



Volume 11, Number 3, © JSSE 2012, ISSN 1618-5293

## Citizenship and Community

Editors:

*Ian Davies, Gillian Hampden Thompson, Maria Tsouroufli, and Vanita Sundaram of the University of York, UK*

*Pippa Lord, Jennifer Jeffes, and George Bramley of the National Foundation for Educational Research, UK*

## Citizenship and Community

### Content

<i>Ian Davies, Gillian Hampden Thompson, Maria Tsouroufli, Vanita Sundaram, Pippa Lord, Jennifer Jeffes, George Bramley:</i> Editorial	3-5
<i>Lynne Parmenter:</i> Community and Citizenship in Post-Disaster Japan: The Roles of Schools and Students	6-21
<i>Alistair Ross:</i> Communities and Others: Young Peoples' Constructions of Identities and Citizenship in the Baltic Countries	22-43
<i>Corinne Wyss, Alexander Lötscher:</i> Class Councils in Switzerland: Citizenship Education in Classroom Communities?	44-64
<i>Paul Warwick, Hilary Cremin, Tom Harrison, Carolynne Mason:</i> The Complex Ecology of Young People's Community Engagement and the Call for Civic Pedagogues	65-87
<i>Don Rowe, Nicola Horsley, Tony Breslin, Tony Thorpe:</i> Benefit or Burden? How English Schools Responded to the Duty to Promote Community Cohesion	88-107
<i>Ian Davies, Gillian Hampden Thompson, Maria Tsouroufli, Vanita Sundaram, Pippa Lord, Jennifer Jeffes, George Bramley:</i> Creating Citizenship Communities	108-119
<i>Pedro D. Ferreira, Joaquim L. Coimbra, Isabel Menezes:</i> "Diversity within Diversity" - Exploring Connections between Community, Participation and Citizenship	120-134
<i>Graham Pike:</i> From Internationalism to Internationalisation: The Illusion of a Global Community in Higher Education	135-152
<i>Book Reviews</i>	
<i>Gary Clemitshaw:</i> Patriotism and Citizenship Education	153-155
<i>Andrew Peterson:</i> Religious Education and Social and Community Cohesion: An Exploration of Challenges and Opportunities	156-157
<i>Alistair Ross:</i> Citizenship and Immigration	158-159
<i>Masthead</i>	160-161

*Ian Davies, Gillian Hampden Thompson, Maria Tsouroufli, Vanita Sundaram, Pippa Lord, Jennifer Jeffes, George Bramley*

## Editorial

In this issue of the *Journal of Social Science Education* we explore the theme of community in relation to citizenship education. We are delighted to present a series of articles and book reviews in which there is discussion of conceptual and empirical studies that further our understanding of a vitally significant and complex field.

'Community' is a significant priority in many countries. David Cameron in the UK has proclaimed the importance of what he refers to as 'the big society'; Barack Obama worked as a community organizer and many of the policies he is now developing seem to have connections with that experience; Angela Merkel has raised issues about multicultural communities in Germany. In education 'service learning', 'community involvement' and 'citizenship education' are key terms that reflect the need to respond to perceived changes in the nature of political engagement; debates about the extent to which young people understand and are involved in society; the significance of gender to the possibilities and forms of involvement in society, and, the need to recognise, celebrate and further develop a multicultural society.

When we began work on this issue of *Journal of Social Science Education* we wished to include a variety of perspectives (e.g. service learning, character education, political literacy); a range of countries within and beyond Europe; issues that affect students of different ages. We aimed to focus on education but were keen to welcome theoretical and other material that allows for consideration of issues using insights from a range of academic disciplines (e.g. urban education; community psychology; international development studies etc). We are delighted that our call for papers led to the submission of excellent papers which are summarised below.

The first article provides insights into events and issues in Japan in 2011. *Lynne Parmenter's* article discusses issues arising from the terrible events of March 2011 when a triple earthquake-tsunami-nuclear disaster rocked north-eastern Japan. She focuses on the role of teachers in saving lives and leading communities, and the role of schools as sites and agents of community and citizenship in the disaster situation. The article is structured around four themes, namely, the role of school leaders and teachers, the role of schools as sites of community, changing media representations of children and communities in the wider national context, and the birth of global citizenship as a meaningful concept.

The next 2 articles empirically explore issues in different parts of continental Europe from within and outside the European Union in the form of single country studies and comparative work. *Alistair Ross* explores how young people (aged 12 -18) in the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are constructing their identities, particularly their sense of

attachment to their country and to Europe. Two particular areas were identified: the sense of generational difference and the ways in which different groups created 'other' communities, within and without their country's borders. *Corinne Wyss* and *Alexander Lötscher* provide much needed empirical data about class councils in Switzerland in order to illustrate how action may be taken to promote citizenship in a school community. Using data from video recordings of fourteen class councils in secondary schools as well as interviews and questionnaires they argue that councils are popular but that their power is not always seen to be significant. The authors describe three forms of class councils that favour the development of communicative competences as a part of citizenship education.

We have then included 3 articles that emerge from empirical work in England. *Paul Warwick, Hilary Cremin, Tom Harrison* and *Carolynne Mason's* paper draws from the EngagED research project that used a mixed methods approach to explore the civic action and learning of young people living in both inner city and rural areas of socio-economic disadvantage. It presents an eco-systemic model of the host of factors and agencies that influence young people's civic identity and patterns of community engagement. It outlines two new civic learning spaces that were created in response to these complex ecologies and from these experiments in 'pre-figurative practice' proposes a set of key principles for the effective civic pedagogue. This radical notion of the civic educator moves away from educational strategies that seek to 'transform' young people into good future citizens, towards finding personalised ways of supporting young people 'as' citizens.

*Don Rowe, Nicola Horsley, Tony Breslin* and *Tony Thorpe* discuss results from a small scale qualitative study of how primary and secondary schools in three English local authorities responded to the introduction and subsequent inspection of a legal duty to promote community cohesion, following a series of 'race' riots in 2001 and the London bombings of 2005. Those in more multi-cultural areas responded with higher degrees of confidence than those in mono-ethnic areas. Most schools saw the policy positively and came to identify the curriculum and the school's ethos as the most important weapons in their armoury.

The final of the 3 articles on England is our own contribution to this issue. *Gillian Hampden Thompson, Ian Davies, Maria Tsouroufli, and Vanita Sundaram, Pippa Lord, Jennifer Jeffes* and *George Bramley* discuss issues and findings that are beginning to emerge from an ongoing study. 'Creating Citizenship Communities' is a 2 year project funded by the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation and which aims to identify current thinking and practice in schools; explore young people's perceptions and practice; and, through the development of a focussed impact strategy, encourage partnerships to be established between professionals and others. Using data from a national online survey of schools and fieldwork in 8 schools as well as analysis of secondary data sets we are identifying the high priority accorded by schools to community and to citizenship education but also becoming aware of some gaps between what could be described as legitimisation and implementation.

The final 2 articles in this issue provide analytical overviews of the nature of

citizenship and community. The first of these 2 pieces is written by *Pedro D. Ferreira, Joaquim L. Coimbra* and *Isabel Menezes*. They have analysed citizens' participation in their communities, illustrating significant dimensions of participation: power, dialogue, initiative, formality, pluralism and time. The discussion considers how these dimensions might contribute to making community organizations turn into 'schools of democracy' with specific recognition of the diversity of migrant groups. *Graham Pike* discusses the nature of 'internationalism' and 'internationalisation,' suggesting that tensions exist between these trends. Whereas the former might aim for the altruistic goals of international education proclaimed in institutional mission statements and government policies, the latter may relate more to neo-liberal perspectives that aim to secure additional resources through cross border flows of students and knowledge. An analytical matrix is offered as a tool with which higher education institutions can map their internationalisation activities and assess the extent to which they match their stated policies and missions. While the rhetoric of international education purports to promote the concept of a global community, the article suggests this claim may be illusory.

We are also delighted to include reviews on various aspects of citizenship and community. Patriotism is explored by *Gary Clemitshw*, religious education and community cohesion by *Andrew Peterson* and citizenship and immigration by *Alistair Ross*.

This editorial, the articles and reviews are presented here with the aim of developing our understanding and practice that may enhance our work to provide forms of education that are appropriate and effective in a contemporary pluralistic democracy. We are grateful to all the contributors to this issue.

*Lynne Parmenter*

## **Community and Citizenship in Post-Disaster Japan: The Roles of Schools and Students**

In March 2011, a triple earthquake-tsunami-nuclear disaster rocked north-eastern Japan. In this article, the impact of these three disasters on schools, teachers and children will be analysed, with a particular focus on the role of teachers in saving lives and leading communities, and the role of schools as sites and agents of community and citizenship in the disaster situation. The article is structured around four themes, namely, the role of school leaders and teachers, the role of schools as sites of community, changing media representations of children and communities in the wider national context, and the birth of global citizenship as a meaningful concept. Primary data from visits to schools in Miyagi Prefecture and Fukushima Prefecture in Japan in July 2011 and December 2011 are combined with analysis of secondary sources written in Japanese to paint a clear picture of the different roles served by teachers and schools at different points in time during and after the disasters. This provides insights not only into post-disaster communities, but also into the role of teachers and function of schools as agents and sites of community and citizenship in Japanese society.

### **Keywords**

Japan, earthquake, tsunami, nuclear disaster, school leadership, post-disaster, community, local citizenship, global citizenship

## **1 Introduction**

On 11 March 2011, the north-eastern region of Japan was rocked by a triple earthquake-tsunami-nuclear disaster. Damage to children's schools, their families and their lives was immense. The aim of this article is to examine the multiple ways in which teachers acted and schools functioned as agents of community and sites of citizenship in the year after the disasters.

## **2 Setting the Scene**

At 2.46pm on Friday 11<sup>th</sup> March in Japan, most children were still in school. Some of the younger children, the 6 to 8 year olds, were just setting off home in their walking groups. That was the moment that one of the strongest earthquakes ever recorded, measuring 9.0 on the Richter Scale,

struck off the north-east coast of Japan. Earthquakes are not unusual in Japan, and children and their teachers hold regular drills and know what to do. Children across a wide area of Japan from south of Tokyo to the northernmost island of Hokkaido ducked under their desks to protect themselves from falling objects and flying debris. Teachers reassured them, although the length and strength of the earthquake, off the scale in terms of previous experience for most children, scared everyone. As the shaking stopped, children followed the standard procedure of filing outside to the school grounds. Many of the groups of younger children that had just started heading home returned to school.

For most, the worst was over. For some, it was still to come. Within 3 minutes, a major tsunami warning was issued for most of the east coast of Japan north of Tokyo. Some schools in the danger zone were still connected to news sources, while others were warned by town broadcast systems, fire and police officers or by word of mouth. Parents and grandparents started arriving at schools to collect their children. School principals and teachers up and down the eastern coast of Japan were faced with the most critical decision of their careers, namely, what action to take to save the lives of the hundreds of children in their care. No school had a contingency plan for a tsunami as big as the one that struck the coast that Friday afternoon, taking the lives of over 19,000 people and destroying or seriously damaging over 350,000 homes (National Police Agency 2011).

Thousands of children saw the tsunami with their own eyes, and many saw their families, friends and homes torn away in the tidal wave of debris, cars, electricity pylons and water. Furthermore, the tsunami was recorded on live TV by helicopter cameras, watched not only by adults, but by hundreds of thousands of children and young people throughout Japan. Most of the footage shown as it happened has never been shown on television since, as it is too horrifying. The effects of experiencing disasters indirectly are significant and long-term (Houston et al. 2008), and will continue to be felt by many people for many years.

As the tsunami receded and the sheer scale of destruction started to sink in, another disaster was unfolding. Like schools, nuclear power plants did not have a contingency plan for a tsunami of this size. As the back-up generators failed and radiation started to leak, residents within 3km of Fukushima No. 1 Nuclear Reactor were ordered to evacuate, and this order was soon extended to residents within 10km and then 20km. By Saturday morning, residents were sat in traffic queues for hours, heading to the other side of the invisible safety line, exposed to unknown amounts of radiation, escaping from their homes with a few belongings and nowhere to go. One year later, in March 2012, tens of thousands of people had still not been able to go home.

In this article, the impact of these three disasters on schools, teachers and children will be analysed, with a particular focus on the role of teachers and the role of schools as sites and agents of community and citizenship in the disaster situation. The article is structured around four themes, namely, the role of school leaders and teachers, the role of schools as sites of community, changing media representations of children and young people in the wider national community, and the birth of global citizenship as a meaningful concept. Primary data were collected during two periods of

visits to schools in Miyagi Prefecture and Fukushima Prefecture in Japan in July 2011 and December 2011. These visits involved observations, 7 semi-structured interviews with school leaders and teachers who had experienced the disasters directly, 5 focus group interviews with small groups of 3-8 children, and collection of documents such as student work and class, school and town newsletters. These primary data were supplemented by analysis of secondary sources written in Japanese, including newspapers, collections of experiences, collections of student essays and other documents. Analysis of these diverse sources of evidence using principles of grounded theory to elicit categories paints a clear picture of the different roles served by schools at different points in time during and after the disasters, providing insights not only into post-disaster communities, but also into the role of teachers and function of schools as agents and sites of community and citizenship in Japanese society.

### 3 The Role of School Leaders and Teachers

To a greater extent than most other countries prone to natural disasters, Japan has a high level of disaster readiness in terms of technology, infrastructure and public awareness. Schools in particular are considered to be safe places in a disaster, both because of their structure and because they serve a dual role as evacuation shelters in the case of disasters, a role that is central to the discussion in this article. School furniture is designed in such a way as to provide protection in the case of an earthquake, in the form of individual desks with space underneath for the whole body, and school classrooms almost always have two exits so that people do not become trapped if doors or windows warp in the earthquake. Children and teachers in schools engage in regular earthquake drills, and are accustomed to experiencing earthquakes. Still, the force and length of this particular earthquake frightened everyone, as this 6-year old from Fukushima Prefecture describes, jumping off his chair onto the floor to demonstrate his words as he spoke:

“We were under the desks but the desks were moving across the floor and I couldn’t hold on, and it didn’t stop, and my friends were crying and I banged my head one, two, three times like this. It hurt.... It was scary.”

Although the Great East Japan Earthquake was the most powerful earthquake ever to strike Japan, there were no reported fatalities of children in schools directly attributable to the earthquake. This is a tribute to the disaster-preparedness and calm reaction of school leaders, teachers and children in Japan. Schools remained standing, and teachers stayed calm, reassured children, and made sure they stayed safe.

As far as preparedness for a tsunami is concerned, most schools near the coast are built on higher ground, and are at least two storeys high. Most schools close to the coast also have a tsunami evacuation plan. Apart from



this, schools rely on their city or town's coastal defences. Much of the Japanese coastline is protected by huge concrete walls and blocks to break the force of a tsunami. These reinforcements are especially strong near the nuclear power stations. What nobody predicted in this case was the size and reach of the tsunami. Many buildings designated as tsunami evacuation shelters, some of them schools, were hit by the tsunami (Asahi Shimbun 22 March 2011).

Knowing they had less than 30 minutes to act, reliant on unstable communications and conflicting information, and unaware of the size of the approaching tsunami, school principals and teachers along the coast faced the critical decision of whether to attempt to move hundreds of children in their care to higher ground or to take the risk of staying where they were. The situation was further complicated by the arrival of many parents and local residents, fleeing their homes to the schools, which were their local evacuation centres. Throughout the affected area, regardless of their own personal circumstances, teachers stayed in school to look after their pupils rather than leaving to ensure the safety of themselves or their own families. This was true beyond the worst affected area too, as communications and transport networks were disrupted over a wide area of Japan. Many children in Tokyo and across eastern Japan stayed in schools overnight, looked after by teachers until the situation normalised and their parents could collect them safely. Throughout the area, schools and universities also opened their buildings to anyone who could not get home. This in itself is a reflection of the degree of pastoral responsibility of schools, and of teachers as key citizens of the local community in Japan. In a number of cases, most not recorded, teachers did indeed lose family members in the tsunami as they took care of children in schools, and are left not knowing whether there is anything they could have done to prevent this (Shibui et al. 2011, 24).

In the vast majority of cases, school leaders made the right decisions to save the lives of children in schools. For example, at a large elementary school several hundred metres from the sea in Ishinomaki, one of the cities hardest hit by the tsunami, the principal decided to risk staying in school and moving all children and teachers to the roof. The tsunami hit the school, but did not reach the third floor, and all children in school care were safe. In the next town, school leaders decided to flee with the children, and an 8-year old girl in a school in Kesennuma, Miyagi Prefecture, describes what happened in an essay that captures the urgency of the situation as well as the sense of school as a community.

“When the earthquake struck, I was having fun doing my homework with my friends at school. Our teacher was in the classroom. He was standing on a chair taking drawing pins out of the wall. It was just like any other day after classes finish, but then the earthquake came. Everyone in the classroom got under the desks straight away. Teacher was calling out to us, “Whatever you do, don’t put your heads out from under the desk.” I thought the earthquake would stop but it just kept going, and then I thought the school was going to collapse and I was scared that we weren’t going to survive. [When it stopped] the Assistant Head came running to the classroom and shouted, “Get out quickly!” I ran outside without putting my coat on. Then the people in the playground said a

tsunami was coming, so we ran to the community hall on higher ground. I didn't have a coat, so I borrowed a blanket from the community hall and huddled under it with my friend. Then there was this huge, crashing, roaring noise and when we looked behind, the tsunami was already up to the front of the community hall. We ran to even higher ground, and the tsunami didn't come that far, so we stayed there, but I was so scared. The teacher said, "Get into your year groups, and if your parents are here, stay with your parents," so I looked for people in my class and we got together. Some of my friends already had their mums and dads there, and I wondered when my mum would come. She didn't come for ages, and I was very scared that she had drowned in the tsunami. Then at last she came, and I felt safe..." (Mori 2011).

Many children were not reunited with their parents for several days, as communications and transport systems were not operational, and bridges and roads were broken or impassable. Teachers looked after cold, hungry, frightened children in schools where there was no food, no electricity, no heating and no water until family members could get to them. Parents believed that their children would be safe in the care of the school and, in the vast majority of cases, school leaders and teachers were able to live up to this trust. The tragic exception was Okawa Elementary School, a small school located several kilometres inland in Ishinomaki City, where indecision followed by wrong decision led to 74 of the 108 children and 10 of 13 teachers dying or going missing in the tsunami.

The total number of children between the ages of 6 and 18 killed or missing in the disaster was 536 (Japan Times 29 April 2011). Most of these were children who had already left school before or just after the earthquake, and the number of children killed or missing whilst in school care was actually very low. The Iwate Board of Education, among others, has speculated that the death toll among children could have been much higher if the earthquake and tsunami had occurred an hour later, when children were not in school (Japan Times 29 April 2011). The responses and actions of teachers along a coastline the distance of London to Edinburgh undoubtedly saved the lives of tens of thousands of children that afternoon. The sense of school as a community, evident in the well-practised earthquake response, the crisis decision-making of principals and teachers, the willingness of children to trust their teachers and the commitment of teachers to protecting the children, all contributed to minimization of the loss of life in schools on 11<sup>th</sup> March.

With the scale of devastation so huge, it took several days for relief efforts to start to take effect. During this period, teachers were often managing the evacuation shelters in extremely difficult conditions. Accounts written by children of these first days tend to highlight the intense cold and hunger most of them experienced, probably for the first time in their lives. Teachers themselves went without food, as this elementary school teacher describes:

"A little bit of food came, but not enough. Everyone shared, but of course we teachers did not receive any, because we were in charge."

The role of teachers in managing evacuation shelters meant that some teachers near the nuclear power stations in Fukushima Prefecture did not have chance to return home before being evacuated. One elementary school teacher described in an interview how she stayed in school until all the children had been collected by their parents, which was 11pm on 11<sup>th</sup> March. By this time, residents from the tsunami-affected area of the town were filling the school, and the teachers switched to community leader role, taking on the task of clearing fallen objects and broken glass from classrooms to accommodate evacuees, and of trying to obtain and share out blankets and food. Early the next morning, everyone in the school was told to evacuate immediately because of the nuclear danger, and teachers were in charge of organising transport and making sure everyone left the school safely, before leaving together themselves two hours later, sharing cars. This teacher did not have chance to go home between the earthquake and evacuation, but had to flee the town with nothing more than her purse, mobile phone and the clothes she was wearing.

The reconstruction of school communities is discussed in more detail in the next section, but one long-term role that teachers in the affected area have now taken on is responsibility for monitoring the mental health of children who experienced the disasters. Most Japanese schools do not have school counsellors or specific guidelines for mental health care, and there has not yet been any systematic form of post-disaster educational intervention as sometimes occurs in other countries (Wolmer et al. 2005). As teachers are the only providers of mental health care available to the majority of children, this extension to the already significant pastoral role assumed by teachers as class teachers adds to their responsibility as key figures in the school community and also in the wider local community.

Traditionally in Japan, the teacher is a respected figure in the community, with high status and significant moral and social responsibility, although recent years have seen a wave of blaming schools and teachers for a variety of social problems among young people (Okano, Tsuchiya 1999, 157). As in most of East Asia, there is no need to justify the linking of moral and civic/citizenship education as happens in other parts of the world (e.g. Beck 1998), as the two are assumed to be inseparable and teachers are supposed to act as the personification of the end result. The assumption of the moral and civic responsibility of saving lives, protecting children and other community members and then serving as leaders in community relief efforts was not even questioned by the majority of teachers after these disasters and, indeed, from 1947 to 2006, was enshrined in Article 6 of the Basic Act on Education as key to their identity:

“Teachers of the schools prescribed by law shall be servants of the whole community. They shall be conscious of their mission and endeavor to discharge their duties. For this purpose, the status of teachers shall be respected and their fair and appropriate treatment shall be guaranteed.” (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology undated).

While the reference to teachers being servants of the community was removed in the 2006 revision of the 1947 Basic Act on Education and the

roles that many teachers fulfilled after the disaster were not part of their official job description, such roles clearly still constitute part of what it means to be a teacher and key member of the community in Japan. Ishida (2011) explains the role played by teachers during and after the disaster.

“If teachers had not worked so hard, it is hard to imagine how much greater the scale of the disaster would have been. In spite of the “teacher bashing” and negative publicity about schools that has gone on for a long time, teachers put everything they had into the education and care of children, and also took care of residents in the evacuation shelters. The number who have died of overwork is not insignificant.” (Ishida 2011, 97).

In this way, the impact of the disaster has been to reinforce the traditional role of teachers as key community figures ready to take the lead when normal local administration structures break down. Simultaneously, the traditionally valued traits of the teacher in society have also been highlighted, both by teachers themselves and by the wider community and media. Dedication to the role appears in the way teachers protected children’s lives and subsequently gave everything to serving the community and their schools, in spite of losing their own homes and often family members, friends and acquaintances. Self-sacrifice is seen in the accounts of teachers distributing food and blankets without taking any for themselves. Although these traits are not generally discussed or highlighted under normal circumstances, it is these traits that are identified by individuals as being part of their teacher role and by the media and wider community as being evident after the disaster. In various ways, then, the disaster has served to underline the traditional view of the teacher that had been eroded to a certain degree in recent years, that is, the teacher as a dedicated, upstanding member of the local community, both as a form of self-identification among teachers themselves and as a professional identity in the wider community.

#### **4 The Roles of Schools as Communities and Sites of Citizenship**

The role played by schools as focal sites of community was already apparent immediately after the disaster, as local residents fled to schools for refuge. This role really came to the fore from the day after the disaster. As mentioned above, most public schools in Japan serve a function as evacuation shelters in the case of emergencies. The scale of this disaster meant that schools throughout the area were soon overflowing with people who had lost their homes. For the first few days, there was very little food, no electricity and no water in schools in the worst-affected areas. This account, written by a 12-year old girl who had seen the tsunami flood the school playground from a 2<sup>nd</sup> floor classroom in her school, describes the situation in the first few days.

“A few hours after the tsunami, the teachers came and gave out crème brûlée desserts and drinks. It tasted so good. From the next day, there was hardly any food, so we would get quarter of a slice of bread, and we were always hungry. That lasted for a few days, but gradually people left and there were less people at school. We had been sleeping in the corridor, but then we could move into a classroom. The classroom was warmer than the corridor, and we could sleep much better. But there was no electricity or water, and so we went to sleep at 6pm because it was pitch black by then.” (Mori 2011).

Children, like adults, were shocked and traumatised by their experience. Notably, however, it was children in the evacuation shelters who started to recover first in many cases, displaying incredible resilience, and this is an aspect of post-disaster community in Japan that was prominent in media representation in the weeks and months after the earthquake. Part of the reason that children were able to take this lead in the recovery could be the fact that they were in familiar surroundings, despite being in a very unfamiliar situation, as many of them were living in their own schools. The following two examples exemplify the important role played by young people in their school and wider communities as initiators of recovery.

The first example was reported in a local newspaper, the *Kahoku Shinpou*, on 15 March, just 4 days after the disaster. The headline reads “High school victims fight on: Cheerful voices support local residents” (*Kahoku Shinpousha* 2011, 35). The photo shows a line of high school students serving portions of food to younger children and elderly residents at their high school in Iwate prefecture, which was being used as an evacuation shelter for 900 people. The article describes how students of the school, aged 15 to 18, immediately took a lead role in organising daily life in the evacuation shelter after the administrative function of the town was completely destroyed, with the town office swallowed up in the tsunami, and the mayor and many of the town office workers missing. Students autonomously organised themselves into teams to make and serve food, get water, clean and so on. A student whose father was still missing describes how it is easier to forget when she is being useful and working with her friends. One of the teachers, who was also living at the school evacuation shelter, is quoted as saying, “The students think for themselves and take action before the teachers ask them to do anything. I am so proud of them.” Obviously, students had never had any experience of managing an evacuation shelter, or any training for this role, and the way that students in this school and in other school evacuation shelters took on such responsibilities and organised themselves and the work that needed doing so efficiently can be attributed in part at least to their years of experience as active citizens in their school communities. Children in Japanese schools take considerable responsibility for the smooth functioning of the school as a community in normal times, working in teams and committees to manage classroom duties, clean the school, serve lunch, look after school grounds, broadcast announcements and music to the school, promote health among students and so on (Parmenter, Mizutani, Taniguchi 2006). The vast majority of Japanese schools do not employ auxiliary staff such as cleaners, gardeners or lunch attendants, as teachers and students do all this work as

part of school life, through an efficient system of rotas and collaboration. The fact that life ran so smoothly in the school evacuation shelters, in spite of shortages of food, electricity, heating and water, is undoubtedly linked to these citizenship education practices that are observable in schools throughout Japan, from elementary to senior high schools. For many teachers and older students, classes were replaced by the work of managing an emergency community service and facility in the days and weeks following the disaster. While this was not a role they had ever prepared for, the routines of ordinary school life, which are shared across Japan and were therefore familiar to every single person staying in the shelter who had attended school in Japan, were transposed and adapted to create routines of evacuation shelter life very quickly and efficiently. In this respect, the role of school as a community and the role of school in the community merged to produce evacuation shelters as sites where the familiar routines and rhythms of school citizenship education were effectively practiced to ensure maximum wellbeing under difficult circumstances for all concerned.

The second example comes from an evacuation shelter in a school in Kesenuma, a city badly affected by the tsunami and fires after the earthquake. Risa, a 7-year old girl in the evacuation shelter, decided to start a newspaper, called "Fight Newspaper," for the evacuation shelter, explaining in her own words,

"I love writing and drawing pictures, and mummy and daddy are happy when I write for them. I wanted to write letters to everyone in the evacuation shelter, but there was no pretty paper. I don't know anyone here, and nobody is happy. There were some big sheets of white paper so I decided to make a newspaper to make everyone feel better. When people read it, they praised me and they smiled and they talked to me, and I felt happy too." (Fight Shimbunsha 2011, 10).

Other children of all ages soon joined Risa, subscribing to the newspaper policy of being "cheerful", and they formed a team to produce "Fight Newspaper" in the form of a large sheet of paper posted on the school wall every day from 18<sup>th</sup> March, just one week after the earthquake and tsunami. On 18<sup>th</sup> March, Risa's contribution was, "Everyone here at Kesenuma Elementary School has suffered a lot over the past few days, but let's not give up! We are going to try our hardest" (Fight Shimbunsha 2011, 13). In the weeks that followed, the young reporters recorded their excitement as electricity and water were restored, they received sweets from the Self Defence Forces, new food supplies arrived, stationary and toys were sent by wellwishers from other parts of Japan, school resumed and famous people came to visit their school evacuation shelter. In this way, it was the children in the evacuation centre who made the first move to actively seek and find a way of creating a community out of the hundreds of homeless people thrown together in cramped conditions in the school, and then worked to encourage this community to start looking forwards beyond the shock and loss they had suffered. This was not only effective, but also very much appreciated by adults, and it has become a symbol of the agency of young people as active citizens in the post-disaster months, with copies of the daily newspaper compiled into a book that has been sold nationwide (Fight

Shimbunsha 2011). In November 2011, three copies of the original handwritten newspapers were preserved in permanent form by Seiko Epson Japan, with one copy to be kept in the children's hometown, one copy to be circulated around schools throughout Japan, and one copy to be displayed at UNESCO headquarters in Paris (Asahi Shimbun 25 November 2011). This powerful example of the way in which an active citizenship initiative by one child can create and impact a community at both the local and national levels is now part of the national memory of the 3/11 disaster.

In the immediate phase, food and shelter provided by schools as evacuation centres were the main priorities, but ensuring that schools could start functioning as school communities again was a widespread concern from a very early stage. In many cases where schools were being used as evacuation shelters, and where electricity and water had not been fully restored, there was no option but to postpone the start of the new school year, which usually begins in the first week of April. The opening ceremonies of schools in the worst-affected areas, widely reported in the press and on television, were hailed as first steps in recovery, and boosted morale throughout the region. They also made a huge difference to children, with an elementary school principal in Ishinomaki City describing the "total transformation in children" the day school resumed in temporary classrooms borrowed from another school. The principal said that he had never understood the power of education as acutely as at that time, when children stopped looking at debris and could return to the routine of school. The important role of education in emergency situations has been analysed in detail in literature on conflict and post-conflict situations, and the argument made by Cahill (2010, 3) applies equally to post-disaster situations:

"Education is a manifestation of society's belief that somehow, someday, somewhere there will be a life after the near death that children experience in conflict and post-conflict situations."

The security of returning to school study in a suddenly insecure world, even if that means a return to dreaded tests and homework, is evident in many of the children's accounts, too, such as this comment by a 13-year old girl in the Fight Newspaper on 24<sup>th</sup> April, just after schools finally reopened in Kesenuma:

"We've got tests tomorrow! I am no good at science and English, so I'll be really happy if I get 80%. Then we'll get our Japanese test back and we've got all 6 classes and club activities. I am so, so, so looking forward to it!" (Fight Shimbunsha 2011, 99).

By June, the number of schools being used as evacuation shelters was down to 124 schools (Omori 2011, 57), and plans for rebuilding schools affected by the tsunami were well underway. In Fukushima prefecture, however, many of the children displaced out of the nuclear exclusion zone still had no place to live, and no community to belong to. In focus group discussions conducted in December 2011 with children from Namie town who had had to leave their homes within the exclusion zone the morning after the earthquake and had not been back since, children compared notes on how many times they had moved from shelter to shelter. Most had moved three

or four times between March and September, and some had moved five or six times. Because people living near the nuclear power plant had to leave their homes so quickly, most went wherever they could, and a year later are scattered throughout Japan, living with relatives, renting accommodation, or living in temporary housing. At the time of the focus group interviews, the majority of the children who participated were living in temporary housing erected on a sports ground in a town just outside the nuclear exclusion zone. In this situation, one of the priorities for the town's elementary school, which reopened in a disused, borrowed school just outside the exclusion zone in August 2011, was to recreate a sense of community security within the school, as the principal explains:

“The children have had various experiences and there are issues in the temporary housing with parents having lost their jobs and so on, but when they come to school, it's important that life goes on as normal, that they know we are all together, and that we look to the future positively.”

While the emphasis within the school is on creating the school as a community and keeping school life as normal as possible for the children, in spite of circumstances, the existence per se of this school is critical to maintenance of the town as a community, as it is the only accessible, living, physical representation of the town post-3/11, apart from the displaced town office, which works out of borrowed premises nearby. Articles about the school feature largely in the town newsletter, which is produced monthly by the town office and posted to every former resident of the town, in an effort to maintain a sense of community. While the sense of community and attachment to the town was still strong a year after the disaster, town office staff and teachers are understandably concerned about how long this can be maintained in such uncertain circumstances, with no prediction of how long it will be before they can return to their town and their homes.

The discussion above has emphasised the role of schools as communities and the role of schools in their communities during and after the disaster. While the focus in normal times tends to be more on school as a community, the designation of so many schools as evacuation shelters has highlighted their function in the community in post-disaster Japan. For many children, schools became home for weeks or months, as they lived, ate and slept with their families in the school gymnasium or classrooms until temporary housing became available. The fact that the two roles of school as community and school in community converged so smoothly after the disasters is due largely to the citizenship education practised on a daily basis in schools throughout Japan.

## **5 Changing Media Representations of Children and Communities**

In the past two decades, images of young people dominant in the Japanese media have been images of non-active citizens, or even non-citizens, and it



has been claimed that this period has “been characterized by rampant youth-adult conflict” (Yoder 2004, 1). Widespread media attention has been given to school refusal, NEET youth and the hikikomori (social withdrawal) problem. One positive aspect of the 2011 disaster has been widespread media recognition of young people as active citizens who care about their communities and are willing to shoulder the responsibilities of rebuilding towns and recreating communities. Not only this, but young people have been portrayed as leaders in the recovery, providing inspiration, encouragement and hope to those around them, and rekindling hope for the future in spite of all that has been destroyed and lost. The perceptual shift that seems to have occurred in the media and among the general public is pithily expressed in the following extract from part of a book that compiled Twitter entries, describing a scene in an evacuation shelter:

“They brought out pork soup, and a senior high school boy raced straight over to be at the front of the queue. I was thinking how selfish he was as I watched him, but then he took the soup to an old lady who could not walk easily, said “Drink this while it’s hot,” and went to the back of the long line of people to queue again for his own.” (Shibui et al. 2011, 81).

This perception shift to a general recognition of young people as active, engaged, caring citizens in their communities is long overdue, and began with coverage of graduation ceremonies in the weeks following the disasters. The earthquake and tsunami occurred just as schools throughout Japan were doing final rehearsals for one of the most important events of the school year, the graduation ceremony. School graduation ceremonies in Japan tend to be very formal, ceremonial events, attended by many of the local community dignitaries, where students are urged to reflect on their time in the school and shoulder the responsibility of being alumni of the school as they go out into the world. Graduation ceremonies are also one of the very few occasions in Japan where it is quite acceptable and very common for students, teachers and parents to cry publicly. Naturally, graduation ceremonies in many schools had to be postponed, but reports gradually appeared in the newspapers of graduation ceremonies in the affected area being held, often with photos of deceased or missing classmates being held by those in attendance, and often at evacuation shelters. An article in the *Kahoku Shinpou* on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, for example, has a photo of a boy acting as a conductor as other students from the school sing in a graduation ceremony conducted in the gymnasium of their school. None of this is unusual, but instead of parents in their best clothes, the audience is 500 evacuees living temporarily in the gymnasium, watching the ceremony as they sit among their few belongings in a town flattened by the tsunami. The article describes how the 15-year old conductor introduced the song to the evacuee audience, with the words “We sing this as a pledge to reconstruct the town we were born in and grew up in.” The article goes on to quote a 67-year old evacuee in the audience, “It was very moving. The children give us courage, and make us think we can keep going. I want these children, who are going to be responsible for rebuilding, to be strong and live well.” (Kahoku Shinpousha 2011, 83). Reports of graduation ceremonies appeared repeatedly in local and national newspapers and on television in

the last week of March, and are interesting in that all the traditional elements of the graduation ceremony – its ceremonious and emotional nature, its focus on determination to go out into the world and do good, and its sombreness and acceptability as one of the few sites of public community grieving for what is ending – are writ large to the disaster and the nation. In this way, graduation ceremonies, which would probably have been cancelled in many countries in the same situation, went ahead in spite of huge obstacles in many cases in Japan, partly because of their symbolic importance as a rite of passage in school life, but also because their function within the school coincided cathartically with the need of people in the affected region and throughout Japan at that particular point to come together as a community, remember and mark what had gone before, cry openly as a community, and start to move on to the next stage.

While media representation of children and young people has taken a positive turn, this is less true for media representation of specific communities. Media coverage and representation has been a major concern for teachers and students affected by the nuclear disaster, both directly and indirectly. In direct terms, principals, teachers and children in badly affected schools have had to get used to television and newspaper reporters in their schools, and to the fact that representation of their schools in the national and international media, even if not negative, has not necessarily matched their own views of their school community. At an indirect level, several teachers and parents expressed concerns about the media coverage of radiation and its impact on children and their development in the community. Children in Fukushima Prefecture were still wearing radiation monitors around their necks in December 2011, measuring the cumulative amount of radiation in the air to which they were exposed. In focus group interviews, the most common response of children to the question of what they did not like about their life now was not being able to play outside. Some teachers in Fukushima expressed the opinion that negative media overreaction to the effects of radiation was probably more harmful to children's and parents' mental health than the radiation itself. Studies from Chernobyl support this view, with reports concluding that the most significant public health consequence of the Chernobyl accident has been mental health effects (Bromet et al. 2011).

While the psychological effects of nuclear disaster on individuals have been researched and documented, there seems to be little research on the impact of nuclear disaster and its media coverage on the psychological health of communities or regions. However, this is an issue which is of concern to many residents of Fukushima, as they express regret over their isolation and negative image as a “dangerous, unclean” place, an image which stands in stark contrast to the prefectural slogan of “Utsukushima Fukushima” (Beautiful Fukushima). At a more practical level, the regional community is being affected by many residents who would like to stay in Fukushima being forced to leave to seek employment, or moving out because of potential perceived risks to their children's health. This affects teachers directly. Because of the closing of schools in the nuclear exclusion zone and many children moving out of Fukushima Prefecture, there are too many teachers, and Fukushima Prefectural Board of Education has not employed any new teachers for elementary or junior high schools in 2012 (Fukushima Prefectural Board of Education 2011). This means that students graduating

with degrees in education in 2012 and wishing to be teachers have to mark time for at least a year or move out of the prefecture, unable to contribute to their communities as teachers even if they want to do so. This is not entirely due to media representation, of course, but media representation is doing little to contribute to the reconstruction of communities in Fukushima at present.

## 6 The Birth of Global Citizenship as a Meaningful Concept

While the three sections above describe ways in which the disaster has impacted schools, teachers and children by reinforcing traditional roles, extending existing roles or changing representation, there are also signs that the disaster has served to create a climate of change in schools in some ways. One interesting way in which this is apparent is the change of attitude to global engagement. Within Japan, the north-eastern region hit hardest by the tsunami and nuclear disaster has a reputation of being rather closed, even to the rest of Japan. However, the huge wave of support and media attention from all over Japan and from many other parts of the world has forced many schools and teachers to rethink their position beyond their local and regional communities and consider themselves much more as part of the national and global community. As a principal from a school in Miyagi prefecture explained:

“We had the Self Defence Forces here, and the American forces, and volunteers and television and newspaper reporters from all over Japan and even other countries. The world came to us, and now we have realised how much we are part of the world. That is something the children need to keep learning.”

Another principal from Fukushima prefecture concurs:

“Since the disaster, we have received and received – messages of support, satchels for the children, school supplies – and we are very grateful. But and give back to the rest of Japan and the world. I don’t know how we’re going to do that internationally yet, but I believe we can.”

This recognition of self in the world, commitment to education for global consciousness and citizenship, and determination to give back in return for all the support received internationally as well as nationally is an unexpected impact of the disaster. The widening of community consciousness to the national and global community after the disasters is evident throughout the affected region. For most schools, this is new territory, and many principals and teachers are unsure of how to engage and are worried about language barriers, but the new motivation and determination to become more involved in the global community is very apparent.

## 7 Conclusion

The disasters of 11<sup>th</sup> March 2011 had and continue to have massive, far-reaching impact on schools, teachers and children. Families, friends, homes and stability have been lost, and the effects on physical and mental health remain to be seen. Yet this disaster has highlighted the resilience of children and young people and their willingness to engage in their communities as active, caring citizens. It has also shown the dedication of teachers to their role as key community members and to their children and schools as communities. It has proven the effectiveness of citizenship education routines in schools as preparation for coping with the unexpected. It has planted the seed of global citizenship as a meaningful element of school education. It has changed media representation of children, young people, teachers and schools in Japan, and has generated respect and admiration for them. It has scattered and destroyed communities, but also created new communities. To finish with the words of an elementary school teacher:

“I have lost friends and my home and most of my possessions, but I cannot have regrets for ever. I am a teacher. We have to look forward, we have to recover and rebuild the community, and we need to be examples for the children to be positive and forward-looking and help them be able to contribute to that task.”

## References

Asahi Shimbun (22 March 2011) “We Never Thought it Would Come This Far:” The Rage of the Tsunami that Reached Designated Evacuation Shelters – Miyagi.

(<http://www.asahi.com/national/update/0322/TKY201103210377.html>) accessed November 15, 2011 [In Japanese].

Asahi Shimbun (25 November 2011) “Fight Shimbun” Preserved Forever: The Handwritten Work of the Children who Encouraged Kesenuma.

(<http://www.asahi.com/edu/news/chiiki/TKY201111250224.html>) accessed December 13, 2011 [In Japanese].

Beck, John. 1998. *Morality and Citizenship in Education*. London.

Bromet, Evelyn J.; Havenaar, Johan M.; Guey, Lin. 2011. A 25 year Retrospective Review of the Psychological Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident. In: *Clinical Oncology*, Vol.23, No. 4, 297-305.

Cahill, Kevin, ed. 2010. *Even in Chaos: Education in Times of Emergency*. New York.

Fight Shimbunsha. 2011. *Fight Shimbun*. Tokyo [In Japanese].

Fukushima Prefectural Board of Education. 2011. *Guidelines for Selection Examinations for Applicants for Employment as Teachers in Public Schools in Fukushima in the 2012 Academic Year*.

([http://www.pref.fks.ed.jp/saiyo/top\\_24\\_saiyou.html](http://www.pref.fks.ed.jp/saiyo/top_24_saiyou.html)) accessed December

24, 2011 [In Japanese].

Houston, J. Brian; Pfefferbaum, Betty; Reyes, Gil. 2008. Experiencing Disasters Indirectly: How Traditional and New Media Disaster Coverage Impacts Youth. In: *The Prevention Researcher*, Vol.15, No. 3, 14-17.

Ishida, Kazuhiko. 2011. The Existence of School and Role of Teachers Reviewed in Light of the Disaster. In: Miyagi Kyouiku Bunka Kenkyuu Center, eds. *What Happened on and after 3.11: The Experiences of Disaster of the Children and Schools of Miyagi*. Kyoto, 94-98 [In Japanese].

Japan Times. 29 April 2011. 378 Students Killed, 158 Missing in Disaster. (<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/nn20110429a4.html>) accessed November 15, 2011.

Kahoku Shinpousha. 2011. *The 3.11 Great East Japan Earthquake: Articles from 1 Month*. Tokyo [In Japanese].

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (undated) English Translation of Basic Act on Education. ([http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm)) accessed December 9, 2011.

Mori, Ken, ed. 2011. *Tsunami: A Collection of 80 Essays by Children in the Affected Region*. Bungei Shunju, August Special Edition [In Japanese].

National Police Agency. 2011. *Damage and Police Action in the Great East Japan Earthquake*, 9 December. (<http://www.npa.go.jp/archive/keibi/biki/higaijokyo.pdf>) accessed December 9, 2011 [In Japanese].

