship and cross-curricular themes.

> "National Curriculum (for history)relates to the main components in NCC's *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship*, ie. work, employment and leisure, the family, and the nature of community." [9]

Like the *Statutory Order for Geography*, apart from providing ample lip service to citizenship education, the orders truly did not, of course, restrict the potentiality of the use of history for teaching citizenship components. Thus, it remained positive that citizenship education could be taught through permeation method through geography and history and other foundation subjects.

[8] Little, V "A National Curriculum in History: A very Contentious Issue", *British J. of Educational Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 1990, pp. 319-334.

[9] DES, *Statutory Order for History*, HMSO, 1991.

The point was, however, that official support was more in the rhetoric of statutory guidance than in the real politics of the statutory orders. Progressive teachers need not be inhibited, but there seems little to subvert the narrow interpretation of the reactionary.

Taught through Additional Subjects and Integrative Approaches

These are not approaches officially identified for covering cross-curricular themes in NCC *Curriculum Guidance 3.* However, the current national survey on citizenship in secondary schools confirmed that some integrative approaches are present in many schools.[10] For example it showed: 78% of the participating schools concluded that they included citizenship elements in history, geography and humanities; 62% in Home Economics; 45% in Business Studies; 28% in Economics and 28% in Social Studies. These figures indicated that additional subjects and integrative approaches contributed to a high percentage of all citizenship components taught in secondary schools. Thus this is also a potentially viable way of teaching citizenship components in the National Curriculum Framework. The disadvantage of this approach is that some of the subjects are outside foundation subjects, therefore they are non-statutory, and have been left little space in the curriculum. The advantage is that there are already rich resources and good practice developed over the past decade. Fig.2 gives some examples of the connection between social studies, economics, sociology and politics and the eight pre-identified citizenship components.

[10]See Fogelman, K. *Citizenship in Schools*, David Fulton, 1991, pp. 35-48.

Fig. 2

Links between non foundation subjects and Citizenship Components

Additional Subjects	community	a pluralist society	being a citizen	the family	democracy in action	the citizen and the law	work, employment and leisure	public services
1. Social Studies	√	√		√			√	√
2. Economics	√			√			√	
3 Sociology	√	√		√			√	√
4. Politics			√		√	√	√	√

Social studies is shown to link to the citizenship components, community, a pluralist society, the family, work, employment and leisure, and public services. These are true links as social studies deals with the nature of the community, especially the roles and relationships of living in a pluralist society. It also covers other aspects of life such as work, employment, leisure, and public services. Economics, sociology and politics likewise connect to some of these components of citizenship in their own ways.

This approach of delivering citizenship education is also complicated. It requires proper coordination and planning.

Taught through separately timetabled PSE

This would seem to most people, a widely accepted approach in the secondary schools for citizenship education, particularly by those not devoted to a subject specialism. The national survey confirms it. [11]

> "When then asked to identify the one subject area within which most citizenship studies teaching took place for most pupils, PSE was by far the most frequently selected by schools (67%). "

This approach was mentioned in NCC *Curriculum Guidance 3*. The document referred to some positive points about this approach for teaching cross-curricular themes. First of all, citizenship is such a complex matter, by taking it out from traditional subjects, it could be treated by specialist team. By treating citizenship in PSE, it also enables strong links to be established between other cross-curricular themes. Another advantage may be that this

[11] *ibid.* p. 44.

approach provides flexibility. For example, a modular course could be improvised where students could work through specialised programmes.

The drawback is that this approach needs to be supported by the school's pastoral programme and other curricular provision. There could also be competition between cross-curricular themes which may restrict time given to any one theme. Fig.3 on the next page illustrates the link between citizenship components and the components of PSE stated in *Curriculum Matters 14: Personal and Social Education from 5-16.* [12]

[12]DES, *Curriculum Matters 14: Personal and Social Education from 5-16*, HMSO, 1989.

Fig. 3

Links between PSE Components and Citizenship Components

PSE Programes	community	a pluralist society	being a citizen	the family	democracy in action	the citizen and the law	work, employment and leisure	public services
1. personal and social abilities and skills	√	√		√			√	
2. themselves, others and their surroundings	√	√	√	√			√	√
3. social responsibilities	√	√	√	√			√	
4. moral ideas and behaviour	√	√	√	√				

In this document it was identified that PSE concerned the development of personal and social abilities and skills; the relationship between the pupils themselves and their surroundings; the moral ideas and behaviour, and their social responsibilities. These aspects are generally linked with living in the family, the community, and the society at large. Therefore, all of them have some connections with the citizenship components, community, a pluralist society, the family, work, employment and leisure, and public services.

PSE's relation to citizenship education was well established before the National Curriculum was implemented. In 1988 HMI's survey of 21 secondary schools throughout England, citizenship components were found dominant in PSE courses. The statistics are shown in Table 1 on the next page.

Table 1

The statistics from 1988 HMI's survey

Main themes and topics included in PSE courses	*Approximate percentage (%) in PSE courses*
Health education	80
Careers education	60
Political education and world issues	55
Moral and religious education	50
Personal relationships and responsibilities	45
Community and social studies	40
Legal issues	35
Study skills	35
Economic issues	25
Education for parenthood	15

(HMI, 1988)

Personal relationships and responsibilities, political education and world issues, community and social studies, legal issues, moral education are all components of citizenship. [13] Surprisingly, none of the schools out of the 21 surveyed, wished to let PSE go optional. This indicated the priority for PSE given by these schools. The main aim is in large part for preparation for employment and for adult life. This was once the most emphasised aim for citizenship education. The HMI survey states

> "Many of the courses shared similar aims and objectives. Their overriding concern was to help to prepare pupils for adult life. Thus the courses aimed to enable pupils to develop self-awareness, to extend their understanding of the nature of personal and social relationships, and of the social, economic and political world in which they lived and in which they would be adults. More specifically, courses were designed to enable pupils to develop effective skills in utilising their personal qualities, in managing their relationships, and in making choices when faced by dilemmas, were they moral, political or vocational. In short, they intended to give pupils a range of skills, and confidence, to help them cope with a rapidly changing social world. Some courses also made explicit a wish to encourage pupils to develop positive attitudes in caring for themselves - their health and their relationships - and in caring for and respecting others in their immediate relationships and in the wider community." [14]

However, this is a rather narrow view. PSE is certainly more than just for preparation for employment and adult life, as we have already seen. [15] There are already ample good practices which could be used as examples for PSE courses.

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[13] DES, *A Survey of Personal and Social Education Courses in Some Secondary Schools*, HMSO, 1988

[14] *ibid.* p 176.

[15] Refer to Table 1 which relates PSE to a number of areas of education.

