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Citizenship in Quaker schools: a critical analysis of understanding and practice

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**Citizenship in Quaker Schools:
a critical analysis of understanding and practice**

Volume 1 of 1

John Newey Dodsworth

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

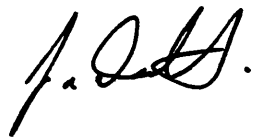
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**Abstract: Citizenship in Quaker Schools: a critical analysis of
understanding and practice**

This research considers the place of citizenship education in Quaker schools. It relates the various understandings of citizenship held by different Quaker school stakeholders and compares these to those in both academic and policy literature. It questions the 'democratic values' concept of citizenship being promoted through current DfES policy, putting it into a wider context of the multiple understandings of citizenship, i.e. from the liberal to the communitarian via republicanism. It examines how the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) might interpret citizenship and explores the relationship between this interpretation and that of the National Curriculum. Finally it considers what independent sector Quaker schools are doing towards citizenship and what they might do in the future to maintain the balance between shadowing government orthodoxy and following their own particular ethos.

Single, iterative and group interviews create a nested case study of one Quaker school within the context of other English Friends' schools, providing an insight into citizenship education from the perspectives of teachers, parents, pupils and governors. These views are compared against academic and policy literature, serving to question the concept of National Curriculum citizenship as citizenship *per se*.

Findings from the research include that conceptions of citizenship held by teachers are often different from that proposed within the National Curriculum; that, in particular, respondents in Quaker schools perceive Quakerism as citizenship; that non-specialist teachers lack confidence in teaching civic knowledge; and the perception that specialist teachers would best deliver the specific knowledge content of subjects such as citizenship, while much of the skills base is already being covered through other aspects of school life, such as PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) and form periods.

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Chapter 1, Introduction to and Overview of the Research

1.1 Background to the Research

Citizenship as a National Curriculum subject is a recent phenomenon in English schools. It became compulsory in 2002 across the maintained sector. Its implementation is currently being researched by the NFER (National Foundation for Educational Research) in a nine year longitudinal study. For independent schools citizenship is optional, but as they now shadow much of the good practice within the maintained sector there is an interest in citizenship within them. However, since the NFER research does not include such institutions, there is a gap in research which fails to consider the approaches to citizenship which they follow. This research attempts to establish what is being done within one part of the independent sector: *viz.* the seven English Quaker schools. These schools have a particular ethos based upon the philosophy of the Religious Society of Friends. My background as a pupil and as a member of staff within them, combined with my academic studies in values education led me to question the need for specific 'citizenship' education within their curricula.

Citizenship is a contested concept. Before its National Curriculum introduction it did not exist as a subject in the English education system. For almost a century the maintained sector functioned without it. Its present necessity is predicated upon a specific understanding of citizenship by government and the failure of previous curricula to match to this conception. The premise for this study is that the term has been adapted to suit a particular political stance, promoting an interpretation for a new society as **the** definition. In effect, the subject introduced within the National Curriculum asserts a new orthodoxy.

This research examines the multiple understandings of citizenship which exist in Quaker schools in England. It compares these with those within the academic and policy literature. The different approaches to citizenship these schools are adopting are considered in the light of recent research and Ofsted

recommendations. A single-school study supplemented by an inter-school survey reveals the understandings and attitudes that teaching staff have towards the subject and its implementation. Finally the research aims to propose a balance between a citizenship education which complements both government orthodoxy and Quaker ethos.

The following parts of this introduction aim:

- to establish the academic positioning of the research;
- to set out a provisional definition of citizenship;
- to locate it in the current political climate;
- to explain the situation of Quaker schools;
- to make clear my interest and background in the research area; and
- to provide an overview of the thesis.

1.2 Academic Positioning of the Research

Current research into citizenship education in England is being undertaken in the maintained sector by institutions such as the NFER (2004, 2005), Ofsted (e.g. 2005a), and CSV (2003, 2004). These studies examine how National Curriculum Citizenship is being delivered in those schools where it is compulsory. Within the independent sector, where citizenship education is not an established part of the curriculum, other research approaches may be more appropriate. What this study sets out to do is to learn how stakeholders, in one part of the independent sector which has a particular espoused ethos, understand citizenship and see it being implemented in their schools.

To this end six research questions underpin the study:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are the similarities / differences between the respondents' conceptions of citizenship and that contained within the National Curriculum?

3. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
4. Why are these schools doing this?
5. What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?
6. How should subjects such as citizenship be taught?

The context of the research is one which questions the taken-for-granted definition of citizenship within the National Curriculum. This study acknowledges that there are multiple conceptions of citizenship (and therefore citizenship education). The central premise of the study is that National Curriculum citizenship is based upon an Aristotelian material fallacy – the contentious argument.

“Contentious arguments are those that reason or appear to reason to a conclusion from premisses that appear to be generally accepted but are not so.”