Okano, Kaori; Tsuchiya, Motonori. 1999. *Education in Contemporary Japan*. Cambridge.

Omori, Naoki. 2011. *Major Problems of Schools Revealed through the Great Disaster*. Tokyo [In Japanese].

Parmenter, Lynne; Mizuyama, Mitsuharu; Taniguchi, Kazuya. 2008. Citizenship Education in Japan. In: Arthur, James; Davies, Ian; Hahn, Carole, eds. *SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London, 205-214.

Shibui, Tetsuya; Kamematsu, Taro; Nishimura, Hitomi; Murakami, Kazumi; Watabe, Makoto. 2011. *The Bonds of Messages from 3.11: Support from Around the World and the Affected Region Now*. Tokyo [In Japanese].

Wolmer, Leo; Laor, Nathaniel; Dedeoglu, Ceyda; Siev, Joanna; Yazgan, Yanki. 2005. Teacher-Mediated Intervention after Disaster: A Controlled Three-Year Follow-Up of Children's Functioning. In: *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, Vol. 46, No. 11, 1161-1168.

Yoder, Robert S. 2004. *Youth Deviance in Japan*. Melbourne.

*Alistair Ross*

## **Communities and Others: Young Peoples' Constructions of Identities and Citizenship in the Baltic Countries**

This article explores how young people (aged 12-18) in the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are constructing their identities, particularly their sense of attachment to their country and to Europe. This generation is of particular significance, in that they are the first generation for many years to have been born and socialised in independent states that are in a relatively peaceful and stable state. Data was collected through 22 focus groups, conducted in 10 different locations in the different states, and were analysed in terms of the degree of enthusiasm expressed for civic institutions and cultural practices related to the country and to Europe. Two particular areas were identified: the sense of generational difference and the ways in which different groups created 'other' communities, within and without their country's borders. These parameters allow us to distinguish the significant communities that these young people are creating in order to make sense of their social and political worlds.

### **Keywords**

Identity, community, young people, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, social construction

## **1 Background**

Citizenship and civic identity have been traditionally associated with a defined, limited and exclusive area or territory (Mackenzie 1978). Over the past sixty years, this conception has become gradually and partially eroded, through processes such as globalisation, large scale migration, and the development of dual citizenship (Joppke, 2010: vi-viii). The development of the European Union (EU) has contributed another layer of complexity. Citizens of the countries that are members of the Union are now also citizens of the EU, and this second citizenship gives them rights that are superior to those rights given by their country's citizenship (Joppke 2010). As the EU has expanded, this citizenship—and these rights—have been extended to include an increasing number of Europeans. The border of the EU has moved between its inception in 1956 and its most recent expansion in 2007 with further border movements planned in coming years.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> In 2004 the Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia joined the European Union. In 2007 Bulgaria and Romania also joined. A number of countries are now (February 2012) formally candidate countries, that is, countries that have been accepted into formal negotiations: Croatia\*, Iceland\*, Macedonia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Turkey\* (negotiations are underway for asterisked countries). Serbia has been recommended as an official candidate country, but talks have yet to open. Albania has applied for membership, but not yet been recommended. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU, normally a precursor to applying for EU membership. Kosovo aspires to membership, and a joint EU-Kosovan Stabilisation Tracking Mechanism is exploring issues around this.

This article describes part of a small-scale qualitative investigation into how young people – aged between 11 and 18 – are constructing their identities and becoming aware of their actual or potential European identity in the three Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.<sup>2</sup> These countries are all engaged in a process of change, having become members of the European Union in May 2004. However, there was an additional prior change to the status of the three countries in mid 1991, when they all became independent of the USSR (Judt 2005, 646, 655). They had been independent states between 1920 and 1940, but between August 1940 and 1991 each had been formally incorporated into the Soviet Union as a Soviet Socialist Republic (and had also been occupied by Nazi forces, and claimed as part of the *Reichskommissariat Ostland*, between 1941 and 1945).

These events mean that in 2010 people under 19 in these three countries have some particular characteristics. Other than those over 70 years of age, this is the first generation to be born in the three independent states, and to have been wholly socialised into these self-governing communities. They will have no personal memories of the Soviet period, or of the events leading to the establishment of the independent countries. Parents and various histories will have mediated any narratives they construct of the events before 1991. They will also have become aware, over the past six years, of their country's membership of the EU. Although they will all have this in common, these young people are by no means an homogeneous group (see Table 1). During the Soviet period<sup>3</sup> there was considerable migration into the three territories from other Soviet Socialist Republics, particularly in Estonia and Latvia (Hiden, Salmon 1994). In Lithuania, there were also some longstanding communities of Polish or Belarus origin, and the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian border in 1945 paid scant respect to the ethnic origin of any residents. There was also migration out of the territories—many of the immigrants were transient, and a number of the indigenous population moved to other parts of the USSR, not always of their own free will. A number of the migrants into the territory married local people, and settled permanently. Since independence, some people of migrant origin living in the three countries have taken up citizenship of one of the three countries, and others have not. Many of those of migrant origin have adopted the language of the country in which they now live, but a proportion has not done so to a significant degree (Judt 2005, 644-645). Some, but not all, of these people may refer to themselves as being of Russian origin (rusškiye, русские) and speak Russian: in this context, the term *rusškiye* is used to refer to members of one of a number of ethnic groups, not to citizenship of Russia (*rossiyanin*, россиянин). As will be seen, the term 'Russian' is used to include those of Ukrainian, Cossack, Belarusian and other origins, as well as those of ethnic Russian origin.

2 This was part of a larger study of young people in the countries that have recently joined the European Union (2004-2007), and the countries that are currently candidate countries seeking membership in the future. The study was conducted under the aegis of a Jean Monnet *ad personam* Chair, awarded by the European Commission. I am grateful for this support, but emphasise that all the analysis and conclusions are my responsibility, and should not be construed in any way as the views or opinions of the European Commission. Thanks to Etina Annuskanc, Giedre Bagdonaite, Zoja Cehlova, Jolanta Desperat, Natalja Goliusova, Igors Ivashkins, Kristi Kõiv, Catherine Kozjuhina, Edgar Krull, Andrita Krumina, Giedre Kvieskiene, Urve Laanempts, Anna Liduma, Marcin Łuczka, Eve Magi, Marina Marchenoka, Antra Mazura, Jurgita Norvaisaite, Alina Petrauskiene, Sandra Rone, Zandra Rubene, Katya Simeonova, Anna Tatarinceva, Sulev Valdmaa, Gerda Vogule, Irena Zaleskiene and Vaiva Zuzeviciute. In London Metropolitan University, to Marta Pinto, Marko Bojunc and colleagues in IPSE for useful discussions and pointers, and to Angela Kamara for managing my travel and records.

3 The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or Soviet Union (often wrongly referred to in the 1917-1991 period as 'Russia'), was officially a Union of sub-national states, of which Russia was the largest and dominant. The three Baltic states were incorporated into the USSR in August 1940 as the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. This was regarded as a Soviet Union occupation.

Table 1. Ethnic composition of the populations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 2010

	Estonia		Latvia		Lithuania	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Estonians	924,100	69.0	2,359	0.1	**	
Latvian	2,177	0.2	1,327,129	59.5	2,400	0.1
Lithuanian	2,046	0.2	29,376	1.3	2,721,500	83.9
Russian	341,450	25.5	610,297	27.4	174,900	5.4
Polish	1,993	0.1	51,397	2.3	212,800	6.6
Belorussian	15,315	1.1	78,556	3.5	41,100	1.3
Ukrainian	27,530	2.1	54,425	2.4	21,100	0.6
Finns	10,494	0.8	**		**	
Jewish	1,770	0.1	9,529	0.4	3,400	0.1
Tartar	2,428	0.2	**		3,100	0.1
German	1,918	0.1	4,548	0.2	3,000	0.1
Romany	**	0.0	8,536	0.4	2,900	0.1
Others	8,973	0.7	53,489	2.5	8,000	0.2
Not known	**	0.0	**		50,400	1.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,340,194</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,236,910</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,244,600</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*\* data not classified in this category in this country

Sources: Estimates made by the various statistical offices of each country:

Statistics Estonia (website of the Government of Estonia statistics office) <http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/Dialog/statfile1.asp>, accessed November 2, 2011; Latvia: Citizenship & Migration Affairs [www.pmp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/dokuments/2011/21SVP\\_Latvija\\_pec\\_VPD.pff](http://www.pmp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/dokuments/2011/21SVP_Latvija_pec_VPD.pff), accessed November 2, 2011; Lithuania: Statistikos Departamentas <http://db1.stat.gov.lt/statbank/default.asp?w=1920>, accessed November 2, 2011; the Lithuanian data is rounded to the nearest 100, the Estonian and Latvian data is not

The young people with whom this study is concerned – 12 to 18 year olds – therefore include those who have both parents of Estonian/Latvian/Lithuanian origin, speaking the respective language; some who have two rusскиye parents (possibly with Russian as the home language, and possibly attending a Russophone school, in which Russian is the medium of instruction);<sup>4</sup> some with one parent is rusскиye and the other Estonian/Latvian/ Lithuanian; and some with one or more grandparent of rusскиye origin (and some of these last two groups are also possibly in Russophone schools). The sample is discussed in detail below in Issues of methodology and Table 2.

## 2 Identities and Attachments: A Brief Discussion

Identities are increasingly recognised as being both multiple and constructed contingently and, for some, in a context that includes Europe. Such identities may include a range of intersecting dimensions, including gender, age and region. It appears that a growing number of young people in parts of the EU are acknowledging at least a partial sense of European identity alongside their national identity: the degree to which this is

<sup>4</sup> Russophone schools teach most subjects in Russian: they are state-funded, but cater for students of Russian-origin families who wish their children to be educated in Russian. They also teach Latvian or Estonian, and public examinations for University entrance are conducted in these languages, respectively.



acknowledged varies by nationality, gender and social class, as well as by age (Lutz et al 2006). European and national identities are not alternatives, but potentially complementary feelings that can be held in parallel (Licata 2000). But what does this multiplicity mean for the young people involved? In these three countries, particular contrasts between the various 'national' or 'ethnic' communities allow the possibility of exploring constructions of not just identity and citizenship, but also of community and generation in these particular countries in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

I draw on two particular writers in framing this analysis of what a sense of European identity might mean. Michael Bruter (2005), analysing the emergence of mass European identity, describes the identities of citizens as having a civic and a cultural component. Individuals have differing balances of the 'civic' (identification with "the set of institutions, rights and rules that preside over the political life of the community") and the 'cultural' ("identification with a certain culture, social similarities, values" (Bruter 2005, 12)). Lynn Jamieson, writing with Sue Grundy describes the different processes by which some young people "come to present themselves as passionate utopian Europeans, while for many being European remains emotionally insignificant and devoid of imagined community or steps towards global citizenship" (Grundy, Jamieson 2007, 663).

My research questions were derived from these frameworks. Do these young people identify with a mixture of cultural and civic aspects of Europe, and how does this relate to the presence of the same two components in their identification with their country? To what extent are young people passionate or indifferent about each? In Estonia and Latvia in particular, do Russian young people see themselves as an identity community, and are they perceived as such by their Estonian and Latvian contemporaries? Do young people acknowledge their multiplicity of identities, and how much do they insist that their identity is singular, essentialist and immovable? Does their sense of their own identity require the construction of 'the Other,' a contrasting outside or alien identity to be held in juxtaposition to their own identity? This question is of particular significance to the subjects of this study: their eastern borders were created just twenty years ago, and as the borders of the European Union continue to demonstrate their flexibility, even an ambiguity, are there (in the minds of these young people) limits to Europe: where does the frontier lie?

The generational identity may also be significant in this context: the experiences of this generation are markedly different to those of their parents and grandparents. In a recent study of generational identities in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Germany, Fulbrook (2011) notes the 'construction of a collective identity on the basis of generationally defined common experiences' (11). Age, she suggests, is 'crucial at times of transition, with respect to the ways in which people can become involved in new regimes and societies' (488). Do these young people perceive themselves as a generation differently available for political and social mobilisation than their parents or grandparents?

The complexities and diversities of these societies, coupled with their particular recent history, make them particularly interesting locations in which to investigate the construction of identities. It is unlikely that simple dichotomies of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* ('community' and

‘society/association’) Tönnies (1887, reprint 2001) will be useful: the community identities in these countries will not simple contrast the associative process of a ‘natural’ communitarian will with a rational individualistic will (Adair-Toteff 1995). The critical communitarianism analysis of Barzilai (2003) suggests that communities excluded from the processes of ruling – such as, arguably, the russkiye communities in Estonia and perhaps Latvia – might construct legal cultures that interact with aspects of political power: the identities constructed in such a process constitute communities protected by law and boundaries against other communities. Is such a process recognised and described by the young members of these communities?

### 3 Issues of Methodology

These are big and complex questions, and putting them directly to young people will not, I argue, lead to coherent or meaningful answers. They may not have considered them, and feel obliged by the interview context to provide ‘an answer’; they may feel constrained by how they reply to a direct question; they will almost inevitably use the language and constructions of the questioner in making any response. The focuses of this study is on how these young peoples’ ideas are *socially* constructed. Social constructions are created through social interaction, in a social context, so my methodology has been to conduct focus groups with small groups of five to six pupils, all about the same age. In a focus group, the researcher introduces a few open-ended questions, and encourages the pupils to discuss these between them so that they are interacting with each other, rather than with the researcher. As an example of this, here is a group of Latvians discussing what makes them ‘Latvian:’

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Reines F</i> (♂ 15¾)             | I’m not a total Latvian, I’m only partial. On my mother’s side, everyone was Latvian, but on my father’s side there is a very mixed line: there are Russian, Belarusians, and even Polish descent. I kind of respect both – I am a patriot of more than just one country. |
| <i>Nelliija G</i> (♂ 14 ¾)          | It’s not the blood that makes your nationality. If you have a Russian mother and a Russian father, and you were born in Latvia and you learn the Latvian language, and you do everything as a Latvian would do – it doesn’t make a difference –                           |
| <i>Monta A</i> <sup>5</sup> (♂ 15½) | – it’s more what’s in your head –   |
| <i>Agnese K</i> (♂ 16.0)            | – and what you see every day. If you are Russian, but you live in Latvia, you don’t know how the Russians live in Russia, so – so you become Latvian. It’s really not a lot!  |
| <i>Monta A</i>                      | Also friends do some stuff to you. If you are Russian,  |

<sup>5</sup> All names have been changed so that individuals remain anonymous. They are identified by the country in which they were interviewed, their gender and their age. The cities of Riga and Tallinn have not been anonymised.

<sup>6</sup> Monta had earlier said she had ‘there’s someone from Russia in the family tree.’

but your friends are Latvians, it's possible that you'll go more Latvian than Russian – because you'll speak Latvian all the time, and the jokes, and all that stuff ...

*Agnese K* ... The way you think is different ...

*Reines F* It depends on what society you grow up in, what part of the country, even in what part of the town.

They are using ideas, language, and vocabulary of their own choosing, rather than responding to the interviewer. The researcher is non-directive – elucidating, guiding, but not focusing or constraining. Thus I might in an interview ask how they think Europe affects their lives, but if they collectively chose to discuss other aspects of their lives, my attempts to ‘get an answer’ are limited.

The discussion points I put were broad, and the result of extensive discussions and trials. The following broad areas were covered, the form of words varying slightly from conversation to conversation, as the context required.

- How would you describe your identity? (if necessary, prompting with ‘What do you all have in common?’, or, when [Latvian] was suggested, ‘What does being [Latvian] mean to you?’)
- Do you ever describe yourselves in other ways, or feel you have difficulties always using this identity?
- Do you think your parents feel the same way about this as you?
- Do you think everyone in Latvia feels the same way?
- How does being in Europe affect the way you think about your identity, and about your future?
- What is particular or different about Europeans?
- Can you imagine [Russia/Belarus/appropriate neighbour] becoming part of the European Union?

In the three countries covered in this article, all the focus groups took place in March 2010. Nine locations were visited, in each case to some schools in the capital city, some to schools in the vicinity of the capital, and some to schools in a provincial town, ensuring a fairly wide geographical spread.

Table 2. Number and distribution of focus groups

<i>Country</i>	<i>locations</i>	<i>number of schools</i>	<i>number of classes</i>	<i>number of pupils</i>
<b>Estonia</b>	2	4	6	44
<b>Latvia</b>	3	6	8	50
<b>Lithuania</b>	3	6	8	40
	9	16	22	134

(One Russophone school was selected in Estonia and one in Latvia: all other schools used the national language as the medium of instruction)

In each location, one to three schools, each with different social mixes were selected, and in each school focus groups were usually conducted with one or two groups of pupils – about five or six 12-14 year olds, and a similar group of 15 to 17 year olds. Locations were selected in which I had colleagues who were willing to collaborate with me (selected to cover the capital city and one or two regional locations). Each colleague (see footnote 2) was asked to identify two schools, one in a middle class area, the other in a working class area. Schools were asked to select six to eight pupils from a class, choosing an equal number of males and females willing to take part in a discussion, without regard to ability within the class. Permission was sought from all the young people to participate in the focus groups, and, for those under 16, also from their parents or guardians. It should be emphasised that I am not attempting to achieve a representative sample, but to identify the diversity of views expressed. The study is not concerned with legal nationality or status, but young people whose home is now in the country (so if there are significant minorities or migrants, these may have been included).

The project would not have been possible without help and assistance from a large number of people, to whom I am indebted (see footnote 2). Schools and parents have been recruited, arrangements made for visits and, critically, help given in translating many of the transcripts into English. The analysis that follows covers firstly the major themes and then moves towards some tentative conclusions.

#### **4 Major Themes: Europe and Nation as a Focus for Identity European Culture and Civic Institutions**

The culture of Europe was less apparent in the young people's talk than was their reference to the civic practices of Europe. In particular, there were many references to the possibility of travel to other European states and of studying and working there. Many of them, particularly the older students, said that they had considered higher education outside their own country, very often in other European Union states. They seemed well aware of the possibilities and options, as they were of the issues concerning work in other, generally western, European countries. As will be seen, not all were in favour of taking up such opportunities, for example:

There are advantages and disadvantages in working here and also abroad. The advantages of working abroad are that it's easier to find a job, and you are well paid abroad. Everyone tells me this. The disadvantages – you can't meet [ie see] your family, but you don't have a good salary if you work here (Karlis M, Latvian ♂ 11½).

But there was also widespread appreciation that these opportunities were now available. Looking first at those of Lithuanian/Latvian Estonian descent, the sense of European unity and solidarity was evident in many comments. Lithuanians were generally more positive about identifying with European culture, for example:

The European Union has changed people's opinions about Lithuania. Now people don't think that we are beviltiškas [hopeless], and we can achieve something, we can give something to others. Now we feel that we are necessary, we are needed... (Kristina K, ō 16¾).

Some cited European-wide rights and freedoms:

We are free from Russia, and Russian has censorship – they are not as free as we are – and it's a difference (Migle J, Lithuanian ō 15½).

On the other hand, some Latvians were sometimes suspicious, and made comments such as:

Many Europeans are interested in having our workers, as they are cheaper than their own ... there are more drawbacks than advantages (Julia A, ō 14¾).

Though others were much more positive:

It kind of unifies us. We are all together, in one place, all Europeans, and we can feel that we're kind of united (Reinis F, σ 15¾).

In Estonia, the older students were very positive about the European Union, for a wide variety of reasons – its emphasis of human rights and democracy, the ability to participate in European-wide decision making process, economic support, and, of course, the mobility rights associated with membership.

We have more right to express our own opinion, more to say than we used to have (Helle K, ō 15¾).

I think Europe is democratic because it controls all the members of the Union to make sure that Human Rights are protected, and that people have a good life and ... that's it (Imre T, ō 15¾).

I think the Europeans are calm and friendly, and very civilised (Lada D, Estonian ō 16¾).

Some younger voices were less enthusiastic:

I don't see it as European – we belong to the Baltic area (Kristiin T, ō 12¾).

The students in the Russophone schools in Latvia tended to adopt a more distant, even critical standpoint: Europe undermined Latvian independence.

I think that we have more disadvantages. Latvia in future will be a suburb of the European Union (Dmitri Y, σ 15½).

... I think Europeans people are culturally educated, most of them, I presume. Though when it comes to creativity, innovations, and

unconventional ways of thinking, I think Europeans are on the weaker side (Dmitrij P, ♂, 16½).

The students in Russophone schools in Estonia were broadly positive about their European identity, for example for travel and for economic support.

I think Europe is important in my life, because it's open to travel a lot, and I do a lot of travelling, and we don't have to have a visa (Zhenya K, ♂ 16¾).

Though there were also some sceptical voices:

It is not good, but in between – it hasn't made much difference (Gennady S, ♂ 14¾).

But students who had some Russian ancestry and were in national language schools were notably more positive, in all three countries.

There are differences between Europe and Russia. In Russia, people can live without documents but this seldom occurs in Europe. Also, the police are rather corrupt in Russia – you if you give a little bribe, they accept it, and that's how the system works (Kristjan T, Estonian ♂ 15).

I think the European Union is a very good thing, because we're not so [confined] to our own country. We can move and the Union can help us do something. We can start some new things – we can study abroad. For example, in the USSR our parents couldn't leave their country, and they didn't know what was abroad. And this European Union helps us to know what is happening in the world. So we're connected in the world (Lada D, Estonian ♂ 16¾).

European identity thus appears to be largely associated more towards the institutional end of Bruter's (2005) spectrum, rather than the cultural. There was generally some enthusiasm for a European identity, but it was in many ways around instrumental ends – access to travel and study in other European states in particular – rather than about deeper feelings of belonging, although there is some evidence that the democratic and rights-based freedoms associated with the EU were valued.

## 5 National Culture and Civic Institutions

Generally, most young people were more talkative about their own country, rather than Europe. There were many references to the national language, which for many was one of the defining facets of their unique cultural identity: it was spoken by very few other people in the world. As Vaiva S (Lithuanian ♂ 17) put it: 'Our language is one of the oldest languages in Europe, and it's hard to learn it – so in languages we are different from other countries.' 'We speak in Estonian,' said Anett L (Estonian ♂ 13¾) said when asked what defined her group. Anton Z (Latvian ♂ 15) explained that,

though his parents were of Russian origin, 'but I use the Latvian language, and follow Latvian traditions and customs, I know Latvian history,' and this made him 'sometimes feel Latvian.'

It was generally the Lithuanian students who were more positive (though not uncritically) about their national culture than young people in Estonia and Latvia. For example, Brigita K (♂ 15¾), discusses how her pride in her country compares to that of her parents, and the dilemmas of emigration:

I like this country, I'm proud of it, everything is close and homely. ... My dad, he's a real patriot, he has no plans to leave our country, but my mum, she's like me, and she has a wider perspective – sometimes she discusses, as I do, the possibility of leaving ... the people who are leaving are running away from the problems ... of course they love our country, but they leave ... all the problems for someone else to sort out. They're not trying to do anything to solve it themselves.

There were widespread fears about the decline in population, from a falling birthrate and emigration. (This was also true in the other Baltic countries.) Vaiva S (♂ 17) sees aspects of national pride even in this:

We were the first in Europe to have our own constitution – it was in the second world war. ...When we were trying to get our freedom and independence, and there was more fighting for our freedom, we talked about it more – now we are talking less and less about our citizenship. We don't feel patriotic, because we emigrate to other countries, and live and work there – but we send the money for our families. There are some communities in other countries, and they don't forget Lithuania – they always remember it and try to show to foreigners who Lithuanians are.

But many young people also expressed a sense of change in the meaning of being Lithuanian. They were less patriotic than their parents, and saw that globalisation and EU membership were changing aspects of the culture.

Other cultures are coming to Lithuania and ... our cultures and traditions are getting a little less important to people (Edgaras F, ♂ 15½).

Some thought Lithuanians had a negative image in Europe, and that many people did not know where the country was.

If other countries hear anything about Lithuania, they hear bad things, not good ones (Migle A, ♂ 15¾).

Other countries really don't know where Lithuania is (Grinvydas A, ♂ 15¼).

Pride in Lithuanian national identity was not confined only to those of pure Lithuanian descent. Tadas (♂ 16) explains:

Well, I wouldn't identify myself as a 100% Lithuanian, because I'm not.

Only one-fifth of my blood is Lithuanian. The other parts are from Poland, Russia, Ukraine and even Georgia. So I couldn't say that I'm absolutely Lithuanian. But, because I'm living here, and I'm feeling a little patriotic, I think I could identify myself as a Lithuanian. Yes.

Andrius A (♂ 12½) began by talking about his feelings of being Lithuanian, only later in the conversation revealing that he was of partly German descent.

I like to be Lithuanian. ... It's a unique country, it has its own achievements, her own language. It's a great country – but now the times are not very good. ... My grandmother is from Germany, she's my father's mother, but we feel really Lithuanian. We talk in Lithuanian. My dad feels real Lithuanian – he doesn't even speak German. My parents have lots of plans to go on living in Lithuania.

Half of my blood is from Russia – well my dad is from Russia, and his father is from Russia, obviously, but my mother is Lithuanian and I was born here in Elektrenai, so that I can say that I'm Lithuanian, for sure (Edgaras F, Lithuanian ♂ 15½).

Estonia also had young people who were positive about their cultural identity, but others who were less articulate or more critical references. For example, Mikk N (♂ 13¼) was broadly positive about his Estonian heritage, but less able to identify its characteristics:

Estonians like singing and dancing. We have dance festivals and song festivals... Bread – we have black bread, and I think that it's the world's best bread. ... Last year we had Olympic wins and medals, and I think Estonia has good athletes. ... I think my parents like it that Estonia is free. I see them happy when they talk about Estonia when it's a free country, and they think it's good.

Other young Estonians were even less articulate: asked 'What does Estonia as a state mean to you?' Anet K (Estonian ♂ 13) can only respond 'I just don't know.' Taavi S (♂ 13) defines Estonia as 'a small country,' and recognises that 'I don't think my parents understand things the same way: ... they know the history much better'. Kaija M (♂ 16) is ambivalent: to her, Estonians are

depressed or something ... when I go to somewhere else, and meet people on the street, they smile always, they say hello, even if they don't know you ... but in Estonia, people are so... It's a small country, it's nice ... we should try and find something positive! ... My parents don't mind being Estonians, but they hate living in Estonia.

Estonian students also held their national civic institutions and practices in low esteem. There were many complaints about national politics, for example, Liisi N (♂ 13¼) was articulate about her concerns:



I don't like politics. Politics and politicians, both. They're terrible. They're not doing this for their country [laughs] ... I don't know. I think, maybe 15 years ago, politics was more normal than now. Sometimes I look at the news and read the paper, and I get this bad impression. The election commercials say 'Oh, it will be so good! We are making it all great!' And smarter people than them are saying that it's not possible, and they are lying, and they are just trying to sell themselves.

Bad politics – they fight each other. They don't agree on important decisions – they are like ... children [laughter]. Always fighting ... (Hillar S, ♂ 16¾).

There was a similar range from the positive to the negative in Latvia: on the affirmative side, Anna K (♂ 13½) saw her personal commitment as positive and active:

I think that we are the future of Latvia, and we must keep the language and do everything we need to save our language – so that Latvia can be as it is. ... I am proud of Latvia. We are such a small country, but we have Olympic champions – I'm proud of it, and I think we need to do something to make the others think the same way.

Žanete D (♂ 13¼) saw the problems on the cultural and the demographic side, but linked this to her pride in the country's freedom and independence:

We have to try to save Latvian traditions, we have to speak Latvian, and we have to make the population grow – get more babies born. ... – I am a patriotic Latvian, but my dad has got a different view – He wasn't working here, so he found a job in England, and he went away. ... My mother told me that when she was little kids couldn't have their own opinion – but now we can think for ourselves, we are free – we aren't under oppression.

On the other hand, some young Latvians felt disempowered. Klinta C (♂ 15) said 'I feel satisfied with my country – I like the place' but went on 'we cannot change what is happening. We cannot change the future of Latvia.' Nellija G (♂ 14¾) was more critical of Estonian politics and social behaviour:

I don't see myself as a true patriot, because I think there's a lot of things that are wrong in our country, and I understand some people might think that it's wrong for me to say so, but that's just the open mind I have – I read about the politicians in our country, I don't think that I should be proud about that ....there's a lot of people on the street that are technically Latvians, but I am so not proud to count them as Latvians, because of all of the bad things they do.

For these students of 'national' origin – 84% of Lithuanians, 69% of

Estonians, and just under 60% of Latvians (see Table 1 above) – the concept of affinity to the nation and the national community was centred more on the cultural aspects identified by Bruter, rather than the institutions, and was very largely positive. There was often a tension between this sense of national identity and the need to create an independent and economically viable future.

A number of the students in the Russophone schools in Estonia and Latvia were particularly more negative than students in national language schools.<sup>7</sup> For example, Zhenya K (Estonian ♂ 16¾) described herself in distinctly non-Estonian terms:

I think am European – I have a European passport, but I have Russian traditions in my family – both of my parents have Russian nationality. If my mother tongue was Estonian, I could say I am Estonian by nationality – but my native language is Russian, and I can't say I'm Estonian. ...I'm going to study in Scotland ... I want to study, there, work there, and maybe take my parents there too – because they too have no future here, they have no job and the skills needed to develop in the future.

In the same school, Bogdan H (♂ 16¾) said:

I don't think I'm a real Estonian, but I have an Estonian passport. Yes, I was born in Estonia, but my parents are Russian, and my grandfather and grandmother are Russian too. So I think that I'm Russian, even if I go to England, for example, or Germany, I will be Russian. I think that I'm Russian, but I live in Estonia.

I think I'm Russian, because I always speak the Russian language .... My parents want my future to be living in Estonia, but I don't want to live in Estonia, I don't see my future here (Gennady S, ♂ 14¾).

Some of these Russophone Estonians were learning the Estonian language, but for strictly instrumental, rather than cultural reasons. To achieve sufficiently well to gain a University place, they needed good Estonian, but after this:

In my future I will use English, I think. Estonian – it's now to talk with people on the street and know friends, but I don't want to live here later, and ... we learn Estonian because we have to pass the examination in the twelfth form (Zhenya K, ♂ 16¾).

I learn Estonian because I have to do it at school. I want to have good marks. In future I hope that I will study and work abroad and I think I won't need Estonian (Tatyana O, ♂ 16¼).

Pinja K (♂ 14) also complained of being ostracised by native Estonians: 'Many people don't understand me when I say that I am Russian: Estonian

<sup>7</sup> As in Latvia, the term 'Russian' was sometimes used as a convenience, and contingently: 'I was in Croatia, and someone asked me where I was from – and I said in Estonia, and I saw from their eyes 'Where is that?' So it's quite easy to say that you are from Russia, and they will understand quicker and there'll be no problems with explanations. So I say I'm from Russia to avoid geographical explanations that 'Estonian is situated west of Russia ...' (Zhenya K, ♂ 16¾)

people don't like Russian so much – and it is a problem.' [*They don't like the Russian language?*] 'Mmm – they don't like Russian *people*. ...If the [Estonian] government could be friendly with Russia.'

I feel like I am a Russian in Estonia. ... Sometimes I want to talk with Estonian boys and girls, but they just look at me like I'm not a normal girl, and don't want to speak with me. ... Someone Estonian told me that I'm Russian and they don't want to speak to me. ... It's a really difficult situation, because we want to have friends here, but we have only to speak with Russians, because only Russians can understand us, and it's very difficult (Dina B, ♂ 14  $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

A substantial number of the ethnic Estonian young people I spoke with had some reservations about Russians in Estonia, expressed with various degrees of caution.

They have this kind of temperament. It's already in their blood. They are very brave and courageous, and they can't do anything about it (Merilin T, ♂ 12  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

They are arrogant (Daniel V, ♂ 12  $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

Most do learn the language, and they live here as Estonians: they don't think of themselves as Russians. But of course, there are others (Jaagkup K, ♂ 16  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

In Latvia, most students in a provincial Russophone school were similarly critical of national institutions, asserting they saw no future for themselves as Latvians.

We can't see our futures in Latvia. I often talk to my parents about this, and my economic future, and my parents have decided that after finishing school, I should go abroad, because Latvia does not have a future (Anton Z, ♂ 15).

I belong to the Russian nation. Sometimes I feel that I'm Latvian, because I know Latvian. I learned it well, and one part of my family are Russians, and one part is Latvians – that's why sometimes I feel Latvian. ...Our politicians are not professional people [so] we have decisions that destroy our economy, our political life and our society (Dimitri Y, ♂ 15  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

In a Russophone school in Riga, the students were more sophisticated and nuanced in their criticisms.

I am neither Russian nor Latvian. With my soul I am here in Latvia, but at the same time I like Russian culture and Cossack culture very much. I respect the Latvian culture. My father believes that he is a true Russian, though sometimes he lives and works in different countries. My mum has both Polish and Ukrainian roots, but she respects both Latvian and Russian cultures (Anastasija Z, ♂ 13  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

I consider myself Russian. I respect Latvian and Russian cultures the same. I watch TV and listen to music in Russian. We all live in Latvia, we follow Latvian traditions, but at the same time we are different (Stanislav M, ♂ 13½).

Many of these young people, with Latvian passports, but not Latvian nationality, felt under threat and oppressed by the Latvian state, and identified themselves as Russian almost as a 'flag of convenience,' as a label that identifies them as being the other.

Engagement in different cultural activities and traditions also helped define national identity. Two Russian-origin pupils in the same town gave differing accounts: 'we celebrate Russian holidays, Russian traditions, and that's why I feel myself as Russian' (Marina M, ♂ 12¾), and 'we've lived in Latvia for so long we have taken up Latvian traditions – nearly all Russian people who live here celebrate Leiga ... so sometimes I feel myself to be Latvian' (Anton Z, ♂ 15).

For these students of Russian origin in Estonia and Latvia, the cultural identity of being *ruskiye* was particularly strong, but was coupled with a desire to distance themselves from the possibility of being considered institutionally Russian, or being identified with the Russian state, sometimes verging on antipathy. In terms of their formal civic status, there was a clear ambivalence: many felt 'othered' by their national Estonian and Latvian peers, and a desire to respond by constructing their own community centred on the Russian language and culture, but at the same time a clear sense of valuing their Estonian and Latvian citizenship, because this gave them a European Citizen status, and thus literally a passport to escape the social exclusion they faced in these countries.

But, interestingly, it was some of the students who had partial Russian ancestry, studying in the national language schools, who were most positive about the national culture. Those in Lithuania have already been quoted. In Latvia, Matis K (♂ 13¼) claimed to be proud to be Latvian.

I am Russian – I am born in Latvia, and I feel like a Latvian. I speak pretty good Latvian, my friends are Latvian, and my dad is Latvian. ... I don't feel I am Russian. Because I don't speak Russian in the street – I only speak Russian at home with my mum, and in Russian lessons in school. .. I am really proud that I'm Latvian. I want to grow up to go to America and to be an NBA player, and to let everyone know that Latvia is great like the basketball players Mārtins Kravčenko and Andris Biedrinš. I want to play like the heroes.

Monta A (♂ 15½) demonstrated similar ambivalences, professing a love for the country, but a firm sense of her own priorities and needs.

I don't think I'm Russian, but I also don't count myself Latvian. I don't know why, I couldn't say ... it's more what's in your head. Also friends do some stuff to you. If you are Russian, but your friends are Latvians, it's possible that you'll go more Latvian than Russian – because you'll speak Latvian all the time, and the jokes, and all that stuff ...[But] I

think more about myself, not about the country. If we speak honestly, I think more about what / am going to do, what / need, and what / want – not about what the country needs, what will happen to our country.

## 6 Multiple Identities and Acceptance of Diversity: The Frontier

While most students in all three countries saw themselves as having multiple identities, there were differences in the way that this was expressed. Very broadly, while many of the young people of Latvian/ Lithuanian/ Estonian decent were prepared to identify with their own country and with, to an extent, being European, these groups seemed less happy with the young people of Russian origin professing to be both Russian and European. Many of the Russian descent group also indicated some level of identification with the local state—but very notably not so in a number of cases, particularly in Estonia. Language was seen as important – many complained at Russophones not learning the national language, or not learning it sufficiently well. Brigita K (Lithuanian ♂ 15¾) complained ‘...in our capital, where most of the people should be Lithuanians, there are a lot of Russians – even some of the names on the shops are in Russian.’

In Estonia, the students in Russophone schools saw themselves as Russians and Europeans who were ‘living in Estonia;’ students in similar schools in Latvia were more inclined to describe themselves as Russian with Latvian citizenship. In Estonia, it was also evident that females and younger students were more likely to see themselves with multiple identities, while in Latvia older students were more so inclined.

Assessing perceptions of tolerance towards such differences was not easy. It might be tentatively suggested that the Estonian students were less tolerant than the Latvian and Lithuanians. More interesting was the difference in perceptions of those with Russian ancestry in national language schools in the three countries – the Lithuanians were far more accepting of diversity than the Estonians, with the Latvians somewhere in between.

The attitude towards ‘the other’ appeared to be most apparent in the ways in which русские, ruskiye, and the country, Россия, were described. In some situations, young people distinguished between Russians and those of their own country, or ‘Europeans.’

What was striking in most comments was the dichotomies that were drawn between Russia and Russians and the Baltic states and the Europeans.

Table 3. Estonian student comments about Russians and Estonians

	Russians/Russia	Estonia/Europeans
Estonian by descent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• living in the past</li> <li>• big and rich, doesn't need help</li> <li>• not democratic</li> <li>• does not respect human rights</li> <li>• police are corrupt/take bribes</li> <li>• too aggressive (attacked Georgia)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• look forward to the future</li> <li>• little counties need help</li> <li>• democratic</li> <li>• protects human rights</li> <li>• corruption seldom in Europe</li> <li>• now free from Russia</li> </ul>
Russophone schools in Estonia (Russian by descent)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• have their own Union</li> <li>• rich and powerful</li> <li>• has terrorism</li> <li>• implements its own rules</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> <li>• less powerful, less rich</li> <li>• peaceful, little terrorism</li> <li>• common rules</li> </ul>

Table 4. Latvian student comments about Russians and Latvians

	Russians/Russia	Latvia/Europeans
Latvia by descent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• living in the past</li> <li>• dangerous</li> <li>• too powerful, aggressive</li> <li>• selfish</li> <li>• big</li> <li>• strong enough to solve problems by itself</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• forward looking</li> <li>• peaceful</li> <li>• -</li> <li>• try to help each other</li> <li>• small</li> <li>• needs to unite</li> </ul>
Part Latvian, part <i>ruskiye</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a big country</li> <li>• powerful</li> <li>• civil wars and riots</li> <li>• Russia could develop Latvia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• small countries</li> <li>• -</li> <li>• peacefuldependent on Russian resources</li> <li>• squander resources</li> </ul>
<i>Russophone schools in Latvia</i> (Russian by descent)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• rich resources</li> <li>• good industrial &amp; IT development</li> <li>• produces goods and exports</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• economy is going downhill</li> <li>• does not produce anything</li> <li>• poor political decisions</li> </ul>

Table 5. Lithuanian student comments about Russians and Lithuanians

	Russians/Russia	Lithuania/Europeans
Lithuanian by descent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• rough, not friendly</li> <li>• brave, active and emotional</li> <li>• stuck in the old ages -</li> <li>• conservative</li> <li>• don't like sharing with others: want to take everything</li> <li>• crude <i>grubus</i> and abrasive <i>įžūlus</i></li> <li>• oppressive, occupiers</li> <li>• some are hospitable <i>svetingas</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sensitive and kind</li> <li>• calm</li> <li>• forward looking</li> <li>• -</li> <li>• friendly, sharing, collaborative</li> <li>• peaceful</li> <li>• -</li> <li>• -</li> </ul>
part Lithuanian, part <i>ruskiye</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some are friendly some unfriendly - many opinions are from long ago</li> <li>• A big civilised country</li> <li>• Kind and friendly when you get to know them</li> </ul>	

This suggests that, to many of these young people of Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian descent, 'the Russians' are perceived as outsiders: partly through memories (and history lessons) about relationships in earlier times, but also through perceptions of current behaviour. There were two groups that I identified who had alternative discourses. The Russian-origin young people in the Latvian provincial town – strongly supported by the teaching staff – saw Russia not just as a supporter for their position, but as an alternative and a better protector for Latvia than the European Union. By way of contrast, the Lithuanians who were of part-Russian descent in the Lithuanian language schools were sufficiently confident to counter their colleagues stereotypical views of Russians with examples drawn from their experience of visiting family members in the Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine. Their assertions were accepted courteously, and acknowledged by some as valid observations on the tendency to generalise.

To provoke discussion on where they thought the eventual 'frontier' of Europe might lie, groups were asked whether they thought Russia or Belarus might ever become members of the EU. The reaction of almost all those surveyed was strongly against Russian membership. When asked why, various explanations were offered, including the geographical reason that most of Russia was outside Europe, but most demonstrated a concern of possible Russian dominance, even aggression. It was socially different, unlikely to cooperate and support smaller countries, was undemocratic and autocratic, and likely to allow potential terrorists into Europe.<sup>8</sup> It would also

<sup>8</sup> The focus groups were conducted shortly after the 2010 Moscow Metro bombings, when two suicide bombs were set off on the Metro (March 29, 2010). At least 40 people were killed, and over 100 injured, and this was widely reported at the time. Rogoża, Jadwiga and Zochowski, Piotr (31 March 2010) 'Attacks in the Moscow Metro', Eastweek, Centre for Eastern Studies (Poland):

allow further Russian migration into the Baltic countries. Such cautionary resistance was also shown by the Russian-descent young people in Riga and Tallinn: they did not see Russian membership either potentially likely or desirable. Even the Russian-origin young people in the Latvian provincial town were against the idea, on the grounds that Russia did not need to be propped up by the EU, and indeed, it would be better for Latvia to be in some form of association with Russia than with the EU.

Belarus was less discussed. Most informants saw no reason for not including it in the EU: it was another small state, with a narrative of having been oppressed by the Soviet Union. One Estonian was very much against it, saying that it was a dictatorship and that the European Union countries were all democracies upholding human rights. Belarus could not join until it was reformed.

There was a clear impression that, for the time being at least, these young people saw themselves as being on the frontier of Europe. Their country was now on the desirable side of the border, and the border had the function of keeping those beyond at arms length.

## 7 Conclusions

I have tried in the analysis above to largely let these young people describe their identities – as members of countries, as members of communities within these, as ‘Europeans’ – in their own words. They describe themselves contextually and contingently of various ancestries and language groups, in countries that have had chequered histories, in which their ancestors may have had very different roles. But these young people were able to construct explanations of who they were that were contingent on their current circumstances. They could, where necessary, begin to cut loose from their parents’ (and their teachers’) preoccupations. They were, to an extent, aware of the past, but their concerns were for the future. Their country was more prominent in most of their discourses, more so than Europe. They seemed more proud and appreciative of their country’s culture, its language, and sometimes its sport than they did of its politicians and civic structures, although a number were clearly aware of and proud of their independence, freedoms and rights.

There were differences in attitudes towards the Russian minority communities, and in the responses of those minorities to the majority. In Lithuania, the majority group of Lithuanian descent appeared to be most relaxed towards the minority. Although there were references to parents being involved in the struggle over the television station in 1991, there was much evidence of an easy relationship between young people from the two groups, that was reciprocal and appeared to result in a relaxed atmosphere in which both groups could discuss cultures, histories, feelings and identities in an open manner that tolerated diversity and flexibility. The expression of multiple identities was easy, common and appeared to be found as useful (Hall 1992; Sen 2006).



The situation in Latvia was more complex. In one of the Russophone schools I visited, the young people were careful to position themselves midway between a Russian and a Latvian identity, with firm references also to a European dimension. In the other school, less sophisticated young people were more irritably positioning themselves as Russian, not European or Latvian (both of whose policies and practices they disparaged). The Latvian-origin young people were, in turn, more critical of what they perceived of as some Russian-origin people adopting an isolationist position (particularly in terms of language use): but they were also still very willing to interact positively with those of Russian, or part-Russian origin who they saw as accepting a part-Latvian identity. Where there were relationships between Latvian origin and Russian origin students in schools, they appeared to me to be as cordial and relaxed as those I saw in Lithuania.