As it stands today, PSE provides the most likely programme through which certain citizenship components are to be taught. Though there is no space for PSE in the core or foundation curriculum, most schools will devise a way of retaining much or all of their existing PSE programmes within the area of the National Curriculum which remains unspecified and within the cross-curricular themes. Given the strength of the forces which propelled PSE into the curriculum in first place, it seems very possible that will happen, and will provide the best instrument for the teaching of citizenship components.

Taught through long-block timetabling

This approach simply suggests that citizenship can be treated outside normally timetabled classroom time, for example through carving out a week long programme, such as an activity week. *Curriculum Guidance 8* cited examples for activity week such as police week, and charity week. In fact, there are more which could be suggested. For example, setting a week to acquaint with a home for the elderly, not as purely a sort of voluntary service, but rather to talk to them to understand a social problem, perhaps, the care for the elderly. There are other examples, such as holding a concert to illustrate a particular citizenship theme like roles as an active citizen. The pupils can be encouraged to think about the roles involved and how to depict them, perhaps in the form of a drama. This has direct impact on the pupils as they are themselves involved in such activities.

This approach is good in the sense that it is viable and does not affect the crowded timetable for the rest of the year. It also makes possible activities

which cannot be fitted within normal school periods. This is also congenial to individual resource based learning and to community-linked activities. Another good point about this approach is that long and intensive lessons would encourage motivation in the children. At the same time, it eases integration of contributions from all subjects.

This is, however, a tedious approach. Additional planning and liaison work is necessary in order to achieve good results. This would also demand special capability from the teachers to handle the activities. As a whole such an approach is insufficient to cover all the eight components of citizenship education.

Whole curriculum planning leading to blocks of activities

This is an approach recommended in NCC *Curriculum Guidance 3* but it did not illustrate it clearly. It would seem similar to the approach of long-block timetabling except that the activity in this approach is supposed to be subject based. It means extracting the citizenship component carefully from all the subjects and reorganising them into subject-based topics to be treated for varying periods of time. For example, an activity to study the employment pattern of a local community can be said as geography-based. At the same time, it could be structured in such a way as to contribute to the citizenship component of 'work, employment and leisure'. It can be organised to take a week or 2 weeks depending on the local situation. This sounds good in terms of consistency, avoidance of omission and repetition and takes into account

continuity and progression. It also enables decisions to be taken about balance between different curriculum areas. At the same time it enables citizenship themes to be planned in conjunction with National Curriculum subjects. It ensures a balance between subject specific and integrative methods.

This method is easier to carry out with the mapping and auditing processes already carried out. Even so, it requires the following:

1. a detailed knowledge of programmes of study for different curriculum areas;
2. collaborative planning on a whole school basis;
3. short, medium and long-term planning;
4. decisions to be taken about how blocks will fit together and how much time will be needed to achieve them;
5. a whole school policy for each theme which links them to schemes of work for different curriculum areas.

Summary

It is likely that a number all these approaches will be taken by most schools for the delivery of citizenship components in the National Curriculum. It is not likely to adopt all approaches in the same school. Whatever methods of delivery chosen, it is important that coordination and management work is taken seriously by skilful personnel. In primary schools the current practice certainly favours integration and cross-curricular approach. In secondary schools, with the strong existence of foundation subjects and little space left for additional approaches, permeation through foundation subjects perhaps has a stronger appeal than other approaches. Nevertheless, there are also problems with

this approach. With the taking away of, for example, global components from geography, it has made the subject less favourable for its contribution to international understanding aspect of citizenship education. Thus the most viable and practical approach to citizenship education is through the permeation of history and geography, and PSE, as it stands now.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

In this conclusion, citizenship education in the twentieth century in England will be analysed in terms of:

1. continuity and change,
2. achievements to date, and
3. future development.

This analysis, like the rest of the thesis is based on the assumption that the historical experience, properly used, provides a potentially valuable resource for current and future planning.

Continuity and change

There has been a continuity in many aspects of citizenship education in England and Wales in the twentieth century. This is true when we take into account the various meanings and approaches of citizenship education followed in its study. The dramatic political repercussion of two world wars did not cut

off the dynamic of continuity. On the contrary, they provided the stimulus to connecting old practice with innovation. The most dominant periods of change were the periods before, between and after the two world wars. They were stimulated at large by the necessity for change reflected in the social, economic and political situation inside and outside the country. The pressure for change after the First World War was, as we have seen, from the international organisations such as the League of Nations, and the national organisations such as the League of Nations Union and the Association for the Education in Citizenship. The overriding trigger was the fear of future war. Similar reasoning can be deduced in the continuing emphasis on education for international understanding and democracy in the immediate post-Second World War period. Other changes which took place in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s must also be placed in the context of economic and environmental factors as well as of political reasons.

A closer look at the continuity and change over the century reveals that although citizenship education has experienced a number of changes in aims and in curriculum content, in essence, its organisation remains the same. What was being taught, as well as the methods used continued to be defined by educationists and knowledgeable teachers. Even at the high point of development when one ha accustomed to the idea of change with the concept of political literacy, there was still an emphasis not only on received knowledge but also on attitudes and skills. We might argue that in the 1970s and 1980s, the international dimension achieved a stronger emphasis and could be regarded as change for the better. But there remained an underlying and continuing bedrock of reaction that has surfaced, some might argue, in *Curriculum Guid-*

ance 8, which strongly reflects a traditional civics emphasis. In sum we can deduce that the experience of pupils is still being carefully constructed in relation to the perceived needs of society and perhaps the needs of the governing party. One might tend to believe that the society has become more egalitarian, and that we are now living in a pluralistic society in which there is participative democracy. However, one could argue that this is an inaccurate description of political and social reality in this country by looking at the way citizenship education continues to reflect narrow nationalistic definitions. There remains a central power structure which controls political decisions. In spite of the growth of pressure groups, and an interest in 'grass roots' political activity, it would seem that the current form of citizenship education is still intended to inculcate pupils with a docile concept of involvement in a democratic system. This was pointed out by Tapper and Salter in 1979. [1] In this way, there remained continuity of the concept of a citizenship education designed to give priority to stability in society, and to the transmission of cultural values and beliefs according to particular perceived wisdoms. Cultural reproduction thus becomes political reproduction and stability is ensured. There is thus a support for the 'deep structures of continuity', [2] a context built up from Callaghan's Ruskin speech of 1976.

As we have seen, *Curriculum Guidance 8* is part of both continuity and change: part of a longer term, continuity, but of shorter term, change in response to recent progressive trends. It is all too evident that political edu-

[1] Tapper, T. and Salter, B. "Political Education in Britain and the United States: Comparative Lessons", *Teaching Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 233-247.