(Aristotle, 1952, p.228)

In this instance communitarianism is the *generally accepted* form of citizenship within the National Curriculum. Moreover, because communitarianism is supposed to have a basis in morality, there is a presumption that it is intrinsically *good*, and therefore to be **the** only acceptable form of citizenship.

It follows that research into citizenship in the maintained sector would find it very difficult to question the concept of citizenship being followed (since National Curriculum citizenship is a compulsory good). Likewise, research within independent sector schools allows the material fallacy underlying National Curriculum citizenship to be critiqued more easily, because the stakeholders involved are not compelled to follow it.

1.3 A Provisional Definition of Citizenship

Citizenship is not a new phenomenon; both Zeno and Plato wrote works entitled 'The Republic' centuries before Christ. The term 'republic', as we have it in English, is derived from the Latin '*res publica*' – public business. It is founded upon the idea of the city-state (πολις) where each land-owning man held an equal franchise and a duty to exercise it. Citizenship, with its multiple definitions concerning status and function, has developed from this original understanding of the state and the citizen. Derek Heater (1999, p.53) presents a general definition of citizenship which may act as an origin for debate:

“The purpose of citizenship is to connect the individual and the state in a symbiotic relationship so that a just and stable republican polity can be created and sustained and the individual citizen can enjoy freedom.”

(*ibid.*)

Heater's definition presents a starting point because it is general rather than specific. He does not in this one sentence attempt to explain the nature of the 'symbiotic relationship', nor does he justify what he means by 'freedom'. However two things are apparent. Firstly, the relationship is between the individual and the *state*. Secondly, the state is an *a priori* construct which the process of citizenship supports. These two points are in contrast to the views that citizenship might describe the dealings between people, with the state constructed to serve the people, not the people to serve it.

In England, citizenship has been little used as a concept in schools or in society, while in France and the USA it is central to being a member of those nations. English democracy has developed slowly since 1066. Magna Carta, the Cromwellian interregnum, the Glorious Revolution and various reform acts within parliament incrementally changed the nature of the individual's place vis-à-vis the state. In France and the USA, constitutions were written as the basis for the state. Thus the concepts of democracy involved in these different routes towards the present are quite different; the former is a working model adapting

to changes in the country, and the latter new creations for new countries, with new systems to run them. Yet we tend to think of democracy as a homogenous concept. Carole Hahn (1998, p.1) writes:

“[O]ne frequently hears the phrase ‘Western democracies’, suggesting that there is a set of shared characteristics common to all. Such a characterisation, however, tends to diminish attention to the rich variety among the countries with democratic traditions. Even within... [England, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States] three are constitutional monarchies, four have parliamentary forms of government, and two have federal systems.”

Thus, defining citizenship is more complicated than it would first appear; being central to this thesis it is at the heart of Chapter 2.

1.4 Locating Citizenship Politically

As Hahn (1998) points out, it is erroneous to consider democracy as a single entity. Therefore, it is correspondingly mistaken to view citizenship as having a consistent definition. In Britain the meaning of citizenship changed near the end of the twentieth century. This was concurrent with a change in both political power at national level which embodied a marked shift in perception of the relationship between the individual and the state. With this change in emphasis came the introduction of citizenship as a discrete subject into the National Curriculum. This will be explored more fully in Chapter 3. The 1988 Education Reform Act (HMSO, ERA) which established the National Curriculum, made no mention of the term citizenship. Yet within fifteen years (the citizenship order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) was published for implementation in 2002) it had become a compulsory subject for all pupils in the maintained sector. Not only had there been an alteration in emphasis within education – an entirely new curriculum niche had been created.

One of the arguments presented for citizenship education is that it will help to resolve the apathetic attitude citizens are seen to have towards political life. Education in citizenship, it is argued, would increase the number of people voting in elections, providing a stronger mandate for whoever is in government. The programme of study for citizenship (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14) states: “Pupils should be taught about the electoral system and the importance of voting.” The assumption is that voting is important. The National Curriculum created by the 1988 ERA did not carry any strong political message. The curriculum order for citizenship (DfEE/QCA, 1999; hereafter the Order) carries with it a particular understanding of citizenship in which the citizen is to be *active* within formal political processes.

This seems to reflect a new understanding of the relationship between the individual and the state in England – i.e. one that is communitarian instead of liberal. This is developed in Chapter 2.

1.5 The Situation in Quaker Schools

There are seven Quaker schools in England. They all exist within the independent sector. In common with many other independent schools they shadow the National Curriculum largely because they enter their pupils for GCSE examinations at the age of sixteen. There is no compulsion for citizenship to be taught within these schools. However, aspects of what is taught through the hidden curriculum, the academic curriculum and personal, social and health education (PSHE) cover parts of the National Curriculum for citizenship. This is especially true for Quaker schools which espouse a particular ethos (see Chapter 4) based upon the philosophy of the Religious Society of Friends. While the seven schools have connections with each other they each have their own curriculum planning and understanding of how to provide for citizenship education. This research examines how citizenship is integrated with the Quaker ethos and aims to understand what the teachers in these schools think citizenship is. The differences between teachers’ views and

orthodox citizenship as presented by government documents is established, as well as the attitudes they have towards the subject and its delivery in the present and for the future.