In Estonia, relationships generally seemed more tense. Many of the Russian-origin students cited examples of ostracism and isolation, and pointedly described themselves as being Russian and European, merely living in Estonia (and with Estonian citizenship). They were described to me as 'sitting on their suitcases,' waiting to qualify for university, get a degree, and avail themselves of the European Union's free labour market. The Estonian-origin young people were critical of what they described as Russian isolationism.

The greater the tension between groups in a plural society, the more likely it seems that the majority and the minority will adopt singular and rigid identities, accentuating difference and 'othering' (Schöpflin 2010). In contrast, where tensions are lower, both minority and majority are able to adopt multiple identities that enable individuals to flexibly situate themselves with several descriptors, each of which can come contingently to the fore as circumstances require (Ross 2008). This allows for distinctions to become less evident and for the stress on commonalities rather than differences. The adoption and acceptance of multiple identities allows for the recognition and acceptance of diversity, which in turn supports identities to be contingent and multiple in a society (Power 2000).

The impact of Europe, and particularly the European Union, was significant for most of these young people. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the principal way in which they say it impacts on their futures was instrumental. Current labour and demographic trends in all three countries mean that many young people are considering seeking either further and higher education in western Europe, possibly followed by a period of employment. Although some think that they will reject this possibility – citing their love of their national culture, for example – the point is that they are aware of the possibility. For some of the Russian-origin minority in Estonia, this possibility was becoming a very real plan of action. The only group that did not see the European Union's mobility policies as a potential advantage were some of the provincial Russian-origin Latvians, living near the Russian border. A number of these spurned the European Union as an irrelevant to their lives, and were considering futures in Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine. But the European Union was not only seen in terms of individual mobility. There were references to the economic security and support the Union brought; to the security and defence brought by NATO membership (eg . Mölder 2006; Molis 2008).

For these young people, the European Union was important. Many expressed

feelings of affinity with Europe, of being European – perhaps not as much as being Latvian or Estonian, perhaps, but nevertheless, of having a European identity. The significant borders had shifted – they had been created by the actions of their parents’ generation in 1991, and had been consolidated by accession to the Union in 2004. The first event, just before they were born, established a new and important eastern boundary: the second event dissolved the boundaries with western Europe. There were still threats to their nation-states: internal divisions in the population diversity, economic viability, the significant loss of population through emigration, and concern about a powerful eastern neighbour. But the opportunity to embrace multiple identities that was afforded by the new context was welcomed by the great majority, of whatever origin, offering a way of constructing difference and change in the context of globalisation.

## References

- Adair-Toteff, Christopher. 1966. Ferdinand Tönnies: Utopian Visionary. In: *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 13, 58-65.
- Barzilai, Gad. 2003. *Communities and Law: Politics and Cultures of Legal Identities*. Ann Arbor.
- Bruter, Michael. 2005. *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*. London.
- Fulbrook, Mary. 2011. *Dissonant Lives: Generations and Violence through the German Dictatorships*. Oxford.
- Grundy, Sue; Jamieson, Lyn. 2007. European Identities: From Absent-Minded Citizens to Passionate Europeans. In: *Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 663 – 680.
- Hall, Stuart. 1992. New Identities. In: Rattansi, Ali; Donald, James, eds. *Race, Culture and Difference*. London.
- Hiden, Johan; Salmon, Patrick. 1994. *The Baltic Nations and Europe* (revised edition). Harlow.
- Joppke, Christian. 2010. *Citizenship and Migration*. Cambridge.
- Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. London.
- Licata Laurent. 2000. National and European Identities: Complementary or Antagonistic? Paper at the ID-NET conference, European University Institute, 9 – 10 June 2000.
- Lutz, Wolfgang; Sylvia Kritzingler; Vegard Skirbekk. 2006. The Demography of Growing European Identity. In: *Science*, Vol. 314, 425.
- Mackenzie, William. 1978. *Political Identity*. Harmondsworth.
- Mölder, Holger. 2006. NATO’s Role in the Post-Modern European Security Environment, Cooperative Security and the Experience of the Baltic Sea Region. In: *Baltic Security & Defence Review*, Vol. 8, No. 7, 7-33.
- Molis, Arūnas. 2008. Standpoint of the Baltic states towards NATO and

ESDP: the Russian Factor. In: Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review, Vol. 19, 9-29.

Muenz, Rainer. 2007. Aging and Demographic Change in European Societies: Main Trends and Alternative Policy Options: Social Protection Discussion Paper 0703. Hamburg Institute for International Economics / World Bank.

Power, Colin. 2000. Globalisation and Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. In: Queensland Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 156, No. 1, 7-29.

Ross, Alistair. 2008. A European Education: Citizenship, Identities and Young People. Stoke on Trent.

Schöpflin, George. 2010. The Dilemmas of Identity. Tallinn.

Sen, Amartya. 2006. Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny. London.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. 1887, 2001. ed. Jose Harris. Community and Civil Society. Cambridge.

*Corinne Wyss, Alexander Loetscher*

## **Class Councils in Switzerland: Citizenship Education in Classroom Communities?**

Democracy depends on the participation of citizens. Citizenship education is taking place in classroom communities to prepare pupils for their role as citizens. Class councils are participatory forms of citizenship education guaranteeing the children's right to form and express their views freely as written down in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Theoretical deficiencies and empirical objections have been formulated against participation in the school setting. Despite widespread practices, empirical data about class councils in Switzerland barely exists. In our research project we video-recorded fourteen class councils in secondary schools, we interviewed the teacher and four pupils of each class, and all the pupils filled in a standardized questionnaire. Class councils are very popular forms of education with pupils although the actual power to influence decisions by deliberation is doubted to some extent. Quantitative analysis of the video-recordings shows the wide range of forms of class councils that exist in respect to the talking time of the pupils. To express one's own viewpoint and to understand the standpoint of other discussants, construct arguments and counterarguments, participate, and lead discussions are difficult tasks. Based on the empirical research the project describes three forms of class councils that differ in the degree of favouring the development of communicative competences as a part of citizenship education.

### **Keywords**

Class council, participation, citizenship education, deliberation

## **1 Introduction**

Until the end of the 1990s there was no subject such as citizenship education in the curricula of the German-speaking part of Switzerland, with the scarce exception of teaching civics (knowledge about Swiss political institutions) in some cantons, often included in the subject of history (Jung, Reinhardt, Ziegler 2007). Participatory and deliberative forms of citizenship education – like class councils – were barely implemented in schools till the end of the 1990s but have gained importance in the last decade. The Swiss conceptions of citizenship education are rooted in political history and intertwined with the democratic system that needs competent citizens and legitimacy to survive. That is why requests for a strengthening of citizenship education appear mostly in times of political crisis (Oser 1998).

First, we will give a short review of the history of citizenship education in the

German-speaking part of Switzerland to explain the status of class councils in citizenship education. Second, we will refer to empirical studies from the last decade neglecting the transfer from participation in schools to democratic competence. In spite of empirical objections and theoretical deficiencies we consider class councils useful instruments to match the pedagogical aims. In the third part of the article we explain why the theory of deliberative democracy allows the integration of many pedagogical aims like discipline by classroom management, social cohesion by integration, or moral development by arguing due to the importance of communicative competences.

Class councils are opportunities to deliberate and to discuss in the classroom community in support of communicative competences of citizens. Deliberations are discussions where decisions on requests are taken. In the empirical part of the article, we describe three forms of class councils, focusing on conditions conducive to participation by deliberation. Finally, the discussion of the results will give some conclusions about the practices of class councils.

## 2 History of Citizenship Education in Switzerland

Citizenship education is sensitive to political and economic crisis during which some conceptions of citizenship gain in influence and become dominant (Allenspach et al. forthcoming). Class councils were not compatible with the dominant historical conceptions of citizenship education in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, class councils and other participatory forms like school parliaments have many roots. This chapter explains how class councils in Switzerland are connected to deliberation and why this form of citizenship education is gaining ground in schools.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Planta (1766) described how he organized his boarding school according to the model of the Republic of Rome: pupils took the role of judges and officers who were responsible to maintain discipline. The accuser and the accused of breaking school law disputed in public trials and were assisted by advocates; the court decided by majority rule. With the death of Planta, his model of a republican school was lost.

Citizenship education as a trans-disciplinary topic was institutionalized during the liberal revolution in the 1830s and 1840s. Liberal politicians propagated the implementation of secular public schools for everyone (e.g. Snell 1840; Zschokke 2007). Against the opposition of the Catholic Church and conservative cantons, the liberal ideas about public schools were established. The model of public schools has undergone changes but the school system is still shaped by the ideas from the era of liberal revolution (Osterwalder 2000). This holds true as well for citizenship education, which is understood basically as developing rationality, especially by language skills, and acquiring knowledge about Swiss history, geography and political institutions. Class councils fit to this conception of citizenship education as a trans-disciplinary topic focusing on language skills which are needed to participate in public deliberations.

In the aftermath of the civil war in 1847 and the foundation of the Swiss Nation in 1848, the invention and the strengthening of Swiss myths – William Tell, Helvetia, and medieval battles – was used to raise the legitimacy of a multicultural state composed of two confessions and four languages. A total revision of the constitution in 1874 and a partial revision in 1891 included direct democratic instruments: initiative and referendum. Semi-direct democracy augmented the need to educate citizens. Schoolbooks of civics instruction were written to improve patriotism, for example by the member of the Swiss government, federal councillor Droz (1886). Nevertheless, citizenship education continued as a marginalized topic in Swiss schools. Nation building by the invention of Swiss myths and the implementation of direct democratic instruments was successful and there was no need to develop citizenship education.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century reform pedagogy was gaining ground in Switzerland. Inspired by Planta and referring to William L. Gill with his formation of school cities in the USA, Hepp (1914) described a sophisticated model of self-governance including class councils. On an international level, John Dewey's (1993) idea of schools as "embryonic societies" and democracy as a way of life shaped conceptions about participation in schools. In Switzerland, World War I and II prevented reform pedagogy from spreading further and participatory forms of citizenship education were not paid attention to anymore.

The threat of being attacked and invaded by military forces during World War I and II caused a backlash to the old paradigm of teaching civics to strengthen patriotism. Although national initiatives were minimal due to the resistance of cantons trying to keep their competence for education, new schoolbooks of civics instruction were produced during World War II and were partly edited till the 1990s (Wagner 1991).

During the Cold War the myth about Swiss neutrality during the World Wars was constructed. A prosperous economy allowed the installation of the welfare state. In combination with semi-direct democracy and suffrage for women in 1971, this situation of wealth and democracy produced a great deal of legitimacy for the political system. Uncommon forms of citizenship education like class councils were mostly ignored.

For Freinet (1979), the classroom assembly took a central role in school life where teacher and pupils decided together on problems and requests which had been collected on a wall newspaper. His pedagogy was better known in the French-speaking than in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, where institutions for the participation of pupils were introduced sporadically in the 1970s. Altogether, Freinet's pedagogy had little influence on the Swiss school system (Quakernack 1991).

In the 1980s, moral education was developed based on Kohlberg's theory of moral development, using the method of moral dilemmas inside just communities (Oser, Althof 1992). Essential to just communities are collective decisions taken in community meetings, but there are very few schools in Switzerland defining themselves as just communities.

The need for participation was raised again in the 1990s due to low voter turnout which reached bottom in 1995 with forty-two percent in the national elections. This situation raised political interest for participatory forms of citizenship education.

In 2003, Switzerland was deflated by the publication of the results of the international IEA study (Oser, Biedermann 2003), which stated a level of political interest and knowledge below international average combined with xenophobic tendencies in Swiss pupils. These results contradicted the self-perception of large parts of the population looking at themselves as the most democratic citizens in the most democratic country of the world. To improve political interest, knowledge and participation, citizenship education was integrated in the curricula in some cantons. Beside the traditional way of teaching civics – mostly in history lessons – the class council was rediscovered as an instrument for citizenship education often in combination with school parliaments.

The growing importance of participation in schools was supported by international initiatives. In 1997, Switzerland ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child which gives children the right to freely express views in matters affecting them. The class council is one way to fulfil this obligation being the place where pupils can discuss school matters. Within the Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights (EDC/HRE) led by the Council of Europe, six teacher manuals were published and one was translated to German about children's rights (Gollob, Krapf, Weidinger 2010). Democracy and human rights as normative foundations are key aspects in the negotiations about the future role of citizenship education in the new curriculum for the German-speaking part of the country which will probably be implemented in 2014 (Geschäftsstelle der deutschsprachigen EDK-Regionen 2010). According to the preliminary conception of the curriculum citizenship education will stay a trans-disciplinary topic and runs the risk to be neglected (Ziegler 2011).

Class councils fit into a curriculum which defines citizenship education as a trans-disciplinary topic. In the canton of Aargau (where our research mainly was conducted, complemented with two classes from the canton of Solothurn) class councils are explicitly mentioned in the curriculum (Kanton Aargau 2011) for lower primary schools (first to third grade), and for secondary schools with basic requirements. Pedagogical aims like listening, arguing, reflecting and leading discussions are integrated in (German) language education. The same is true for the curriculum of the canton of Solothurn (Kanton Solothurn 2011) where, additionally, citizenship education is explicitly established as a trans-disciplinary topic referring to knowledge about institutions, but also to democratic competences and attitudes. Schools are understood as places to practice a democratic way of life. Aargau and Solothurn represent typical Swiss cantons in respect to citizenship education: Citizenship education is marginalized in the curriculum and class councils aren't mandatory.

Class councils can be linked to multiple pedagogical aims in several subjects: to enhance social cohesion of the class, to maintain discipline, to educate democratic citizens, to further communicative competences, to guarantee participation, to develop a democratic school culture, or to solve conflicts. These promises of class councils have been challenged by empirical research and theoretical reasoning as discussed in the next section.

### 3 Review of the Current State of Research

A lot of research was done under the label of participation. Studies about class councils stress problems putting into practice participation in schools (Kiper 1997; Friedrichs 2004; de Boer 2006; Haeberli 2012). These findings are consistent with the observation that participation in general cannot overcome the hierarchy between pupils and teachers, resulting in low degrees of participation (Biedermann, Oser 2010; Wyss, Sperisen, Ziegler 2008). Furthermore, Reinhardt (2010) concluded in her meta-analysis of empirical studies that there is no transfer from participation in schools to democratic competence as a citizen. In Switzerland it was Biedermann (2006) who stated this missing connection between participation in schools and electoral and political participation. According to these results, participation in schools is not a promising way to raise voter turnout.

Participatory and deliberative forms of citizenship education have an impact on pupils' political socialization and identity. One result of Biedermann's (2003) empirical research was that pupils would prefer to participate more in classroom deliberations. The wish to participate is relevant because the felt effectiveness of deliberations is connected with political identity in terms of political fatalism. Pupils who are convinced that they can change something by deliberative participation show less political fatalism (Biedermann, Oser 2006).

Political identity is formed by processes of socialization. Schools are important institutions for socialization in terms of transferring values, norms, and virtues from one generation to the next (Carleheden 2006). Deliberations depend on a democratic political culture which gives enough room for discussions. Students' perceptions of openness in classroom discussions are positively associated with civic knowledge which positively affects political participation (Schulz et al. 2009). In conclusion, effective deliberations in combination with a general openness for discussions are important determinants for the political socialization – supporting political identities of individuals who are convinced that they can make a difference by political participation.

### 4 Theoretical Background: Participation by Deliberation

Various theoretical objections to the effectiveness of participation in schools have been raised. Reichenbach (2006) stressed the ambivalence of participation in schools because participation between unequal individuals is not possible; a minority of students does not even want to participate and participation interfered with informal hierarchies. This ambivalence of participation refers to several paradoxes, which Gruntz-Stoll (1999) illustrated as pedagogical antinomies (e.g. freedom vs. social cohesion; conserve vs. change) and antagonisms in education (e.g. self-determined vs. determined by others; learning as accommodation vs. learning as expansion). It is not possible to maximize all the pedagogical aims at the same time. Conservation of national traditions and customs may require restrictions of the freedom of autonomous individuals. Teachers who are



aware of these contradictions can use this knowledge to reflect upon the pedagogical situation together with the class.

Despite the theoretical deficiencies and empirical challenges, we argue in favour of class councils as an instrument for citizenship education. It is the irony of participation to learn to withstand the troublesomeness of participation (Reichenbach 2006). In the next section we argue from a theoretical point of view for participation by deliberation.

Our empirical research is based on the theory of deliberative democracy from Habermas (1993). Before Habermas it was Dewey (1993; 1996) who emphasized the importance of communication for democracy and education. Deliberative democracy as a theory is normally used to describe processes of will-formation and decision-making in the political system. In the school setting, deliberation as a type of discussion to reach decisions is a method used to augment communicative competences of students (Parker, Hess 2001). Citizens need communicative competence to participate politically in deliberative processes (Joldersma, Deakin Crick 2010). To influence public will-formation and political decision-making, citizens must learn to debate using arguments, to emphasize and to critically reflect empirical facts and normative reasons. Habermas' theory of deliberative democracy has been ignored by the mainstream of educational discourse until recently (Fleming, Murphy 2010). The strengthening of communicative competences is not limited to learning in school but can be observed in many learning opportunities of citizens in everyday life.

Developing open communication between different perspectives (worldviews) implies developing a communicative competence in its widest sense: having opportunities to make use of one's citizenship rights by developing one's communicative abilities, and being recognized and listened to in different settings (Englund 2010, 21).

We stress the development of communicative competence in class councils as the core for citizenship education. Deliberative democracy by Habermas (1993) explains how participation, discipline, and integration are linked to communicative competences.

- *Political Participation.* In deliberative democracy, political participation is based on communication. The acceptance of the procedure of the decision-making process and the quality of discourse during the deliberation process produce legitimacy for deliberative democracy as long as the quality of decisions is considered reasonable by the public.

- *Discipline.* Whether rules and laws are accepted and observed (i.e. discipline) depends on the legitimacy of the legal system. The legitimacy of the legal system in a democracy is based on fair procedures, human rights and democracy guaranteeing private and public autonomy of individuals. Only autonomous individuals can enact legitimately laws in deliberative democracy.

- *Integration.* Rational discourses are aimed at reaching consensus to raise social cohesion. Consensus is an instrument to integrate all the participants by deliberative processes.

To use deliberation in classroom communities as an instrument for citizenship education has also challenging aspects. The disciplining effect of deliberation bears the risk that the majority of the class, supported by group norms and necessity for consensus, oppresses the views and the opinions of minority (Karpowitz, Mendelberg 2007). Critics of deliberative democracy do not believe in the sincerity of participants. The outcome of decision processes might be manipulated by strategic communication. It is very difficult to observe whether participants are honest or whether they lie in order to influence a decision (Holzinger 2001). In addition, the autonomy of individuals may not be guaranteed due to the hierarchy between teacher and pupils and peer group pressure. The shift from participation to deliberation does not overcome the deficiencies of participation but theoretically encompasses various pedagogical aims based on communicative competence.

Teachers involved in class councils should know about the deficiencies and challenges arising from the contradiction between ideals and practice. In hierarchically organized schools with pupils who partly do not wish to participate, it is more fruitful to focus on the process than on the result. Deficiencies can be used by teachers as opportunities for reflection of their practice.

The idea of linking citizenship education to communication and reflection is inspired by Dewey's pedagogy about democracy and education (1993). In Dewey's view class councils are places to experience democracy by communication.

Dewey took the view that democracy was not primarily a mode of management and control, but more an expression of a society imprinted by mutual communication, and consequently a pluralist life-form. It is in this perspective, too, that Dewey emphasizes the communicative aspects of education and the idea of education as a place for reflection upon common experiences (Englund 2006, 508).

Participation in school and in the political system does not work perfectly. This situation opens opportunities to reflect about conditions needed for participation, discipline and social cohesion. Drawn from these theoretical remarks our empirical analysis focuses on communication.

## 5 Research Design

The analysis of previous scientific work in the field of citizenship education has shown that there is little known about the realization of class councils in schools. Therefore, we do not know how teachers plan and conduct the class councils, what goals they pursue or which expectations they have. Also, there is little known about the pupils' perception of class councils and their roles during the lesson. For that reason, the two main research questions of our own study are as follows:

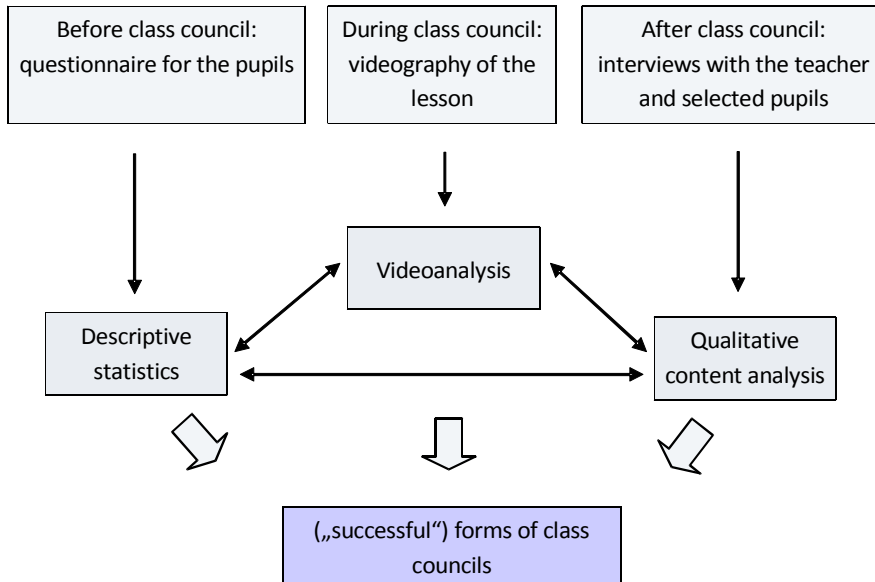
- (1) What happens during class councils?
- (2) What is a “successful” class council?

To find answers to these questions we worked with a mixed method design: a questionnaire for the pupils, semi-structured interviews with the teachers and selected pupils of the class, and a video analysis of videotaped class councils. In the following, we will give a short description of the different instruments.

- *Questionnaire for the pupils:* All pupils of the participating teachers were asked to fill in a short questionnaire. Through the questionnaire we gathered information about the pupil’s experiences with and observations of class councils. Also, the pupils had to give answers to questions about conflict and discussion behaviour, views on democratic procedures, and demographic information. The written survey was carried out about a week before the videography of the class councils; the data was entered into SPSS.
- *Videography of the lesson:* With every teacher we agreed upon a date on which a class council lesson was recorded on video. The teacher was instructed to perform with the pupils just as a normal class council would take place without the presence of a camera crew. The parents of the pupils as well as the teachers were informed about the video recording before the videography and they were asked to give their written consent. For video recording two video cameras were used: a camera was positioned at the front of the classroom, the second in the rear. With this procedure, all individuals who participated in the class council could be recorded. The implementation of the video recording was directed basically to the specifications of the camera script of the project "History and Politics" (Gautschi et al. 2007). The video recordings were digitized and processed as MPEG-4 files for data analysis.
- *Interviews with the teachers and selected pupils:* After the videotaped class councils, the teachers and four selected pupils of the class were interviewed with a semi-structured questionnaire. The selection of the four pupils was made on the basis of information in the questionnaire (gender, assessment of the class council, and participation in the class) trying to choose pupils with different views and attitudes. Through the interview additional information on the implementation, objectives, expectations, and experiences of the class councils were captured. The interviews were recorded with digital audio recording devices and fully transcribed. The analysis of the interviews is based on Mayring’s method of qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2007).

The research design and the interrelation of the different research instruments are shown in figure 1.

Figure 1. Research design and interrelation of the different research instruments



The recruitment of teachers who already perform class councils with their classes and were willing to participate in the research project proved to be a major challenge. The research project was announced and publicized through various channels. A total of fourteen teachers from the canton of Aargau and Solothurn decided to participate in the project. The teachers taught at secondary school (6th to 9th grade); ten were female. Table 1 gives an overview of the teachers who participated in the study with data on school type and gender.

Table 1. School type, number of classes and gender of the teachers who participated in the study

	Special school	Basic requirements	Extended requirements	High requirements
6 <sup>th</sup> grade		2 (f)	2 (f)	
7 <sup>th</sup> grade	1 (m)	1 (f)	2 (f / m)	
8 <sup>th</sup> grade			2 (f / m)	1 (f)
9 <sup>th</sup> grade		1 (m)	1 (m)	1 (f)

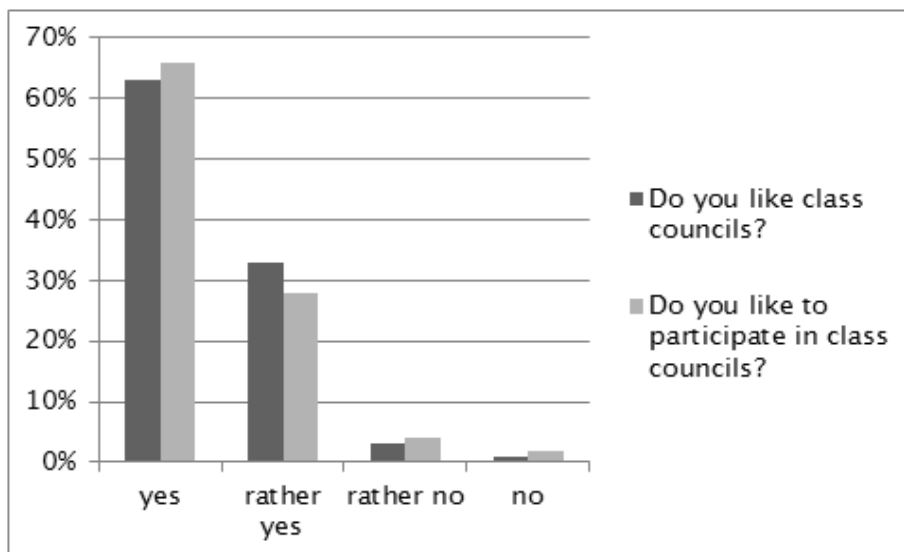
## 6 Results

In the following chapters, we will give insight into the results of our study. With regard to the content of this article, the focus will be on two research instruments: the pupil questionnaire and the videography. The results of the interviews will not be included.

### 6.1 Estimation of Class Council by the Pupils

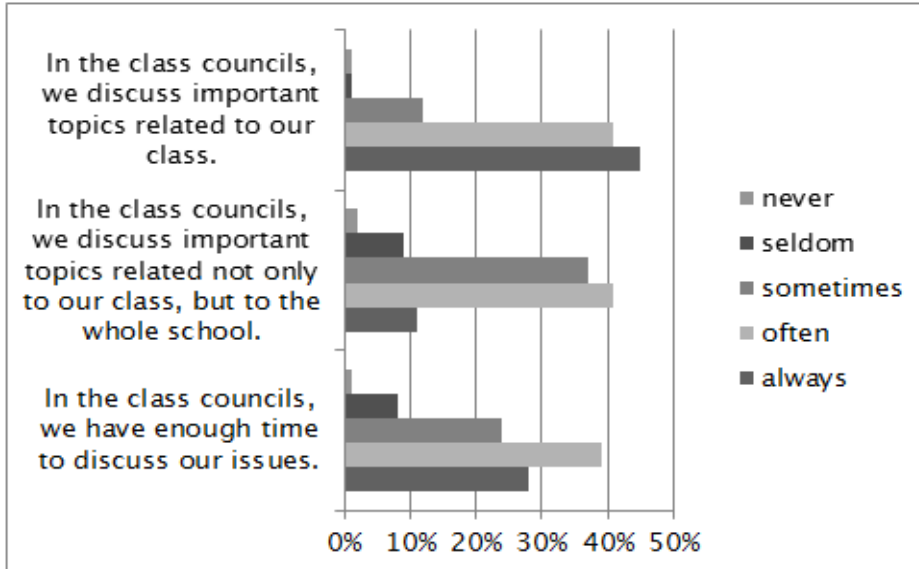
The analysis of the questionnaire showed that the pupils (N=246) liked the class councils and that they also liked to participate in class councils (see fig. 2). Most of the pupils said that they rose to speak two to five times during class councils (sixty-one percent), fifteen percent of the pupils thought that they rose to speak more than five times during a class council and twenty-four percent said that they normally did not say anything during class councils.

Figure 2. Estimation of class council by the pupils (N=246)



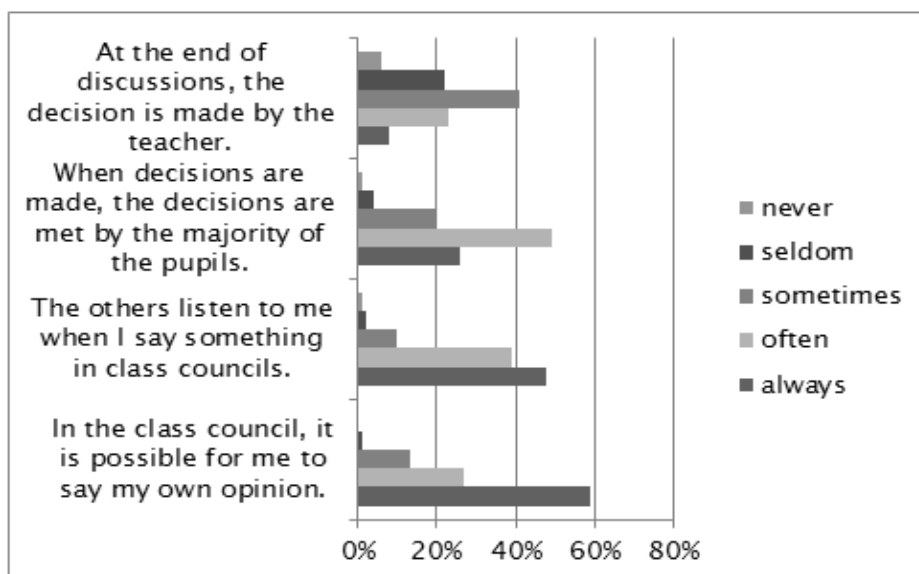
The discussion of issues related to the class or the school life seems to be of high interest. Almost all (eighty-six percent) of the pupils think that in the class councils, they spoke always or often about important issues that concerned the class itself. About half of the pupils thought they spoke always or often about issues that are important not only for the class, but also for the whole school. Also, according to the answers of the pupils, there was enough time to discuss diverse topics during class councils (see fig. 3).

Figure 3. Estimation of the discussion of issues in class council by the pupils (N=246)



An important aspect of class council discussions is whether the pupils can share their own opinions in the discussions. As the results in figure 4 show, most of the pupils thought that they could share their own opinions and that their classmates were listening when someone was speaking. When they needed to find a decision at the end of a discussion, the decisions were met by the majority of the pupils. Interestingly, about one-third of the pupils said that decisions were always or often made by the teacher, and not by the pupils (see fig. 4).

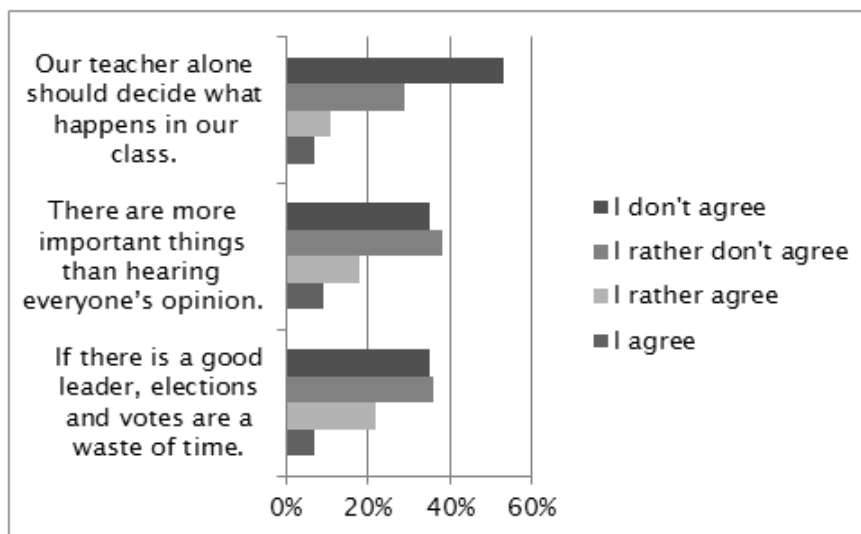
Figure 4. Estimation of the discussion decisions made in class council by the pupils (N=246)



Another interesting result of the analysis of the questionnaire is the fact that almost seventy percent of the pupils said that they could always or often make a difference through class councils and that they could take responsibility.

In the questionnaire, some general items about various aspects of participation and democratic trust were included. In figure 5, three selected items are shown.

Figure 5. Estimation of general aspects of participation by the pupils (N=246)



The analysis of the three items represented in figure 5 shows that most of the pupils did not agree with the statements. Therefore, they thought that votes and elections were necessary and it was important to hear everyone's opinion. Also, they did not want the teacher alone to decide what happened in their class. However, it is interesting that around twenty to thirty percent of the pupils did agree with these items.

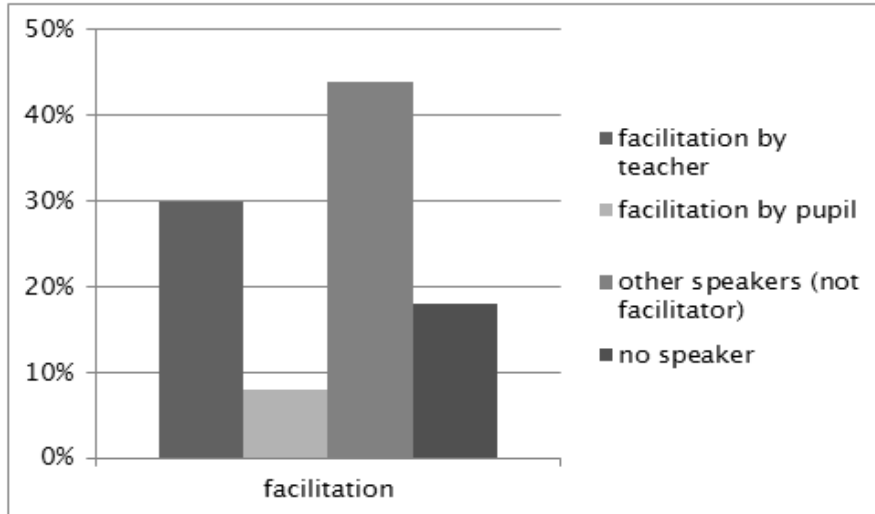
## 6.2 Analysis of the Videotaped Class Councils by Coding

For the analysis of the videotaped class councils we invented a coding system. By coding the videotaped class councils, we got information about the sight-structure of the lessons, like working methods, speaker time, facilitation, structuring of the lesson, or the use of media. After an intensive training, an intercoder-reliability of Cronbach's Alpha of at least .88 was reached, which is considered good reliability. The videos of the class councils have then been coded by the two raters individually.

The analysis of the fourteen class councils showed that an average of around ninety-two percent of the lesson was whole-class work. A great amount of time (sixty-four percent) was used for discussions about various topics, like discussions about disciplinary problems or the planning of a school trip.

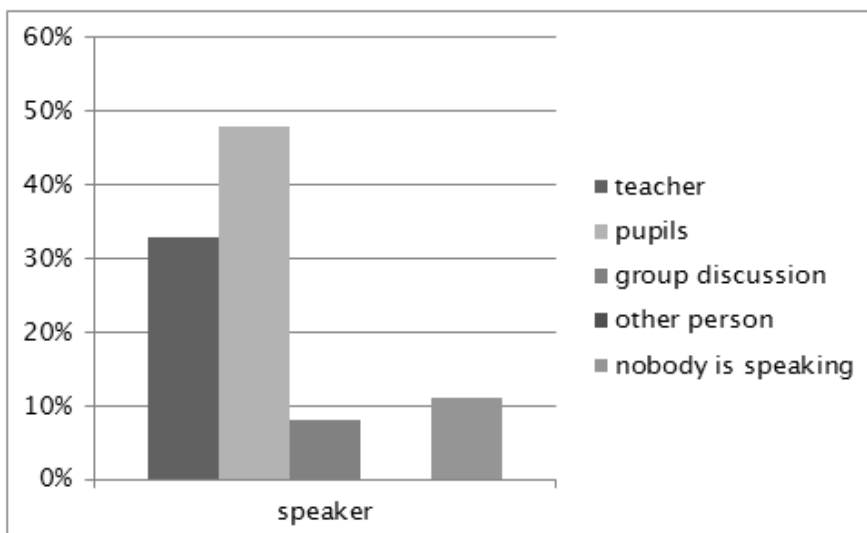
In the class councils, teachers very often facilitated discussions or activities. While the teacher facilitated around thirty percent of the class council, the pupils facilitated only during eight percent of the lesson (see fig. 6).

Figure 6. Coding of the videotaped class councils: facilitation of the discussions and activities (N=14)



On average, the pupils had more time to speak than the teacher had. For almost fifty percent of the class council, the pupils spoke, and the teacher spoke for about thirty percent of the lesson. In another ten percent of the class councils there were group discussions or phases where nobody spoke (see fig. 7).

Figure 7. Coding of the videotaped class councils: speaker (N=14)





## 7 Forms of Class Councils

In Table 2 three forms of class councils are shown: teacher dominance, facilitation, and participation. The naming relies on the assumption that the teacher style in the class council is of central importance for the form of the class council.

The axes “speaking time of pupils” and “facilitation” are chosen because they refer to areas where pupils can develop communicative competence. The development of communicative competences is central for the socialization of individuals becoming full members of society (Miller 1986). In the theoretical chapter we described why participation by deliberation contributes to political socialization. Deliberations in class councils imply diverse opportunities for pupils to develop communicative competences under two conditions which are related to the teacher style. First, pupils need enough speaking time to articulate their views and opinions. Second, facilitation by pupils reduces formal hierarchy between teacher and pupils. These two conditions are indispensable to exhaust potential of deliberation in class councils.

Data from video analysis was used to allocate the class councils to the four forms. No example was found for low speaking time of pupils and shared facilitation between teacher and pupils. Speaking time of pupils is considered low when the pupils speak during less than fifty percent of total time spent in plenum, excluding the time they spent in partner or group work. Class councils have a shared facilitation between pupil and teacher when there is at least some facilitation by a pupil. There is no case in our sample with complete facilitation by a pupil; the teacher always facilitates at least some parts of the class council. Two cases that had been allocated to the form “teacher dominance” in table 2 were removed. One class council was not comparable to the other class councils due to a situation of crisis in the class and school community which dominated the content of the class council. The other removed case was not comparable with other class councils concerning structure and contents.

Table 2. Forms of class councils

		Speaking time of pupils is	
		low	high
Facilitation	by teacher	<i>Teacher dominance</i>	<i>Teacher facilitation</i>
	shared between pupil and teacher		<i>Teacher participation</i>

In our sample we could observe four class councils characterized by teacher dominance, two cases of teacher facilitation, and six cases of teacher participation. Comparing the data of the video analysis, clear distinctions between these three forms emerged. The following descriptions rely on these distinctions taken from the descriptive statistics of the video analysis.

### 7.1 Teacher Dominance

The teacher dominates the class council, providing contents of discussions and acting as a facilitator. Pupils sit at their usual places similar to other lessons. A written protocol does not exist. The class spends a lot of time discussing requests brought in by the teacher and hardly any time for discussions of requests made by pupils. Content and reference levels of discussions often are not clearly defined. Story-telling about experiences and events external to school life take quite a lot of time. Discussions are typically about the planning of school activities like school trips or project weeks. Contents like discipline, participation, or conflict resolution hardly exist. Deliberations in the plenum are sometimes interrupted by partner or group work. Decisions are taken by voting or by decision of the teacher.

### 7.2 Teacher Facilitation

The teacher acts as a facilitator all the time and may additionally take notes for the protocol. Pupils sit in a circle during the class council. There is very much discussion about requests made by pupils but almost no discussion about requests brought in by the teacher. Discussions are about development, implementation, and refinement of class rules and to a much lower degree about matters of participation. Class level as reference level for discussions is prevailing. Decisions are taken by consensus, voting or by decision of the teacher.

### 7.3 Teacher Participation

The teacher partly acts as a normal participant without facilitating. Pupils form a circle during the class council. There is a lot of discussion about topics taken out of the protocol and about requests by teachers and pupils. Contents of discussions often concern matters of participation or discipline, to a lesser extent class rules. The reference level of discussions is the class. Exchange about individual well-being inside the class is an important factor. Decisions are taken by consensus, voting, by decisions of minorities or the teacher.

The forms “teacher domination” and “teacher participation” were observed in all three school tracks and grades. “Teacher facilitation” seemed to be performed by sixth grade classes that were composed recently, looking for class rules as a basis for everyday life during the next few years. In higher-level secondary school the positive round at the beginning of class councils (in positive rounds pupils tell positive experiences from the last week) did not exist. In general, we assume that rituals are especially important at the beginning of class council lessons. Forming a circle with the chairs is one possibility of breaking normal school routine; announcing the class council as a place for participation and deliberation enables teachers and pupils to switch roles. In a circle, the teacher is not sitting in the centre but is a normal participant, which favors interactions of pupils (Ritz-Fröhlich 1982).

## 8 Discussion

The idea of class councils is relatively old, but the concept has not been implemented on a large scale as an instrument for citizenship education. In the last decade, the situation has been changing and class councils have been placed in the curricula of some Swiss cantons. In the theoretical literature and education policy many aims and hopes for the implementation of class councils can be found. However, little is known about the goals teachers pursue, which opinion the pupils give, and what happens in class councils. In our research project, we tried to find out something about these issues.

In this article, we focused on participation by deliberation. As we argued before, effective deliberations in combination with a general openness for discussions are important determinants for political socialization. The formal hierarchy between teacher and pupils and the informal hierarchy among pupils are reproduced by the distribution of speaking time and by facilitation of class councils. A lot of speaking time for pupils is a necessary requirement to develop communication skills.

The results of our study show that almost all the pupils (about 95%) liked or rather liked the class council and they also liked to participate in class councils. Interestingly, a relevant fraction of the pupils don't care about participation. Around thirty percent of the pupils thought that votes and elections were a waste of time and almost twenty percent thought that the teacher alone should decide what happens in their class.

In the answers of the pupils to the questionnaire we can also see that they had some concerns. Almost forty percent of the pupils said that sometimes or often there was not enough time to discuss their issues in the class council. Around twenty-five percent of the pupils thought that decisions only sometimes or seldom were made by the majority of the pupils. And over seventy percent of the pupils said that at the end of discussions, the decision was sometimes, often or always made by the teacher.

The analysis of the class councils shows that the facilitation and also the speaking are often done by the teacher. But the comparison of the class councils indicates that there are also big differences between the lessons. There are class councils where pupils use around seventy percent of the total time in plenum for their speeches. At the other end are class councils where pupils hardly speak one third of total time in plenum.

As a conclusion, we can say that pupils have a positive attitude towards class councils, but they also have some concerns. If we consider the amount of speaking time and the possibility of facilitation as a criteria for participation by deliberation, the results need to be interpreted rather critically: the teacher often dominates the facilitation, the communication, and the decisions. As an explanation for these results, we think that it is difficult for the teachers and the pupils to switch roles for just one lesson.

From several research projects (Gautschi et al. 2007; Baer et al. 2009, 2011; Seidel 2003) we know that the teaching is usually rather traditional, with a large amount of whole-class teaching and teacher-class dialogue which is led by the teacher. A class council that gives the opportunity to speak and to facilitate to the pupils, the teacher and the pupils need to act differently than they are used to from other lessons. This switch is not easy to handle and as

we can see from our results, it does not happen adequately. In our view, citizenship education can happen in classroom communities, but we need to provide teachers with more support in how they can realize more effective class councils. The results of our research study can give some hints how we could do so.

