SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT OR SOCIAL CONTROL: AN EXPLORATION
OF PUPILS’ PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF CITIZENSHIP, AND ITS
APPLICATION TO APPROPRIATE TEACHING AND LEARNING IN A
JUNIOR SCHOOL.

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by

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ABSTRACT

The research undertaken was an ethnographic study of a single junior school was founded on the premise that children have considerably more knowledge about ‘citizenship’ and democratic processes than their teachers appreciate or are willing to acknowledge. It was my contention that in developing a citizenship programme and scheme of work in school this should be taken account of to inform, not only the curriculum, but also teaching and learning. My concern was that without doing so, paradoxically, citizenship might have more to do with social control than the intended outcome of empowerment.

A key finding of the study was that teachers taught social and moral responsibility rather than rights and that responsibility was inextricably linked to pupils’ behaviour. It also found that much of the information, knowledge and understanding, about democratic processes held by children appeared to be caught rather than taught. The study also showed that teachers taught about ‘safe issues’ whilst avoiding any teaching relating to local, national or world political events that might be contentious or controversial.

From the findings a theoretical model for citizenship was developed that shows the relationship between citizenship knowledge, social control, empowerment, and teaching and learning. This study has contributed to the developing understanding of citizenship as it has been implemented in primary schools in England. The evidence suggests that unless teachers take account of pupils’ prior knowledge of citizenship they will by default indeed be teaching for social control rather than empowerment.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, John Evan Lloyd, 1926-2003, and my mother, Win Lloyd, who both encouraged me to do my best and gave me the opportunities and support to do so. He would have been so proud.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This really has been a learning journey for me and it appears that I have apparently managed to successfully do all of those things that one should not if one is to achieve a Ph.D. This is due in no small way to all of those colleagues, friends and family who have encouraged me and supported me through a period of change at both a personal and professional level.

I would like to pay tribute to Professor, Sir Bernard Crick whose innovative work on political literacy led to the establishment of the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Citizenship in 1997 and to the eventual implementation of a statutory curriculum for citizenship in secondary schools and a non-statutory framework in primary schools. It was a privilege to work with both him and David Kerr (NFER) at the DfES developing this curriculum into practice in schools.

I would also recognise the work of Noreen Wetton who I first met in the early 1980s and who died in 2005. Her work at Southampton University on accessing children’s prior knowledge of their own health, using draw and write, inspired me to use this technique to explore children’s knowledge of citizenship.

Dr. Margaret Scratchley, Chair of Health and Physical Education at the University of Waitago, New Zealand, has been a good friend and supporter. We embarked on the same journey at the same time and she encouraged and cajoled me to continue when the going got tough. Inviting me to present a paper on my research at the University of
Waitago in October 2005 certainly was a key motivator to write up my study, for which I thank her.

I would also thank Professor, Martin Lawn who supervised my early work before taking a Chair at another University, and Professor, Lynn Davies, Director, Centre for International Education and Research at the University of Birmingham, who stepped in to supervise me. She has listened, questioned, challenged, but most of all supported and given me the confidence to finish this thesis. I couldn’t have done it without her.

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Finally, I owe a huge debt of gratitude to the head teacher, citizenship co-ordinator, teachers, parents and governors at the study school who willingly let me undertake my research and who were always so open and honest about their work

Most of all, I have to acknowledge the children who took part in the study, who participated in the focus groups and the draw and write activities, who were, without doubt, champions for citizenship and wonderful ambassadors for their school.
# CONTENTS

## Chapter One  Emerging Citizenship

1.1 The Citizenship Agenda  
1.2 Social Control or Empowerment  
1.3 The Research  
1.4 Established Practice and Advanced Thinking  
1.4.1 First Citizen  
1.4.2 The Young Peoples’ Parliament  
1.4.3 The Elected Young Peoples’ City Council  
1.4.4 Benchmarks for Citizenship  
1.5 Constraints and Challenges  

## Chapter Two  Citizenship Education: The Changing Landscape

2.1 Introduction  
2.2 The End of the Beginning  
2.2.1 Cross-curricular Themes  
2.2.2 OfSTED Implicated  
2.3 Continuing the Struggle  
2.3.1 The Crick Advisory Group  
2.4 Preparation for Adult Life  
2.5 A Framework and Order for Citizenship  
2.6 Some conclusions and implications  

## Chapter Three  Political Literacy or a subterfuge to escape nasty politics?

3.1 Introduction  
3.2 What political literacy is not  
3.3 Is political literacy about big issues?  
3.4 Political experience  
3.5 Public discourse or democratic deliberation?  
3.6 Some implications for teaching and learning  

## Chapter Four  Methodology

4.1 Introduction  
4.2 A context for Draw and Write  
4.2.1 The Draw and Write technique  
4.3 Focus Groups  
4.4 The school-based research
### 4.4.1 Focus group discussion 88
### 4.4.2 The Draw and Write Exercise 89
### 4.4.3 Interviews 96
### 4.5 Ethical Issues 97
### 4.6 Categorisation of responses 100
### 4.6.1 Categories 101
- Task A. Good Citizenship 101
- Task B. Democratic Rights 102
### 4.6.2 Some questions, issues and responses 104

#### Chapter Five  Results, Analysis and Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Focus Groups</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Draw and Write</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Results for Good Citizens</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Results for Democratic Rights</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Me as a Citizen: Growing Up Today</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Success for Everyone-Benchmarks for Citizenship</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Chapter Six  Conclusions and Implications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Key Findings: What do teachers teach and what do pupils learn?</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>Responsibilities rather than rights</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>Meaning of democracy</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3</td>
<td>Prior knowledge</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.4</td>
<td>Policy into practice</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.5</td>
<td>Assessment for learning</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>A theoretical model for Citizenship learning</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1</td>
<td>The model</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Leadership and management of curriculum innovation</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Implications for primary schools</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.1</td>
<td>Coverage</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>Assessment</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.3</td>
<td>Training</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.4</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.5</td>
<td>Self-evaluation</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.6</td>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Appendices

- 191

#### References

- 224
LIST OF TABLES

Tables

Table 1    Who or what is a good and bad citizen?    108
Table 2    Who what has power in this country?    111
Table 3    Showing results of prompts for Good Citizens 121
Table 4    Showing results of prompts for Democratic Rights 129
Table 5    School PSHE and Citizenship Programme 143
# FIGURES

## Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chronology</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The numbers of pupils participating in each class</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Environmental contexts</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Helping or assisting</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Spoiling the environment</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Being violent</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Not helping or assisting</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Punishment</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Alternatives to punishment</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Voting</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Voting for what or who</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Voting in game shows</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Protesting, betting and bidding</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The process of voting</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Confusing voting and protesting</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>A polling station</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Voting booth</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Voting in school council elections</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>A theoretical model to show the relationship between Citizenship knowledge, social control, empowerment And teaching and learning</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Four types of school approaches to citizenship education</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Conceptual model to illustrate the relationship between The school culture and school practice</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDICES

Appendix 1  Summary of the Commonality in the Cross-curricular Themes  191
Appendix 2  Values in the Curriculum  193
Appendix 3  The Crick Report: Essential Recommendations  195
Appendix 4  Membership of the Advisory and Working Groups and summary of the proposals for the PSHE Framework  198
Appendix 5  Focus group discussion  201
Appendix 6  Draw and Write Activity  221
Appendix 7  Interview prompts for Head Teacher and Co-ordinator  223
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CSV</td>
<td>Community Service Volunteers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DfE</td>
<td>Department for Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DfEE</td>
<td>Department for Education and Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DfES</td>
<td>Department for Education and Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWCC</td>
<td>Interim Whole Curriculum Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEA</td>
<td>Local Education Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LILA</td>
<td>Local Involvement Local Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAPCE</td>
<td>National Association for Pastoral Care in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCC</td>
<td>National Curriculum Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHLG</td>
<td>National Health Education Liaison Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-government Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSCoPSE</td>
<td>National Association of Advisers and Consultants for PSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFER</td>
<td>National Foundation for Educational Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OfSTED</td>
<td>Office for Standards in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAL</td>
<td>Preparation for Adult Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSE</td>
<td>Personal and Social Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSHE</td>
<td>Personal, Social and Health Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCA</td>
<td>Qualifications and Curriculum Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCAA</td>
<td>School Curriculum and Assessment Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMSC</td>
<td>Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YPP</td>
<td>Young People’s Parliament</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE

Emerging citizenship

1.1 The Citizenship Agenda.

In February 1998 I was invited to Malawi by the Malawi Foundation to provide advice on developing a citizenship programme for secondary high schools on behalf of the Malawi Government.

At that time I was struck by the irony that I was advising a country searching its soul to prevent the possibility of ever returning to the one party state of Dr. Hastings Banda’s Presidency, who had ruled by fear and intimidation, whilst in England a similar soul searching and perceived threat to our own democracy was taking place. This threat was encapsulated by the Lord Chancellor, Derry Irvine, who, in a speech to the Citizenship Foundation in January of that year, remarked that:

We should not, must not, dare not be complacent about the health and future of British democracy. Unless we become a nation of engaged citizens, our democracy is not secure (Irvine 1998).

Having been a member of the National Curriculum Council Working Group which advised on the Whole Curriculum and Health Education Guidance within a series that included Education for Citizenship (NCC 1990) as a response to the Education Reform Act 1988, I found myself, ten years on, contemplating the same issues. The Act stated that schools should provide a broad and balanced curriculum that:

Promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society and prepares pupils for the opportunities and experiences of adult life (ERA 1988).

For me, it raised the question as to whether this new citizenship curriculum was to be about social control, as we had feared in the late 1980s under the previous
government, or about empowerment under the new. Why should it have been felt necessary to provide for citizenship education through the introduction of a new statutory order for secondary pupils and a non-statutory framework for those in primary schools within the revision of the National Curriculum? Moreover, as a member of the Ministerial Advisory Group for PSHE, the small group that drafted the Framework and Statutory Order, and more recently the Ministerial Working Group on Citizenship charged with advising on implementation, I found that the emphasis had been very much on the ‘what’; that is, the knowledge, understanding and skills required to become active and responsible citizens.

As with the National Curriculum Council guidance of ten years ago, any suggestion or advice on ‘how’, the pedagogy of teaching and learning, had been omitted. Curriculum Guidance 3: The Whole Curriculum states explicitly that:

The Education Reform Act does not prescribe how pupils should be taught. It is the birthright of the teaching profession, and must always remain so, to decide on the best and most appropriate means of imparting education to pupils (NCC1990:7).

Similarly, for the revised National Curriculum, the Secretary of State had required that the approach should be ‘light touch’, and that teachers and schools should decide how best to deliver the Framework and Statutory Order. This was all the more ironic given the narrow prescription and methodology prescribed in detail for literacy and numeracy in schools and that teachers professed to needing guidance on ‘how’ to deliver citizenship education and their concern to avoid introducing bias and indoctrination into the curriculum.

If ‘how’ was an issue, then ‘when’ certainly was as well, and I believed central to the successful teaching of citizenship at all ages. It was the Norwood Report (1943)
which recognised the ‘vital importance that education should give boys and girls a preparation for their lives as citizens’. The report also noted that ‘the practical problem is to discover how much can appropriately be taught to children at different stages of their development and how that teaching can be best given’ (Norwood 1943: 10).

It was not until 1988 that an attempt to resolve this question in respect of health education was made by Williams, Wetton and Moon, who undertook research into children’s existing health knowledge with 9500 children aged between four and eight years in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. The research was to inform the development of a health education curriculum which would be responsive to their age, stage of development and needs, and make use of appropriate teaching and learning strategies. As the researchers acknowledged:

Far from being empty vessels waiting to receive a measure of health education, what the children brought with them was a wealth of information, often filtered through their own unique explanations. They made sense, too, of what they had only partially grasped, manipulating it to fit with more established, but sometimes inappropriate knowledge, using their own child logic (Williams, Wetton, Moon 1988:103).

Wetton and Moon concluded that:

No one who has explored this view of the world of health would wish to start anywhere other than where children are (1988:104).

What excited and interested me was that, despite these insights into children’s perceptions, no one had explored their world as it relates to their existing knowledge of what it is to be a citizen, nor, as Norwood (1943) suggested as to ‘how that teaching can be best given’. If citizenship education is to be successfully implemented, then as for health, we have to determine where children are. My contention was that pupils in primary schools can understand and articulate complex ‘political’ issues and that curriculum developers and teachers in turn are in danger of
'dumbing down' citizenship education in order to meet a narrowly defined secondary curriculum.

What constitutes best practice for teaching and learning in citizenship education therefore remains a matter of contention. Is best practice to be defined and characterised as those approaches recommended by HMI (1989) that meet specific objectives that encompass personal qualities and attitudes, knowledge and understanding of social responsibilities? And is it the development of social abilities and skills to make moral judgements, act responsibly as an individual, family member and member of a democracy, or is it as Curriculum Guidance 8; Education for Citizenship commended as essential for every pupil?

It helps each of them to understand the duties, responsibilities and rights of every citizen and promotes concern for the values by which a civilised society is identified, justice, democracy and respect for the rule of law (NCC 1990:1).

Whereas the former requires thought, reasoning, reflection and discourse with others, the latter could be taught in an uncritical, didactic manner and be unchallenging in approach and go unchallenged by both teacher and taught. It would appear to be more about social control than a more liberal view of education and the curriculum, where the learners’ values are central to the activity being undertaken and to empowerment.

1.2 Social control or empowerment?

Selbourne expresses the opinion that the notion of empowerment is ‘contradictory nonsense’. He challenges the notion that it is possible for everyone to participate in the civic order in an increasingly democratised society when the right not to participate or to withhold support, is attacked on the grounds that it is not democratic. The argument that in order for everyone to participate, and for political and other
institutions to be made more open and accountable to a citizen body Selbourne argues, is in essence yet another form of social control (Selbourne 1991: 95).

This view is in keeping with the Functionalist concept of social control that encompasses all methods by which society keeps its members obedient to its rules and was developed from Emile Durkheim’s argument that the state has the responsibility:

To work out certain representations which hold good for the collectivity (because) the state is the very organ of social thought (Durkheim 1992:50).

There are various commentaries on social control. Turner maintains that the social context has changed and that in today’s society where neither religion nor religious institutions assert power, citizenship provides us with a common national culture, common set of identities and a common value system, and so through the state, regulates society and moral activity (1999:267). Cavadino and Dignan emphasise that society and human action are structured by social rules and values and portray social systems as reproducing themselves through socialisation:

The transmission of social values to new generation through the family, the education system and so on (Cavadigno and Dignan 1997:69).

Illich takes the view that schools themselves are instruments of social control which reproduce the relations of a wider society and that they reinforce existing social and economic distinctions. Young and Whitty take this theme further:

The selection of ‘cognitive’ knowledge in the school curriculum also communicates a somewhat distorted view of reality, a view that often supports political and intellectual quiescence rather than conflict and serious questioning by students (Young and Whitty 1977:111).

This is supported by Hextall and Sarup who believe that children learn to locate themselves and others in various forms of ranking and to evaluate themselves in relation to others according to certain criteria and to fit into the world of the ‘given’ and the ‘natural’ (1977:158). Lister applies this to citizenship as a force for inclusion
and as a force for exclusion; the ‘imprint of opposite templates’. Inclusionary and exclusionary criteria, she asserts, can be applied to ethnicity, race, class and gender. It can be argued that citizenship, therefore, maintains the status quo as women continue to be grossly underrepresented in positions of political and economic power, whilst the rights of Black people continue to be undermined by racial discrimination, harassment and violence:

The continued power of social class, in interaction with other sources of exclusion, to shape the contours of citizenship, should not be underestimated (Lister 1998:56).

Empowerment, on the other hand, Troyna argues, shows ‘inconsistency and lack of precision’ in educational matters, drawing attention to the distinction between empowerment and giving a voice. He maintains that:

It is the continuing absence of a clear understanding of power within this literature, empowerment becomes, as is the customary fate with essentially contested concepts, meaningless (Troyna 1994:20).

There is a distinction, therefore, to be made between ‘enabling’ and ‘empowerment’ where the latter carries with it an agent of empowerment where someone or something is doing the empowering. Gove argues that ‘to empower’ implies giving or conferring power where power is seen as property and that there is a vision of the desired end-state (1993:23). Does this imply, as Brennan (1996), Wynn (1995) and Watts (1995) assert, that this is more about social control than a means of overcoming unequal power relationships that characterise modern society? Clarke also draws attention to the confusion between power and empowerment where power comes from those impersonal and ‘external’ means of influence which an individual possesses, such as wealth, status and information. He argues that authority which encompasses power, although not dependent upon it, comes from an individual’s view
of his or her own worth and is ascribed to an individual in so far as his or her own
worth is affirmed by others. Community education he maintains:

Should help strengthen the authority of all individuals and systems in ways
which encourage them to take increasing responsibility for their own lives and

Watts takes a similar view in calling for civics and citizenship education to:

Be an empowering process that will result in young people having a real sense

Fogelman asserts that participation provides the skills and attitudes and a commitment
to the community which is based upon action and experience. This is he argues is
central to the concept of empowerment and has implication for teaching (and
learning) methods and style. This is not a matter of stark alternatives in teaching
methods he claims:

But many of the objectives in citizenship education do seem to imply a greater
emphasis on group teaching as against whole class teaching, more
collaborative and co-operative approaches, greater use of student projects or
student-led activities and more use of resources outside the classroom
(Fogelman 1997:90).

Crick, I believe, made recommendations that trod a fine line between the extremes of
empowerment and social control (if they were to be viewed as a continuum)
categorising citizenship into four key areas: key concepts, values and dispositions,
skills and aptitudes, and knowledge and understanding. However, the report avoided
the prescription of advice on teaching and learning, recommending that:

The manner and acquisition is a matter for the professional judgement of
teachers taking into account what is appropriate to the age and abilities of the
pupils concerned. In this way pupils’ learning in citizenship education is
manageable and capable of being reinforced and further development as they
progress through the key stages (Crick 1998:46).
In my view, not only does this make assumptions about the ability of teachers to make professional judgements about the teaching and learning strategies required for citizenship, but also paradoxically prescribes not only what should be taught, but how. In recommending the three interrelated strands of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy which support the curriculum for PSHE and Citizenship at Key Stages 1 and 2, and Citizenship Education at Key Stages 3 and 4, teaching and learning approaches demand attention to more than just the imparting of civic knowledge. They require the development of the skills of enquiry and communication, and the skills of participation and responsible action. My contention was that as outlined at the beginning of the study, teachers in any phase of education, need advice on how this may be undertaken effectively. Nor is any recommendation made to establish a requirement to evaluate what pupils may already know that may be used effectively to create a baseline for prior knowledge. I believe that without this acceptance of prior knowledge and prior learning about citizenship the appropriateness of teaching and learning approaches can be called into question as teachers fail to distinguish between social control and empowerment. How are pupils enabled to participate, how are they given responsibility and what are they given responsibility for, how are they included in the political process in the class and school and how does the school involve pupils in determining the answers to such questions? This lies at the heart of teaching and learning in citizenship.

1.3 The research

There are, then, three key reasons for doing this research. Firstly, I wanted to consider whether the new framework and statutory order were about social control or empowerment. Secondly, I wanted to examine why the emphasis in this curriculum is
on ‘what’ with so little regard for the pedagogy of teaching and learning. And lastly, I wanted to relate what children already know about what it is to be a citizen, to appropriate teaching and learning and to the provision of a curriculum appropriate to their needs and stage of development.

In order to contextualise the research questions, established practice in Birmingham will firstly be described exemplifying in my view, the best current practice associated with effective teaching and learning. It will also draw attention to Benchmarks for Citizenship that any school may use to review its own practice. This study will review such initiatives to see whether they are indeed ‘best practice’ and to tease out dimensions of empowerment and will explore what ‘best practice’ is in terms of defining what citizenship means for a school. It will consider the way in which prior knowledge and learning may be taken into account, the appropriateness of the teaching and learning required to provide meaningful experiences, the strategic management of that provision and the support given to classroom teachers. A school study takes these questions further, providing an in-depth ethnography of a Junior school as it seeks to develop an appropriate citizenship curriculum for all of its pupils. To what extent does the school build upon existing provision and practice? To what extent has the head teacher in the study used the benchmarks, how have they been used, what issues and questions were raised for the school, do the benchmarks need revising or further development to promulgate best practice?

Further questions are, what assumptions do teachers bring to the classroom about the value of citizenship to the pupils and the school? What are the challenges to the school’s priorities in matching the entitlement to the taught curriculum? To what extent are the needs and priorities of the pupils taken into account and their prior
knowledge of citizenship used to determine what should be taught, how and when?
How are appropriate teaching and learning strategies planned for in order to deliver
the key concepts, values and attitudes, skills and aptitudes, and the knowledge and
understanding that underpin the citizenship curriculum?

The study will question practice, identify the challenges and concerns facing the
school and discern those activities which the school may still need to carry through in
making the curriculum responsive to the values of the school and the needs of its
pupils. The assumption behind these questions is that the school may be unaware of
the relationship between the management of the curriculum and the teaching and
learning approaches necessary for effective learning to take place. Consequently the
outcomes for citizenship may be different from those intended and planned for. In my
view, it is highly likely that what pupils learn is not what is taught.

The study will attempt to place the curriculum in the school in the context of the
changing landscape for citizenship 1989-1999, the latter being the year that saw the
final draft of the revisions to the National Curriculum and the inclusion of citizenship.
It will analyse the papers and guidance that attempted to define and then redefine
citizenship focusing upon the implicit and explicit aims and to the extent to which
these reflect the political realities of the period. In so doing the study will be an
ethnography of one school, examining the assumptions, the policies, the practice and
the challenges faced by school management and teachers set against the requirements
of the taught curriculum, as defined by the QCA (1999), and the needs and priorities
of their pupils. The thesis will set out the recent history of the citizenship curriculum
and the contemporary context of the new Curriculum 2000, examine the thinking
behind the curriculum through a literature review; explore the knowledge and
understanding of pupils in the school being studied through focus group work, their teachers’ views and the resultant ‘draw and write’ activity as a means of ascertaining levels of prior learning, knowledge and understanding of citizenship; provide a commentary on and recommendations about what best practice might be in raising pupils’ levels of knowledge, understanding and skills for citizenship.

The following section illustrates some practice in Birmingham schools which, I believe, has had a positive effect on practice, thinking and ultimately pupils’ learning about citizenship.

1.4 Established practice and advanced thinking in Birmingham

In my role as an Adviser in Birmingham, I had for some time been supporting schools in their development of ‘circle time’ approaches, school councils, peer mediation and appropriate responses to bullying. However, two major local initiatives had begun during that period before the 1997 General Election. In 1995, a project involving primary schools from across the authority in raising money for the Lord Mayor’s Charity appeal and introducing pupils to knowledge about the role of the Lord Mayor and the workings of the City Council had been developed. In 1997, a project to engage pupils in secondary schools in issues relating to the then forthcoming General Election itself was established and it is in this background and context that citizenship education has developed in Birmingham.

Research commissioned by Birmingham Education Service, into the effectiveness of the Education Development Plan priorities of the Local Education Authority undertaken by the University of Birmingham School of Education (Gunter 2001) had
identified the importance of school councils in their inclusion and consultation strategies. This is particularly so for raising the achievement of under-achieving pupils. Schools highly prize the active engagement of pupils both in primary and secondary schools. However, school councils are but one tool in the tool box for developing active and participative citizenship begun long before the then Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett, established the Advisory Group for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy chaired by Professor Bernard Crick. The Advisory Group reported in September 1998, its purpose having been announced by the Secretary of State, David Blunkett, in earlier in June:

> An understanding of our democracy is a prerequisite for its continued health. Linking the personal development, the moral, the spiritual, the cultural, and the physical, to the development of active citizenship is crucial if we are to maintain the lifeblood of our democratic system. Active participation and the involvement in a civil society, together with an understanding of and a willingness to contribute to representative democracy will be vital if we are to stem the tide of apathy (Blunkett 1998).

Grierson and Lloyd (1998) maintain that active citizenship requires quality experiences that will enable children and young people to participate effectively and to learn from the process. The approach in Birmingham has been to support schools in the provision of quality experiences, whilst recognising that knowledge and understanding are as vital as the development of skills and the promotion of positive attitudes and values in promulgating social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. This is required by the curriculum for citizenship across all Key Stages (QCA 1999).

To illustrate this, it is necessary to exemplify what in my opinion is perceived to be the ‘good practice’ and ‘empowerment’ for pupils in Birmingham which I shall critically evaluate later, and examine some of the constraints and challenges that face both schools and the Local Education Authority in carrying forward the national as
well as local citizenship agenda. There are four initiatives. The First Citizen project could be seen as good practice in developing an understanding of political contexts for pupils in primary schools, whilst the Young People’s Parliament demonstrates how young people in secondary schools can, through the use of Information and Communications Technology, engage in global citizenship. The argument to consult with pupils in schools at a local level is described in the Elected Young People’s Council, whilst the importance of all schools engaging in a process of self-review is promoted through the use of Benchmarks for Citizenship described last.

1.4.1 First Citizen

First Citizen began in 1995 when the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Knowles, invited a former Head Teacher David Neale, to involve pupils from primary schools in fund raising for the annual Lord Mayor’s Charity Appeal. In devising a programme Neale wished to offer schools the opportunity to participate in a project on citizenship and civic responsibility based on the role of Birmingham’s First Citizen, the Lord Mayor (Neale and Tovey 1996). Supported by the Chair of the Education Committee and the Chief Education Officer, Professor Tim Brighouse, a teacher resource was commissioned which would provide schools with an opportunity to find out about the city. It would examine why it had grown from the small settlement, as described in the Domesday Book of 1086, to the thriving industrial city of today, the function of the City Council and the role of the elected councillors and Lord Mayor in local democracy. An integral part of the activity would be a visit to Birmingham’s Council Chamber during Citizenship week and to participate in a debate with other schools on a topical issue that would be chaired by the Lord Mayor. In schools the pupils would
also, by secret ballot, choose which of the Lord Mayor’s charities they would raise funds for and how they would manage this.

Neale and Tovey reported that many of the children participating knew very little about the history of their city and how it had grown to what it is today. First Citizen not only provided a source of local study activity in geography and history but also gave them a new vocabulary:

After looking at the city itself as history, the children then began to look in some detail at the Council running the city. After a discussion about another piece of vocabulary, ‘electorate’, children looked in more detail at the parliamentary constituency they lived in and the Member of Parliament responsible for it. The children wrote letters to their local MP about their concerns, which ranged from animal welfare, to the closure of a day centre for children with special needs in the vicinity’ (Neale and Tovey 1996:33).

Children, Neale and Tovey observed, found it difficult to connect anything that occurred in Birmingham to Parliament in London, not appreciating that City Councillors also represent the three major political parties. Choosing by secret ballot and then raising money for their chosen charity helped them understand the principle of voting democratically as did the vote on a motion presented in the Council Chamber. Children listened to the opposing views from both sides and presented their own opinions. Besides raising money for charity, Neale and Tovey maintained that the visit to the Council House complemented all of the work completed during the Citizenship Project and made it seem more real. The children gained an invaluable insight into the working of the Council and their own role as citizens. Most importantly, they had had the opportunity to develop some of the skills required of a good citizen.
On average some eighty to one hundred primary schools annually are involved in First Citizen and participate in Citizenship Week. Several thousand pupils have participated since 1995 and could be seen to have raised over £20,000 for the Lord Mayor’s Charities. In the process, they have developed the social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy required by the National Curriculum Framework for Personal, Social and Health Education and Citizenship (QCA 1999). Debates in the Council Chamber, chaired by successive Lord Mayors, have included proposals to extend the school day, additional lessons in Mathematics and English, charge pupils as part of a sustainable schools policy for any materials they waste and learn a European language in order to be good European Citizens. In recent years, pupils have been invited to design a motif that can be reproduced on the First Citizen booklet. The Lord Mayor receives the winning entrants and their families in the Lord Mayor’s Parlour; all participants in the project receive a certificate acknowledging their contribution to the development of Citizenship in the city.

First Citizen is sustained by the enthusiasm and excitement of those that organise it, the participating schools and the pupils. However, David Neale and his helpers are all volunteers and the cost of the publication of the First Citizen booklets are absorbed by the Education service as its contribution to the Lord Mayor’s Charity Appeal.

1.4.2 The Young People’s Parliament

In partnership with Birmingham’s University of the First Age, and with the support of the Advisory Service, the Young People’s Parliament (YPP) came into being at the time of the UK General Election held in May 1997. The University of the First Age promotes enrichment activities in out of hours, out of school, out of term time for
young people in danger of underachieving. The YPP was seen as an essential part of this strategy. Grierson and Lloyd (1999) noted that the General Election Project had two main elements, one primarily educational focused around citizenship issues and the participation of young people; the other more technical and concerned with exploring possible uses of emerging information and communications technology (ICT). Putting the two together, young people in Birmingham were linked with their peers in other parts of the UK to consider issues of particular concern to them relating to the General Election. Making use of video conferencing facilities provided by British Telecom to connect secondary students as part of the process for ‘hot seating’ politicians locally and nationally, students participated in debates on ‘live’ political issues. Meeting in Birmingham the day before the General Election in the Council Chamber, they presented party political arguments culminating in a vote on which party would best govern the country, the actual election outcome mirroring that of the student delegates from around the country.

In 1998, Birmingham hosted the G8 Summit which was to provide a unique opportunity for young people to enter into global rather than local citizenship through a parallel Young People’s Summit hosted by the YPP. Aimed at students, aged 16 to 19 in schools and in further education, seven Birmingham schools were identified and linked to a school in another part of the UK and to a school in one of the G8 countries, again using the medium of ICT and especially video conferencing. Supported by British telecom, regional conferences and a national conference were held in Birmingham to elect a Birmingham and a UK delegate to the Young People’s Summit. A web-site was created to post agendas, position papers information and responses, and a talk board enabled students to share views and argue, indeed it
helped to shape the provisional programme for the Summit itself. The web-site was later to become the home site for the Young People’s Parliament www.ypp.org.uk

Each of the G8 countries, Russia and the European Union itself sent two elected student delegates to join the Birmingham and UK delegates. With support from Birmingham City Council and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Young People’s Summit was opened by the Prime Minister in Birmingham’s Council Chamber. Advised by a leading UK firm of solicitors, the Summit held formal sessions taking into account the technical and legal guidance on international law, producing a final communiqué covering education and employment, drugs, environment, child labour and exploitation, nuclear disarmament, national unity, globalisation and genetics.

Encouraged by the World leaders at the G8 Summit, and as Grierson and Lloyd note:

The future of democracy requires the commitment and participation of young people at all levels-local, regional, national and international and the acknowledgement by those in power of the legitimacy of their voice is a fundamental prerequisite for this (Grierson and Lloyd 1998:11-16).

The YPP thereafter became the virtual home for debates involving pupils from both primary and secondary schools in Birmingham on live political issues. Providing schools with up to the minute information from local and national media sources, making use of their own research including the internet, pupils came prepared to the Council Chamber to participate in a series of further debates. Chaired by senior local politicians, and in one case by a Birmingham MP, debates took place on; transportation and proposals to charge motorists for driving into the city centre, the use of genetically modified food products, health and education, the City Council’s
budget proposals, and the proposal to replace the Lord Mayor with an elected mayor for the City. Pupils made presentations and argued for or against the motion, the Chair summing up before they used the electronic voting system to cast their vote.

The debate on transportation included a presentation from pupils at Fox Hollies School, a school for children with emotional and behavioural difficulties, who presented their arguments with the aid of Makaton, a word processing programme that uses picture symbols alongside words they represent. They made very powerful statements concerning their reliance on public transport and taxis to get them across the City to school and the effect that such a policy would have on them.

In the presence of local politicians these were neither a mock event nor simulation but a real time and real issue activity enabling young people to express opinions and hear those of their peers on matters that affect them. The elected members who acted as chairpersons for the debates spoke of their high regard for the quality of the debates and the arguments put forward so eloquently by many of the pupils.

Without exception they undertook to report the outcome of the debates to their own committees. From this relatively small pilot activity, these debates became focus for the development of an elected young peoples’ city council.

1.4.3 The Elected Young People’s City Council

Hosted by the YPP and supported by the UFA and City Council, an elected council involving pupils from primary and secondary schools who would represent their school council in each of Birmingham’s 39 Wards (local electoral constituencies), was planned for. Only those schools with school councils were to be allowed to
participate to ensure that Council members were elected by their peers. Inclusive of those pupils in special education the YPP Elected City Council would complement an existing representative forum for young people out of school managed by the Youth Service.

Annual elections were to take place each summer. It was proposed that candidates would post their personal profiles and short manifestos on their own school web site which would be accessible to all schools on the Birmingham Grid for Learning intranet and the YPP web site www.ypp.org.uk, which it was intended would also provide the facility for on-line voting. Members would hold office for one year and meet six times. Although not fully representative of every school or Ward, the Council had met to adopt its procedures, and was to report to the City Council’s councillors and officers including the Leader and Chief Executive.

This unique and innovative approach to involving young people in consultation about matters that affect them has been recognised by the Government. The YPP, as a result, received a citizenship grant to help develop the new technology, on line voting and video conferencing facility at Birmingham’s Millennium Point where a purpose-built 200 seat auditorium is now the physical home of the YPP. The web site provides ‘a virtual meeting place for pupils of all ages to explore, discuss and debate issues of common concern’.

Local Involvement Local Action (LILA), a Ward based consultation between councillors, officers and the general public has not been very successful in involving children and young people in their own communities on issues of common concern.
Extending the role of school councils, pupils at both primary and secondary schools are now represented at their Ward meetings and encouraged to make presentations and participate more fully in the political life of the communities in which they live. In keeping with the Local Government Association’s desire for greater participation and the Government’s own agenda for schools set out in the White Paper on Education which states that:

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We will encourage students’ active participation in the decisions that affect them, about their learning and more widely (DfES 2001:3.46).
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LILA supports the ideals of developing political literacy and greater community involvement beyond that of the YPP.

### 1.4.4 Benchmarks for Citizenship

Self-review of not only the curriculum provided, but also the way in which it promotes citizenship as a principle throughout and within the context of the wider community and the stakeholders it serves, has much to commend it. As part of Birmingham Education Service’s commitment to raise standards and improve schools generally, and where schools find themselves in challenging circumstances, criteria or benchmarks have been established to further the development of citizenship in schools. These benchmarks provide schools, nursery, primary, secondary and special, with a tool to reflect upon and evaluate their practice (Lloyd et al 2000). Categorised under the seven headings of leadership, management and organisation, creating the environment, teaching and learning, staff development, collective review, and parental and community involvement, each provides a set of descriptors, which enable a school to review its provision for citizenship against the ideal. They provide a progression from a minimum standard that all schools should subscribe to, *emergent* practice; through continuing developments at a higher level where practice is
established; to practice that is highly developed or advanced. As a whole school and curriculum activity, schools can self-review their practice, mapping their current provision, identifying those areas requiring support and development whilst celebrating what they do well. Such a review, undertaken on a regular basis, is to enable schools to further develop their citizenship curriculum and progress through the three levels. This is illustrated here for Leadership, which is the principal section critiqued in the school-based research described in Chapter 5.