1.6 The Researcher's Interest and Background

I have a background in Quaker education. I attended a Quaker school for my secondary schooling and for five years taught in another. I have undertaken two master's degrees at the University of Bath. In both of these I conducted research which focused upon values education, collecting primary data from one Quaker school. I entered into the PhD process because I perceived citizenship to be one aspect of schooling concerned with values education. The focus upon Quaker schools is not coincidental; at a personal level I believe that Quaker schooling provided me with the opportunity to become a rounded individual, supporting me in a range of endeavours as part of school life. Even for day scholars a boarding environment provides a more holistic education than do most day schools since children are able to grow within a strong community denied to many. I began this research with the idea that Quaker schools might already be doing citizenship implicitly, although they might not explicitly be following the Order itself.

1.7 Findings

The findings may be summarised in six points:

- The respondents see citizenship as analogous to being a member of society in general terms, with neither a strong liberal, nor communitarian focus. They use a range of weak definitions which reflect the moderate liberalism of the 1988 ERA (HMSO, 1988, para. 1(2)b), i.e. preparing “for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.”

- There is not a presumption that citizenship education should prepare pupils for a (better) communitarian society; instead respondents say it should reflect the institutions and structures of the *status quo* and empower pupils to improve these.
- Citizenship education is currently being delivered in Quaker schools implicitly through existing curricula and activities, being supplemented within some by an expansion of the PSHE curriculum.
- Citizenship – within the definitions respondents have used – is considered something which is better ‘caught than taught’. Therefore the Quaker schools are perceived as providing environments in which the individual may practise being part of a community.
- Quaker ethos promotes good citizenship behaviours, following the laws of the state while observing a moral code. For the respondents, Quaker ethos promoted what they thought was citizenship. National Curriculum citizenship differs from a Quaker view of citizenship because communitarianism holds the state as a moral entity, while Quakers are advised to use the state to uphold moral tenets – the state itself is not considered to be moral.
- In terms of pedagogy, respondents feel that specialists should be teaching specific subject knowledge (i.e. civics), but that social interaction (i.e. the human part of political literacy) is already a well practised part of the everyday relationships between teachers (especially form tutors) and pupils in Quaker schools.

1.8 Overview of the Thesis

The thesis has nine chapters and a set of appendices. Chapter 1 is this introduction. It positions the research academically, sets out a provisional

definition of citizenship; locates it in the current political climate; explains the situation of Quaker schools; makes clear my interest and background in the research area, and provides an overview of the thesis.

Chapters 2 and 3 form the literature review. The first looks at citizenship in its development from the Greek city-state to the present, examining three broad concepts of citizenship – republicanism, liberalism and communitarianism – in order to establish that citizenship has multiple conceptions. Chapter 3 considers the current situation of citizenship education, including the National Curriculum, Ofsted documents and recent academic research, showing how communitarian citizenship has become a ‘new orthodoxy’ which does not admit other forms of citizenship as being valid.

Chapter 4 sets out how Quakerism and citizenship relate to each other. This makes reference to the major Friends’ text – ‘Quaker Faith and Practice’ (1995) to establish how Quaker philosophy may be interpreted in terms of the concept of citizenship.

Chapter 5 details the research design while Chapters 6 and 7 set out the results. A discussion of these results is given in Chapter 8, weighing the findings against the research questions. The final chapter presents my reflections upon the research process, sets out the relevance of the work to academic and school communities, acknowledges some weaknesses in the research, suggesting areas which could have been improved, and proposes routes for further research based upon this thesis.

A set of appendices contains facsimiles of stimuli for the interviews, the questionnaires developed for the study, a sample interview transcript, an account of Quaker schools and their philosophy, a more detailed explanation of methodology and a copy of the report written for the schools which took part in the research.

Chapter 2, Citizenship: Theoretical Underpinnings

Citizenship is a contested concept. At the heart of the contest are differing views about the function and organisation of society. The periodic redefinition of citizenship education is a by-product of a much larger, wide-ranging debate concerning the nature of English society and the role of education within that society.