The gap between ideals and practice is a constitutive characteristic of class councils and of education in general. Our study shows that there is no class council with perfect participation, where the teacher takes the role of a normal student and where decisions are taken unaffected by formal and informal hierarchies. It is not even desirable to deliberate in a perfect world of participation because opportunities to learn something out of malfunctions and bad performance by reflection would vanish.

The following suggestions concerning the arrangement of class councils are taken from the comparison of the three forms of class councils: "Teacher participation" is closer to the ideal of participation by deliberation than "teacher facilitation." In the form "teacher domination" pupils have the least opportunities to develop communication competence by arguing and facilitating.

Sitting in a chair circle during class councils seems to enhance speaking time and participation of pupils. Forming a chair circle may be a ritual which helps to switch roles for the teacher and pupils. Communication, especially deliberation, is made easier when everyone can see directly in the eyes of the other members of the class.

Because it takes time to be prepared and to participate in deliberations, class councils normally should not be interrupted by partner or group work. In the observed class councils it was always the teacher who arranged partner or group work which inhibits students from deciding about the course of action.

Openness to a wide variety of contents is required. It helps to collect requests of pupils during the week for the class council to avoid domination of contents by the teacher.

Voting is not necessarily the best form of decision; a variety of decision making procedures may be more adequate. Adapted to the kind of request it is reasonable to aspire to reach consensus or to leave the decision to a minority of the class which is affected by the problem or committed most to the resolution of the problem. If the teacher facilitates, requests by the teacher should be reduced or avoided to leave enough room for pupils in discussions.

Learning opportunities for pupils writing protocols and facilitating discussions should be employed. It is not a question of age, facilitating is an extremely difficult task for people of all age. Protocols are important instruments to control decisions taken in class councils and can reduce time pressure by postponing decisions to the next class council, which happened frequently in the form "teacher participation."

Class councils are trans-disciplinary and participatory forms of citizenship education compatible with Swiss curricula. There may be no effect on political and electoral participation but that is not the point with class councils. Central to deliberative democracy are autonomous individuals with communication competences which enable them to participate in public will

formation and decision-making, e.g. in class councils, school parliaments or job meetings. The same competences are needed for political or electoral participation. Our suggestions for teachers are to enhance learning opportunities for pupils by augmenting speaking time and facilitation.

With our study, we gained insight into the school practice of class councils and could find some indication of deliberative practice. Nevertheless, further research is needed to reconstruct in detail the extent and quality of deliberations in class councils.

## References

- Allenspach, Dominik; Lötscher, Alexander; Schneider, Claudia; Ziegler, Béatrice. Forthcoming. Geschichte der politischen Bildung in der Schweiz. Ein Reader.
- Baer, Matthias; Guldemann, Titus; Kocher, Mirjam; Larcher, Susanna; Wyss, Corinne; Dörr, Günter; Smit, Robert. 2009. Auf dem Weg zu Expertise beim Unterrichten – Erwerb von Lehrkompetenz im Lehrerinnen- und Lehrstudium. In: Unterrichtswissenschaft, Vol. 37, No. 2, 118-144.
- Baer, Matthias; Kocher, Mirjam; Wyss, Corinne; Guldemann, Titus; Larcher, Susanna; Dörr, Günter. 2011. Lehrerbildung und Praxiserfahrung im ersten Berufsjahr und ihre Wirkung auf die Unterrichtskompetenzen von Studierenden und jungen Lehrpersonen im Berufseinstieg. In: Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft, Vol. 14, No. 1, 85-117.
- Biedermann, Horst; Oser, Fritz. 2010. Politische Mündigkeit durch schulische Partizipation? Zur Entmythologisierung des Wirksamkeitsglaubens von Partizipation. In: kursiv – Journal für Politische Bildung, Vol. 1, No. 1, 28-44.
- Biedermann, Horst; Oser, Fritz. 2006. Junge Menschen zwischen Gefügigkeit und Mitverantwortung: Partizipationserfahrungen und Aspekte sozialer sowie politischer Identität. In: Quesel, Carsten; Oser, Fritz. Die Mühen der Freiheit. Probleme und Chancen der Partizipation von Kindern und Jugendlichen. Zürich, Chur, 95-136.
- Biedermann, Horst. 2006. Junge Menschen an der Schwelle politischer Mündigkeit. Partizipation: Patentrezept politischer Identitätsfindung. Münster.
- Biedermann, Horst. 2003. Partizipation und Diskursorientierung in Schule und Jugendorganisationen. In: Oser, Fritz; Biedermann, Horst, eds. Jugend ohne Politik: Ergebnisse der IEA-Studie zu politischem Wissen, Demokratieverständnis und gesellschaftlichem Engagement von Jugendlichen in der Schweiz im Vergleich mit 27 anderen Ländern. Zürich, 155-174.
- Carleheden, Mikael. 2006. Towards Democratic Foundations: A Habermasian Perspective on the Politics of Education. In: Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 38, No. 5, 521-543.

de Boer, Heike. 2006. Klassenrat als interaktive Praxis. Auseinandersetzung – Kooperation – Imagepflege. Wiesbaden.

Dewey, John. 1993. Demokratie und Erziehung. Eine Einleitung in die philosophische Pädagogik. Herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort von Jürgen Oelkers. Weinheim, Basel.

Dewey, John. 1996. Die Öffentlichkeit und ihre Probleme. Herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Hans-Peter Krüger. Bodenheim.

Droz, Numa. 1886. Der Bürgerliche Unterricht. Leitfaden für den Gebrauch der oberen Primarschulklassen, Sekundarschulen, Fortbildungsschulen und der jungen Bürger. In deutscher Ausgabe, besorgt von J. Näf und B. Niggli. Lausanne.

Englund, Tomas. 2010. Educational Implications of the Idea of Deliberative Democracy. In: Murphy, Mark; Fleming, Ted, eds. Habermas, Critical Theory and Education. New York, 19-32.

Englund, Tomas. 2006. Deliberative Communication: A Pragmatist Proposal. In: Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 38, No. 5, 503-520.

Fleming, Ted; Murphy, Mark. 2010: Taking Aim at the Heart of Education. Critical Theory and the Future of Learning. In: Murphy, Mark; Fleming, Ted, eds. Habermas, Critical Theory and Education. New York, 201-207.

Freinet, Célestin. 1979. Die moderne französische Schule. Paderborn.

Friedrichs, Birte. 2004. Kinder lösen Konflikte. Klassenrat als pädagogisches Ritual. Eine ethnographische Studie. Baltmannsweiler.

Gautschi, Peter; Moser, Daniel V.; Reusser, Kurt; Wiher, Pit, eds. 2007. Geschichtsunterricht heute. Eine empirische Analyse ausgewählter Aspekte. Bern.

Geschäftsstelle der deutschsprachigen EDK-Regionen, ed. 2010. Grundlagen für den Lehrplan 21 verabschiedet von der Plenarversammlung der deutschsprachigen EDK-Regionen am 18. März 2010. Luzern: Geschäftsstelle der deutschsprachigen EDK-Regionen.

Gollob, Rolf; Krapf, Peter; Weidinger, Wiltrud, eds. 2010. Kinderrechte erkunden. Unterrichtsprojekte für die Klassen 1-9. Zürich.

Gruntz-Stoll, Johannes. 1999. Erziehung, Unterricht, Widerspruch. Pädagogische Antinomien und Paradoxe Anthropologie. Bern.

Haeberli, Philippe. 2012. Partizipation, Schulleben und politische Kompetenzen: Das Beispiel der Gerechtigkeit in Klassenräten der Genfer Primarschule. In: Allenspach, Domink; Ziegler, Béatrice, eds. Forschungstrends in der politischen Bildung. Beiträge zur Tagung „Politische Bildung empirisch 2010.“ Zürich.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1993. Faktizität und Geltung. Beiträge zur Diskurstheorie des Rechts und des demokratischen Rechtsstaats. Frankfurt am Main.

Hepp, Johannes. 1914. Die Selbstregierung der Schüler. Zürich.

Holzinger, Katharina. 2001. Kommunikationsmodi und Handlungstypen in den Internationalen Beziehungen. In: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, Vol. 8, No. 2, 243-286.

Joldersma, Clarence W.; Deakin Crick, Ruth. 2010. Citizenship, Discourse Ethics and an Emancipatory Model of Lifelong Learning. In: Murphy, Mark; Fleming, Ted, eds. Habermas, Critical Theory and Education. New York, 137-152.

Jung, Michael; Reinhardt, Volker; Ziegler, Béatrice. 2007. Politische Bildung in der Schweiz. In: Lange, Dirk; Reinhardt, Volker, eds. Strategien der Politischen Bildung. Basiswissen Politische Bildung. Handbuch für den sozialwissenschaftlichen Unterricht. Baltmannsweiler, 252-263.

Kanton Aargau. 2011. Lehrplan für die Volksschule. ([http://www.ag.ch/lehrplan/de/pub/lehrplan\\_volksschule.php](http://www.ag.ch/lehrplan/de/pub/lehrplan_volksschule.php)) accessed October 17, 2011.

Kanton Solothurn. 2011. Lehrplan. (<http://www.so.ch/departemente/bildung-und-kultur/volksschule-und-kindergarten/infos-zu/unterricht/lehrplan.html>) accessed October 17, 2011.

Karpowitz, Christopher; Mendelberg, Tali. 2007. Groups and Deliberation. In: Swiss Political Science Review, Vol. 13, No. 4, 645-662.

Kiper, Hanna. 1997. Selbst- und Mitbestimmung in der Schule. Das Beispiel Klassenrat. Baltmannsweiler.

Mayring, Philipp. 2007. Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken. Weinheim, Basel.

Miller, Max. 1986. Kollektive Lernprozesse. Studien zur Grundlegung einer soziologischen Lerntheorie. Frankfurt am Main.

Oser, Fritz; Biedermann, Horst. 2003. Jugend ohne Politik. Ergebnisse der IEA Studie zu politischem Wissen, Demokratieverständnis und gesellschaftlichem Engagement von Jugendlichen in der Schweiz im Vergleich mit 27 anderen Ländern. Zürich.

Oser, Fritz. 1998. Was ist staatsbürgerliche Erziehung. In: Reichenbach, Roland; Oser, Fritz, eds. Politische Bildung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung in der Schweiz. Perspektiven aus der Deutschschweiz und Westschweiz. Freiburg, 71-80.

Oser, Fritz; Althof, Wolfgang. 1992. Moralische Selbstbestimmung. Modelle der Entwicklung und Erziehung im Wertebereich. Stuttgart.

Osterwalder, Fritz. 2000. Öffentliche Schule und Demokratie – ein für den schweizerischen Liberalismus grundlegendes Verhältnis. In: Reichenbach, Roland; Oser, Fritz, eds. Zwischen Pathos und Ernüchterung. Zur Lage der politischen Bildung in der Schweiz. Freiburg, Schweiz, 57-70.

Parker, Walter C.; Hess, Diana. 2001. Teaching with and for Discussion. In: Teaching and Teacher Education, Vol. 17, No.3, 273-289.

Planta, Martin. 1766. Geschichte und Beschreibung des Seminari in der Frey-Herrschaft Haldenstein. In: Helvetische Gesellschaft, ed. Verhandlungen der Helvetischen Gesellschaft im Jahr 1766. Basel, 26-64.

- Quakernack, Jürgen. 1991. Politische Bildung in der Schweiz. Ein republikanisch-demokratisches Musterbeispiel? Opladen.
- Reichenbach, Roland. 2006. Diskurse zwischen Ungleichen. Zur Ambivalenz einer partizipativen Pädagogik. In: Quesel, Carsten; Oser, Fritz. Die Mühen der Freiheit. Probleme und Chancen der Partizipation von Kindern und Jugendlichen. Zürich, Chur, 39-62.
- Reinhardt, Sibylle. 2010. Was leistet Demokratie-Lernen für die politische Bildung? In: Lange, Dirk, ed. Demokratiedidaktik. Impulse für die politische Bildung. Wiesbaden, 125-141.
- Ritz-Fröhlich, Gertrud. 1982. Das Gespräch im Unterricht. Anleitung – Phasen – Verlaufsformen. Bad Heilbrunn, Obb.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Julian; Kerr, David; Losito, Bruno. 2010. ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement among Lower-Secondary School Students in 38 Countries. ([http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Publications/Electronic\\_versions/ICCS\\_2009\\_International\\_Report.pdf](http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/ICCS_2009_International_Report.pdf)) accessed August 20, 2012.
- Seidel, Tina. 2003. Lehr-Lernskripts im Unterricht. Münster.
- Shah, Dhavan V.; McLeod, Jack M.; Lee, Nam-jin. 2009. Communication Competence as a Foundation for Civic Competence Processes into Citizenship. In: Political Communication, Vol. 26, No. 1, 102-117.
- Snell, Ludwig. 1840. Geist der neuen Volksschule in der Schweiz, nebst den Hoffnungen, welche der Menschen- und Vaterlandsfreund daraus schöpft. St. Gallen.
- Wagner, Hans. 1991. Schweizer, das musst du wissen. Basel.
- Wyss, Corinne; Sperisen, Vera; Ziegler, Béatrice. 2008. Schlussbericht über das Forschungsprojekt Disziplin & Partizipation an der Oberstufe I. Aarau: Pädagogische Hochschule, Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz.
- Ziegler, Béatrice. 2011. Die Arbeiten zur Integration von Politischer Bildung im Lehrplan 21. In: vpod Bildungspolitik. Zeitschrift für Bildung, Erziehung und Wissenschaft, No. 170, 4-6.
- Zschokke, Heinrich. 2007. Volksbildung ist Volksbefreiung. In: Böning, Holger; Ort, Werner, eds. Das Goldmachedorf oder wie man reich wird. Bremen.



*Paul Warwick, Hilary Cremin, Tom Harrison, Carolynne Mason*

## **The Complex Ecology of Young People's Community Engagement and the Call for Civic Pedagogues**

This paper focuses upon the community engagement of young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas and the creation of apt civic learning spaces. It is in direct response to public policy within the UK, as in many other democratic countries, giving continued attention to how young people's active citizenship can be best supported. As a consequence of processes of globalisation, social change and technological advancement it is being increasingly recognised that young citizens face unprecedented challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At the same time young people growing up within areas of socio-economic disadvantage are commonly identified as being most at risk of social exclusion and discouragement with regard to their civic participation.

This paper draws from the *EngagED* project, a two-year study based in England that used a mixed methods research approach to explore the civic action and learning of young people living in both inner city and rural areas of socio-economic disadvantage. It presents an eco-systemic model of the host of factors and agencies that influence young people's civic identity and patterns of community engagement. It outlines two new civic learning spaces that were created in response to these complex ecologies and from these experiments in 'pre-figurative practice' proposes a set of key principles for the effective civic pedagogue. This radical notion of the civic educator moves away from educational strategies that seek to 'transform' young people into good future citizens, towards finding personalised ways of supporting young people 'as' citizens.

### **Keywords**

Citizenship education, community engagement, student voice

## **1 Introduction**

In the face of unprecedented change through processes of globalisation, social transformation and technological advancement, increasing attention is being given within public policy worldwide to notions of citizenry and civic engagement. Global concern over modern day lifestyles failing to live within environmental limits; continued issues of inequitable distribution of wealth and power across and within nation states; and questions over the effective advancement of democratic forms of governance, are all contributing to a growing sense of 'citizenship challenge' in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In many European countries this civic concern is being compounded by

fears over young people's patterns of community engagement (Kerr 2002). Within the UK, notions of a 'democratic deficit' linked to the civic disengagement of young people have become prominent within research, media and policy-making arenas. This has led to a range of recent policies concerned with securing civic renewal or new forms of civic engagement that give emphasis to local governance (Annette 2010). Most recently the British Government has introduced the Big Society agenda promoting notions of localism and under its auspices launched a National Citizen Service pilot at a post 16 level (Cameron 2010). This follows on from formal educational policy within England that has given increasing attention to how young people's civic engagement can be remedied and the political culture of this country transformed. Citizenship education (CE) has been a statutory requirement within the English secondary school national curriculum since 2002, although the current government is significantly reducing its support for this remaining the case. Research has indicated that the standards of CE implementation over the last ten years, particularly with regard to active citizenship and political literacy elements, whilst improving over time have been mixed particularly in schools with no specialist trained citizenship teachers (Keating et al. 2010; Ofsted 2010).

Framed within this notion of a democratic deficit, young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas are commonly held to be the least civically engaged and the most at risk of social exclusion (Pye et al. 2009; Morrow 2002; Institute for Volunteering Research 2002; Roker et al. 1999).

The number of young people living in poverty in Britain continues to be a significant problem, with government statistics revealing that 3.8 million children were living in relative poverty, after housing costs, in 2009/10 (Department for Work and Pensions 2011). But the term socio-economic disadvantage is much broader than the poverty of fiscal inequalities. It recognises the inter-linking of issues that are mutually reinforcing, such as barriers with regard to education, employment, housing, health, and neighbourhood crime (Darton et al. 2003; Social Exclusion Unit 2004). Young people living in communities experiencing socio-economic disadvantage therefore run the risk of facing greater contextual challenge in their civic lives than peers living in more affluent areas. This raises important areas of concern and debate for educational policy such as; how are young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas civically engaged in their communities, what are the opportunities and barriers that they face and how might civic educators aptly respond?

### 1.1 The *EngagED* Study

This paper reports on work conducted as part of the '*EngagED* - building voice, civic action and learning' research project. This two year qualitative study (2009-2011) was based in England and specifically focused on exploring the environmental factors that influence the civic identities and engagement patterns of young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas. Funded by the Society for Educational Studies (SES) the

study involved collaboration between the Universities of Cambridge and Leicester and the national charity 'Community Service Volunteers.'

The *EngagED* project employed a mixed methods research approach and was developed through three interconnected stages. Stage One involved a systematic literature review that explored the existing knowledge base pertaining to young people's civic engagement. Stage Two built on this review and involved using surveys and focus groups to listen to the perspectives of young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas, and of organisations supporting their civic engagement. Stage Three involved practically responding to these findings by working in partnership with two secondary schools and in two community settings to create new civic learning spaces for young people. Resonating with the innovation in education approach of Fielding and Moss (2011) this development of 'pre-figurative practice,' where viable and apt alternatives are envisaged, served to fulfil a key impact objective for the *EngagED* project.

This paper begins by drawing from the young people's focus group findings. The specific aims of the focus groups were to:

- Explore young people's experiences of civic participation and volunteering;
- Examine young people's perspectives on their motivations for civic engagement;
- Identify the challenges they faced in their lives that may prevent or inhibit civic action.

In total the *EngagED* project conducted twenty-four focus groups with 163 participants. Of these 105 were female and 58 male. The youngest participant was 11 and the oldest 21 with the average age being 15 years old. The focus groups followed a rigorous ethical approval process and were located in a mix of inner city and rural areas of socio-economic disadvantage. Settings included: two secondary schools and an inner city Further Education (FE) College, an out of school service for young offenders, a facility for young people living in social service care and two youth volunteering organisations. For the purposes of this paper specific attention will be given to the voices of young people taken from the inner city FE College and secondary school settings.

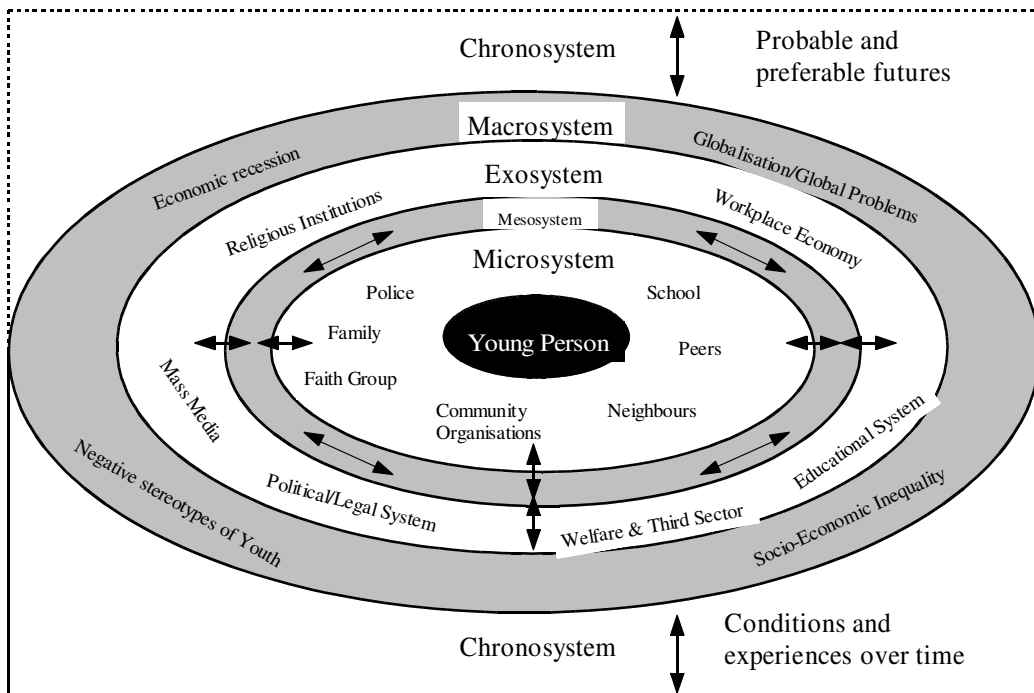
This paper uses the focus group findings to present a view of young people growing up within a manifold context of interconnected agencies and institutions. It will be argued that the interplay of these agencies significantly impacts upon an individual's sense of civic identity and pattern of community engagement. In recognition of the complex ecologies of young citizen's lives today this paper moves on to consider the lessons learnt from conducting a number of civic action and learning innovations within both formal and informal educational settings. This work involved over 80 young people aged between 14 and 20 years old living in socio-economically disadvantaged areas, including inner city and rural settings. From these experiences five key principles are put forward for debate when envisioning the practice of the 'civic pedagogue.'

## 2 The Complex Ecologies of Young People’s Civic Engagement

The *EngagED* project sought to access the voices of those most at risk of being excluded from the public policy arena. Globally this move to prioritise the voices of young people is endorsed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 12 which states “All people under 18 have the right to say what they think and be listened to by adults when adults make decisions that affect them” (UNICEF 1989). Increasingly within the UK it is being argued that young people’s voice should be heard more strongly in the process of policy formation at all levels in order to create provision that is appropriately responsive and flexible (Hallet, Prout 2003). Similarly Rudduck and Flutter (2000) argue for a greater representation of young people within the decision-making processes of their own education.

Analysis of the *EngagED* focus groups primarily reveals the personalised nature of young people’s civic action and learning. The diverse range of participants’ individual experiences, perspectives and sense of identity is vital to acknowledge. However it has also been possible to recognise commonalities in terms of the key agencies and factors influencing participants’ civic engagement. This synthesis has led to the following theoretical model (see Figure 1) with regard to the complex ecology of contextual factors contributing to young people’s civic action and learning. This model resonates with the approach of other studies in this area, particularly the theoretical framework derived by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Study of Civic Knowledge and Engagement, which surveyed 140,000 secondary students in sixteen countries (Amadeo et al. 2002).

Figure 1. The complex ecology of contextual factors influencing young people’s civic engagement



The analytical approach represented in Figure 1 draws generally from systems thinking and complexity theory (Morris, Martin 2009) and is based in particular upon the eco-systemic theory of human development by Urie Bronfenbrenner.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggests that a person's development is influenced by the layers of relationship with the people and agencies that surround them. At the closest level to the individual is the *microsystem* where a young person is impacted upon by direct contact with a variety of face-to-face relationships. Beyond this direct influence is an outer circle of people and agencies. This *exosystem* has an indirect impact on the young person through political, economic, community, educational and religious institutions and the mass media. Bronfenbrenner's theory also identifies an outer layer of a *macrosystem* where society has an influence upon a person's development through the prevailing attitudes, ideologies, narratives and discourses as well as economic conditions. In more recent eco-systemic conceptual models Bronfenbrenner (2004) identifies the temporal dimension of the *chronosystem*. This acknowledges that it is not only the present context that influences a young person's development but also the collective build up and changing nature of experiences over time. Finally, the eco-systemic model gives recognition to the intersectional nature of these different agencies of influence. This *mesosystem* highlights the interconnections and relations both within and across the different layers of contextual influence.

## 2.1 Young Citizens and the Microsystem Level

Participants within the *EngagED* focus groups identified a broad range of direct contacts that were influencing their civic engagement. These typically included family (parents, siblings, extended family), peers, school (teachers, implemented curriculum, and participation opportunities such as school councils), neighbours and religious/community groups.

### *Family*

Young people commonly identified their family as being a key influence upon civic engagement. For some the family was a significant source of support and encouragement. For example a 15 year old male participant within an inner city setting spoke of parental encouragement to engage with community service opportunities now in order to help him fulfil his vocational aim to join the police force. But more commonly young people identified family, and the commitments this entailed, as being a pressure that squeezed their capacity for civic engagement outside of the boundaries of their extended families. These responsibilities included working in family businesses such as retail outlets, or helping to meet the needs of specific relatives:

“As in like if my nan wants to go out to the GP or something like that. It's hard for her to speak in English.... So I have to be there for her.” (Female Inner City FE College Setting ).

Older participants commonly presented as holding primary care responsibilities for siblings over extended periods, such as this young person who explained that due to her mother working:

“I have got two younger siblings so... my younger sister I have to pick her up after school and make sure she is doing alright and everything so I have got to make sure that the house is in order.” (Female Inner City FE College Setting).

This care role within the family was found to not solely fall on female participants, as this account by a male young person illustrates:

“Yes because I am the oldest in my family and I have a five year old brother and I have to help my mum because she is single so I keep hold of the house basically with my brother who is 17.” (Male Inner City FE College Setting).

Another participant spoke of having extended family living in Somalia, including his father, and he saw a limitation on his ability to access more formally organised volunteering activities to be his present and future role as key financial provider to his family.

So for a considerable number of young participants an overriding impression was that civic engagement, particularly in the sense of formal volunteering, was an activity that was hard to access or consider as relevant, often clashing with pre-existing family responsibilities.

### *The influence of peers*

Within a number of focus groups young people drew specific attention to the role played by the views of their peers on the extent and nature of their civic action. Some young people identified the countering influence of peers on more positive perspectives about civic engagement that they had encountered:

Young participant 1 “So if it [volunteering in the local community] was presented as an option again to us I think a lot of us would do it.”

Young Participant 2 “Yeah but again people do follow other people. So if your friends are not doing it, it puts into your mind I’m not going to go by myself and look like the odd one out ... the people I know are not going to do it so we tend to follow other people.” (Females Inner City Post 16 College Setting).

However to illustrate the diversity of participants’ voices, there were other individual young people who spoke of deliberately choosing to resist the dominant peer culture. For example one young participant stated that he had become involved with a youth action group partly in order to move on from peers who he felt had low aspirations and who he judged to be not doing anything meaningful with their lives.

### *Faith-based groups*

A number of young people identified the positive influence of their faith-based communities when it came to their civic engagement. Some identified that the values and teaching of their faith communities encouraged a more altruistic sense of identity and care for other people. Others perceived that the social setting of their faith-based community provided a conducive and accessible environment for being active and helping others. So for example one young participant within an inner city context identified his mosque as providing a 'civic space' where the different generations could mix and where he could take on helping roles with younger children. Although the influence of a faith community context was only commented upon by a minority of young people within the *EngagED* study, the reported impact is very much in line with the findings of other more substantial studies into the role of faith communities on social capital and youth civic engagement (Annette 2011).

### *The neighbourhood and the police*

Young people's perspectives on how they were viewed individually or as a group in their local communities was identifiable as another contributing factor towards their sense of belonging and their propensity to be interested in civic engagement. Hostile and negative experiences of their neighbourhood, which in some cases extended to police community relations, were a major force of discouragement or justification for active resistance. A de-motivating factor for a few young people was identified to be the strong sense that they personally were constantly under suspicion for being troublemakers.

A commonly identified problem within the inner city contexts was that of gang culture. But whilst many spoke of their concern over its prevalence and its negative impact a few participants risked countering this by speaking personally about the sense of security and belonging it had brought to them personally. It was also a neighbourhood issue that other participants risked sharing more creative responses to. For example, one young person spoke of learning to deal with the tension of growing up surrounded by gang culture by writing poetry about it. What was clearly prevalent within a significant number of focus groups was a strong sense of young people growing up in the midst of a real absence of trust.

### *School*

As has already been highlighted, a range of agencies influence young people's civic identity above and beyond school. However this institution within the landscape of young people lives remains a key influence; and this once again was identified within the *EngagED* focus groups to be something that could have a positive or negative impact.

Some young people's perspectives were of their school or college being a place where they felt a strong sense of community and belonging. They perceived their formal educational institutions to be an opportunity to come in to contact with new and alternative perspectives to those perhaps they regularly encountered through their peers, neighbourhoods or in the media.

An example of this was provided by one group who explained that they were not interested in, or aware of, the value of formal volunteering until they heard a presentation by a local charity worker as part of their college's compulsory active citizenship programme:

“Didn't you feel you were making a difference as well when they had the speaker in about volunteering? It changed a lot of people's minds and views on community and stuff.” (Female Inner City FE College Setting).

Within the same group, participants spoke of their civic horizons being broadened and community perspectives challenged through being expected to take part in a local community service project as part of their formal education:

“Our group got the chance to work with children with disabilities and stuff, personally I got the chance to work with people I would normally never meet. So some of the boys had learning difficulties. I never met people like that before it was like scary but a new experience at the same time.” (Male Inner City FE College Setting).

This raises a significant topic of debate with regard to the place of active citizenship education within formal education and the merits of young people being exposed through the compulsory context of school to perspectives and experiences that otherwise they might not encounter or be able to access.

Other young people however perceived school to be another site of undemocratic experience that was discouraging, negative and sometimes hostile towards their civic participation and voice:

“In school they don't listen to us...even if you try to get your point of view across they [teachers] won't listen to a thing. They're right.” (Female City School Setting).

The institution of school for some focus group participants was somewhere they had little sense of voice within, or belonging towards. These young people presented as 'occupants' rather than 'inhabitants' of their school with low levels of intrinsic motivation towards making a positive civic contribution. These participants complained about the relative lack of available active citizenship roles within the school, such as school council membership being perceived as limited to the chosen few and often involving tokenistic participation.

## 2.2 Young Citizens and the Exosystem and Macrosystem Levels

As argued by Raffo (2011) when considering young people's interest in civic action and learning it is also important to understand the systemic influence of wider cultural, social, political and economic patterns.



### *The world of work*

An overriding impression from the focus groups was of young people possessing high levels of anxiety and concern over narratives of global recession, rising unemployment and the localised threat of becoming NEET (not in education, employment or training). Particularly with regard to the older participants, young people spoke of bleak employment prospects and tougher economic conditions ahead placing a sense of pressure to gain a competitive edge by succeeding in the present. Consequently the world of work was identifiable as having an influence over young people's patterns of civic engagement. A common perception of young people was that the initial motivation for peers' formal civic participation was often instrumental self-gain such as improving their curriculum vitae to better compete in the world of work.

The need for part-time employment whilst studying was identified as creating a time pressure that discouraged young people, particularly in Post 16 settings, from participating in certain forms of civic engagement such as voluntary work. Yet despite identifying this contextual pressure and tension the same young people also expressed an awareness that due to the recent economic recession there were significantly fewer part-time work opportunities available locally for inexperienced young people. So they also spoke of having in reality, high levels of free time on their hands and often a sense of boredom through a lack of accessible activities.

### *Global crisis/global citizenship*

Focus group participants consistently demonstrated an engagement with notions of global citizenship and spoke of their awareness about, and concern over, a wide range of global issues. These issues included: war, global economic recession, climate change, child trafficking, pollution, racism, poverty, homelessness and levels of aid to developing countries. This resonates with Martin's (2007) notion of young people today being the 'transition generation' burdened with narratives of global crisis and the awareness that they are a generation growing up in the midst of calls for significant sustainable change. In a number of cases young people expressed a sense of empathy with global others in crisis, such as during the time of the Haiti earthquake when some young people chose to instigate, or take part in, a number of fund raising activities within their secondary school.

In contrast to this expression of global care, other young people reported being pre-occupied with trying to cope with the personal challenges of the immediacy of their surroundings such as coursework deadlines or securing part-time work:

"They are more like present problems that are happening right now so we have to deal with them right now. Global warming is happening slowly so we tend to go with the ones that are happening right now."  
(Female Inner City FE College Setting).

### *Political systems*

Within the focus groups a few young participants spoke passionately about representative democratic political processes, expressing concern over being powerless within, or ill informed about, the political systems that impacted upon their lives and communities. Participants in one group focused specifically on being critical about a political elite running the UK today who were not accessible to the average citizen. Participants also commented upon the difficulty of understanding politicians because of the inaccessible language they used. Across many of the focus group settings there was a strong sense of distrust by young people about the motives and character of mainstream politicians.

Young people commonly recognised that politically speaking they were at the mercy of adults, being cautious about what young people by themselves can achieve:

“We can’t do much because all we can do is just state our opinions. Adults have the power to change it because they have money and jobs.”  
(Male City School Setting).

So at one end of the spectrum were young people who expressed a low sense of self efficacy in terms of feeling politically disempowered, discouraged by the perception that young people are without influence in many community decision making arenas. But at the other end of the spectrum were individuals making a political stand for young people’s interests, such as one young person who had strived to become a member of the UK youth parliament and who specifically stated her primary aim to be making a difference for her peers and taking part in a movement that meant young people did have a voice.

### *Stereotypes of young people and the role of the media*

A consistent finding across the range of focus group settings was participants’ perceptions that they were growing up in the midst of negative stereotypes of young people. As a consequence they spoke of the sense of being met with suspicion and distrust in their daily lives. Although participants felt they continually had to battle against such negative stereotypes the overriding belief was that the primary source of this was not people’s encounters with young people themselves but the media:

“Yeah but the reason they have got those stereotypes is because of the media. Its not because they have seen it themselves. It’s because of what they have read or heard on the news, it’s not because they have seen an actual young person stab someone else is it?” (Female Inner City FE College Setting).

Again for some young people this meta narrative of young people being negatively stigmatised provided further purpose and motivation for their civic action:

“I think that they [adult neighbours] are grateful and it gives them a

better view and shows them how teenagers really are – not just the stereotype that everyone’s got.” (Male City School Setting).

### 2.3 Young Citizens and the Chronosystem Level

The *EngagED* project was limited in its scope in terms of uncovering the temporal dimension of young people’s civic conditions and experiences over time, with its primary focus being upon participants’ perceptions of their current context. The study does offer some insight however if the view is taken that an eco-systemic theory of human development at the *chronosystem* level needs to give recognition to young people’s perceptions of the future as well as the past. In this way the influence of the temporal dimension is revealed in a number of cases by young people referring to their civic action as being motivated by their sense of ‘preferable futures’. This was particularly with regard to vocational aspiration. For example one female participant within an inner city setting explained that her goal was to work in elderly care, so as a stepping-stone towards achieving this she was currently volunteering within a residential care home. Other young people spoke of being motivated by improving conditions for future generations such as this 15 year old male participant who reacted against the view that all young people are motivated to participate in civic action by instrumental self gain, explaining that for him:

“What it is, even if I help them it would be better for our children and even our children’s children. It would be better for, better for the next generation.” (Male City School Setting).

Young people generally though presented as having less hopeful perspectives on the probable future of their neighbourhoods. A common notion was one of gradual decline in community life over time, with the behaviour of each generation and the levels of respect between people deteriorating. Similarly they perceived childhood innocence being lost at an increasingly younger age. Some also questioned whether their generation really was providing enough in the way of positive role models for the younger generations to be inspired by in the future:

“To be honest when they look up to us we are not any better role model to show them. Ok we have been through this now we are more mature. But they haven’t found that many people to actually follow.... because we are too much into ourselves to think about the younger generation at this time because we have other stuff on our minds.... to see or look into how the younger generation are getting affected.” (Female Inner City FE College Setting).

### 2.4 Young Citizens and the Mesosystem Level

Bronfenbrenner’s eco-systemic model places an emphasis upon the

interconnected nature of the different agencies of influence upon the developing lives of young people. A key finding of the *EngagED* research project has been this individualised contextual complexity of participants' lives. This is not only in terms of the range of influential agencies but crucially in the entangled interplay between these different agencies. A useful illustration of this is provided by the following account of a young person's civic engagement experience. Whilst walking home a young person comes across an elderly person who lives in his neighbourhood and who is struggling to carry home her shopping. He has the idea that he could offer to help her. He later reflects that what could have influenced him having this idea was a recent school assembly by a visiting charity worker on 'making a difference where you live,' combined with a religious service that taught about the golden rule of 'treating others as you yourself would wish to be treated.' However as he approaches his neighbour to offer help she appears fearful and suspicious and initially declines his offer. He briefly offers some reassurance and she changes her mind and accepts his help handing over her shopping. As they walk together she talks of regularly hearing on television and reading in newspapers about young people being disrespectful and dangerous concluding that 'you can never be too sure these days.' Having carried her shopping to her doorstep this encounter ends positively with the young person being thanked profusely for his help. But his overriding memory of the whole experience is the initial look of fear on his neighbour's face, and because of this he concludes that if he were in a similar situation again he would not offer to help and just walk on by.

This reflective account of a civic experience offers a useful lens through which the multifarious context of young people's civic engagement is revealed. It points towards the interlinked influence of agencies such as school, faith groups and the mass media fused with the opportunities that are made possible within neighbourhoods. It is the perceptions of the interrelation of these different agencies and narratives with each other and with the person as an individual human being that has a considerable bearing on a young person's pattern of civic engagement.

## 2.5 Young Citizens Growing Up in a Complex World

This analysis of the focus group data has revealed the contextual complexity of young people growing up as social agents in socio-economically disadvantaged areas. It has brought to the fore that within this complexity, a diverse range of civic engagement patterns is still able to flourish. In the midst of growing up in a multifaceted context where different agencies of influence are entangled and interconnect in manifold ways with the individual nature, character and dispositions of a young person, a myriad of civic engagement responses remain possible.

The study has revealed young people as perceiving a range of motivations behind their civic engagement. In many cases young people have been able to identify instrumental self-gain motives particularly with regard to achieving vocational aspirations. But this certainly does not capture the entirety of their rationale, with individuals also referring to being motivated

by the personal fulfilment of being able to help someone else. In a number of cases young people expressed compassionate motivations as illustrated by one young person who spoke of regularly helping with an elderly neighbour who suffered from arthritis:

“I just feel sorry for old people they can’t cope not like us they are not as well as I am so if I am there and I can help make something easier for someone then I would want to do that.” (Female Inner City Post 16 College Setting).

It would also seem that these motivations can change over time. So whilst some young people might originally be motivated to engage in an organised civic activity for instrumental self gain motives (such as to improve their curriculum vitae), they were aware that they were retained by a far broader range of factors such as the enjoyment of being able to help someone else. This highlights the malleability of civic engagement where change in attitudes and behaviour can occur over the temporal dimension of a civic action.

More generally, the focus groups have afforded an insight into how young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas are as a group far from apathetic about public life, expressing concern over a wide range of both local and global issues (see also Holden 2007 and Warwick 2008). Listening to young people’s voices has highlighted the point that their issues of concern occupy a specific context at a particular time. It has also reinforced the view as expressed by Lister et al. that:

‘Young people take seriously the question of their relationship to the wider society.’ (Lister et al. 2003, 250).

But effective civic engagement with a particular issue of concern or need in the community requires considerable skill and resource. In the face of this difficult challenge the *EngagED* research project has found that young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas can experience a broad range of barriers to their civic engagement. As identified in the work of Kerr (2005), Benton et al. (2008) and Pattie et al. (2003) these barriers for young people might generally include:

- Resources: particularly a lack of money and sense of free time;
- Civic capital: particularly a lack of knowledge or networks of support to act on an issue of concern;
- Role models for active participation: significant people not valuing, encouraging or inspiring their participation in civic engagement;
- Mobilisation: young people not being asked / invited to take part in civic engagement activities, or not being made aware that opportunities exists.

As Raffo (2011) identifies, what cannot be under-estimated is the impact upon young people’s civic identities of growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas and being immersed within conditions of inequality and social exclusion. The overriding experience within the *EngagED* study has been of meeting young people who reveal how difficult it is to acquire the responsibility, skills, resources, support and space that civic engagement

actually requires.

### 3 Developing Pre-Figurative Practice in Civic Pedagogy

When considering the role of educators in supporting the civic action and learning of young people the *EngagED* focus group findings point towards the need for a person-centred and relational approach. Educators concerned with providing young people with engaging and apt learning spaces for civic engagement need to be aware of the diverse lived realities of their students (Fahmy 2006). In the midst of such complexity and diversity it is impossible for an educator to construct apt civic learning opportunities outside of relationships with the students or outside of deep knowledge of their contexts.

The *EngagED* research project sought to respond to this conclusion and worked in partnership with a number of schools and community organisations to develop new civic learning opportunities, very much in line with the concept of pre-figurative practice (Fielding, Moss 2011). This is where educators work together in pursuit of exemplifying and embodying viable and desirable radical alternatives, ‘releasing the imagination of what could be’ through creative experimentation. The result of this approach was innovation at a local level via two pedagogical methods: photo-voice and collaborative community action.

#### *The photo-voice initiative*

“People don’t really listen to kids.” (Female City School Setting).

A ‘photo-voice initiative’ was developed in order to create a new civic learning space where young people’s voices about their community life were listened to in more effective and inclusive ways. This approach offered young people, that may not usually be heard, the opportunity to voice their perspectives through visual methods.

Photo-voice projects were conducted within four settings: two secondary schools, one community organisation and one community group. Each initiative required negotiation and adaptation with partner institutions and so varied slightly in the range and extent of activities. The most comprehensive implementation of the photo-voice project was with a group of Year 10 Art students in a rural secondary school. Following a training session by the project team and a professional photographer each young person was given a disposable camera and asked to take photographs of their local area. Participants were asked to take photographs that showed:

- Issues that mattered to them;
- Aspects of their neighbourhood that they were proud of, bothered about or annoyed by;
- Problems they would like to change;

- Ideas about how art could change things and make them better;
- Barriers that personally stop them making a difference.

Having taken the photographs the young people were then invited to select and edit a series of images that they wished to work with in order to produce a piece of artwork that communicated key messages with regard to their perception of the local community. Throughout the whole creative process participants were supported by school staff from the Art Department. Their artwork was then exhibited in the school serving as a stimulus for discussion and deliberation with both peers and teachers.

### *The collaborative community action initiative*

“I think if we work together we do have power to make a lot of changes.”  
(Male Youth Action Group Setting).

This practice innovation built upon young people’s creative capacity and facilitated their critical learning through collaborative efforts to bring about change in their communities. Drawing from youth participatory action research models and service learning theory (Stanton et al. 1999; Gelmon, Billig 2007; Butin 2010) this initiative aimed to embody a range of participatory pedagogies as conceptualised by Hart (1997) and Fielding (2010). It gave credence to a variety of active learning roles that young people can adopt within a citizenship education context (Mayo, Annette 2010) providing opportunities for young people to cooperatively act as enquirers, knowledge creators and change leaders. Conducted within two secondary schools each pilot required flexibility in order to navigate the complexity of the different institutional contexts. The most comprehensive implementation was with a group of Year 10 citizenship education students in an inner city school and covered core elements such as; young people consulting with one another to identify common community issues of concern, critical thinking around these issues to question and scrutinise alternative perspectives, creative collaboration to imagine a restorative or sustainable community action, and project leadership to put their ideas into action. The initiative jointly developed by the project team and staff from the school’s citizenship department gave regular space to the participants for reflection on, and discussion about, their active citizenship experiences.