[2] Grace, G. *Teachers' Ideology and Control*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

cation and international understanding, for example, have been marginalised, in the renewal of an older tradition of seeing citizenship education as civic education, full of knowledge content but lacking active participation in the sense meant in political literacy education. To those supporting this view, the National Curriculum Council has *thus served to perpetuate aspects of* reactionary practice.

The achievements of citizenship education

Although the social environment has at times been sufficiently fertile for the theory and practice of citizenship to grow and flourish in several periods during this century, it has failed to blossom to its full potential.[3] Thus Heater wrote:

> "No society has yet educated its young people to a full appreciation of their potential roles as citizens of their own states and of the world and, at the same time, provided a full range of opportunities for these roles to be performed on reaching adulthood."[4]

Evidence from research in the United States and other countries has revealed negative results in citizenship education. For example, Langton suggested that civics, government and social studies were achieving nothing at the secondary level; [5] Torney, in a ten-nation survey reported that civic education had generally failed: "nowhere has the system proved capable of producing the ideal goal of a well-informed citizenry, with democratic attitudes and val-

[3]Heater, D *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, Longman, 1990, p 163

[4]*ibid.* p 163.

[5]Langton, K. *Political Socialisation*, Little Brown, 1977, pp. 115-9.

ues, supportive of government policies and interested in civic affairs"; [6] the general level of political participation, in anything more active than voting, is extremely low and is also dominated by middle and upper-middle class groups. [7] These three examples would suggest that England is no exception. From the first five chapters, we could gather enough evidence that almost all the basic issues in the shaping of a complete citizen have been illuminated, either by practical experience or theoretical advocacy. A range of strategies have also been adopted. The term 'citizenship' has revealed a cluster of meanings related to a defined legal or social status, a means of political identity, a focus of loyalty, a requirement of duties, an expectation of rights and a yardstick of good social behaviour.[8] The learning of these aspects of citizenship has also been taught through different teaching methods, as well as through different subjects. Then what has gone wrong with citizenship education? In this thesis there are enough indications that the development of citizenship education has been plagued by waxing and waning advocacy. At one moment it would seem to be seen as an important area in the curriculum, at another, it would disappear almost totally. There seemed to be no sustained and overriding interest to hold citizenship education together as a common entitlement. It has also appeared in different guises, with a variety of names. Sometimes it has appeared as a recognisable syllabus of an examination board, but in different forms, such as social studies, politics, sociology and the like. At other

[6]Torney, J and Openheim, A. et al., *Civic ducation in Ten Countries*, Wiley, 1975, p. 21.

[7]Pammett, J H. and Whittington, M. S. (eds) *Foundations of Political Culture: Political Socialisation in Canada*, Macmillan, 1976, pp 111-2.

[8]Heater *op. cit.* p. 163.

times, it has been implicit only as part of a curriculum. Sometimes, citizenship education has been seen as more relevant to less able pupils, while the more able were offered more academic optional citizenship subjects such as politics and economics. This type of practice was dominant in the tripartite system but its influence has been evident after comprehensivisation, in which case, it was noticeable that less able pupils tended to choose or to be offered social studies, rather than pure history or geography. Some of the curriculum development projects which have strong links with citizenship education were specifically designed for the less able, for example, *Geography for the Young School Leaver*. All these are characteristics which made citizenship education difficult to achieve its aims.

Another problem, we have seen, is the manifest impossibility of the task given to citizenship educators. The more progressive and far-reaching the agenda, the more difficult the task. It is easier to produce a cohort of passive national subjects than one of active international citizens A particular problem in Britain has been the power of the underlying class structure which so fundamentally affects educational organisation. Thus the inter-war Spens Report recommended the division of secondary schools — the tripartite system, and clearly implied the acceptance of a class society, and a different way of preparing for the citizenship role of different groups. While it favoured experimentation and criticised the county grammar schools for imitating the public schools and for failing to develop quasi-vocational courses for pupils who wanted to enter industry or commerce at the age of 16, overall able and less able pupils were being labelled, and assigned different and unfairly distributed citizen roles. When the tripartite system was actually introduced,

we noted that overt citizenship education was introduced into the secondary modern schools. Thus although there was secondary education for all, different pupils were taught how to place themselves in society. This predictably subverted the aims of a more progressively defined citizenship education.

'Reconstruction' was, of course, the progressive catch word in education after the Second World War. To understand this requires an understanding of the post-war Britain. Post-war Britain was constituted on a contract between capital, labour and the state. [9] There was to be no return to the squalor of the pre-war social order and its endemic inequality, idleness, poverty, disease and ignorance. Keynes's economic planning, Beveridge's welfare state and Butler's framework for educational opportunity together constituted the institutional conditions for the post-war polity: citizenship dependent upon common membership and dignity which were derived from shared rights and opportunities. [1] To safeguard liberty and freedom against fascism, it was necessary to create an educated democracy of citizens. Thus Archbishop Temple articulated the significance of the 1944 reforms:

> "until education has done far more than it has had the opportunity of doing, it cannot have society organised on the basis of justice ... you cannot have political freedom any more than you have moral freedom until people's powers have been developed... If you want human liberty you must have educated people." [11]

Thus the 1944 Education Act advocated free education for all, directed to the needs and capacities of young people rather than dependent upon the mate-

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[9] Middlemas, K *Politics in Industrial Society*, Deutsch, 1979.

[10] Ransan, S "Towards Education for Citizenship", *Educational Review*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 1990, pp 151-166.

[11] *ibid.* p. 154

rial well being, status and power of their parents. Literacy, citizenship and personal development became the responsibility of education. This education reform should lead Britain into a modern world as citizenship education would achieve its goals more easily in the new environment. However, the 1944 Act emphasised not a 'better' citizenship education for social reconstruction, but retained the hard division between primary and secondary schools while continuing the tripartite system.

By the 1960s, the comprehensivisation of secondary schools gradually did away with modern school. Mixed ability range of pupils were more frequently taught in the same school. Citizenship education was still an element in the process of differentiating pupils according to their abilities. Social studies was normally offered to lower ability groups, whether studying for a non-examination subject or as a CSE, and an examination subject. The academically able pupils studied separate subjects, preparing themselves for higher education. At least comprehensive education provided the opportunity for a common and more integrated curriculum, seized upon by some schools.

The wind of curriculum change blew across the country during the 1970s and early 1980s. In many ways the trends, as we have seen, were progressive. We witnessed the growth of the new history, the new geography and the new social sciences including political education in schools, coincided with the curriculum development projects. We saw the growth of courses such as world studies, peace education, and human rights education. These were successfully implemented in a small number of institutions with enthusiastic advocates. In general their achievement was to provoke a reactionary backlash. While the tone of *Curriculum Guidance 8* did not reflect an extreme manifestation of

this back ash, it was still arguably part of the reactionary trend inhibiting the achievement of the aims of a more wider-ranging citizenship education.