(Kerr, 2000, research paper, web access)

2.1 Introduction

This research rests on the premise that National Curriculum citizenship is being promoted as citizenship *per se* within the English education system, and that it is, as such, a contentious argument in Aristotelian (1952, p.232) terms. This is explained to a greater depth in *The Case for the Research* at the beginning of Chapter 5 – *Research Design*. For the present it is enough to say that National Curriculum citizenship is a new orthodoxy, a communitarian conception of citizenship replacing a hitherto poorly defined relationship between the individual and the state, and promoting itself as the whole of citizenship. It would be possible to write at great length about the many conceptions of citizenship; however, the scope of this chapter is to demonstrate that there is more than one type of citizenship. To this end *The Meanings of Citizenship* considers differing interpretations of citizenship and citizenship education, with brief reference to understandings of these outwith the English context. Secondly, *Approaches to Citizenship* reviews three conceptions of citizenship which lead to the current liberal and republican/communitarian models underpinning modern, western societies. This provides a background for the review of *Citizenship Education Research and the National Curriculum*, in Chapter 3.

2.2 The Meanings of Citizenship

Citizenship is a word which has undergone a renaissance in the last decade. It is no longer (if it ever were) the preserve of constitutional philosophers in debate or of republicans railing against monarchical oppression. Instead it has become a buzzword within contemporary media. When overseas news is reported, the number of Britons involved in an incident is today written/read as the number of British *citizens*. Britain is a member of the European Community, more lately a member of the European Union, and this has made British *citizens* European *citizens*. When there is a terrorist incident, the instigators may be referred to as ‘British-born citizens of Pakistani descent’ (Daily Telegraph, 31/03/04) or ‘UK citizens of Pakistani descent’ (BBC news, 31/03/04). Likewise, Britain as part of the European Union represents 60 million people within what is, “the world's largest trading bloc. In all, it will have 455 million citizens” (Daily Telegraph, 28/03/04, David Wastell). The questions may then be posed as to what citizenship means in these contexts, whether the people involved are citizens in the same way that the readers/listeners are, or whether we should question the definitions of citizen/citizenship which we use. The definition of the concept of citizenship is thus more complicated than it first appears. This section will attempt to clarify this confusion, though it does not presume to answer in full the question of what citizenship is in general.

There are three forms a definition of citizenship may take:

- the status of a person as citizen,
- the study of it as a subject and
- the process of being a citizen.

The first two of these will be discussed in this first section (*The Meanings of Citizenship*). The last, concerning the process of citizenship, will be considered through a discussion of three political models under *Approaches to Citizenship* later in this chapter.

When citizenship is being considered it might be borne in mind that there is a distinction between what citizenship may be in general and what citizenship is in a particular context (i.e. there are different types within the general). It is easy to be drawn into the second without considering the first, which causes the problem, that unless the general is considered before the particular, one concept of citizenship may assume only the type of society from which that concept is drawn. In its broadest sense this is true for the entirety of this research in that both liberalism and communitarianism are within the mould of modern representative democracy. By making this assumption any conception of citizenship is already narrowed, excluding ideas such as pure socialism, absolute monarchism or feudalism. Therefore, the following discussion looks at citizenship in general, within the confines of democratic boundaries, particularly in terms of what is variously termed the first world or the developed world.

2.2.1 The Status of a Person as a Citizen

It might well be assumed that the status of a person in terms of citizenship is as simple as being accepted as a citizen or denied that status. However, current UK passports make a distinction between citizenship and national status:

“Citizenship and National Status British citizens have the right of abode in the United Kingdom. No right of abode in the United Kingdom derives from the status, as British nationals, of British Dependent Territories citizens, British Nationals (Overseas), British Overseas citizens, British protected persons and British subjects.”

(UK passport, 1998, p.3, original emphasis)

From this sentence two things are apparent. First, that there is clearly more than a single British citizenship status since ‘citizenship’ is considered separately to ‘national status’, and second, that citizenship is bound with the concept of rights, in the first instance that of residence. Without multiplying this confusion it is enough to say that the concepts of the citizen and citizenship are more complicated than the assumptions one may have of them on a daily basis.

While the passport is an illustration of how complicated any definition of citizenship becomes, there are authors who explain what they think it is.

T. H. Marshall is quoted by almost every authority on citizenship. If they do not start with his ideas, reference is made during the introductory sections of the article/book etc. Marshall, writing in the post-war period, has a conception of citizenship which is founded upon the notion of rights given to the individual by the state. Civil, political and social elements are what compose Marshall's theory of citizenship; the rights to freedoms and liberties, the right to participate in the exercise of political power, and rights ranging from economic welfare to a life at the prevailing standards of society (Marshall and Bottomore, 1992, p.8). This conception of citizenship reflects the ideas behind the welfare state created in Britain after the Second World War.

Some more recent authors, when they do offer general ideas about citizenship, make a link between the citizen and the country. Thus, Heater (1999, p.53) says:

“The purpose of citizenship is to connect the individual and the state in a symbiotic relationship so that a just and stable republican polity can be created and sustained and the individual citizen can enjoy freedom.”

Likewise, Holford (2005), after Poggi (1990, p.28), states:

“Citizenship has been described as a ‘particular bond’ between people making up the population and the state.”