### 3.1 The Civic Pedagogue – Key Principles

Reflecting upon these examples of pre-figurative practice in civic education we tentatively suggest here a set of key principles to guide the ‘civic pedagogue’ in creating apt learning spaces for supporting and encouraging young people learning through civic engagement. These hybrid learning spaces cut across the traditions of both formal and informal educational provision and place considerable demands upon the educator in terms of facilitating contextualised and personally responsive learning opportunities.

These five principles, as shown in Figure 2, build upon more holistic notions of professional learning for educators as represented in emerging approaches to the professionalization of the ‘social pedagogue’ within many European educational systems (Cameron, Moss 2011). They also build upon recent progressive advancements in civic pedagogy and teacher education within the UK in response to the introduction of citizenship education as a statutory subject within secondary schools (Leighton 2012). But what is being argued for here is a radical approach to civic education and a notion of a facilitatory educator who supports and encourages young people as they seek to overcome the dominant exclusionary culture that they may indeed face. It is through the embodiment of these five principles that educators are able to create learning spaces that recognise and seek to support young people ‘as’ citizens rather than try to ‘transform’ them into good future citizens.

Figure 2. Five fundamental principles for the civic pedagogue



### *Thinking Differently*

“It’s like we’ve been branded with this name of yobs and riff raff, and we’re not all yobs. We’re all individual at the end of the day..... we’re all entitled to be different.” (Male Community Group setting).

A key challenge for the civic pedagogue is to let go of control to some extent and find authentic ways to support young people as active citizens; responding to their unique perspectives, enabling their particular skills, talents and visions for the future. In order to work against the forces of social exclusion that can act on young people from socio-economically disadvantaged communities, civic pedagogues need to be prepared to innovate within their practice; open to the challenge of negotiating flexible



ways of working with young people in order to facilitate critical, reflective and reflexive civic engagement. Civic pedagogues need to consistently work with young people in a personalised way – recognising their unique identity as well as the spatial and temporal context. Many civic action projects traditionally offer young people the opportunity to participate in adult-initiated activities that can offer few opportunities for young people to influence and lead (Benton et al 2008, Hart 1997). The *EngagED* research project has consistently encountered young people who hold insightful perspectives about what matters where they live and creative ideas about how aspects of community living could be changed for the better.

### *Listening Harder*

“I think school should like ask people like what do you care about, and then they should arrange for them to help out with things they actually want to do.” (Female City Youth Group Setting).

A key principle for the civic pedagogue is to find dialogic and inclusive ways of working with young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas in order to access their voices and appreciate their diverse and personal perspectives. Despite many laudable efforts to elicit the voices of young people, recent research shows that this has not always led to young people actually affecting the decisions they have been asked to be involved in (Benton et al 2008, Rudduck, Fielding 2006).

Young people are far more likely to civically engage and to offer their ideas and views when they believe that their voice matters, and that what they say is of importance and will be acted upon. Providing learning spaces that authentically demonstrate this is crucial since active citizenship educational experiences where young people’s voices are ultimately ignored actually runs the risk of increasing participants’ sense of alienation or lack of personal efficacy. Listening harder also requires of the civic pedagogue that they adopt creative methods that allow all young people a voice, not just those who are articulate and confident to share their views. Achieving this in practice could be helped by the developmental work that is currently being undertaken in the areas of photo and visual voice methodology that have the potential to offer more inclusive approaches in the future (Daw 2011; Cremin et al. 2011).

### *Broadening Opportunities*

“A lot of people would think it’s [volunteering] ... once you’ve... you know retired. That’s the thing you do to fill your time.” (Male Community Group Setting).

When seeking to facilitate the community action and learning of young people living in socio-economically disadvantaged areas the civic pedagogue requires a broad notion of what amounts to civic engagement. If the definition of civic action is broadly taken to be a positive contribution

towards the 'common good' then all forms this could possibly take for young people in their global and digitalised worlds need to be recognised; not just those that can be easily categorised, identified or celebrated. The *EngagED* research project has highlighted that some young people have no access to 'formal volunteering' opportunities or feel that this form of engagement fails to resonate with their sense of civic identity, perceiving it to be an activity done by people who are very different to themselves. So a real danger is that young citizens can actually be dissuaded from civic action by the use of language and ideas that do not reflect their identity or how they would like to be perceived by others, especially their peers.

So a key principle for the civic pedagogue is to acknowledge the pressures young people are under and discern what are the civic engagement opportunities that are relevant to their interests. So as Percy-Smith argues:

'It is now time to re-think children's and young people's participation in light of critical reflection on experiences in practice and the promises of radical discourses past, present and emerging.....we need to pay more attention to opportunities for children and young people to participate more fully in everyday community settings -home, school, neighbourhood - through the actions, choices, relationships and contributions they make, rather than being preoccupied with participation in political and public decision-making processes in organisations and systems that are removed from young people's everyday lives.' (Percy-Smith 2010, 109).

### *Making It Possible*

"I have not volunteered because I don't know how to go about it." (Female City Youth Group Setting).

Young people living in socio-economically disadvantaged areas are at considerable risk of facing greater barriers when seeking to take action in their communities. A key task for the civic pedagogue is to create the space to encourage young people realising their civic action potential by attempting to identify specific issues and barriers that discourage young people and identify apt and creative responses to help support young people to overcome them. Consistently within the *EngagED* project young people have been encountered as being far from apathetic; expressing interest and concern over a wide variety of local and global issues. Significantly what young people showed much less awareness about was organisations and people that were making a positive difference to these issues and that could serve as locally accessible agencies of inspiration and hope. The civic pedagogue has a key role to play in contributing to mapping the multitude of positive change agents that exist or are accessible locally. This networking helps young people realise that from their sense of compassion or dissatisfaction, support for change can be accessed. The civic pedagogue also needs to mobilise civic engagement by offering young people regular and consistent invitation. In support of this view a study by Pye et al. (2009) found that over 2,000,000 young people in the UK might consider volunteering on a regular basis if they were simply asked. Their report

suggests that young people may not be initially self-motivated to take on volunteering or community service opportunities, but would seriously consider doing so if they were asked and given guidance or encouragement to do so.

### *Rewarding Experiences*

“It’s inspired me to do a lot more work now that I’ve seen what actually happens because I just...I literally did it for my CV and then when I got involved I was like ‘Oh this is actually really fun’ and it’s something you can do.” (Male City Youth Group Setting).

Successfully engaging young people in civic action is important because of the positive opportunities it presents for both individuals and their communities, and yet often these benefits remain obscured. Clearly for some young people if they do not feel they will personally gain in any way from becoming civically engaged they are unlikely to take that first step. Similarly if they cannot see any gains being made whilst they are involved they are unlikely to sustain their involvement. In order to recruit and retain young people, potential benefits such as developing life skills, character and relationships, achieving accreditation or personal enjoyment etc need to be made explicit and celebrated. In facilitating civic learning spaces a key role of the civic pedagogue is to support young people in reflecting upon what they have been able to gain from their experiences, providing the reflexive and evaluative space this requires. Arguably helping young people to recognise what has been learnt through civic action could have a significant impact upon their sense of self-efficacy. It could also be argued that celebrating success and giving public recognition can play an important societal role at the current time in terms of providing inspirational narratives that challenge negative stereotypes of young people.

In all this the role of the civic pedagogue is to develop their practice in relationship with the specific young people being worked with. So for example, within one inner city focus group setting, unexpected viewpoints were encountered around the issue of recognition for active citizenship. Within this group they expressed the view that it was not particularly important in terms of their motivation for a volunteering/community action to be accredited or to receive some kind of certificate of recognition. Instead they spoke of being motivated by opportunities where they felt they would be appreciated by the people they were working with, where they could take part within their friendship groups and where they felt it was not only fun but also made a tangible difference to someone else. This illustrates once again the overriding impression that civic learning spaces need to be co-constructed *with* young people in order to be apt.

## **4 Conclusion**

At a time of seeming reduction in political support for citizenship education

as a statutory subject in schools in England, the civic engagement and learning of young people growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas remains a pressing issue of concern. State-led moves towards a more diverse provision, including informal and community based approaches, such as is represented by the National Citizens Service initiative, hold some potential but are coming under increasing criticism. This study has found young people, especially those growing up in socio-economically disadvantaged areas, face a myriad of contextual barriers, obstacles and points of resistance when it comes to their civic engagement. It has also drawn attention to the view that civic engagement demands responsibility, skills and resources that are hard for young people to acquire. If the provision of civic learning opportunities is taken away from the core educational entitlement within schools this could have a detrimental impact upon significant numbers of young people and their ability to take part in the localised decision making processes currently being promoted by the British government.

The *EngagED* research project has also encountered the unique individuality of young people and their capacity to be compassionate, resilient, resourceful and creative. Civic education needs to be able to reach beyond the classroom and to better connect with young people's sites of community and sense of belonging. The challenge of this role means that professional learning opportunities for civic educators remain of paramount importance. The complex ecologies of young people's lives today necessitate educators that are able to personally relate and empathise with young people's community contexts whilst facilitating active, reflective and reflexive civic learning opportunities. Through the lessons learnt in experimenting with pre-figurative practice this paper has proposed a set of key principles for how civic educators might move towards practice that facilitates such new learning spaces. The 'civic pedagogue' has a vital facilitatory role to play and unique professional learning needs if they are going to be successful in exemplifying a paradigm shift away from educational strategies to 'transform' young people into good citizens, towards finding ways of supporting them 'as' citizens.

## References

- Amadeo, Jo-Ann; Torney-Purta, Judith; Lehmann, Rainer; Husfeldt, Vera; Nikolova, Roumiana. 2002. Civic Knowledge and Engagement An IEA Study of Upper Secondary Students in Sixteen Countries. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Annette, John. 2011. 'Faith Communities, Communitarianism, Social Capital and Youth Civic Engagement.' In: *Ethnicities*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 383-397.
- Annette, John. 2010. 'Democratic Citizenship and Lifelong Active Learning.' In: Crick, Bernard; Lockyer, Andrew. 2010. *Active Citizenship: What Could It Achieve and How?* Edinburgh.
- Benton, Thomas; Cleaver, Elizabeth; Featherstone, Gill; Kerr, David; Lopes,

- Joana; Whitby, Karen. 2008. Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS): Sixth Annual Report. Young People's Civic Participation In and Beyond School: Attitudes, Intentions and Influences. London DfES.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie. 1979. *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Boston.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie, ed. 2004. *Making Human Beings Human: Bioecological Perspectives on Human Development*. London.
- Butin, Dan. 2010. *Service Learning in Theory and Practice*. New York.
- Cameron, Claire; Moss, Peter, eds. 2011. *Social Pedagogy and Working with Children and Young People*. London.
- Cameron, David. 2010. 'PM launches national citizen service pilots Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2010.' ([www.number10.gov.uk/news/latest-news/2010/07/pm-launches-national-citizen-service-pilots-5377](http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/latest-news/2010/07/pm-launches-national-citizen-service-pilots-5377)) accessed October 11, 2011.
- Cremin, Hilary; Mason, Carolynne; Busher, Hugh. 2011. 'Problematising Pupil Voice Using Visual Methods: Findings from a Study of Engaged and Disaffected Pupils in an Urban Secondary School.' In: *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 585-603.
- Darton, David; Hirsch, Donald; Strelitz, Jason. 2003. *Tackling Poverty : A 20-Year Enterprise*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Daw, Matt. 2011. *See it Our Way - Participatory Photography as a Tool for Advocacy*. Photovoice.
- Department for Work and Pensions. 2011. *Households below Average Income*. London: Department for Work and Pensions.
- Fahmy, Eldin. 2006. 'Social Capital and Civic Action - A Study of Youth in the United Kingdom.' In: *Young*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 101-118.
- Fielding, Michael. 2011. 'Patterns of Partnership: Student Voice, Intergenerational Learning and Democratic Fellowship.' In: Mocker, Nicole; Nias, Judyth, eds. *Rethinking Educational Practice through Reflexive Research: Essays in Honour of Susan Groundwater-Smith*. London.
- Fielding, Michael; Moss, Peter. 2011. *Radical Education and the Common School*. London.
- Gelmon, Sherril; Billig, Shelley, eds. 2007. *Service Learning: From Passion to Objectivity*. Charlotte North Carolina.
- Hallett, Christine; Prout, Alan, eds. 2003. *Hearing the Voices of Children: Social Policy for a New Century*. London.
- Hart, Roger. 1997. *Children's Participation*. London.
- Holden, Cathie. 2007. 'Young People's Concerns.' In: Hicks, David; Holden, Cathie, eds. *Teaching the Global Dimension: Key Principles and Effective Practice*. London.
- Institute for Volunteering Research. 2002. *UK-Wide Evaluation of the Millennium Volunteers Programme*. London, DfES.
- Keating, Avril; Kerr, David; Benton, Thomas; Mundy, Ellie; Lopes, Joana. 2010. *Citizenship Education in England 2001-2010: Young People's*

Practices and Prospects for the Future. London.

Kerr, David. 2005. Citizenship Education in England – Listening to Young People: New Insights from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study. In: *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 74-96.

Kerr, David. 2002. England's Results from the IEA International Citizenship Education Study: What Citizenship and Education mean to 14 Year Olds. London, DfES.

Leighton, Ralph. 2012. *Teaching Citizenship Education – A Radical Approach*. London.

Lister, Ruth; Smith, Noel; Middleton, Sue; Cox, Lynne. 2003. Young People Talk about Citizenship: Empirical Perspectives on Theoretical and Political Debates. In: *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 235-253.

Martin, James. 2007. *The Meaning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. London.

Mayo, Marjorie; Annette, John. 2010. *Taking Part? Active Learning for Active Citizenship and Beyond*. Leicester.

Morris, Dick; Martin, Stephen. 2009. Complexity, Systems Thinking and Practice. In: Stibbe, Arran, ed. 2009. *The Handbook of Sustainability Literacy*. Totnes.

Morrow, Virginia. 2002. Children's Experiences of Community. In: Swann, Catherine; Morgan, Antony, eds. 2002. *Social Capital for Health: Insights from Qualitative Research*. London.

Ofsted. 2010. *Citizenship Established?* Manchester.

Pattie, Charles; Seyd, Patrick; Whiteley, Paul. 2003. Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Attitudes and Behaviour in Britain. In: *Political Studies*, Vol 51, 443-468.

Percy-Smith, Barry. 2010. Councils, Consultations and Community: Rethinking the Spaces for Children and Young People's Participation. In: *Children's Geographies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 107-122.

Pye, Julia; Lister, Claire; Latter, Jerry; Clements, Lucy. 2009. *Young People Speak Out: Attitudes to, and Perceptions of, Full-Time Volunteering*. London.

Raffo, Carlo. 2011. Educational Equity in Poor Urban Contexts – Exploring Issues of Place/Space and Young People's Identity and Agency. In: *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 1-19.

Roker, Debi; Player, Katie; Coleman, John. 1999. Young People's Voluntary and Campaigning Activities as Sources of Political Education. In: *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2, 185-198.

Rudduck, Jean; Fielding, Michael. 2006. Student Voice and the Perils of Popularity. In: *Educational Review*, Vol 58, No. 2, 219-231.

Rudduck, Jean; Flutter, Julia. 2000. Pupil Participation and Pupil Perspective: Carving a New Order of Experience. In: *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 75-89.

Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). 2004. *Breaking the Cycle: Taking Stock of Progress and Priorities for the Future*. London.

Stanton, Timothy; Giles, Dwight; Cruz, Nadinne. 1999. *Service-Learning*. San Francisco.

UNICEF. 1989. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. United Nations.

Warwick, Paul. 2008. The Development of Apt Citizenship Education through Listening to Young People's Voices. In: *Educational Action Research*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 321-335.

*Don Rowe, Nicola Horsley, Tony Breslin, Tony Thorpe*

## **Benefit or Burden? How English Schools Responded to the Duty to Promote Community Cohesion<sup>1</sup>**

This paper discusses results from a small scale qualitative study of how primary and secondary schools in three English local authorities responded to the introduction and subsequent inspection of a legal duty to promote community cohesion, following a series of ‘race’ riots in 2001 and the London bombings of 2005. The policy itself is seen as reflecting wider discourse and is shown as shifting in focus during the period it was officially inspected between 2008 and 2011. Schools responded differentially to the duty and its inspection, with those in more multi-cultural areas responding with higher degrees of confidence than those in mono-ethnic areas. Some policy ‘slippage’ is seen to occur in the way schools re-framed the duty. Over time, most schools came to identify the curriculum and the school’s ethos as the most important weapons in their armoury. Teachers embraced the new duty with different degrees of enthusiasm – for some it confirmed the importance of holistic approaches to education which they felt had been sidelined in recent years, whilst other showed various forms of resistance. Teachers encountered some subtle and challenging professional dilemmas in the course of discharging the duty. Overall, the respondents in this study felt that the imposition of the duty and its inspection had been more of a benefit than a burden.

### **Keywords**

Community cohesion, citizenship education, education policy, multi-cultural education, inspection

## **1 Introduction**

### **1.1 Background**

The statutory duty on English schools to promote community cohesion was enacted in 2006 and came into force in 2007. From September 2008 it was inspected by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). ‘Community cohesion,’ by that name, first emerged as a high profile area of British social policy in 2001 after a series of enquiries into disturbances in towns in northern England suggested that many communities were fractured along ethnic, religious and cultural lines and that different ethnic groups were often living ‘parallel lives’ (Independent Review Team, 2001) with little

<sup>1</sup> This research was carried out under the auspices of the Citizenship Foundation, London, in association with the University of Leeds. It was generously funded by a grant from CfBT Education Trust. The views expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily endorsed by CfBTET.



contact across entrenched community divides. Some areas that had hitherto been thought of as diverse and multi-cultural were now viewed as collections of mono-cultural communities, living in close proximity but rarely engaging in positive interaction. Following a national review of the state of race and community relations (Independent Review Team, 2001), a number of recommendations were made to address these problems. Recommendations ranged from police and local authority interventions (scaled up in the wake of the July 2005 London terrorist bombings) to a number of specifically educational initiatives, including the statutory duty on schools to promote community cohesion.

At the time of writing, the duty to inspect schools on how they promote community cohesion has been lifted and it was not included in Ofsted's revised Framework which came into force in January 2012. Hence, the data reported in this study, gathered in the spring and summer of 2011, throw light on the relatively brief period (September 2008–December 2011) during which schools were inspected on their attempts to implement the statutory duty.

## **1.2 The Study**

Broadly speaking, the study set out to examine a) how teachers understood and operationalised the duty in the context of their own schools and catchment areas and b) how they responded to being inspected on it. The research team aimed to gather the views and experiences of school leaders, subject heads and subject advisors in both primary (5-11 years) and secondary (11-18) schools in three Local Authority (LA) areas in England. The three LAs in question were varied in nature: one being a multi-racial city authority in central England, and the other two being large county authorities, containing conurbations with multi-cultural populations but also with many towns and villages with low numbers of ethnic minorities. Three or four primary and two to three secondary schools were sought in each area. Overall, 35 teachers from 27 maintained schools took part. Six were schools with a religious character (Church of England, Roman Catholic and one Jewish) and the other nineteen were community schools.

In two of the Local Authorities, initial focus group discussions were held which were then followed up by a number of one-to-one semi-structured interviews with volunteer respondents. The interview schedule covered the following areas:

- How teachers interpreted the meaning of the duty
- What they felt they were already doing to promote community cohesion
- What new steps were taken, if any, following the introduction of the duty
- What challenges had been experienced in implementing the duty
- What benefits had resulted from implementing the duty
- Their experiences of inspection
- Whether, overall, the duty was felt to be more of a benefit than a burden.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed and then analysed. Drawing on 'grounded theory' (Glaser, Strauss 1967) we used a process of open coding to identify the key concepts and themes in the data. We then interpreted these data in the light of official policy and guidance plus key ideas drawn from the sociology of educational policy. In the focus groups, discussions covered the main topics but, in addition, teachers were asked to write down their own preferred definitions of the term 'community cohesion' and, towards the end of the sessions, to record their views as to whether the imposition of the duty was felt to be more of a benefit than a burden. They were also asked to indicate where the balance lay for them using a Likert scale graded from 1 to 5.

All interviewees were informed of the purpose of the interviews and consented to the use of their responses in any publications or reports the research team chose to publish. They were assured their responses would be anonymised and that the identity of schools and the Local Authorities would be withheld.

## **2 Findings**

### **2.1 The Duty as Understood by Policy Makers**

The wording of the statute itself, contained in the Education and Inspections Act, 2006,<sup>2</sup> stated baldly that governing bodies of maintained schools in England shall 'promote community cohesion.' The Act itself provided no further clarification of what was to be understood by 'community cohesion' and yet the term is highly problematic. Which communities and what form of cohesion were intended? Furthermore, what are the practical limits to activities encouraged under such an open-ended injunction? All the 'policy noise' at the time suggested that communities which were 'internally cohesive precisely because they are (or feel) isolated' (Breslin, 2007) and forms of cohesion based on ethnic homogeneity were not to be promoted but, rather, undermined. As Ball (2000, 1831) points out, policies must be seen as far more than text – the influence of the dominant discourse, with its intense focus on social fractures of an ethnic, cultural and religious nature, is very marked. Thus, the non-statutory guidance, published jointly by the Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCSF/CLG, 2007), clarified policy makers' definition of community cohesion as a process of:

- working towards a society in which there is a common vision and sense of belonging by all communities; a society in which the diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and valued; a society in which similar life opportunities are available to all; and a society in which strong and positive relationships exist and continue to be developed in the workplace, in schools and in the wider community.

---

<sup>2</sup> Inserted retrospectively into the Education Act of 2002.

The guidance stressed that the term 'community' was multi-layered, comprising the school itself, its local community, the UK and the global community and it suggested that schools' contributions to the cohesion agenda would manifest themselves in three general areas:

- 1) teaching, learning and curriculum – helping children and young people to learn to understand others, to value diversity whilst also promoting shared values;
- 2) equity and excellence – ensuring that there are equal opportunities for all to succeed at the highest level possible and working to eliminate variations in outcomes for different groups;
- 3) engagement and extended services – providing reasonable means for children, young people, their friends and families to interact with people from different backgrounds and build positive relations.

The guidance therefore identified areas and activities already covered in part by the statutory duty to promote positive relations between people of different backgrounds, faiths and beliefs contained in the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. However, the guidance made it clear that schools should interpret 'community cohesion' widely and that whilst differences arising for ethnic, religious or socio-economic reasons were central, inequalities based on gender and sexuality should also be seen as a focus of the duty. These latter areas were already inspected under schools' general duties to promote equality under the Equality Act 2006. Notwithstanding these existing duties, the duty to promote community cohesion was clearly intended to go beyond the removal of discriminatory practices to include community building across the full social spectrum.

## **2.2 Teachers' Understanding of the Term 'Community Cohesion'**

In the focus groups, teachers were asked to write down their own working definitions of community cohesion. There was considerable uniformity of response of which the following are typical:

Helping individuals to feel part of the community (at all levels) and helping them to realise how they can contribute to that community and benefit from it. (Primary head).

To me, community cohesion means understanding that we are all uniquely different and yet share fundamental similarities that draw us together as a society/community, be it local, national or global. (Primary head).

To me, community cohesion means providing children with a clear

understanding of who they are, where they are from, a confidence in themselves and an awareness and understanding of the world they live in. It's about developing empathy and respect, understanding your rights and responsibilities and a sense that they are global citizens and also members of a range of communities. (Secondary head).

A recurrent phrase used to define a cohesive society was one in which everyone is able to 'get along with' other people. Further, where the guidance talks of encouraging students to 'value' diversity the teachers preferred words such as 'respect' and 'tolerance.' This difference in emphasis suggests a set of more realistic aspirations than those envisaged by the duty.

### **2.3 The Importance of Building a Strong School Ethos**

Hand in hand with the focus on personal values, was a strong emphasis amongst both primary and secondary teachers, on the influence of the ethos and culture of the school. This had not been strongly foregrounded in the non-statutory guidance. Many school leaders we spoke to saw the creation of a cohesive school community as a key focus in meeting the duty and this provided a common sense and practical limit to the range of activities embarked upon:

And what we've really concentrated on is not suddenly doing more things in the community because we didn't think that was the right thing to do, we weren't suddenly going to become good citizens and go visiting people (we already do a little bit of that) but that's not really how I saw it, I saw it as actually bringing together our school community.

Many teachers pointed to strong student voice as an instrument to generate cohesion, a sense of belonging and also of social agency. In one local authority, much work had been done across the phases to introduce a programme called 'Rights, Respect and Responsibility' (Covell, Howe 2001) which promotes a rights-based approach to school discipline, behaviour and participation based on the universal values contained in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Basing school discipline and relations on an explicit code which is continuous with values expressible in the wider community, was seen as equipping students with the values and social skills they need to become mature, self-disciplined, tolerant, respectful and participative citizens. This national project, promoted by UNICEF UK, (UNICEF UK 2011) is one example of important existing national initiatives which teachers saw as overlapping in significant ways with the duty to promote community cohesion. One of the local authorities in our sample had systematically promoted the 'Rights, Respect and Responsibility' approach right across the age phases because this framework was clearly understood to provide continuity and to be important developmentally. The head of an infant school (4-7 years) told us how she used the concepts of:

[...] rights, respect, responsibility and class charters, where it's sort of negotiated what our expectations are of each other. There's a big emphasis on choice and responsibility and then that would be the sort of self-discipline that would carry you through life, rather than something that is rule governed.

And a secondary school deputy head put it like this:

And I'd say that the philosophy behind the whole school can be summed up in three words: rights, respect and responsibility. And that philosophy drives everything. So every single member of staff knows about it, every single child in the school knows about it. If you were to look around the school you'd see evidence of it everywhere so it's integral to what we're about. [...] [There's] a document which staff use to guide their language with children, their behaviour, their attitudes, the ethos of the school.

This strong emphasis on the promotion of cohesion through building an inclusive and participative school ethos represents a significant difference in emphasis between the teachers' approach and the recommendations of the non-statutory guidance.

#### **2.4 Schools' Responses to the Different Types of Community They Served**

School leaders working in areas of high multi-cultural intake appeared to find it easy to identify how the concept could be applied to their school community, for example by addressing the challenges of helping the integration of ethnic or religious minority groups new to the area. The overcoming of language barriers amongst both parents and students became a priority for some of these primary schools. One school set up crash courses in English when faced with a large group of non-English-speaking newcomers. Another school made a video-based version of the school prospectus for use with parents speaking other languages. Several of the schools in our sample had found themselves in receipt of considerable influxes of children from ethnic groups new to Britain, placing demands on school staff for which they and, indeed, the local authority were ill-prepared. In a secondary school serving a large army barracks, teachers were faced with a large group of immigrant children from Gurkha families. Amongst other measures, this school had already developed a detailed monitoring system showing which children participate in what activities. This enabled the school to see how well migrant children were entering into the life of the school. Interestingly, at the same time, it showed that other groups of children, such as those who were carers at home were also at a disadvantage and at risk of becoming excluded. This group of potentially excluded young people are not mentioned as potential beneficiaries of the promotion of community cohesion in any of the policy literature.

Several schools in the study recognised the importance of addressing the needs of parents and families as well as those of the children themselves.

Some schools made efforts to appoint teachers or teaching assistants with the necessary language skills and to develop mechanisms for parents and teachers to meet as informally as possible. Many schools recognised that the very diversity of the school population provided a resource in itself in developing community cohesion. However, it was recognised that there were training implications if teachers were to be adequately briefed about students' backgrounds and the practical and time-consuming demands of teaching made this problematic. One Local Authority adviser doubted whether the local teachers sufficiently acknowledged and utilised the differences amongst students:

One of our schools has got a recommendation for action from Ofsted and it was just about not making enough of diversity. [...] There is all that potential there and it is the same in lots of things but we don't always stop and think, 'Let's make more of it.' [...] I don't think the professionals know enough about all the different groups and it is changing all of the time as well.

And one of the primary heads in the study felt that her colleagues were too inclined to see the school environment as non-continuous with children's lives outside the school:

And what we actually discovered was that many of the staff, for whatever reason, didn't have a broad enough empathy and understanding of where many children came from and what experiences they'd got. And that's improved incredibly. Do you know what they do when they get home after school? And then obviously with some groups, do you know if they go to Mosque group? Do you know which language they speak? Do you know if they actually speak English at home? Or do they never speak English from the moment they leave the building at quarter past three?

By contrast, schools with more mono-ethnic intakes appeared to find it harder to identify actions to promote cohesion and teachers reported considerable uncertainties in the early days of the duty. However, over time, they identified other forms of community fracture which impacted on the school and its students. In a number of predominantly white areas, for example, teachers recognised that relations between their students and elements of the wider community could become strained due to student behaviour which at times could be experienced as anti-social and alarming. One primary school in the study took an active approach to the problem:

We're working with the local community trying to overcome some of the -prejudice isn't the right word - but the kind of views that the older community have about children and the children have about the older residents in our community, trying to kind of break down the barriers between the two. [...] The perception from the elder community is that all young people are all thugs, badly behaved, take drugs, drink and so on and so forth. And of course from the children's point of view it's "Oh well, they're old and they moan a lot and they whinge when the ball goes in the garden." And that type of thing. So the children are going out and

visiting. Today they're in town, they're interviewing people. But we're also going to have some of the older generation coming in for visits.

Another 'white, working class' school was situated near the coast and an exclusive marina and shopping centre from which students felt excluded and unwelcome. The school was able to broker talks between students and the chief executive of the centre who frankly admitted that the whole complex was for 'people who have got money' and not young people. Our respondent told us that:

...she made the mistake of saying "Well if you come in wearing your hoodies then you're obviously going to be watched by the surveillance cameras." And they just said "For God's sake, see beyond the hoodies, see us." And she did and there were a number of things that have come from that.

In both mono- and multi-cultural schools, crime was identified as a significantly divisive community problem. In one of the inner-city secondary schools, students' anti-social behaviour was seen to create tensions which needed to be ameliorated:

And that's things like shoplifting which is a fact of life. It has been forever, but how quickly and effectively you get to it has a massive impact in the local community - your being out on the corridors, being out on the street, being out at the bus stops. [...] And then, after that, it's getting groups in, working with local churches, et cetera. We have Parliamentary youth members in the sixth forms for the local authority; we've got people - again in the sixth form and in year eleven - working with the police.

## **2.5 The Role of the Curriculum and Experiential Learning**

There was widespread agreement amongst respondents that the curriculum is one of the most important instruments available to schools for addressing a range of issues relating to community cohesion. Citizenship education was strongly identified as a key tool. This had been introduced to the secondary school National Curriculum - and given the status of a Foundation (compulsory) Subject - by the Labour government as recently as 2002. Predominantly, according to its architect, Professor Bernard Crick its purpose had been to encourage and reinvigorate political participation, democracy itself, active citizenship and community involvement (AGC, 1998). Further, in the revisions to the National Curriculum of 2007, 'Identity and Diversity' became two of only six core concepts of the revised citizenship curriculum (QCA 2007). This concern for diversity was very much more prominent than in the earlier iteration (DfEE/QCA 1999). Thus citizenship education itself was significantly re-framed during this period, at the policy level, to emphasise its potential to create a sense of shared national identity based on cross-community participative citizenship and the

commitment of all citizens to democratic and human rights values.

Besides citizenship, our respondents mentioned Personal, Social and Health education, Religious Education and the humanities as other important curriculum vehicles for the promotion of cohesion. This view was represented in both primary and secondary schools. For example:

So when we do a lot of work in year six we are looking at the fact that we live in Britain but Britain is a very diverse community where we can see influence from other countries. We can see it in the fashions, the music, all those kind of things. We also try to look at how they can improve the community, so 'What can you do in the wider community?' and 'How can you benefit the people who live there?'

One primary school instigated a 'Global Education' fortnight to promote a sense of belonging to the worldwide community. One secondary school, serving a highly multi-cultural area, had scrutinised the whole of its curriculum as to whether it was cohesion-generating, including how the work experience programme operated. Interestingly, in both primary and secondary settings, many schools reported that they found it easier to teach about community cohesion issues at local and international level than at national level.

The duty to promote community cohesion prompted some schools to re-assess how well they were delivering the citizenship curriculum. There was recognition that not merely the amount but the quality of teaching in this area is important. The widely established practice of teaching citizenship and personal, social and health education (PSHE) through the pastoral system delivered by largely untrained form tutors has been identified by Ofsted as the source of the weakest practice (Ofsted 2006, 25). In one secondary school the requirement to introduce citizenship had chimed naturally with other developments in whole school policy, including cohesion.

I think the shift that has taken part, is the shift towards the concept of citizenship. We now talk about citizenship in year 7, citizenship in year 8, year 9, year 10 and year 11. I would say it's much more targeted and focused now towards giving them responsibility, towards understanding you know, you are a member of the community.

Some schools claim that time cannot be found for citizenship, but schools in our sample showed that time need not be an issue and that imaginative ways can be found to overcome obstacles in the way of providing more specialist teaching. For example:

Basically we deliver citizenship, PSHEE,<sup>3</sup> careers and we deliver enterprise which is part of PSHEE. So we've got subject specialists. Three of us are experts in citizenship, four of us are experts in PSHEE. The SLT member

---

<sup>3</sup> Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHEE) is the latest iteration of a portfolio subject typically offering lifeskills subjects such as citizenship, health and relationships education, careers and economic capability, though citizenship is also taught as a full humanities subject in many schools. Until 2007, when the economic dimension was added, it was commonly known as PSHE.



in our faculty, he has a qualification in careers and enterprise. It's not like some schools do on an ad hoc basis, we have a set period of time where all students throughout the school know that for six weeks they will only learn about citizenship and we rotate it so that at any given time in the year everyone gets to sample these things. We have two lessons a week, so two fifty-minute lessons a week over the whole five years, so I consider us quite pioneering and progressive.

A large number of schools were also very actively enriching curriculum learning by developing opportunities for students to meet and interact with young people of difference, along the lines suggested in the non-statutory guidance, through different kinds of school linking programmes.<sup>4</sup> This is, perhaps, the one element of the non-statutory guidance and the inspection criteria (DCLG/DCSF 2007; Ofsted 2008, 5) that required some schools to go significantly beyond their existing practice. School links were made either locally or further afield but our data showed that many schools favoured international schools linking because, in both primary and secondary settings, such links can work at a number of levels and in different ways. International school links can be structured in such a way as to include whole schools or entire year groups, in ways which, perhaps, local or national links, which are more likely to require exchange visits between pupils, cannot.

In our study, the inner city authority introduced a scheme which aimed to link local schools of very different character – guidance and training was provided concerning how to manage such schemes sensitively including the logistical challenges, such as travel and the identification of 'neutral spaces' for initial meetings. These problems were considerably more challenging where school links took place on a national basis, including the problems of finding suitable partners, mutually acceptable neutral venues for initial meetings and residential accommodation. However, for the limited numbers of students fortunate enough to participate in inter-school exchanges, the experiences were often reported to be memorable and mind-expanding:

I've had verbal feedback from the students and it's been really successful and quite interesting. A lot of our [ethnic minority] students were really afraid. The main fear was that the other students were going to be racist. Completely ungrounded, I don't really know where it comes from, but it seems to be a really common thing that they expect these people are going to be racist. And they actually found that, you know, we like the same things, we do the same things, we're all human. And, you know, they got on really well and quite enjoyed it.

But such schemes are demanding of time and resources and, in practical terms, seem difficult to extend to all students as an entitlement. A number of issues were observed which underline the vulnerability of such schemes. One obstacle is finance and another is the need to find adequate time and staffing resources from within the existing establishment. For this reason,

---

<sup>4</sup> The initial school linking project in a highly diverse local authority was rolled out nationally in 2007 through a new organisation, The Schools Linking Network, with funds centrally provided by the Department for Education and Skills and a charitable foundation. However, opportunities to participate in the scheme were not uniformly available across the country.

many teachers took on responsibilities of organising linking schemes on a goodwill basis, that is, with no extra time available. One teacher in charge of school linking admitted that, because of such constraints, the school's link exchange was run only with her own class. And it is clear that the teacher understood that there could be no guarantee that time to expand the scheme in future would be forthcoming:

The problem with it is the logistics. It's how, in a large school, I can have time off, you know - I can manage the things when they're in my lesson and I can control that fifty minutes for how we work around that. And obviously in part it's down to whether or not I can be freed from the timetable so I tend to choose slots when I'm not teaching, so it's using my time. There is a lot of reliance on staff goodwill.

When schools are under multiple pressures, including to improve standards, there is evidence of initiative 'resistance' (Bowe et al. 1992, 13) even to complying with legal duties when other priorities dictate:

If senior management said, "We want this to take place, therefore you will have time on this day, there will be no lessons on this afternoon, and everybody will do community cohesion type activities." But, at the end of the day, when we're driven by exam results, and everything else, it's going to be a pretty enlightened head that is going to take that line.

One form of 'soft' resistance, when schools are not willing or able to meet the demands of a new policy, involves the 'co-option' of existing work, which is then re-framed and presented as meeting the new duty. In the case of community cohesion, a number of schools claimed that work already in place, including work experience, sports visits to schools of different ethnic character (where student contact might actually be minimal or even antagonistic in character) and visits from varied community representatives giving career talks, all supported the aims of promoting community cohesion. At times, claims of close synergy between competing aims seem to be little better than tangential. One LA adviser told us:

One head teacher said to me, "Well, I put on classes in the evening, we let the community use our facilities from seven o' clock to nine o' clock, so I'm meeting my duty." And it was like that in the early days, until they suddenly started realising that's not community cohesion.

In such cases, it is generally not possible for outsiders to tell whether this mistaken coercion of existing practices is a failure of understanding, communication or training, or whether it is wilful.

## **2.6 Schools Interacting with the Outside Community**

Besides stressing their codes of values and ethos, many schools were also keen to be centres of community activity in a stronger sense than merely allowing use of their facilities. Some, for example, hosted after-school madrassas for Muslim students and language classes for parents whilst others had become involved in community activities such as festivals and carnivals, which were widely seen as helping to remove barriers. Schools saw initiatives such as these, as well as active citizenship projects as generative of cohesion. Although they were very often only available to 'opt-in' groups and involved limited numbers of students, they were seen as an important complement to teaching and learning initiatives such as the provision of citizenship lessons as part of the National Curriculum. Opportunities to enrich students' experiences through community-based activities varied widely across the different local authorities and there was a considerable level of ad hoc taking of whatever opportunities became available.

## **2.7 Challenges to Implementation**

As already noted, schools had to decide what priority to give to implementing the duty, given that no specifically earmarked resources followed the duty. Some imaginative use was made of community-based cohesion strategies, such as the government's Preventing Violent Extremism initiative. In addition, it was found that a number of other challenges were encountered for which neither the early non-statutory guidance nor a later booklet published in 2010 by the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Authority (QCDA 2010) adequately prepared the teachers for. For example, dealing with parents of different cultures, faiths and beliefs created complex challenges on occasions. Some schools told us they found themselves walking a tightrope between respecting the values of other cultures (a fundamental tenet of cohesion work) whilst actively resisting particular values and practices which clash with very important British ones such as equal treatment in respect of gender and disability. For example, one primary head in a city school reported:

When we were doing work on sex education, the male community people were saying, "No, no, no." But actually, when we talked to the mothers ... they were saying, "Oh, yes please, we'd love it if you did this for us." So actually there is a gender divide that we have to address. In terms of dealing with disability, again it's very challenging within this cultural setting, because if a child is disabled, if they were, say, blind for example, there are some mosques that won't let them through the door. And that's very challenging for the parents. If we're talking about a child with special educational needs, the parents can be very resistant to acknowledging that, because that has a wider implication for their inclusion within their own community if they're not allowed into the mosque.

Thus, in a number of cases, schools found that their duty to promote community cohesion required highly professional and subtle judgements to be made and, if necessary, publicly defended.

Schools serving almost exclusively white communities, such as those subject to economic and social deprivation through, for example, the collapse of the local mining industry, reported entrenched levels of intolerance towards difference but this could be equally true of the values being instilled in more prosperous middle-class homes, and more than one of our respondents reported a recent hardening of such attitudes, the change in the wider social climate being felt in the classroom:

It's the sort of area where it is professional, the majority will go on to university, they will find themselves in very diverse communities and I think for us it's how we enable our children to recognise that at an early point. But notwithstanding that we still have in some elements a lack of tolerance so we still have parents withdrawing children from visits to the local mosque. The first time in 20 odd years of teaching I've had a parent who has withdrawn her child from any other aspect of RE apart from Christianity. And not based on any deep religious belief, it's based on – well, from my perception – a prejudice and a set of values that won't enable her or her children to learn about any other aspect of any other world faith. And that for me, after so many years of teaching in the sort of school I'm in, is really a very sad state of affairs.

Schools hoping to ameliorate attitudes of intolerance amongst their students often have to tread carefully where such attitudes emanate from the home. Teachers, whilst being required to promote cohesion, are simultaneously required to be non-partisan politically (Education Act 1996) and also, under Human Rights legislation, they must respect the rights of parents to bring children up in their own philosophical persuasions. For such reasons, when teachers encounter views which are intolerant or even racist, provided they are not unlawful as in support for right-wing nationalist parties, they need to address issues sensitively and professionally, whilst still perhaps trying to undermine values inimical to cohesion. One solution is to promote sound reasoning and critical thinking amongst students, relying on the power of reason to counteract prejudice over the longer term, as reported by this secondary deputy head:

I think we respond to that in terms of the ethos and values that we portray as a school, therefore the values which we try to develop in young people, that sort of active citizenship development. From a school point of view, one of the biggest issues that we have is that the BNP [British National Party] is a legally recognised political party in Britain and it's very hard for a school to be overtly political in that sense. What we would hope to do, would be to equip our children with the skills to discuss and analyse and reflect upon a range of different views and the values, to understand why certain views are wrong.

Another secondary deputy head put it like this:

Whilst recognising one thing that has been true since time began, which is that home is the biggest influence on children, I suppose I would see our approach to that as being about putting together the right curriculum, delivered in the right way, having the right ethos, portraying the right sorts of behaviours, giving the constant right messages about respect and tolerance and living together and accepting and valuing differences. I see that as being the most powerful way of dealing with that. I wouldn't see it as the school's role, particularly, to go out into the community and deal with those issues in that way.

The above quotation neatly articulates the way many schools in our study saw their ethos and community values as consistent with, and reinforced by, what is taught in the curriculum and the methods they used to teach it.

In addition to the challenge of addressing parental attitudes, some head teachers also reported that the attitudes of their own staff could be problematic. As one primary head put it:

I was actually really happy that this was coming through. And I thought perhaps it gives value to something that needs value. So I was happy to do it and it's something I feel passionate about. It's just as long as all your staff feel the same and they don't feel like - "Oh gosh, another initiative, let's tick this box and that box."

We found, in talking to teachers, that where overcoming obstacles to integration and cohesion are seen as key to aiding students' learning, no great tensions are seen to exist between schools' core business and the new duty. Perhaps it is true that primary schools are able to take this more holistic approach to the children's learning. This may mean that secondary schools experience the competing tensions between this and the 'standards' agenda more acutely. We asked one senior teacher about this and his reply was unequivocal:

Int: Do you detect any resistance amongst members of staff in terms of using community cohesion as a means to steer a particular curriculum one way or the other? Is that an issue at all or is that seen to be entirely acceptable?

Teacher: I'll put this way, they wouldn't do it unless it was going to help their results and that's right, you know, because that's what we're here for. But what we've always found is by being inclusive and drawing our kids' own experiences into our work and also helping them to understand what's beyond the local environment, that's what inspires them to learn.