Emergent practice

The school

• recognises that the quality of life is affected by the nature of relationships in communities
• recognises that Britain is a multi-faith, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual society
• recognises that citizenship has a relevant part to play in the broad curriculum

Established practice

The school

• has a teacher responsible for developing citizenship and a governor with responsibility for the oversight of citizenship
• provides opportunities for children to participate in citizenship through consultation with the children themselves
• makes a positive statement in the school prospectus about citizenship
• supports action that enhances the relationships within the community
• celebrates and respects cultures of society at large
recognises, through appropriate action from senior management and governors, the need to provide appropriate resources

**Advanced practice**

The school

- senior management team consults with representatives from pupils in all major decisions and treats seriously concerns raised by them
- senior management team actively involves the community and parents and is involved in the community
- governors adopt the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ensure that staff and children are familiar with it
- consistently demonstrates awareness of Britain’s place in Europe and the global community
- makes links with voluntary and statutory organisations

The Success for Everyone - Benchmarks for Citizenship, provided a challenge for the study school to achieve as they moved from not only engaging children and young people in the citizenship curriculum, but also in the process of the democratisation of the school and increasing interaction with their community. These activities are united by the common thread of practice that encourages participation and the achievement of the essential elements to be reached by the end of compulsory schooling (Crick 1988: 44). Expressed in terms of key concepts, values and dispositions, skills and aptitudes, and knowledge and understanding, each activity is underpinned by these and engages pupils in the development of citizenship and being an ‘active citizen’ within their school and community. The teaching and learning approaches used are
those which acknowledge the interrelationship between the essential elements and the
development of those skills subsequently set out in the programmes of study for
PSHE and Citizenship at Key Stages 1 and 2, Citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4 (QCA
1999), and the associated scheme of work (QCA 2001).

The Benchmarks take the relationship between the notion of citizenship and being a
citizen further as they lead into the research questions about the way and manner in
which schools enable pupils, through citizenship, to be citizens in their school and in
their community. My hypothesis is that a school that participates in citizenship
activities, as described, will be demonstrating best practice in terms of citizenship
education, teaching and learning, and empowerment of pupils and their teachers.

1.5 Constraints and Challenges

Despite the success of externally provided initiatives such as those described above, a
number of constraints remain for school practice which continue to challenge local
education authorities (LEAs) as they strive to support teachers in the delivery of the
citizenship curriculum in England. Kerr (1999) sets out these challenges in terms of
definition, location, approach, involvement, resourcing and purpose, seeing these as
the ultimate challenge to the Government’s agenda for citizenship in schools.

Many schools have yet to come to terms with defining what citizenship means for
them and where citizenship should be located in the curriculum. Schools do need to
review their practice, as in the benchmarking process, and to agree their own mission
statement. They also need to audit what they do through subjects of the curriculum.
They must recognise the opportunities for citizenship learning and teaching, provided
by discrete time, and value and celebrate those activities that enrich the life of the school through school councils, peer mentoring, mediation, clubs and societies, arts and drama, sport and adventure, and community involvement and volunteering. These may happen in school time, but also in out of hours and out of school time.

Schools should decide where to locate citizenship according to their own priorities and with regard to the needs of their pupils, ensuring that the entitlement for all pupils is being met. The challenge is to reassure teachers that they can make use of their existing provision and further develop it without overloading an already over-loaded timetable and curriculum. To this end, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA 2001) Schemes of Work for Citizenship Education were written to assist teachers in managing the planning in terms of a whole school approach and both the content and teaching processes necessary for successful learning to take place,

As part of the Government’s Standards Fund Grants allocation to schools in England, £12 million had been set aside for primary and secondary schools in 2000 to develop their PSHE and Citizenship programmes, especially through training and the purchase of resources. Devolved directly to schools the grant share for each school was relatively small and given that schools could vire grant money to other priorities it is difficult to ascertain how schools have been using this grant and its effectiveness. Unlike the strategies to raise standards in literacy and numeracy in primary schools, and more recently the Key Stage 3 Strategy in secondary schools, grant funding had not been given to LEAs to manage. The challenge for LEAs, therefore, at that time, was to help schools manage their own implementation strategically.
The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) did, however, fund a number of significant citizenship organisations, including the Citizenship Foundation, Institute for Citizenship, Community Service Volunteers, Hansard, Heartstone and School Councils UK to develop resources to support the implementation of citizenship. It has also funded the development of its own web-site for citizenship www.dfes.gov.uk/citizenship which besides identifying and tagging key citizenship organisations’ web-sites and resources, provides an on-line training and development facility for teachers and schools. This is consistent with research by Kerr et al (2000), which suggests that citizenship education would be improved if teachers:

Had better materials, more increased training on subject matter and more teaching time. In England, teachers ranked training on subject matter and better materials as their top development priorities (2001:7).

The challenge will be to encourage schools to use the web-site facility as a means rather than to view it as the end itself, and to make effective use of the training and resources provided by those significant citizenship organisations.

Another major challenge is, as Baker, Sillett and Neary note:

To encourage LEAs and schools to link the work being done involving young people in the work of the council and the wider community to work that needs to be done to meet the requirements of the National Curriculum on Citizenship (Baker, Sillett and Neary 2000:16).

Many local authorities in England, like Birmingham, are doing much to develop citizenship for pupils and young people both in and out of school. I would assert that quality experiences lie at the heart of citizenship education in our schools. As Grierson and Lloyd (1998) conclude, schools must provide the experiences that move from the emergent stage of citizenship education, where pupils are seen as passive receivers, through to an established stage, where pupils are contributors to their own curriculum, and then to advanced practice, where genuine partnerships exist between all of the stakeholders. This has to be seen as essential if the key concepts, values and
dispositions that underpin the knowledge and understanding, skills and aptitudes of the citizenship curriculum, as set out by Crick (1998), are to be delivered effectively in our schools. Local Education Authorities must continue to be major players in this.

The central question for the study then, is how does a school turn this into reality?

The next chapter will examine the recent history of citizenship education in the contemporary context of the citizenship curriculum for schools (QCA 2000) and what the central requirements are for teaching and learning.
CHAPTER TWO


2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the history and development of the citizenship curriculum during a significant period of political interference and educational change. I explore the thinking behind the citizenship curriculum, as set out in the revisions to the National Curriculum (QCA 2000) and the Statutory Order that established citizenship education as a compulsory subject for all pupils in secondary schools from the year 2002.

The first section will describe the background to the entitlement to personal and social development set out in the Education Reform Act (1988) and the establishment of the Cross-Curricular Themes including citizenship. It will also look at the implications of OfSTED inspections in schools for citizenship. In the second section, the national debate around values, spiritual, moral, social and cultural education will be examined and how the changed political agenda following the 1997 General Election led to the establishment of the Advisory Group on Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools. In the final section, I describe the events leading to the establishment of Citizenship Education in secondary schools and the associated Framework for Personal Social and Health Education, supported by the unified non-statutory Framework for PSHE and Citizenship in primary schools.
2.2 The End of the Beginning

Section 1 of the Education Reform Act (1988) established the basic curriculum and RE comprising of three ‘core’ subjects and seven other foundation subjects. In order to provide a balanced, broadly based and cohesive whole curriculum, which comprised this basic curriculum, but which went beyond it to embrace the totality of pupil experiences in school, a range of cross-curricular issues were identified by the National Curriculum Council. It recognised the statutory responsibility on schools to provide a broad and balanced curriculum which would satisfy the requirement of the Act that the curriculum promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society’ and ‘prepares pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life’ (ERA 1988: 1).

The National Curriculum Council established the Interim Whole Curriculum Committee as a response to the Rt.Hon. Kenneth Baker Secretary of State's letter of 26th August 1988 to the Council, in which he asked for an ‘early consideration of the nature and place of these cross-curricular issues, and, in particular to personal and social education including health education.’ The IWCC, chaired by Malcolm Brigg, met five times and in March 1989 reported to the Council recommending the establishment of cross-curricular elements which would make a major contribution to personal and social education (PSE).

These would include three areas: Dimensions requiring the promotion of ‘positive attitudes in all pupils towards cultural diversity, gender equality and people with disabilities, as well as particular provision for ethnic minority pupils, girls and boys, and children with special educational needs.’ Competencies and skills ‘such as
problem-solving, study skills, literacy, oracy, numeracy and graphicy (to be replaced by information technology later) as well as other communication skills which are developed in all subjects’; and Complementary Studies, (later to be called Themes) ‘each with strong identifiable components of knowledge and understanding as well as of attitudes and skills.’ These were identified by the IWCC (1989:8) as health education; economic and industrial awareness; citizenship (at individual, family, community, national and international levels, and including legal and political dimensions); environmental education; and careers education.

To this end, five task groups had been established to provide for ‘a more detailed mapping of the Cross Curricular Themes’; ‘further work on the relationship between identified themes and the broader purposes and processes of personal and social education’; and development of ‘guidance aimed at school managers, teachers, and governors’ (IWCC1989:10). The task groups were also to advise the National Curriculum subject task groups on the ways in which the Themes might be delivered through those subjects. It was also noted by the IWCC that ‘powerful pressures to adopt a multiplicity of cross-curricular priorities may lead to an overloading of the curriculum that would be damaging to the pupil’… and that…”successful integration and co-ordination across the curriculum would need much careful planning” (IWCC 1989:11).

In June 1989 an internal paper of the NCC which was to form the basis of Circular Number 6: The National Curriculum and Whole Curriculum planning: Preliminary Guidance October in 1989, firmly established the five Cross Curricular Themes which teachers would ‘need to consider if they are to promote the purposes of education laid
down in the Education Reform Act’. The paper goes on to state that ‘these themes make an important contribution to the personal and social development of pupils’ in which personal and social education is ‘arguably the most important of the cross-curricular dimensions to which schools need to give attention, PSE being seen as the ‘promotion of personal and social development through the curriculum, being concerned with fundamental educational aims and permeating the whole curriculum’ (1989:7). This, it was affirmed, ‘should not be left to chance. It should be a priority for school management and the subject of an explicit whole school policy’.

During the same period, the United Kingdom had become party to the European Resolutions of the Council and of the Ministers of Education meeting within the Council concerning Environmental Education (24 May 1988), and on Health Education. In a letter to Philip Halsey, Chairman and Chief Executive at the School Examinations and Assessment Council and to Duncan Graham, Chairman and Chief Executive at the National Curriculum Council, Nick Stuart, Deputy Secretary at the Department for Education and Science on the 17th January 1989 writing on behalf of the Secretary of State for Education, required them to take account of the Resolutions in discharging their responsibilities under the 1988 Education Act and in particular to the development of the Cross Curricular Themes, Skills and Dimensions. This was significant because it introduced a political dimension that was wider than the national agenda at the time. It would eventually lead to the establishment of a European Project on Health Promoting Schools and the subsequent development of the National Healthy School Standard in England.
Much of the NCC deliberation on personal and social education was informed by HMI who stated that ‘various cross-curricular themes, including health education, environmental education, economic awareness, political education, and careers education and guidance, can play a significant part in contributing to pupils’ personal and social development. It is interesting to note that ‘political education’ was identified as a theme rather than that of the broader notion of ‘citizenship’ (HMI 1989: 7).

Specifically, they defined objectives that encompassed personal qualities and attitudes to include:

- consideration for others
- a sense of fairness, together with respect for the processes of law and for the legal rights of others
- readiness to act on behalf of the legitimate interests of others who cannot effectively so act for themselves
- a commitment to promoting the wellbeing of the community through democratic means

And knowledge and understanding of social responsibilities to include:

- the nature of rules, why they exist and how they differ from law
- the structures and procedures through which laws are made and enforced
- the main reasons why laws are enacted and legitimate ways in which they may be supported or questioned
- the nature of those laws which promote healthy living and the safety of society;
- sources of legal information and advice
- the legal and moral aspects of sexual relationships and marriage
• ways in which social groups are structured economically, politically and socially;
• the rights and responsibilities of citizenship
• decision-making in a democratic society.

They recommended that from an early age pupils should be developing social abilities and skills to:
• make moral judgements about what to do in actual situations, justify them, and put them into practice as necessary
• take initiatives and act responsibly as an individual and member of the family, school or wider community
• act as members of a democracy

This was a radical departure from the usual guidance published by HMI and, although ready, its publication was delayed because of fears about both the content and its implications for school practice. Concern was expressed that this might confuse schools at a time when further guidance was to be published by the NCC. It also begged the question that what was being proposed was radical in itself and would schools cope with this on top of the detail of the National Curriculum subjects and attainment targets and programmes of study?

It was also partly as a result of the Speaker’s Commission on Citizenship (Patron, The Right Honourable the Lord Bernard Weatherill) that publicly advocated, inter alia, ‘that a place be found for citizenship studies in schools’, that education for citizenship was raised in status and profile at the NCC (DFE 1990). Although there was no direct political interference, it is of interest to note that the Task Groups were advised by NCC Professional Officers to avoid words like assertive and empowerment as these
were associated by the Government with the various rights campaigns of the time including the Greenham Common anti cruise missile protest and gay rights. This did raise the concern that the cross-curricular themes were more about social control than social liberation and education.

2.2.1 Cross-Curricular Themes

Curriculum Guidance 3: The Whole Curriculum was published in March 1990 and provided the context for the five subsequent guidance documents for each of the cross-curricular themes published by the NCC during 1990 and including Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship.

Guidance 3 (1990) for the first time defined the aims of education for citizenship as to:

- establish the importance of positive, participative citizenship and provide the motivation to join in
- help pupils to acquire and understand essential information on which to base the development of their skills, values and attitudes towards citizenship

Whilst accepting that there was ‘no accepted definition of citizenship’ at that time within the United Kingdom, it was suggested that the components of community, democracy in action, the citizen and the law, work and employment, public services, a plural society, leisure, and being a citizen should form the basic framework of education for citizenship in schools.
Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship followed in November 1990. In its Foreword, Duncan Graham (Chairman and Chief Executive of the National Curriculum Council) commended education for citizenship as:

essential for every pupil. It helps each of them to understand the duties, responsibilities and rights of every citizen and promotes concern for the values by which a civilised society is identified – justice, democracy, respect for the rule of law (NCC1990:i).

To this end education for citizenship set out to embrace both responsibilities and rights in the present and preparation for citizenship in adult life.

Whilst promoting knowledge, skills, attitudes, moral codes and values, education for citizenship identified eight essential components for citizenship. The first three explored the broad areas of:

- the nature of community
- the roles and relationships in a pluralist society
- the duties, responsibilities and rights of being a citizen

The remaining five explored specific, everyday contexts for citizenship in the present and future lives of pupils:

- the family
- democracy in action,
- the citizen and the law
- work, employment and leisure
- public services
All eight were perceived as being inter-related and not to be seen in isolation in planning for a school’s provision.

Detailed guidance and exemplification for each of the eight essential components was given with particular reference to planning at each Key Stage to provide for continuity and progression and to establish links with other subjects of the core and foundation curriculum.

The Guidance also made reference to the teaching of controversial issues and to the Education (No 2) Act 1986, Sections 44 and 45, which place:

- duties on Local Education Authorities, governing bodies and head teachers to forbid partisan political activities in primary schools and the promotion of partisan political views in the teaching of any subject in all schools. Where political issues are brought to the attention of pupils there is also a duty to secure that they are offered a balanced presentation of opposing views. (DES 1986: Now Section 407 of the Education (Schools) No 2 Act 1996)

Education for Citizenship was the last of the Cross-Curricular Themes to be published by the NCC although the IWCC had always envisaged that others such as media education could follow. A ninth guidance document to draw all of the themes together had been planned and an internal paper Setting the Scene: Commonality in the Cross-Curricular Themes was consulted upon. This set out to explore the inter-relationship between the themes and their content with the core and foundation curriculum, specifically acknowledging that:

Overlap between themes will always exist...and...planning should avoid unnecessary and unhelpful duplication...and will need to take account of the five areas but should not be promoting five completely separate initiatives (NCC 1991: 4-6).

The commonality of the themes was exemplified by the emphasis on skills that promote interdependence and strengthen the bonds between individuals, and between
the individual and the community, especially communication, problem solving, numeracy, information technology and personal skills. What made these distinctive was that they drew upon and promoted the attitudes, values and skills and exemplified the teaching methodologies that would best deliver these. (Appendix 1) This was very much in sympathy with those approaches recommended by HMI (1989:7).

As for additional themes, the guidance on commonality never came to be. In 1991, such was the pressure from the Teacher Associations that John McGregor, the then recently appointed Secretary of State for Education, prevented further work on the themes on the grounds that the curriculum was overcrowded and there was insufficient time and that schools could not cope with any more. The DFE advised the NCC, whose Chief Executive was now Chris Woodhead, not to publish any further guidance. As a result, although schools acknowledged the importance of personal and social development, the cross-curricular guidance became sidelined other than by enthusiasts for particular themes.

2.2.2 OfSTED Implicated

Section 9 of the Education (Schools) Act 1992 established the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED). The Framework for the Inspection of Schools was first published in the same year and revised in May 1994. It included Section 5, Pupils’ personal development and behaviour and pupils’ spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, where moral development was to be judged by how well the ‘school promotes an understanding of the moral principles which allow pupils to tell right from wrong and to respect other people, truth, justice and property; and how well they respond through their behaviour and the views they express’ (1995:89).
Social development was to be judged by how well:

- the school prepares pupils for relating to others in different social settings,
- taking responsibility, exercising initiative, working successfully in groups and
- participating co-operatively and productively in the school community and
- how well the pupils respond. It is also to be judged by the extent to which
- pupils gain an understanding of how societies function and are organised in
- structures such as family, the school and local and wider communities
  (OfSTED 1995:90).

Unfortunately, SMSC had been subject to widely different interpretations. Concern
had been expressed consistently by the National Standing Committee of Advisers,
Inspectors and Consultants of Personal and Social Education (NSCoPSE) that those
inspecting schools and who have the PSE/SMSC brief have had little or no experience
or training in the area. Judgements, they believed, were often based on opinion rather
than evidence. However, at a time when schools were under pressure to raise
standards and citizenship was a lower priority, inspection ensured that it remained to
some extent on the school agenda.

In 1993, under pressure from the professional associations and teachers, the
Government commissioned a review of the National Curriculum in order to reduce the
workload in schools. Sir Ron Dearing, in the Final Report on the National Curriculum
and its Assessment, drew attention to the importance of personal and social
development within the curriculum. The report stated that:

Education is not concerned only with equipping students with knowledge and
skills they need to earn a living. It must help our young people to use leisure
time creatively; have respect for other people, other cultures and other beliefs;
become good citizens; think things out for themselves; pursue a healthy
lifestyle; and not least, value themselves and their achievements. It should
develop an appreciation of the richness of our cultural heritage and of the
spiritual and moral dimensions to life. It must, moreover be concerned to serve
all of our children well, whatever their background, sex, creed, ethnicity or
talent (SCAA1994: 3.11).
It was never explained where in the curriculum these principles should be taught, although the Cross-curricular Themes were still in place at that time. Nor was any attempt made to explain who or what a ‘good citizen’ is. However, the statement had a major influence on the revisions being made to the Framework for the Inspection of Schools.

In 1995 the revised Handbook was published as three separate books: *Guidance on the Inspection of Nursery and Primary schools*, *Secondary Schools* and *Special Schools*. Section 4.2, of which ‘Attitudes, Behaviour and Personal Development’ required that judgements should be made by Inspectors about the extent to which pupils:

- behave well in and around the school, and are courteous, trustworthy and show respect for property; show respect for other people’s feelings, values and beliefs, show initiative and are willing to take responsibility (OfSTED1995:4.2).

Section 5.2 ‘The Curriculum and its Assessment’ required the evaluation of strengths and weaknesses in the provision made for personal and social education, including sex education where appropriate, and attention to drug misuse; whilst Section 5.3 ‘Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Development’ now required that judgements should be based on the extent to which the school:

- teaches the principles which distinguish right from wrong
- encourages pupils to relate positively to others, take responsibility, participate fully in the community and develop an understanding of citizenship

The emphasis had changed significantly from judging schools by the behaviour children and young people exhibited to that of the school’s provision. Moreover, no
matter how poorly it was carried out, citizenship education was subject to scrutiny in schools.

2.3 Continuing the Struggle

The Education (No 2 Act) 1996 restated the statutory basis for schools’:

broad provision for personal and social development through the spiritual, moral, cultural aspects of the curriculum and the preparation of pupils for the opportunities and experiences of adult life (DfE 1996:351).

However, again no advice or guidance was given as to how this might be done and it was left to national representative bodies, such as NSCoPSE, NAPCE and NHLG, and to NGOs such as Tacade, to provide support for LEAs, schools and teachers. Specifically, during the 1990s, citizenship education was sustained and supported by a number of organisations that had sprung into being following the Speaker’s Commission on Citizenship of 1989. The Institute for Citizenship Studies, The Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education and The Citizenship Foundation were central to this, developing resources about democracy, participation and social and moral responsibility, whilst the Development Education Centre (Birmingham), OXFAM and the Children’s Society provided specific training and resources for global citizenship and sustainability, and human rights education in particular. Organisations like Community Service Volunteers (CSV) continued to offer training and resources for teachers and pupils in community involvement and participation. Many of these received funding from commercial and business interests, such as British Gas, ESSO and Barclays Bank. Was it purely for altruistic reasons that financial support was given or a desire to develop the consumers and clients of the future, an interesting question, given the government’s desire at that time that schools should raise money to match education grants under Education Action Zones (EAZ) and Excellence in
Cities (EiC) proposals, now largely replaced by the establishment of Academies sponsored by private finance.

Following the conference *Education for Adult Life* held on January 15\(^{th}\) 1996 at which it was agreed that schools have a major contribution to make to the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of young people, that year saw the publication in July of SCAA Discussion Paper No 6 on Values in July (SCAA 1996). 1996 also saw the establishment of the National Forum for Values in Education and the Community by The School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) to make recommendations on ways in which schools might be supported in making their contribution to pupils’ spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and to what extent there was any agreement on the values, attitudes and behaviour that schools should promote on society’s behalf.

The Forum recommended that a national initiative be launched to implement Section 1 of the Education Reform Act 1988 and in particular the requirement to promote the spiritual, moral and cultural development of pupils at school and of society, including the addition of social as referred to in the Education (Schools) Act 1992 regarding the inspection of schools.

The Forum proposed ‘Values Statements’ that were presented in such a way as to exhibit the relationship between values and behaviour and concluded that:

> even the most obvious of truths needs to be stated, otherwise it may become invisible. It agreed that whilst there could be no consensus on the source of the values and their application, consensus could be reached on the values themselves and that this would provide schools with a basis for the application of these values (SCAA1996:6).
Specifically the Values Statements focused upon Society, Relationships, The Self and the Environment. The implications for citizenship education were very apparent in both the statement and the principles for action.

We value truth, human rights, the law, justice and collective effort for the common good. In particular, we value families as sources of love and support for all their members and as the basis of a society in which people care for others. We value others for themselves, not for what they have or they can do for us, and we value these relationships as fundamental to the development and fulfilment of others, and ourselves and to the good of the community. We value ourselves as unique human beings capable of spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical development. We value the environment, both natural and shaped by humanity, as the basis of life and a source of wonder and inspiration (SCAA 1996:6).

The first set of values agreed by the Forum were essentially those that were to inform the development of the citizenship curriculum, whilst those of relationships, uniqueness as humans and respect for the environment would become very much the underpinning context to PSHE (Summarised in Appendix 2). Following consultation, these were re-written as draft guidance for SMSC (1999).

The Forum further proposed that ‘SCAA should conduct a two year pilot on guidance materials in preparation for the next review of the National Curriculum’ and to include:

- a simple guide to the terminology, an explanation of the nature and role of SMSC education, a programme of study (which in due course could be either statutory or non-statutory) to include essential knowledge, understanding, skills and attitudes which schools could teach either, through discrete lessons or through subjects of the curriculum, as a replacement for or an enhancement of present personal and social education (PSE) provision, case studies of principles to practice (SCAA1996).

It also recommended that SMSC should involve practical work, such as community service.
In 1997, SCAA merged with the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) to become the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority and an independent consultant was contracted to develop and evaluate the effectiveness of Guidance Materials for Schools’ Promotion of Pupils’ Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Development. The pilot group in the evaluation consisted of 100 schools and a further 10 schools, primary, secondary and special, participated in five LEAs geographically spread across England.

One of the key findings from the evaluation focused, not upon the SMSC guidance materials, but on the ‘broader issues relating to conflicting pressures on schools, and the need for effective support when they are asked to introduce new initiatives’. It went on to assert that:

Attention needs to be paid to formulating a more coherent approach to the areas of Preparation for Adult Life (PAL). Currently there appears to be a number of separate initiatives in this area, of which SMSC is one, which have clear links to one another. The overlap between them, particularly SMSC and Citizenship, needs to be recognised explicitly to provide a less confusing picture of this area to schools (QCA 1999:4).

The final draft of the Guidance and the summary of the evaluation was sent to participating schools and LEA’s in June 1999 by Nick Tate Chief Executive at the QCA but no further publication was forthcoming.

May 1997 saw a general Election and a change of government. Tony Blair had previously made Education a manifesto priority encapsulated by the slogan ‘education, education, education’. The new Labour Government’s White Paper on Education, Excellence in Schools was published in July. In outlining A new approach, the White Paper recognised that:
There are wider goals of education which are important. Schools, along with families, have a responsibility to ensure that children and young people learn respect for others and for themselves. They need to appreciate and understand the moral code on which civilised society is based and to appreciate the culture and background of others. They need to develop the strength of character and attitudes to life and work, such as responsibility, determination, care and generosity, which will enable them to become citizens of a successful democratic society (DfEE1997: Para 5).

In the chapter *Helping pupils to achieve*, citizenship was identified as a vital part of preparing pupils for adult life:

A modern democratic society depends on the informed and active involvement of all its citizens. Schools can help ensure that young people feel that they have a stake in our society and the community in which they live by teaching them the nature of democracy and duties, responsibilities and rights of citizens. This forms part of schools’ wider provision for personal and social education, which helps more broadly to give pupils a strong sense of personal responsibility and of their duties towards others. The Department will be setting up an advisory group to discuss citizenship and the teaching of democracy in our schools (DfEE1997: Para 42).

### 2.3.1 The Crick Advisory Group

The Advisory Group on Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools was established on 19th November 1997. Chaired by Professor Bernard Crick, the terms of reference were:

To provide advice on effective education for citizenship in schools, to include the nature and practices of participation in democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of community activity (QCA1998).

The terms of reference explained that they would cover the teaching of civics, participative democracy and citizenship, and that would include some understanding of democratic practices and institutions, including parties, pressure groups and voluntary bodies, and the relationship of formal political activity with civic society in the context of the UK, Europe and the wider world. It would include elements of the way in which expenditure and taxation work, together with a grasp of the underlying realities of adult life and would provide a statement of aims and purposes of
citizenship education in school within a broad framework for what good citizenship education in schools might look like and how it could be successfully delivered.

It is of interest to note that the Advisory Group, whose membership was approved personally by David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for Education, included only three practising teachers and not one representative from a local education authority advisory service. One reason suggested for that failure to include local authority membership was that it was part of a policy to remove powers from councils in general and specifically in the area of politics. Membership was crowded by chief executives, lecturers in philosophy and politics, a former Secretary of State for Education and Home Secretary, HM Inspector of Prisons and the Chair of the Parole Board, to name but a few.

Their initial report was published by the QCA in March 1998. The report formed the basis for a consultation, whether intended or not, and opened up the debate about citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools in public for the first time.

In my response, on behalf of The National Standing Committee of Advisers, Inspectors and Consultants of PSE (NSCoPSE), I recognised the value of citizenship, but placed it within a personal and social education programme, a programme which can provide:

the knowledge and understanding which all pupils need to make sense of their life experiences and to feel confident and informed, now and in the future. It is the function of a broad and balanced curriculum to provide this context, that is one which principally encompasses education about health, relationships, citizenship, the environment and the world of work (Lloyd 1998).
Each of these is bound together by the values, attitudes and skills that they have in common. PSE provides the over-arching framework into which knowledge and understanding, values and skills for citizenship and democracy may be taught. I drew attention specifically within the response to the relationship that skills have and values have to behaviour, a relationship that was omitted from the report, and to overload of the curriculum. It is imperative that citizenship education is contextualised by broader programmes of personal and social education as part of young peoples’ personal and social development. It is the commonality of the attitudes and values, and transferable skills which will bind knowledge and understanding relating the issues together. Citizenship in isolation will be in danger of being sterile and meaningless.

The final report was published as *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools.* The Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship 22 September 1998 recommended that:

> citizenship education be a statutory entitlement in the curriculum and that schools should be required to show they are fulfilling the obligation that this places upon them (Crick1998:4.1).

The recommendation adds that:

> the entitlement for citizenship education should include the learning of the skills, values, attitudes, understanding and knowledge needed for both community involvement and preparation for involvement as citizens of our parliamentary democracy and the wider political world. Experiential learning, discussion of social and political issues as well as formal, taught learning should be part of this process, both inside and outside the school as appropriate (Crick 1998:4.10).

The case for a citizenship curriculum was presented in the report recognising that there is a disconnection between education and political life, and engagement in the community; that many children and young people are disengaged because of negative attitudes and no sense of empowerment. Ignorance was considerable, as was distrust
of government and politicians according to Jowell and Park (1997). Crewe asserts that:

more young people stand up for animal rights than for civil or human rights (Crewe1996: quoted in Crick 1998 Para 3.4).

The report quotes the Lord Chancellor in an address to the Citizenship Foundation at the Law Society on 27th January 1998:

A healthy society is made up of people who care about the future…Our goal is to create a nation of able, informed and empowered citizens who, on the one hand, know understand and can enforce their rights; and, on the other, recognise that path to greatest personal fulfilment lies through active involvement in strengthening their society (Crick 1998 Para 11.1).

In order to achieve the aims and purposes of citizenship education established in recommendation 4.4 of the report (Appendix 3), three core strands were identified:

Social and moral responsibility: ‘Children learning from the very beginning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other (this is an essential pre-condition for citizenship). Community involvement: ‘Pupils learning about becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community.’ (It is of interest to note that the Advisory Group drew back from recommending compulsory community service for all pupils in their report). Political literacy: ‘Pupils learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values.’ (Crick 1989: Para 4.4)

Four essential elements: key concepts; values and dispositions; skills and aptitudes and knowledge and understanding, were identified as underpinning education for citizenship, requiring integration and progressive development across the key stages (Appendix 4). These reflected the development that had taken place from the
recommendations made in PSE 5 to 16, Guidance 8, the Values Forum and subsequent deliberations. The relationship between these was represented as a cube where each face represented one of the essential elements to be achieved through learning outcomes by the end of compulsory schooling. I prefer to see the cube opened as a net where quality experiences are promoted to achieve the outcomes and the notion of active citizens is promoted as the outcome on the hidden face of the cube.

Learning Outcomes by key stages were described, emphasising that ‘the manner of acquisition is a matter for the professional judgement of teachers taking into account, what is appropriate to the age and abilities of the pupils concerned. In this way, pupils’ learning in citizenship education is manageable and capable of being reinforced and further developed as they progress through the key stages’ (Crick 1998: 46). Interestingly, whereas for health education a prerequisite of any work is that it should start with children’s prior knowledge, ‘starting from where they are at’, no such recommendation to assess what children already know and understand in terms of their knowledge or beliefs was made. The report additionally commented on the contribution that citizenship education may make to the development of Key Skills, to Whole School Issues, and gave guidance on the teaching of controversial issues; the latter being a response to those who voiced concerns about the teaching of citizenship becoming indoctrination and that teachers may introduce bias in their presentation of material.
2.3.2 Personal, Social and Health Education

In parallel to the Advisory Group on Citizenship, other groups were established by the Secretary of State for Education. These were: The National Personal, Social and Health Education Group, The Panel for Sustainable Development, and The Creative and Cultural Education Group. Along with the QCA Project on Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Development, and the Calouste Gulbenkian funded PASSPORT Project, these were to form the basis of the Preparation for Adult Life Advisory Group (PAL), chaired by Sir William Stubbs, Chairman of the QCA. PAL was charged with providing advice to the Secretary of State for Education on the place of all of these aspects, ‘making sense and order of the submissions to the QCA from all of the other groups’.

The intention was that this group would inform the review of the National Curriculum in order to ‘develop a National Curriculum for the 21st Century’. That was:

- The development of a more explicit rationale for the curriculum, together with specific aims and priorities
- The development of a more flexible, less prescriptive approach which allows schools to focus on priorities
- Support for literacy and numeracy and development of a clearer role for Key Skills
- Consideration of the role of the curriculum in preparing young people for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life, including citizenship education, personal, social and health education and the spiritual, moral, social and cultural dimension (NSCoPSE 1998).
It was expected that other working groups would also make a contribution. These included, The National Healthy Schools Award Scheme (to become National Healthy Schools Standard in 1999); the Task Group on Sex and Relationships Education at the Social Exclusions Unit, established to examine the issue of teenage pregnancy; the Ministerial Group on the Family and Child Protection at the Home Office; and the Work-related Curriculum and Careers Education group at the QCA.

The National Personal, Social and Health Education Group jointly chaired by Estelle Morris, Minister for School Standards and Tessa Jowell, Minister for Health was established in June 1998. Its terms of reference were:

To provide advice on the aims and purposes of PSHE, clarify and define its terms, to develop a national framework for PSHE in schools, and to consider its relationship to other curriculum areas, particularly citizenship and democracy (DfEE1999).

Preparing Young People for Adult Life, A Report by the National Advisory Group on Personal, Social and Health Education May, 1999 recognised that:

The skills, attitudes and values, knowledge and understanding which contribute to personal and social development, including health and well-being, are not confined to specific areas of the curriculum and contribute to other curriculum provision such as careers education and work-related learning. Personal and social development is an outcome shared by many aspects of the curriculum. As such it offers a means by which schools can develop and organise these different aspects in a coherent manner. For example, the final report of the National Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools published 22 September 1998 drew attention to the fruitful connections between education for citizenship and the fact that in practice, time for aspects of both citizenship education and PSHE can do ‘double duty’, particularly at Primary School (DfEE1999:2.9).

This sense of ‘double duty’ came out of communication between Professor Bernard Crick, Chair of the Citizenship Advisory Group and Professor John Tomlinson, Chair of the PASSPORT Project; Raising the Quality of PSE in Schools. Funded by the
Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation with additional support from the DfEE, the project set out to provide:

- teachers with a comprehensive and systematic framework for PSE which is easy to use, and which will enable teachers to integrate a wide range of initiatives within a coherent programme. It therefore dovetails comfortably with other educational initiatives that cover some of the same issues, such as education for citizenship and spiritual, moral, social and cultural development (Jenks and Plant 1999:1.4).

Bernard Crick was:

- quite happy…simply to set out what citizenship learning objectives should be met in Key Stages 1 and 2, presumably to be taught in PSE….but for Stages 3 and 4 …would see a Citizenship programme as having substantially different goals from PSE; so that both areas need a definite and different curriculum even if (which is important) there are fruitful areas of overlap.’ He went on to add that in his opinion ‘PSE is a necessary but not sufficient condition for good citizenship’ (Crick 1998:62).

Professor John Tomlinson, in acknowledging these comments was in complete agreement with Crick’s understanding of ‘where our two projects meet and diverge’ (1998:66). Published as PASSPORT Framework for Personal and Social Education (Jenks and Plant 1998), the project made a major contribution to the work of the Advisory Group for PSHE, Jane Jenks being both the co-ordinator and co-author of the PASSPORT resource and Vice-Chair of the Advisory Group itself.

The Sustainable Development Education Panel chaired by Sir Geoffrey Holland, Vice-Chancellor, University of Exeter, gave its recommendations as Education for Sustainable Development in the Schools Sector: A Report to the DfEE/QCA from the Panel for Education for Sustainable Development 14th September 1998. In his accompanying letter to Sir William Stubbs at the QCA, Holland highlighted two key points:

- The first is the link between education for sustainable development and citizenship: education for sustainable development is, centrally, about being a good citizen in the next century. Certainly citizenship is a crucial part of our
definition of education for sustainable development which is on page four of our paper. I believe that this crystallises this link in a way that has not been done before and which I hope is helpful in setting out what is a sometimes difficult concept.