(Holford, 2005, p.196)

Isin and Turner (2002, p.4) develop this notion of a link between person and country by introducing a third variable, that of thickness of identity.

“Citizenship... brings within its orbit three fundamental issues: how the boundaries of membership within a polity and between polities should be defined (extent); how the benefits and burdens of membership should be

allocated (content); and how the ‘thickness’ of identities of members should be comprehended and accommodated (depth).”

(ibid.)

The passport issue of status concerns this thickness of identity. Heater (1999, p.87) accounts for ‘thickness’ as a hierarchy of citizenship. For him there are five different levels of citizenship, from “those who have the most complete set of rights and who most fully discharge their civic duties”, to those who “are not legally citizens and have no political rights, but nevertheless enjoy many civil, social and economic rights associated with citizenship” *(ibid.)*.

Thickness of identity is not just a theoretical construct. Two thickness of identity examples occurred in the same week during 2005. First, there was the story of Sanjai Shah who obtained full British citizenship having been previously denied entry to the United Kingdom; he “initially had a British Overseas Citizen passport since he was born in Kenya when it was under colonial rule” (Cawthorne, web access, 12/07/05). British Overseas Citizens have a ‘thin’ citizenship identity. The same issue arose in 1997 when Hong Kong was ceded to the Chinese. Hong Kong citizens were not British enough to move to the UK.

The second example concerned the Ministry of Defence, informing people who had been prisoners of war during the Second World War that they were due compensation and then withdrawing the offer for those who did not have a direct ‘bloodlink’ to the United Kingdom through a parent or grandparent born in the country. Professor Jack Hayward, who has lived in Britain since 1946, British-born in India with an Iraqi mother, was one of the ex prisoners of war who was rejected compensation having been offered it in the first instance. As Ann Abraham, Parliamentary Ombudsman, was quoted (Radio 4, Today, 13/07/05):

“It is therefore clear to me that many people in Professor Hayward’s position have suffered outrage at the way in which the scheme has been operated, and distress at being told they were not ‘British enough’ to qualify for payment under the scheme. That outrage and distress constitutes an injustice.”

The 'British enough' point is that, as an Overseas Citizen, one does not have the same civic rights as a (full) British citizen, no matter how one might contribute to society. The examples of Jack Hayward and Sanjai Shah represent a current aspect of misunderstanding in British citizenship.

Heater, in defining a hierarchy of citizenship, links the rights of Marshall with the level of participation in civic duties. At the bottom are those who are not enfranchised but retain certain basic rights while the greatest level of citizenship is not a result of being bestowed with an identity so much as fulfilling one's duties as part of one's identity.

A discourse upon identity and citizenship is not appropriate here but for the purposes of this discussion citizenship is seen as a type of group identity. This is distinct from the ideas represented by Jones and Gaventa (2002, p.21) who see different types of group identity as having multifarious manifestations within citizenship identity, i.e.:

“that defining citizenship through political participation in formal public spaces serves to occlude other forms of participation (community work, participation in local decision making process such as traditional meetings) as legitimate expressions of citizenship.”

This issue of identity within citizenship which I have narrowed to the status of a person as a citizen *does* 'occlude' these forms of participation as expressions of *citizenship*; however, it does not preclude them from being acceptable expressions of democratic participation. Although the concepts of citizenship discussed in this chapter are concerned with democratic societies there is not a presumption within it that democratic participation and citizenship are synonymous. As will be expressed in the next section, citizenship is already a broad term which, for the purposes of education has been refined. As noted above, questions of identity and rights associated with it are not the focus of this research, which assumes that all citizens should have equal rights without regard for traits with which people may identify (homosexual, female, poor, disabled,

etc.). This reflects a disposition which treats individuals differently according to how their rights are to be implemented, rather than treating individuals differently because they perceive themselves as different or in a minority. It is with this understanding that I move onto citizenship education.

2.2.2 Citizenship Education

Citizenship education is necessarily narrower in definition than citizenship in general. Any concept of education with citizenship in mind must have an *a priori* concept of citizenship which will act as a framework or teleological aim. John Dewey on Aims in Education (1916, p.104) stated:

“The aim set up must be an outgrowth of existing conditions. It must be based upon a consideration of what is already going on; upon the resources and difficulties of the situation. Theories about the proper end of our activities -- educational and moral theories -- often violate this principle. They assume ends lying outside our activities; ends foreign to the concrete makeup of the situation; ends which issue from some outside source. Then the problem is to bring our activities to bear upon the realization of these externally supplied ends. They are something for which we ought to act. In any case such "aims" limit intelligence; they are not the expression of mind in foresight, observation, and choice of the better among alternative possibilities. They limit intelligence because, given ready-made, they must be imposed by some authority external to intelligence, leaving to the latter nothing but a mechanical choice of means.”

(ibid.)

There are three points which come out of this. They will be developed so that subsequent ideas concerning citizenship may be examined in their light.