The duty, therefore, raised issues of motivation, support and training for senior leaders. To assist and motivate staff, most Local Authorities offered what could be called 'meso-level' guidance, interpreting the national guidelines for their local schools, linking this to elements of their existing

provision and on occasions providing courses of differing lengths and depth. Some of this was offered to teachers and some to governors. We found no consistent pattern in this provision, though our sample of three authorities was small. Interestingly, in this digital age and weakened links with Local Authorities, there was also considerable evidence of schools going first to the internet, freely 'borrowing' guidance from other Local Authorities and schools. Training in many instances helped clarify the issues for teachers in our sample, though we have yet to find any guidance or training provision which acknowledges community cohesion as a potentially problematic or contested area.

## **2.8 Inspection of the Duty**

Ofsted at first expected schools to demonstrate progress across a relatively wide spectrum, including, for example, creating cohesion with community groups not well represented within the school (Ofsted 2008). Criteria were developed that could grade schools from 'outstanding' to 'unsatisfactory.' Some of these areas of activity were seen by many teachers as, practically speaking, beyond what they felt they could reasonably attempt to do. Over the period of compulsory inspection, the criteria were narrowed by Ofsted to make them more manageable and practicable so far as evidencing is concerned. In its revised guidance to inspectors (Ofsted 2010), Ofsted focused increasingly on schools' efforts to become internally more cohesive. This was seen as more manageable and, arguably, had the effect of providing a clearer limit as to what was reasonable. Under the revised framework, schools were required to show that they understood the make-up of their school community and that they had identified issues to be addressed and developed an action plan. They were then asked to put forward evidence of impact. Many teachers told us that their early uncertainties had tended to disappear but nevertheless, the task of evidencing impact of cohesion policies was still far from easy. As one senior secondary teacher put it:

I actually feel there's lots of things going on in the school that promote community cohesion. It's a matter of pulling it together and making it work and I know that we have to show impact and that's the thing that really sort of bugs me a little bit. I mean what does that mean?

Other heads spoke of the lack of objective benchmarks, difficulties of standardisation between schools and the problems they faced in proving causal links between particular initiatives and the alleged impact for the purposes of inspection. This lack of precision with which impact can be measured was worrying for a number of schools. Some had received a disappointing grade for their cohesion work and felt aggrieved that inspectors had not recognised their efforts. One school received a better than expected grade ('Good'), even though they admitted that the evidence of impact was still inconclusive. Further, the fact that these judgements contributed to the public grading of the school on which much depended

added to the frustration:

I don't think there's anyone that would disagree that community cohesion is extremely important – but it's the fact that it's then left up to the individual schools to try and fight their way through and say “Well how are we going to do this?” A lot of it is hit and miss, it's very inconsistent [...] and yet we're judged on it, rightly or wrongly, we're judged on it.

## **2.9 Benefit or Burden?**

Overall, the initial uncertainty, which our data suggest was widespread, gradually began to give way to varying degrees of clarity as schools sought guidance, spoke with colleagues in other schools and in their local authorities and began to address the issues which appeared to them to be most relevant in their own situations and of the highest salience within their own school communities:

Probably when it first came in it was a real burden because there wasn't enough information given to schools as to how to deal with that. So it became something else to do. How are we going to fit it in? What does it look like? All that sort of thing. But I think as time's gone on and we've looked to unpick it and actually realise that certainly for us as a school, there are a lot of things that we do do, which we may not have labelled community cohesion, but it's just part of our everyday bread and butter, because we couldn't teach these children and improve where they're at [without it].

This latter point recurred time and again in responses. Schools, particularly those in areas which are socially turbulent, deprived or fractured, recognised the need to address a whole range of issues facing the families and the communities they serve, in order to optimise students' personal development and learning. Indeed, many schools in these settings saw the duty as a welcome confirmation of the importance of the efforts they had been making in this regard over considerable lengths of time, sometimes without due credit, in view of the public emphasis on standards.

Despite very genuine objections to the time and burden of reporting on efforts to promote the duty, the overall response from our sample, was that its imposition had been, on balance, more of a benefit than a burden. (The responses averaged 2 on the Likert scale exercise, where 1 was most positive.) This kind of balanced response is well represented by the judgement of one of the primary heads in our sample who weighed things up in this way:

I hate to say it, but I don't think it would have come up to the top of my agenda had I not been pushed, because I'm so busy with other issues

that it almost has to be that before I can find the time and prioritise this. Because although I felt that I was quite good at that area – and the staff did – this year with even greater focus, we thought, “Let’s really embed it into the curriculum instead of playing at it by doing ‘culture week’ or whatever.” And so I have spent masses of time trying to embed it through the two-year cycle with the visits and something that really makes the children very knowledgeable. So I probably did need it because it would not have got to the top of my agenda in the way it has now. But I could do without the stress, yes, sure.

### **3 Discussion**

The duty to promote community cohesion as enshrined in the 2006 legislation prompted a range of responses from teachers and advisers in local authorities. In the first instance, its formulation, especially its open-ended nature, created problems of definition and many schools found it difficult to conceive of what was expected of them and how to meet the inspection criteria. If we understand policy making as a process, or ‘discourse’ as much as ‘text’ (Ball 2000, 1831), then it is possible to see a development of understanding and practice within the time period of the study on the part of teachers and, certainly, the inspectorate, if not the QCDA. It has been noted that the non-statutory guidance was open-ended in its references to community-based activities and that Ofsted’s broad-based early criteria were later modified to focus more on the school as a cohesive community. This we have seen to be very much in line with the emerging view of the majority of schools in our sample.

As Ball (2000, 1832) notes ‘policy texts are rarely the work of single authors or a single process of production. [...] It is crucial to recognise that the policies themselves, the texts, are not necessarily clear or closed or complete.’ The lack of policy clarity in this case was a challenge for schools to negotiate. Further, the racialised emphasis of the policy context at the time of the duty’s introduction meant that many schools struggled to see how to embed community cohesion in their own contexts. The reality was that all schools faced issues of cohesion but some were rendered much less visible by the way in which the policy was drafted, supported and discussed. However, in such schools we noted that a number of cohesion-related issues had been addressed, including inter-generational barriers, anti-social behaviour and the needs of groups such as young carers, which the guidance had not highlighted. It is worth noting that some schools had been reluctant to take part in our study – which may indicate uncertainty regarding their approach or even resistance to the initiative. We did encounter various forms of resistance to the policy, or at least to its wholehearted endorsement. Sometimes this was because other priorities were more pressing. In other schools, lack of time and resources had actually undermined teachers’ attempts to engage in activities, particularly time and resource-heavy ones such as school linking.

Across the schools in our sample, ranging from the ‘mono-cultural’ to the highly multi-cultural, teachers aspired to the view of schools as values-based



learning communities where the content of the curriculum at each stage of education is carefully scrutinised and developed to promote positive values of tolerance, respect, equality and fairness, based on methods which encourage critical reasoning and democratic discourse. This is reinforced by the values explicitly endorsed by staff and consistently worked through in policy and practice throughout the whole school community and expressed particularly in its ethos.

Pykett (2010, 98) notes how the personal and public aims of education become entangled within teachers' conceptualisations. Within the original intention of the Act is the summoning up of a particular type of idealised 'public' (Mahoney 2010) or community and yet teachers noticeably avoided defining cohesion in these terms. Instead, they focused on the personal characteristics, as they saw them, of the type of 'public citizen' (Pykett, *ibid.*) which would be required to create a cohesive community. Further, teachers held back from the language of the policy documents in respect of 'valuing' diversity, preferring instead to use words such as 'respect' and 'tolerance.' This re-framing seems to be based on a belief in the limits to which public policies can or should influence private values, in this case, those of students and parents. Also, such re-framing was in favour of practices that schools felt to be more in keeping with how they defined their work - what Goffman would term their 'primary framework' (Goffman 1974). Teachers appeared to show little interest in the macro-level policy debates surrounding whether schools should promote 'multi-culturalism,' 'assimilation' or 'integration.' However, whilst displaying great respect for cultural diversity, in practice our respondents stopped short of the full-blown multi-cultural model insofar as there were limits to their toleration of practices and values which go against certain perceived fundamental values of British society, most notably the key value of equality for all.

One of the obstacles to educational change is 'initiative overload' and an observable form of resistance in schools is to respond cautiously, waiting to see if the initiative will quickly pass. In the current example, 'community cohesion' was a Labour response to what was seen as a significant threat to social harmony. However, following the general election of 2010, the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government signalled its preference for 'integration' over 'cohesion' and for reducing the bureaucratic burden on schools. As a result, Ofsted's responsibility to inspect it was removed from the new framework introduced in January 2012 but, significantly, the duty itself remains in place. In effect, whilst this removes an administrative and reporting burden from the schools, it still requires them to conduct their affairs in ways which promote, rather than undermine, social harmony - a policy framework that the government may believe is necessary to retain given the current proliferation of faith-based schools and the consequent loss of opportunities for students to spend their formative years in multi-cultural environments. Nonetheless, removing cohesion from inspection does seem to send out a message that the present government values it less highly than did the previous administration. Further, the evidence of this study is that the inspection of schools was a significant element in achieving development in the practice of many schools. Whether these 'gains' are sufficiently embedded to survive the removal of community cohesion from the inspection framework remains to be seen.

## 4 Conclusion

On balance, the data gathered in this study have led us to conclude that the term 'community cohesion' resonates positively with most teachers but within certain practical and philosophical limits. Negativity largely focused around the imposition and inspection of the duty rather than the underlying principle that social cohesion should be, at least, an indirect aim of education.

For all its ambiguities, the duty and its subsequent inspection undoubtedly had the effect of focusing the attention of many schools in ways they would not otherwise have done. As a result of the duty imposed in 2007, a considerable number of schools re-doubled their efforts in this area, supported by local authority staff and assisted by a range of other initiatives, developing new structures, strategies and projects from which large numbers of students reportedly benefited. The duty encouraged and gave teachers 'permission' to look at some of the more holistic issues surrounding teaching and learning and for a significant number of teachers this was welcomed as a re-focusing of official policy away from the narrowly instrumental approach that has driven the 'tests, tables and targets' culture that has dominated policy thinking for the past two decades or more.

For these reasons, we would argue that the legacy of the period during which the legal duty has been subject to inspection is likely to have been significant, if uneven and difficult to quantify.

## References

- Advisory Group on Citizenship (AGC). 1998. *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*. London.
- Ball, Stephen J. 2000. What is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes. In: Ball, Stephen J., ed. *Sociology of Education, Vol. IV, Politics and Policies*. London.
- Bowe, Richard; Ball, Stephen J.; Gold, Anne. 1992. *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case Studies in Policy Sociology*. London.
- Breslin, Tony. 2007. Citizenship Education and Identity Formation. In: Johnson, Nick, ed. *Britishness: Towards a Progressive Citizenship*. London.
- Covell, Katherine; Howe, Brian. 2001. Moral Education through the 3R's: Rights, Respect and Responsibility. In: *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 31-42.
- Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF); Department for Communities and Local Government (CLG). 2007. *Guidance on the Duty to Promote Community Cohesion*. London.
- Department for Education and Employment (DfEE); Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) 1999. *The National Curriculum for England: Citizenship*. London.
- Department for Education (DfE). 2010. *The Importance of Teaching: The*

Schools White Paper. London.

Glaser, Barney; Strauss, Anselm Leonard. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Newbury Park, CA.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame Analysis*. New York.

Independent Review Team. 2001. *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team (The Cattle Report)*. London.

Mahoney, Nick. 2010. *Mediating the Publics of Public Participation Experiments*. In: Mahony, Nick; Newman, Janet; Barnett Clive, eds. *Rethinking the Public: Innovations in Research, Theory and Politics*. Bristol.

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). 2006. *Towards Consensus? Citizenship in Secondary Schools*. London.

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). 2008. *Inspecting Maintained Schools' Duty to Promote Community Cohesion: Guidance for Inspectors*. London.

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). 2010. *Inspecting Maintained Schools' Duty to Promote Community Cohesion: Guidance for Inspectors*. London.

Pykett, Jessica. 2010. *Whose Education? Disentangling Publics, Person and Citizens*. In: Mahony, Nick; Newman, Janet; Barnett, Clive, eds. *Rethinking the Public: Innovations in Research, Theory and Politics*. Bristol.

Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). 2007. *The National Curriculum: Citizenship*. London.

Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency (QCDA). 2010. *Community Cohesion in Action*. Coventry.

UNICEF UK. 2011. *UNICEF Rights Respecting Schools Award*. (<http://www.unicef.org.uk/Education/Rights-Respecting-Schools-Award/>) accessed January 18, 2011.

*Ian Davies, Gillian Hampden Thompson, Maria Tsouroufli, Vanita Sundaram, Pippa Lord, Jennifer Jeffes, George Bramley*

## **Creating Citizenship Communities**

The project 'Creating Citizenship Communities' is funded by the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation and is being conducted by a partnership team from the Department of Education, University of York and the National Foundation for Educational Research. This article describes the project design and draws attention to issues emerging from data analysis. An indication is given of the actions to be taken with professionals and young people in light of the project findings. An argument is made for the need to co-ordinate work in schools by developing stronger liaison between citizenship education teachers and those responsible for whole school initiatives to promote community engagement; and helping teachers to build on young people's existing knowledge and expertise in community matters to help them understand and act more effectively in society.

### **Keywords**

Community, citizenship, education, barriers, facilitation, empirical research

## **1 The Political Context for Community and Citizenship**

It is clear that community and citizenship have been key factors in political debate for many years and this has been very explicitly so since at least the Clinton and Blair eras during which, respectively, Etzioni (1995) and Giddens (1994) advised about new ways of forming political frameworks or doctrines. During this period the general political climate was influenced by the implementation of the Human Rights Act 1998 which incorporates the European Convention on Human Rights into UK law; the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and a Welsh Assembly; and a new settlement between Britain and Northern Ireland, also involving devolved government (Osler, Starkey 2006). It is not surprising in the changing political and constitutional context that affects the relationship between nations, states, individuals and social groups that there would be a greater emphasis on both citizenship and community.

References to citizenship and community signal not only the ways in which change can be understood but also the means by which society intends to achieve equality and diversity whilst avoiding uniformity and fragmentation. In other words citizenship and community are both key concepts and social practices. They are key to understanding and practice in contemporary society due in part to significant ongoing changes. Later marriage, higher rates of divorce and new family structures are relevant to debates about the

ways we have of living together. Demographic changes are also part of this changing context. In 2007, 16 per cent of the population – almost 10m people – were aged 65 and over. By 2031, it is projected that the UK population will be 71.1 million, with 22 per cent of the population aged 65 and over (British Council). The people who belong to our communities are changing. 35% of the population in London is from non-White groups. Half of the 1.2 million pupils that attend schools in London are from minority ethnic groups (British Council). While there is much uninformed comment about immigration and asylum seekers (see Pinson, Arnot, Candappa 2010) surveys tend to show a fear of alteration to existing communities; “Britons are the most anxious about immigrants, an international survey of eight European and North American countries has suggested” (BBC, 4 February 2011). All these issues need to be considered in the context of fundamental issues about the perceptions of state and nation in the UK and the realities of citizenship and community engagement (Sears, Davies, Reid 2012).

As well as providing a way to understand key concepts and practices across society as a whole, citizenship and community have been given particular meaning in educational contexts. Since 2002 citizenship education has been a part of the National Curriculum (with community involvement one of the 3 constituent elements identified in the Crick Report) and there have been wider expectations placed on schools. Alan Johnson emphasised in 2006 (in his then role as Secretary of State for Education and Skills) the need for schools to promote community cohesion. Section 21(4) of the Education Act 2002 (as inserted by section 38 of the Education and Inspections Act 2006) required schools to conform. Elsewhere in this edition of JSSE (see the article by Rowe et al.) more detailed consideration is given to this legislation but the focus on community cohesion that was promoted owed much to the following characterisation:

“By community cohesion, we mean working towards a society in which there is a common vision and sense of belonging by all communities; a society in which the diversity of people’s backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and valued; a society in which similar life opportunities are available to all; and a society in which strong and positive relationships exist and continue to be developed in the workplace, in schools and in the wider community.” (Alan Johnson speaking in the House of Commons on 2 November 2006; see DfCSF 2007, 4).

More recently, Prime ministers Brown and Cameron have signalled their support for community; the latter with an emphasis on what he has termed ‘the big society.’ This common ground on the significance of community has not always meant that there is widespread agreement about its nature or purpose. Some of the different strands of the debates about citizenship and community can easily be illustrated. The preference for the civic republican approach (emphasising responsibilities in public contexts) is perhaps more closely associated with community oriented approaches than the liberal (emphasising rights of private individuals). The location of community and citizenship is debated with Crick, perhaps the principal architect of citizenship at a time when a communitarian-influenced government was in power, emphasising Arendt’s view to assert that “A citizen is by definition a

citizen among citizens of a country among countries.” (Crick 2000, 138). This would certainly be represented differently by those who emphasise global and identity-based conceptions of citizenship and community. Considerations of identity link closely to debates about diversity. Osler (2003) went so far as to claim that the Crick report “contains albeit unwittingly an example of institutionalized racism in its characterization of minorities.” (Osler 2003, 49). Gillborn (2006) argued that citizenship education was essentially “a public policy placebo ... a pretend treatment for institutional racism that gives the impression of action but is, in fact, without substance or effect.” (Gillborn 2006, 83). These allegations and interpretations implicitly raise issues about who is regarded as belonging to communities that are expected to be enhanced through citizenship. The Ajegbo Report (2007) provided a higher profile for citizenship and diversity and other related developments perhaps led to the incorporation of a wider characterisation of the distinctions between private and public (Kiwani 2008). Overarching characterisations of community and citizenship are concerned with the relative emphasis that would be placed on morality generally and, more particularly, religion. Some have suggested that religion is a positive force for community and citizenship (e.g. Arthur, Gearon, Sears 2010) while others (e.g. Heater 1999) have largely chosen not to discuss it or (e.g. Crick quoted in Arthur, Gearon, Sears 2010, 2) to argue explicitly that citizenship is secular. Crick’s answer to these matters was clear: “citizenship teaching not based on moral values and reasoning would either be mechanical and boring, or even dangerous – the apparent absence of values usually hides single-truth theories of value.” (Crick 2000, 130). But, he went on to explain: “Personal and Social Education (PSE), Religious Education (RE), moral education, whatever we call education specifically for values, are necessary but not sufficient conditions for good citizenship and good behaviour” (ibid.,129). Finally, the question of action, involvement and engagement need to be considered in relation to citizenship. Citizens are often exhorted to do something and it is the community in which those things are done. This seems to be the thrust of what was suggested by Heater and Oliver (1994):

“Individuals are citizens when they practise civic virtue and good citizenship, enjoy but do not exploit their civil and political rights, contribute to and receive social and economic benefits, do not allow any sense of national identity to justify discrimination or stereotyping of others, experiences senses of non-exclusive multiple citizenship and, by their example, teach citizenship to others.” (Heater, Oliver 1994, 6).

If we want a vibrant democracy, it seems straightforward to expect people to engage. Crick (2000) argued that: “Political activity by citizens is the very essence of a free society.” (Crick 2000, 130). And yet, we need to be cautious about what is meant by that engagement. It would not be helpful to propose that rights are only available when responsibilities are enacted. The seemingly obvious positions about justice in a democracy break down very readily if this sort of exchange is accepted too easily. If citizenship and its attendant rights are given only to those who take part actively we effectively exclude many people including the very young, the very old, those with

disabilities and so on. There needs to be a clearer consideration of the nature of what has been described as micro and macro participation (Pattie, Seyd, Whiteley 2004). The former focuses on the relationship between citizens and agents of the state (health, education, local planning decisions etc); the latter is concerned with activities that can directly influence the state at the national level (e.g. voting by an individual; collective action by pressure groups). It is possible that macro participation is decreasing while the micro in a less deferential society in which a teacher, doctor, local government official and others can be approached confidently in order to garner resources for an individual or very specific community may signal greater individual expression but also be may be self regarding, inconsistent and involve a reluctance to accept costs. It would be unwise to make too simple a connection between the fact of community engagement as an expression of all types of citizenship.

How can the disparate threads of these debates be identified and perhaps understood holistically? Annette (2003) has suggested that community as a whole may be characterised in several distinct ways: as a place or neighbourhood; as a normative ideal linked to respect, inclusion and solidarity; as something based on a politics of identity and recognition of difference; and, as a political ideal linked to participation, involvement and citizenship. Perhaps all that we can say with certainty is that community and citizenship offer spaces for debates about different issues and as such it is insufficient to see an emphasis on them as a panacea for many of the challenges that face society. There are concerns about what is intended by a call to strengthen community, or not intended but actually realized. It is possible that there is an implied rejection of the 'strangers' who are not members of the community that has been identified; a possible assumption or implication that all who are members have the same interests; that there might be an authoritarian firming up of the status quo (or desire to reinvent a mythical 'golden' age). Heater (1999) has suggested that:

“Communitarianism extracts from the republican tradition the concentration on a feeling of community and a sense of duty, though omitting from its programme the strand of direct political participation and, some would argue, crucially, the central republican concern for freedom.” (Heater 1999, 77).

The natures of community and citizenship mean that they are not in themselves simply 'good' things. And yet schools and other educational institutions have often emphasized their importance. The work of Henry Morris in relation to Cambridgeshire Village Colleges (Ree 1973), the establishment of the Leicestershire community comprehensives (including high profile schools such as Countesthorpe), the urban focus in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Midwinter 1973) of schools such as Abraham Moss Community School in Manchester and the current communitarian inspired thinking of governments from the 1990s which has been referred to above. In our project we seek to understand some of the complexities associated with these matters. We suspected from the beginning of the project that there were diverse understandings of citizenship and community and very different ways of acting to make a difference. We wish to more clearly

identify what young people and professionals think and do as they act as citizens in communities. We also want in light of the issues that emerge from an analysis of the data to encourage action. In light of our point about the likely diversity of opinion and action we feel that partnerships could usefully be established and developed between professionals and young people.

## **2 Project Methodology**

The central elements of the methodology for this project are a national online survey of schools followed by fieldwork in eight schools. These were preceded by an extensive literature review and secondary data analysis. The literature review was achieved by means of an extensive search of literature through academic data bases, analysing different types of literature (reviews, articles, reports, books and monographs, conference reports, information on current research studies and 'grey literature'), focusing on the secondary age phase (11-18) in work relevant to England. The analysis of secondary data provided some national context on young people's participation in community activities and sense of community cohesion with data taken from the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) including a nationally representative sample in 2004 with waves 1 (students aged 13/14 years) and 2 (students aged 14/15 years) and more precisely relevant data gathered from questions on community cohesion in wave 5 (students aged 17/18 years).

### *- Survey*

Some 800 schools were contacted in the online survey. A stratified sample was established with respect to urban and rural communities, the percentage of white British students and position in relation to the index of multiple deprivations. Target respondents were those staff with responsibilities for community cohesion and/or citizenship education. Four themes were pursued in line with key issues identified through the literature review and secondary data analysis. First, school context (i.e., school commitment/mission e.g. is citizenship/community central to the school ethos and characteristics of approach to citizenship/community; barriers and opportunities, e.g. student background, location, context, etc., and school-community/outreach links. Second, delivery (i.e. citizenship/community activities provided including volunteering opportunities and developing students' knowledge, skills and attitudes). Third, staff perspectives on students' experiences (i.e. students' sense of belonging to different types of community and students' motivations for taking part in community engagement). Fourth, impact (i.e. perceptions of student engagement in community and citizenship because of their school's approaches and the overall effectiveness of their school's approach). Data in the online school survey were gathered from 119 schools with 71% of individuals who responded having a curriculum responsibility; 47% school-



wide responsibility; 4% no curriculum responsibility. Seventy-four percent of the respondents saw themselves as teaching staff; 23% identified themselves as belonging to the senior management team and 3% declared that they were 'non-teaching.'

#### *- Fieldwork*

The fieldwork was conducted in 8 schools and was preceded by a pilot study conducted by 2 members of the project team and student researchers. The sample was drawn from a list of 39 schools in England that participated in the national online survey and agreed to be contacted to take part in the qualitative phase of this project. The selection of schools was directed by three main factors; geographical location (urban-rural), ethnic mix (predominantly white-ethnically diverse) and disadvantage (defined as neighbourhood deprivation). Sixteen focus group discussions were conducted with year 10 and year 11 students, and transcribed. We deliberately included undergraduate students to work with us during the data collection process in order to establish positive relationships and to help contribute to the validity of our interpretations. Focus group data was transcribed verbatim and analysed thematically by team members (Coffey, Atkinson 1996). The data were coded by the first author under the broad descriptive categories of the interview schedule, which were agreed by the research team through discussion as part of the collaborative team approach to analysis and in order to have inter-rater reliability (Richards, Richards 1995). It should be noted that while the research project is not completed, we are able to present some initial findings (and a series of papers may be seen at

<http://www.york.ac.uk/education/research/cresj/citizenship-communities/>).

### **3 Initial Findings and Discussion**

#### **3.1 The Characterization of Citizenship and Community**

It is clear that schools are hugely active in promoting citizenship education and community cohesion. In the online survey 98% of teachers report they develop students' sense of social responsibility. 98% say they help young people respect and celebrate diversity; 92% emphasise developing young people's sense of social justice; and 92% work to raise participation in the democratic process. Teachers do these things through a wide variety of strategies including linkages with local businesses (91%), charities (80%) and other schools with a different school population (77%); by opening up extended schools provision to others (67%); and, by encouraging local people to participate in volunteering and creating community spaces (60%). Teachers offer opportunities to discuss difficult issues, work with young people in inclusive environments, develop enterprise activities, and teach citizenship through lessons and whole school activities such as school councils. Significant attention is devoted to volunteering both formally and

informally.

In the field work it was revealed that young people's understanding of community varied within and across schools. Community was understood as a group of people with a shared identity, common purpose, interests and strong ties. Schools, youth clubs, face-book, sports teams, friendship groups, neighbourhoods, gay/lesbian, religious/ethnic groups and the police were described as communities. Groups of people coming together for a single event (e.g. the Royal wedding or the Olympic Games) were also described as communities. Notions of community were associated with civic engagement and the sustainability of a peaceful society. However, some young people felt that communities should not always be associated with 'do good' behaviour and good causes. Although all young people expressed strong beliefs against racism, some understood racist groups as communities because of their shared beliefs and practices. There were examples of limited understandings or perhaps defensiveness about the nature of community in practice. There were some tensions in the views expressed by young people and some differences between their views and those of teachers. Most young people felt they belong to their immediate communities, including the school and local communities. Young people in deprived areas and disadvantaged schools did not feel a sense of belonging to their school or their local communities. Young people's sense of belonging to the European, international and even the British community was very weak and strongly associated with parental influence and education, socio-economic status and the schools' strategies for citizenship education and community cohesion.

### **3.2 The Implementation of Education Related to Citizenship and Community**

Schools recognise that they face significant challenges in helping young people to understand and become constructively engaged in society. Emerging from the online survey was a range of interesting findings. Parents/carers were involved in the curriculum only in a third of schools. Only approximately two-fifths of respondents reported that they work with a preapproved list of organisations that provide opportunities for volunteering, and undertake outreach activities with the community to identify potential opportunities for students to volunteer. Only just over one-third of respondents (35%) have in place policies and systems to respond to opportunities provided by organisations that directly approach their school. Just over one-quarter of respondents (28 per cent) have in place policies and systems to support students to undertake volunteering opportunities they have identified themselves. Schools feel that young people are not widely involved in planning such activities and they lack the skills to do so. A substantial minority (two-fifths, 43 per cent) reported that only 'some' of their students feel valued as contributors. Less than half (42 per cent) reported that 'most' of their students think teachers are good at facilitating their ideas for community cohesion activities and a further two-fifths (40 per cent) reported that only 'some' of their students feel this is the case.

The fieldwork also suggested that interpretation and delivery of citizenship education varied across schools and was strongly associated with teachers' views, expertise and commitment, as well as the geographical location, socio-economic status and ethos of schools. Most young people reported that citizenship education focuses more on the curriculum and less on building relations with the community. Young people's experiences of citizenship education clearly demonstrate emphasis on discussion of topical issues (e.g. racism, cultural and religious diversity, health attitudes, the 2011 riots and civic behaviour); some attention to extra curriculum activities, field-trips and projects, particularly in schools in affluent areas; and very rarely action in the community, such as visiting an old people's home or taking part in international festivals aiming to celebrate diversity and difference. Active engagement of parents and families in community action and support for disadvantaged students was weak in nearly all the schools that participated in the qualitative phase of the project. This might indicate a need of schools to expand their strategies for engaging families, parents, local communities and also for providing support to young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.

### **3.3 Taking Part**

The above difficulties of characterising and implementing citizenship and community may be further explored in relation to who is seen as an active participant. In the online survey the vast majority (78 per cent) of respondents reported that their high achieving students are more likely than their peers to do voluntary work or take part in community activities. 71 per cent reported that this was the case for their high ability students. Respondents reported most strongly that students from a disadvantaged background are less likely than their peers to do voluntary work or take part in community activities (38 per cent reported that this was 'less likely'). That said, over half of schools proactively work to support students from disadvantaged backgrounds through, for example, engaging mentors and roles from students' communities (71%), working with organisations with expertise in engaging disadvantaged young people (63%), and subsidising transport so that young people can take part in community based activities (52%).

The data from the fieldwork suggest that although teachers' practices and school policies aimed at fostering a sense of community and promoting community cohesion, young people's experiences suggest that citizenship strategies were not always effective. Some young people discussed tensions and divisions among some ethnic and religious communities in schools with a diverse student population. When prompted to discuss their views and experiences further, most young people reported lack of interest and knowledge of diversity and difference in schools and the wider British society. Many young people felt that community cohesion on a local and national level is weak and incompatible with the diversity of languages, religions and ethnicities in Britain. This might indicate a need for schools to continue to explore and promote citizenship education and community cohesion strategies for positive interactions and a sense of togetherness

among young people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

#### **4 Conclusions**

It seems clear that citizenship and community are key terms in contemporary society and allow for discussion, debate and action. They are complex terms but teachers and young people are familiar with them and recognise that there are possibilities of constructive personal, social and political engagement. Generally, we need to know more about a series of key issues and questions of which three are given below.

First, we must be clearer about the sorts of engagement that are occurring. It is possible that citizenship and community are currently characterised as legitimated participation. It is possible that the full extent of young people's understandings and engagements are not being considered as having educational potential. We have data that require further analysis in relation, for example, to the meaning and extent of volunteering, to what extent local involvement in the form of activity outside the family and other close personal networks can be seen as only part of the picture of engagement and whether virtual participation is a strong feature of young people's experience.

Secondly, we need to know more about who is taking part. Our initial analyses of data suggest that lower status students are perceived to take part less frequently than others generally and perhaps especially in relation to school organised activities. We must be careful not to interpret these data simplistically. There is some evidence that urban youth from deprived neighbourhoods already make contributions to – and have a detailed and highly specialized knowledge of – their local communities (Alexander 2008; Atkins, Hart 2003; Flanagan, Faison 2001). But allied with the findings that disadvantaged communities do not facilitate community engagement as effectively as other contexts, some research has suggested that those from lower socio-economic backgrounds, in particular, may be less likely to engage in civic action (Andrews 2008; Kahne, Middaugh 2008) and we are minded, currently, to concur.

Third, we need to explore further issues in our data about why people engage in the community. Some of our respondents suggest that students feel disempowered. The question of why people engage may be considered in relation to a wide variety of factors including individually framed social and altruistic tendencies, preferences for civic action in which issues are identified and acted upon and more entrepreneurial approaches in which participants are attempting to develop particular skill sets and generate advantage in relation to potential future opportunities in education and employment. Engagement is generally felt to occur if resources are available to the young person (in terms of time and money) and, in relation to what has been referred to as civic capital, “whether or not the young person has the knowledge, networks, and skills to be able to act upon a civic issue of concern.” (Cremin et al. 2009). Perhaps common to engagement is a sense of personal efficacy (ibid). If a young person feels that they can make a difference then it would not be unreasonable to expect engagement to

follow.

Fourth, the above leads us to suggest that more work is needed to explore the barriers and facilitation to engagement. Our data suggest that there are obstacles facing both young people and professionals. There may be broad societal factors that may help to explain this. The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) (see Halsey, White 2008), for example, have shown that young people are negatively – and inaccurately – perceived in relation to responsibility for crime (adults think that young people are responsible for half of all crimes whereas the figure is actually 12%). In this context, it might be tempting for teachers and others to feel that reform of young people is needed rather than a continuation of positive action by them. It may be necessary to explore the strategies and tactics that may help in the engagement of more people (e.g. Whiteley 2004; Davies, Flanagan, Hogarth, Mountford, Philpott 2009; Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004; Sinclair 2004; Keating et al. 2009).

What then are our overarching conclusions? Clearly there is much good work already being done both by young people and by teachers and other professionals and there is clearly much still to be understood and acted upon. In relation to the specifics of our initial analysis of data in the wider context of relevant literature we wish to highlight two challenges. Firstly, there may be a lack of connection between work in schools and the lives of young people beyond school. Young people know a good deal about their communities but this may not be taken fully into account by teachers. Secondly, there may be a lack of co-ordination between the citizenship education teacher and those in the school charged with the responsibility for strengthening community involvement. In the survey, the vast majority of schools declare their commitment to both citizenship education and community cohesion but respondents less commonly reported that their schools had specific objectives or targets which *linked* citizenship with the community: just under two-fifths (39 per cent) indicated that their school had specific objectives or targets around citizenship and/or working with the community reported that these linkages are made. We intend to continue our exploration of the data and to develop initiatives that will be of use to professionals who aim to educate young people and to help young people directly as they continue to understand and contribute to their communities.

## References

- Ajegbo, Keith. 2007. Diversity and Citizenship: Curriculum Review. London.
- Alexander, Catherine. 2008. Safety, Fear and Belonging: The Everyday Realities of Civic Identity Formation in Fenham, Newcastle upon Tyne. In: ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geography, Vol. 7, No. 2, 173-198.
- Andrews, Rhys. 2008. Civic Engagement, Ethnic Heterogeneity, and Social Capital in Urban Areas: Evidence from England. In: Urban Affairs Review OnlineFirst. (<http://uar.sagepub.com/content/44/3/428>) accessed

September 4, 2012.

Annette, John. 2004. Community, Politics and Citizenship Education. Citizenship and Community. In: Lockyer, Andrew; Crick, Bernard; Annette, John, eds. Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice. Farnham.

Arthur, James; Gearon, Liam; Sears, Alan. 2010. Education, Politics and Religion. Abingdon.

Atkins, Robert; Hart, Dan. 2003. Neighbourhoods, Adults and the Development of Civic Identity in Urban Youth. In: Applied Development Science, Vol. 7, No. 3, 156-164.

Cremin, Hilary; Warwick, Paul; Harrison, Tom; Mason, Carolynne. 2009. Building Voice, Civic Action and Learning: What Can We Learn from Young People Living in Socio-Economically Disadvantaged Communities? Unpublished paper.

Crick, Bernard. 2000. Essays on Citizenship. London.

DfCSF (Department for Children, Schools and Families). 2007. Guidance on the Duty to Promote Community Cohesion. Nottingham.

Davies, Ian; Flanagan, Bernie; Hogarth, Salvia; Mountford, Paula; Philpott, Jenny. 2009. Asking Questions about Participation. In: Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, Vol. 4, No. 1, 25-40.

Etzioni, Amitai. 1995. The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda. London.

Flanagan, Constance A.; Faison, Nakesha. 2001. Youth Civic Development: Implications of Research for Social Policy and Programs. In: Social Policy Report, Vol. XV, No. 1. Ann Arbor, M.I.: Society for Research in Child Development.

Giddens, Anthony. 1994. Beyond Left and Right - The Future of Radical Politics. Cambridge.

Gillborn, David. 2006. Citizenship Education as Placebo: 'Standards,' Institutional Racism and Education Policy. In: Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, Vol. 1, No. 1, 83-104.

Halsey, Karen; White, Richard. 2008. Young People, Crime and Public Perceptions: A Review of the Literature (LGA Research Report F/SR264). Slough.

Heater, Derek. 1999. What is Citizenship? Cambridge.

Heater, Derek; Oliver, Dawn. 1994. The Foundations of Citizenship. London.

Institute for Volunteering Research. 2004. Young People and Volunteering: Preliminary Findings and Emerging Lessons from Primary Research. Paper prepared for the Russell Commission. London.

Kiwan, Dina. 2008. Education for Inclusive Citizenship. Abingdon.

Kahne, Joseph; Middaugh, Ellen. 2008. Democracy for Some - The Civic Opportunity Gap in High School. CIRCLE Working Paper 59. The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement. Tufts

University.

Keating, Avril; Kerr, David; Lopes, Joana. 2009. Embedding Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in England (2002-2008). CELS 7th annual report. DCSF research report 712. London.

Osler, Audrey. 2003. Citizenship Education and the Future of Multiethnic Britain. In: Gearon, Liam, ed. Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School. London.

Osler, Audrey; Starkey, Hugh. 2006. Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Review of Research, Policy and Practice 1995-2005. In: Research Papers in Education, Vol. 24, 433-466.

Pattie, Charles; Seyd, Patrick; Whiteley, Paul. 2004. Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy. Cambridge.

Pinson, Halleli; Arnot, Madeleine; Candappa, Mano. 2010. Education, Asylum and the 'Non-Citizen' Child: The Politics of Compassion and Belonging. Basingstoke.

Ree, Harry. 1973. Educator Extraordinary: The Life and Achievement of Henry Morris. London.

Sears, Alan; Davies, Ian; Reid, Alan. in press. From Britishness to Nothingness and Back Again. In: Mycock, Andrew; McGlynn, Catherine, eds. Britishness, Identity and Citizenship: The View From Abroad. Bern.

Sinclair, Ruth. 2004. Participation in Practice: Making it Meaningful, Effective and Sustainable. In: Children and Society, Vol. 18, No. 2, 106-118.

Whiteley, Paul. 2004. A Health Check for British Democracy: What Do We Know About Participation and its Effects in Britain? Swindon.

*Pedro D. Ferreira, Joaquim L. Coimbra, Isabel Menezes*

## **“Diversity within Diversity” - Exploring Connections between Community, Participation and Citizenship**

Even if recently the notions of citizenship and community have become buzz words of very positive connotation, significant tensions underlie any of them: between homogeneity and difference, belonging and diversity, inclusion and exclusion and, more recently, between freedom and security. Real communities are places of cooperation and mutual recognition as much as they are places of inevitable conflict, social control and exclusion. Following an ecological and contextual perspective, and a relational definition of community, concepts such as sense of community and social capital are explored. An analysis of citizen’s participation in their communities illustrates significant dimensions of participation: power, dialogue, initiative, formality, pluralism and time. The discussion considers how these dimensions might contribute to making community organizations turn into ‘schools of democracy’ (de Tocqueville 2000), and illustrates this potential with young migrants, as long as the diversity of diverse migrant groups is not only recognized but furthered.

### **Keywords**

Community, participation, citizenship, diversity, power, democracy

## **1 Community as a Context for Citizenship**

Community and citizenship share significant commonalities, mainly because their paramount, and often loose, use risks generating significant misconceptions. On both cases, the apparent emancipatory character of the concept eludes the fact that underlying the very notion of citizenship or community significant tensions between homogeneity and difference, belonging and diversity, inclusion and exclusion and, more recently, between freedom and security do exist. Citizenship has been, as we know, severely contested for suggesting a misleading consensual, not to mention transcendental definition (e.g. Beiner 1995; Haste 2004; Menezes 2005; Pais 2005; Taylor 2005; Torres 2001), criticized for its unrecognized pressure for equality and universality that risks denying diversity and pluralism (e.g. Young 1995), and denounced as an exclusionary category (“us” vs. “them”) that conventionally includes some individuals and groups, while excluding others (e.g., Benhabib 1999; Santos 1998). Community has similar threats: “community is a rather ambiguous concept which has (...) a wide variety of, some contradictory, meanings, serving the interests of ideologically distinct interest groups” (Coimbra, Menezes 2009, 90). Community, even if



frequently romanticized, is not only the *locus* of the “us myth” (Weisenfeld 1996), a place of mutual respect, help and cooperation—closely related to the notion of *Gemeinschaft* proposed by Tönnies (1925), that emphasizes solidarity and belonging. Communities are also places of inevitable conflict (positive and not so positive), exclusion and social control (Coimbra, Menezes 2009; Montero 2004; Putnam 2007; Towley et al. in press).

The recognition of this tension becomes more and more essential “as communities around the world become increasingly more diverse in terms of ethnicity and global perspectives, while also confronting growing concerns about inequalities, isolation, marginalization, and alienation” (Towley et al. in press). In this context, diversity and pluralism should be, not only recognized as inevitable features of community life, but also valued as essential for fostering individual and collective development. Moreover, as Chantal Mouffe (2002, 8-10) argues “the specificity of modern democracy is precisely its recognition and legitimation of conflict. (...) Consensus is necessary, but it must be accompanied by dissent,” and more deeply, dissent opens the possibility for equality (Rancière 2005).

In fact, the recognition and valuing of both belonging and diversity within communities has led community psychologist James Kelly (1966, 1970, 1971, 1986, 2010; Kingry-Westergaard, Kelly 1990) to propose an ecological metaphor, founded in epistemic contextualism. The *ecological metaphor* emphasizes the interdependence between individuals and their social environments, recognizing the distinctive culture and resources of each community, and the need to establish trust relationships with community members and to work collaboratively with them. Furthermore, it also implies tolerance for, and appreciation of, diversity “not expressed passively as a spongy attitude (...) [but as] the quality of putting the resources [of a community] to work to help secure options for a long-term cultivation of a locale.” (Kelly 1971, 900). The implications of this perspective also involve viewing communities not only *in-need-of* but also *with-resources-to*, surpassing essentialist and “blaming the victim” perspectives (Ryan 1971) that reinforce internalizing guilt and oppression (Freire 1968; Nelson, Prilleltensky 2005).

Conceptualizing the various conceptual layers of what a community is can benefit from the theoretical and empirical work on sense of community (SOC) and social capital. Psychological SOC was originally defined by Saranson (1974, 41) as “the sense that one belongs in and is meaningfully part of a larger collectivity,” a definition that obviously emphasizes identification and interdependence with others. McMillan and Chavis (1986) later elaborated on the concept, to distinguish four main components: belonging, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. Belonging refers to membership, and therefore implies the definition, either immaterial or tangible, of boundaries that involve an “us” vs. “them” distinction. Influence refers to the circulation of power within the community, either conjointly or more centralized. Integration and fulfillment of needs characterizes the symbolic or real benefits of belonging to a community, in terms of access to material or expressive resources, such as support or ideologies. And the shared emotional connection describes the bond the results from interaction and is particularly manifest in times of trouble and of celebration. According to the model, this “relational” definition of community can be applied to

geographical locations, to institutional milieus and even to virtual on-line contexts (Bess et al. 2002) and there is research to show that these dimensions (whether or not independent) are important parts of the experience of connection with a community and are strongly and positively associated with personal wellbeing, social support, psychological empowerment and satisfaction; moreover, research has also shown that sense of community is a significant predictor of civic participation and volunteering (Obst, White 2004; Omoto, Malsch 2005; Peterson, Speer, Hughey 2006; Rodgers, Smith, Pollock 2002). Not surprisingly, SOC had been criticized for not emphasizing conflict and diversity within communities since, as Trickett (1994, 585) points out, it is important to recognize “diversity within diversity” – this also includes recognizing that, in spite of intense similarities from the point of view of culture and history, communities evolve, change and diverge over time (Birman, Trickett, Buchanan 2005; Montero 2004; Sonn 2002). In fact, “ignoring diversity within communities has also been used historically, and continues to be used, for purposes of control and management by members of dominant cultures” (Towley et al. in press). Moreover, individuals express sense of community in relation to multiple contexts and this subjective balance of belongings which, again, resonates with the definition of a lived citizenship that counterbalances a “formal,” “normative” citizenship also integrates different within-individual layers of conflict and engagement.