Second, for education for sustainable development is not a discrete subject and we would certainly be against it becoming one. It would more properly be integrated throughout the curriculum. It is something that is very relevant to all subjects and, indeed, as David Blunkett and John Prescott are demonstrating through their Children’s Parliament on the Environment initiative, it can be used to engage children in a huge range of learning, from literacy and debating skills to concepts of citizenship and democracy. The learning outcomes that we identify here underlie so much of what we wish our young people to learn through their time in formal education (DfEE 1998).

Defining Education for Sustainable Development for schools as enabling people:

to develop the knowledge, values and skills to participate in decisions about the way we do things individually and collectively, both locally and globally, that will improve the quality of life now without damaging the planet for the future (DfEE 1998:4),

the Panel commended it for its meaning and currency, having immediacy and directness.

Specifically, the report in its rationale stated:

that while education has long been recognised as a key instrument for achieving participative citizenship in relation to sustainable development, policies that support practical educational change in this regard have been largely absent…and that…all pupils need to be equipped with the knowledge, values and skills in the area of citizenship and sustainable development that will enable them to participate as full members of society and work towards solutions to sustainable development problems and issues (DfEE 1998:4).

Written in the same style as the report for citizenship education, it introduced seven Key Concepts of Sustainable Development:

1. Interdependence – of society, economy and the natural environment, from local to global
2. Citizenship and stewardship – rights and responsibilities, participation, and co-operation
3. Needs and rights of future generations
4. Diversity – cultural, social, economic and biological
5. Quality of life, equity and justice
6. Sustainable change – development and carrying capacity
7. Uncertainty, and precaution in action

For the Key Concept of Citizenship and Stewardship, the Values and Dispositions were described as the ability to reflect and enact; willingness to act as a responsible citizen, learning from and working with others to improve situations with respect to sustainability and a sense of responsibility for personal and group actions, and an awareness of their likely impact on natural and human communities both locally and globally.

Skills and Aptitudes promoted the ability to engage in and manage change at individual and social levels; find information, weigh evidence, and present reasoned argument on sustainable development issues; express and communicate personal responses to social and environmental issues in a variety of ways.

Knowledge and Understanding required that one should know and understand that; community action and partnership is necessary to the achievement of more sustainable lifestyles; the connection between personal values and beliefs and behaviour; how the school, community and household can be managed more sustainably; the roles and responsibilities of government and business in achieving sustainable development. Each of the seven Key Concepts including Citizenship and
Stewardship, was developed through specific learning outcomes for each of the Key Stages establishing coherence and progression into post 16 education.

2.4 Preparation for Adult Life

The Preparation for Adult Life Group (PAL) had been established in October 1998. Chaired by Sir William Stubbs, each of the Advisory Groups and the PASSPORT Project were represented by its chairperson. Chris Woodhead, HM Chief Inspector of Schools, Nick Tate, Chief Executive QCA, and Anthea Millett, Chief Executive Teacher Training Agency, and head teacher representatives from the primary and secondary phases of education made up the group. Their remit specifically was:

- To consider reports from the national advisory groups for Citizenship, PSHE, SMSC, Culture and Creativity, Education for sustainability and other initiatives
- To establish clarity, coherence and manageability across these areas
- To report to the QCA and advise the Secretary of State on the nature of any statutory provision in this area

It was expected that an interim report would be produced in December with final recommendations being published in February 1999 to coincide with the review of the National Curriculum. In many senses this was to be the over-arching report that would make sense of the whole area of personal and social development in schools and would, if necessary, re-title the area to replace the many and confusing acronyms used by schools and others. This was to be the report that the NCC never produced for the Cross-Curricular Themes.
It soon became clear that this group was unable to agree on any tangible way forward. Professor Bernard Crick required that citizenship education should be at the heart of a new curriculum whilst Jane Jenks, Vice-chair of the PSHE Advisory Group and co-author of PASSPORT, argued strongly that PSHE could not be left to chance and also required it to be centrally placed. Similar arguments were put forward by Marianne Talbot for SMSC. Where there was disagreement Bernard Crick allegedly went straight to David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for Education, for support. To confuse matters even more, it was also reported that Chris Woodhead’s view was that this was all peripheral to raising standards in literacy and numeracy and that it had no place in the curriculum.

Only one thing was clear and that was that they all agreed to differ. Such was the Secretary of State’s concern that the PAL Group was disbanded without publishing a report. However, following ‘advice from the QCA and the work of PAL, the Secretary of State decided that he wished to include specific proposals on education for citizenship and personal, social and health education in the consultation on the review of the National Curriculum, due to take place in May 1999’ (QCA 1998). Instructions were therefore given to the DfEE to make provision for developing proposals for a curriculum framework for Citizenship and Personal, Social and Health Education.

2.5 A Framework and Order for Citizenship

To this end a Steering Group was established in March 1999 at the DfEE under the Chairmanship of David Normington, Director General of Schools (Appendix 4a). The Steering Group’s initial task was to put forward proposals on the following for inclusion in the revised National Curriculum in May 1999:
• a combined non-statutory framework for Education for Citizenship and Personal and Social Education for Key Stages 1 and 2 and
• a statutory programme for Education for Citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4 to complement continuing non-statutory provision for PSHE.

The proposals had to be ready for approval by the Secretary of State by no later than 26th April 1999.

To draw up the proposals a Supporting Unit was also established under the Chairmanship of Nick Baxter, DfEE (Appendix 4b). During March the Steering and Advisory Groups met. Using the model written for the proposed revisions to the History and Geography Orders and using the Citizenship Report and the PASSPORT Project, draft proposals were written. These identified for the first time the distinctive contribution that Citizenship and PSHE make to the school curriculum at Key Stages 1 and 2 and for PSHE at Key Stages 3 and 4.

At Key Stages 3 and 4, Citizenship became a separate subject but built upon the citizenship strand for Key Stages 1 and 2. It established a new Attainment Target: \textit{Becoming an informed, active and responsible citizen}. Similarly, it also identified the distinctive contribution made by Citizenship and proposed a Programme of Study for Skills and Aptitudes to develop skills of enquiry and communication and of participation and action and Knowledge and Understanding. For both PSHE and Citizenship, breadth of study across the key stages was identified. They also took account of the draft statement of values, aims and purposes of the school curriculum.
which would be included in the introduction to the revised curriculum. This set out two aims:

to provide opportunities for all pupils to learn and achieve
to prepare all pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life

The statement required that the framework should also ensure that the following key functions of the National Curriculum were fulfilled:

1. Establishing an entitlement
2. Establishing standards
3. Promoting continuity and coherence
4. Promoting public understanding

At the time, concerns were raised about the depth and breadth of the Framework and Order given the directive from the Secretary of State that they ‘should be light touch.’ Concern was also expressed by some that there were too few references to Human Rights and significantly, in the light of the Macpherson Report, to racism. A response to the latter was that the group had to avoid a ‘knee-jerk’ reaction to the issue of racism as it could ‘detract from the broader principles’ being proposed. Members of the Support Unit working on Key Stages 1 and 2 at times felt that the Citizenship lobby for Key Stages 3 and 4 under-estimated children’s understanding of political and democratic systems and were intent on ‘dumbing down’ primary education. The Support Unit was advised to omit ‘spiritual’ from the Programmes of Study only to
have to reinstate it and include reference to the importance of ‘marriage’, after consultation with Ministers and Church leaders.

The proposed Framework and Statutory Order was sent to the Steering Group on the 19th April 1999. For PSHE and Citizenship at Key Stages 1 and 2, the Programme for Learning identified 4 components under the heading Skills, Knowledge and Understanding:

1. To develop self-esteem, confidence, independence and responsibility; and make the most of their abilities
2. To play an active role as future citizens and members of society
3. To develop a healthy lifestyle and keep themselves and others safe
4. To develop effective and satisfying relationships and learn to respect differences between people (Summarised in Appendix 4 c).

The proposed framework and statutory order were approved by the Secretary of State on or around May 12th 1999, and was published within The review of the national curriculum in England: The Secretary of State’s Proposals (1999). This was sent out to schools, LEAs and others by the QCA for consultation to finish on July 23rd 1999.

On June 14th 1999, the DfEE published the PSHE Advisory Group’s report, Preparing Young people for Adult Life. In welcoming the report, Education and Employment Secretary David Blunkett said:

Today’s world holds many challenges and insecurities for young people. As well as raising standards of academic attainment, schools need to prepare young people for those challenges. It is important that young people learn
about the value of family life, including marriage, good parenting and stable relationships. It is also important for them to have the opportunities to play a positive part in the life of their school, neighbourhood and communities. (DfEE1999)

During May the QCA held consultation meetings ‘Developing the School Curriculum’ for LEA Officers and Advisers. Introduced by Chris Jones of the QCA, the presentation outlined the Review of the National Curriculum setting out the:

- Aims- including the commitment to a broad and balanced curriculum including PSHE and Citizenship
- Main proposals- including a more explicit rationale for the school curriculum and a framework for PSHE and citizenship at Key Stages 1-4
- A more explicit rationale- including values that underpin the work of schools and the school curriculum, eg. Well-being and development of the individual, equality of opportunity, a healthy democracy, a productive economy, sustainable development
- A less prescriptive, more flexible national curriculum- providing greater flexibility which should enable teachers to give greater emphasis to national priorities, eg. literacy, numeracy, PSHE and citizenship OR local priorities in own school

It was significant that the QCA described PSHE and Citizenship as the third national priority after literacy and numeracy.

- A Framework for PSHE and Citizenship including a statement on the distinctive contribution to the curriculum in line with other national curriculum subjects, the focus of teaching and learning during each key stage, an outline of the skills,
knowledge and understanding to be taught and, in the non-statutory components, of the breadth of study across the key stage.

The QCA went on to explain that the framework drew:

heavily on current effective practice in schools and from development work such as the PASSPORT project. That it built upon the work of the national advisory groups and on other work. eg. On social exclusion, SMSC and Key Skills. That it links to the statement of school aims and seeks to strengthen the work that schools do to achieve these aims, and to help schools review their current practice in this area with a view to developing coherence and continuity (QCA1999).

The National PSHE Advisory Group met on 24th September to consider the ‘near final version of the Framework for PSHE and Citizenship.’ John Ford, of the DfEE, reported that the QCA had established a working group led by John Keast to develop initial guidance on the implementation of the framework and statutory order. It was also established that a number of sub-groups would need to meet to prepare guidance on Parenthood, Sex and relationships, Financial literacy, Training, Drugs, and Safety. The Advisory Group also noted that OfSTED inspections would be required to make judgements more explicitly for PSHE and Citizenship and that the OfSTED Handbook was being revised accordingly. Inspectors would also receive appropriate training.

The PSHE Advisory Group met again on 16th November, receiving the QCA’s draft Initial Guidance for PSHE and Citizenship at Key Stages 1 and 2, the Initial Guidance for PSHE at Key Stages 3 and 4 and the Initial Guidance for Citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4.
In parallel, the Secretary of State for Education in September 1999, established the Citizenship Education Working Party, to be convened and chaired by Jacqui Smith then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Minister for Schools (Appendix 4d). The Working Party was asked to advise on ways of helping schools to put the framework for Citizenship into practice. Its remit covered the main areas to be considered when establishing a new subject in schools:

- guidance to schools
- assessment (and accreditation)
- teacher training – initial teacher training and Continuing Professional Development
- inspection
- teaching and learning resources
- disseminating good practice – including the National Grid for Learning
- helping to develop community involvement/active learning
- ways of enabling young people to put their views to Government
- relationship between citizenship education and other policies and initiatives – governmental or otherwise

The Secretary of State asked that ‘teacher supply and training, assessment and accreditation, and community involvement issues be explored as quickly as possible.’ To this end Sub-working Groups were established, with an additional group proposed for January 2000 to consider good practice and resources.
The Citizenship Working Group met for the second time on 15th November 1999 when much of the meeting was taken up in discussion over the QCA’s draft Initial Guidance for Schools (see PSHE above), what additional guidance might be necessary, and agreement on the chairs of the sub-working groups.

In the week beginning 15th November 1999, the revised curriculum including the Framework for PSHE and Citizenship Education at Key Stages 1 and 2, PSHE at Key Stages 3 and 4, and the Statutory Foundation Subject Citizenship for Key Stages 3 and 4, was published in The National Curriculum Handbooks for primary and secondary teachers in England. www.nc.uk.net (1999)

The new curriculum framework for PSHE and citizenship was implemented in September 2000, whilst the Statutory Order for Citizenship in secondary schools made provision for implementation from September 2002, allowing time for schools in England to prepare for Citizenship Education as a new Foundation subject.

2.6 Some conclusions and implications

It is clear to me it is the values expressed across the curriculum that are central to any understanding of the citizenship curriculum as it developed in the 1990s. From the first exploration of citizenship education made explicit as a Cross-Curricular Theme, as apparent in the requirements for SMSC, to the citizenship education proposals set out in the Crick Report, discussion of the values underpinning society and citizenship is at the heart of all related curriculum documents.
In the guidance documents published during this period, and up until the publication of the Crick Report (1998), there are 101 mentions of values and a further 109 mentions of citizenship education as a means of delivering both values and skills. Of significance for my study, there are only eight specific mentions of teaching and learning. This has implications for what was being taught (or not taught) and what children were, or were not learning as I have discussed in my research questions, and the methodology using the draw and write tool discussed in Chapter 4.
CHAPTER THREE

Political literacy or a subterfuge to escape nasty politics?

3.1 Introduction

In this Chapter the notion of being politically literate is considered and the confusion of language and terminology examined in order to clarify meaning. The models for the development of, and the appropriateness of, teaching and learning approaches necessary for children to achieve this capacity progressively as they grow into adulthood are explored. Implications for the study are raised regarding children’s prior knowledge and conceptual development, teaching and learning and whether the development of political literacy is truly empowering or just another form of social control.

As described in the previous Chapter the Crick Report (1998: 39 6.5.2) identified ‘three strands which make up effective education for citizenship, namely, social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy’. Crick maintains that these cannot be taught in isolation and are ‘three legs of the same stool’, ‘children learning socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other, (an essential pre-condition for citizenship) and, learning about becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community’. Political literacy was described as:

pupils learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge skills and values’ to which was added in guidance from the QCA ‘that this should be more than political knowledge alone’ (2000:4).
Brennan and Brown (1975) note that there have been many attempts to define the nature of politics and that politics is omni-present in all social situations, however they argue that from the evidence available,

Mass education and the mass media have not significantly altered the overall level of political knowledge among the electorate, a fact that would certainly disappoint nineteenth century advocates of the extension of the franchise (Brennan and Brown 1975:6).

In his chapter, Brennan (Brennan and Brown 1975) goes further arguing that most political education in England since 1944 has been largely characterised by the pre-war civics approach that was more about people knowing their place in society than any notion of political literacy. Preparation for life in a democracy was best achieved by identifying those areas of school life where pupils could actually practise responsible government. Crick (1969:15), in a similar vein argued that ‘civics’ is usually a ‘subterfuge to escape nasty politics’ and makes an interesting and lively subject dull, safe and factual. Moreover, the direct participation Crick proposed is by itself likely to fail unless pupils are well informed, Freedman noting that this should include recognising and coping with distinctly political problems and developing the ability to:

ask political questions about phenomena that students observe around them, and sensitivity to questions of power, especially as it relates to circumstances of their own lives (Freedman 1974:7).

These are, as Moodie (1973) observes, the central objectives of political education.

Nor can being politically literate, which requires more than civic knowledge alone, be confused with citizenship knowledge. In this assertion, civic knowledge is described as knowing about the role of the institutions of governance, whilst citizenship knowledge demands not only political literacy but also the elements of social and moral responsibility and community involvement, as prescribed by Crick. Huddleston
and Rowe (2003) have identified four models of political literacy teaching that have emerged, or are emerging, from practice. They are:

1. The ‘civics’ model equating political literacy with political knowledge of institutions and processes
2. The ‘big issues’ model characterised by teaching and learning related to topical controversial issues
3. The ‘experiential’ model, political literacy deriving from participation in pupil councils or community based activities, and finally
4. The ‘public’ discourse model which encourages pupils to think and talk politically, developing the language of politics, concepts, terminology, forms of argument and the skills and virtues that:

   citizens bring to bear when reflecting upon and talking about life from a political point of view (Huddleston and Rowe 2003:12).

I will initially use Huddleston and Rowe’s typology to explore the themes, as four questions.

3.2 What political literacy is not?

The civics model proposed by Huddleston and Rowe is certainly not about political literacy and is rooted in the past. It very much reflects the proposals set out by the Spens Report (1938). This proposed that for pupils under 16 years of age theoretical discussion of economic and current political questions was impracticable, discussion of recent and economic and political history would, however, be the best introduction to politics as long as it provided information and a balance of argument so as to educate pupils to become citizens of a modern democratic country. There was much
opposition to this, as there was in the Norwood Report (1943), which similarly proposed that introducing politics prematurely would harm the preparation of children for citizenship, but also argued that this preparation from childhood to adolescence should be a gradual process.

The Education Act (1944) referring to county colleges placed upon local authorities the duty of educating young people in such a way as would enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and would prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship (Section 43). This was never implemented, but Pamphlet 9 (1947) did advise that secondary schools could include in their syllabi citizenship or civics in order for pupils to have a wider conception of individual status and responsibilities as a citizen of the UK and the relationship to the Commonwealth and United Nations. It proposed that schools might offer the experience of school elections and school councils with representative responsibilities in order to practise civics and play a part in society in adulthood. However, as Heater (2001) notes, this has more to do with a notion of citizens with ‘duties rather than with rights’. He comments:

Small wonder, then, that the Spens, Norwood and Butler documents gave little or no encouragement to the proponents of direct citizenship education, and argued for teaching citizenship through traditional subjects and avoiding controversial topics (Heater 2001:107).

The Crowther Report (1959) and Newsom Report (1963) similarly acknowledged that preparing pupils for citizenship, though controversial, was essential in preparing them for the politics of adult life. Heater (2001) is critical of this proposed relationship between citizenship and politics. Political education and citizenship education are not synonymous he maintains:

because citizenship produces more overtones than ‘politics’ of duty, obligation and responsibility, it is more acceptable to government. For the questions civil servants and politicians have always tended to ask are is civic/political education more
likely to keep the citizenry docile, make them more questioning of the status quo or render them more actively supportive of the democratic process? (Heater 2001:109).

Heater challenges the past orthodoxy of not allowing children to discuss current political issues stating that:

Politics is concerned with choosing between alternative courses of activity; choice is determined by attitudes, and attitudes crystallise at an early age (Heater 1977:22).

Crick goes further, arguing that learning about politics will enable individuals to protect and extend their rights:

It is so much more important that children learn to think politically than they can define the powers of the district auditor or name all the parliamentary regimes in the world (Crick 1977:42).

Harber is critical of the introduction of Citizenship as a National Curriculum subject but similarly asserts that:

If schools are to educate for democracy rather than authoritarian bureaucracy as at present, then there are two essential prerequisites. One is political education and the other is greater democracy in school structures (Harber 1992:11).

Harber (1989) proposed a model for forms of political learning, where political indoctrination is at one end of a continuum with political socialisation being in the middle and political education at the other.

Harber’s model is based upon the premise that Britain’s political system is ‘anachronistic and fixed in time’ and that it is not difficult to explain why the government deliberately excluded political education from the national curriculum in 1988. Schools, he asserts, not only tend to be authoritarian but also to be ethno-centric and racist, predominantly competitive, sexist and socially divisive. Schools have, he maintains:
played a major role in politically socialising young people towards conservative and inegalitarian values (1992:13).

However, is Harber arguing for political education rather than equating it with political literacy? Whereas I would agree that ‘Civics’, it can be argued, implicitly promotes obedience, trust and conformity, political literacy aims to develop personal autonomy, efficacy and critical thinking. I maintain that this is the purpose of political education too, where such education demands political literacy, but if the latter is missing it will be reduced in its efficacy. Some would ask if much has changed despite the introduction of Citizenship as a statutory subject in secondary schools and as part of the non-statutory framework in primary schools.

3.3 Is political literacy about ‘big issues’?

I will now examine the second of Huddleston and Rowe’s typology where political literacy is characterised by teaching and learning related to topical controversial issues.

Crick asserts that political literacy combines knowledge, skills and attitudes informed by basic concepts and participatory skills. He defines a *politically literate* person (my italics) as:

Possessing a knowledge of those concepts minimally necessary to construct simple conceptual and analytical frameworks…and clear about what he or she means by democracy or equality…not just accepting one set of values as correct; seeing that the very nature of politics lies in there being plurality of values and interests, of which he must have at least some minimal understanding…and willing to ask awkward questions early (Crick 1977: 96.98.114.119).

He continues that political literacy has to be seen as a compound of knowledge, skills and attitudes to be developed together, each conditioning the other. Crick and Porter (1978) redefine and clarify political literacy as knowing:
What the main political disputes are about, what beliefs the main contestants have of them, how they are likely to affect them, how they relate to institutions, and they will have a predisposition to try to be politically effective whilst respecting the sincerity of others. Obviously political literacy is relevant to everyone. It is not to be limited to, or confused with time-table slots labelled ‘civics’, ‘politics’ or ‘British Constitution’ (Crick and Porter 1978:1).

Crick and Porter (1978) and Crick and Lister (1978) argue that the need for political literacy arises because people are faced with issues and problems of a political nature and that the teaching of politics must arise from issues and experience. They firmly reject the argument that this must be predicated on knowledge of civic institutions. This must not, as Wringe (1992) asserts, be confused with ‘active citizenship’ through participation only which, he argues, does not meet the needs of future citizens either as regards ‘enabling them to understand their own lives and events in the political society in which they live, or as regards enabling them to discharge their civic duties in a well-informed, responsible, and above all, effective way’ (1992:37). This, he maintains, was the precisely the strength of political literacy, as advocated by Crick and Porter.

Nor must active citizenship be confused with simple democratic participation, where the former is defined in terms of community involvement and the latter is more associated with voting and local and national governance. As Pearce and Hallgarten observe:

For the majority, engagement with mainstream politics may be weak, but involvement with margins is flourishing: from single issue activism, to participation in school councils and youth parliaments (Pearce and Hallgarton 2000:4).

This is precisely what Rowe and Huddleston (2003) are referring to when they describe the big issues model. This approach is, they maintain, the development of
political literacy as a process rather than a product. Crick argues that political literacy derived from this form of political education is about:

Helping children to understand what political conflicts are all about (Crick 1977: 7).

This approach uses those methods advocated by Stenhouse (1971), where the teacher is cast as a facilitator and takes the role of ‘neutral chairman’ in order to overcome accusations of bias, propaganda and indoctrination. This approach explores topical and controversial events and issues. Heater (1977) argues that schools omitting controversial subjects from the curriculum are failing in their duty to prepare young people for life.

In dealing with big issues, Huddleston and Rowe, however, note that the approach does have its weaknesses in that it is about the capacity to participate in debate rather than the acquisition of the capacity to participate in political debate. I would argue that it also fails to deliver understanding or knowledge of the political and social contexts in which such debates inevitably take place. Nor does it necessarily require any activity or involvement of pupils beyond the confines of the classroom in terms of participation across and beyond the school.

3.4 Political experience?

The third of Huddleston and Rowe’s typology emphasises the development of political literacy through active participation in what Rowe (2000) calls ‘real politics’. This is characterised in the experiential model which is predicated upon:

The belief that pupils need to experience politics, not just taught about it, and like the ‘big issues’ approach, emphasises political literacy as process (Huddleston and Rowe 2003:6).
Proponents of this approach argue that learning that derives from experience is not only more relevant for learning practical skills, but also that pupils are more committed to their learning. This approach promotes pupils’ participation in democratic process and decision-making in the school through class and student/pupil councils. It encourages pupils to become involved in school-based community activities ranging from peer mediation, campaigning and raising money for charities, to recycling schemes, for example. The teaching and learning associated with this within citizenship is inevitably about power and the ability to use this effectively in public life. This Crick proposes:

Will encourage ordinary young citizens and their teachers and their politicians to think in terms of common problems to the school, and to talk about these in a common language (Crick 1977:19).

This is consistent with Oliver and Heater, who maintain that ‘citizens ought to want to act so as to benefit their community; in short to be good citizens’ (1994:114). To do so is to act politically and, as Crick (2000) observes, political literacy being needed in almost any form of group activity and:

even the skills needed for party activity or pressure group activity may best be learned in local voluntary groups and indeed, in discussion of real issues and the exercise of real responsibility in school (Crick 2000:78).

There are weaknesses to this approach. As Huddleston and Rowe note, it does not necessarily develop political ideas; moreover, there are limits to the political experiences that a school can offer its pupils and learning outcomes can only be described in a general rather than specific sense. To this I would add that such approaches can be exclusive rather inclusive in that participation may be restricted to the few rather than the many, and that engagement of pupils in activities whether in school or in the community is beyond the control of the teacher. Participation may be
an entitlement for all but many pupils will remain at the periphery and access to learning for many will not be fully met, if at all.

3.5 Public discourse or democratic deliberation?

In the final typology, Huddleston and Rowe (2003) draw upon their own studies resulting from the Political Literacy Project developed by the Citizenship Foundation in advocating what they have called the *public discourse* approach. This approach identifies aspects of political life and political concepts as well as skills and attitudes to be developed through discussion and debate around a political problem, which may be of a controversial nature. They argue that the approach:

> Encourages a much more systematic focus on political discourse and how it might be engaged in by pupils at different stages of their development (Huddleston and Rowe 2003:13).

They assert that this approach, rather than any other, comes closest to achieving Crick’s ideal of the critical citizen equipped to have an influence in public life.

Putting political discourse at the heart of political literacy teaching, they maintain, allows continuity and progression to be built into the curriculum. The approach, however, is dependent upon simulation and hypothetical or imaginary situations and the competence of the teacher in managing the learning. This inevitably assumes that pupils are able to transfer the concepts and skills learned to real life. Nor does it, I believe, provide for the wider engagement of pupils in the ‘here and now’ of life in the school or community.

They argue that this, rather than any other approach, seeks to combine the process with the product and in recommending this to schools acknowledge that each of the
models has relevance to citizenship and political literacy. Their objection, however, is that they are understood and practised by teachers:

with little thought being devoted to the potential these approaches may have developing pupils’ understanding of the nature of political issues and their capacity to engage in genuine political debate (Huddleston and Rowe 2003:13).

I would further argue that it is less about the capacity to engage in political debate and should be more about the capacity to engage in deliberative democracy where pupils make decisions based upon their own deliberations and which require them to take some sort of subsequent action if the teaching of political literacy is to be truly effective. A combination of the experiential and the deliberative typologies is needed, to which I now turn.

3.6 Some implications for teaching and learning

Richardson (1996) proposes a model for citizenship that identifies four main dimensions: status including rights and obligations, social inclusion and active participation, sentiment and sense of identity, and political literacy and skills. These are described as either being political and institutional or personal and cultural and characterised as being either minimal or maximal. Civics education, which deals with the rights and obligations of citizens in a political and institutional sense, is clearly minimalist as is any attempt by the school to persuade pupils of knowing their place in society, or what I would term Social control. On the other hand, schools that set out democratic rights in a structural and institutional context and political literacy as a competence within personal and cultural context or what I would call empowerment will be operating maximally. Osler and Starkey (1996) have expanded this model further. They argue that:
In order to enjoy rights, citizens must know about them, and so human rights education is an essential minimum (Osler and Starkey 1996:74).

In the context of this study, the contention that citizenship has more to do with social control than empowerment has some relevance. Is the model of political literacy as flawed as Osler (2000) contends? Her objection to it and to Citizenship Education in the National Curriculum is that it fails to make Human Rights or the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child central to an understanding of citizenship. Or, is it that the model itself is sound, the flaw being in the way in which teachers interpret the meaning of the three strands of citizenship and, in particular, the teaching of political literacy in the school?

In developing their model of public discourse, Huddleston and Rowe (2003) propose that the such an approach lends itself to more effective age related teaching and learning and assessment of progress. As Spens (1938) noted, preparation for citizenship from childhood to adolescence should be a gradual process. This notion of a developmental process, developed from Piaget (1932), was explored further by Eisenberg and Mussen (1975), Kolhberg (1984) Dunn (1988) and more recently Rowe (2000) who, in examining the development of the concept of justice, noted:

From a developmental viewpoint, children approach justice issues egocentrically in the early years. Their understanding of justice is externally determined by authority figures such as parents and teachers...During the adolescent years...young people begin to take on the perspective of society at large...pupils, therefore, need opportunities to extend their understanding in the direction of their increasingly sophisticated and, civically speaking, essential forms of thought (Rowe 2000:74).

Huddleston and Rowe (2003) maintain that the logical implication of concepts being grasped differently at different ages ‘is true of the social and political as it is of any kind of concept’ (2003:11).
This has implications for the study in as much as pupils’ prior knowledge and learning would seem to be important in identifying what stage of conceptual development they may be at and to the identification of what might be taught appropriately at different ages. The notion that pupils fall into neat categories by age is contentious. Indeed, such a ‘rationing’ of experiences and conceptual development may be seen as a form of social control in itself. I would propose that pupils’ prior experiences and learning will affect their understanding of issues of a political nature, and their predisposition to understanding what it is to be a good citizen and to be politically literate.

The implications of this comprehensive approach for teaching and learning then are significant and raise further questions. If schools are to provide real, meaningful and relevant experiences through, for example, class councils, school/student councils and activity within the community, how will teachers ensure that all pupils get the same experience or indeed access to that experience? How will the school ensure that the pupils’ experience of participating in local ‘governance’ is supported by knowledge of the ways in which democratic institutions work? What teaching and learning approaches will the school commend that lend themselves to pupils learning to be politically literate? Clearly, they need to be more than just passive-receivers; pupils need to be both contributors and partners in this enterprise if it is to be successful in the aims and ambitions set out in the Crick Report and the National Curriculum programme of study for citizenship.
CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

4.1 Introduction
In this chapter, I give the context for using the draw and write tool, which was used as the principal instrument for exploring pupils’ prior knowledge and beliefs about citizenship, describing its use in the UK and relevance to our understanding of children’s worlds. Issues of children’s language and adult interpretations of their perceptions are recognised and criticism of draw and write as a qualitative research tool are noted. I explain how the research was conducted and how focus group discussion with pupils was used to illuminate the process of establishing the draw and write questions. Interviews with school staff were also part of the research design. Ethical considerations are raised and responded to.

4.2 A context for draw and write
Ethnographic studies are, according to Measer and Woods (1991) by intention and definition, open-ended:

Problems are not specified in advance of fieldwork discovering what they are in particular circumstances (Measer and Woods 1991:65).

Many ethnographic studies make use of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). That is theory which is ‘grounded’ in the material that is generated in earlier research design, where theory making is on-going. Bryman (1988) raises concerns about the issue of interpretation in such ethnographies and whether researchers:
Have genuinely put themselves in a strategic position to enter the world view of their subjects, whether they have adequately understood the world view, and whether their interpretation of actions and events are congruent with their subjects’ understanding (Bryman 1988:77).

Grounded theory leads to the generation of a theory which, Bryman notes, is derived from a qualitative research base. Much qualitative research relies on the elucidation of a theoretical framework subsequent to (rather than during) the data collection phase, which Hammersley (1984) suggests is almost impossible to accomplish where fieldwork entails gathering vast amounts of qualitative material through interviewing, observation, conversations and the like.

However, Measor and Woods (1991) maintain:

If in qualitative research we are serious about aiming to get a purchase upon meanings that individuals construct we need strategies for probing subjects’ meanings, and getting the fullest possible picture of their ideas and their words, their way of constructing the world and seeing it. (Measer and Woods1991:72)

They go on to argue that it is important for respondents to talk through actual experiences, but it is often difficult for people to discuss important things in their lives. Encouraging people to present those in the form of concrete examples or in a narrative may help their ability to discuss them. Research studies into children’s language and social cognition in recent years have, according to Corsaro and Streeck (1986), moved away from strict experimental hypothesis testing methods to more naturalistic and interpretative approaches. They argue that this reflects not only the limitations of traditional research methods working with young children, but also:

The recognition of our lack of knowledge of children’s worlds and peer cultures. Children are not passive receivers, processors, and storers of social and linguistic information but use their growing mastery of language and interactional strategies to actively construct a social world around themselves (Corsaro and Streeck 1986:15).
Such an approach, I believe, can be readily translated in the use of the draw and write qualitative tool designed for use with children. Mayall (1996, 2000), O’Kane (2000) and Wetton and McWirter (1998) believe that draw and write as a methodology accepts children’s ideas as valid and worthwhile recognising children as competent informants. In my view this calls for a grounded approach where theories, as Bryman (1998) observes, are derived from the fieldwork process. It provides, he suggests:

a framework for the qualitative researcher to cope with the unstructured complexity of social reality and so render it manageable: and it allows the development of theories and categories which are meaningful to the subjects of the research, an important virtue if an investigation is meant to have a practical pay-off. (Bryman 1998:84)

4.2.1 The Draw and Write technique

Scratchley (2003) notes that draw and write is a technique increasingly being used in the United Kingdom to seek children’s perspectives on issues that affect their lives:

As a technique it is particularly useful for ascertaining their prior knowledge and beliefs on issues, events and activity, their thinking, feeling and action. (Scratchley 2003:31)

In the technique of draw and write, children are invited to respond to an open-ended question or scenario by drawing their response in pictures and then writing something about what is happening in their picture. Fisher (1990) suggests that pictures might be the visual expression of their thinking, the way they perceive the world and how they give expression to it. It can be a way of conveying thoughts that children are unable to put into words. From their study, White and Gunstone (1992) argue that drawings help the teacher better understand how the child is thinking and forming ideas revealing current beliefs and attitudes. They found that:

The drawing provided insights into understanding that were often surprising and if asked to add words to their drawings, a further dimension of understanding often becomes self-evident (White and Gunstone 1992:105).
This approach, Wetton and McWirter (1998) believe, is flexible, easy to use and produces valid and reliable data. The flexibility allows draw and write to be easily modified for a particular study and age group of children and can be used with a combination of methodologies using interviews, surveys, questionnaires and observation.

Draw and write is then, primarily a qualitative tool according to McWirter et al (2000) for understanding how children explain and construct ideas and concepts, and demonstrates, as Wetton and Moon (1988), and MacGregor, Currie and Wetton (1998) have shown, a good indication of children’s insights and also showing that as they get older these insights are developed and expanded.

There has been criticism of draw and write. Backett and Alexander (1991) and Backett, Milburn and McKie (1999) have raised concerns about the reliability of data from children where the child does not understand the language of the adult. They also propose that where the tool is being used as a ‘time-saver’ without supporting methodologies, the approach could be superficial and misrepresent children’s social world. However, Corsaro and Streeck (1986) assert that research studies that provide information about children’s life worlds are:

> Essential for the development of theory in childhood socialisation which captures the perspective of the child (Corsaro and Streeck 1986:17)

Such micro-ethnographies of children’s worlds allow us to explore their worlds which are not always easily accessible to adults. Corsaro (1985) notes that as adults we often explain away what we do not understand about children’s behaviour:

> as unimportant (silly), or we restructure what is problematic to bring it into line with an adult view of the world (Corsaro 1985:119).
As Scratchley (2003) points out, today’s children:

no longer wait until parents and teachers decide what they should know at what age. Today many of them probably have access to sophisticated adult technology (Scratchley 2003:19).