The first of these is the principle of outgrowth from existing conditions. This is an aim which is paralleled in Vygostky's (1962) zone of proximal development. In order for learning to take place, the more relevant it is to the existing knowledge and practice of the learner, the more effective it is likely to be. So,

for citizenship, it is the learning environment in school that should foster the processes and thinking which the teaching of citizenship would aim to achieve.

This accords with what Bernard Crick (1999, p.339) advocates:

“Any worthwhile education must include some explanation and, if necessary, justification of the naturalness of politics: that men do and should want different things, indeed have differing values, that are only obtainable or realisable by means of or by leave of public power. So pupils must both study and learn to control, to some degree at least, the means by which they reconcile or manage conflicts of interests and ideals, even in school.”

Crick is not saying that schools should be microcosms of society – indeed in the same article he specifically argues against schools being “a good model of the general political system” (*op.cit.* p.350). Instead, the argument is that the environment for learning should be one that is conducive to learning and understanding, providing relevance to the pupils within the school so that upon interaction with wider society they are able to interpret what is happening and to act according to their understanding.

This leads to Dewey’s next point, antagonistic to the first, that when the aims of citizenship do not fulfil the principle of outgrowth from existing conditions, activities which surround learning tend to be orientated towards the closed ends of some external source. This is what Haste (2004, p.425) calls the praxis model of citizenship education. For instance, citizenship in a school which does not follow democratic processes within the student body, but which promotes the democratic process as an end, could aim to teach citizenship through created learning environments which are democratic, without violating the regular non-democratic processes of the normal school environment.

The final point which derives from the Dewey extract is that, if the aim is closed, the process is likely to limit educational growth. For citizenship education, if citizenship is taught as the democratic process built upon democratic values, discussion about the worthiness of democracy is lacking. It would be better for

students to adopt the democratic process as their own if they were to choose it against other forms of societal development, upon its own merits rather than being informed by 'teachers' that it is the only platform for citizenship. If students were not to decide that democracy is, for instance, the best form of societal development, they should be able to reason why they might make such a decision; the decision making itself (while not final) is the product of the intelligence which Dewey was promoting. If instead we offer students a range of voting systems, all within a democratic framework, the rationale for the democratic framework itself is not questioned and students are left with mechanical choices limiting intelligence.

So, from Dewey, there are three points to the argument concerning citizenship education:

1. there should be outgrowth from existing conditions;
2. in cases where this does not happen a closed aim tends to be adopted;
3. therefore, the aim should be open-ended to allow for individual growth.

This has relevance for the type of (citizenship) education one might follow. In this research it is proposed that National Curriculum citizenship, by assuming communitarian citizenship as the whole of citizenship, falls into the error of Dewey's second point, failing to fulfil the open-endedness of the third.

To this point the notion of citizenship education has been general. In order to clarify the term, a selection of definitions of citizenship education from a range of modern sources follows.

Bernard Crick has been writing on issues surrounding citizenship since the 1970s and chaired the Advisory Group on Citizenship (producing the AGC 'Crick Report', 1998). While he does not actually define the term, he proposes five 'procedural values' as the basis for the practice of citizenship, and therefore, of citizenship education. These are freedom, toleration, fairness, respect for truth and respect for reasoning (Crick, 1999). For him it is more important that each person is able to develop and use appropriate skills than to have

'appropriate' opinions. "Different substantive values are to be discussed, rarely resolved; but such discussions must be based on clear presuppositions for procedure" (*op.cit.* p.343). Thus, Crick is not telling us what we should think but how we might reach our own conclusions. It is a question of process rather than teleology.

The Crick Report (AGC, 1998), reflecting the views of the AGC committee, not just Bernard Crick, puts the foundation of citizenship education upon a tripartite basis of social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy. It quotes two sources with definitions of citizenship which it supports:

Firstly, Hargreaves (1998):

"Civic education is about the civic virtues and decent behaviour that adults wish to see in young people. But it is also more than this. Since Aristotle it has been accepted as an inherently political concept that raises questions about the sort of society we live in, how it has come to take its present form, the strengths and weaknesses of current political structures, and how improvements might be made.... Active citizens are as political as they are *moral*; *moral* sensibility derives in part from political understanding; political apathy spawns moral apathy."

(AGC, 1998, p.10, my italics)

This Hargreaves extract has a political focus upon how adults want students to be in the next generation. It is, in Aristotelian terms, teleological, being with a view to a desirable end point.

Also within the Crick Report (AGC, 1998) the Citizenship Foundation (no ref.) is quoted:

"We believe that citizenship has a clear conceptual core which relates to the induction of young people into the legal, moral and political arena of public life. It introduces pupils to society and its constituent elements, and shows how they, as individuals, relate to the whole. Besides understanding,

citizenship education should foster respect for law, justice, [and] democracy and nurture common good at the same time as encouraging independence of thought. It should develop skills of reflection, enquiry and debate.”