The various conceptualizations of social capital, both as an individual (Bourdieu 1986) and contextual variable (Coleman 1988; Putnam 2001, 2007) also illuminate these multiplicities. Portes (1998, 2) even points out that

“despite its current popularity, the term does not embody any idea really new to sociologists. That involvement and participation in groups can have positive consequences for the individual and the community is a staple notion, dating back to Durkheim’s emphasis on group life as an antidote to anomie and self-destruction and to Marx’s distinction between an atomized class-in-itself and a mobilized and effective class-for-itself.”

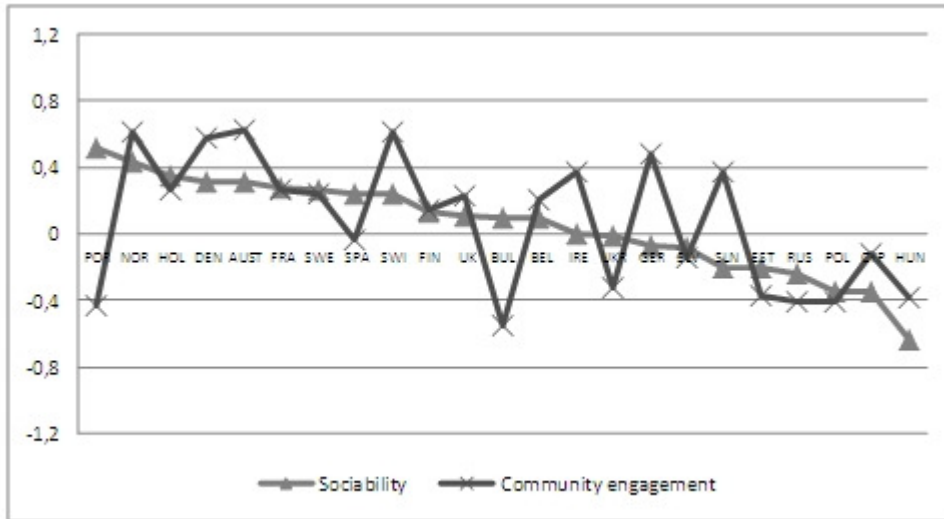
Bourdieu (1986, 51) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual and potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition.” Whether or not the underlying groups (e.g., families, clubs ...) consciously acknowledge and target it, this network of connections confers the individual symbolic, cultural or even economic forms of capital, reproduced through “an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (Bourdieu 1986, 52). Therefore, social capital is a resource possessed by individuals that might mediate the achievement of relevant life goals, both material and expressive.

For Coleman (1988) social capital refers to the characteristics of social structures that facilitate action, such as trust, norms or authority structures. This vision of social capital as a contextual variable was taken further by Robert Putnam (1993, 1995, 2001, 2007) that operationalizes three

constituting dimensions: *dense social networks*, where people have the opportunity to participate in both formal structures, such as civic associations, and informal socializing activities; *generalized interpersonal trust*, that is, the belief that “other people” in general are trustworthy; and *norms of reciprocity* that involve valuing procedural justice as a strategy to solve problems and conflicts. The first dimension is considered as the milestone of the concept, as it is through active participation in the community that interpersonal trust and norms of reciprocity are developed together with a large array of civic competencies that are essential for the quality of democracy. Putnam’s initial research in the North and the South of Italy (1993) was then applied to an analysis of the situation in the United States (1995). It was this argument that contributed to the immense notability of the concept, that is: that lower levels of participation in community life – the “bowling alone” phenomena, – accompanied with growing isolation and privatization of personal life. “In the 1990s, as Americans’ social connections withered, they increasingly watched *Friends* rather than had friends” (Sander, Putnam 2010, 10) – accounted for a decline in civic and political engagement and participation that was an important threat to democratic life. However, Putnam (2007, 138) has emphasized that “although networks can powerfully affect our ability to get things done, nothing guarantees that what gets done through networks will be socially beneficial.” In fact, Putnam proposes an important distinction between *bonding* and *bridging* social capital, the first clearly more in tune with Bourdieu’s (1986) description of homogenous groups that emphasize sociability and recognition (such as, for instance, Rotary clubs), and the latter more descriptive of groups and associations, more or less heterogeneous, whose mission is to have an impact in the larger community, generating some degree of social change (such as, for instance, the Amnesty International).

In an analysis of the 2006 European Social Survey data, we considered how these two forms of social capital vary across Europe (Ferreira, Menezes in press). The indicators are variables related to the intensity of meeting family and friends (bonding social capital) and the level of engagement in community-based civic organizations for volunteering, solving local problems, etc. (bridging social capital). Results (standardized values) show a very interesting pattern of combination between the two forms of social capital (Figure 1). For instance, Portugal has the most intense level of sociability, but community-based civic engagement is one of the lowest; Norway, Denmark and Austria reveal very high levels of both forms of social capital; as we move to the East, Central and Eastern European countries reveal less sociability, but the levels of community-based civic engagement are high in countries with a longer democratic transition. On the whole, results seem to suggest that complex interactions between democratic history and culture might account for variations in forms of social capital.

Figure 1. Variations in forms of social capital across Europe



Note: Countries included were: Portugal (POR); Norway (NOR), Holland (HOL); Denmark (DEN); Austria (AUST); France (FRA); Sweden (SWE); Spain (SPA); Switzerland (SWI); Finland (FIN); United Kingdom (UK); Bulgaria (BUL); Belgium (BEL); Ireland (IRE); Ukraine (UKR); Germany (GER); Slovakia (SLV); Slovenia (SLN); Estonia (EST); Russia (RUS); Poland (POL); Cyprus (CYP) and Hungary (HUN).

Therefore, a major implication of these theoretical conceptualizations of communities is that, although engagement and participation are decisive and might have important consequences for the quality of citizenship and democracy, it is of extreme relevance to explore and scrutinize the various forms, meanings and uses of participation by individual citizens in a specific cultural context.

## 2 Community and the Possibilities of Participation

The notion that citizens should be involved and participate in decisions and actions (intervention, civic or other) affecting and transforming community is widely supported, or as Arnstein (1969, 216) puts it, “(t)he idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you.”

It is possible to trace these discourses almost half a century back, at least in some countries, but their intensification, and the greater emphasis on the need for more citizen participation and involvement is observable for a couple of decades (May 2006; Rowe, Frewer 2005; Saurugger 2010). In the US, for example, in the late sixties, Burke (1968, 287) was already writing that the participation of citizens in community planning “increased rapidly in the past few years to the point where it is now a fairly common and frequently praised practice,” and by the late seventies Glass (1979, 180) considered it to be “a commonplace element.” Changes in legislation, and the pressure exerted by citizens themselves, increased the opportunities and demands for participation (Burke 1968). Already (immediately) then,

beyond the apparent consensual support, participation was seen as desirable yet problematic and diverse (Arnstein 1969; Burke 1968; Glass 1979) participation practices were valued (and idealized) for their connection to the extension and deepening of democracy but they were also seen as source of excessive criticism, community conflict and confusion. Now, more than forty years later, and at least twenty years after the (intensification of the) “participatory turn” (Saurugger 2010), the issues surrounding citizen participation in social and community settings are surprisingly similar: the tensions between participatory democracy and expertise in decision-making; the critical question of how (and which) groups are excluded from participation and how the participation contexts deal with matters of plurality and diversity; and the realization that citizen participation is not only (or not always, or even not often) what it promises to be “redistribution of power” (Arnstein 1969, 216) but a strategy and a technique to pursue other ends and the ends of others (White 1996).

It should not be ignored that participation is a bundle of many different things. From public and community participation to civic or political participation it involves many somewhat distinct and sometimes overlapping kinds of actions, contexts, and research. We will explore that diversity in (hopefully) bringing together perspectives on types of participation, and highlighting its differentiating axis, in order to contribute to a reflection on how they (can) contribute to building (better or worse) communities and citizenship.

There are good reasons to start this analysis going back to Arnstein's (1969) work. Her typology is one of the most influential (May 2006) and already made clear that participation without real opportunities and power to affect the outcomes of the process is an empty ritual (White 1996). With power, or empowerment, as the main organizer, *The ladder of participation*<sup>1</sup> (Arnstein 1969) is set as a progression in terms of the power and control citizens hold: eight different levels organized in three groups. Level 1, *manipulation*, and Level 2, *therapy* appear grouped under *non-participation* since they are best understood as a contrived substitute for participation where those in a more powerful position manipulate the participants into supporting a (already decided) proposal or where the participation process' main/real objective is educating or “curing” the participants of their personal or social ills. Levels 3, 4 and 5, *informing*, *consultation* and *placation* all represent different *degrees of tokenism*. At this level participants still mostly lack any opportunity to make sure that their views or ideas have a real influence on the decision. They participate by being *informed*, but their opinions, ideas or information are not asked; they are *consulted* and so given the opportunity to state their view but have no way to ensure that they will be heard or attended to; they are *placated* by being granted a “seat at the deciding table” as advisers, unable to participate directly in the decision-making. Finally, in levels 6, 7 and 8, participants hold increasing degrees of citizen-control as they participate and negotiate as *partners*, or as they gain advantage over influencing the decision in *delegated power*, of finally when it is theirs the power over the decision and over how the decision is to be set in action, *citizen control*. Obviously, this typology has been challenged and adapted by different authors. Also dealing with public participation, and so with distinctions on how citizens (or the public) is involved in “agenda-setting,

<sup>1</sup> Some of the levels proposed by Arnstein (1969) bare a clear relationship with the strategies defined by Burke (1968).

decision-making, and policy-forming activities of organizations/institutions“ (Rowe, Frewer 2005, 253). Rowe and Frewer (2005) propose a typology (closely paralleling this one) but placing at the center not the level of citizen power or control but the *flow of information*. Their three main “types of public engagement“ are *public communication*, where the public is merely a receiver of information, *public consultation*, where, upon request, the public is involved in providing information but no formal dialogue ensues, and finally *public participation* where information is actually exchanged, some degree of dialogue (often in a group setting) as well as some degree of negotiation (Rowe, Frewer 2005).

A plethora of techniques, mechanisms and strategies to engage citizens in public participation have been designed and described over the years.<sup>2</sup> This proliferation reflects the need to combine the purposes of participatory initiatives with their particular objectives and contexts. Also, we believe, it derives from the tensions between two distinct (and sometimes and in some ways even contradictory) common purposes of citizen participation: achieving administrative goals and take part in determining policy or political decision. These two purposes are well described by Glass (1979). Following an administrative perspective the main purpose is “to involve citizens in planning and other governmental processes and, as a result, increase their trust and confidence in government, making it more likely that they accept decisions and plans and will work within the system when seeking solutions to problems,” while the citizen action perspective will focus on how participation can “provide citizens with a voice in planning and decision making in order to improve plans, decisions, and service delivery“ (Glass 1979, 181).

The “crucial tension between the radical language of empowerment-participation on the one hand and the consensual politics of delivery on the other“ (Dinham 2007, 184) is identifiable in many participatory efforts and reflects the double face of our political spheres: managing and ordering life with others, and challenging and recreating the possibilities of life in common. This is particularly salient in the current context. In a more interconnected world, problems appear more complex to solve. Preoccupied with resolving and ordering problems and needs, the managerial perspective has been dominant in most democratic countries (Head 2007), with its inherent elitism and “democratic deficit“ (Hindess 2002). Opportunities for broader inclusion and dialogue have been emerging. These sometimes challenge but other times merely extend and reinvent the same managerial logic, by increasing the levels of self-management without necessarily increasing the levels of self-determination, or by mobilizing (vulnerable) people to solve complex problems without mobilizing (the necessary) resources (and so having people share the responsibility while displacing guilt). Another relevant aspect of this renewed focus on dialogue between governments (local or national) and citizens, as individuals also but mainly as organized groups, creates new opportunities for involvement in the community sector and has the potential to bring not only better solutions but also gains in social capital, voice and influence to vulnerable groups and an augmented capacity for civic and political participation (Head 2007).

One of the most influential description and survey of political participation is

---

<sup>2</sup> Rowe and Frewer (2005) list about one hundred of them.

that conducted in the seventies by Verba et al. (1973, 1978). Their work provided statistical information on different political activities in different countries, and a proposal on how to group and organize them which became a reference for research in the domain. They distinguished four groups of electoral and non-electoral “political acts”: voting; campaigning activities (e.g. trying to persuade someone to vote for a certain party, giving money to political party or election activities, displaying or distributing campaign posters or leaflets, or attend an election rally); communal activity (e.g. contacting officials over a social problem, working with an informal group on some community issue, or being an active member of an organization involved in community affairs); particularized contacting (e.g. contacting officials over personal or family matters). Maybe even more interesting than these groupings are the *dimensions of participation* describing the “ways in which political activities might differ” (Verba et al. 1973, 236). Three at first, degree of initiative, conflict and scope of outcome, they were revised in 1978 (Verba et al. 1978) and two extra dimensions were added. They comprised:

“(1) the type of influence that was exerted by the act (whether it conveyed information about the actors' preferences and/or applied pressure for compliance); (2) the scope of the outcome (whether the act was aimed at affecting a broad social outcome or a narrow particularized outcome); (3) the degree of conflict with others involved in the activity; (4) the amount of effort and initiative required for the act; and (5) the amount of cooperation with others entailed by the act.” (Verba et al. 1978, 53).

By calling attention to the multidimensionality of political participation, this work contributed to a better understanding of the challenges and dynamics present in distinct opportunities for political participation in various contexts. It has also served as a background against which some revisions came to light. For example, according to a more recent revisiting of these “modes of participation,” Claggett and Pollock (2006, 600) found that “elite-driven acts and self-driven acts define a distinct dimension of political participation.” Another author who advanced a set of useful dimensions was Head (2007). He challenged us to consider differentiating types of participation based on (i) if it is an initiative of citizens or of the government, (ii) if it follows the formal channels of participation or if it happens outside of these channels, (iii) if it weak or strong (in terms of the power held by the citizens), (iv) if it focuses narrow or broad social issues and interests, and (v) if it is episodic or continuing.

Taken together, these various visions of participation, and of how it can be differentiated, point to some important considerations. To the two important organizers emphasized by those typologies of public participation that we presented, the degree of power distribution and the degree of effective dialogue, we should now add some other dimensions. One of the first ones to recall is that of the initiative, and to which extent are the citizens (organized or not) initiating the participatory efforts and setting the agenda and following (or not) the formal channels. Also important is to understand how broad or narrow is the focus which might relate to the

presence of pluralism and both conflict and cooperation which can be extended into longer collaboration and commitment if participation acts are continued over time.

One other relevant issue is how much of what is usually considered the community sector appears as constituting significant contexts for participation. Also because governments and institutions often seek (following a logic of broader inclusion and devolution) the participation of organized interests, associations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), social movements and other community groups gain importance as capacitated and capacitating contexts with a role in redistributing and equalizing power. Understanding how and how often can these organizations operate in ways consistent with the classical hope of them being “schools of democracy” (de Tocqueville 2000), and how do distinct types and dynamics of participatory efforts contribute to it – also through the kind of experiences they offer to those participating – requires a contextual, developmental and psychopolitically informed (Prilleltensky 2008; Prilleltensky, Fox 2007; Trickett 2009, Watts, Flanagan 2007) consideration of the quality of the participatory process (Head 2007) and of the participation experiences (Ferreira, Azevedo, Menezes 2012).

### 3 Concluding Reflections and Some Illustrative Results

Inescapably political, community and citizenship are both contested concepts and places of conflict (Benhabib 1999; Montero 2004; Mouffe 1993, 2002). In our communities, we all live these tensions and take part in them, although never equally. Beyond spaces of shared life and communality, it is essential that we recognize the lines that mark significant differences and the diversity that always exists within communities – even if not always equally visible – thus regarding the fact of pluralism (Arendt 2000) and the possibilities open by dissent (Mouffe 1993; Rancière 2005) for transformation and construction of just contexts for living.

Since one's well-being depends on positive community integration, meaningful participation and the amount of power enjoyed for self-determination in one's community become essential elements (García-Ramírez 2008; Prilleltensky 2008; Dinham 2007). A social climate favoring fairness, participation and expression is also related to sense of community (Vieno et al. 2005) and integration. Opportunities to participate – particularly in contexts open to others and diversity – in addition contribute to gains in social capital and to relationships of mutual recognition. Yet mutual recognition must lead to integration beyond adaptation. That means going beyond removing differences and erasing diversity, and creating the conditions for different groups – especially those in most vulnerable positions – to affirm their difference in a plural context and exercise civic and political rights (García-Ramírez 2008; Costoiu 2008; Young 1995).

Illustrating how the places where we live with others (and as others) mark how different groups see themselves as citizens and participate as such, it might be interesting to look at the results of the European research project



PIDOP<sup>3</sup> (Processes Influencing Democratic Ownership and Participation) that focus on the civic and political participation of youth, including migrant groups, in eight European countries (Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, UK). Analysing data from focus-groups with young people aged 16-19 and 20-26 years old, both national and migrants, Menezes et al. (2010) note significant cross-national similarities: participants express the belief that youth are 2<sup>nd</sup> class citizens, lacking a real voice in society, while they also consider that young people lack the knowledge, skills and resources to contribute in a more significant way – thus internalising a “popular” view of youth as unprepared for real “adult” citizen roles. It is also interesting that their visions of citizenship tend to combine legal, communitarian and moral visions, while recognizing severe problems of racism and discrimination across Europe. Not surprisingly, all groups express a severe distrust of politicians and ambivalent perceptions of the effectiveness of civic and political action. However, when reflecting on their daily lives, youth identify a diversity of civic and political experiences, mainly at the local level, revealing that they are active political actors, whether they explicitly recognize it or not. Social movements, NGOs, associations and other community groups are often the places where they find the opportunities to become more involved. Obviously this does not mean that these participation experiences are always capacitating or politicizing but it reaffirms their potential role in extending and reinventing the exercise of democracy (de Tocqueville 2000) and in countering debilitating and excluding discourses faced by national and migrant youth.

These interesting commonalities should not obscure the differences between national communities and even specific migrant groups. In fact, in a recent analysis of the Portuguese data, Ribeiro et al. (in press) illustrate important variances between two groups of young migrants, Angolans and Brazilians. It should be noted that both groups come from Portuguese-speaking countries, but mostly Angolans have Portuguese citizenship and mostly Brazilians have not – also because it is quite likely that Portuguese-Angolans were born in the country or live in Portugal for many years, while Brazilians generally arrived in the late nineties. However, in both cases, legislation regarding political rights as migrants is quite inclusive, given the strong historical ties between Portugal, Angola and Brazil. However, access to citizenship and length of stay might account for the fact that Portuguese-Angolans express higher levels of political interest and attentiveness and stronger involvement in civic and political activities, when compared to Brazilians. Additionally, and interestingly, their strong sense of community in regard to their country of origin (or that of their parents, in the case of many Angolans) seems to interact with the nature of the current political regime in those countries and generate different profiles of daily civic and political engagement and involvement. Both (Portuguese-)Angolans and Brazilians express very strong feelings of identification and connection with their country of origin; however, while Brazilians seem to use this identity as an argument to restrict their political interest to domestic politics in Brazil, Angolans appear to become

“more motivated to participate as they look at the lack of meaningful

---

<sup>3</sup> PIDOP is a multinational research project (project number 225282) funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Programme.

opportunities for democratic participation that exist in their country of origin. Here, cultural capital plays a positive role fostering a particular interest and making these young migrants position themselves regarding the political conditions of the host country and the opportunities to participate in it.“ (s/p).

That is, in spite of an apparently similar sense of community, the way in which these young migrants evaluate the quality of the democratic culture in their country appears to influence their dispositions to engage in civic and political activities in the host country. These results suggest that complex interactions between access to citizenship, sense of community and political cultures might account for diverse participation profiles of young people with migrant backgrounds.

Much is expected from participation as a value-based concept but participation is many different things even if we look only at those acts of community and civic participation that became, in recent decades, a common presence in the discourse of various disciplines. Yet, practice shows that often this kind of participatory discourse leads to participants having their expectations about levels and types of participation unfulfilled, and to cynicism (Dinham 2007). A critical appreciation of the developmental and transforming potential of participation cannot ignore its underlying dynamics, tensions, the competing interests and purposes giving it shape and existence. As for these youth, better opportunities for community and civic participation should involve them in contexts where they could claim power (not to repeat what others say about them), where they could participate in affirming (instead of negating) their ways of being active and citizens. Since the meaning of power, as other social resources, is actively constructed in-context and, as we emphasised above, recognizing “diversity within diversity“ (Trickett 1994, 585) is essential to avoid domination.

## References

- Arendt, Hannah. 2000. Labor, Work and Action. In: Baehr, Peter R. The Portable Hannah Arendt. New York, 167-181.
- Arnstein, Sherry R. 1969. A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. In: Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 35, No. 4, 216-224.
- Beiner, Ronald. 1995. Introduction. In: Beiner, Ronald, ed. Theorizing Citizenship. New York, 1-28.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 1999. Citizens, Residents and Aliens in a Changing World: Political Membership in the Global Era. In: Social Research, Vol. 22, 1-24.
- Bess, Kimberly D.; Fisher, Adrian T.; Sonn, Christopher C.; Bishop, Brian J. 2002. Psychological Sense Of Community: Theory, Research and Application. In: Fisher, Adrian T.; Sonn, Christopher C.; Bishop, Brian J., eds. Psychological Sense Of Community: Research, Applications, and Implications. New York, 3-22.
- Birman, Dina; Trickett, Edison; Buchanan, Rebecca M. 2005. A Tale of Two

- Cities: Replication of a Study on the Acculturation and Adaptation of Immigrant Adolescents from the Former Soviet Union in a Different Community Context. In: *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 35, No. 1-2, 83-101.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson, John E., ed. *Handbook of Theory of Research for The Sociology of Education*. New York, 241-258.
- Burke, Edmund M. 1968. Citizen Participation Strategies. In: *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 34, No. 5, 287-294.
- Claggett, William; Pollock, Philip H. 2006. The Modes of Participation Revisited, 1980-2004. In: *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 4, 593-600.
- Coimbra, Joaquim L.; Menezes, Isabel. 2009. Society of Individuals or Community Strength: Community Psychology at Risk in at Risk Societies. In: *Journal of Critical Psychology, Counselling and Psychotherapy*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 87-97.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. In: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, 95-120.
- Costoiu, Andrada. 2008. Modes of Minorities' Integration: Explaining Historical, Economic and Political Factors. In: *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2-17.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. 2000. *Democracy in America*. Wiley Online Library.
- Dinham, Adam. 2007. Raising Expectations or Dashing Hopes?: Well-Being and Participation in Disadvantaged Areas. In: *Community Development Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 181-193.
- Ferreira, Pedro D.; Azevedo, Cristina N.; Menezes, Isabel. 2012. The Developmental Quality of Participation Experiences: Beyond the Rhetoric that "Participation is Always Good!". In: *Journal of Adolescence*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 599-610.
- Ferreira, Pedro D.; Menezes, Isabel. in press. Bem-estar e Participação Cívica E Política. In: Lima, M. L., org. *A Europa pela Positiva: Bem-estar e saúde em 23 países europeus*. Lisboa.
- Freire, Paulo. 1968. *A Pedagogia Do Oprimido*. São Paulo.
- García-Ramírez, Manuel. 2008. Integration New Immigrant in the New Europe: A Challenge for Community Psychology. In: *International Journal of Health and Social Care*, Vol. 4, 1-42.
- Glass, James J. 1979. Citizen Participation in Planning: The Relationship between Objectives and Techniques. In: *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 180-189.
- Haste, Helen. 2004. Constructing the Citizen. In: *Political Psychology*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 413-439.
- Head, Brian W. 2007. Community Engagement: Participation on Whose Terms?. In: *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 441-454.
- Hindess, Barry. 2002. Deficit by Design. In: *Australian Journal of Public*

Administration, Vol. 61, No. 1, 30-38.

Kelly, James G. 1966. Ecological Constraints On Mental Health Services. In: American Psychologist, Vol. 21, 535-539.

Kelly, James G. 1970. Antidotes for Arrogance: Training for Community Psychology. In: American Psychologist, Vol. 25, 524-531.

Kelly, James G. 1971. Qualities for the Community Psychologist. In: American Psychologists, Vol. 26, 897-903.

Kelly, James G. 1986. An Ecological Paradigm: Defining Mental Health Consultation as a Preventive Service. In: Prevention in Human Services, Vol. 4, 1-36.

Kelly, James G. 2010. Ecological Thinking: Four Qualities. In: Análise Psicológica, Vol. 3, No. 28, 389-393.

Kingry-Westergaard, Cynthia; Kelly, James G. 1990. A Contextualist Epistemology for Ecological Research. In: Tolan, Patrick; Key, Christopher; Chertok, Fern; Jason, Leonard, eds. Researching Community Psychology: Issues of Theory and Methods. Washington, D.C, 23-31.

May, John. 2006. Ladders, Stars and Triangles: Old and New Theory for the Practice of Public Participation. In: International Journal of Market Research, Vol. 48, No. 3, 305-319.

McMillan, David W.; Chavis, David M. 1986. Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory. In: Journal of Community Psychology, Vol. 14, 6-24.

Menezes, Isabel. 2005. De Que Falamos Quando Falamos De Cidadania? In: Pintassilgo, Joaquim; Carvalho, Carolina; Sousa, Florbela, eds. A Educação Para A Cidadania Como Dimensão Transversal Do Currículo Escolar. Porto, 13-22.

Menezes, Isabel; Lyons, Evanthia; Marten, Patrick; Coimbra, Joaquim L. 2010. Preliminary Results of Phase 1. Paper presented at the PIDOP Meeting, Surrey, University of Surrey, England.

Montero, Maritza. 2004. Introducción A La Psicología Comunitaria. Buenos Aires.

Mouffe, Chantal. 1993. The Return of the Political. New York.

Mouffe, Chantal. 2002. Politics and Passions: The Stakes of Democracy. London.

Nelson, Geoffrey; Prilleltensky, Isaac. 2005. Community Psychology: In Pursuit of Liberation and Well-Being. New York.

Obst, Patricia L.; White, Katherine M. 2004. Revisiting the Sense of Community Index: A Confirmatory Factor Analysis. In: Journal of Community Psychology, Vol. 32, No. 6, 691-705.

Omoto, Allen M.; Malsch, Anna M. 2005. Psychological Sense of Community: Conceptual Issues and Connections to Volunteerism-Related Activism. In: Omoto, Allen M., ed. Processes of Community Change and Social Action. Mahwah, 83-103.

Pais, José M. 2005. Jovens e Cidadania. In: Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas,

Vol. 49, 53-70.

Peterson, N. Andrew; Speer, Paul W.; Hughey, Joseph. 2006. Measuring Sense of Community: A Methodological Interpretation of the Factor Structure Debate. In: *Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 453-469.

Portes, Alejandro. 1998. Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. In: *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 24, 1-24.

Prilleltensky, Isaac. 2008. Migrant Well-Being Is a Multilevel, Dynamic, Value Dependent Phenomenon. In: *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 359-364.

Prilleltensky, Isaac; Fox, Dennis R. 2007. Psychopolitical Literacy for Wellness and Justice. In: *Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 35, No. 6, 793-805.

Putnam, Robert D. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.

Putnam, Robert D. 1995. Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. In: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 65-78.

Putnam, Robert D. 2001. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York.

Putnam, Robert D. 2007. E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century. In: *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 137-174.

Rancière, Jacques. 2005. *La haine de la démocratie*. Paris.

Ribeiro, Norberto; Almeida, Carla M.; Fernandes-Jesus, Maria; Neves, Tiago; Ferreira, Pedro D.; Menezes, Isabel. in press. Education as Redemption?: Education, Citizenship and the Empowerment of Migrant Youths. In: *Power and Education*, Vol. 4, No. 2.

Rodgers, Lynne D.; Smith, Leigh M.; Pollock, Claire. 2002. Mooing till the Cows Come Home: The Search for Sense of Community in Virtual Environments. In: Fisher, Adrian T.; Sonn, Christopher C.; Bishop, Brian J., eds. *Psychological Sense of Community: Research, Applications, and Implications*. New York, 223-245.

Rowe, Gene; Frewer, Lynn J. 2005. A Typology of Public Engagement Mechanisms. In: *Science, Technology & Human Values*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 251-290.

Ryan, William. 1971. *Blaming the Victim*. New York.

Sander, Thomas H.; Putnam, Robert D. 2010. Still Bowling Alone?: The Post 9-11 Split. In: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 9-16.

Santos, Boaventura S. 1998. *Reinventar a Democracia*. Lisboa.

Saranson, Seymour. 1974. *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology*. San Francisco, CA.

Saurugger, Sabine. 2010. The Social Construction of the Participatory Turn: The Emergence of a Norm in the European Union. In: *European Journal of*

Political Research, Vol. 49, No. 4, 471-495.

Sonn, Christopher C. 2002. Immigrant Adaptation: Understanding the Process through Sense of Community. In: Fisher, Adrian T.; Sonn, Christopher C.; Bishop, Brian J., eds. *Psychological Sense Of Community: Research, Applications, and Implications*. New York, 205-222.

Taylor, Paul. 2005. Contributo Para A Discussão Sobre A Cidadania Multicultural. In: *Educação, Sociedade & Culturas*, Vol. 23, 59-70.

Tonnies, Ferdinand. 1925. The Concept of Gemeinschaft. In: Cahnman, Werner J.; Heberle, Rudolf, eds. *Ferdinand Tonnies on Sociology: Pure, Applied and Empirical. Selected writings*. Chicago, 62-72.

Torres, Carlos A. 2001. Democracia, Educação E Multiculturalismo: Dilemas da cidadania em um mundo globalizado. Petrópolis.

Towley, Greg; Kloss, Bert; Green, Eric P.; Franco, Margarita M. in press. Reconcilable Differences?: Human Diversity, Cultural Relativity, and Sense of Community. In: *American Journal of Community Psychology*. doi: 10.1007/s10464-010-9379-9.

Trickett, Edison J. 1994. Human Diversity and Community Psychology: Where Ecology and Empowerment Meet. In: *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 22, 583-592.

Trickett, Edison J. 2009. Community Psychology: Individuals and Interventions in Community Context. In: *Annual Review Of Psychology*, Vol. 60, 395-419.

Verba, Sidney; Nie, Norman H.; Barbic, Ana; Irwin, Galen; Molleman, Henk; Shabad, Goldie. 1973. The Modes of Participation. In: *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 235-250.

Verba, Sidney; Nie, Norman H.; Kim, Jae-on. 1978. Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Study. New York.

Vieno, Alexio; Perkins, Douglas D.; Smith, Thomas M.; Santinello, M. 2005. Democratic School Climate and Sense of Community in School: A Multilevel Analysis. In: *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 327-341.

Watts, Roderick J.; Flanagan, Constance. 2007. Pushing the Envelope on Youth Civic Engagement: A Developmental and Liberation Psychology Perspective. In: *Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 35, No. 6, 779-792.

Weisenfeld, Esther. 1996. The Concept of "We": A Community Social Psychology Myth?. In: *Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 24, 337-363.

White, Sarah C. 1996. Depoliticising Development: The Uses and Abuses of Participation. In: *Development in Practice*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 6-15.

Young, Iris M. 1995. Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship. In: Beiner, Ronald, ed. *Theorizing Citizenship*. New York, 175-207.

*Graham Pike*

## **From Internationalism to Internationalisation: The Illusion of a Global Community in Higher Education**

Both global education and international education are movements designed to promote the concepts of internationalism and global community in national education systems, but with different histories. While the former, a grassroots K-12 movement, has struggled to make headway against the forces of neoliberalism, the latter has thrived in a market-driven era in which revenue from international student mobility has offset declining public funding of higher education in many developed countries. Current trends in the internationalisation of higher education have resulted in increasing commercialisation and intensive competition for international students, fuelled by world rankings of elite universities. Tensions exist between these trends and the more altruistic goals of international education proclaimed in institutional mission statements and government policies. An analytical matrix is offered as a tool with which higher education institutions can map their internationalisation activities and assess the extent to which they match their stated policies and missions. While the rhetoric of international education purports to promote the concept of a global community, the article suggests this claim may be illusory.

### **Keywords**

Global education, international education, global community

## **1 Global Education and International Education: Responses to Globalisation**

In the recent history of public education there are two notable movements that have attempted to broaden students' understanding of the concept of community in the wake of the impacts of globalisation, namely *global education* (at the primary and secondary levels of education) and *international education* (at the tertiary level). Public education systems, inevitably, have emerged from – and have been deliberately shaped to promote – the nation as a primary geographical and political concept. For more than a century, nationalism has been integral to the purpose and practice of education (Green 1997). Educational institutions have laboured to produce workers who will meet the nation's need for certain skills and talents, civilians who will perform the requisite duties as voters, parents and tax-payers, and citizens who will defend their sovereignty – even being prepared, when necessary, to sacrifice their own lives in the interests of the

nation (Smith 1998). Thus, the idea of community as a geographical space, whether spoken of or implied in curricula and classrooms, has tended to run the spectrum from the immediate neighbourhood to the nation's borders, but not beyond.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, building on some earlier attempts and strategies (Heater 1984), educators in the global North began to argue that this interpretation of community was too restrictive, both from pragmatic and philosophical perspectives. The pragmatic viewpoint emerges from the inexorable rise of globalisation: in an era when national economies are increasingly interdependent and the passage of goods and services is indifferent to political boundaries, an understanding of the world as a global village is more attuned to the everyday realities that link people, cultures and places in a vast interconnected web. The interactions and relationships that are intrinsic to community are still vital; it is just that the spatial dimensions of community have expanded way beyond the shores of the nation. Whether for good or ill, the argument goes, globalisation has forever changed the way the world works and education shoulders a responsibility to prepare students to adapt and contribute to this enlarged community.

The philosophical argument draws credibility from the realities of globalisation but goes further than the pragmatist view. Given that we now live in a global village, we have responsibilities that are similarly far reaching in their scope (Dower 2003). Now that we are intimately interconnected, and the impacts of our actions and decisions will have consequences for people around the globe, we should extend our circle of compassion to include those who live beyond our nation's border and to 'give the circle that defines our humanity special attention and respect.' (Nussbaum 1996, 9). The care and concern for neighbours, one of the defining characteristics of a well-functioning community, becomes a global, rather than just a local or national, ethic. It is an argument grounded more in morality than in law, though many of the key pronouncements that it draws upon (such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) carry considerable weight. Education's role then, in this regard, is to sensitise national citizens to the stark inequalities and injustices of the global system and to equip them with the tools necessary to help ameliorate the lives of the less fortunate, wherever they may reside. Whereas nationalism is primarily concerned with the welfare of citizens within one nation, internationalism proposes that the interdependence of all nations requires those citizens to view all of humanity as members of a global community (Elvin 1960).

Global education, the movement that has grown up principally at the primary and secondary levels of national education systems, draws from both pragmatic and philosophical arguments. Building on earlier attempts in peace education to shape public education as a vehicle for developing more tolerant young people who can resolve conflicts without resorting to violence (Heater 1980), global education continues to focus on the development of a core group of skills and values while also imparting knowledge about global systems and the interconnectedness of humans and other species. The relative balance between the skills and values components and the knowledge orientation in global education varies from one teacher to another, often influenced by curriculum decisions, school board regulations and political pressures that are beyond their control. However, common to many manifestations of global education is the concept of the global



community, incorporating the idea that citizens of one nation should not only understand the global implications of their decisions and actions but also should feel concern for the citizens of other nations who may be impacted by those decisions or may simply need their attention and care. In the intimate milieu of the primary and secondary classroom, where the inculcation of values such as tolerance, respect, fairness and compassion is relatively easy to justify as falling within the mandate for public education, teachers can feel relatively confident about dwelling on these aspects, whether at local, national or global levels. More problematic is the extent to which teachers feel able, personally and politically, to encourage their students to take actions that are designed to bring about social and political change, either at home or abroad. The history of the global education movement is peppered with accounts of teachers, proponents and advocacy organizations that have been censured for their attempts to promote more radical social change towards their own visions of a global community (Cunningham 1986; Schukar 1993; Scruton 1985).

At the tertiary level of education in many countries, both developed and developing, international education has become one of the fastest-growing and most influential developments in colleges and universities in recent years (Taylor 2004). Drawing from earlier traditions in comparative education suggesting that national systems of education could benefit from a cross-fertilization of relevant ideas and practice from other systems (Dolby, Rahman 2008) international education has sought to facilitate the movement and exchange of knowledge, students and professors between institutions in different nations and to promote the benefits of an international study experience. One of the early manifestations of international education, built on the altruistic visions integral to the field of international development, saw many college and university students engage in a volunteer experience through organizations such as the Peace Corps and Voluntary Service Overseas. Today, the rationale for international education is most usually steeped in pragmatism: studying abroad will enhance a student's prospects of employment at a time when the workforce demands skills such as adaptability and cross-cultural sensitivity. Furthermore, creating a cosmopolitan campus at one's own institution facilitates the interchange of perspectives from around the world and thus allows even domestic students to benefit from something of an intercultural experience. In the contested environment of academic freedom that pervades most higher education institutions, the value-laden ideals of global education are less in evidence, though they may still motivate many students and faculty to embark upon international study and research experiences. Such ideals may also be implicit in vague institutional pronouncements about the value of international education for the development of global citizens. However, in comparison to global education at the primary and secondary level, commitment to action for social change is less likely to incur the wrath of policy makers and funding bodies.

## 2 The Impact of Neoliberalism

Running parallel to the development of the global and international education movements has been the increasingly pervasive influence of neoliberalism (Harvey 2005) in education systems. During the 1980s, at about the same time as the global education movement was beginning to identify its key tenets and attract interest from primary and secondary teachers in the developed world (Pike 2008), the market-driven ideology of neoliberalism was finding a foothold in the governance of school systems and in the struggle for control of curriculum. The pragmatic goals of global education were not necessarily viewed as incompatible with the neoliberal agenda; in fact, lists of essential skills for the late twentieth century employment produced by corporate and industrialist think-tanks were often remarkably similar to skill sets promoted by global educators and were used by some in advocacy campaigns for global education (O'Sullivan 1999). This pragmatic rationale for global education is still very much in evidence today, as seen in this Canadian provincial economic strategy report:

We will need more entrepreneurs, financiers and managers. We need people who are comfortable doing business globally, with multiple languages and cross-cultural skills. To seize the opportunities offered by an economy that functions as an interconnected grid, people need to be attuned to the world and prepared to participate in global networks. The education system at all levels has an important role to play in fostering this mindset. (Premier's Council for Economic Strategy 2011, 64).

The moral and philosophical arguments found in the global education literature, however, were often viewed as a threat to the efficient production of suitably qualified workers for the increasingly competitive global economic system. As mathematics, science and technology achieved higher status in the politics of curriculum development, the softer ideals of global education embedded in the social sciences, especially ideas related to the widening of the circle of compassion and to the pursuit of social justice globally, were subjected to more frequent attack or were squeezed out of an increasingly crowded and regulated curriculum (Tye 2009). The classic hallmarks of a neoliberal approach to education – standardisation, quantifiable outcomes, accountability – presented considerable challenges to the fundamental tenets of global education that view learning as a journey with an undetermined destination and adopt the beliefs and values of the student as the starting point for that journey. The predominant neoliberal focus on the acquisition of a fixed body of knowledge, inevitably prioritised by educational goals that insist on measurable outcomes, was largely at odds with the nascent global education movement that was struggling to define its epistemological parameters and which, in any case, wished to give more weight to skills development and the exploration of values.

Throughout its short history, global education has been largely a grassroots movement, driven by passionate advocates and enthusiastic teachers (Hicks 2003; Pike 2008). Just as it was beginning to gain some momentum and, importantly, some credibility among politicians and educational decision-

makers, the powerful forces of neoliberalism reigned in its most ardent practitioners and undermined its support mechanisms. During the 1990s, funding from national governments was eliminated or cut back in several developed countries; consequently, regional and local support groups struggled for survival or withered, resulting in diminished professional development opportunities and curriculum materials for classroom teachers. The most committed practitioners did continue, however, through tenaciously and creatively adapting their holistic vision for education to suit the more exacting requirements of a much more utilitarian concept of schooling. One notable example of such adaptation has been to exploit the renewed interest in citizenship education, now a mandatory strand within the National Curriculum of England and Wales and enjoying increasing attention in other countries, to highlight the concept of global citizenship. While citizenship education does not necessarily share the same content or values base as global education, and is more restricted in its advocacy of social action (Davies, Evans, Reid 2005), its greater legitimacy among policy makers has provided a welcome vehicle for global education practitioners in challenging times.

In contrast to global education, international education has thrived under the influences of neoliberalism. As public higher education institutions across many parts of the developed world have suffered consistent, and sometimes drastic, cuts in their funding from governments, those institutions have actively pursued other revenue sources to make up the deficit. At the same time, the attractions of a cross-border educational experience have been recognised in many fast-developing economies, particularly China and India, by increasing numbers of college and university students who view the status of 'international student' as a passport to higher paid employment in their home country or, in many cases, as a bridge to obtaining permanent residence in a more developed country. This has created a burgeoning pool of eager international students who are willing to pay premium tuition fees, often many times the cost of tuition in their home country, to pursue a dream. This is neoliberalism in education writ large: educational institutions with a desperate need for funds and, in many cases, a dwindling local population, supplying the credentials demanded by a growing elite of wealthy students from beyond their national borders. As the market for educational credentials is largely unregulated and global in scope, it offers those students who can afford the fees a wide choice of education providers and thus sets up intense competition between educational institutions worldwide wishing to mine this rich seam of additional revenue.

Of course, higher education institutions that are key players in this market will offer cogent and passionate arguments, often supported by senior politicians (Gillard 2009), in defence of their international student recruitment strategy (Toope 2011). Such arguments generally focus on the social advantages of diverse, multicultural and multilingual classrooms, the benefits of international exchange partnerships that provide opportunities for domestic students to study in other countries, the potential for faculty exchange and cross-border research collaborations, and the impetus that international students provide in many ways to the development of global citizenship on national campuses. These loftier, more palatably altruistic goals are undeniably beneficial: the vibrancy of the cosmopolitan campus is

infinitely preferable to the limited vision of the college or university that caters principally to the needs of its local middle-class neighbourhoods; in a global economy and an increasingly interdependent global system, it makes eminently good sense for future employees to gain experience of other cultures, languages and ways of knowing at the same time as earning their required credential. The desirability of what the forces of neoliberalism have helped to create in higher education institutions, I would submit, is not in question; however, the predominance of economic need as a key driver of the current trends in international education raises many questions that sit uncomfortably with the rhetoric emanating from these institutions and which are fundamental to any deliberations about the concept of global community. Driven, in the past, by a belief in the benefits to humankind of internationalism, the economic forces that now shape international education on many campuses have other, less altruistic, goals.

### 3 Current Trends in the 'Internationalisation' of Higher Education

The 'internationalisation' of higher education, the term most commonly used to identify the various activities within colleges and universities that are both a response to and agent of increasing globalisation (de Wit, 2009a), is one of the fastest growing movements for change in the tertiary education sector (Egron-Polak, Hudson 2010). Jane Knight's (recently updated) definition of internationalisation is widely used to encapsulate the broad array of activities that it encompasses:

Internationalization at the national/sector/institutional levels is the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels. (Knight 2008, 21).

According to the International Association of Universities (IAU), 87% of higher education institutions who responded to a recent global survey claim that internationalisation is mentioned in their institutional mission statement and/or strategic plan, with 78% of respondents reporting that internationalisation had either increased in importance, or substantially increased in importance, over the past three years. Admittedly, there are significant regional variations, with lower importance being afforded to internationalisation by institutions in the Middle East and in Latin America and the Caribbean (Egron-Polak, Hudson 2010). As Knight (2008) and other observers note, while there is general agreement on the increasing importance of internationalisation there is considerable confusion over what it actually encompasses. For many institutions, particularly in predominantly Anglophone nations, the recruitment of students from other countries is the primary activity; for some it includes the delivery of programs to students in other countries through branch campuses, franchise arrangements with partner institutions or distance learning. Many institutions report on the development of an intercultural or global dimension in their courses and on

the introduction of culturally sensitive teaching and learning methods; some view the opportunities for students and professors to have a short-term study, research or teaching experience in another country as being an important benefit. The involvement of professors and students in international development projects, often funded through governmental or international aid programmes, has been a cornerstone of international activity in developed world institutions for a long time. More recently, some institutions have drawn upon many of these activities to create 'internationalisation at home' initiatives, such as the celebration of International Education Week or International Development Week, in an attempt to give a higher profile to internationalisation efforts on their campuses.