The future for active citizenship?

Active citizenship was not a common expression in citizenship education until recently. The Speaker's Commission for Citizenship added a fourth dimension to Marshall's active citizenship. It says, "this fourth dimension would involve the ideal of public good and civic virtue which finds the experience in the largely voluntary contribution to society of citizens acting either as individuals or in association with one another." [12] The importance of 'active citizenship' as viewed by the Commission could be seen in two ways. Firstly, as a greater proportion of the population becomes elderly and lives longer, more carers are needed in society. Secondly, politicians and others do not want to pay the price for 'rampant materialism and unchecked selfishness', so there is occurring a battle for the moral high ground of citizenship as a means for bettering society. [13] This represents the same view as one expressed by Douglas Hurd,

> "Active citizenship is the free acceptance by individuals of voluntary obligations to the community of which they are members. It cannot be conjured up by legislation or by political speeches - although both can help. It arises from traditions of civic obligations and voluntary service which are central to the thinking of this Government and rooted in our history." [14]

[12] Commission on Citizenship, *Extract from the Report of the Commission on Citizenship*, 1990, p. 10.

[13] Phillips, M. "Battle for the high ground of citizenship" *The Guardian*, 8 September, 1989.

The Commission also reported that active citizenship

> "needs to be an element of the curriculum of all primary and secondary schools so that children and young people can develop an understanding of both the idea of citizenship and what it means in practice, for example, in the form of community action." [15]

While at face value this would contain progressive overtone, it also sounds out warnings that 'active' citizenship, if narrowly conceived, can be a reactionary force. Focussing on the 'fourth dimension' almost to the exclusion of all else means that at best a restricted form of citizenship can emerge. The framework suggested by the Commission is possibly not the best that could be hoped for. Can it help to produce the active twenty-first century citizens, assum- ing that the following make up the characteristics of the twenty-first century citizen?

1. one who is well informed on a broad range of global topics and issues;
2. one who is tolerant of and respectful toward others;
3. one who is a critical thinker;
4. one who seeks justice and equality for all;
5. one who sees interdependence and cooperation as a way of life;
6. one who is an active participant in society and takes responsibility for his or her actions;
7. one who sees change as a constant that can be managed and directed;
8. one who views learning as a lifelong pursuit rather than a fixed period of

[14] Hurd, D. "Freedom will flourish where citizens accept responsibility" *The Independent*, 13 September, 1989.

[15] Commission on Citizenship, *op. cit.* p. 10.

instruction in a formal setting. [16]

After viewing these chara.cteristics, the Commission's framework can validly be queried while citizenship education in the 1970s and 1980s provided some of its basis for good practice extending beyond this century in terms of developments — multicultural education, human rights education, political literacy education, peace education, development education, personal and social education, just to mention a few.

This leads us further to query the notion of active citizenship in itself in the light of the continued emphasis on civic virtues, important though these are, rather than on notions associated with such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Social Charter, and the like. The question of what is an active twenty-first century citizen has not yet been answered. At the end of this thesis one could only be sure that good citizenship needs to go much further than involvement in voluntary civic activity. Even so, securing a place for citizenship education in the curriculum even as a non-statutory element, as an entitlement for 5-16 age group pupils — placing it as a cross-curricular theme in a centrally controlled national Curriculum, is some sort of achievement. The achievement has already been initiated by the stress on prescribed content related to the perceived national interest. As such there is a tendency for the continuity of using citizenship education as a form of power control, not as a form of stimulus to the growth of world citizenship and international understanding. The achievement of Oliver Goldsmith's inspiring formulation must lie beyond

[16]Cogan, J. J. "Citizenship for the 21st Century: Observations and Reflections", *Social Education*, April/May, 1989, p. 243.

the millenium:

> "Let European travellers cross seas and deserts merely to measure the height of a mountain, to describe the cataract of a river, or to tell the commodities which every country may produce; merchants or geographers, perhaps, may find profit by such discoveries, but what advantage can accrue to a philosopher from such accounts, who is desirous of understanding the human heart, who seeks to know the men of every country, who desires to discover those differences which result from climate, religion, education, prejudice and partiality...Confucius observes that it is the duty of the learned to unite society closely and to persuade men to become citizens of the world." [17]

[17] Goldsmith, O., 1762, reprinted in Friedman, A. (ed) *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith, Vol. II, The Citizen of the World*, Clarendon Press, 1960, p. 40 and 86.

Appendix 1

Extract from the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948

The General Assembly proclaims

This Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right of life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and associations.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Artile 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be

given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration can be fully realised.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Appendix 2

Extract from the European Social Charter(1961)

The Governments signatory hereto, being Members of the Council of Europe,
Considering that the main aim of the Council of Europe is the achievement of greater unity between its Members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and of facilitating their economic and social progress, in particular by the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms;
Considering that in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed at Rome on 4th November, 1952, the Member States of the Council of Europe agreed to secure to their populations the civil and political rights and freedoms therein specified;
Considering that the enjoyment of social rights should be secured without discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin;
Being resolved to make every effort in common to improve the standard of living and to promote the social well-being of both their urban and rural populations by means of appropriate institutions and action,
Have agreed as follows:

Part 1

The Contracting Parties accept as the aim of their policy, to be pursued by all appropriate means, both national and international in character, the attainment of conditions in which the following rights and principles may be effectively realised:

1. Everyone shall have the opportunity to earn his living in an occupation

freely entered upon.

2. All workers have the right to just conditions of work.

3. All workers have the right to safe and healthy working conditions.

4. All workers have the right to a fair remuneration sufficient for a decent standard of living for themselves and their families.

5. All workers and employers have the right to freedom of association in national or international organisations for the protection of their economic and social interests.

6. All workers and employers have the right to bargain collectively.

7. Children and young persons have the right to a special protection against the physical and moral hazards to which they are exposed.

8. Employed women, in case of maternity, and other employed women as appropriate, have the right to a special protection in their work.

9. Everyone has the right to appropriate facilities for vocational guidance with a view to helping him choose an occupation suited to his personal aptitude and interests.

10. Everyone has the right to appropriate facilities for vocational training.

11. Everyone has the right to benefit from any measures enabling him to enjoy the highest possible standard of health attainable.

12. All workers and their dependents have the right to social security.

13. Anyone without adequate resources has the right to social and medical assistance.

14. Everyone has the right to benefit from social welfare services.

15. Disabled persons have the right to vocational training, rehabilitation and resettlement, whatever the origin and nature of their disability.

16. The family as a fundamental unit of society has the right to appropriate social, legal and economic protection to ensure its full development.