(AGC, 1998, p.11)

Of the two, the Citizenship Foundation extract is the more socially democratic as it is without Hargreaves’ presumption that there is one correct vision. It is more concerned with the process of citizenship development than with an end product. Yet the Crick Report uses both of these as ideas for developing what the committee thought citizenship education to be.

The Crick Report continues:

“So our understanding of citizenship education in a parliamentary democracy finds three heads on one body: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. ‘Responsibility’ is an essential political as well as *moral* virtue, for it implies (a) care for others; (b) premeditation and calculation about what effect actions are likely to have on others; and (c) understanding and care for the consequences.”

(*op.cit.* p.13, my italics)

This approach to citizenship education is a communitarian development from Marshall’s focus on rights towards greater responsibilities combined with ‘moral virtue’ (see italics above). This is expanded later in the AGC Report to show how important the involvement of citizens in society is to this political conception of society.

“The purpose of citizenship education in schools and colleges is to make secure the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities needed for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in so doing to establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community.

“Democratic institutions, practices and purposes must be understood, both local and national, including the work of parliaments, councils, parties, pressure groups and voluntary bodies; to show how formal political activity relates to civil society in the context of the United Kingdom and Europe, and to cultivate awareness and concern for world affairs and global issues. Some understanding of the realities of economic life is needed including how taxation and public expenditure work together.”

(AGC, 1998, p.40)

We can see from these Crick Report quotes that the concept advocated is that of democratic citizenship. The Hargreaves reference is particularly moralistic, not making reference to other influences upon members of society (e.g. religion, family) but with a focus upon a set view of the future. The use of Aristotle as a tag is possibly mis-directing since Aristotle (1981, p.180) separates the good citizen from the good man, saying that one may be the former without being the latter. The Citizenship Foundation also has democracy as a value rather than as a process. This is linked to the question of normativity which is discussed in Chapter 3 (3.3.2).

2.2.3 International Perspectives upon Citizenship and Education

Citizenship is a contested concept. Democracies have matured over hundreds of years, growing in different ways. Different understandings of democracy presume different roles for members of society. This section briefly sets out some of the understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in terms of a selection of nations outside the British Isles.

France first became a republic in 1789. It has a very particular understanding of the role of the state in education.

As Starkey (2000, p.41) states:

“The French programme builds on a long-standing commitment by the state to building a philosophically coherent democratic nation through education. It is

about fulfilling the principles of the French Revolution of 1789 as embodied in the constitution of the Republic.”

This is predicated upon the premise that the state does not recognise individuality beyond that of the citizen. In the eyes of the state everyone is equal. This is why there has been no consideration for ethnic minorities in French schools; members of ethnic minorities, to the state, are as French as the next citizen – therefore there is no need to treat them differently from the rest of the citizens (*op.cit.* p.43). It is understood that there is one, French, culture.

Contrast this with the system in English schools where there are, for instance, differential dress codes. Such differentiation reflects our societal orientation to accept the differences people bring into civic life. The English state acknowledges difference; it is called multi-culturalism.

The French republican system has an emphasis upon state control of its citizens. As Preuss *et al.* (2003, p.9) write, there is:

“a deeply rooted distrust towards organizations that might mediate between the individuals and the state... Partly as a result of this mistrust, French unions remain weaker than in other countries. The French welfare state itself has been created from above and not been justified as a vehicle for redistribution of income across class lines. Lacking corporate channels of representation, citizens resort to demonstrations and strikes to express their protest.”

Thus, when comparisons are made between British and French approaches to resolving industrial disputes, the British approach of conciliation with occasional strikes is different from the French worker massing on the streets of Paris, not because there is a great difference between the French *citoyen* and the British subject, but because the British worker has relatively more politically powerful unions than the Frenchman. Both systems see the state and the citizen coexisting but the *citoyen* exists to a greater extent as part of the body politic while the British citizen acts as an individual within the polity.

Preuss *et al.* (2003) make a further contrast with the French state by considering the situation in Germany. Historically, Germany was a collection of states rather than a single country. This was the result of the “fragmented nature of the Holy Roman Empire ... [which] secured the rights and liberties of a variety of authorities (princes, freetowns, corporations) within the imperial territory, and this tradition of corporate Libertät within a multilayered polity are the roots of corporatist representation in contemporary Germany” (*op.cit.* p.10). Hence the relationship between ‘the state’ and the citizen, as the French or (to a lesser extent) the British might construct it does not apply in Germany. Instead, the:

“German concept of citizenship accepts that citizens shape political decisions not only as part of the sovereign ‘people’ but also as members of particular corporations that represent them in negotiations of pacts with other corporate actors and the state.”