The current trends in internationalisation would not be possible without a large, and increasingly significant, infrastructure that facilitates and supports a vast network of connections and partnerships among higher education institutions worldwide. International, national and regional associations of international education provide an array of services for their members, including networking news bulletins, journals and magazines, professional development workshops, and organised recruitment and study tours. The larger organisations also stage major conventions for international education professionals such as the annual conference organised by NAFSA, the North American association, that attracts up to 10,000 people from around the world. Such conferences establish a strategic marketplace for negotiating the myriad inter-institutional memoranda of understanding, agreements and contracts that are the hallmarks of the institutional partnerships at the heart of this globalisation of higher education. At the institutional level, international education activities are frequently co-ordinated through a designated administrative unit, often reporting directly to a senior officer of the institution and funded through the proceeds of international student recruitment. In the nations most active and successful in international recruitment, governments play a significant role through strong investment in the marketing and branding of the educational products and services offered by the institutions in their country. The relative value placed on educational branding is a frequent and heated topic of debate at the national policy level:

Institutions that wish to seriously diversify revenues will need to be very active in cross-border education. This is an area in which Canada is lamentably weak; despite our highly multicultural society, strong ability to deliver courses in English (...), quality of life, and proximity to the US, our performance in attracting these students has been only slightly better than abject. We have thrown away these advantages partly because institutions do not seem to understand the value of a 'national brand' in education and choose not to co-operate with one another in recruitment efforts and partly because the Government of Canada (...) feels inhibited about selling Canada as a place to study in English. This, simply, has to change, and fast. (Usher, Dunn 2009, 28).

Given the high profile of internationalisation in many higher education institutions, the economic benefits that can ensue, and the size and scope of

the infrastructure that supports it, it is hardly surprising that recent trends in international education are a major contributor to the increasing commercialisation of higher education. Neither is it surprising that significant internationalisation activity has occurred in business and management programmes (Brookes, Becket 2011; Bennett, Kane 2011), where the rationale of preparing students for the economic competitiveness of the global marketplace is easy to justify. As Stefan Collini notes in his review of higher education in Britain:

British society has been subject to a deliberate campaign, initiated in free-market think tanks in the 1960s and 1970s and pushed strongly by business leaders and right-wing commentators ever since, to elevate the status of business and commerce and to make 'contributing to economic growth' the overriding goal of a whole swathe of social, cultural and intellectual activities which had previously been understood and valued in other terms. (Collini 2011, 9).

As is typically the case with market-driven phenomena, international education is a commodity available to those who can afford it. While access to higher education has risen globally, increasing by more than 50% in just a decade (Altbach 2010), the students who gain access to educational institutions in countries other than their own are much more likely to be reinforcing an already privileged status (Scott 2010). Expensive tuition fees, higher costs of travel and subsistence, knowledge of another language and the vision and support of parents are the normal requisites of student mobility, all likely to rule out the cross-border experience for most but the elites of any society, particularly in low to middle-income countries. Indeed, even in a high-income country like Canada, fewer than 3% of university students, and only about 1% of college students, take advantage of a study abroad opportunity (Bond 2010; Association of Canadian Community Colleges 2010). Thus, the international mobility of students, which forms the bedrock of international education activity, is a scarce and valuable resource. As with other scarce resources in the global marketplace, competition among institutions for the lucrative proceeds of international recruitment is intense. Institutions across the globe attempt to define and market their own comparative advantage, often offering special deals including scholarships, tuition discounts and lower admissions prerequisites in order to attract international fee-paying students to their campuses and out of reach of their competitors. The wealthier and more entrepreneurial institutions extend their global reach through establishing satellite campuses in other countries, where they can tap into a valuable alternate market: the student who desires the international accreditation but without the expense and risks of the international experience.

A significant indicator of the confluence of international education and the commercialisation of higher education is the increasing prominence of world rankings of higher education institutions. For the vast majority of students who will study in their own country, it matters little how well their universities measure up against those in other nations, apart perhaps from a sense of curiosity and national pride. For those students who are shopping around for a reputable international accreditation, rankings matter a lot. The development of world rankings in recent years can be seen as a response by

higher education institutions to the increasing global competition for students. For those students seeking an international education experience, the rankings offer a consumers' guide to the relative status of education providers but not, necessarily, to the value to the consumer of the products they sell. As a recent European report concludes (Rauhvargers 2011), international rankings tend to focus on an institution's quantifiable research outputs, not on the quality of teaching and learning it provides. Additionally, rankings only include between 1 and 3% of the world's 17,000 universities, mostly in wealthy countries. Even the Vice Chancellor of one of Canada's most highly ranked institutions contends that the academic research outputs 'provide little indication of what kind of impact these advancements have on factors that the global community generally agrees are markers of prosperous and secure societies with a high quality of life.' (Samarasekera 2011, np).

#### 4 Some Risks and Tensions in Internationalisation

Although 65% of respondents to the IAU global survey indicate that internationalisation is an area of high importance for the leadership of their institution, a significant number draw attention to the risks that may accompany it. Top of these are: 'Commodification/commercialization of education programmes' (12%); 'Brain drain' (10%); and 'Increase in number of foreign degree mills' (9%) (Egron-Polak, Hudson 2010, 75). However, when these findings are disaggregated by region, significant differences appear: institutions in North America and Asia/Pacific regions are much less concerned about the 'brain drain' than those in Africa and Latin America, while 29% of North American institutions and 21% of European institutions perceived there to be no risks or did not respond to the question (compared to 9% in the Middle East, 10% in Latin America and 13% in Africa and Asia/Pacific). Interestingly, one of the highest responses by region is the 17% of Middle Eastern institutions that view 'loss of cultural identity' as the most significant risk (75). While it would not be advisable to read too much into the specific numbers, it is clear that many institutions perceive there to be some risks inherent in internationalisation activities and that the significance attributed to the particular risks identified varies among world regions. Given the pattern of student mobility to date, such findings are not surprising. The vast majority of the estimated 3.3 million students studying abroad have migrated from Africa, Asia and Latin America to institutions in the global North and the relative weighting attributed to the various risks very much reflects the differing concerns of those regions that enjoy a net gain of students compared with those which suffer a loss. The question that naturally arises from such variation is: in whose interests is internationalisation primarily framed? There are strong beliefs, as stated in the IAU Report, that internationalisation increases students' international awareness and improves their preparedness for a globalized world, but the question remains as to whether the current trends are likely to narrow, or further widen, the gap in intellectual and social capital between North and South. Furthermore, as the IAU Report points out, when some of the more significant risks, including commercialisation, increase in foreign degree

mills and greater competition among institutions, are juxtaposed with the third highest ranked rationale for internationalisation – an enhanced international profile and reputation – one begins to determine a trend that may question the belief that internationalisation is a route towards improving quality in higher education (74).

Growing competition among institutions worldwide for the scarce resource of mobile students would appear to be the principal driver of internationalisation activity at present. The widespread ‘branding’ of their educational products by governments and institutions, the importance attached to world rankings, and the aggressive marketing that takes place at recruitment fairs around the world, are all indications of the key motive behind this globalisation of higher education. The rhetoric emanating from government policy statements and institutional strategic plans may talk of the benefits of international collaboration for knowledge exchange and student preparedness while the reality, notwithstanding the actual benefits that may accrue from student and faculty mobility, is mired more in economic self-interest and institutional competitiveness. The moral dilemma inherent in this reality is summarised succinctly in a recent internal report from a Canadian university:

The future for Ontario (and indeed all western) universities will be a difficult, even perilous, journey. The ability of society to fund expensive education for a large percentage of a diminishing local population is in question. One possible aspect of this future is for the publically funded universities to market education to other jurisdictions at a profit to finance their public (provincial) obligation. This is a significant development and should be debated in the context of the mission of the publicly supported post-secondary education system of Ontario. (Carleton University 2011, 15)

Recent trends suggest that this reality is not likely to change in the foreseeable future. While international education has largely benefited, to this point, countries in the North, nations that used to be net exporters of students, such as China, are now successfully marketing their own educational products to students from other nations. Furthermore, the emergence of ‘education hubs,’ backed by significant private investment, in locations such as the United Arab Emirates, Singapore and Malaysia indicates that the more prosperous nations in the global South are determined to become serious players in the international education marketplace (Knight 2011). As governments in the North become increasingly reliant on international tuition revenue to offset reductions in higher education funding, competition for international students looks set to intensify.

This is the paradox of international education: a movement born out of the communitarian ideals of internationalism and enrichment through cultural exchange, and still able to deliver on those ideals at the micro level, seems inextricably caught up at the macro level in the web of commercialisation that the very different ideals and practices of neoliberalism have forced upon higher education. In my critique of this trend I do not wish to denigrate, or downplay the significance of, the enormous benefits that institutions, individual students and faculty have gained through



internationalisation; nor would I wish to doubt the motives of those involved in the international education movement who daily strive to create more global understanding, knowledge exchange and intercultural sensitivity through their actions. Whatever the prevailing economic ideology, the internationalisation of higher education would seem to offer the only sensible path for institutions to take in the pursuit of greater human development and international security. However, along with a growing number of educators and commentators (e.g. Knight 2008; de Wit, Brandenburg 2011), I do wish to raise the alarm with regard to some prevailing trends in internationalisation and to suggest that those of us involved in the steering of policy and practice at the institutional level have a duty to critique these trends and, through so doing, attempt to stimulate public debate. As the Vice Chancellor of a British university points out, international education as a movement seems profoundly uneasy with the idea of engaging in debate with 'alternative forms of globalization,' even though internationally mobile students often 'play a key role in developing these new global social movements and forms of political action' (Scott 2010, 3). Such debate is no more, and no less, than should be expected at institutions of higher learning that value the notion of academic freedom and the rights of the academic community to comment on the decisions of their governments and employers.

A key argument in the debate should be the responsibility of internationalisation in higher education to foster a global community. Central to my understanding of a global community is the widening of the circle of compassion or what Dower (2003, 26) calls the 'global *moral* community,' a community that derives its meaning and purpose not from the successes and failures of the marketplace but from its capacity to provide opportunities, care and protection for *all* its citizens. For me, the global moral community *must* embody the principles of social justice globally. It must challenge, through ideas and action, the global economic structures that maintain chronic underdevelopment for half the world's people while fostering the disgraceful and widening chasm between rich and poor worldwide. It must focus attention on the intolerable human rights abuses, largely resulting from the pernicious residue of patriarchy, that inhibit the potential and ruin the lives of so many women. It must critically question the national governments and transnational institutions that consistently fail so miserably to live up to their pledges, thereby condemning millions of children to early and painful deaths as a result of easily preventable hunger and disease. It must – honestly and urgently – tackle the environmental crises that threaten to affect us all, but will undoubtedly have a much more devastating impact on the poor and the marginalized in all societies. It must, therefore, ask the very uncomfortable questions, to those of us with power and wealth, about how we will actively and constructively change *our* lives and systems of governance so that other global citizens may simply enjoy a decent and dignified existence. To do less than this in our international education efforts is to perpetuate the illusion of a global community, an illusion founded on the idea that the global marketplace should be the principal arbiter of success and failure, of privilege and subjugation, of security and vulnerability; an illusion that – despite the increasing connectedness of the global age – is more likely to fragment and schismatise than widen our circle of compassion.

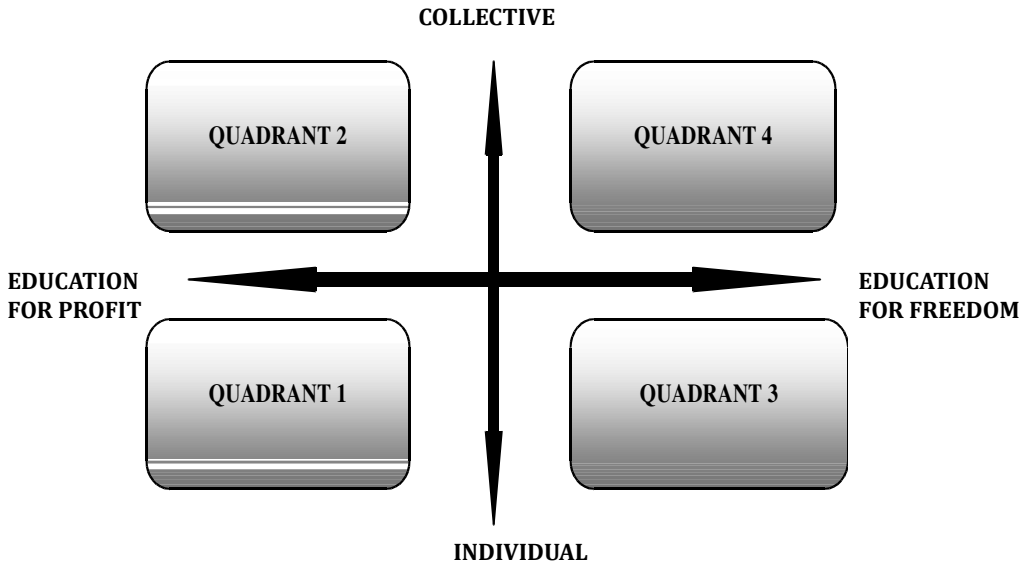
## 5 Mapping the Motivations for Internationalisation: An Analytical Matrix

In commenting on international education (which, in this case, includes global education initiatives) in American primary and secondary schools, Walter Parker notes:

International education ... is a solution on the loose; international education solves a variety of problems, serves an array of masters, and expresses diverse and sometimes conflicting values. There is no coherence to the movement, only an illusion conjured by the common use of a name. (Parker 2008, 202).

Internationalisation at the tertiary level is similarly, I would suggest, 'a solution on the loose.' It purports to satisfy several needs within higher education systems, yet does so in ways that espouse conflicting values including those that are antithetical to its original intent. In addition to its lack of coherence, Dolby and Rahman (2008) point to the fact that as most of the research on internationalisation has been conducted by professionals and administrators in the field, it tends to take an uncritical stance towards its own structures and practices. That it can serve the interests of both chief financial officers and international studies professors in higher education institutions is, perhaps, indicative of its broad church appeal and hints at its propensity to harbour contradictory beliefs. However, as de Wit (2009b) notes, there is considerable diversity in approaches to internationalisation among institutions around the world, some being more coherently developed and ethically oriented than others. In the spirit of fostering debate and achieving more focused and informed internationalisation policies and practice, I offer the following matrix (figure 1) as a tool with which to plot and analyse the primary motivations that stimulate a range of internationalisation activities. Such motivations, I would suggest, provide an indication of the underlying values and beliefs that steer the course of internationalisation at an institution. The horizontal axis represents a continuum between Martha Nussbaum's two poles of 'Education for Profit' and 'Education for Freedom' (Nussbaum 2009), through which she contrasts the view of education's primary role as preparing students for economic enrichment with the belief that education is principally a vehicle for human development and emancipation. The vertical axis responds to the question of whose interests are primarily served through internationalisation activity: the individual (focusing on the self-interest of the student or institution) or the collective (recognizing the mutual benefits to be gained through genuinely collaborative efforts and/or where the benefits are spread more widely). The four quadrants thus created can be used to plot internationalisation activity in any institution and the resulting map will likely expose the predominant values and beliefs that inform the practice of international education.

Figure 1



Placement of any internationalisation activity in a certain quadrant might vary from one institution to another according to the motivation behind it, how it is construed and implemented, and its resulting impact. Such variations notwithstanding, I offer the following chart to indicate where sample activities are likely to be placed (samples are drawn from the IAU Global Report [Egron-Polak, Hudson 2010, 214]):

<p><b>Quadrant 2</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Developing joint and double/dual degree programmes with foreign partner institutions</i></li> <li>• <i>Offering foreign academic programmes in our institution</i></li> </ul>	<p><b>Quadrant 4</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Strengthening international/intercultural content of curriculum</i></li> <li>• <i>International research collaboration</i></li> <li>• <i>Internationalization “at home”</i></li> <li>• <i>International development and capacity building projects</i></li> </ul>
<p><b>Quadrant 1</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Marketing/recruiting fee-paying international students</i></li> <li>• <i>Provision of programmes/establishment of branch campuses abroad (face-to-face instruction)</i></li> <li>• <i>Delivery of distance education courses/on-line programmes abroad</i></li> <li>• <i>Short-term language programmes for international students</i></li> </ul>	<p><b>Quadrant 3</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Outgoing mobility opportunities for students</i></li> <li>• <i>International student exchanges</i></li> <li>• <i>Outgoing mobility opportunities for faculty/staff</i></li> <li>• <i>Hosting international scholars</i></li> <li>• <i>Foreign language teaching as part of the curriculum</i></li> </ul>

A more nuanced understanding of internationalisation within any institution could be achieved through attempting to calculate the percentage of time and/or resources that are devoted to each activity and then finding the total percentage for each quadrant.

The point of such a mapping exercise is not to pass judgment on activities that are located within one quadrant compared with another. As pointed out earlier, there are significant external forces that have influenced the path of development of international education at the institutional level. Furthermore, as the matrix is intended to map internationalisation activities from the perspective of an institution’s primary motivation, not from the point of view of how the student experiences each activity, it is quite possible that the recruitment of an international student (a ‘for profit’ motive) could result in an emancipatory experience for the student (a ‘for freedom’ result). At the macro level however, such mapping can assist institutions in determining the desirability of the path they are pursuing. Does it fit with their institution’s mission statement and their international education policy or strategy? If ‘improving student preparedness for a globalized/internationalized world’ is the most important rationale for internationalisation (as strongly indicated by institutions responding to the IAU survey [Egron-Polak, Hudson 2010, 21]), is this borne out by the mix of activity at the institution? Is the balance of activities among the quadrants appropriate, or should more emphasis be placed on one particular quadrant? When new strategies are proposed – for example, the establishment of a branch campus abroad – where does this fit in the matrix and how will it influence the overall weighting of internationalisation activity in the institution? What are the trends over time in terms of the balance among the four quadrants?

An additional reason for offering this matrix is to stimulate debate about the purpose and direction of international education at the macro level. I am deeply concerned that prevailing trends in international education, closely

allied to general drifts towards the commercialisation of higher education, are moving incrementally but inexorably towards a higher concentration of activity in Quadrant 1, stimulated and supported by governments that equate international education with economic stimulus and job creation. For example, the Premier of British Columbia has targeted international student recruitment, which already contributes nearly \$1.8 billion to the provincial economy (Kunin 2011), as a key plank in the future job creation strategy for that Canadian province (British Columbia 2011). This view of international education's purpose, steeped in the philosophy of neoliberalism, is a far cry from the spirit of internationalism that, I would submit, is at the heart of what motivates and sustains most professionals working in the field. That spirit flourishes in many of the activities in Quadrants 3 and 4, where the rationale for international education is couched more in the belief that connections among diverse peoples and cultures, and the sharing of knowledge and ideas across national boundaries, are fundamental to sustainable and equitable development, including but not limited to economic enhancement, for all global citizens. With the current trend favouring those activities that are directly tied to economic benefits for individual institutions and nations, the more altruistic and communitarian goals of international education are under threat.

## 6 Beyond the Illusion of a Global Community

Global education and international education have been differently affected by the impacts of neoliberalism on education systems. In the more regulated environment of the K-12 sector, global education has struggled to bring about significant change in primary and secondary education because its grassroots-driven, value-rich goals were deemed to challenge some fundamental tenets of neoliberalism. International education, however, has flourished in the tertiary sector because, through embracing neoliberal principles, higher education institutions have found a welcome solution to a funding crisis in difficult economic times. A critical question, however, is to what extent international education, as it is currently played out around the world, contributes to the realisation, rather than the illusion, of a global community, a community in which the principles of equity, social justice and sustainability are core and in which the circle of compassion is sufficiently wide to embrace all inhabitants. The rhetoric of international education, from institutional mission statements to government policy documents, would seem to claim that a global community is the ultimate goal; the reality of much activity on the ground, and the apparent direction of current trends, would suggest that this claim is somewhat problematic. The challenge for those intimately involved in international education is to harness the passion for internationalism that has inspired the global education movement, and that undoubtedly exists in higher education institutions, and bring it to the fore. The economic motivation for internationalisation at the institutional level is unlikely to recede in significance, but it should not be allowed to

overshadow or subvert the higher goals of internationalism that many institutions proclaim. This is not an easy task, but it may be the most important contribution that higher education can make to a more peaceful and sustainable future.

## References

- Altbach, Philip G. 2010. Access Means Inequality. In: *International Higher Education*, Vol. 61, 3-5.
- Association of Canadian Community Colleges. 2010. *Internationalizing Canadian Colleges and Institutes: The First National Report on International Education and Mobility*. Ottawa.
- Bennett, Roger; Kane, Suzanne. 2011. Internationalisation of U.K. University Business Schools: A Survey of Current Practice. In: *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 351-373.
- Bond, Sheryl. 2010. *World of Learning: Canadian Post-Secondary Students and the Study Abroad Experience*. Ottawa.
- British Columbia. 2011. *The BC Jobs Plan. Canada Starts Here*. Victoria.
- Brookes, Maureen; Becket, Nina. 2011. Developing Global Perspectives through International Management Degrees. In: *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 374-394.
- Carleton University. 2011. *Report on International Recruitment*. Ottawa.
- Collini, Stefan. 2011. From Robbins to McKinsey. In: *London Review of Books*, Vol. 33, No. 16, 9-14.
- Cunningham, Gregg L. 1986. *Blowing the Whistle on Global Education*. Denver: Region VIII Office, United States Department of Education.
- Davies, Ian; Evans, Mark; Reid, Alan. 2005. Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of "Global Education" and "Citizenship Education." In: *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 1, 66-89.
- de Wit, Hans. 2009a. Benchmarking the Internationalisation Strategies of European and Latin American Institutions of Higher Education. In: de Wit, Hans, ed. *Measuring Success in the Internationalisation of Higher Education*. EAIE Occasional Paper 22, European Association for International Education, 123-133.
- de Wit, Hans. 2009b. Measuring Success in the Internationalisation Strategies of Higher Education: An Introduction. In: de Wit, Hans, ed. *Measuring Success in the Internationalisation of Higher Education*. EAIE Occasional Paper 22, European Association for International Education, 1-8.
- de Wit, Hans; Brandenburg, Uwe. 2011. The End of Internationalization. In: *International Higher Education*, Vol. 62, 15-17.
- Dolby, Nadine; Rahman, Aliya. 2008. Research in International Education. In: *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 78, No. 3, 676-726.

- Dower, Nigel. 2003. *An Introduction to Global Citizenship*. Edinburgh.
- Egron-Polak, Eva; Hudson, Ross. 2010. *Internationalization of Higher Education: Global Trends, Regional Perspectives*. IAU 3<sup>rd</sup> Global Survey Report, International Association of Universities.
- Elvin, H. Lionel. 1960. Nationalism and Internationalism in Education. In: *The School Review*, Vol. 68, No. 1, 1-22.
- Gillard, Julia. 2009. Australia: International Education's Contribution. In: *University World News*, Vol. 78, 31 May. (<http://universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20090528173114651>) accessed March 21, 2012.
- Green, Andy. 1997. *Education, Globalization and the Nation State*. Basingstoke.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford.
- Heater, Derek. 1980. *World Studies: Education for International Understanding in Britain*. London.
- Heater, Derek. 1984. *Peace through Education: The Contribution of the Council for Education in World Citizenship*. Lewes.
- Hicks, David. 2003. Thirty Years of Global Education: A Reminder of Key Principles and Precedents. In: *Educational Review*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 265-275.
- Knight, Jane. 2008. *Higher Education in Turmoil: The Changing World of Internationalization*. Rotterdam.
- Knight, Jane. 2011. Education Hubs: A Fad, a Brand or an Innovation? In: *EAIE Forum*, Spring, 34-37.
- Kunin, Roslyn. 2011. *The Economic Impact of International Education in British Columbia*. Vancouver.
- Nussbaum, Martha. 1996. Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. In: Cohen, Joshua, ed. *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Boston.
- Nussbaum, Martha. 2009. Education for Profit, Education for Freedom. In: *Liberal Education*, Vol. 95, No. 3, 6-13.
- O'Sullivan, Brian. 1999. Global Change and Educational Reform in Ontario and Canada. In: *Canadian Journal of Education*, Vol. 24; No. 3, 311-325.
- Parker, Walter. 2008. International Education: What's in a Name? In: *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 90, No. 3, 196-202.
- Pike, Graham. 2008. *Global Education*. In: Arthur, James; Davies, Ian; Hahn, Carole. *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. Los Angeles.
- Premier's Council for Economic Strategy. 2011. *Shaping Alberta's Future: Report of the Premier's Council for Economic Strategy*. Edmonton.
- Rauhvargers, Andrejs. 2011. *Global University Rankings and Their Impact*. Brussels.
- Samarasekera, Indira. 2011. What Global Rankings Ignore. In: *Inside Higher Ed*, July 12.

([http://www.insidehighered.com/views/2011/07/12/essay\\_on\\_one\\_of\\_the\\_flaws\\_of\\_international\\_rankings\\_of\\_universities](http://www.insidehighered.com/views/2011/07/12/essay_on_one_of_the_flaws_of_international_rankings_of_universities)) accessed October 10, 2011.

Schukar, Ron. 1993. Controversy in Global Education: Lessons for Teacher Educators. In: *Theory into Practice*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 52-57.

Scruton, Roger. 1985. *World Studies: Education or Indoctrination?* London.

Scott, Peter. 2010. International Education: Alternatives to the Market. In: *International Higher Education*, Vol. 61, 2-3.

Smith, Anthony D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*. London.

Taylor, John. 2004. Towards a Strategy for Internationalisation: Lessons and Practice from Four Universities. In: *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 8, 149-171.

Toope, Stephen. 2011. Stephen Toope: How International Students Change Canadian Schools. In: *The Globe and Mail*, January 26.

(<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/opinions/leading-thinkers/stephen-toope-how-international-students-change-canadian-schools/article1883278/>) accessed March 21, 2012.

Tye, Kenneth A. 2009. A History of the Global Education Movement in the United States. In: Kirkwood-Tucker, Toni Fuss, ed. *Visions in Global Education: The Globalization of Curriculum and Pedagogy in Teacher Education and Schools*. New York.

Usher, Alex; Dunn, Ryan. 2009. *On the Brink: How the Recession of 2009 Will Affect Post-Secondary Education*. Toronto.



*Reviewer: Gary Clemitshaw*

## Review of the Book: "Patriotism and Citizenship Education"

Bruce Haynes, ed.

Oxford: Wiley Blackwell 2009, 108 pages

Price: £19.99

ISBN: 978-1-4051-9988-9

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."  
-- *Samuel Johnson 1775 (Boswell's Life of Johnson)*

This is perhaps the most casually referenced quotation regarding the concept of patriotism. In my own time, it has often been used as a charge by the liberal left of the political right, suspicious of the right's mobilisation of nationalist sentiment against the liberal left's concerns with issues of social justice, progressive principles and universal values. It is worth remembering that in Johnson's pamphlet *The Patriot* (Johnson 1774) the charge of patriotism Johnson was making was against popular agitators and opponents of 'order' and 'the Crown,' people such as Edmund Burke and John Wilkes, historical heroes of the liberal left.

It is necessary to be sensitive to the particularities of the discourse in which a concept appears, and this is particularly apt for patriotism. This book offers important insights into the dynamic of the concept in different national contexts; the USA, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, and the UK.

The current interest in citizenship education in many national contexts might suggest a degree of commonality, indicating a shared democratic uncertainty about political engagement, social cohesion, and security. These are often linked to perceptions of youth culture, cultural diversity and the experience of international terrorism. But when national education systems are mobilised for the firmer definition and practice of citizenship, a varied discourse of national identity and values emerges. It is within this variety that the particularities of the discourses of patriotism and education are located. They are discourses that often tell a history, and also explore how history is a battleground for patriotic conceptions.

Within the context of the USA, and the 'current political leadership' (1) (read Bush II), the concept is rescued by considering *critical* patriotism (2) to be of value, *loyal* patriotism (1) as dangerous. These categories are founded on the binary that patriotism can be either 'coerced' or 'freely offered.' Loyal patriotism brings with it national myopia, national arrogance and a coercive requirement of loyalty. Critical patriotism, whilst acknowledging the *emotional* patriotic attachments (3) to the location in which life is lived,

accepts pluralism, promotes social cooperation and is willing to criticise government for falling short of ideals. There is considered to be a tendency in public school education in the USA to promoting loyal patriotism, which exhibits itself in daily ceremonials relating to the flag and the oath of allegiance, and in textbooks supporting history education. This promotion of loyal patriotism is considered to be beyond the legitimate aims of liberal education.

Patriotism in South Africa is discussed with an overtly future-orientated focus in the context of building a nation after the end of apartheid. The national 'pledge' is examined so as to identify where it embodies the dispositions of democratic citizenship and where it falls prey to *blind* patriotism (23), with suggestions offered to make sure the catechism embodies all the virtues. In the shadow of the experience of World War Two the chapter on Japan offers insights into an intense struggle between advocates of patriotic education and anti-nationalists, charting their fluctuating influence over recent decades.

In the chapter relating to Australia, again education for patriotism is considered valid as long as it does not become jingoistic, chauvinistic and offensively nationalist. The chapter considers the link between the promotion of patriotism and interpretations of history, and, as in other chapters, acknowledges the interpretations of history that the objective of education for patriotism inevitably seeks to mobilise so as to create a patriotic identity.

Let us move from summarising the chapters and consider the methodologies of the authors. Whilst most contributors adopt liberal progressive assumptions, the chapters on Britain and New Zealand offer contrasting forms of analysis. The chapter relating to Britain presents an exercise in analytic philosophy which concludes that, out of four possible approaches to education for patriotism, avoidance, neutrality, active promotion, active discouragement, that which implies patriotism should only be taught as a controversial issue, is the only rational, logical conclusion. In contrast, the analysis offered by the chapter on New Zealand sees citizenship, the definition of the 'good' citizen, as part of a fluid governmental exercise in citizenship formation within the dynamic of neo-liberal ideology, bringing with it, in the context of tertiary education, a serious threat to criticality.

The final chapter explores the possibilities of transcending national identity through considering education for world citizenship. Arguing that there is a 'gradual emergence of a global era', education should support the idea of 'world citizens in an emerging global civic culture' (87). The chapter argues for a developing cosmopolitan conception of citizenship which consequently diminishes the relevance of commitment to the *patria*. Nevertheless, the nation is acknowledged as the first line of community, albeit 'imagined community' (96). Leaving aside Benedict Anderson's own concern that his concept, originally coined to consider the emergence of new identities in colonial America, has become 'a pair of words from which the vampires of banality have by now sucked almost all the blood' (Anderson 2006, 207), the phrase 'imagined community' allows us to assert that nations, and national identities, are contingent constructions, and in a perpetual state of reconstruction. Perhaps dangers occur when that allowed, understandable

*emotional* identity, understandable presumably in terms of familiarity, security and stability, is invited to romanticise its origins and its destiny.

Let us return to the distinction between *loyal* patriotism and *critical* patriotism. The book's first chapter, on American education, argues that *loyal* patriotism draws uncritically on the notion of 'American exceptionalism ... the idea that the United States, in some intrinsic way, stands ... above the broader concerns of the world owing to the unique calling of America's founding and leadership' (5) and can reference its 'Manifest Destiny' (18), the idea that there is an American mission to promote and defend democracy across the world. Hence, from the encouraged position of *critical patriotism*, support is given to this quote from Eamonn Callan;

[I]f the very point of American democracy is the pursuit of justice, the greater its failures in that regard the greater will be the revulsion of the [patriot]. (Callan 1999, 198).

One cannot help wondering if, even from the position of the critical patriot who suggests that the USA sometimes falls short of its best ideals, some attachment to the idea of American exceptionalism and its destiny persists.

## References

- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London.
- Callan, Eamonn. 1999. A Note on Patriotism and Utopianism: Response to Schrag. In: *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, Vol.18, 197-201.

*Reviewer: Andrew Peterson*

## **Review of the Book: "Religious Education and Social and Community Cohesion: An Exploration of Challenges and Opportunities"**

Michael Grimmett, ed.

Great Wakering, Essex: McCrimmons 2010, 336 pages

Price: £17.50

ISBN: 978-0855977108

*Religious education and social and community cohesion* is an interesting project which has resulted in a timely and thought-provoking text. In recent times there has been a good deal of interest in the place of religion and faith in public life, policy and education and, in particular, in the affect (positive or otherwise) which religion and faith have on social and community cohesion. This excellent book significantly adds to this debate. Wide-ranging in its scope, and what the editor declares will be his last book in a long career in religious education, Michael Grimmett has successfully brought together a cohesive and significant text which should be of interest to a wide audience. In his introduction Grimmett makes clear his thinking behind the project: 'a seismic shift in the social, political, religious, moral and ethnic landscape of the UK in the last decade has presented RE with a new and still to be addressed challenge and has shown... that current theories and practice in RE are no longer entirely sufficient to address the very different circumstances created by the emergence of what I will call '*globalised and politicised religion*' (10). The chapters contained within the collected edition explore and interrogate issues around social and community cohesion and their implications for religious education in schools. The text is particularly successful in charting the changing nature of the teaching RE since the 1944 Education Act (a time which has witnessed a transition from the confessional, to the secular, to what might loosely be termed the 'post-secular'), and it does so in a way which brings the recent history of RE teaching to bear on the role of the subject in building social and community cohesion in the contemporary context.

Readers will be struck immediately by the standing and quality of the contributing authors, most of whom are significant names in the field of religious education and the wider field of educational research. After a preface by the editor, the book comprises 16 chapters. On reading these, one recognises that the editors and the authors have achieved a feat which is sometimes missing from collected editions - namely, a sense of shared interest and focus alongside individually valid and valuable contributions. Across the text, and even within individual chapters, the authors explore

issues concerned with philosophical and conceptual understanding, public and educational policy, curriculum and pedagogy. In short, the breadth and depth is both significant and impressive. The editor's decision to author both the introductory and concluding chapters was wise, and brings a sense of cohesion and synthesis which is so often lacking from collections such as this.

Aside from the clarity and insightfulness of the analyses offered, the authors involved in this edition have some important things to say. Though it would not be possible to consider all of the undoubted strengths here, three are particularly noteworthy. The first is the identification of religion and faith as playing a significant and important role in public life and, in turn, of the role which religious education does and could play in schooling and education. Whether this represents a process of continuation, revival or resurgence of the role of religion in public life is an interesting debate and is touched open in some detail in a number of the chapters (see in particular the chapters by Michael Grimmett, Liam Gearon, Andrew Wright and Clyde Chitty). The second strength, alluded to previously, is the text's combination of conceptual analysis, curricular and pedagogy. There are clearly some deep philosophical issues at play, and these are handled with clarity and in an accessible way throughout. The extent to which they are related to policy (see for example the chapters by Terence Copley and Geoffrey Walford), curriculum (see for example the chapter by Marius Felderhof and Simone Whitehouse and that by John Rudge) and pedagogy (see in particular the chapter by Vivienne Baumfield) is impressive. The third strength, sometimes implicit and at others very much explicit, is that each chapter has implications for the education and professional development of teachers of Religious Education. Such issues are multifarious, but crucially involve the development of the requisite knowledge, understanding, teaching methods and relationships necessary to permit RE in schools to meet the challenges of supporting social and community cohesion.

Although each chapter is presented as an original contribution, if one was being highly critical it could be asked whether the book could have benefited from a more overtly radical element (in this sense there was little in the book which really challenged my way of thinking on the matters at hand). This may however be unfair to the aims and purpose of the text, which the editor identifies clearly as a reader for those interested in the subject areas at hand. Certainly, those coming to this text (from both an English context but also those working outside of England) will gain great benefit from the interesting, insightful and critical analysis of central issues facing the teaching of religious education in England today. I highly recommend it.

*Reviewer: Alistair Ross*

## Review of the Book: "Citizenship and Immigration"

Christian Joppke

Cambridge: Polity Press 2010, 216 pages  
Price: £14.99 (paperback), £50.00 (hardback)  
ISBN: 13 978-0-7456-4235-2, 13 978-0-7456-4234-5

This is a superb synthesis of theoretical issues and empirical surveys of the current state of the art in understanding citizenship. It is not just comprehensive in its sweep – it is written with clarity, cogency and lucidity. Joppke's central and compelling thesis is that the concept of citizenship is brought into focus and defined through its relationship with migration: the introduction of the non-citizen into a state establishes the character of the nature of the status, rights and identity that citizenship confers in that state. The structure of the book is deceptively simple: he analyses the recent literature, and sets this alongside his marshalling of a wealth of empirical evidence from Europe and North America. This leads to key questions of what citizenship means in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and what might be its future. His arguments have a particular resonance for the European reader, but also usefully reflect on the changing priorities and practices of the 'traditional' countries of immigration.

The opening chapter surveys the principal works of the past two decades, focusing on three 'paradigm-setting positioning of citizenship within an immigration context' (20), disentangling some popular academic misreadings of these and identifying sometimes overlooked findings that he argues, with some conviction, should be central to our developing construction of citizenship. Thus Rogers Brubaker's classic text *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (1992) does not just articulate the dualities of citizenship as being 'internally inclusive' and 'externally exclusive,' but also shows that citizenship is a mechanism for social closure – a legal mechanism regulating state membership, that is not intrinsically concerned with civic attitudes or democratic participation. Similarly, he dissects Yasemin Soysal's *Limits of Citizenship* (1994) – best known for its claims of convergence towards post-nation membership and the deterritorialisation of a person's rights – as being not in opposition to Brubaker, but as being an examination of citizenship and rights, as opposed to one of citizenship as status. Will Kymlicka's *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995) significance stems from the way it pinpoints how no single form of citizenship can be applied to diverse groups: different identity groups may require the differential provision of rights.

This provided an agenda that structures the rest of the book: citizenship as status, as rights, and as providing identity. Joppke argues that there has

been little mutual awareness and dialogue between the literatures on these three aspects, but that some synthesis is critically necessary – necessitated by, and provided by, the issue of migration. His central claim is that citizenship is no longer nationally distinctive, but has become increasingly inclusive and universalistic – ‘citizenship’s internally inclusive core has softened its externally exclusive edges’ (31) – particularly so in Europe. The liberalisation of access to citizenship that has come through the widespread acceptance of *jus soli* and of dual nationality, and the introduction of lower thresholds for naturalisation has been countered by two recent trends – restrictions on Muslim immigrants because of their perceived deficits in integration, and the ‘re-ethnicization’ of citizenship to give rights to those who have migrated from the diasporic countries of Europe. Immigration also is increasingly tied to the rights of citizenship. While, *pace* Soysal, the rights of aliens and immigrants become strengthened, we also see the stratification of rights with variations in the levels of access, and new vulnerabilities emerging for non-nationals. Joppke suggests that multicultural rights are far less supported than has been claimed: it is antidiscrimination rights that have shown the real area of progress. Moving on citizenship as status, citizenship is now being used in new ways as a tool for integration. The contradiction is that the ubiquitous systems of liberal democracy found in these states make it hard to distinguish the particularities of a citizenship into which these migrants are being integrated. There is an amusing romp around the various citizenship ‘tests’ of the US, the UK and the Netherlands that shows the impossibility of distinguishing what is the ‘national’ essence.

The book ends with a consideration of how the triangulation of status/rights/identity might be causally connected. Joppke argues that the real causality for these developments lies in the events of the 1940s – ‘the rejection of state-level racism and accompanying celebration of human rights that has come to constitute the *doxa* or *episteme* of Western societies’ (149). What is the future of citizenship? As citizenship becomes more accessible, it inevitably has less meaning in terms of rights or identity: we become ‘citizenship light.’ In particular in Europe, we are seeing judge-made law on citizenship, that awards rights without obligations, in which citizenship is ‘in itself socially inconsequential, and devoid of a particular cultural content’ (33).

This book presents a sophisticated argument, but one that is lucid and comprehensible: it is more than an excellent introduction to the field, but also provides an invaluable and provocative contribution to our understanding of the issues. Highly recommended.

## References

- Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge MA.
- Soysal, Yasemin. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Post-national Membership in Europe*. Chicago.
- Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford.

## Masthead

### Editors:

Prof. Dr. Reinhold Hedtke, Bielefeld University, Faculty of Sociology  
Prof. Ian Davies, PhD, Department of Educational Studies, University of York,  
UK  
Prof. Dr. Andreas Fischer, Leuphana University Lüneburg, Faculty of  
Economics and Social Sciences  
Prof. Dr. Tilman Grammes, University of Hamburg, Faculty of Education,  
Psychology and Human Movement  
Prof. Isabel Menezes, PhD, University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and  
Educational Sciences  
Prof. Dr. Birgit Weber, University of Cologne, Faculty of Human Sciences

### Editors of the Issue:

Ian Davies, Gillian Hampden Thompson, Maria Tsouroufli, Vanita Sundaram,  
Pippa Lord, Jennifer Jeffes, George Bramley

### Managing Editor:

Anna Zaytseva

### Editorial Office:

Journal of Social Science Education  
Bielefeld University  
Faculty of Sociology  
Postbox 100 131  
33501 Bielefeld  
Germany

E-Mail: [info@jsse.org](mailto:info@jsse.org)

### Editorial Board:

Prof. Dr. Helena C. Araújo, Portugal  
Prof. Dr. François Audigier, Genève, Switzerland  
Prof. Dr. Cesar Birzea, Bucharest, Romania  
Prof. Pepka Boyadjieva, Sofia, Bulgaria  
Ass. Prof. Dr. Kenan Çayir, Istanbul, Turkey  
Prof. Peter Davies, PhD, Stoke-on-Trent, UK  
Prof. Dr. Georgi Dimitrov, Sofia, Bulgaria  
Ass. Prof., PhD, Niklas Eklund, Umeå, Sweden  
Prof. Dr. Peter Filzmaier, Krems, Austria  
Prof. Dr. Karl Peter Fritzsche, Magdeburg, Germany  
Prof. Dr. Ipek Gurkaynak, Ankara, Turkey  
Prof. Dr. Ireneusz Paweł Karolewski, Wrocław, Poland  
Prof. Takahiro Kondo, PhD, Tokyo, Japan  
Prof. Dr. Gitsa Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, Athens, Greece  
Dr. Janez Krek, Ljubljana, Slovenia  
Prof. Dr. Klaus-Peter Kruber, Kiel, Germany



Ass. Prof., PhD, Anna Larsson, Umeå, Sweden  
Prof. Dr. Bruno Losito, Rome, Italy  
Ass. Prof. Despina Makridou-Bousiou, Thessaloniki, Greece  
Dr. Tristan McCowan, London, UK  
Prof. Erich Mistrik, PhD, Bratislava, Slovakia  
Prof. Dr. Concepción Naval, Pamplona, Spain  
Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Fritz Oser, Fribourg, Switzerland  
Prof. Dr. Dr. Constantinos Papanastasiou, Nicosia, Cyprus  
(passed away on January 20, 2012)  
Prof. Dr. Vedrana Spajic-Vrkas, Zagreb, Croatia  
Prof. Dr. Anu Toots, Tallinn, Estonia  
Prof., PhD, Ilo Trajkovski Skopje, Rep. Macedonia  
Prof. Dr. Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, Villeneuve d'Ascq Cedex, France  
Dr. Ruud Veldhuis, Amsterdam, the Netherlands  
Prof. Arja Virta, Turku, Finland  
Ass. Prof. Dr. Irena Zaleskienė, Vilnius, Lithuania