17. Mothers and children, irrespective of marital status and family relations, have the right to appropriate social and economic protection.

18. The nationals of any one of the Contracting Parties have the right to engage in any gainful occupation in the territory of any one of the others on a footing of equality with the nationals of the latter, subject to restrictions based on cogent economic or social reasons.

19. Migrant workers who are nationals of a Contracting Party and their families have the right to protection and assistance in the territory of any other Contracting Party.

Appendix 3

Council of Europe: Recommendation No. R(85)7 of the Commitee of Ministers to Member States on Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Schools

The Committee of Ministers, under the terms of Article 15(b) of the Statute of the Council of Europe,

Considering that the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage;

Reaffirming the human rights undertakings embodied in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the European Social Charter;

Having regard to the commitments to human rights education made by member states at international and European conferences in the last decade;

Recalling:

its own Resolution(78)41 on 'The teaching of human rights';

its Declaration on 'Intolerance: a threat to democracy' of 14 May 1981;

its Recommendation No. R(83)13 on 'The role of the secondary school in preparing young people for life';

Noting Recommendation 963(1983) of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe on 'Cultural and educational means of reducing violence';

Conscious of the need to reaffirm democratic values in the face of:

intolerance, acts of violence and terrorism;

the re-emergence of the public expression of racist and xenophobic attitudes;

—the disillusionment of many young people in Europe, who are affected by

the economic recession and aware of the continuing poverty and inequality in the world;

Believing, therefore, that, throughout their school career, all young people should learn about human rights as part of their preparation for life in a pluralistic democracy;

Convinced that schools are communities which can, and should, be an example of respect for the dignity of the individual and for difference, for tolerance, and for equality of opportunity,

I. Recommends that the governments of member states, having regard to their national education systems and to the legislative basis for them:

(a) encourage teaching and learning about human rights in schools in line with the suggestions contained in the appendix hereto;

(b)draw the attention of persons and bodies concerned with school education to the text of this recommendation;

II. Instructs the Secretary General to transmit this recommendation to the governments of those states party to the European Cultural Convention which are not members of the Council of Europe.

Appendix to Recommendation No. R(85)7

Suggestions for teaching and learning about human rights in schools

1. Human rights in the school curriculum

1.1. The understanding and experience of human rights is an important element of the preparation of all young people for life in a democratic and pluralist society. It is part of social and political education, and it involves intercultural and international understanding.

1.2. Concepts associated with human rights can, and should, be acquired from

an early stage. For example, the non-violent resolution of conflict and respect for other people can already be experienced within the life of a pre-school or primary class.

1.3. Opportunities to introduce young people to more abstract notions of human rights, such as those involving an understanding of philosophical, political and legal concepts, will occur in the secondary school, in particular in such subjects as history, geography, social studies, moral and religious education, language and literature, current affairs and economics.

1.4. Human rights inevitably involve the domain of politics. Teaching about human rights should, therefore, always have international agreements and covenants as a point of reference, and teachers should take care to avoid imposing their personal convictions on their pupils and involving them in ideological struggles.

2. Skills

The skills associated with understanding and supporting human rights include:

i. intellectual skills, in particular:

skills associated with written and oral expression, including the ability to listen and discuss, and to defend one's opinions;

— skills involving judgement, such as:

a. the collection and examination of material from various sources, including the mass media, and the ability to analyse it and to arrive at fair and balanced conclusions;

b. the identification of bias, prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination;

ii. social skills, in particular:

recognising and accepting difference;

establishing positive and non-oppressive personal relationships;

resolving conflict in a non-violent way;

taking responsibility;

participating in decisions;

understanding the use of the mechanisms for the protection of human rights at local, regional, European and world levels.

3. Knowledge to be acquired in the study of human rights

3.1. The study of human rights in schools will be approached in different ways according to the age and circumstances of the pupil and the particular situations of schools and education systems.

Topics to be covered in learning about human rights could include:

i. the main categories of human rights, duties, obligations and responsibilities;

ii. the various forms of injustice, inequality and discrimination, including sexism and racism;

iii. people, movements and key events, both successes and failures, in the historical and continuing struggle for human rights;

iv. the main international declarations and conventions on human rights, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

3.2. The emphasis in teaching and learning about human rights should be positive. Pupils may be led to feelings of powerlessness and discouragement when confronted with many examples of violation and negations of human rights. Instances of progress and success should be used.

3.3. The study of human rights in schools should lead to an understanding of, and sympathy for, the concepts of justice, equality, freedom, peace, dignity, rights and democracy. Such understanding should be both cognitive and based on experience and feelings. Schools should, thus, provide opportunities for pupils to experience effective involvement in human rights and to express their feelings through drama, art, music, creative writing and audiovisual media.

4. The climate of the school

4.1. Democracy is best learned in a democratic setting where participation is encouraged, where views can be expressed openly and discussed, where there is freedom of expression for pupils and teachers, and where there is fairness and justice. An appropriate climate is, therefore, an essential complement to effective learning about human rights.

4.2. Schools should encourage participation in their activities by parents and other members of the community. It may well be appropriate for schools to work with non-governmental organisations which can provide information, case-studies and first-hand experience of successful campaigns for human rights and dignity.

4.3. Schools and teachers should attempt to be positive towards all their pupils, and recognise that all of their achievements are important - whether they be academic, artistic, musical, sporting or practical.

5. Teacher training

5.1. The initial training of teachers should prepare them for their future con-

tribution to teaching about human rights in their schools. For example, future teachers should:

i. be encouraged to take an interest in national and world affairs;

ii. have the chance of studying or working in a foreign country or a different environment;

iii. be taught to identify and combat all forms of discrimination in schools and society and be encouraged to confront and overcome their prejudices.

5.2. Future and practising teachers should be encouraged to familiarise themselves with:

i. the main international declarations and conventions on human rights;

ii. the working and achievements of the international organisations which deal with the protection and promotion of human rights, for example through visits and study tours.

5.3. All teachers need, and should be given the opportunity, to update their knowledge and to learn new methods through in-service training. This could include the study of good practice in teaching about human rights, as well as the development of appropriate methods and materials.

6. International Human Rights Day

Schools and teacher training establishments should be encouraged to observe International Human Rights Day (10 December).

Appendix 4

The Tbilisi Declaration

In the last few decades, man has, through his power to transform his environment wrought accelerated changes in the balance of nature. The result is frequent exposure of living species to dangers which may prove irreversible.