It is, I believe, making sense of this knowledge that is the problem for children. It has to be a central aim of ethnographic studies using qualitative methods to be wary of such interpretation by the researcher separating himself/herself from adult perceptions of children’s activities and responses. Aggleston et al (1998) also maintain strongly that there is a real need to probe beneath the surface of the message that children and young people are giving, particularly when the views differ from those of adults.

However, I believe, as does Scratchley (2003) who used draw and write methods to explore children’s perceptions of health in New Zealand, that there have been so many research studies undertaken using the technique since 1989 that it is now accepted as a valid and reliable research tool. It is for these reasons that draw and write has been used as the principal research tool to explore children’s perceptions of citizenship, supported by focus groups, in this study.

4.3 Focus groups

As noted above, draw and write does need to be supported by other methodologies. For this reason focus group interviews were undertaken with pupils, and individual interviews were undertaken with the head teacher and the citizenship co-ordinator. As Lister (2001) observes:

The approach and size of qualitative research means that it is not designed to be quantitatively representative of the general population. The smaller sample size associated with qualitative methodology enables a more in depth understanding. Its flexible style of questioning means that the research can
focus on, follow and explore interviewees’ own lines of thought. (Lister 2001:9)

Focus group interviews, a research technique used to obtain data about a small groups’ perception of a problem or an intervention and its effects, have, according to Hawe et al (1990) and Kitzinger (1995), grown in popularity as an effective method for investigating qualitative outcomes in research studies through enabling participants to respond to specially formulated questions. Focus groups provide a range of differing opinions (Hawe et al 1990) and do not discriminate against those people who have reading and writing difficulties. Focus groups with young people can also give courage to others in groups to speak out and can provide useful data for cross-reference and correlation with the results of other aspects of the research. Busch (1987), in particular, emphasises the importance of the physical setting for the focus group in encouraging respondents to participate in discussion and the key role of facilitator in ensuring that everyone has an opportunity to take part. Busch acknowledges the importance of the informality of focus groups and to the confidential nature of such approaches, where young people feel able to discuss their views freely without fear of comeback. Ideally, a pupil sample should be selected randomly to represent gender, ability and year age groups.

The role of the facilitator is crucial to successful interviewing in group settings.

Corsaro (1985) considers that a shortcoming in many studies is:

the tendency of researchers to remove themselves from the social contexts of the peer activities. As a result the data are interpreted from the adult’s perspective, and there is a failure to capture background information on the children’s perceptions of their activities and socio-ecological environments. (Corsaro 1985:118)

Access to children’s understanding, then, through interviewing is problematic, as Fine and Sandstrom (1988) argue, because all adults have passed though childhood and it
is tempting to assume that we have greater knowledge of children’s culture than we actually do. When children do answer questions and give adequate answers, there is a real danger of interpreting what children say according to Walford (1991):

on the basis of adult expectations which may differ markedly from those of children (Walford 1991:98).

I believe that interviewing pupils in focus groups goes some way in addressing these shortcomings as it allows the researcher to clarify data as it is gathered, both for meaning and context. Further questions may be asked of the respondents and clarification of meaning sought where ambiguities arise, thus ensuring that interpretations are not adult biased. In this respect, the validity and the reliability of the data gathered are greatly improved.

A further problem identified by Yarrow (1960) is associated with children’s limitations in language and comprehension of language. However, the draw and write technique does provide a non-verbal approach to exploring complex and subtle attitudes without making great demands on pupils’ oral abilities. The combined use of focus groups, then, allows pupils to contribute positively and their peers can help with both clarification of the questions asked and the responses given.

4.4 The school-based research

A case study approach in a single school was the preferred research strategy on the grounds that, as Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) observe:

‘How’ and ‘Why’ questions are being posed and where the investigator has little control over events and when the investigator has little control over events or when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real life context (Hitchcock and Hughes 1995: 322).
Yin (1993: 3)) similarly notes that the case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context. A single case study was chosen on the basis that:

> It can be used either to test existing theory or practice in an everyday environment, or it can be used to develop new theory or improve and evaluate existing professional practice (Hitchcock and Hughes 1995: 323).

Bryman (1988) expresses concerns about making generalisations from case studies and is critical of this approach:

> This reliance on a single case study poses problems of how far it is possible to generalise the results of such research (Bryman 1988:87)

The selected case study school lies in a suburb three miles from the centre of Birmingham and was founded as a voluntary aided school. It had 385 pupils on roll at the time of the research, with slightly more girls than boys, and remains bigger than most other primary schools. Almost all of the pupils were of white UK heritage and lived close to the school in privately owned housing or housing owned by a trust. The area is well established and most pupils were, according to the school, from secure family backgrounds. When they start school aged seven, pupils’ attainment is better than normally expected of pupils that age. Around 15 percent of pupils were eligible for free school meals, broadly in line with the national average, whilst nineteen percent of pupils were on the school’s register of special educational needs, again in line with the national average. Four pupils at the time of the research had statements of special educational need. Of the 35 pupils from Black-Caribbean, Pakistani, Indian, Chinese and other ethnic minority heritages, six pupils had English as an additional language. In 2001 the school had achieved Beacon Status providing support to a number of other local schools through this government-funded scheme.
It can be argued that this is not a typical school and for the study raises issues, as discussed above, about the validity of the generalisations made and described in the concluding Chapter. It was not possible to explore the variables that differences in responses by age, gender, or indeed social class might have on both the outcomes to the draw and write activity, or in particular to the application of the typology developed from the research. In recognising this limitation, further research in other schools would need to be undertaken.

However, the approach chosen by me, using a mixture of methods including; draw and write, focus groups, interviews and the study of relevant documents was ideally suited to the research questions and, I believe, did allow a valid theory to develop. This theory could be easily tested in other similar schools, but was beyond the scope of this study.

The case study school was selected on the grounds that I knew it personally. I had worked with the head teacher at her previous school on a number of curriculum and staff development activities and had been approached by her, on her appointment to this school, to lead some school-based staff development on personal and social development using circle approaches. The head teacher had felt that many of the staff had been at the school a long time, that school standards, though good, could be improved and that the children needed opportunities to engage more with each other in positive ways. To this end, I had worked with the head teacher and senior staff in 1996, leading a circle approaches staff inset day. This had then been followed up through working with each class teacher to plan and lead circle approaches with their classes.
The school inspection in May 1997 had noted ‘many strengths across many aspects of the school’s work and judged it to be good overall’. The report noted the success of circle time as part of personal, social and moral education and the success of the school council. I was also aware that two teachers, central to the development of the developing PSHE and Citizenship Education programme at the school, had been approached by a publisher to write a series of resource books for primary school teachers.

The school was then selected on the basis of personal knowledge, its success as identified by OfSTED, and for being at the leading edge of curriculum development for PSHE and Citizenship Education. However, this raised some ethical issues that I shall discuss later.

The case study school was approached in January 2000 and the research proposal discussed with the head teacher. She agreed that the governors would be informed as matter of courtesy, but also to avoid any misunderstandings that might arise later were they not told, and the context explained to them. The head teacher decided that this would be best done through the Chair of Governors, who was supportive of the school’s citizenship agenda. We agreed a timetable (Fig 1.) for the school-based study which would similarly include briefing senior staff, briefing the teaching staff, informing the children and sending a letter to their parents, arranging the first focus groups with representative groups of pupils from each year, interviewing the head teacher and citizenship co-ordinator, arranging the second focus group study and third focus group pilot of the draw and write questions, and finally the whole school draw and write study.
**Fig 1. Chronology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 2000</td>
<td>Meeting with the head teacher who also informed the school governors as a matter of courtesy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Briefing with senior staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Staff meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Pupils informed by class teachers and letters sent home to parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>First focus group interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Second focus group interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Interviews with head teacher and citizenship co-ordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2001</td>
<td>Third focus group meeting to pilot the draw and write tool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Staff meeting to explain the process for the draw and write activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pupils reminded of the research by class teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assembly to explain the process for the draw and write activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Draw and write activity undertaken by whole school in classes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I briefed the head teacher and senior staff, including the citizenship co-ordinator, about the research in a forty-five minute meeting in the head teacher’s office. A meeting with the school teaching staff took place in the staff room and lasted about half an hour. This replaced their usual Monday meeting held after school. It was felt that holding the meeting in the staff room would be conducive to their support as it was their space; coffee was available and it was comfortable. Moreover, by holding the meeting in usual work time, I was not asking them to give anything beyond their normal working time, important at a time of increased pressure on teachers and their working practices. It was also the opportunity to discuss ethical issues relating to the research.

Issues to do with confidentiality and what would happen to the research findings were raised by some teachers, as well as how much time it would take, given the pressure caused by SATs. These were responded to appropriately and with the support of the
head teacher, who agreed that the relatively short periods of time required by me, as the researcher, were minimal and would not disrupt the functioning of the school.

As citizenship was a new subject to the school, they expressed much interest in the study and were, without exception, willing to proceed. A letter was drafted by the head teacher and sent to parents explaining the context for the research study. They were offered the opportunity to ask questions and, if they wished, to opt their child(ren) out of the study. Class teachers had been briefed on how to explain the research to their classes in the previous staff meeting and pupils were given the opportunity to ask questions. It was explained to the pupils in registration time, who I was, what I was doing, why it was important, and how they could help me. They were also told that if they did not ‘want to take part, then that was OK too’. Pupils were reminded of this at each focus group meeting and then again when addressed by the head teacher in assembly on the morning of the whole school draw and write activity.

The head teacher and the citizenship co-ordinator were also interviewed to ascertain the strategy for the implementation of citizenship in the school and how policy and practice had developed and the reasons for so doing, the head teacher making OfSTED reports on the school, school policy documents and resources available to me for inspection.

The study of school documents as a secondary source of evidence was very important to the research. It was felt that the school policies, OfSTED reports and the school’s own published resource for citizenship (Barnickle and Wilson 2000), used by all class teachers, would illuminate and complement the primary data collected from the draw
and write activity. Firstly, the implications of the use of the published resource, it was felt, would be central to later discussion. Secondly, I felt that this might confirm or contradict any theory as it developed from the research process, analysis and the interpretation of the data. Thirdly, the draw and write activity could not exist in splendid isolation from what the school had already embarked upon in developing its curriculum.

As the research progressed and I began to analyse and interpret the data arising from the focus groups and draw and write activity, I was particularly looking to see if what the school claimed it was teaching through its policies and practices for citizenship was, in reality, the case when compared with what children had apparently learned or already knew.

4.4.1. Focus group discussions

For the focus group discussion, a number of questions or prompts were prepared and for each of the four year groups, class teachers were asked to select a representative group of six pupils, 24 in all, who would reflect gender and ability across the groups. Each year group was interviewed twice, separately and, with the pupils’ permission, their conversations were recorded. The prompts were designed to draw out pupils’ own understanding of ‘what it is to be a citizen’, whether they thought they were citizens, what things good citizens do, what a bad citizen is and does, and what should happen to good or bad citizens? (Full transcripts are given Appendix 5. The analysis of these can be seen in Tables 1 and 2 and the issue of rights raised by their responses, is discussed in Chapter 5).
The four focus group meetings, undertaken twice between March and September 2000, took place in a small quiet room used for musical instrument practice and for one to one tuition. In welcoming the pupils I introduced myself. Most pupils recognised me from previous contact with the school and my attendance at special assemblies. I explained the purpose of the meeting, asked them if they had any questions or concerns and reminded them of their class rules for discussion which they rehearsed for me. This included *turn taking, listening, not shouting out, and not putting people down*. I explained that I was going to record the discussion and that they would need to speak clearly, introduce themselves at the start and then respond to my prompts. The group discussions lasted half an hour, beginning at 9.30 after assembly and registration and finishing at 12.30. During the discussions I asked pupils to clarify things they had said and consciously included pupils who had said little in open discussion by asking them direct questions. There was a short break between each group to allow sufficient changeover time, pupils returning to their classroom for lessons at the end. The tapes were subsequently transcribed, but I had noted key words and phrases during each of the discussions. The feedback from the focus groups was then used to inform the development of the draw and write prompts.

### 4.4.2 Draw and write exercise

The draw and write prompts were tested in January 2001 with 24 different children from across the age range years 3 to 6, which again reflected both gender and ability. In four groups of six, starting at 9.30 in the music practice room after assembly, the pupils were invited to participate in a draw and write activity. They were again, as above, reminded of their class rules. I explained that they would be given two pieces of A3 paper on which to draw pictures and write sentences in response to a set of
prompts I had previously written on the chalkboard. I went through these and asked if there were any questions (Appendix 6). Some of the children wanted to know if they could colour their pictures in or not which I explained was not necessary. I told them that they had half an hour in which to respond and that the only information I needed was their class, their gender and age. They were also advised that they should avoid looking at their neighbour’s work as I wanted their ideas and that they should not talk unless they wanted to ask me a question. I told them that this was not a test or exam and that I would be pleased with their work no matter how much or how little they were able to complete. This was repeated for each group, the whole process finishing at 12.30, with pupils returning to their lessons at the end of each group session. Pupils were asked for any comments and asked if they had found the task easy or difficult, and whether there were things they had not understood. Those replying had enjoyed participating; questions of understanding did not arise, any queries having been dealt with during the activity itself. Analysis of their responses and the outcomes of the focus group discussion subsequently led to the revision of the prompts. The number of prompts was reduced to focus on, in the first activity, good and bad citizens, what rights pupils were aware of and if they had rights. In the second activity, the focus became more directly on what the process of voting was about and when and how it took place, whilst also asking if pupils had themselves ever voted. These were then used with pupils in Key Stage 1 (age 7-8) and Key Stage 2 (age 9-11) in the whole school draw and write activity. Twelve classes participated in the two draw and write activities (Fig 2.).
Fig 2. Total number of pupils in each class participating on the day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 3 No</th>
<th>Year 4 No</th>
<th>Year 5 No</th>
<th>Year 6 No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3E 32</td>
<td>4F 33</td>
<td>5S 27</td>
<td>6B 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3W 30</td>
<td>4C 31</td>
<td>5W 30</td>
<td>6H 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3C 28</td>
<td>4W 32</td>
<td>5R 35</td>
<td>6M 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of pupils participating 368

Total number of responses possible for the two activities 736

Each of the twelve class teachers and, if they had one, their classroom assistant, was briefed on the morning and given sufficient A3 sheets of plain paper and a copy of the script (Appendix 6). These were read through and questions responded to. Most questions from the staff sought clarification of the level of intervention and clarification they could give to children. One class teacher, supported by a classroom assistant, drew my attention to one small class comprised of children with learning and/or social, emotional or behavioural difficulties. They asked what they should do if individual children were unable to cope. I reiterated that completion was not compulsory and if they had difficulty they could help them as much as they felt appropriate. They should reassure the children that I would be pleased with whatever they were able to give me. I reminded all class teachers to tell the children that this was not a test or exam in any way, nor SATs, and that their work would be anonymous.

The only pupils who did not participate fully were a group of eight from across all years receiving peripatetic musical instrument tuition. The head teacher decided it was important that these pupils should not miss their lessons so they completed as much as they could. It was not possible to ensure some additional time for them subsequently.
The research was undertaken for an hour at 9.30 after registration and assembly, the latter being used to remind the pupils what was to take place. Class teachers in their classrooms conducted the activity.

Led by their teachers, who had been briefed earlier to not intervene other than to help with spelling, if asked, and to write pupils’ responses where pupils’ literacy was insufficient, the protocols invited pupils to think about all the things that they associated with being a good citizen. They were asked to keep these ideas in their heads and not to tell anyone. Teachers had previously written the six prompts on their chalk boards and the pupils were asked to:

- Draw a picture of a grown-up being a good citizen and to write a sentence of explanation
- Draw a picture of a grown-up being a bad citizen and to write a similar note of explanation

They were further invited to respond to the questions of:

- what should happen to bad citizens
- what rights citizens have and whether they thought there were any individuals or groups of people who don’t have rights or don’t get their rights met, and finally
- they were asked if they had rights and if so what these might be?

The second part of the draw and write activity similarly used six prompts and asked pupils to:
• Draw a picture of a grown-up voting and to write a sentence saying who or what they were voting for

Knowledge of voting had been demonstrated in the focus group discussion and was very much a response to the understanding of rights agenda that some pupils were very aware of. This is discussed in more depth in Chapter 5, page 112.

Further prompts required the pupils to say:

• how, where, when and why grown-ups vote and then posed the question as to whether they had ever voted for anything and, if so, what they were voting about.

(Examples of responses made by children are included in the text to illustrate the discussion about the results and findings in the next chapter)

The whole draw and write activity lasted an hour, commencing at 9.30 and finishing at 10.30, after which the children had their normal break before resuming lessons. I visited each classroom in turn to offer encouragement and to ensure that the protocols were being followed and to see if any problems had arisen. In some classes I observed teachers kept to the script, whilst others approached it differently adding additional information often in response to questions asking ‘could they draw more than one picture?’ or ‘could they colour it in?’ The activity took longer than anticipated as pupils wanted to add details to their drawings and class teachers had to remind them that they should also write the sentences of explanation. After thirty minutes, pupils
were reminded that they should move on to the second draw and write activity. Thirty minutes for each of the activities was based upon the times it had taken for pupils to respond during the pilot study. Pupils were again reminded that they could do as much or as little as they wanted, and no pressure was applied to pupils to finish. I was aware of only one pupil with learning difficulties who, despite the support of the teaching assistant, found it difficult to cope. He was given the opportunity to end the task and to do an activity of his own choosing quietly.

Pupils entered into the spirit of the task with great enthusiasm with occasional words of encouragement from their teachers, who responded to questions and clarified the task appropriately. Some pupils drew several pictures, some annotated with speech bubbles, whilst others wrote short sentences or phrases of explanation. At the end of the ‘lesson’ I went to each classroom to thank pupils and to collect the folios of drawings from the class teacher. All teachers commented that the activity had gone well and that they had helped one or two pupils with spelling. It was reported that some children had compared what they had drawn and written about with each other after the drawings had been collected, but no attempt was made to debrief teachers or pupils formally.

It was apparent that some classes had less time to complete their draw and write activity, whilst some pupils needed greater support from the teacher supervising it. The time disparity related to the speed and efficiency with which the teachers had given out the paper and explained the task. Year 3 teachers took longer to do this than year 6 teachers, year 3 teachers believing, they reported afterwards, that pupils needed the instructions to be presented slowly and clearly in order for them to be able to
respond. However, it was never-the-less valid in that the approach allowed respondents to contribute their knowledge, understanding and beliefs without fear of ridicule and it asked questions of them without offering information that might corrupt their answers.

A weakness of the approach is that some children did not understand the question and did need the teacher to explain it without giving further information. As the researcher, I had to rely upon the integrity of the teacher to do this. Similarly, although respondents were asked to keep their ideas and responses to themselves, in a busy classroom it was inevitable that some children would see and possibly copy others’ work. I was conscious of this in categorising the scripts, but do not feel this has distorted the results of the activity to any great degree.

The pupils’ responses were then collected and analysed, patterns of responses being noted and categorised for ease of data handling. The categories were determined by the natural groupings of pictures and sentences that became apparent during analysis. These were turned into percentages for each age/year group but no statistical relevance was sought as the data itself originated from qualitative responses illuminated by the pictures drawn by the pupils. Due to the sheer number of responses it was not possible to analyse the data by gender or ethnicity, as this was beyond the scope of this study.

In total, 368 scripts were returned providing a total of 1104 drawings with written explanations and further written responses to each of the prompts for each activity.
4.4.3 Interviews

An interview was conducted jointly with the head teacher and the co-ordinator for citizenship, who was both a member of the senior management team and also a classroom teacher. It was decided that a joint interview was appropriate since both had worked closely on the development of citizenship at the school. This lasted an hour and took place in the staff room. This was a comfortable environment and where open discussion could take place without fear of interruption as teaching staff were in their classrooms. I chose not to record the conversations but, using prepared questions as a starting point, made longhand notes, having previously explained to the respondents that these would be developed later and would remain confidential. Interviews were meant to ascertain why citizenship had been introduced into the school and to assess the degree of impact it was having on both the teaching staff and the pupils. I was also able to have informal conversations with both them and teaching staff during the period of the school-based research.

The head teacher had also been asked to complete a self-evaluation of the citizenship benchmarks (Lloyd 2000) described in chapter one of this study. The self-evaluation provided a structured series of statements that the head teacher could respond to through identifying whether the practice observed was emergent, established or advanced for citizenship. This had helped to determine the questions (Appendix 7) that I asked, especially in relation to the categories of; leadership, management and organisation, creating the environment, teaching and learning, staff development collective review and parental and community involvement, and subsequently to help provide meaning to the analysis and interpretation of the draw and write responses. I did not ask the co-ordinator or teaching staff to undertake any self-evaluation, as this
was seen by me as a management tool, the outcomes of which would help to illustrate and illuminate how curriculum innovation depended, or not, on the leadership given.

4.5 Ethical issues

Grieg and Taylor (1999) and Lindsay (2000) draw attention to the importance of the researcher considering ethical issues before undertaking fieldwork. Lindsay (2000) asserts that research with children is no different from that of other groups in research and that the same ethical questions should be applied. These should include respecting the dignity and rights of all participants, ensuring confidentiality, seeking their informed consent and the right to withdraw themselves and information they possess.

There is an issue of ‘consent by proxy’ whereby parents’ consent is sought for the involvement of their children in research. Indeed, in this study parental consent was sought but additionally the nature and purpose of the research was explained to the pupils by their teachers, that is, what the research was about, why it was being done, my role, and what would happen to their pictures and writing. No attempt was made to involve the pupils beyond their completion of the focus group activities and the main draw and write activity. This was because there was insufficient time, the school had other priorities and the wealth of data collected took considerably longer than anticipated to analyse and place into categories, by which time years 5 and 6 would have transferred to secondary schools.

France et al (2000) suggest that often decisions are made about children’s involvement before the children themselves are aware of it, whilst Masson (2000) notes that:
Reliance on the consent of others denies respondents information which would be thought essential for an adult participating in research, what their role might be, and to decide whether or not to participate (Masson 2000:34)

If pupils had objected to participating they would have been allowed to withdraw, but without exception parents and their children were equally willing to participate and the only pupils who were unable to do so were those who were absent on the day of the draw and write activity.

Confidentiality of the focus group data had also been explained to pupils and their teachers before and again at the beginning of the focus group discussion and draw and write activity. In the focus groups, pupils were asked if they minded their discussion being recorded and understood that anything said would be non-attributable when transcribed. Pupils were reminded of their own ‘class rules’ for discussion that included not shouting out, turn taking, not having to say anything if they did not want to, and laughing with others not at them. To avoid any inappropriate disclosure, pupils were also advised that they should not share anything that they would not normally share and especially about personal and family things.

As for the focus group discussion, it was agreed with the school that responses would be non-attributable, so pupils were required to mark their responses to the draw and write activity with their class, age and gender only.

I was also very aware of ethical issues relating to my own role, having been involved in both staff and curriculum development at the school. A number of questions were raised in my mind. Would my previous contact with teachers and pupils hinder my study? Would they react in some way as Bryman notes:
Surveys and experiments create an awareness on the part of subjects that they are being investigated; the problem of reactivity draws attention to the possibility that this awareness creates a variety of undesirable consequences in that peoples’ behaviour or responses may not be indicative of their normal behaviour or views (Bryman 1996: 112).

How, if necessary, could I be critical of the school’s leadership, the staff, the curriculum, or its resources without causing offence? How could I maintain the anonymity of individuals, particularly when two teachers had written and published a resource used throughout the school?

As the basis of the study was not action research, rather than enter into any formal contract as Hart and Bond (1995) recommend, and to ask the staff to sign a protocol that would set out the purpose of the research and make them aware of their rights, I chose to meet the staff and to explain all of this. I felt it was better to be ‘up front’ about what I was proposing and that, as for the children, no member of the teaching staff would be identifiable and that any confidences given would be kept anonymous. I pointed out to the head teacher, and those more directly involved in the curriculum policy making and development, that this would be more difficult, as recognised above. This they agreed was not a problem for them as they ‘had nothing to hide’ and felt that the benefits of the research when reported back would far out weigh anything negative. Some preliminary findings were reported back to the head teacher and co-ordinator informally in September 2002 and it was agreed that the full findings would be presented to them and the staff, when the thesis was completed.

The head teacher and the co-ordinator were both reminded of their right to refuse to answer questions or to withdraw from the research if they so wished prior to their individual interviews. They chose to participate fully. Nor was I aware of any
‘reactivity’ on theirs or any other’s part whilst undertaking the research, and I do believe that my previous involvement with the staff and the pupils created both support and a positive interest in what I was doing.

4.6 Categorisation of responses

Categorisation took a long time as it needed to reflect not only the meaning behind the pupils’ drawings but also the knowledge or beliefs that these illustrated. I was also concerned about simplifying qualitative categories for statistical purposes rather than using the data to illuminate understanding. MacGregor et al (1998) suggest that researchers using draw and write techniques should avoid forcing the results into more rigorous quantitative analysis that might involve cross tabulations or testing for significance. They also assert that the more data is quantified the more likely the true meaning may be lost. They urge caution, proposing that researchers should not get immersed in percentages or frequencies when the real data is in the pictures. However, Backett, Milburn and MacKie (1998) assert that there is a real danger of misinterpreting children’s pictures.

An example of this occurred in the pilot study where, in response to the prompt ‘what should happen to bad citizens?’, a pupil in year 3 drew a picture of a person (Fig. 3) on what appeared to be a hospital trolley, supported by the sentence ‘bag peopel shoud be trited’. In discussion with this pupil it transpired that the picture actually illustrated the death of a murderer by lethal injection in the USA he had seen on television. The supporting statement was translated as ‘bad people should be treated’ but was not about bad citizens receiving some sort of ‘treatment’ in a hospital, as I had first thought.
It was very possible to place drawings in a number of different categories, although often the accompanying sentence gave additional insights into what children were thinking. There were also difficulties with spelling in some cases and in a few the teacher had annotated the pupil’s script with the correct spelling.

The categories arose out of the prompts and were grounded in the responses the children gave. It soon became clear that pupils were drawing and saying the same things consistently. In this respect, the saturated categories became self-determining for each of the draw and write activities and I became increasingly confident about their relevance and range. These were very important in generating the theoretical framework that began to develop as a result of their analysis and interpretation. This is set out in the final chapter.

I will now turn to the categories that emerged.

4.6.1 Categories

Task A. Good Citizenship
A1 Draw a picture of a grown up being a good citizen and write a sentence to say what the grown-up is doing.

Categories
- Environmental
- Helping or assisting
- Friendship or kindness
- Politeness
A2 Draw a picture of a grown-up being a bad citizen and write a sentence to say what it is the person is doing that is bad.
Categories Environmental
Graffiti or vandalism
Violence
Not caring
Stealing

A3 What should happen to bad citizens?
Categories Prison
Made to say sorry
Punished
Community service
Fined
Arrested, police, courts

A4 What rights do citizens have?
Categories Play, shop, work
Live, be free, free speech
Help people
Vote
Environmental
Race and religion

A5 Are there any individuals or groups of people who do not have rights or do not get their rights met? If so, who are they?
Categories Bad citizens
Homeless/poor/refugees
Children and teenagers
Poor countries
Race or religion
Other

A6 Do you have any rights?
Categories Free speech/Freedom of movement
Help others
No rights
Environmental
Voting
Other

Task B. Democratic Rights
B1 Draw a picture of a grown up voting and write a sentence to say who or what they are voting for.
Categories Political party
President
Prime Minister
Blair, Hague, Major
General Election
Mayor/Councillor
Other

B2 How do grown-ups vote?
Categories
- Ballot papers
- Show of hands
- Polling station/Booth
- Telephone/Internet
- Post letters
- Other

B3 Where do grown-ups go and vote?
Categories
- Churches and schools
- Special place/booth
- Polling station
- Other

B4 When do grown-ups go and vote?
Categories
- General election
- President
- Prime Minister
- Government/Parliament
- At 18 years
- Other

B5 Why do grown-ups go and vote?
Categories
- To make things happen/have a say
- New leader
- New government
- Someone who will do a good job
- Other

B6 have you ever voted for anything? If yes, what were you voting about?
Categories
- School Council
- House Captains
- Have never voted
- Other

‘Other’ was included, where necessary, for each prompt as there were a sufficient number of responses that did not fall into the categories but by themselves, were not a category. This was especially true for Democratic Rights. An example of a response that could not be categorised, yet had meaning, was the pupil who responded to the prompt ‘when do grown-ups vote?’ by writing ‘when the governors change’. Another,
in response to the prompt have you ever voted for anything?’, replied by writing ‘yes...who was going to leave the Big Brother House first’.

The responses, having been categorised and recorded on spreadsheets, were turned into percentages and histograms for each class. These were then turned into pie-charts for each year group. The percentages and exemplifications of each category were then tabulated and analysed. These are included and discussed in the next Chapter.

4.6.2 Some questions, issues and responses

Questions of reliability have been raised earlier; however, it can be asked whether the draw and write response was entirely the children’s own and what might have triggered those responses on the day? Secondly, as raised in earlier discussion, did the children understand the language relating to the concept of citizenship, voting and rights as set out in the prompts? Thirdly, does the analysis of their pictures really depict their meaning?

Draw and write was not the only technique used. There are other ways of exploring children’s knowledge and beliefs, but I believe the technique, supported by the focus group discussion undertaken with the children which informed the process, was valid. It was possible that some children may have seen and copied their neighbour’s work but, other than in one or two instances, this was not apparent in their responses. Given the significant number of children who participated, this was not an issue for the research.

It is possible that the children’s responses had been influenced by recent events, both in and outside of the school. All classes were receiving PSHE and Citizenship lessons,
all pupils attended assemblies which often had an environmental or social and moral theme, whilst at home they were subject to media coverage of local and world events, including the sale of major local employer, BMW/Rover. This effect is discussed in later chapters and did at least recognise their prior knowledge from wherever it originated. The focus groups did generally illustrate children’s knowledge and understanding of the language and general concept of being a good citizen, but not the detail of democratic rights. They knew about voting through school councils but appeared not to relate this to elections at a national level despite recent television coverage.

Finally, I accept that there were some ambiguities in their drawings and it is possible that I have misrepresented some. Backet, Milburn and McKie (1999) have drawn attention to this previously. However, I did not discard any drawings even though there were significant numbers of responses that suggested that the children had misunderstood the prompt or did not know what to reply. Consequently, there were inappropriate responses that demonstrated their lack of understanding. No attempt was made to decipher or interpret these and it was not possible to further interrogate meaning by talking to the individuals. Despite this, the significant number of responses overall gave meaning to the prompts and the inappropriate responses themselves are a valid finding.

Additionally for the first draw and write there were 360 nil/don’t know responses which represented 16 percent of the total number of 2208 responses possible, and for the second draw and write there were 508 nil/don’t know responses which represented
23 percent of the total number of 2208 responses possible. This data too was important in the analysis of the findings.

The next chapter examines these responses in more detail and analyses the findings.
CHAPTER FIVE

Results, Analysis and Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the results of the focus group discussions undertaken with the small, mixed ability groups of pupils from each year group and the subsequent draw and write tasks.

How the focus groups and draw and write activities were conducted in context is briefly explained and revisited (see Methodology) in this chapter; the results and a commentary being followed by discussion of the findings.

An analysis of the results of the self-evaluation of the school’s practice by the head teacher using the Success for Everyone-Benchmarks for Citizenship, described in Chapter 1, is given. A critique of the process of self-evaluation is undertaken.

5.2 Focus Groups

For the focus group discussion a number of questions or prompts were prepared and for each year group class teachers were asked to select a representative group of six pupils, 24 in all, who would reflect gender and ability across the class. Each year group was interviewed separately and with the pupils’ permission their conversations were recorded. The prompts were designed to draw out pupils’ own understanding of ‘what it is to be a citizen’ whether they thought they were citizens, what things good
citizens do, what a bad citizens is and does, and what should happen to good or bad citizens.

Most of the group discussions lasted about half an hour and were subsequently transcribed. The feedback from the focus groups was then used to inform the development of the draw and write prompts.

Arising from the focus group discussions a number of common themes were apparent. These are shown below in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Theme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Mentions</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Attributes</td>
<td>helpful, responsible, honest,</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trustworthy, kind, caring etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Attributes</td>
<td>stealing, killing law breaking</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewards:</td>
<td>medals, honours, money</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment:</td>
<td>litter, flora/fauna</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights:</td>
<td>personal, religious beliefs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roles:</td>
<td>Prime Minister, nurses, doctors,</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vets, police officer, lawyers, parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal:</td>
<td>police, courts, lawyers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punishment:</td>
<td>jail, fines, corporal (capital)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic:</td>
<td>Queen, Prime Minister, voting, Government, council, school council</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-social:</td>
<td>vandalism, graffiti</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect:</td>
<td>for feelings, people, property, rights</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality:</td>
<td>age, race, religion, all citizens</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance misuse:</td>
<td>drugs, drug dealing, alcohol</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment:</td>
<td>jobs, work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>fund raising, charity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest number of mentions by pupils (37) identified being a good citizen with positive attributes and values such as being helpful, responsible, honest, trustworthy, kind and caring. Typically, this was exemplified by referral to helping people but overwhelmingly to looking after the environment. (22 mentions):
They look after their environment, they don’t go round breaking branches of trees, if they found litter they would put it in the bin. (Year 3)

Someone who is part of the community and does things to help it and improve their surroundings. (Year 6)

Similarly, negative attributes were associated by pupils of all ages with being bad citizens such as stealing, vandalism, graffiti, law breaking and anti-social behaviour and activity generally (31 mentions), whilst there were 13 additionally mentioning vandalism and graffiti specifically:

Like you say, smoking and stealing and cars, drinking wine, breaking windows with stones, guns and all that…destroying other people’s property. (Year 4)

Not recognising other people’s rights, abusing other peoples’ rights. (Year 6)

A significant number of responses (25) showed that pupils believed that good citizens should be rewarded with medals, honours and even money whilst all felt that bad citizens should be punished. There were 18 mentions of jails, fines and having to apologise which suggested that, for some, there was an awareness of the concept of restorative justice:

They should at least have to apologise and tell them that they are properly sorry and if they do it again they will be in trouble with the authorities. (Year 6)

In this context pupils recognised the importance of the legal professions including the police, lawyers and courts.

Rights were perceived as by pupils in Year 6 especially as being really important. The notion of rights had arisen during discussion. ‘In talking about ‘good and bad citizens’ one child had commented that ‘a bad citizen is someone who doesn’t give their rights to others’ and as can also be seen in Table 2, rights relating to the democratic principle of voting and voting itself were mentioned most frequently. Personal beliefs
and religious freedom were mentioned 19 times with a further 10 mentions specifically referencing equality issues in respect of age, race and religion with some pupils asserting that it is the role of the Government and courts to protect our rights:

Rights come from being a citizen, if you broke the law and then you’d be removed from some of these rights and you would have to go to jail. (Year 6)

Rights come from as soon as you are born...you have rights. (Year 6)

It was first in America when Black people weren’t treated as equals. (Year 6)

In extending some of these themes, pupils’ existing or prior knowledge of rights, disadvantage and power were increasingly apparent. Responses to the prompt ‘what rights do citizens have?’ elicited 42 mentions of rights, including the right to vote, the right to protection by the law, the right to freedom of speech, the right to be free to travel. Around half referred to the right to education:

The right to vote...we need a good government, if we don’t have a good government then our country would be upside down...people could do anything they want. (Year 4)

Children have a right to education…right to learn. (Year 3)

We have a right to go to school to get a good education, to go to university or college. (Year 4)

We have a right to put our own views forward. (Year 5)

Everybody has a right to believe in…religion…faith. (Year 6)

There were very clear perceptions of equality rights. 33 mentions were made about homelessness, refugees and Black People. In the discussion, pupils referred to Black people not being treated equally in the UK and abroad:

There’s more white people, we’re more powerful. (Year 5)
Some people don’t treat Black people equally, the right way just because of the colour of their skin…we call people who do that racist. (Year 6)

Black people should have the same rights…it’s about power over Black people. (Year 6)

Pupils also identified the disadvantages faced by refugees, Kosovans in particular, and asylum seekers. Some noted women, the elderly, disabled and children are not always treated equally or have their rights met and have little power:

Women are not treated equally. A company might not employ women. Sometimes men get paid more. (Year 6)

The notion of power was significant. (Table 2.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common theme</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Mentions</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rights</td>
<td>To vote, protection, free speech etc</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Parliament, politicians, MPs, councillors, mayor</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting</td>
<td>Debates, elections, polling</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Disadvantaged</td>
<td>Homeless, Refugees, Black people</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>Cadburys, Rover, factory owners</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Roles</td>
<td>The Queen, Prime Minister, Ministers, Cabinet roles</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Parties</td>
<td>Labour, Conservative, Liberal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sein Fein</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>Parents, teachers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In response to the prompt ‘who has power and authority in our society/country?’ 22 mentions were made about industrial and commercial interests and Cadbury’s and Rover who were the biggest employers in the area at that time. Pupils recognised the political power of the Prime Minister and politicians:

People who own big companies…Bill Gates. (Year 3)

The banks, the bosses of shops, companies like Rover and Cadbury. (Year 4)

I think Parliament makes the laws and gets them to the Queen to see if she agrees and if she does they are made law. (Year 5)

People at the top of the chain, who might have money and power and the right to choose who works for them, they have power because they pay us. (Year 6)
The right to vote to change things is a particularly sophisticated concept recognising that they have power:

If we don’t like the government we can vote for another one. (Year 6)

There were 38 mentions of voting, debates, elections and polling and the associated roles of parliament, politicians, MPs, councillors and Mayor. The roles of parents, teachers, nurses, doctors, lawyers and police officers in society were also seen as being important. Pupils understood the role of Parliament in making new laws and knew that MPs vote. Many knew that the right to vote happened at 18 years:

It’s eighteen…lots of things you can do at different ages, drive a motorbike, buy a lottery ticket. (Year 5)

Our mums and dads voted at polling stations… there were lots of signs up. Year (5)

We vote for MPs every five years at polling stations. (Year 6)

Pupils of all ages knew that discussion and debate took place in Parliament on schools and education, health and transport, and that, politicians belong to different political parties, Tony Blair being Labour and Prime Minister. Year 6 pupils likened the role of their class representative on the School Council to that of an MP:

We have a school council…it’s like every class has a representative and we ask them everything they want to improve, what they think is wrong…representatives take it to the school council meeting and we vote…say if it’s a good idea like we just got new bins and the old ones were really small…so if they think it’s a good idea we go to the head teacher, if she approves it then we get them…the head teacher is a bit like the Queen…Mrs X (teacher with responsibility for the school council) is a bit like the Prime Minister. (Year 6 Pupils)

They also mentioned that things had to be paid for and that Government raises money from taxes to do so.
There was an awareness of local democracy, that they have local councillors who are elected and that the Council is presided over by the Lord Mayor:

The council…they say no dogs in the park, no ball games, or allow us in to play a football game there. (Year 4)

People tell their councillor what they think should happen, the councillor then has to take it to a council meeting. (Year 5)

I once saw a programme where this woman…like a teenager went clubbing and her friend lived far away and she had to walk so she told the council she wanted a bus on that route cos there were no buses, so they said they’d do something about it. (Year 6)

Pupils’ knowledge and understanding was increasingly detailed and sophisticated with age. When asked ‘how they knew these things?’ they reported that much of what they ‘knew’ was gleaned from their parents and television or the outcome of being taught in class or discussed in assemblies. According to Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999), television, so often accused by adults as the reason behind anti-social behaviour or worse was not perceived as a threat to citizenship education by teachers generally.

The apparent prior knowledge of rights, then, was important in determining the prompts and questions for the draw and write activities. I decided that the first set of prompts and questions would concentrate on the issue of ‘good citizenship’ and the notion of rights in general. For the second set of prompts and questions I chose to concentrate democratic rights as expressed though an understanding of the principle of voting. These themes were also referenced in the citizenship resource Me as a Citizen (Barnickle and Wilson 2000) used throughout the school. These dealt, in the section, Me and you responsibilities, specifically with responsibilities and rights; and
in Me and democracy, how to be part of the democratic process. Democracy in this instance was defined as:

people having the right to vote for the politician or political party whose policies they feel are most representative of their own views (Barnickle and Wilson 2000: 46)

The school placed much emphasis on circle-time approaches and through the school council, participation in decision making. Pupils had many opportunities to be engaged in their class councils, and their school council, however, I chose not to explore their right to participation or their actual involvement in these activities preferring to concentrate on their conceptual understanding of democracy and how they made sense of what they were being taught. It was also of interest to me as, at the time of the research, the Presidential Elections were taking place in the USA, and a General Election had recently taken place in the UK and I believed that this might have some bearing on their prior knowledge. The concept of voting, in this instance was, then, I believe to be a satisfactory proxy for democratic rights.

5.3 Draw and write

Draw and write as used as a research tool, was developed by Wetton, Moon and Williams at Southampton University in their investigations into children’s perceptions of health and health knowledge (Wetton and Moon 1988). The research tool is predicated on the premise that if you ask children about particular situations or events without giving them information about that situation or event and then ask them to respond by drawing a picture and writing a sentence of explanation, then this will reflect their knowledge, understanding and beliefs in relation to that situation or event.
Following the focus group discussion, draw and write prompts were devised to ascertain pupils’ own perceptions of what it is to be a good citizen and democratic processes. As children had demonstrated some sophisticated thinking in their group discussion, I wished to see if this was reflected, without prompts containing information, across the school and if those perceptions were as detailed.

Following a pilot phase, 368 pupils age 8 to 11 years participated in the draw and write activity which took place over an hour’s duration at the same time on the same morning.

The pupils were invited to respond to the following prompts:

A. Good Citizens

1. Draw a picture of a grown-up being a good citizen and write a sentence to say what the grown up is doing.
2. Draw a picture of a grown up being a bad citizen and write a sentence to say what it is the person is doing that is bad.
3. What should happen to bad citizens?
4. What rights do citizens have?
5. Are there any individuals or groups of people who do not have rights or do not get their rights met? If so, who are they?
6. Do you have any rights?
B. Democratic Rights

1. Draw a picture of a grown-up voting and write a sentence to say who or what they are voting for.
2. How do grown-ups vote?
3. Where do grown-ups go and vote?
4. When do grown-ups go and vote?
5. Why do grown-ups go and vote?
6. Have you ever voted for anything? If yes, what were you voting about?

5.3.1 Results of the Draw and Write for Good Citizens

Good Citizens

The small majority of pupils (55 percent) across all age groups drew pictures of adults in environmental contexts exemplified by the Year 4 boy who described his drawing as a person ‘riding a bike and not driving a car and polluting the air’. (Fig. 3)

Fig. 3 Environmental contexts

Helping or assisting someone (Fig. 4) was also rated highly by 34 percent of pupils, exemplified by:

Helping someone in a wheelchair. (Year 6 girl)
Many pictures show adults treating children with injuries, elderly people being helped across the road, and helping people with their shopping.

**Bad citizens**
Bad citizens were the antitheses of good citizens, 40 percent of pupils again drawing pictures with an environmental context, illustrated by the Year 5 girl who described her drawing as a person:

> Spitting chewing gum out and dropping it in the park.

Many pictures showed people spoiling their environment (Fig. 5) through dropping litter, dumping rubbish, and destroying plants and trees.

**Fig. 5 Spoiling the environment**

A further 19 percent drew pictures of adults engaging in acts of vandalism and graffiti, and as shown in Fig 6, 14 percent drew scenes of violence:

> The man is kicking and pushing the lady (Year 4 boy)
However, only 8 percent of pupils associated bad citizenship with stealing, whilst 12 percent (Fig. 7) associated it with not caring for or not helping someone:

The person is laughing at someone who had fallen over (Year 3 boy)

Punishment

Pupils’ pictures showed both knowledge of, and some conceptual understanding of, punishment as retribution, deterrence, and rehabilitation. For some, this included a form of restorative justice. Many pupils (26 percent) believed that bad citizens should go to prison: (Fig. 8)

Should be taken to prison to learn their lesson (Year 3 girl),
Whilst 18 percent believed that bad citizens should be ‘made to say sorry’; exemplified by the year 6 boy who wrote that ‘they should be taught how to behave properly’, a further 14 percent believed (Fig. 9) that they should:

Be punished and warned not to do it again. (Year 4 girl)

11 percent suggested community service as an alternative to prison:

I don’t think jail is the answer. They should do community service. (Year 6 boy)

Eight percent of mentions recognised the role of the police and courts in the process.

Rights

In response to prompt four, there was some understanding of rights in both a general and specific sense. Whilst the greatest number, 20 percent, believed they had a right to play, work and have a home, 18 percent identified the right to live, to be free and have freedom of speech:
People have a right to say what they think…but they have to obey laws. (Year 4 girl)

11 percent mentioned people’s right to vote whilst 5 percent noted rights that relate to race and religion:

To be treated fairly not racist or sexist (Year 6 boy)

A small number of pupils (10 percent) again mentioned the environment.

No Rights

Of those pupils who responded to prompt five, nearly half (48 percent) didn’t know or were unable to respond to this prompt. 11 percent mentioned bad citizens, whilst 7 percent mentioned the homeless, poor people and refugees. Three percent mentioned Black people or religion specifically.

Martin Luther King did not have his rights met just because he was Black. (Year 5 girl)

A very small number (4 percent) also mentioned Africa, usually in the context of the right to a sustainable life and access to drinking water. Of interest, 7 percent of mentions suggested that children and teenagers do not always get their rights met:

Children are citizens who do not get their rights met. (Year 3 boy)

Pupils’ Rights

When asked if they had rights, 37 percent didn’t know or failed to respond, whilst 7 percent didn’t believe that they had any rights. However, 19 percent mentioned freedom of speech and freedom of movement and a further 5 percent mentioned voting in school council elections. Being free to watch television was significant for 10 percent of pupils:

I can watch things (on TV) that are OK for me (Year 5 boy)

Whilst, one confused rights with parental permission:
I am allowed to have chocolate after tea. I can have fish and chips on Wednesday. (Year 3 boy)

Interestingly, one girl felt it was her right, confusing the term with responsibility;

To help the community by picking up litter. (Year 6 Girl)

Table 3 Showing results of prompts for Good Citizenship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prompt</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>A person riding a bike and not driving a car and polluting the air</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helping or assisting</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Helping someone in a wheelchair</td>
<td>Year 6 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friendship or kindness</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Saying I would like to be your friend</td>
<td>Year 3 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politeness</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Holding the door open for an elderly person</td>
<td>Year 5 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Spitting chewing gum out and dropping it in the park</td>
<td>Year 5 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Graffiti or vandalism</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>He has sprayed graffiti on the walls</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>The man is kicking and pushing the lady</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not caring</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Laughing at someone who has fallen over</td>
<td>Year 3 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Stealing from a shelf in a supermarket</td>
<td>Year 6 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Taken to prison to learn their lesson</td>
<td>Year 3 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Made to say sorry</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Should be taught how to behave properly</td>
<td>Year 6 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punished</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Should be punished and warned not to do it again</td>
<td>Year 4 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community service</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>I don’t think jail is the answer, they should do community service</td>
<td>Year 6 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fined</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>I think they should be fined £500 for littering</td>
<td>Year 5 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arrested, police, courts</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>They should be arrested by the police</td>
<td>Year 4 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Play, shop, work</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Right to do as they like as long as it doesn’t harm somebody else</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Live, be free, free speech</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Say what you think…but they have to obey laws</td>
<td>Year 4 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Help people</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Helping people, walking their dogs, being friendly</td>
<td>Year 3 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vote</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Have the right to vote, to decide what the government do</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Have to look after the world and its creatures</td>
<td>Year 5 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic / Category</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Comments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race and religion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>To be treated fairly, not racist or sexist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5 Bad Citizens</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>I think people in prison don’t have a right</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeless/poor/refugees</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Some refugees might not get their rights met</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children and teenagers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Children are citizens who don’t get their rights met</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor countries</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>In Africa they have no drinking water and they should</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race or religion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Martin Luther King did not have his rights met just because he was black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>My Dad has the right to come and visit me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6 Free speech/Freedom of movement</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Right to play outside, go to town and buy things</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play, watch TV</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>I can watch things (TV) that are OK for me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help others</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don’t fight, no kicking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Rights</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>I don’t know if I have any rights in year 6 yet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>I have rights to help the community pick up litter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>We have a school council so we all have a right to tell our council representative if we think something can be improved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>I am allowed to have chocolate after tea, I can have fish and chips on Wednesday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.2 Results of the Draw and Write for Democratic Rights

Voting

In response to the first prompt, 18 percent of pupils mentioned voting for political parties, 12 percent voting for the President: (Fig.10)

They are voting for what president is going to be in America (Year 3 girl)
and 10 percent voting for a Prime Minister, many pictures illustrating the use of ballot papers and boxes (Fig. 11). Some pupils (6 percent) mentioned political leaders by name:

The person is voting for whom he thinks should be Prime Minister, he is voting for Tony Blair. (Year 4 boy)

General elections were mentioned in the context of voting by 3 percent of pupils, whilst a further 3 percent mentioned the election of mayors and councillors. Significantly, 38 percent gave other responses best reflected by references to voting in television talent shows, reality programmes and game shows: (Fig. 12)

He is voting on Ready Steady Cook...he is voting for the Red Peppers. (Year 3 girl)
Some confused voting with protesting, betting, and bidding at auctions (Fig. 13), whilst a further 21 percent did not know or did not respond:

They are voting for know (no) fighting (Year 6 Girl)

How people vote

In response to the second prompt, over a third of pupils (34 percent) of all ages mentioned ballot papers (Fig. 14):

They put a piece of a paper in a box and however many votes someone gets, the person with the most wins. (Year 6 boy)
The concept of ‘first past the post’ was well developed, and a further 10 percent of pupils mentioned voting by a show of hands:

They agree or disagree by saying ‘I’ (aye) or put their hands up. (Year 5 boy)

A small number of pupils (5 percent) mentioned that voting took place at polling stations, whilst a similar number (6 percent) indicated that voting ‘could be done by post, telephone or letter’. A significant 26 percent suggested other ways of voting that indicated a lack of knowledge, some again confusing voting with protesting (Fig.15):

Grown ups hold up sticks with boards on saying what they want. (Year 4 girl)

Where people vote

For prompt three, churches and schools were identified by 18 percent of pupils as being the place that adults go to vote. For many this was within their experience:
My mum votes at Dame Elizabeth (Cadbury) School. (Year 3 boy)

Fig.16. A polling station

Whilst 17 percent believed that voting took place in a special place, or both, a further 10 percent specifically mentioned polling stations (Fig. 16):

Grown ups vote in a voting booth (Fig 18), most of all booths are in school. (Year 4 boy)

Fig.17 Voting booth

A large number, 43 percent, gave other, often irrelevant examples, a few pupils however, making the connection to voting in the House of Commons and House of Lords.
When people vote

In response to this prompt, 31 percent didn’t know or failed to respond; however, 14 percent indicated that voting took place at a General Election, 4 percent mentioning that they were voting for a new Prime Minister:

    When you are voting for a new Prime Minister, it’s about every 4 years. (Year 5 boy)

Three percent mentioned voting for a new Parliament, whilst 4 percent mentioned voting for the President. Two percent of pupils mentioned eligibility to vote at the age of 18.

However, the greatest number of pupils (41 percent) gave other examples, only a few of which were relevant, but again showed some awareness of local democracy:

    They vote when the governors change. (Year 5 girl)

Why people vote

Twenty nine percent of pupils did not know or did not respond; however 23 percent of pupils drawn mainly from Years 5 and 6 recognised that voting is a means of making things happen and having a say:

    They want to do something to change their country or local area. (Year 4 boy)

Whilst 12 percent perceived voting as an opportunity to elect a new government, 12 percent also wanted someone who would be effective at governing the country:

    They want to have someone doing a good job, ‘who’ they think will be good at it. (Year 6 boy)

Twenty six percent gave other responses, one Year 3 boy commenting that ‘people voted for fun and to win prizes and money.’
**Pupils’ experience of voting**

School council elections were perceived to be really important by pupils (Fig. 18). All pupils responded to this prompt, 58 percent mentioning the opportunity they have to elect their school council:

> I voted for a new child to be a school council member, I voted for Alice. (Year 3 girl)

Fig. 18 Voting in school council elections

A further 9 percent also mentioned the election of House Captains. A surprising 9 percent of pupils said that they had never voted, whilst significantly 24 percent across all ages mentioned other opportunities for voting they had participated in including television game shows, reality TV, talent contests, favourite singers, records and sports stars:

> I voted for who was going to leave the Big Brother House first. (Year 5 girl)
### Table 4 Showing results of prompts for Democratic Rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prompt</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Somebody voting for labour or conservative</td>
<td>Year 6 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>These people are voting for what president is going to be in America</td>
<td>Year 3 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>They are voting for a labour Prime minister</td>
<td>Year 6 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blair, Hague, Major</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>This person is voting for who he thinks should be prime minister, voting for Tony Blair</td>
<td>Year 4 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General Election</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>This person is voting in a general election</td>
<td>Year 6 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayor/Councillor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>He is voting for the mayor</td>
<td>Year 5 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Ready steady cook, red peppers</td>
<td>Year 3 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>Ballot papers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>They put a piece of paper in a box and however many votes someone gets, the person with the most wins</td>
<td>Year 3 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Show of hands</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Agree or disagree by saying ‘I’ (aye) or put their hand up</td>
<td>Year 5 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polling station/booth</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Voters go to a polling booth which may be in a school, put it in a ballot box, let no one see it</td>
<td>Year 6 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Telephone/internet</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>On the phone or internet</td>
<td>Year 6 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post letters</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vote by phone, letter, TV or number of hands</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Grown ups hold up big sticks with boards on saying what they want</td>
<td>Year 4 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>Churches and schools</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>My mum votes at Dame Elizabeth school</td>
<td>Year 3 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special place/booth</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Grown ups vote in a voting booth, most of all booths are at school</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polling station</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Grown ups go to a polling station to vote</td>
<td>Year 4 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>The house of commons or lords</td>
<td>Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4</td>
<td>General Election</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Grown ups go and vote at a general election</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Like who is going to be president at the White House</td>
<td>Year 6 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>When you are voting for a new prime minister, its about every 4 years</td>
<td>Year 5 Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government/Parliament</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>When they want to vote for a new parliament</td>
<td>Year 6 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At 18 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Grown ups go and vote when they are 18, when there’s an election</td>
<td>Year 5 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>When the governors change</td>
<td>Year 3 Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B5</td>
<td>To make thing happen/have a say</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>They want to do something to change their country or local area</td>
<td>Year 4 Boy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 5.4 Analysis

*Good citizenship* was strongly associated with environmental contexts, especially caring for the environment. In both the school’s planned and taught curriculum, and in school assemblies, there was an emphasis on the need for greater care of the immediate and global environment with concerns associated with global warming, pollution and sustainability being raised.

Helping, assisting, caring for others similarly reflect the culture, ethos, aims and values of the school (and indeed any primary school), previous Ofsted reports (1997, 2001) praising this. The values of being treated fairly and showing concern for those less fortunate are promulgated in classrooms, the playground and especially through school assemblies.

It is perhaps no surprise then that *bad citizens* are the antitheses of these with an emphasis on those that commit acts of littering, vandalism and graffiti high in pupils’ consciousness and something reflected in their own experiences of the local community and environment. The misuse of alcohol, tobacco and drugs was also

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New leader</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To choose the government party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they would like to have</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Government</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because they want the country</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be governed by who they want</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who will do a good job</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want to have someone doing a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good job, who they think will</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be good at it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For fun and win prizes and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6 School Council</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes I voted for a new child to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be a school council member, I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voted for Alice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Captains</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I voted for house captains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have never voted</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have never voted in my life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who was going to leave the Big</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother House first</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Good citizenship was strongly associated with environmental contexts, especially caring for the environment. In both the school’s planned and taught curriculum, and in school assemblies, there was an emphasis on the need for greater care of the immediate and global environment with concerns associated with global warming, pollution and sustainability being raised.

Helping, assisting, caring for others similarly reflect the culture, ethos, aims and values of the school (and indeed any primary school), previous Ofsted reports (1997, 2001) praising this. The values of being treated fairly and showing concern for those less fortunate are promulgated in classrooms, the playground and especially through school assemblies.

It is perhaps no surprise then that bad citizens are the antitheses of these with an emphasis on those that commit acts of littering, vandalism and graffiti high in pupils’ consciousness and something reflected in their own experiences of the local community and environment. The misuse of alcohol, tobacco and drugs was also
noted as being the prerogative of bad citizens. Stealing and violence by adults were also mentioned but appeared not generally to be within pupils’ own experience in a way that affects their immediate lives, or were not seen as connected to citizenship.

Retribution, deterrence and rehabilitation rated highly in pupils’ understanding of the nature and purpose of punishment with many pupils believing that bad citizens should be made to say sorry; an embryonic form of restorative justice being proposed by some. Reparation for misdeeds was also seen as important by pupils, exemplified by the Year 6 boy who asserted that ‘jail wasn’t the answer and that bad citizens should do community service’.

The relationship of this to what is actually taught and to the values the school seeks to promote is critical in understanding pupils’ responses. The school’s core values are made explicit in their prospectus.

At the time of the research core values expressed in the aims of the school, stated for Citizenship and Personal, Social and Health Education that the school would teach the principles of right from wrong, encourage pupils to relate positively to each other, to take responsibility for their own actions, to be involved in the local community, develop an understanding of citizenship, to reflect on children’s experiences, values, beliefs and attitudes, to develop their spiritual awareness and self knowledge, and to appreciate their own cultural traditions and the diversity and richness of others. In the specific aims of the then Citizenship Policy, pupils in ‘learning about themselves as growing and changing individuals with their own experiences and ideas, and as members of their communities’, are expected to develop their sense of justice and
moral responsibility, understand that there choices and behaviour can affect local, national and global issues and political and social institutions, and learn how to take part more fully in school and community activities. These, the policy recommends, will be promoted through the school council, regular debates on issues raised by the pupils, circle time, timetabled lessons, whole school, class and year group assemblies, fundraising and the running of charity stalls, involvement in local institutions and environmental issues, the Young People’s Parliament, and school linking with Chicago and the Gambia.

The core values are identifiable within the planned citizenship content for Years 3-6 which is taken from the PSHE and Citizenship photo-copiable resource in the Growing up Today series, written by the school’s co-ordinators. Me as a Citizen (2000) addresses the policy and covers the themes of Me and my opinions (taught in year 6), Me and my responsibilities (taught in years 3 and 5), Me and my behaviour (taught in year 4), Me and my decisions (taught in year 3), Me and my identity (taught in year 5), and Me and democracy (taught in year 6)

The Head teacher reinforced this commenting in her interview that:

"Citizenship governs the whole school ethos, rights, differences, children and adults, and that we need to make children aware of the World…it gives a global awareness, an understanding of what’s going on in the World. PSHE doesn’t ‘stand alone’, it all fits together and it doesn’t have to be a subject area.

This view of citizenship is consistent with the research undertaken by Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999) into Good Citizenship and Educational Provision and in particular, into what teachers mean by good citizenship. Their research, involving 679
teachers in 64 primary schools and 11 secondary schools, strongly suggests that for teachers:

Good citizens are identified as individuals who have a high level of concern for the welfare of others, who conduct themselves in a strong moral and ethical manner, who participate in the community where they live. They characteristically bring to their dealings with others both tolerance of others’ opinions and views and an acceptance of diversity within society (Davies, Gregory and Riley 1999:44).

They reported that it was common to find teachers:

exemplifying discharging responsibilities as citizens in terms of parking the car properly, not letting the dog bark too loudly, picking up litter etc., and the contrast then being made with those behaviours that are careless of other people’s property and interests, eg. vandalism in all its manifestations – the latter being seen as a definition of what it is not to be a good citizen (Davies, Gregory and Riley 1999:49).

Interestingly, they note one of the most common examples given by teachers was that ‘a good citizen picks up litter, seeing a crisp packet and putting it in the dustbin is a quality of a good citizen’, which was a consistent response by pupils in this study.

If teachers support these values and rationalise these into their aims for the citizenship curriculum, it is then, no surprise that irrespective of a curriculum framework for PSHE and Citizenship Education (QCA 1999), albeit non-statutory, they will promote those values and associated attributes. The schools’ Co-ordinator for Citizenship confirmed this in discussion when she stated unequivocally that:

Citizenship is what the school works around, the pivot, at the centre and what is essential to ethos. It is an indirect way and a discrete way of manipulating children’s behaviour…it’s manipulation of behaviour in a structured way.

Davies, Gregory and Riley similarly noted that:

Many teachers made comments that in their view, the idea of educating for citizenship is highly connected with expected behaviours both in terms of compliance to rules and right behaviour. The school setting was the most common context noted for addressing those behaviours, rules and social interaction as part of educating for citizenship (Davies, Gregory and Riley 1999:80).
More recently, Hudson similarly notes from her research that:

Teachers were uneasy with the ethos and culture of citizenship, and saw it as about responsibilities rather than rights. They wanted it primarily to improve behaviour and school environment (Hudson 2005:128).

Knowledge and understanding of rights however, was problematic. Osler and Starkey (2000) assert that:

Education is essentially about helping young citizens to develop those values and skills that will help them contribute to the global priorities of peace, sustainable development and the means to achieve these, namely democracy and respect for human rights (Osler and Starkey 2000:107).

Although rights were perceived as being important, it was apparent that many pupils of all ages were unclear as to what these were in reality or why they were important. The focus group discussion elicited more information and pupils demonstrated greater understanding of rights than those of the draw and write activity, although in response to whether they thought some people didn’t get their rights met some older pupils were able to identify the homeless, the poor and refugees, and people subject to racism and religious intolerance. However, these were the exception rather than the rule.

In both focus groups and the draw and write activity, most pupils demonstrated a superficial knowledge of rights as they related to themselves based upon their own personal and individual freedoms or ‘the right to do things’ that they wanted to, or an adult allowed them to. Poignantly, one pupil wrote ‘My dad has the right to come and visit me’. The taught curriculum as prescribed in the policy and in the resource book *Me as a Citizen*, includes a theme on *Me and my identity* (taught in year 5) which explores religious and cultural diversity through ‘symbols, festivals, texts and
clothes’. However, although pupils celebrate Martin Luther King Day, Anne Frank Day, and the life of Nelson Mandela in assemblies, there are no specific references in policy, schemes or planning to Human Rights or the Rights of the Child. Although the Universal Declaration on Human Rights is drawn attention to in the Teachers’ notes for *Me and democracy* in the resource book, neither was mentioned by pupils in focus groups or the draw and write responses. As Spencer (2000) notes:

The extent to which pupils will in practice be exposed to human rights knowledge, values and skills, and responsibilities which human rights principles entail, remain uncertain (Spencer 2000:31).

Spencer goes on to argue that human rights principles are central to social and moral responsibility and therefore should be at the heart of citizenship education.

When prompted, pupils were very aware of both the political and commercial power wielded nationally and locally. Pupils mentioned the Prime Minister and the President of the USA in the context of government and ‘who runs the country’, whilst in focus groups pupils were very aware of the power wielded by banks as evidenced by their comments in respect of the sale of Rover by BMW. This was taking place at the time of the study. In an extensive study involving pupils in Australia, Connell (1971) showed that from an early age children were aware of certain types of political events but knew little about forms of government, with little awareness of the political domain. From the age of nine, Connell noted evidence that pupils had a basic understanding that a distinct political world exists and that this came with the growth of a more realistic understanding of the world in which they live.

Some pupils confused voting with protesting as television news and local and national press coverage showed demonstrations at the factory gate, sometimes involving their
parents. In a study of the development of political thinking, Huddleston and Rowe (2003) argue that contextual knowledge is significant for pupils in developing their political understanding and that teaching needs to place more emphasis on the use of case studies capable of being interpreted or understood by students of a wide ability range. They further argue that:

If teaching about politics lacks human interest or relevance and fails to engage students’ problem solving or analytical capabilities, it will fall short of developing citizens capable of properly understanding politics or making an effective contribution to society (Huddleston and Rowe 2003:12).

The sale of Rover would, then, have provided that context for developing political understanding and would have met the requirement of the citizenship education curriculum at Key Stage 2 to research, discuss and debate topical issues, problems and events. However, the scheme of work makes no reference to any political understanding that the pupils may already have or to any that they will need to develop, other than in the area of democracy, voting and participation through the school council.

Pupils who were aware for the most part of the process of voting including the use of ballot papers and polling stations, confused voting in a General Election in the UK with the use of electronic voting in the USA, not surprising when explained by the television coverage of the Presidential Election taking place at that time. As for the sale of Rover, pupils’ ‘understanding’ of events was learned from media coverage, and with no mediation of that learning, misconceptions had arisen. As Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999) observed for primary teachers ‘there was little evidence of citizenship directed to the political sphere’. However, some pupils were very aware of the principle that voting enabled change and for people to ‘have a say’ in both local and national affairs, whilst others knew that an election would determine who would
be Prime Minister and lead the country. Some pupils were aware of other methods of
testing but not in any sense related to political choices. Many had participated in
telephone voting for television shows, or by pressing the ‘red button’ on their TV
remote control.

Me and democracy is covered in the year 6 scheme of work taken from the Me as a
Citizen resource. The notes of guidance for teachers emphasise that ‘it is important
that children are taught to understand and value the concept of democracy’. However,
the lessons and activities predominantly relate democracy rather simplistically to the
making of moral choices about situations involving children of their own age or
explaining why others should vote for them in hypothetical elections, the choices
being between right and wrong rather than any genuinely contestable issues. For
example, ‘everyone should put their litter in bins’ or ‘if you can’t find a bin it’s OK to
drop litter on the floor’, and ‘parks and playing fields will be turned into car parks’ or
‘bus fares will be reduced to encourage more people to use the buses’. Further
activities encourage teachers to explore local groups and democracy with their pupils.
Year 6 pupils had been actively involved in raising money for the Lord Mayor’s
charities through the First Citizen Project (Lloyd 2001), as described in Chapter 1,
which also explores the role of the Lord Mayor and the City Council. Pupils have also
been involved with debates in the Council Chamber as part of the Young People’s
Parliament Programme, but there is no direct teaching planned for in meeting the
requirement that pupils should know what democracy is, and about the basic
institutions that support it locally and nationally. Indeed, the emphasis of the
activities in the scheme progresses into rules, socially responsible behaviour and
bullying all required by the citizenship curriculum; moral but clearly not about democracy.

Rowe (1998) draws attention to teachers’ suspicion of moral education on the grounds that moral education in schools is:

A thinly veiled form of social control, attempting to inculcate a passive respect for the laws of an unjust social order. (Rowe 1998:15)

However, Rowe asserts that:

As citizens they (pupils) need to be able to recognise and address those moral concerns thrown up in everyday encounters of life. (Rowe 1998:16)

The significant numbers not knowing about democratic rights, giving inappropriate responses and demonstrating a lack of knowledge is of concern. Much of pupils’ awareness of democratic rights and processes seemed to emanate from the home rather than from direct teaching and was ‘caught rather than taught’. The impact of television certainly cannot be underestimated in this and I would argue that conflating democracy with social and moral responsibilities serves no purpose other than to confuse both teachers and their pupils further.

The school’s commitment to consultation with its pupils through the School Council and class councils was very apparent with nearly two thirds of pupils making references to voting in school council elections. The school prospectus draws parents’ attention to the importance of the school council and the process by which pupils participate. The head teacher introduced the school council as part of the development of the school’s citizenship programme and, according to the head teacher in interview, to ‘Help improve the ethos, behaviour, drive the school forward and together, working as a team’.
To this end, the citizenship co-ordinator had attended a course on developing school councils organised by School Councils UK, and supported by me in my capacity as the LEA adviser. I had helped the school develop circle time approaches to learning, and introduced the idea of a school council to the staff and pupils. The co-ordinator in interview, believed that the school council is ‘Now firmly embedded, it’s part of the school, it’s a working council and parents are very aware that we offer it as an extra.’

The success of the school council was praised by the Ofsted Inspection (2001) that concluded pupils:

> Are fully involved in what the school offers them. In and around the school, they show a growing sense of maturity by taking responsibility for themselves and recognising their responsibility to others. This is best shown by the work of the School Council. All pupils understand the reasons for having a school council and how it represents their views. Those elected to the School Council take their responsibilities seriously (Ofsted 2001:11).

In the teaching resource, Me as a citizen, the co-ordinators note that the school council has proven to be ‘a very effective way for children to communicate with teachers and vice-versa’, and that ‘children sitting on the council have become more confident and articulate because they have been elected by their classmates to present their views to the council’. In her evaluation of school councils for School Councils UK, Davies (1998) suggests that schools with effective school councils are less likely to suffer from disruptive pupil behaviour and exclude pupils. This is certainly true for the study school and the school council has proven to be very effective. The head teacher maintains that the council has been responsible for organising fund raising events including the Lord Mayor’s Charitable Appeal, developing the school grounds through research, design, planning and purchase of playground equipment to the value of £10,000, making representations to the governors and LEA about the poor state of
the dining hall which resulted in its refurbishment, and working with the Parks Committee on an improvement plan for the local open space amenity used by many of the pupils outside of school. The council writes reports for the fortnightly newsletter to parents and the head teacher’s termly report to the governing body (Barratt 2000). As a result, in her view, pupils feel fully involved, their contribution valued and their voice heard.

This is consistent with the findings of the Euridem Project which reviewed pupil democracy in Europe. Davies and Kirkpatrick (2000) concluded that when children had been given a voice relationships in schools were predominantly humane, equitable, warm and non-confrontational. Pupils felt they could give their opinions and that teachers listened to them. Pupils interviewed showed confidence and high levels of articulation and there appeared to be far fewer problems in school with discipline.

Alderson (2000) similarly reports that creating democratic structures can have a major impact on behaviour and discipline. When combined with circle time approaches and peer mediation in primary schools and ‘when adults work more equally with children as contributing citizens in democratic school communities’, school councils support school improvement.

However, and this is of concern, although passionate about involving pupils in decision making in the school and within the community, and very successful at encouraging participation, there is a very clear failure to relate what they do in practice to the knowledge and understanding of democracy. There is a failure to
associate the learning through participation with the knowledge and understanding required for pupils to engage with democratic processes when they are 18 years of age, whether in the context of local or national democracy, as represented through electing councillors to local authorities or MPs to Parliament. In this respect any association between school councils and the institutions that support democracy locally and nationally is caught rather than taught.

Much of what pupils knew, if ‘caught not taught’ originated from the schools’ own interpretation of the Framework with a strong emphasis on participation. Although developing the skills of enquiry and communication and skills participation and responsible action, the school’s own scheme of work does not seem to deliver sufficiently the knowledge and understanding that pupils require. Learning does need to be under-pinned by direct teaching. Participation in debates at the Young Peoples’ Parliament, residential experiences at a study centre and camping, development education activities about Gambia, school linking with Chicago, and being responsible for fund raising are all worthwhile and important experiences central to pupils’ personal development. However, when not directly linked to the achievement of knowledge and understanding required by pupils at key Stage 2 in preparing to play an active role as citizens (QCA 1999), they remain as just experiences contributing to their personal, social and moral development, to be appreciated and enjoyed. As Hudson (2005) comments in respect of a research study in an 11-18 comprehensive school:

Locating it (the concept of citizenship) within the themes identified in the official government documents on citizenship education, drew insufficient attention to political literacy and circumvented the notion of a human rights framework (Hudson 2005:128).
Firstly, what my study suggests is that there does seem to be confusion in teachers’ minds between teaching values and teaching citizenship. Teachers were teaching citizenship values but not the full Citizenship programme required by the curriculum.