The Declaration of the United Nations conference on Human Environment organised in Stockholm in 1972 proclaimed: 'to defend and improve the environment for present and future generations has become an imperative goal for mankind'. This undertaking urgently calls for new strategies, incorporated into development, which particularly in the developing countries is a prerequisite for any such improvement. Solidarity and equity in the relations between nations should constitute the basis of a new international order, and bring together, as soon as possible, all available resources. Education utilizing the findings of science and technology should play a leading role in creating an awareness and a better understanding of environmental problems. It must foster positive patterns of conduct towards the environment and nations' use of their resources.

Environmental education should be provided for all ages, at all levels and in both formal and non-formal education. The mass media have a great responsibility to make their immense resources available for this educational mission. Environmental specialists, as well as those whose actions and decisions can have a marked effect on the environment, should be provided in the course of their training with the necessary knowledge and skills and be given a full sense of their responsibilities in this respect.

Environmental education, properly understood, should constitute a comprehensive lifelong education, one responsive to changes in a rapidly changing world. It should prepare the individual for life through an understanding of the major problems of the contemporary world, and the provision of skills and attributes needed to play a productive role towards improving life and protecting the environment with due regard given to ethical values. By adopting a holistic approach, rooted in a broad interdisciplinary base, it recreates an overall perspective which acknowledges the fact that natural environment and man-made environment are profoundly interdependent. It helps reveal the enduring continuity which links the acts of today to the consequences for tomorrow. It demonstrates the interdependencies among national communities and the need for solidarity among all mankind.

Environmental education must look outward to the community. It should involve the individual in an active problem-solving process within the context of specific realities, and it should encourage initiative, a sense of responsibility and commitment to build a better tomorrow. By its very nature, environmental education can make a powerful contribution to the renovation of the educational process.

In order to achieve these goals, environmental education requires a number of specific actions to fill the gaps which, despite outstanding endeavours, continue to exist in our present education system.

Accordingly, the Tbilisi Conference:

Appeals to Member States to include in their educational policies measures designed to introduce environmental concerns, activities and contents into their education systems, on the basis of the above objectives and characteristics;

Invites educational authorities to promote and intensify thinking, research and innovation in regard to environmental education.

Urges Member States to collaborate in this field, in particular by exchanging experiences, research findings, documentation and materials and by making their training facilities widely available to teachers and specialists from other countries; and lastly,

Appeals to the international community to give generously of its aid in order to strengthen this collaboration in a field which symbolises the need for solidarity of all peoples and may be regarded as particularly conducive to the promotion of international understanding and to the cause of peace.

Appendix 5

Draft

Extract from the Report of the Commission on Citizenship

Defining Terms

Further Information - Frances Morrell, Secretary to the Commission

Section III - Towards Definition of Citizenship and an Approach to Active Citizenship

The origin of the term

14. The Commission was established at a time when a renewal of interest in the concept of citizenship, and specially the eighteenth century idea of active citizenship are being publicly expressed.

15. The Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd MP wrote in the Church Times on September 9th, 1988:

* "Services which are financed by the State are not always best delivered through the State. In education and in housing as well as crime prevention, private enterprise and charitable sector can often meet local needs and local difficulties in a way that the bureaucratic and inflexible agencies of either central or local government find impossible.

* The inner city task forces, the 56,000 neighbourhood watch schemes throughout the country, the enhanced role being given to housing associations and the increased opportunity now offered to parents to take a hand in the direction of their children's education all point the same way forward.

* The active citizen is being invited to the centre of the stage."

16. A range of responses to this initiative was reflected in speeches and articles from across political spectrum.

The context of the definition

17. The Commission considered that the question of the definition of active citizenship, which was the first of the Aims and Objects of the Commission, had to be placed within the context of a consideration of the philosophy of citizenship appropriate to our modern society.

18. Commission Members attended a private seminar on the Philosophy of Citizenship at St. Antony's College. The papers presented are to be found in the Appendices of this report. The Speaker of the House of Commons, Bernard Weatherill MP and the Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd MP, spoke at the Seminar. Papers were given by Sir Raif Dahrendorf, Warden of St. Antony's, Paul Boateng MP, Professor Barrie of Buckingham University, Roger Henderson Q. C. and Professor Plant of Southampton University. 19. Where appropriate, the text contains quotations from the papers presented, and from key writers, such as T. H. Marshall, author of "Citizenship and Social Class" (1949). "Citizenship" by Barbelet (1988) and "Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life" by Bellah et al. (1985). Writers' names are indicated immediately after each quotation.

The international perspective

20. The Commission accepted that citizenship was "one of the most important single concepts of modern political struggle and social development, the other having to do with economic growth, choice and the variety of opportunities on offer in our society." (Dahrendorf)

21. The Commission was primarily concerned with the concept of citizenship as it applied to the people to the people of the United Kingdom at the present time. However, it acknowledged that many countries in the world are charac-

terised not by citizenship but by subjection to an order and that "citizenship within an open society is rare, is a cultural achievement, an inheritance which can be lost or destroyed."(Barrie)

22. The Commission therefore had in mind, during its deliberations the Universal Declarations of Human Rights which was adopted by the United Nations in December 1948, and which proclaimed that all human beings were born free and equal in dignity and rights, and were entitled to enjoy all the rights and freedoms set out in the Declaration, "regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political and other opinions, national or social origin, property, birth and other status".

These rights have found particular expression in Western Europe since the Second World War, where a common understanding of their application has developed. This is due to the common demographic, democratic and philosophical traditions of these countries. Common constitutional assumptions include the existence of constitutional monarchies and the constitutional emphasis on the primacy of individuals' rights. In addition the role of the citizen has been the subject of fundamental review based upon the importance of these rights in several of these countries (e.g. Austria, FRG, Italy, Spain). The experience in these countries may provide a suitable point of comparison with the development of active citizenship in the United Kingdom.

23. The Commission therefore paid particular attention to the European Convention on Human Rights which came into force on September 3rd, 1953 and which has been ratified by 22 of the 23 Members of the Council of Europe: Finland is in the process of ratification. These Rights are listed in the Appendices.

24. The rights in question are mainly classical civil and political rights, including the right to life, security of person, liberty and due process as well as the protection of freedom of thought, religion, assembly and respect for private and family life. The Convention also guarantees free democratic elections and prohibits discrimination in respect of the rights it protects.

25. A significant proportion of the rights set out in the Convention relate to attributes which are central to the traditional structure of citizenship, i.e. they concern the legal relationship between the individual and the State and protect the individual's right to operate free from excessive State interference both for and against the State as well as protecting activities which are not related to the functioning of the State from State inteference.

26. Whereas the rights which are at issue under the Convention are commonly regarded as fully protected in the United Kingdom, English Constitutional law does not contain a formal catalogue of positive rights granted to the individual; nor does it contain a catalogue of delimited or specific powers which can be exercised by the State.