Secondly, it suggests that what is being taught is not necessarily what pupils are learning. Much of what pupils understand about being good citizens is predicated on their behaviour towards each other in school and is more about social control than empowerment, whilst involvement in the school’s own democratic processes, although paradoxically empowering, is divorced from the understanding of citizenship and rights. This is apparent, I believe in the school’s principal teaching and learning resource used by teachers throughout school to which I shall now turn.

5.5 Me as a Citizen: Growing up Today

Referred to earlier, *Me as a Citizen* (Barnickle and Wilson 2000) is one of four books in the Growing up Today series written to complement the non-statutory framework for PSHE and Citizenship at Key Stage 2. The others in the series are *Me as a person, Me and my health* and *Me and my relationships*. The four books together correspond to the requirement for pupils to develop knowledge, skills and understanding for Developing confidence and responsibility and making the most of their abilities, Preparing to play an active role as citizens, Developing a healthy, safer lifestyle, and Developing good relationships and respecting the differences between people. Developed in the study school, they provide notes for the teacher, teaching strategies, lesson plans and differentiated photo-copiable worksheets. The teaching strategies proposed include individual, small group and whole class discussion, the latter often making use of circle approaches.
Me as a citizen focuses on six themes (Table 5), Me and my opinions, Me and my responsibilities, Me and my behaviour, Me and my decisions, Me and my identity and Me and democracy. At the time of the study these were being taught at different ages across the key stage.

Table 5 School PSHE and Citizenship Programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Group</th>
<th>Autumn</th>
<th>Spring</th>
<th>Summer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year Three</td>
<td>Me as a person:</td>
<td>Me and my health</td>
<td>Me and my health:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thinking about me.</td>
<td>Me and my health</td>
<td>Me and peer group pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Me as a citizen:</strong></td>
<td>Me and my options</td>
<td>Me and my relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Me and my responsibilities</td>
<td><strong>Me as a citizen:</strong></td>
<td>Me and the people who can help me</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Me and my decisions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Four</td>
<td>Me as a person:</td>
<td>Me as a citizen:</td>
<td>Me and my health:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A confident me</td>
<td>Me and my behaviour</td>
<td>Me and my health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Making decisions for me</td>
<td>Me and my health:</td>
<td>Me and my relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Me and my health and safety</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Five</td>
<td>Me as a person:</td>
<td><strong>Me as a citizen:</strong></td>
<td>Me as a person:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A money minded me</td>
<td>Me and my identity</td>
<td>Understanding a changing me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Me as a Citizen:</strong></td>
<td>Me and my relationships:</td>
<td>Me and my health:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Me and my responsibilities</td>
<td>Me and the people in my world</td>
<td>Me and my body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Six</td>
<td><strong>Me as a citizen:</strong></td>
<td>Me and my health:</td>
<td>Me as a person:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Me and my opinions</td>
<td>Me and drugs</td>
<td>A future me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Me and democracy</strong></td>
<td>Me and my health:</td>
<td>Me and my health:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Me and my relationships</td>
<td>Me and peer group pressure</td>
<td>First aid course and me and my health and safety</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Me and stereotypes</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

It is noted that citizenship within this programme of study is taught thinly across the three terms, no citizenship being taught in the summer term and the theme ‘Me and democracy’ being taught only in the autumn term of Year 6.

The section, Me and my opinions, proposes to help children become more aware of their opinions and develop the confidence to express them. It encourages them to look at the media and pressure groups in forming opinions. In Me and my responsibilities,
children are to become aware of the purpose and meaning of rules and participate in the making of positive rules for the classroom. In *Me and my behaviour*, children will develop an awareness of what constitutes inappropriate behaviour, whilst in *Me and my decisions*, children will begin to understand why conflicts arise and look at ways of resolving disagreements. In the section, *Me and my identity*, children begin to realise their uniqueness and appreciate religious diversity in their community. In *Me and democracy*, younger children, it is proposed, will be introduced to the concept of democracy through everyday situations whilst, older children will develop an understanding of the processes of democracy and an understanding of the voting system.

However, despite the intentions to provide knowledge and understanding, most of the activities are participatory and rely on photo-copiable work sheets to stimulate discussion. There is no central underpinning of children’s learning through paying attention to the key concepts of rights relating to democracy, fairness, justice, the rule of law and human rights, freedom and order, individuals and community, power and authority, rights and responsibilities. For example, in *Me and my responsibilities*, the notes for teachers draw attention to the right of children to be fed and clothed, to be kept in a secure and safe environment, to be listened to, to voice their opinions, not live in fear of persistent physical, sexual, or verbal abuse and to be educated. But no mention is made explicitly of Human Rights or the Rights of the Child (www.un.org) and the whole section is contextualised by children being aware of their own inappropriate behaviour and the consequences of this. Indeed, the principal activities are around the establishment of class rules and responses to anti-social behaviour such as bullying, stealing and vandalism.
This theme is developed further in the next section *Me and my behaviour*, which sets out the aim that ‘all children must be taught to behave’. The supporting activities again focus upon anti-social activities and develop the values and dispositions of concern to resolve conflicts and to care for others, rather than to develop knowledge and understanding of social justice.

In *Me and democracy*, a key aim states that ‘children must learn that it is the opinion of the majority that decides what is done’. The notes for teachers also state that ‘our system of democracy is underpinned by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which protects the rights of all people’. The guidance goes on to suggest that ‘children should be encouraged to realise the responsibilities that come with a democratic system’. However, the section does not attempt to look at other forms of government in a global society where, clearly, the opinion of the majority does not decide what is done on their behalf. Nor do the activities themselves focus on the institutions that support democracy in this country but rather, through scenarios, look at the relationships between individuals and groups of their own age in making decisions about activities they would choose between; peer pressure to do something wrong, resolving conflict, and caring for the environment. Again, I believe that teaching only deals with concepts superficially, providing little in terms of knowledge and understanding, but emphasising concern for the common good, concern to resolve conflicts, to act responsibly and care for others, practise tolerance, and care for the environment.
In short, the resource, in my opinion, though very good in meeting the general requirements of the Preparing to play an active role as citizens, fails to deal sufficiently with the knowledge and understanding required for learning about the key concepts set out above and concentrates, by default, on the social and moral aspects of citizenship and, in particular, those designed to elicit behavioural outcomes.

5.6 Success for Everyone- Benchmarks for Citizenship

The Success for Everyone-Benchmarks for Citizenship (Lloyd et al 2000), described in Chapter 1 (page 21), was used by the head teacher to assess the school’s progress. Making use of this evaluation, interviews with the head teacher and co-ordinator for citizenship, and analysis of the school’s policy and practice, it was possible to make judgements for each Benchmark theme and to categorise the progress the school had made, since citizenship had been introduced twelve months earlier, in terms of Emergent. Established and Advanced practice.

Using the self-evaluation criteria, in my view from the overall evidence available, it is apparent that the school’s citizenship practice is firmly located in the Established phase of development, that is ‘continuing to develop provision (this includes matching the descriptors for Emergent practice), with some elements of Advanced practice; ‘achieving excellence in one or more aspects of provision’.

Firstly, in meeting the criteria for established leadership, the school has appointed a co-ordinator for citizenship and the governing body has oversight of citizenship, positive statements being included in the school prospectus. There are many opportunities described by the head teacher and co-ordinator, for pupils to participate
in a wide range of activities that support and enhance relationships within the community. As the co-ordinator commented:

Children have had experiences which they wouldn’t have had previously.

There is, in my opinion, some *advanced* practice for leadership the evidence for which includes consultation with pupils by the senior management team and who treat seriously concerns raised by them, and involve parents and the community. However, there was no evidence in the policy or practice that the governors had adopted the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child or that children and staff were familiar with this, although the teachers’ resource *Me and my Citizenship* (Barnickle and Wilson 2000), used by staff, does refer to Human Rights in the notes for guidance. Nor were pupils involved in the selection and appointment of staff which although not a category, would be seen as very advanced practice in any school.

I would also place management and organisation, the second theme, in the *established* practice category. Practice was demonstrated through the commitment made to citizenship in the associated policy, scheme of work and the co-ordination of citizenship (and PSHE). Sufficient resources had been allocated, the co-ordinator confirming the allocation of an allowance in line with other subjects, with additional funding having been provided to support the development of the school council and to purchase additional books. Indeed, the head teacher had funded citizenship beyond the Standards Fund Grant available. Aspects of *Advanced* practice, I would suggest, included the provision of opportunities for making representation to the governing body visible in the fortnightly newsletter to parents and the head teacher’s termly report. However, neither pupils nor parents or community had been involved in developing policy or, in the case of the latter, delivering citizenship.
In the third theme, *creating the environment*, the school did use a wide range of resources and the co-ordinators had written the published resource *Me as a Citizen*, which, in line with the policy was used throughout the school. Pupils’ work was well presented and displayed in both classrooms and in public areas. Teachers made very effective use of ICT; pupils preparing power point presentations, for example, to the Parks Committee, and in researching topics such as the Gambia on the Internet, and school linking using e mail. The establishment of class councils and the school council provided pupils with opportunities to take responsibility, but no formal mediation or budding scheme existed or was planned for.

I believe that *Advanced practice* was demonstrated through the opportunities for teachers and some pupils to see practice and to share their own experiences with other schools, and also make presentations to beginning teachers in training at a local college. The school was increasingly demonstrating its whole school approach to citizenship through its planned staff development programme. As the head teacher explained:

> A key issue was the ignorance of the staff but what helped was they were eager to learn.

The co-ordinator developed this further:

> We have done one in-service and will in the New Year run an INSET on how you deliver the citizenship curriculum…it’s in the development plan for the next three years…we presented policy to the staff in an in-service session and gave time to discuss anything.

Teaching and learning, fourthly, was seen as central to the delivery of citizenship throughout the school and was, I would argue, firmly *established*. In utilising a wide range of approaches, methods and resources, there was an emphasis according to the
co-ordinator, on developing problem solving skills and thinking skills to promote positive attitudes and values as well as knowledge. However, prior knowledge is not assessed and, as the draw and write study revealed, the evidence does suggest that much of the teaching concentrates on social and moral values rather than knowledge of rights and democracy. Although a planned programme existed, gaps and omissions in pupils’ learning was not evaluated; moreover the resource *Me as a citizen*, as identified in the School’s Citizenship Programme (Table 5,) was used thinly across the school, citizenship only featuring in one term of each of the years 4, 5 and 6. However, the establishment of a school council, supported by circle time, activities had been central to the development of citizenship throughout the school.

Described by the co-ordinator, *advanced* practice included the involvement of pupils in the Lord Mayor’s Charity Appeal, the Young People’s Parliament debates, and local initiatives such as the improvement of the local park and a neighbourhood watch scheme. Pupils, the co-ordinator asserted, were actively involved in both the planning and delivery of these.

I would place the school’s practice for staff development fifthly, in the *established* category. This would include staff access to professional development for citizenship as the co-ordinator recognised that teachers need guidance about being:

> Facilitators, not promoting their own views…needing guidance on how to run discussion, some people wouldn’t know what questions to ask to open up debate…confidentiality is a big issue too.

Targets are set for professional development, the co-ordinator remarking that her role was defined at a personal professional development meeting with the head teacher.
Both the head teacher and co-ordinator identified the need for professional development for all the staff, the head teacher asserting that:

It has to be for dinner ladies, caretaker, staff…it’s a whole school issue involving all the staff, it’s about ethos, driving the school forward together working as a team.

I would contend that this is, in itself, a feature of the school’s advanced practice for staff development.

Citizenship was clearly identifiable in the school development plan and, in respect of the theme of collective review contributed to established practice. The co-ordinator drew attention to:

The written policy on citizenship which has gone to governors and is in a four-year plan which covers all citizenship issues in the Framework…it’s on the timetable and in the development plan as a curriculum subject.

Citizenship is monitored by the co-ordinator and achievement is reported to parents annually and at parents’ meetings; however, no formal assessment of progress was being undertaken at this time. The co-ordinator acknowledged this and expressed concern about assessing pupils formally:

Up to now it’s been a bit hit and miss, we’ve been doing a lot of it but it’s not recorded. I find it difficult to come to terms with. I find it difficult to justify pencil and paper activities for their own sake… I am worried about having to write things down…there will be some written work but haven’t decided whether we should have a citizenship folder following through from year 3 to year 6.

There were no examples of advanced practice and, indeed with no identification of baseline knowledge and experiences of pupils in citizenship as evidenced by pupils’ responses to draw and write, for example, and the failure to make any assessment for learning, it can be argued that some elements are still at the emergent stage.
The school has, I believe, well established practice for the 7th theme, parental and community involvement. Parents are very aware of citizenship across and beyond the school curriculum. The head teacher confirmed that the governors are involved beyond their responsibility for overseeing and approving policy. The curriculum governor had joined a year 5 camping expedition to the Forest of Dean. Parents are involved through the support of their own children and through helping in the school and with fund-raising. However, it can be argued that this was as passive receivers at its worst, or contributors rather than as partners, the latter I would suggest being an indicator of advanced practice.

The Benchmarks had not been used by the staff, but were utilised by the head teacher as a management tool to identify future action and to assist in the decision making process for future development. They have been useful to the school in recognising and celebrating the progress made since citizenship was introduced as a whole school initiative.

A weakness of the Benchmarks as a tool, however, is that it assumes that within each of the three categories, emergent, established and advanced practice, the criteria for each theme are of equal value. It was apparent in analysing the head teacher’s response and reviewing the evidence that this is in fact not the case. For example, within the teaching and learning theme, I would assert that establishing pupils’ prior knowledge is an imperative if gaps and omissions in their experiences are to be identified and met, whilst reflecting local needs and priorities is of less importance. Similarly, whilst participating in the Lord Mayor’s Charity Appeal, described as
advanced practice, is worthwhile, it is not contributing to advanced practice for teaching and learning. Similar examples can be found throughout the tool.

It can also be argued that it is not sufficient for the head teacher alone to undertake self-evaluation, and that the process would be improved by the senior management team completing it individually and then making comparisons of the results in order to set targets for future development. I would further suggest that, time permitting, in a Junior school as in the research study, all teaching and non-teaching staff might benefit from participating in the self-evaluation process.

Despite this cautionary note, there is recognition that, in spite of having much established practice, there was still much to be done in developing some aspects of the citizenship curriculum and practice. However, the Benchmarking clearly identified the very advanced practice for citizenship defined in Leadership and given by the head teacher and the co-ordinator; essential for the implementation of any new initiative.

The next chapter will take the analyses further as I will set out my conclusions and the implications of these for primary schools.
CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions and implications

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I summarise the context for the study and briefly review each chapter before going on to discuss the implications of my research. I consider how the head teacher has led citizenship innovation, the successes and difficulties of managing change, and consider the implications for the leadership of curriculum development in a primary school in achieving the aims and ambitions of the Crick Committee. I also consider the implications for the citizenship curriculum, as set out in the framework for personal, social and health education (PSHE) and citizenship education for primary schools, and the implications of this for teaching and learning.

I offer a theoretical model for the development of citizenship in schools and will make a number of suggestions and possible approaches that may be of use to head teachers of primary schools, teaching staff, and those advisers with responsibility for citizenship, supporting innovation and curriculum development for citizenship. The findings, outcomes and possible approaches drawn from the research study are argued to be of value to the academic community with an interest in citizenship.

6.2 Summary

The central and empirical research was an ethnographic study over three years in a single junior school with 390 pupils between 7 and 11 years of age. It was to examine my assertion that, without taking into account pupils' prior knowledge and prior
learning about citizenship, the appropriateness of the teaching and learning approaches employed can be called into question as teachers fail to distinguish between social empowerment and social control. I posed the questions:

- How are pupils enabled to participate?
- How are they given responsibility?
- What are they given responsibility for?
- How are they involved in the political process in the school?
- How does the school involve pupils in determining the answers to such questions?

To set this in context, the research tracked how citizenship education had been introduced into their curriculum whilst consultation and deliberation took place at a national level through the *Advisory Group on Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*, chaired by Professor Bernard Crick (1998). This was in the context of a period of 10 years of curriculum change and development following the introduction of a National Curriculum in 1988 and activities to support citizenship education in schools provided by the Local Education Authority (LEA).

The research methodology drew heavily on the well-documented ‘draw and write’ research tool developed by Trefor Williams, Noreen Wetton and Alysoun Moon at the University of Southampton for the Health Promoting Schools initiative of the late 1980s. This requires children to draw pictures and then write communicating their understanding of, and feelings about, issues in response to prompts. In this study I have developed prompts to access children’s perceptions of what it is to be a citizen
and their knowledge of democratic processes, as part of determining their prior knowledge of citizenship.

The main strategy was supported by interviews with senior staff and by focus group discussions with small numbers of pupils drawn randomly from each year group in the school but also reflecting a wide range of ability. In responding to prompts these discussions were recorded and then transcribed.

The ethnography was set in a context of the shifting landscape of citizenship education as it struggled to survive in any form, let alone as a subject.

In Chapter 1, *Emerging Citizenship*, I set out the aims of the study at a national and local level examining the dilemma faced by those who would promote citizenship in schools that it wavers between empowerment and social control. It established the context for the study and posed the research questions that were then developed as the study progressed. It described the activities provided by Birmingham LEA, its support and guidance, and its development of a self evaluation tool which focuses on creating an appropriate environment, leadership, management and organisation, teaching and learning, staff development, collective review, and parental and community involvement.

In Chapter 2, *The Changing Landscape 1989-1999*, I provided a narrative that followed the development of citizenship education from being one of the five cross curricular themes established in 1990 to the implementation of the Crick Report (1998) and the establishment of a non-statutory Framework for PSHE and Citizenship
in primary schools and a statutory Foundation Subject, Citizenship Education, in secondary schools. It noted the emphasis on ‘values’ at this time and highlighted some of the political tensions existing during the period studied and the balance required in the curriculum between developing social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy, without compromising the knowledge and understanding, and skills necessary for young people to become active and responsible citizens.

In Chapter 3, Political Literacy or a subterfuge to escape nasty politics?, I focussed in to review the literature and the issue of political literacy and active participation in schools as described in particular, by Bernard Crick and set out in his Essays on Political Education (Crick 1969; Crick and Heater 1977). This also considered the difficulties of imposed curriculum innovation. Being politically literate requires more than civic knowledge alone, citizenship requiring elements of social and moral responsibility and community involvement. In examining this contention, I drew on the four models of political literacy developed by Huddleston and Rowe (2003), which raised issues of the relationship between the citizenship curriculum and children’s conceptual capacity to learn at different ages.

In Chapter 4, I set out the research Methodology, the use of focus groups and the pilot draw and write activity used with pupils in years 3 to 6 in the study school and then incorporated as the main study research tool. The research was small scale, dependent upon the support of the teachers in the study school in conducting the draw and write activity. In total, 368 scripts were returned with each set of prompts, providing a total of 736 responses. The categories that arose were grounded in the children’s responses,
each being saturated by consistently similar answers. I examined issues of reliability and validity, and recognised the difficulty of the interpretation of children’s language and adult interpretations of their perceptions in using this qualitative research tool. I also explained how interviews with the head teacher and the citizenship co-ordinator were conducted in the context of the head teacher’s own self-evaluation of citizenship in the school. Ethical considerations were also raised and responded to. I set out to determine what prior knowledge children had of being good citizens in terms of rights and democratic process.

In Chapter 5, *Results, Analysis and Findings*, I presented the findings from the study illustrating children’s responses to the prompts used in the focus groups and the draw and write activity, categorising and classifying those responses. I used their drawings to illustrate the development of beliefs and understanding in respect of concepts of citizenship. In this chapter, I presented the qualitative data drawn from and including the pupils’ own drawings and analysed the responses for good citizenship, rights and democracy. I also considered how citizenship has developed in the school, its implementation, the use of the school’s own published citizenship resource for teachers, and the head teacher’s responses to the self-evaluation of practice including teaching and learning. I discussed the tentative implications of the findings for the teaching of citizenship in primary schools.

The children’s responses go some way in responding to the hypothesis that they can understand and articulate complex political issues. Far from being empty vessels waiting to receive a measure of citizenship education, as had been the perception for health education described by Wetton and Moon (1988):
What children appear to bring with them is a wealth of information, often filtered through their own unique explanation. They made sense too of what they had only partially grasped, manipulating it to fit with more established but sometimes, inappropriate knowledge, using their own logic (Wetton and Moon 1988:103).

I now synthesise the findings and group them into five key themes: Responsibilities rather than rights, Meanings of democracy, Prior knowledge, Policy into practice, and Assessment.

6.3 Key Findings: What do teachers teach and what do pupils learn?

6.3.1 Responsibilities rather than rights

A key finding from the research study was that within citizenship teachers teach social and moral responsibility rather than rights. My research study with children very much reflected earlier research by Davies, Riley and Gregory (1999), where citizenship was defined by teachers in terms of ‘picking up litter and vandalism’. In my study, where rights were taught in the school it was in the context of social and moral responsibility towards disadvantaged groups, the homeless, the elderly, the poor in Africa, ethnic minorities and usually supported by special days such as Martin Luther King Day celebrated in school assemblies. Although the scheme of work for citizenship made reference to Universal Human Rights, rights were not specifically taught and pupils’ understanding of rights was more about having a right to do something in a personal sense, such as a right ‘to play’, ‘to go to bed late’, and ‘see my dad’. Pupils did not demonstrate any knowledge or understanding of why rights are important. More often than not rights were expressed in the context of their own and others’ social and moral responsibility towards, for example, the environment,
caring for people, and not engaging in anti-social acts of graffiti or vandalism, where the emphasis is on responsibilities.

It is perhaps not surprising then that what children appear to know derives from teaching and learning, given teachers’ own perceptions of citizenship, as defined above. As one teacher noted in the Davies, Gregory and Riley study (1998), ‘it is a discrete way of manipulating behaviour, citizenship is connected with expected behaviour both in terms of compliance to rules and right behaviour’.

This is correspondent with Durkheim’s (1992) functionalist view of education as a means by which society keeps its members obedient to its rules, as I noted in Chapter 1, and consistent with Turner (1999), Cavadino and Dignan (1997), and Illich (1997), who regard education as a means of regulating society and moral activity, using socialisation and quiescence.

The head teacher and citizenship co-ordinator, as part of the development of the citizenship curriculum, had introduced a school council and reinforced the use of citizenship as an implicit form of social control ‘to help improve the ethos and behaviour in the school’. Lynn Davies (1998), in her research into the development of school councils similarly notes positive behavioural outcomes, in that schools with effective school councils, have less disruptive behaviour and exclude fewer pupils, but I believe that this should not be the prime reason for introducing them. I would maintain that school councils should, first and foremost, be about democratic participation and developing the knowledge and understanding of the political process as part of becoming increasingly politically literate. School councils should be about
helping children understand the concept of democracy and the right to participate and vote, as set out in the UN Convention on Human Rights (www.un.org). They should not be introduced as a means of social control, but clearly the outcome of improved behaviour will be welcome as adding value to the taught curriculum, where the principles of democracy are taught alongside democratic participation of children themselves.

6.3.2 Meanings of democracy

However, my research suggests that democratic participation was not rooted in learning about the right to vote or there to enable pupils to express their views on matters that affect them, as set out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Nor did the process of voting correlate with any teaching about how voting is conducted in elections at a local, national level or European level, which is a concern.

The head teacher believed that pupils felt fully involved, their contribution valued and their voice heard, and the study demonstrated that the majority of pupils recognised that they had a vote in the school council elections held annually. However, this belief was not tested as this was beyond the scope of the study. I would now include a question around pupils’ own perceptions of involvement and participation were I to repeat this methodology in another school.

I was not able to ask pupils about their own participation in the school but as noted above, pupils participated in the democratic process of electing class representatives for the school council. Indeed, the school council was perceived by the head teacher and the co-ordinator as an opportunity ‘to drive the school forward as a team...and
that it is firmly embedded, part of the school and a working council’. It had been praised by OfSTED and was seen as central to the aims and values of the school. However, as Connell (1971) had proposed and I had noted in Chapter 5, although some pupils demonstrated distinct knowledge of the political world in which they live, neither the scheme of work nor lessons in the school resources made reference to the transferability of the concept of democratic participation as exemplified through school council involvement and participation in circle time, to democratic participation at a local or national level, nor, (as outlined in the first key finding), did this relate to any teaching about rights. This is evidenced, as noted in Chapter 5, through pupils confusing voting with protesting as well as betting, bidding in auctions and participation in reality television programmes and games shows. It also reflects the argument I noted in Chapter 1 that the term empowerment can be, as Troyna (1993) notes, contradictory and may be more about ‘giving power’ as Gove (1993) asserts or, as Brennan (1996), Wynn (1995) and Watts (1995) allude to, simply another form of social control. It is one thing to learn the skills necessary to become empowered and another to practise them in a manner that enables and allows empowerment to become a reality.

This is of concern as, although most pupils in year 6 participate in the First Citizen programme described in Chapter 1, which provides teaching and learning opportunities for pupils to learn about the role of the Lord Mayor and city council, what is learned is not applied to other contexts and to the concept of democracy. Firstly, although speeches are written by the children for and against a motion and presented in the council chamber and then voted upon (and many pupils demonstrated prior knowledge of ballots and the use of ballot papers), it was not apparent that
discussion had taken place about the process by which councillors or indeed Members of Parliament are elected, nor was this evident in the scheme of work provided by the school. Secondly, it was evident to me from my research that in respect of school council participation, in reality, relatively few pupils took an active role and experienced the process at first hand. This is of concern as democratic participation can provide the link between pupils having an understanding of democratic rights, the right to vote and having their voice heard and actual participation. It was apparent to me, that although this was an intended outcome of teaching using the school’s resource *Me as a Citizen*, this was not I believe, delivered through direct teaching.

This is ironic in as much as the values of the school promote active citizenship through the involvement in both school and its community and, as I address in Chapter 1, is consistent with Clarke’s (1996), Watt’s (1995) and Fogelman’s (1997) view of citizenship as an empowering process achieved through community education, developing a sense of social agency and a commitment to the community based upon action and experience.

I would reassert that much of what pupils knew about voting and any sense of democratic participation, as evidenced through the draw and write activity, was ‘caught’ from home and television rather than ‘taught’ in school. Since teachers do not make any attempt to establish prior knowledge and learning for citizenship at any age this would not be evident to those planning the citizenship curriculum and to individual teachers teaching the school’s own programme of study. As I question in Chapter 3, ‘*how will the school ensure that the pupils will all get the same experience and that participating in local ‘governance’ is supported by knowledge of the ways in*
which democratic institutions work?’ as this clearly was not under consideration at the time of the research.

6.3.3 Prior knowledge

In focus groups, pupils expressed opinions about and knowledge of current local political and significant events as demonstrated at that time by the sale of Rover by BMW. Much of this knowledge was gained from the media and their parents. It was argued that this was ‘caught’ in the home rather than being ‘taught’ in the school. Similarly, other than in references to the Presidential elections taking place in the USA at that time, local and national political events were not mentioned by pupils in the draw and write responses, yet the curriculum requires pupils to have the opportunity ‘to talk and write about their opinions, and explain their views, on issues that affect themselves and society; and to research, discuss and debate topical issues, problems and events’ (QCA 1999). Whilst the research showed the school’s own citizenship curriculum included issues of ‘global warming’, ‘deforestation’, ‘water for Africa’ and a response to famine in both lessons and school assemblies, political issues were not and fund raising, no matter how desirable and uncontentious, is not citizenship education.

These ‘safe issues’ reflect my conclusion that because teacher’s own perception of being a good citizen is bound up in social and moral responsibility, then their choice of topics in citizenship is determined by this. Secondly, I would argue that in dealing with global issues, and especially those that look at an individual’s and society’s responsibility for the well-being of others in terms of ‘aid’, however this is described, is not dealing with the underlying political, social, and economic issues and does not fulfil the curriculum requirements. I believe this unwillingness on the part of the
school and teachers to include this in the citizenship scheme and their teaching and to deal with political issues reflects their concern over, as Davies, Harber and Yamashita (2005) similarly recognise, introducing bias and their worries about how they deal with controversial issues, their lack of knowledge and understanding of the issues, and a perceived lack of skills. The head teacher had noted that ‘a key issue was the ignorance of the staff’, whilst the co-ordinator had indicated a concern about ‘facilitators not promoting their own views and needing guidance on how to run discussion.’

Issues like ‘global warming’, whilst being topical, are perceived as safe, as they can be distanced from local and national politics and are not perceived as controversial, are easy to teach and of personal interest to both teachers and pupils given media coverage. For the school, this can be manifest in the projects around recycling, reusing and sustainable development as set out in the school’s resources for PSHE and Citizenship. In this study, draw and write appeared to reflect what was being ‘taught’ rather than any prior knowledge or experiences the pupils may have already had. This notion of ‘safe issues’ and corresponding ‘safe teaching’ would be worth investigating further.

6.3.4 Policy into practice

I had, as part of the study, undertaken a review of the school’s documentation for citizenship and, as I described in Chapter 5, the school had at an early stage of the implementation of the citizenship curriculum in 2000, prepared a well-defined policy and scheme of work. Two teachers at the school, one of whom was the co-ordinator had written and published a teaching resource based upon their own classroom
practice developed in the school. This had been introduced as the principal resource for all teachers and provided units of work with notes for the teacher, activities and supporting photo-copiable sheets. The introductory notes for the teacher confirmed my concerns about the teaching of citizenship in the school, as the authors state categorically that:

For a school to be successful in its delivery of the citizenship curriculum it has to have a whole-school approach to the subject. We feel very strongly that it is not a subject that can be taught once a week, but that it should be reflected in the whole school ethos of the school and in the attitudes expressed by the pupils and staff. We feel that the development of these attitudes among children is the key to monitoring the success of your citizenship programme (Barnickle and Wilson 2000:3).

Whilst I have no complaint about the importance of a whole-school approach, to suggest that citizenship cannot be taught as a subject once a week underlies the problem of the school not being clear about the curriculum requirements set out in the PSHE and Citizenship Education framework and failing to deliver on political literacy.

Secondly the emphasis on pupils’ attitudes is strongly reflected in the resources and especially the section Me as a Citizen. In this section, taught as a lesson each week, three of the six lesson plans directly relate to behaviour and rules, and to the consequences of breaking the rules, whilst the lesson plan which deals directly with democracy, although emphasising Article 19 from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights protecting ‘the right to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers’ (2000:46), fails to address what this actually means in practice or discuss breaches of this right. However, although in the first key finding I found misunderstandings, here some understanding was apparent. This was exemplified by all those ‘rights’ children
referred to in their draw and write responses which related to personal, home and school issues, such as ‘the right to play outside’, ‘watch TV’, ‘to say what you think’, ‘helping the community by picking up litter’, and in a global context, ‘the right to have drinking water’, ‘being a refugee’, ‘not having rights because you are black’. Clearly they do not all reflect the actual Universal Rights contained in the convention. Whilst being able to ‘say what you think’ does, having the right to ‘watch TV’ does not.

As described in chapter 5, the activities are based around scenarios familiar to children and again reflect behaviour and responsibilities towards each other rather than to democratic institutions and to democratic participation in any form. Even the activity around learning about voting emphasises behavioural outcomes such as putting litter in bins, not taking things without asking and having good relationships between pupils, as exemplified by the pupil who wrote, ‘we respect each other, ourselves and our property and our local environment.’

It is of interest to note that a count of the number of times that values is mentioned in the guidance documentation described in Chapter 2, up until the publication of the Crick Report, amounts to 101 references, with a further 41 specifically mentioning the social, moral, spiritual and cultural development of children, whilst there are 109 references to citizenship as a means of delivering both values and skills, but only 8 to teaching and learning. It is then, not surprising that the draw and write activity demonstrated this emphasis on values, and social and moral responsibility.
6.3.5 Assessment for learning

The notion that ‘the development of attitudes among the children is key to the success of a citizenship programme’ demonstrates the school’s failure to recognise the value of undertaking an assessment of prior learning and any attempt to establish expectations for learning in citizenship so that progression can be shown. Nowhere in this teaching and learning resource or the lesson plans within the units is the assessment of pupils’ learning raised, nor what pupils’ initial attitudes were.

This was compounded by the school’s reluctance, at this time to undertake any rigorous assessment for, and of, citizenship learning. Guidance for this had been published by the QCA (2002) setting out expectations for showing pupil progression at the end of each key stage. Described in terms of knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens, skills of enquiry and communication, and skills of participation and responsible action, the guidance also provided advice on recording and reporting to parents. The co-ordinator had expressed concern about assessment and had commented that it ‘had been a bit hit and miss…and difficult to justify pencil and paper activities…and having to write things down’, although reports had been given to parents.

Assessment for learning and of learning is central to matching expectations for learning by pupils to the progress they make and to setting targets and adapting teaching and learning strategies to bring about improvements to achievement. Having the capacity to demonstrate progression is important at transfer from year 6 to year 7 when all pupils move to the statutory citizenship programme of study at Key Stage 3 and for showing parents the progress their children have made, just as the school
would for literacy and numeracy or indeed, any other subject. The reality was that individual teachers marked their own class’s work but there were no clearly defined assessment tasks that were appropriate to each age group undertaken by all those pupils appropriately which would enable the teacher during the year, or from year to year, to show how knowledge and understanding, skills and participation were developing. As a result, reports to parents described the general areas of citizenship study the year group had participated in and then described progress in terms of behaviour and social and moral responsibility, exemplified thus, ‘Sam has participated in work on Me as a Citizen, including me and my opinions, and me and democracy. Sam contributes to class discussion and is a well-behaved and responsible member of the class who always is helpful to others’.

Almost paradoxically, the scheme emphasises the importance of circle approaches, small group discussion, the development of thinking and problem solving skills, but again with an emphasis on developing pupils’ attitudes, values and social and moral responsibility rather than to any knowledge component. Such teaching was invariably backed up by whole-school assemblies, which reinforced learning in the context of social and moral behaviour and participation in the community.

The failure to involve pupils through any assessment of their prior learning, beliefs or understanding reflects a reluctance to involve children in their learning in terms of provision for a relevant and appropriate curriculum determined in part by their own identified needs and interests. As Scratchley notes:

There is a reluctance to confer with children about their learning because of the presumed unreliability of their views (Scratchley 2003:239).
Although the draw and write activity failed to show any great differences between ages in terms of what pupils knew, it did indicate that pupils’ knowledge and behaviour in citizenship was, to some extent, determined by what was or was not being taught, and what was being caught informally at home or in school. It showed the huge discrepancy between what teachers thought they were teaching about, especially for *rights*, and what was being learned. However, the importance of the need for teachers to talk to children to ascertain prior knowledge and interests was very apparent, as illustrated by the outcomes of the focus group discussion. Pupils were very aware of, and concerned about what was happening at Rover/BMW but were not being given the opportunity to discuss this. They recognised the very real power that the banks and multi-nationals have over the economy and governance of the country and yet none of this was acknowledged or taken account of in planning for the citizenship curriculum. What was taught was the adults’ agenda where pupils’ views appeared to have no currency or value, and where teachers were teaching in their own comfort zones and on safe agendas. It is, therefore, again no surprise that political literacy was insufficiently covered by what was being taught.

The danger in this is that citizenship is taught as a means of controlling behaviour and that pupils are not critical or discriminating of the issues they hear about in the media or at home, where they cannot separate polemic from fact or fact from fiction. Far from protecting children from bias and indoctrination, it has the potential to become a form of social control. This is illustrated in the theoretical model below to which I will now turn.
6.4 A theoretical model for Citizenship learning

Huddleston and Rowe’s (2003) typology described in Chapter 3, considers whether political literacy is an outcome of a ‘civics’ model characterised by knowledge of institutions and processes, a ‘big issues’ model characterised by teaching and learning related to topical controversial issues, an ‘experiential’ model characterised by participation in school councils and community based activities, or whether it derives from a ‘public discourse’ model which encourages pupils to think and talk politically.

My research leads me to believe that the study school is not teaching ‘civics’, nor dealing with ‘big issues’. Nor does the school encourage pupils to think and talk politically. However, what the study school teaches does fit to some extent the ‘experiential’ typology, where citizenship learning and political literacy as an outcome is derived from the promotion of pupil participation in democratic decision-making through class councils, the school council, campaigning for community action on issues identified by the pupils themselves, charitable fund-raising, and recycling.

My concern remains that this approach does not necessarily involve all pupils and inevitably some, if not many, are excluded from the process by virtue of the fact that it would be impossible to involve every member of a class in every activity. Moreover, Annette (2003) expresses the concern that community involvement in the curriculum does not necessarily ‘challenge pupils to think and act politically’. He goes on to propose that community education in the new citizenship curriculum must address the question of:

How the learning experience can be structured to challenge students to become ‘political’ - and aware of the political significance of civic engagement in local communities (Annette 2003:146).
The Huddleston and Rowe typology is, however, not sufficient in fully describing the school’s curriculum and processes. Nor do the forms of political learning proposed by Harber (1989; 1992), discussed in Chapter 3, adequately reflect citizenship in the school, as the curriculum cannot be said to be leading specifically to one of the three outcomes of political indoctrination, political socialisation or political education.

Richardson’s (1996) maximal and minimal typology similarly does not explain the school’s approach to citizenship education. The school’s documentation, reviewed in Chapter 5, shows that the teachers aim to teach democratic rights in both the structural and institutional context of the school and its curriculum, and to develop pupils’ competence to be ‘politically’ engaged. This would lead me to think that the school was operating maximally. However, the evidence from my research leads me to believe that this teaching is more about social control and pupil behaviour and, although not teaching ‘civics’, is in reality somewhere between being minimal and maximal in its approach.

Osler’s and Starkey’s (1996) expansion of Richardson’s typology to include human rights education as an essential maximal citizenship activity in schools would also not provide a fit for the school reality. Although the school, as noted in documentation, places rights and human rights as being central to its values, my findings again suggest that this is not what children learn, and what is taught is not what is learned. This leads me to believe that learning needs to be included and applied to the models if they are to adequately describe a school’s approach.
In my model (Fig. 19), the four quadrants are divided by two continua, the vertical axis denoting the range of learning that leads to knowledge and understanding being taught and ‘learned’, or where the learning is caught from formal or informal situations in school. The horizontal axis represents the range of learning that may lead the learner to be empowered or socially controlled, where the learner is either an active participant in that learning or a passive recipient. As Harber (1992) proposes, in the latter this may lead to political indoctrination.

The four quadrants are located in relation to the two axes.
Compliant

By *compliant*, I mean all of those activities and teaching that a school may undertake that, wittingly or not, reinforce societal norms as reflected in governance, the judiciary, the courts, laws and policing which Huddleston and Rowe (2003) would describe as ‘civics’ and Richardson (1996) as *institutional*.

Moral

By *moral*, I mean all of those activities and teaching that lead to the socialisation of pupils through the school’s systems such as assemblies, rules, sanctions and rewards, where school councils are token and participation minimal. I would further describe the emphasis in these schools as *behavioural*.

Politically Literate

By *politically literate*, and as defined by Crick (1998), I mean all of those activities that lead to pupils developing the skills and competencies to increasingly engage in debates on democracy, rights, justice and to become involved in their communities, both in school and beyond positively. I call this, as Harber (1992) defined, *political*.

Participative

By *participative*, I mean all pupils being involved and participating in the school through class councils, school councils, voting in school elections, becoming involved in the school and its wider community through projects and, as Annette (2003) proposes, encouraging pupils to think and act politically. It is what Kerr et al (2004) and Ireland (2006) describe as school culture and I call *cultural*. 
6.4.1 The model

In my model, it is possible to locate activities and practices in any of the four quadrants according to the curriculum and teaching of citizenship in a school. A school curriculum teaching about rights in the context of democratic participation will be located in the politically literate quadrant and where that taught curriculum is matched by participation through involvement in school councils, for example, pupils will be active participants. The former will be about the teaching of politics whilst the latter will be about the culture of the school and society and, as a result, citizenship will be about empowerment.

Where a school curriculum emphasises the functions of government, the role of the courts and police in upholding law and order and the obligations and duties of citizens to follow rules and behave as society demands uncritically, I would place this in the compliant quadrant, whilst a school relying simply on its pastoral system, school rules and assemblies to develop ‘good citizenship’ without any explicit teaching, I would place in the moral quadrant. The former I would describe as institutional as it is about those institutions that support and regulate society, whilst the latter I call behavioural and is about inculcating attitudes and morally responsible behaviour. In both cases pupils will be passive recipients of the curriculum and as a result citizenship can be seen as a form of social control.

It is possible that a school will exhibit features from all four quadrants, but the test of any school’s citizenship curriculum and teaching can be defined as being mainly about ‘social control’ or mainly about ‘empowerment’.
Given the evidence from my research, and using this theoretical framework, I would describe the school in this study as exhibiting features in both the moral and participative quadrants. Clearly what the school teaches cannot be described in terms of compliance or political literacy, and much of what is learned in terms of citizenship knowledge, I would assert, is ‘caught’ rather than ‘taught’. The school does provide excellent opportunities for participation, but the overall sense of a citizenship curriculum and teaching that is about behaviour and attitudes, and social and moral responsibility, suggests that the school at this time had not thought through its rationale for citizenship education. As the draw and write identified, what pupils learned was not what teachers thought they were teaching, and certainly in respect of the unit in the scheme on *Me and democracy* there was no real understanding of democratic processes noted, and subsequently political literacy was a major omission.

If I were undertaking to extend this research, I would now apply my theoretical model to other schools, their curriculum for citizenship and teaching to test its efficacy. The application of the typology to other contexts would be useful to others and, although developed in a junior school, could be tested in secondary schools.

### 6.5 Leadership and management of curriculum innovation

Having provided a means of evaluation, I now turn to mechanisms of change. Tones (1995), maintains that the processes required to influence change positively and achieve institutionalisation of, for example, a health promoting school initiative will move through five stages, needs assessment, curriculum analysis, implementation, institutionalisation and dissemination.
Needs assessment, he suggests, will focus upon staff readiness for change, appraisal of attitudes, and identify key stakeholders, institutional readiness, perceptions of school ethos, lead person in school or external change agent, motivation of staff, and action group for curriculum development. It will also require curriculum analysis and identify pupil needs, and who teaches what, when, to whom, where, and how? Pupil consultation and the role of the co-ordinator are also crucial. Institutionalisation is apparent when health promotion, for example, is integrated with every part of school life moving from prevention to empowerment. Finally, dissemination takes place in partnership with other schools, linking primary and secondary schools, and sharing good practice.

In applying Tones’ processes to the development of citizenship education in the school, I would argue that the school had done much of this. The process of self-evaluation for citizenship takes this process further. Such has been the success of this approach that the DfES subsequently published the School Self-Evaluation Tool for Citizenship (Lloyd 2004). However, the school’s weaknesses, as exemplified by the draw and write activity, the self-evaluation and my study of school documents, shows that the analysis of the curriculum and of pupil needs and pupil consultation has not been sufficiently undertaken and yet its strengths are in integrating citizenship with every part of school life and disseminating this practice to both other primary schools and local secondary schools through the subsequent appointment of an Advanced Skills Teacher for Citizenship. As the head teacher wrote in a published paper:

Through the introduction and further development of citizenship there is now a very positive ethos within the school. Standards of academic achievement have risen considerably and the pupils are well prepared to play an active role as citizens of the future. Citizenship is not seen as just a bolt on to the curriculum. It is embedded in all we do and is reflected in whole school
attitudes, standards and values - it is a way of life at our school (Barratt 2002:15).

Without doubt, the use by the head teacher of the Success for Everyone Benchmarks self-evaluation tool, described in Chapters 1 and 5, reflects the very real commitment to citizenship education made by the school, its staff, pupils, parents and governors. As this study has identified, although the curriculum was not fully in place, the whole-school approach to innovation is exemplary and the school had done much through its work on participation to implement citizenship across and beyond the school as an entitlement for all pupils.

Central to this success was the leadership shown by the head teacher and the citizenship co-ordinator. Although their practice overall was evaluated by me as established with some advanced practice, both were central to leading this innovation in the school and for ‘sculpting change’. However, the self-evaluation did not show the whole picture as only the head teacher undertook this. This gave valuable insights, but were I to repeat this study I would engage the teaching staff, non teaching staff, governors and parents, and indeed, involve the pupils in the self-evaluation process. As the tool had just been published at the time of the research, to do so was beyond the scope of the study, but with hindsight it may have helped understand the ways in which teachers especially perceived citizenship.

A possible weakness of the self-evaluation tool is that it was not specific to the primary phase and possibly needed a greater emphasis on the citizenship curriculum that was seldom referred to. Secondly, the statements themselves, posed as questions leave themselves open to interpretation by the participant and raise the issue of what
counts as evidence and what the relative worth of particular pieces of evidence might be. Left to individuals without support or regulation, an observer, I believe, might comment then ‘so what?’ if nothing changes as a result of the self-evaluation. The self-evaluation tool then needs to do two things, I believe, arising from my study to make it more effective. Firstly, for the self-review to identify whether the school overall is at the emergent, established or advanced stage of practice, and secondly, for there to be key actions that an individual or a school collectively can do to improve its practice.

Kerr et al (2004) and Ireland et al (2006) take this view of practice further in their typology of school approaches to citizenship education. Given in both publications, the four approaches illustrated in (Fig. 20), progressing, focused, implicit and minimalist, result from research in secondary schools but could equally be applied to the primary phase.

**Fig. 20 Four types of school approach to citizenship education**

![Diagram of four types of school approach to citizenship education](image)

Progressing schools – developing citizenship education in the curriculum, school and wider community; the most advanced type of provision

Implicit schools – not yet focusing on citizenship education in the curriculum, but with a range of active citizenship opportunities

Focused schools – concentrating on citizenship education in the curriculum, with few opportunities for active citizenship in the school and wider community

Minimalist schools – at an early stage of development, with a limited range of delivery approaches and few extracurricular activities on offer

(Ireland et al 2006:15)
However, by itself, Kerr’s and Ireland’s typology says nothing about the leadership of the school or the quality of teaching and learning, assessment and evaluation, continuing professional development, and the involvement of parents and the community. It is a generalisation of schools’ approaches and therefore is of limited value. However, used in conjunction with self-evaluation and my typology described earlier, it should be possible to get a very clear picture of any school’s approach to citizenship.

Rogers and Shoemaker (1979) note the adoption and full integration of a curriculum innovation is dependent upon the nature of the school as a social system, the characteristics of individual teachers, the degree to which the innovation is owned by all the staff and pupils, and the attributes of the innovation itself. They go further in suggesting that change agents from outside the school can have a major impact too and this was certainly true for the school who had invited me, as an LEA adviser with responsibilities for PSHE and Citizenship to lead whole school inset on citizenship, circle approaches to teaching and the development of the school council. As the head teacher commented:

The staff decided to create a more open, friendly ethos in the school which would make everyone feel welcome. We started by having an INSET day at the start of the year led by the adviser for PSHE in the LEA. During the day staff discussed citizenship and how it could be included in the curriculum (Barratt 2002:9).

As Rogers and Shoemaker advise ‘a change agent’ from outside the school can raise staff awareness of the need for curriculum change and can generate teacher-led solutions, giving support where necessary. Change agents can have a particularly important role to play then in helping schools develop their citizenship community.
However, there is a real danger that this becomes a one off and the impetus for change is not sustainable beyond the period of the support given by the external agent. I believe that I helped to bring about positive change, but the constraint of time and competing priorities for both the school and myself meant that the school would have to develop the curriculum on its own thereafter.

Bennies et al (1969) and Havelock (1982) note that strategies have at their core the extent to which an innovation or change is imposed in a ‘top down’ way or is developed by teachers themselves. Active involvement of all stakeholders is more likely to achieve change. Similarly, Tones et al (1995) observe for health promotion that community participation and empowerment that incorporate a ‘bottom up’ approach stand greater chance of implementation. Bolam (1981) and Fullan (1992) have emphasised that ‘top down’ curriculum packages, however well produced, will rarely work in practice. Full staff and pupil involvement are necessary for achieving success and, where a package is being imposed centrally, opportunities for teachers should be maximised.

What had been introduced at the school had some key characteristics. It had responded to the needs of the school. It was compatible with the explicit aims and values of the school. It was compatible with the personal values of teachers, governors, parents and other stakeholders. It was adaptable and easily assimilated into the organisation, timetable and pedagogical values of the school. It had improved what had gone before and had attracted additional resources. It had incurred few real costs in terms of resources, time or increased workload for the staff.
Hearn (1972) notes that the timing of interventions is also critical and suggests that schools are more likely to respond positively if there is a period of rapid educational growth with plenty of resources on offer where resources are scarce, providing the intervention does not involve extra expense or where there is a change of personnel for example a new head teacher or changes at governmental level, or there is a school based, local or national crisis. Where all factors are in place curriculum change is more likely to happen.

As described in Chapter 2, this was certainly true for the school at the time of the study. The new curriculum for PSHE and Citizenship had been introduced as part of the revised National Curriculum in September 2000 and following on from the new Labour Government’s commitment to introduce Citizenship Education into the statutory curriculum for 11-16 year olds. Standards Fund grants had been made available for primary and secondary schools to prepare for the implementation of PSHE and Citizenship Education. The LEA was also committed to developing the Young People’s Parliament and developing Citizenship in schools, 2002 being declared Year of Citizenship and schools being funded City wide through grants to undertake citizenship projects.

6.6 Implications for primary schools

The challenge of good research is not only to examine an issue, but to present and articulate findings so that they are useful. Research is not and should never be an empty exercise. Rather it should put results to work towards the purpose of informing education (Davies, Gregory and Riley 1999:72).
I believe there are six key conceptual implications or dimensions arising from my research. These relate to coverage, assessment, training, collaboration, self-evaluation and participation.

6.6.1 Coverage

The school had developed a high quality resource that had been published, and resources were matched to the contents of the lesson and the preferred teaching and learning approach used. However, this did not deal sufficiently with the knowledge and understanding set out in the programme of study at key Stage 2 for preparing pupils to play an active role as citizens. It over-emphasised rules, social and moral behaviour and avoided the teaching of controversial issues. As the earlier Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999) research indicated, this reflected teachers’ own understanding of the meanings of citizenship. What was new in my study was that these understandings I found, coloured not only the organisation of the citizenship curriculum but also, what was taught and how this was taught.

All class teachers and pupils should have access to a wide range of resources to support teaching and learning. The resources should reflect the requirements of the programme of study and the needs of the pupils and there should be a balance between those needed to develop social and moral responsibility and those needed to develop political literacy and participation. This should include the study of topical and controversial issues. The worry teachers have about teaching controversial issues is not new, as commented upon in Chapter 3, but my study does suggest that teachers will cover current topical issues if they believe them to be safe. This leads me to believe that a possible alternative approach might be to focus on the rights and how a
carefully constructed curriculum may deal with topical controversial issues without teachers feeling at risk from accusations of bias, or worse, indoctrination.

In so doing, it would help teachers to link skills and participation with the development of subject knowledge. This is particularly important if schools are to move away from teaching mainly about social and moral responsibility, as part of an approach to social control through managing behaviour, to teaching about and developing political literacy and empowerment. (See Participation 6.6.6)

6.6.2 Assessment

There was no overall policy for the assessment of citizenship; teachers assessed pupils’ work and progress in an arbitrary way in citizenship lessons. Prior knowledge was not taken into consideration. There was no mechanism for setting out expectations for learning and drawing on assessments to show progress over time. That teachers did not assess pupils’ work in similar ways to other subjects was a surprise, as was the failure to ascertain what pupils might already know about any of the aspects of citizenship being taught at the time of the research. Although much work had been undertaken by Wetton and Moon (1988), Wetton and McWirtter (1988), Backett et al (1991) McWirtter et al (2000) and Scratchley (2003) for health knowledge and described in Chapter 4, what was new in my study was that at the time of the research no one had undertaken to examine pupils’ prior knowledge and understanding of citizenship using the draw and write tool. My study leads me to conclude that the draw and write technique is useful in identifying children’s awareness and knowledge of citizenship concepts and issues but is best supported by focus group discussion to elicit meanings.
Teachers should undertake an assessment of prior knowledge and learning and not make assumptions about what pupils need. Assessment should be recognised as central to the teaching and learning of citizenship. Assessment for learning and of learning needs to balance teacher assessments with pupils’ own assessment of their own and others’ learning and progress. Pupils need to be clear about what the learning expectations are, and teachers need to adapt their teaching in order to bring about improvement.

6.6.3 Training

Training for citizenship was an integral feature of the school improvement plan and strategy for implementing citizenship across the school. My own role, as external change agent, was deemed to be crucial to the success of the implementation stage. However, as I pointed out above, when my own role came to an end the school had to continue to develop its citizenship curriculum with the minimum of support.

Although citizenship was regularly discussed at staff meetings and issues identified, it was apparent to me from my research that all class teachers need opportunities to participate in on-going, continuing professional development for citizenship and especially that which would develop and secure teachers’ own subject knowledge. This is especially relevant to the development of political literacy and to teaching topical and controversial issues which, I believe, my study demonstrates is a priority.

6.6.4 Collaboration

Parents, the governors and the community at the school were kept well informed about citizenship through regular newsletters, participation in activities and events
and whole school assemblies. The work of the school council was central to the success of involving the wider school community in participation. Pupils were also given opportunities to participate in activities to identify issues in their community of concern to them. They had worked closely with the planning department of the City Council to improve a local amenity used by children and had consulted with householders and others. As a result of this collaboration and the partnership with planners the amenity was improved and made safer, a key concern identified by the pupils. My research, I believe, does show that such engagement in the community is possible even for children of this age and where better than to start learning ‘to think and act politically’ (Annette 2003).

However, my research suggests that, at worst, parents and others were passive receivers of information and, at best, they contributed to the citizenship agenda in supportive roles. The school documentation suggested that pupils were consulted on some things, including issues like bullying, as part of the school’s involvement in the National Healthy School programme. Parents, stakeholders and members of the community should be given opportunities to plan citizenship activities collaboratively with the co-ordinator, class teachers and the pupils themselves.

6.6.5 Self-evaluation

What was new in my research at the time of the school study was the use of self-evaluation, using the bespoke Success for Everyone Benchmarks for Citizenship Education to ascertain progress of the development of citizenship in a school. My findings suggest that all schools should undertake a self-evaluation of their citizenship education. This process should involve not just the head teacher as I had done but also
class teachers, parents, governors and the pupils themselves. As a result of such self-evaluation, a school could monitor its progress and identify areas for further development. Using self-evaluation progress can be monitored over time.

6.6.6 Participation

The research study findings showed that participation was central to the school’s ethos and character. The school had a well-organised system of class councils with representatives from each class being elected on to the school council. Through involvement in the Lord Mayors Charity/First Citizen project and through involvement in the community with the planning department of the City Council, there were opportunities for pupils of all ages to engage in meaningful participation. However, my research shows that participation was seldom supported by teaching designed to develop pupils’ democratic understanding or their political literacy. I would argue that for participation to be really citizenship it has to be supported by effective teaching and learning, the intention being to develop democratic understanding. I believe this is essential for developing political literacy.

Expressed as a theoretical model (Fig. 21) each conceptual implication is related to the other, both around and across the geometric shape. My research leads me to believe that the school culture is at the centre of this where the head teacher and leadership team are fully behind citizenship, where governors are committed to the citizenship across and beyond the school, where there is a planned curriculum and there are opportunities for pupils to participate and contribute, where expectations for learning are high and where parents are informed and understand the importance of
citizenship in meeting the aspirations for the future of our society, as set out by Professor Bernard Crick in 1998.

Fig. 21 Conceptual model to illustrate the relationship between the school culture and school practice

However, I will now turn to some implications of this conceptual model as it relates to the theoretical model (Fig 19, Page171) discussed earlier. I would draw attention in particular to the relationship between coverage, the curriculum and teaching and learning, and what is taught through being an active participant in that learning.

I will use the example I noted earlier (Page 138) of a project in which pupils had participated and involved them in identifying a local community need around a
disused play area/open space which they wished to revitalise. They researched the issues, canvassed opinion from parents and residents, and worked with council officials to design, plan, ascertain cost and build a functional play area for children of their own age in their own community. This project successfully achieved its goal, however, although this was exciting for the pupils and demonstrated to them that they had ‘power’, any learning about this concept, or indeed any other, was caught rather than taught. The concepts of rights, democracy and power, which were central to the project, were not planned for in the context of learning and the requirement for citizenship at Key Stage 2 which requires pupils to know and understand what democracy is, and about the local institutions that support it locally (QCA 1999) was not made explicit. Although they were learning to be political, they were not as Annette (2003) proposes, being made aware of the political significance of civic engagement in their local community.

Although very clearly being in the participative quadrant of the model through being an active participant through community involvement, there was no curriculum coverage and as a result, it was insufficient if pupils were to become politically literate. I would argue that they needed to have knowledge, in this instance, of the key concepts of rights, democracy and power if they were genuinely to understand how they could use their developing skills to bring about positive change.

I would also argue these two models when placed side by side demonstrate the need for thorough coverage within the political sphere and for teachers to plan for such learning to take place so that what is learned through lessons and through participation is taught and that what is learned is made explicit to the learner. In short,
in this pedagogy the aims are clearly stated so that the pupils know what they are to learn, why they are participating, and have the opportunity afterwards to reflect upon what it is they have learned in respect of knowledge and understanding, skills learned and practiced, and why this is important.

I believe that this would place any curriculum for citizenship, and indeed a school’s whole approach to citizenship through its culture of participation significantly towards the empowerment end of the horizontal continuum. It would also have benefit of addressing the issue of schools teaching citizenship values in order for pupils to be ‘good citizens’ defined by their social and moral behaviour and as a means of social control where compliance is the intended outcome rather than to any notion of political literacy. Coverage would be then be located at the taught end of the vertical continuum and as a consequence there would be less reliance on learning ‘caught’ by pupils through participation and engagement in the process, where that learning is not mediated by the teacher, or reflected upon by the learner.

Finally as I proposed in Chapter 1 (Page 7), the Crick Report, I believe, trod a fine line between social control and empowerment. If as Crick proposed political literacy in the citizenship curriculum is ‘pupils learning about how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values’ (Crick 1989. 4.4) then the pedagogy of teaching and learning has to be central to pupils experiences, and as my study shows where citizenship activities are not planned for coherently to take account of political literacy, then citizenship will fall somewhere between the two extremes of the continuum. As I suggested in Chapter 1 (Page 8), paradoxically it is necessary to prescribe not only what should be taught but how.
This study has been a rewarding experience in that it has allowed me to get under the skin of curriculum innovation for citizenship education. My conclusion is that unless teachers in primary schools explicitly plan for the development of political literacy and take account of pupils’ prior knowledge of citizenship they will, by default, indeed be teaching for social control rather than empowerment.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Summary of the Commonality in the Cross Curricular Themes


- Communication – detect opinion, bias and omission in evidence, eg in materials about political issues.
- Problem solving – discuss and consider solutions to personal and moral dilemmas.
- Numeracy – using available statistics, work out probabilities, eg. about levels of gambling and the use of fruit machines. (An interesting example given the concern at the time for increasing numbers of children and young people ‘addicted’ to gambling on fruit machines)
- Information technology – take action to retrieve or test the accuracy or use of personal information stored by electronic means. e.g. Use of the Data Protection Act (HMSO 1984)
- Personal skills – Manage conflict, reconciliation, compromise and resolution. Exercising democratic responsibilities and rights. eg. Helping to choose optional activities, voting in a school election. (1991:4)

It also identified that the five themes provided opportunities to promote the following attitudes and values;
- respect for evidence and rational argument,
- respect for different ways of life, beliefs, opinions and the legitimate interests of others,
- regard for equal opportunities including the challenging of stereotypes and an active concern for human rights,
- respect for non-violent ways of resolving conflict,
- concern for quality and excellence,
- valuing oneself and others,
- constructive interest in community affairs,
- independence of thought,
- tolerance and open-mindedness
- consideration for others,
- flexibility and adaptability to change,
- enterprising, persistent approach to tasks and challenges,
- determination to succeed,
- self-respect, self-confidence and self-discipline,

It went on to recommend the use of a range of teaching methods which;
- emphasise enquiry, investigation and practical exercises in lessons and other activities which help to extend people’s first hand experiences. eg. through fieldwork, direct experience of work, business and community enterprise, simulations and outdoor education;
- encourage links and personal contact with individuals, local, national and international organisations, statutory and voluntary;
• enable pupils to be involved in decisions about features of life at school, to exercise responsibility and to apply knowledge and skills developed through work on the themes.
APPENDIX 2

Values in the Curriculum


We value truth, human rights, the law, justice and collective effort for the common good. In particular we value families as sources of love and support for all their members and as the basis of a society in which people care for others. On the basis of these values, we as a society should:
- understand our responsibilities as citizens;
- refuse to support values or actions which may be harmful to individuals or communities;
- support families in raising children and caring for dependants;
- support the institution of marriage;
- recognise that the love and commitment required for a secure and happy childhood can be found in families of different kinds;
- help people know about the law and legal processes;
- respect the law and encourage others to do so;
- respect religious and cultural diversity;
- promote opportunities to all;
- support those who cannot, by themselves sustain a dignified life-style;
- promote participation in the democratic process by all sectors of the community;
- contribute to, as well as benefit fairly from economic and cultural resources;
- make truth and integrity priorities in public life.

We value others for themselves, not for what they have or they can do for us, and we value these relationships as fundamental to the development and fulfilment of ourselves and others, and to the good of the community. On the basis of these values, within our relationships we should:
- respect others, including children;
- care for others and exercise goodwill in our dealings with them;
- show others they are valued;
- earn loyalty, trust and confidence;
- work co-operatively with others;
- respect the privacy and property of others;
- try to resolve disputes peacefully.

We value ourselves as unique human beings capable of spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical development. On the basis of these values, we as individuals should:
- develop an understanding of our own characters, strengths and weaknesses;
- develop self-respect and self-discipline;
- clarify the meaning and purpose in our lives and decide, on the basis of this, how we believe that our lives should be lived;
- make responsible use of our talents, rights and opportunities;
- strive, throughout life, for knowledge, wisdom and understanding;
- take responsibility, within our capabilities for our own lives.
We value the environment, both natural and shaped by humanity, as the basis of life and a source of wonder and inspiration. On the basis of these values we should:

- accept our responsibility to maintain a sustainable environment for future generations.
- understand the place of human beings within nature;
- understand our responsibilities for other species;
- ensure that development can be justified;
- preserve balance and diversity in nature wherever possible;
- preserve areas of beauty and interest for future generations;
- repair wherever possible, habitats devastated by human development and other means.
APPENDIX 3

Essential recommendations from the Crick Report


4.2 the statutory entitlement is established by setting out specific learning outcomes for each key stage, rather than detailed programmes of study;

4.3 the learning outcomes should be tightly enough defined so that standards and objectivity can be inspected by OFSTED.

4.4 there should be a DfEE Order setting up entitlement and this shall declare that citizenship education in schools and colleges is to include the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; the duties, responsibilities, rights and development of pupils into citizens; and the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community;

4.5 the learning outcomes should be based on what should take no more than five percent of curriculum time across the key stages;

4.6 schools should consider combining elements of citizenship education with other subjects (combinations of citizenship and history have obvious educational merit);

4.7 schools should consider the relation of citizenship education to whole school issues including school ethos, organisation and structures. It adds that this will be of particular help to schools in relation to combinations with Personal, Social, and Health Education (PSHE), pupils’ development of key skills and the promotion of pupils’ Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural development;

4.8 although beyond the age of 16 there is no National Curriculum, the Secretary of State should consider how the proposed entitlement to citizenship education should continue for all students involved in post-16 education and training regardless of their course of study, vocational or academic;

4.9 the introduction and implementation of the learning outcomes should be phased in over a number of years;

4.10 everyone directly involved in the education of our children - politicians and civil servants; community representatives; faith groups; school inspectors and governors; teacher trainers and teachers themselves; parents and indeed pupils - be given a clear statement of what is meant by citizenship education and their central role in it;

4.11 public bodies, at local and national level, consider how best to meet their responsibility to citizenship education;

4.12 the implications of our recommendations and other proposed initiatives for the management of teaching time at each key stage, should be given careful attention by the QCA in the context of its overall advice on the review of the National Curriculum;

4.13 because of the novelty of the venture and its political sensitivity, there should be a standing Commission on Citizenship Education to monitor its progress and when necessary to recommend amendments to the entitlement, learning outcomes, methods of inspection and teacher training, as appropriate.

The Key Concepts were defined as;

- democracy and autocracy
- co-operation and conflict
- equality and diversity
- fairness, justice, the rule of law, rules, law and human rights
• freedom and order
• individual and community
• power and authority
• rights and responsibility

Values and Dispositions were described as;
• concern for the common good
• belief in human dignity and equality
• concern to resolve conflicts
• a disposition to work with and for others with sympathetic understanding
• proclivity to act responsibly that is care for others and a premeditation and calculation about the effect actions are likely to have on others; and acceptance of responsibility for unseen or unfortunate consequences
• practice of tolerance
• judging and acting by a moral code
• courage to defend a point of view
• willingness to be open to changing one’s opinions and attitudes in the light of discussion and evidence
• individual initiative and effort
• civility and respect for the rule of law
• determination to act justly
• commitment to active citizenship
• commitment to voluntary service
• concern for human rights
• concern for the environment

The Skills and Aptitudes to be promoted were;
• ability to make a reasoned argument both verbally and in writing
• ability to co-operate and work effectively with others
• ability to consider and appreciate the experience and perspective of others
• ability to tolerate other view points
• ability to develop a problem-solving approach
• ability to use modern media and technology critically to gather information
• a critical approach to evidence put before one and ability to look for fresh evidence
• ability to recognise forms of manipulation and persuasion
• ability to identify, respond to and influence social, moral and political challenges and situations

Knowledge and Understanding required was given as;
• topical and contemporary issues and events at local, national, EU, Commonwealth and international levels.
• the nature of democratic communities, including how they function and change
• the interdependence of individuals and local and voluntary communities
• the nature of diversity, dissent and social conflict
• legal and moral rights and responsibilities of individuals and communities
• the nature of social, moral and political challenges faced by individuals and communities
• Britain’s parliamentary political and legal systems at local, national, European, Commonwealth and international level, including how they function and change
• the nature of political and voluntary action in communities
• the rights and responsibilities of citizens as consumers, employers and family and community members
• the economic system as it relates to individuals and communities
• human rights charters and issues
• sustainable development and environmental issues.
Appendix 4

Membership of Advisory and Working Groups and Summary of the Proposals for the PSHE Framework

4a. Citizenship Steering Group DfEE

Appendix 4a. Its membership comprised Ian Berry, Nick Baxter and Phil Snell DfEE and members of the Citizenship and PSHE Advisory Groups. This included Professor Bernard Crick, Chair of the Citizenship Advisory Group; Jane Jenks, Vice-Chair PSHE Advisory Group; Usha Prashar, Chair of the Parole Board; Graham Robb HMI; Marilyn Toft, National Healthy Schools Scheme Co-ordinator; David Kerr NFER. Also included were head teacher representatives from both advisory groups.

4b. Citizenship Supporting Unit DfEE

Membership included Chris Jones and John Keast, QCA; David Ker, NFER; Don Rowe, Citizenship Foundation; John Potter Community Service Volunteers (CSV); head teachers/teachers who were members of the Citizenship Advisory Group or PSHE Advisory Group and John Lloyd, LEA Adviser and member of the PSHE Advisory Group Expert Panel. The latter was a significant inclusion as he had been a member of the NCC Working Group and had contributed to Guidance 3: The Whole Curriculum (1990) and Guidance 5: Health Education (1990) and more recently had involved the LEA in the QCA Pilot Project on SMSC. Significantly, Jane Jenks joined the group too.

4c. Proposals for the PSHE Framework

For the citizenship component this proposed that pupils at Key Stage 1 should be taught:

a) to contribute to paired and class discussion, take part in a simple debate and vote on some topical issues;
b) to recognise choices they can make, agree and support rules for their group and classroom, and understand how they can help them;
c) that people and other living things have needs, and that pupils have some responsibilities in meeting them;
d) that they belong to various groups and communities, such as family and school, and about the world immediately around them;
e) What improves and harms their local environment and some of the different ways people look after it;
f) to make a contribution to the life of the class and school.

And that pupils at Key Stage 2 should be taught:

a) about topical issues and events, how to discuss and debate them and present the outcome;
b) why and how rules and laws are made and enforced, that different rules are needed in different contexts and how to participate in the creation and adaptation of rules;
c) to understand the consequences of ant-social behaviour, including bullying, for individuals and communities;
d) that there are different kinds of duties, responsibilities and rights at home, at school and in the community and that these can sometimes conflict with each other;
e) to reflect on social, moral and cultural issues, using imagination to consider the experience of others;
f) to participate in the resolution of differences by looking at alternatives, making decisions and justifying the choices made;
g) to understand the concept of democracy and the basic institutions that support it at local and national level;
h) the role of voluntary, community bodies and pressure groups;
i) to appreciate the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities within the UK;
j) that there are different ways of allocating scarce resources and that economic choices affect individuals, communities and the environment;
k) to explore how the media and other sources present information.

For PSHE at Key Stage 3 and 4 the non-statutory framework remained the same but omitted the citizenship component.

The Statutory Order for a new Foundation Subject of the National Curriculum for Key Stages 3 and 4; Attainment Target: becoming informed active and responsible citizens, building upon the citizenship component for Key Stages 1 and 2 proposed that for Key Stage 3:

1) To develop the skills of enquiry and communication pupils should be taught:
   a) to express and justify orally and in writing a personal opinion relevant to a topical political or social issue, problem or event;
   b) to contribute to group and class discussion and take part in debate;
   c) to reflect on topical political and social issues, problems and events through the analysis of a variety of sources and statistics.

2) To develop skills of participation and action pupils should be taught:
   a) to use imagination to consider the experience of others and be able to reflect on, express and explain viewpoints contrary to their own;
   b) to exhibit skills of negotiation and accommodation and be able to reflect on the process of participating in school and community-based activities.

3) To develop knowledge and understanding pupils should be taught about:
   a) the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society, including basic aspects of the criminal justice system, and how they relate to young people;
   b) the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities within the UK and the need for mutual respect and understanding;
   c) central and local government, the public services they offer and the opportunities to contribute; the key aspects of parliamentary government and other forms of government; the electoral system and the importance of voting;
   d) the work of voluntary bodies, whether community based, national or international;
   e) the importance of the media in society;
   f) the world as a global community and the political, economic and social disparities that exist.