27. This difference between the UK Constitution and those of many other European countries has a historical rather than international explanation. However, the difference has made the system of individual complaint under the Convention to a European Commission and Court of Human Rights particularly significant for the UK. At the same time it goes far to explain why the Convention, though respected as an international law obligation, has not been incorporated into the domestic law of the UK.

28. The Commission was also aware of the European Social Charter which is the counterpart of the European Convention on Human Rights in the sphere

of economic and social rights. It was signed at Turin on 18th October, 1961, entered into force on 26th February, 1965, after ratification by five states. The UK is a party. The Rights guaranteed by the Charter are listed in the Appendices.

29. The Social Charter guarantees the enjoyment, without discrimination of rights which, in the main, are not considered apt for inter-nation judicial enforcement on account of their comparative and quanlitative character. An example is the right to fair remuneration; what is a fair level will depend on national, or even local factors which will undermine the general applicability of any assessment made on an international basis. This may be contrasted with the protection of a 'fair trial' contained in the Convention, in respect of which it has been possible to settle a number of basic requirements of general application in many different jurisdictions.

Nevertheless, a high proportion of these rights are very relevant to citizenship and, in particular, to ensuring that the circumstances are provided in which active citizenship can develop.

30. Many of these rights are also contained in the Charter of Social Rights which the Commission of the European Communities has also proposed. These rights are set out in Appendix...

31. The Commission notes that the revised text adopted on 27th September, 1989 appears to mark a departure from the traditional concern of EEC law, which has usually addressed the position of individuals who are or have been economically active.

32. This extension emphasises the importance of social and economic rights as rights which are, or should be, enjoyed by the whole citizenry.

The Commission also bore in mind the Draft UN Convention on the Rights of the Child which recalls the basic principles of the United Nations and specific provisions of various human rights treaties and proclaimations, which reaffirms the fact that children, because of their vulnerability need special care and protection, and places special emphasis on the primary caring and protective responsibility of the family, the need for legal and other protection of the child before and after birth, the importance of respect for the cultural values of the child's community and the vital role of international co-operation in achieving the realisation of children's rights.

The conception and framework of analysis

Definition of citizenship

33. The Commission was aware of the long tradition of Western thought about citizenship from Aristotle's 'Politics': "A citizen is one who has a share in both ruling and being ruled. Deliberative or judicial we deem him to be a citizen" - to the writings of Cicero, Machiavelli, Burke, de Tocqueville, Mill and in our own century, Hannah Arendt.

43. In the Commission's view, citizenship in a modern democratic nation state entails legal membership of a political community based on universal suffrage, therefore also membership of a civil community based on the rule of law. For this twentieth century development,, the definition, framework and approach to be found in the work of T. H. Marshall provided the most appropriat starting point:

> "Citizenship is a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.

There are no universal principles that determine what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of ideal citizenship against which achievement can be directed. The urge forward along the path thus plotted is an urge toward a fuller measure of equality, and enrichment of the stuff of which the status is made and an increase in the number of those upon whom the status is bestowed...Citizenship requires a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession. It is a loyalty of free men endowed with rights and protected by a common law. Its growth is stimulated by the struggle to win those rights and their enjoyment when won."

35. The following three categories of citizenship provided for the concept to be differentiated and discussed, within the Report:

Civil Rights

Those rights concerning individual freedom which were associated with the sphere of civil society such as liberty of the person, freedom of association, the right to own property, to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice, and equality before the law.

Political Rights

Democratic rights of perticipation in the exercise of political power "as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such body". (Marshall). These rights include the right not to participate and to oppose the nature of the process.

Social Rights

"The whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society." (Marshall)

The meaning of Rights

36. The Commission in discussing citizenship rights, recognised:

> "rights in this sense means a set of entitlements,...(part of) a very hard concept, not one of moral exhortation but one of the realities of people's lives." (Dahrendorf)
>
> "Citizenship is necessarily individual ...although a limited company or a charitable foundation, such as your sponsors can epitomise and espouse the characteristics of citizenship neither can enjoy citizenship. Only a single human being can claim whatever it is that is citizenship." (Henderson)
>
> "There is no comprehensible constitutional settlement relating to the rights of individuals in the UK. The reason would seem to be historical fact and the conceptual consequence of the Constitutional premise in the UK that Parliament is sovereign. As a result, individuals' freedoms must be residual: i.e. they exist to the extent that Parliament has not restricted their liberty and they are precarious to any future alteration which Parliament may enact.
>
> The fact that Parliament, rather that the Executive, is sovereign, protects the individual's position through the democratic political process. It is also the result that the Executive's power over individuals, and its duties toward them, are limited to

those which Parliament has enacted and are similarly precarious to any future change which Parliament may enact."

Duties

37. The citizen has a duty to respect the law. Different illustrations of this include the obligation of jury service, or the criminal law relating to treason at one extreme and the obligation to pay taxes at the other.

Conflicts of view: The Commission's Perspective

38. The Commission is aware that citizenship is a contested concept for which there is no single definition which is somehow mutual between all possible idealogical and political standpoints and preferences. In adopting the framework of T. H. Marshall, the Commission also recognises that a number of scholarly critiques exist of his work, on the differences of view about the emergence of citizenship rights in the UK, about the relations between different rights and over the role of the State that, "in creating or enforcing the rules or laws to which social entities are subject constitutes the principal expression of power in national societies". (Barbelet)

39. The Commission is primarily concerned with the fourth dimension of citizenship which involves acts of voluntary social or community obligation. It is not the role of the Commission therefore to make definitive statements on the key philosophical and legal conflicts in the field of citizenship, nor is it necessarily within its competence.

40. The Commission does not feel that a scholarly overview of the legal and constitutional issues should be presented in its Report.

41. The Commission also feels it right to indicate at a later stage its response of principle to the key conflicts identified in the Seminar papers so that its

conception of citizenship and the relationship to active citizenship can be set in context.

The Fourth Dimension: a definition of citizenship and of active citizenship

42. The Commission having considered and agreed its approach to the question of citizenship takes the view that a fourth dimension which emphasises the public good and of voluntary social obligation should be developed, to stand alongside existing perspective which involves political, civil and social rights and duties.

> "Citizenship is a status bestowed upon all those who are members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights, political, civil and social, and duties with which the status is endowed. There are no universal principles that determine what those rights and duties shall be but the Declaration of United Nations on Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the European Convention and Charters provide the agreed basis and measure of progress on this question. Societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of ideal citizenship against which achievement can be directed.
>
> The voluntary acceptance by the majority of citizens of some responsibilities to further the public good at some time by the exercise of civic duty, and and the encouragement by society and by public and private institutions of such activities is one mark of such a society."

Appendix 6

Evidence of the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship

to the National Curriculum Council on Citizenship in Schools

Outline Conclusions of the Commission on Citizenship to be

submitted to the National Curriculum Council

1. Basis of Recommendation

The submission of the Commission on Citizenship to the National Curriculum Council on the place of Citizenship within the school is set out in detail in the following documents:

(i) National Survey of Schools conducted by Leicester University and SCPR for the Commission.

(ii) In depth survey of schools conducted by Leicester and Northants LEAs and Leicester University for the Commission.

(iii) Report of the Consultative Conference on Citizenship in Schools organised by the Centre for the Study of Comprehensive Schools for the Commission.

(iv) Talking About Commitment: SCPR Research into the attitudes of young people undertaken on behalf of the Princess Trust and the Commission.

(v) Council of Europe Document R(85) 7 on the teaching of Human Rights in school.

(vi) The first section of the Report of the Commission on Citizenship, reviewed in the light of the Consultative Conference.

2. Purpose of the Outline Conclusion

The purpose of this note is to highlight briefly some points from the documentation which are of particular relevance to the deliberations of the National

Curriculum Council. The note is not a substitute for the set of documents submitted, which, taken together constitute the evidence which the Commission wishes to submit to the NCC.

3. Citizenship Education for Every Child

(i) Documents R(85) 7 sets out the view of the Council of Ministers that "throughout their school career all young people should learn about human rights as part of their preparation for life in a pluralistic democracy."

(ii) Secretary of State for Education, John MacGregor MP and Shadow Spokesperson, Jack Straw MP, on February 16th at Northampton publicly endorsed the need for citizenship to be taught in schools.

(iii) Young people, for example in the SCPR document, have clearly indicated the importance they attach to this area of their education.

(iv) The Speaker of the House of Commons established the Commission in part because of his concern that young people should know how they are governed and be able to participate in their society.

(v) The Commission strongly supports the case for citizenship studies to be part of every young person's education whether in state or private sector schools, irrespective of the course of study being followed, and from the earliest year of schooling and continuing into the post school years within further and higher education and the youth service.

(vi) The Commission welcomes the National Curriculum Council's decision to issue guidance to schools in this matter.

4. Citizenship as a Theme and Area of Study

(i) The study of citizenship involves

* values;

* the acquisition of a body of knowledge;

* the development and exercise of skills;

* learning democratic behaviour through experience of the school as a community, and from the experience of the school as an institution playing a role in the wider community. (ii) Citizenship as a study area is particularly vulnerable either to being presented as theory without practice, as in civic courses, or to being offered solely as an experience, as practice without theory. In the Commission's view all the elements set out in 4(i) are necessary if a balanced and effective course is to be provided.

5. Values and Attitudes

(i) The Council of Ministers recommends that the main international charters and conventions to which the UK is signitory should provide the reference points, within the classroom, for the study of citizenship.

(ii) The Commission's Report supports this view, however, the Commission feels that the development of entitlements and responsibilities within the UK should also be a feature of the curriculum.

(iii) The differences of approach within these traditions should be brought out and their relative merits discussed.

6. Citizenhsip as a Body of Knowledge

(i) The Commission's survey strongly indicates that though the title of citizenship exists within the curriculum plans of many schools there is wide variation in understanding of what the title means, and the provision is patchy.

(ii) In the Commission's view it is vital that the NCC guidance clarifies this question for schools.

(iii) The Council of Ministers Document R(85) 7 sets out a framework of rel-

evant ideas.

(iv) The first section of the Commission's Report offers a definition of citizenship, and a similar delineation of the civil, political and social entitlements and responsibilities it entails, and the nature of the democratic order it assumes. The relevance of the individual's involvement in the community is developed in this context, and the relevance of the voluntary contribution considered. This section of the Commission Report was discussed in detail by the 700 participants to the Commission Conference. The text has been amended to take account of the views expressed.

(v) The Commission suggests that these two texts may be helpful in this context.

7. The Place of Citizenship Within the Curriculum

(i) The framework of the curriculum has already been determined. Within that framework it is likely that citizenship will be taken forward within core and foundation subjects such as English, History or Geography and in parallel as an element in Personal and Social Education.

(ii) There is a real danger that:

(a) citizenship will continue to be ill-defined;

(b) the theme will lack status by comparison with core and foundation subjects;

(c) it will become 'lost' within the curriculum;

(d) its organisation and development will be neglected.

(iii) In the Commission's view, NCC guidance must deal realistically with this problem; a viable curricular mapping and audit strategy is vital if the management of a school are to ensure the proper delivery of this topic. As part of

the audit strategy the LEAs should have a clearly specified responsibility for monitoring and reporting on delivery by schools in their area.

8. Skills

(i) A number of the documents submitted deal with the skills of citizenship. The Commission regards the element of acquisition of skills as crucial to the success of the citizenship theme; young people should leave a democratic school with some confidence in their ability to participate in their society, to resolve conflict and, if they oppose a course of action to express that opposition fairly, effectively, and peacefully. These skills within school may involve, for example:

* the capacity to debate, argue and present a coherent point of view;
* to participate, for example, in elections;
* taking responsibility by representing others, for example, on the School Council;
* working collaboratively;
* playing as a member of a team;
* protesting, for example, by writing to a newspaper or councillor or a local store.

The development of social, planning, organisational, negotiating and debating skills is a major part of this theme.

9. Experience of Community

The school is a community. Equally it exists within a series of wider communities. The Commission, in its Report, has argued that in a society with a healthy democratic tradition, the importance of the voluntary contribution of citizens to their own society is recognised and encouraged by the citizens themselves and by the public and private institutions within it.

This section of the Commission Report was strongly endorsed by the consultative conference.

The voluntary, in this sense, embraces a wide variety of activities from the magistracy or membership of the local council, to membership of a local pressure group campaigning against a council proposal or involvement in organisations that raise uncomfortable issues for authority. For many people it involves activities which support and complement, but do not replace - local caring services, for example, working alongside professionals in hospitals, or with those suffering from disabilities, or with the elderly in the community.

The Commission is strongly of the view that the experience of citizenship involves empowering the individual within his or her community and the school through its arrangements and relationships should foster that development.

10. Recognition and Assessment

The consultative conference overwhelmingly supported the contribution of the Records of Achievement in recording and assessing a young person's citizenship contribution. The GCSE in citizenship was equally overwhelmingly rejected, though the Commission members continued to feel it should not be ruled out altogether for those who wish to pursue it.

The Commission believes that the Records of Achievement should have a standard section which enables a simple record to be kept of a young person's achievements in this field, identifying the different elements within the citizenship theme.

Conclusion

Citizenship should be an integral part of every young person's education: the Commission hopes that every school will respond to the guidance of the

National Curriculum Council, and give this theme the weight it deserves within the planned experience of schooling offered to the student.

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