For Key Stage 4 the emphasis (emboldened) changes to:

1) To develop skills of enquiry and communication pupils should be taught:
   a) to express, justify and defend orally and in writing a personal opinion relevant to a topical political or social issue, problem or event;
b) to contribute to group and class discussion, and take part in a formal debate;

c) to research a topical political or social issue, problem or event through the analysis of a range of source material, showing an awareness of the use and abuse of statistics.

2) To develop skills of participation and action pupils should be taught;
a) to use imagination to consider the experience of others and be able to reflect on, express and explain viewpoints contrary to their own, and critically evaluate such viewpoints;
b) to exhibit skills of negotiation and accommodation and be able to reflect on and critically evaluate the process of participating in school and community-based activities.

3) To develop knowledge and understanding pupils should be taught about;
a) the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society and how they relate to citizens, including the role and operation of the criminal and civil justice system;
b) the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities within the UK and the need for mutual respect and understanding;
c) the work of parliament, the government, and the courts in making and shaping the law; the significance of active participation in democratic and electoral processes, and the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to effect social change at local, national and European level;
d) the importance of a free press and role and influence of the media in society in providing information and affecting opinion.

e) the rights and responsibilities of consumers, employers and employees;
f) the UK’s relations within Europe, including the European Union, and the wider issues and challenges of global interdependence and responsibility.

4d. Citizenship Education Working Party

Its membership included, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown Member of the Home Office Race Relations Forum; Yasmin Bevan Head Teacher and member of the Advisory Group on Raising Ethnic Minority Pupil Achievement; Professor Bernard Crick, Adviser to the DfEE and former chair of the Citizenship Advisory Group; Chrissie Garrett UFA and Standards Task Force; Dame Mavis Grant Head Teacher and former member of the Citizenship Advisory Group; Cannon John Hall Board of Education, Church of England: David Kerr, NFER; John Lloyd LEA Adviser and member of the PSHE Advisory Group: Jan Newton Chief Executive, Citizenship Foundation; David Normington, Director General, DfES.
APPENDIX 5

Focus Group Discussion

Who or what is a good citizen?

Focus group discussion with Year 3 pupils.

(8 years of age)

Who or what is a good citizen?

A good person, a very good person.
Kind.
Helpful person,
A happy person.
Responsible.
An honest person, you don’t lie.
A person you can trust.

What’s a dishonest person?
Someone you can’t trust, if they’ve done something they will lie.

What sort of things do good citizens do?
They don’t lie or swear.
They are environmentally friendly. They don’t drop litter.
They look after the environment. They don’t go round breaking branches off trees. If they
find litter they put it in the bin.
I’ve got another one, they don’t throw stones at windows.
That’s vandalism.
Good citizens don’t do vandalism, throw stones at cars or windows.
They take care of things.
Trees, equipment, birds and animals.
Nature.
They help human beings as well.
They are nice to each other.
It means when they fall out they stay friends.
They respect each other.

What is meant by someone being called a bad citizen?
Somebody that’s a vandal.
They are not violent.
They don’t hurt people.
They don’t throw litter.
They don’t keep things from you. They lie to you.
They are dishonest.

What do grown-ups who are good citizens do?
They look after you and feed you.
Isn’t that what your mums and dads do for you?
Yes.
Are all citizens like your mums and dads?
No. Sometimes children are.
They do good jobs. They earn money.

Are all good citizens people who have jobs?
They do well in school but don’t have to get a great job like the Queen. They could be a miner. They help their family.
My Gran and Granddad are good citizens. It’s older people as well.
Our mums and dads make us go to bed at the right time.

Is it ever OK for a good citizen to do something bad?
No! No you can do something bad like swearing.
It all depends.
I don’t mean they might rob someone but they might drop litter.
You can’t get a perfect citizen. You can’t get someone who does everything right. They have to have something wrong with them.

Are there other things people do?
They can be nasty because you get fed up with people and they say OK, let’s forget about that but sometimes people are nasty to you. You can’t say let’s forget about that. It probably did hurt if they did something to you, you’ve got to do something back, you can’t help yourself.

What do you think should happen to bad citizens?
You should punish them if they’ve been nasty. If it hurts in side you should play along with them.

What sort of things do you think adults should be punished for?
It should either happen to them, like if they drove into trees or broke a branch off a tree they should break their arm…(laughter from rest)… No not necessarily so, but suppose they broke a headlight off somebody’s car they should get a punishment like fix the headlight or pay for the headlight, not necessarily have their individual self broken into bits.

Whose job is it to make that happen, to punish bad citizens?
The police throw them in jail.
No. That’s a bit harsh. It depends what it’s like. You don’t go to jail for pulling down a hedge.
If you broke into a car you would.
If they haven’t looked after their pets they should be punished and not allowed to have pets, not necessarily throw them in jail.
They could get thrown in jail but not for a year… six months or something.
If a boy broke into a house, they are a bit too young to be thrown in jail.
Grown-ups, if they broke into a house and nicked things, they should be thrown in jail.

What should happen to citizens who are good… good citizens?
I think they should tell someone and keep passing it on and then they keep passing it on and it’s like getting a good report.
They should get a reward.
A good citizen… I’m not saying he should get 15 million pounds for doing something… he should get a reward.
They can have, not a big gold medal… I think they should have a special certificate that they could have forever and keep it on the wall like a souvenir to say ‘I’ve done this!’
If it was a big money reward they might spend it all at once.

What do you like for doing ‘good’ in school?
You get a lollipop.
It’s nice that someone said ‘well done!’ and you get that special feeling inside instead of saying, ‘I’ve got a lollipop!’…you’ve got that little feeling that you’ve done something. It builds up inside you and you have a great big feeling you’ve done ‘good’.

Focus group discussion with Year 4 pupils.

Abbie, Anna, Connor, Emma, Daniel, Sanjeev. (9 years of age)

Who or what is a good citizen?
Like school council…like a manager.
Respect for other people’s feelings, co-operate with people.
Kind people.
Really helpful and kind and respect each other’s feelings, their things and themselves.

What sort of things do good citizens do?
Responsible for other people and look after them.
We are all citizens of our School.

Where else might you be citizens of?
Probably a good citizen wouldn’t drop litter all over the place.
It could be somebody who likes to hear people’s thoughts. won’t walk away from them when they are talking.
If they were hurt they’d help them.
Good citizens of the country or the town.

What sort of things does a good citizen do?
Not vandalise stuff…like walls, and people write graffiti.
Don’t speak when someone else is speaking.
Always try and be good to people.
If a citizen saw somebody being nasty to someone else stabbing them… they would call the police.
Don’t drop litter.
Respect rules… like the lollipop lady says, ‘stop there’ you have to stop.

Can you think of some things grown-ups have to do to be good citizens?
Not break the law.
If they have children they have to look after them.
Not drink and drive… there might be an accident and someone might be killed.
Don’t speed on the motorway.
If someone borrows you (lends you) something, look after it and don’t wreck it.
Don’t destroy God’s animals and trees.
Look after things properly.

What do you think bad citizens do?
Graffiti on walls.
Kill other living things… animals and people, and plants.
Not vandalise all new stuff.
Like you say, smoking and stealing and cars, drinking wine, breaking windows with stones, guns and all of that… destroy other people’s property and all that.
Don’t care for other people.
There might break into a house… they keep watch on the home and when they know you are going out they would break in.
Say there was this like burglar and a jeweller’s shop they would cut the wires and steal the jewels.
Is it ever OK for a good citizen to do something bad?
I wouldn’t say so, but if it was a one off, just that once I would say OK they can have another chance but they shouldn’t be allowed to be bad citizens because it wouldn’t be fair on all the good citizens.
If a good person is doing something bad, just let them because they are the one’s who will get arrested, not you.
It’s all right a one off time but if you get into a habit you won’t be a good citizen any more.
If you were a good citizen, I would say it was OK to be a bad citizen because you spend most of your life being good… if you turn being bad into a habit you might never be a good citizen again.

What do you think should happen to bad citizens?
They should be locked up.

Whose responsibility it to lock them up?
The police.
The police…but it could be somebody else’s like…
The Prime Minister is responsible for the police.
Should not be allowed to go outside… if they start to vandalise stuff the world is going to be a tip.
If they’ve been really bad they should go to prison for a long time.
They shouldn’t be allowed the same enjoyments we have if they’ve done something really bad like killed someone.

What do you think should happen to good citizens, people who are good?
They should get treated.
Should be able to enjoy what’s happening around you and not worry about bad citizens robbing you.

What should you get for being a good citizen… what do should grown-ups get for being good citizens?
If they’ve been good to people and helped them they should get respect back… like say if that person has been hurt before that person should go and help them.
If they’ve done ‘good’ they should be rewarded

What sort of rewards should people get?
A good job, more money and some new things.
Shouldn’t get rewards all of the time.
Should get a medal or something saying, ‘I’ve been good’… they should go to…
They get offered better jobs.
They get them from the Queen or the Prime Minister.
They get a medal.
Some gold or…
Sometimes you can get a certificate… does it say ‘I’ve been a good citizen?’

Focus group discussion with Year 5 pupils.

Barnaby, Connor, Daisy, Fiona, Harriett, Katie, Josh, Matthew (10 years of age)

Who or what is a good citizen?
Somebody who cares for the environment.
Friendly, loving and caring.
Someone who is polite.
Someone who is a good person… they don’t do vandalism.
A responsible person.
People who if they see litter… just pick it up and put it in the bin, not kicking it all over the place, they pick it up and put it in the bin.
Someone is helpful to people and things around them.
Someone who is respectful.

Is that all the things that a citizen does?
Not necessarily

Are you citizens?
People are led to believe they’re good citizens but they’re not really good citizens because they do things that make them a bad citizen like dropping litter.
Sometimes, sometimes not.
I think it’s quite hard to clarify who is a good and a bad citizen. I myself, I don’t think I’m the best citizen there ever was. I reckon I’m about in between.
You can’t always be a good citizen. A citizen is a good person and you can’t be good all of the time. There’s always going to be something wrong with you.
It’s like no-one’s perfect.
We’re all good at something.

So what things do citizen’s do… besides looking after the environment and picking up litter… what else do they do?
They care for people.
That doesn’t necessarily make a good citizen though.
I think she means when they stand up for their own country.

What does that actually mean in practice?
When you make a speech.
They look after it and don’t let other people say what they are going to do with your country.

What does a good citizen do? Include grown-ups too.
Care for other people.
Say someone comes to your home and asks if you could fund raise.
They come to work, like become a nurse… take jobs that maybe other people wouldn’t want to take.
Someone who fund raises.

Are there things that we might have to do?
Tidy.
Try to be calm and collected.

What is a bad citizen…what do we mean when we say someone is a bad citizen or is described as a bad citizen?
They drop litter and everything.
Graffiti.
Some people might hurt other people like physical, or not very nice words or trash something.
They bully and bash people up.
No respect for anything around them, self centred.

What about grown-ups who are bad citizens?
Not responsible, like they bought a dog and they just leave it and let it die and not responsible for things that they have that are theirs.
Keep all the money they earn and never give it to charities.
Does that really make you a bad citizen?
You could at least give some money to the less fortunate.
People who rob and steal.
People who are bad, do things that you shouldn’t do.
People who murder.
Well, I think they… don’t like, they always get drunk and say to people, ‘I will give you a lift home’ and they go round the shops and rob and all that.
People who go against the law, law breaking.
Drink and drive.
Deal drugs.
Take them. (drugs)
Make people who are younger than them take them. (drugs)

Is it ever OK for a good citizen to do something bad?
I don’t think that just because you’re a good citizen doesn’t give you a right to do bad things like just because you play football doesn’t mean you can do graffiti on the wall.
It’s hard to be perfect all the time so it’s hard to be a good citizen all the time.
It’s not hard. It’s impossible.
Say you’re a policeman and you have to go undercover and do bad things, you have to find out information to catch them to stop them doing harm to the community.
Doctors and nurses who have to let people die.
Put them (people) to sleep when they are in too much pain… that could be murder… but if they’re in pain they could just put them to sleep.
Vets, because they have to put things down.
A liar… like they might have to tell a lie to help them be good citizens.

What do you think should happen to bad citizens?
It depends what they do… if they murdered they should go to jail but say if they drop litter to put them in jail would be too severe, so it depends what they do.
If they dropped a crisp packet…
If they drop litter they should be made to pay a fine or something like that.
If you do something bad, I don’t think you should have to go to jail, it’s not going to solve it, they should be taught a lesson.

Who is responsible for dealing with bad citizens?
The police.
I think the shop keepers might be responsible because they… the people who deal the drugs out and all of the bad things.
If it’s children; their parents.

What about good citizens, what should happen to them?
I know. Some good citizens, like Tony Blair, they run for Prime Minister and if the local public think they are good citizens, they wouldn’t get the vote if they weren’t good citizens.
But Tony Blair is so he got the votes, which is why he is Prime Minister, because he’s a good citizen and he can help.
I don’t think there should be a prize for being a good citizen because it’s like helping the World. They should do it out of care and love.

What about grown-ups, what do grown-ups get?
I don’t think they should get anything really. Maybe they should do more to help because they are only helping them in the long term.

What does the Queen give to people who have been really good citizens?
Are they given a special badge or something?
Is it the MBI or something, and like Alex Ferguson was given one which is why he is Sir Alex Ferguson?
If adults are really good, not like picking up litter, maybe they should get something where they work, like get promoted.

Focus group discussion with Year 6 pupils.

Chris, Lydia, Olivia, Paige, Sebastian, Yousef. (11 years of age)

Who or what is a good citizen?
A good citizen is someone who helps other people out and is good and never mistreats anybody.
They respect other people’s property.
They care for the environment.
A good citizen… if they see someone who has fallen over they help them…. They’ll ring 999 but they’ll also try to help them.
They also have to get to respect everything and everyone around you.
They co-operate with each other.
Communicate with each other

What is a citizen?
A citizen is a person. Not just a person but a lot of people that help other people when they are in trouble or get difficulties, like lawyers. They’re good citizens because they help people.
Even people who don’t work for the Government, they pick up litter off the pavement or they care for the plants or something like that.
Someone who is actually part of the community and does things to help it and improve their surroundings.

So, are you citizens?
We’re all citizens.
Everyone is a citizen under our law but the only people who are good citizens are people who pick up litter, or care for the environment or help people.

What do good citizens do?
They respect other people’s rights and they help everybody no matter how old.

What sort of rights might we be talking about?
The right to believe in anything they want to.
They have the right to do what they feel is right. Even if you don’t feel that it’s right, other people might, then that’s OK…. as long as it’s not too bad.

What makes something too bad?
Somebody robs a car or wrecks it, or trips somebody up in the street.
They would help people. If there was an old lady trying to cross the road and she had so much baggage or something and wouldn’t cross it in time then I would personally go up and help her ‘cos I’m a Guide.

Where do these rights come from?
Rights come from being a citizen.
If you broke the law and then you’d be removed from some of these rights and you would have to go in jail.
Children ought to have rights because if they feel they need something in their school, like we needed a new playground so we complained to the Council about it and something was done about it.

What sort of things does a good citizen do?
They look after the environment and everything that’s around them.
They see a person who is disabled or needs help, they don’t mock them they help them. They don’t abuse anyone’s rights or their property.
If you take Tony Blair for example, he tries to improve the exam results. If you do well in exams you will do well in later life.
I think you can tell if people are good citizens by their first look and first attitude…if they are a bit not very kind to you…they’re not very good citizens.

What do we mean when we say or describe someone as not being a good citizen?
People who are stealing.
Not abiding the law. Not respecting other people’s rights. Basically the opposite of what we just said.
People abusing other people’s rights. Beliefs, religious beliefs.
My Mum always says you can tell how a person is from the way they treat other people. If they treat people badly then that cannot be good can it?
If someone affects another person’s life… if they put up a fight about how much land they’ve got… it depends what the subject is. If you think you’re right then maybe not, but if you know you’re in the wrong then yes you are.
People who’re taken away other people’s rights by murdering them, just like children, bad citizens were just… or murder them or kidnap them, taken away their right to live.

How do we get rights?
It was first in America when Black people weren’t treated as equals. I think it came up then, I’m not sure.
Rights come from as soon as you are born you have rights. Depending on what you decide to do when you are older depends on what rights you get.

How do we know that we’ve got those rights?
The Government
Schools… there’s not a law that says ‘you can’t beat people up without reason’.

Who ensures that our rights are protected?
Our parents.
The Government. Anyone of importance.

What about when we dispute our rights?
The courts.
Courts… we can argue about what rights we have… protect rights.

Is it ever Ok for good citizens to do bad things?
Well everybody should be treated equally and even if you are a good citizen doesn’t make it OK that you can do bad things.
You’re not a good citizen if you do bad things if you think about it.
Lawyers sometimes have to lie to get their person’s freedom.
If somebody was having a heart attack and you needed a first aid box you could break into a shop even though a the alarm was going off, people would see that you were doing something to save that person’s life and that person would hopefully be grateful.

What do you think should happen to bad citizens?
Well, if they’ve been bad they should be treated as they have treated the others.
People that have hurt other people shouldn’t be hurt themselves, they should at least have to apologise and tell them that they are properly sorry and if they ever do it again they will be in trouble with the authorities.
It depends on how bad the citizen is… maybe a fine.
I like the idea of someone who’s done wrong is sent to jail.
Everybody in Year 6, we’ve been talking about corporal punishment (capital punishment), and we think corporal punishment shouldn’t be brought back. Like… if they are found innocent they can be brought back out of jail.

**What about citizen’s who are caught doing something good?**
We should get rewarded but anyone virtually can do a good thing but if they’re really good they should get rewarded with a medal or something.
The Queen presents them with a medal of civil honour.

**What are the awards that the Queen presents.**
The peace thingy… the Nobel Peace….
If say someone has done something for the country like fighting in a war, then they get rewarded with a medal.
It’s something like the Nobel Peace Prize, there’s one for physics, one for geography.

**Do you always have to reward good citizens?**
No, not really. Personally I would just like to be thanked.
I’d be contented that I done some good in the world.
Not everyone in the World, if a person just picked up litter in the street, they would be arrested for doing good and get a certificate.
I think there should be more policemen walking the streets… like when people drop litter people turn their heads.

**Who what is a good citizen?**

**Second focus group discussion with Year 3 pupils**

Alex, John, Marissa. (Eight years of age)

**What rights do citizens have?**
Rights to do some things but…we haven’t got rights to go round chopping down the park’s trees.

**Do we have the right to do anything we want to do?**
We haven’t really got the right…it’s not only the rules…you can’t smash into a car…you can’t just do that you’d get sent to gaol.
The right to be looked after.
Children have a right to education…right to learn.
Right to be free?

**What does that mean?**
You don’t have to be under the rule of our parents.
The right to protest or go to court.
Tony Blair’s our Prime Minister, if we don’t like him we can have an election.
We have a right to vote.

**When can you vote in school?**
We have a school council…I voted…we counted the votes.

*How do we know that we have rights?*
Our parents tell us, from generation to generation.

**Who gives us/allows us these rights?**
The Government.
The Mayor…is he in London?

**What do you know about politics/politicians/MPs?**
I think they’ve got the Labour Party and the Conservative Party and they’ve got two people who argue about whether we should have more trains or cars or make friends with other countries.

**What do politicians/MPs do/where do they do it?**
Wasn’t it where Guy Fawkes was going to burn down?
The Houses of Parliament

**Who is the main person in the Government?**
Prime Minister
MPs
They argue to decide something, they decide what our health or something like that should be.
They give us insurance. (National Insurance)
If they want to introduce something, and they argue about it.

**Who is the head of the Government at the end of the day?**
Is it the Mayor…no, it’s the Prime Minister.
Parliament…MPs
The Queen.

**How do we chose or MPs/Who is your MP?**
We vote for them
Eighteen is when you can vote for them.

**What other rights do get at eighteen?**
Drink (alcohol)
Drive
Right to go to church…my Granddad’s a Vicar.

**Who represents us on the Council/ How are they chosen/Who is you councillor?**
Is it like at the end of the road you have these boxes…vote for ‘Mike Simpson’?
Every City has one
Birmingham City Council
In the West Midlands
Like Manchester will have one.

**Who has the power and authority in our society/country? Is this fair? Are there any groups of people/individuals who do not have any power? Why is this?**
The Mayor
The Queen
The Prime Minister
Politicians?
Police
People who own big companies…Bill Gates (Microsoft)
Make machines we have in our houses
They make money
Can you think of any examples in this country?
Cadburys
They build factories.
They hire workers.

What happens if they don’t make enough money?
They sell or the workers get sacked.

Can you think of an example in Birmingham?
Oh…Rover!
I think it was BMW, and Ford going to Landrover.

How do you know all of this?
It’s on the telly.
Had newspapers sometimes.

Do you think it’s fair that all these people who have the big money have all of this power?
No…it’s not fair.

Who might not have power?
Children?
Homeless people.
Disabled people.
Ill people…people with diseases.
Old people…pensioners.

Are black people treated fairly?
Black people in Australia…the farmers.
No, it’s black people in Africa…Zimbabwe.
There’s more white people, we’re more powerful.
Should be treated the same.
Other people from other countries…People like from Kosova…refugees.

Why don’t we treat them fairly?
They have language problems.
It’s something to do with history.

We live in a democracy/democratic country. What do you think that means?
Does it mean like a big city or country?
Don’t know what it means?
Have heard of the word, it’s something to do with politics…democracy in London.

Second focus group discussion with Year 4 pupils

Abbie, Anna, Connor, Daniel, Emma, Sanjeev.

What rights do citizens have?
To look after themselves.
To own their own piece of land, or house, or garden, or allotment.
Right to earn money…right to work.
Right to vote. We need a good Government, if we don’t have a good Government then our country would be up side down…people could do anything they want and the Government would say, ‘oh, just let them do it.’
To have food and water to keep us alive.
We have the right to go to school, to get a good education; to go to university or college.
Right to travel anywhere.
Right to have celebrations…a right to believe in God…religion.
Right to protection from the Law.

How do we know that we have rights?
The Government tells us.
Teachers.
Mums and Dads and Grand Parents.

Who gives us/ allows us these rights?
In the law books.
Written down.
In newspapers and in the news.

What do you know about politics/politicians/MPs?
Like the Prime Minister.
By voting like John Major, they’re elected.
You have to be eighteen.

What do politicians/MPs do/where do they do it?
They do it at the Houses of Parliament.

Who advises the Prime Minister?
Ministers

Who is the Education Minister?
I have heard of Jack Straw and Robin Cook.
They’re Members of Parliament or MPs.
Politicians are like MPs but…being in the Houses of Parliament they help the Prime Minister.
There’s the Tory Party and Labour Party.

Who’s the leader of the Tory Party?
William Hague.

What do MPs do?
They stand up and argue… they debate. At the end they win or lose…they vote.
In school we can vote for school councillors.

Do you know who your MP is?
No!

Who represents us on the Council? How are they chosen/Who is your councillor?
They do the same things like for education, for our city or town…not for the whole country.

How do we choose our councillors?
We vote for them.

Can anyone be a councillor or an MP?
Yes as long as people vote for them.

Who has power and authority in our society/country? Is this fair, are there any groups of people/individuals who do not have any power? Why is this?
The Queen because she has a lot of responsibility.
The Prime Minister
The Police
MPs
The President…we don’t have a president.
The Council

What about people who have money?
The banks
The bosses of shops, companies

Which companies?
Cadburys, Rover

What happens if they don’t have enough money to pay people?
They close down.
They have the power to sack.

Are we all equal in our society/country? Which individuals/groups are not treated equally? Why do you think this is?
Beggars, tramps…live on the street
Homeless
Some animals…people throw them out of their houses.
Children

At what age are you treated as adults?
Eighteen

Can you think of people who have rights but may not be able to use these rights?
People in prison.
Old people

Are women treated the same as men?
Women are not treated equally. A company might not employ women.
Sometimes men get paid more.

Are black people treated equally?
People, they like swear at them…there’s a man who was killed because he’s black in America.

Also here in this country?
Stephen Lawrence
Just because they’re a different colour they don’t think they are the same. Everyone is the same on the inside, it’s not the outside that matters.

We live in a democracy/democratic country. What do you think that means?
It’s a free country
Having rights

Which is the most important right?
To live
Right to vote.
Second focus group discussion with Year 5 pupils

What rights do citizens have?
We should be allowed to do some things that we want to do
Some of the things you can’t do, different rights to say what you believe

What sort of rights?
Right to go to school
To put or own view forward
Don’t really have rights to get drugs from the shops and sell them…if they look like sweets and children get them
Don’t have the right to copy other people’s discs
Right to be protected by the law
We have a right to vote…our parents can vote
We get the right at 18
Voting for something in our school, like voting in our school council…know what an election is
Our parents vote for the Prime Minister

Do they vote for the Prime Minister Tony Blair?
No, they vote for the Parties…Labour, Conservative, Sein Fein

Who gives us these rights?
Sometimes people give our parents rights…they make us come to school

Where do our parents get their rights from?
The Government
The Queen will say a law…and the Government will enforce it…

Who is the most important person in the Government?
The Prime Minister
MPs
The Cabinet

Who is the most important person for Education?
David Blunkett

What do you know about politics/politicians/MPs?
They are political parties because they are about politics

What do politicians/MPs do/where do they do it?
The Council
Parliament

How do we choose our MPs/who is your MP?
We vote for what we believe, vote for who is the right person

Why is it necessary to vote?
If the Prime Minister says something you believe, that’s good
If you didn’t like him, he might do things that you might not like

What happens if you don’t like what they do?
We vote for a different one…or not at all

What might happen if none of us voted?
We could end up with the same people
No one could say what the laws are…it might get out of hand

**What do we call this?**
A riot

**Do you know who your MP is?**
No

**Who represents us on the Council/How are they chosen/Who is your councillor?**
The council…they like say ‘no dogs in the park’, ‘no ball games’ or allow us in to play a football game there
Parliament can tell the Council to protect an area and they have to do it
People tell their Councillor what they think should happen, the councillor then has to take it to a Council meeting

**Who attends Council meetings?**
Councillors

**How do they become councillors?**
We vote for councillors
I once saw a programme where this woman…like a teenager went clubbing and her friend lived far away and she had to walk…so she told the Council she wanted a bus on that route as there were no buses…so they said ‘they’d do something about it’.

**How do they get to be councillors…what name do we give to that process?**
Polling

**What’s another name for this?**
An election

**Do you know who your councillor is?**
No

**Who has the power and authority in our society/country? Is this fair, are there any groups of people/individuals who do not have any power? Why is this?**
The Queen…she rules the country

**Does she really rule the country?**
No…she looks after it…I think that Parliament makes the laws and gets them to the Queen to see if she agrees and if she does they’re made law

**What about other people…who else has power?**
Our parents because they can vote
How come Sir Alex Ferguson is a ‘Sir’ when Tony Blair isn’t Sir Tony Blair?

**What about people who own factories and lots of land…are they powerful?**
They have the power to tell the workers…to hire or fire them…the power to make things and get money

**What has happened in Birmingham recently like this?**
Rover
The Cadburys factory is like power because they make chocolate
Selling something that people like
Can make even more money

**What about people who don’t have any power in our country, in our society, who might they be?**
Children don’t have any power…can’t go to the pub, can’t get married
Our parents
People who live on the street…homeless people
Poor people
Disabled people
People who are locked up in prison

**Who else might not have any power…who might not be treated equally…are there any other groups?**
Kosovans
Gypsies
We call them refugees
No cannot allow them into the country
Some people don’t treat black people equally, the right way just because of the colour of their skin…there was that person who was burned in Northfield.

**What do we call people who do that?**
Racist

**Do you think this is fair…do we do enough to help people who aren’t treated equally?**
No!
We should help people more

**Do you think that these people have the same rights…should they have the same rights?**
Yes!…but they don’t think they have the rights
It’s about power over black people…Black people are angry
I think that sometimes Black people can kill White people, not just White people kill Black people because of their colour…
It’s not just about the colour of skin

We live in a democracy/democratic country. What do you think that means?
It’s about voting and equal rights, everyone gets an equal chance
Have a government that puts rights forward
Police’s job is to protect people in our society and to make sure that we all have rights
Heard about it in the news…papers

Second focus group discussion with Year 6 pupils

**What rights do citizens have?**
Rights not to do things against our will apart from being naughty when we get grounded or punished

**What about adults?**
Everybody has a right to believe in what they want to believe in…religion…faith
Everyone’s got a right to vote

**What are we voting for?**
The right Prime Minister… MPs
What do MPs do on our behalf?
They make laws and decide what’s right and wrong
Make sure we safe
Try and make things better
Make a better community… they rule it
It’s the Queen’s job

What’s the Queen’s job?
To control the country
She rules

Does she really?
No…Tony Blair does
It’s the Labour Party
Parliament
Government

Are there any other rights?
Right to say your mind, say what you’re thinking…
Freedom of speech
Right to go to school, the right to learn, paid for by taxes
Right to NHS
Have to pay taxes

How do we know that we have rights?
We hear them in the news… I’ve got the right to vote so I will go and vote
Something like Human Rights
I know we’ve got the right to vote
The right to vote came from the government
Parents and teachers

Who gives us/allows us these rights?
Well, you’ve got a right to stay in your home… your parents
Teachers
The Government
The Council
Police
Courts
The Law
What do you know about politics/politicians/MPs?
People who protect us, say this is right, this is wrong
People who belong to the Government
Tony Blair… Labour
Tories… Conservatives
Liberals
Private groups
Individual MPs… Independent MPs

How do we get MPs?
We vote for them
When we’re sixteen or eighteen, I’m not sure…it’s eighteen
Lots of things you can do at different ages… drive a motorbike, buy a lottery ticket

What do politicians/MPs do/where do they do it?
In Parliament
Discussion and debate

**What do they debate?**
Discuss schools and education
Health
Transport

**How do they decide… what do they do at the end of the debate?**
They vote

**What happens then?**
They decide it’s a good law
It goes to the Queen

**What does the Queen do?**
The Queen’s just there… if we didn’t have a Queen…

**How do we choose our MPs/ Who is your MP?**
Not sure…
We have a school council
It’s like, every class has a representative and we ask them everything they want to improve,
what they think is wrong…representatives take it to the council meeting and we vote… say if it is a good idea like we just got new bins and the old ones were really small… so if they think it’s a good idea we go to the Head Teacher, if the Head Teacher approves it then we get them.
The Head Teacher is a bit like the Queen
Mrs X (Teacher with responsibility for the School Council) is a bit like the Prime Minister
We have a debating society
Parliament can sign Laws off quicker than we can get bins!
I think it’s because we don’t have as much money… the Government has stacks… we have money
We’ve got to think what we need more…
The Government raises money from taxes
The Government also gives…

**Who represents us on the Council? How are they chosen/Who is your councillor?**
The Lord Mayor
There’s been a lot about the local council
Our Mums and Dads voted at polling stations… there were a lot of signs up
We vote for MPs every five years at polling stations… sure they (council elections) are on a smaller scale

**Do you know who your councillor is?**
No not sure
Like labour and Liberal
I think it might be Labour again

**Who has the power and authority in our society/country? Is this fair, are there any groups of people/individuals who do not have any power? Why is this?**
The law enforcement, police
teachers
We have the power… we’ve got power from our parents

**What do we do if we don’t like the Government?**
We can vote for another one
Power of parents over children
Job managers

Who has power over job managers?
The owner of the company
He might be making cars… Rover
It was about people losing their jobs and the right to work
What does it mean if people can’t work?
No money
People at the top of the chain, who have money and power and the right to choose who works for them
They have the power because they pay us

Are we all equal in our society/country? Which individuals/groups are not treated equally? Why do you think this is?
Asylum seekers
Refugees
People born in other countries who have another colour… Black people
Us…children
Criminals in gaol
Old age pensioners don’t get their rights
Black people are judged by their colour not by what’s inside
Homeless people
Poor people

Do we treat Black people equally?
No!
Should do, but some people are racist, go against them
It’s not fair

Do you think we do enough to treat them equally?
No!
Can’t change one’s thoughts. I’m not saying it’s right but you can’t change someone’s thoughts
It has improved in the last few years
If they hate someone you can’t take hatred away
If you say someone was walking down the street you can still say ‘good morning’ to them

What should we do if we see someone being racist?
Call the police
Racism is against the law
Some people could be racist towards us
I don’t think Black people have any less power than we have
I’ve read about it in the papers

Do you read the papers or listen to the news?
Yes, to know what’s going on in the World

We live in a democracy/democratic country. What do you think that means?
It means the Government do something for us… we have to pay for it by taxes, we pay tax on cars
If we don’t like the Government we can vote them out
We have the power… if there’s someone that the majority of people don’t like we’ve got the power…
My Dad told me the Government are just our servants, we pay for it
What else do we have in a democracy?
There are Human Rights… animals don’t have a right to vote
We have the right to have rights
These are things that every human being has and shouldn’t be taken away.
APPENDIX 6

Draw and Write Activity

WHO OR WHAT IS A GOOD CITIZEN?

Draw and Write Activity Protocol for Children Years 3-6

Provide each pupil with a sheet of A3 drawing paper and pencils. Ensure that they write their class, age and gender at the top clearly before they start the activity.

Prior to the draw and write activity explain that you are helping to undertake some research at the University and need their help. Explain that they will be drawing pictures and writing sentences about those pictures. Tell them that spellings do not matter, but if they want help during the activity they should put up their hand.

The only help that the pupil may be given is for spelling and when they cannot write sufficiently well to explain the picture. In this instance the teacher may write what the pupil dictates.

They should complete the questions for Part 1 and then turn over and complete Part 2. Forty-five minutes to an hour should be sufficient. Pupils who finish early should read a book and not disturb those around them. During the activity they should work individually without talking and avoid looking at other pupils’ answers.

Write the questions on the chalkboard or a large piece of white paper previously and read these to the class. Do not allow any discussion.

Introduction

• Good morning/afternoon children. You all look like good citizens!

• I want you all to think about what it means for a person/anyone to be a citizen, and especially a good citizen.

• Do not talk to or tell anyone what you think, don’t tell me out loud, please keep it in your head.

• When you have finished the first set of questions turn over your piece of paper and answer the next ones.

Part 1

1. Draw a picture of a grown-up being a good citizen and write a sentence to say what it is the grown-up is doing.

2. Draw a picture of a grown-up being a bad citizen and then write a sentence to say what it is the person is doing that is bad.

3. What should happen to bad citizens?
4. What rights do citizens have?

5. Are there any individuals or groups of people who don’t have rights or don’t get their rights met? If so, who are they?

6. Do you have any rights? If so, what are they?

Part 2

1. Draw a picture of a grown-up voting and write a sentence to say who or what they are voting for.

2. How do grown-ups vote?

3. Where do grown-ups go to vote?

4. When do grown-ups go and vote?

5. Why do grown-ups go and vote?

6. Have you ever voted for anything? If yes, what were you voting about?
APPENDIX 7

Interview Prompts for Head Teacher and Co-ordinator

Why is citizenship important in this school?

Why is citizenship education important to you?

When did you first start developing your citizenship curriculum?

How has it developed over time…how is it developing now?

How have you approached citizenship as a:
  • whole school issue
  • whole curriculum issue
  • part of the unified framework for PSHE and Citizenship?

What have been the key issues for you, the school, and what has helped or hindered progress?

Where and in what ways have you been able to involve pupils, parents, governors?

What has teachers’ involvement been?

Who else have you involved, what support have you sought, received, would like in the future?

How have you made use of/taken account of pupils’ prior knowledge and experience?

How have you been able to make use of teachers’ experiences and expertise?

How do you fund citizenship activities in school?

How would you judge the success of citizenship to date?
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