(*ibid.*)

Thus, we may see that even among three of the most powerful states in the European Union there are three different interpretations of citizenship. Inevitably, such differences manifest themselves in different approaches to education (assuming education is intended to prepare children for adult life). Starkey (2000, p.39) contrasts the French and English systems thus:

“Whereas French citizenship education is intended to integrate individuals into a predetermined, existing republican framework, English citizenship education apparently aims to create a new society and a new national identity.”

With the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, “[C]itizenship of the Union [of Europe] was formally established in a legal context in the Community” (Preuss *et al.* 2003, p.5). Before this there were people in Europe who were called Europeans; this was a geographical epithet; the Maastricht Treaty made citizens of Europe (i.e. Europeans) as a political identity. Yet, the French and Germans, at the heart of Europe since the Treaty of Rome in 1957, have different perspectives on Europe / citizenship in their school texts. Soysal (2003, web access) says:

“In German history books, Europe and also the local regions figure prominently, while the nation disappears. This is certainly bound up with the difficulties of Germany’s specific history. But it also reflects a Germany that feels secure in its place within Europe.”

And later:

“In French textbooks, on the other hand, the French nation has much more presence. But, in this case, the French nation, which is historically conceptualised as an abstract and universalistic entity, is equalized with Europe. In other words, Europe becomes French. Since the French system is centralized, this universalistic conceptualisation easily penetrates and dominates every aspect of education. Even though textbook production is privately organized, not by the state, because of the very detailed nature of centralized curricula, one does not find much difference across textbooks published by different commercial companies. The universalistic conceptualisation of France and Europe is present in every textbook.”

(op.cit.)

Thus, we can see that the concepts of citizenship which were attributed to France and Germany by Starkey and Preuss *et al.*, above, are also manifest in their curricula. Germany has never had a strong identity geographically, and its incorporation into a European state is analogous to its position within the Holy Roman Empire pre-1870. France sees the European project as being an extension of itself. This is in contrast to the English citizenship programme of study which states at key stage 3:

“Pupils should be taught about ... the world as a global community, and the political, economic, environmental and social implications of this, and the role of the European Union, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14)

And more precisely at key stage 4:

“Pupils should be taught about ...the United Kingdom's relations in Europe, including the European Union, and relations with the Commonwealth and the United Nations.”

(op.cit. p.15)

The United Kingdom is presented as a separate entity to Europe, and the European Union is listed with the Commonwealth (which has British Overseas Citizens) and the United Nations (which does not have citizens of its own).

Thus it is at least possible that different nations within the European Union have different concepts of citizenship even when they are part of one political system, i.e. a single approach to citizenship does not necessarily reflect the multiple national political systems.

Another area of citizenship education is activity. Merrifield (2001) with reference to Mansbridge (1997) states, “Learning through doing seems to be a key route to active citizenship, although there is little hard evidence” (Merrifield, 2001, web access, unpaginated). It is this concept of active citizenship which has been adopted for the English curriculum. However, in the United States, even though each state has control of its education system, there is a long-standing civics aspect to education (Frazer, 2000, p.95). She, with reference to Hahn (1998), states:

“US citizenship education tends to be delivered in a didactic manner. Both theory and empirical analysis suggest that ‘school ethos’ and ‘classroom climate’ are more powerful predictors of political engagement and political attitudes than is this kind of formal instruction.”

(Frazer, 2000, p.95)

This is not to say that ‘active citizenship’ is not seen as being important within the USA, but that the formal aspects of teaching citizenship are knowledge-based which is in contrast to the experience of citizenship prior to its introduction to the National Curriculum. As will be seen in Chapter 3 this is not the approach being adopted within the English system.

Carole Hahn (1998, p.250), when writing about the British constitution states:

“The citizen’s role in the British political system is to pay taxes, obey laws, serve on juries and in the military when called, and to vote for a member of Parliament and local officials about every four or five years, depending upon when a prime minister calls an election.”

Although Hahn sees this liberal approach to citizenship in Britain, National Curriculum citizenship is predicated upon the ideal of *active citizenship* built upon communitarian, third way thinking. What this section has shown is that citizenship is not a singular concept and that citizenship education should not therefore reflect a singular definition of it. Differing understandings of citizenship are founded upon different conceptions of the way the state and its citizens cooperate and the strength of the ties which bind the two together.

The first question in this research asks how stakeholders in Quaker schools define citizenship. Having established that it has more than one interpretation the next section considers three models of democratic society (liberal, republican and communitarian) which have created modern, multiple concepts of citizenship. These concepts form the foundation for the study.

2.3 Approaches to Citizenship: liberal, republican and communitarian models of society

As we have seen in *The Meanings of Citizenship*, the concept of citizenship may be interpreted in a number of ways. It has different meanings according to one’s political inclination. By being a part of a (democratic) society, one is already aware of a set of beliefs about what is acceptable and unacceptable. Any interpretation of citizenship is therefore subjective and it is difficult to take a third party viewpoint which is truly objective. The approach taken to citizenship presumes a process. One example of this, within which this thesis sits, is that

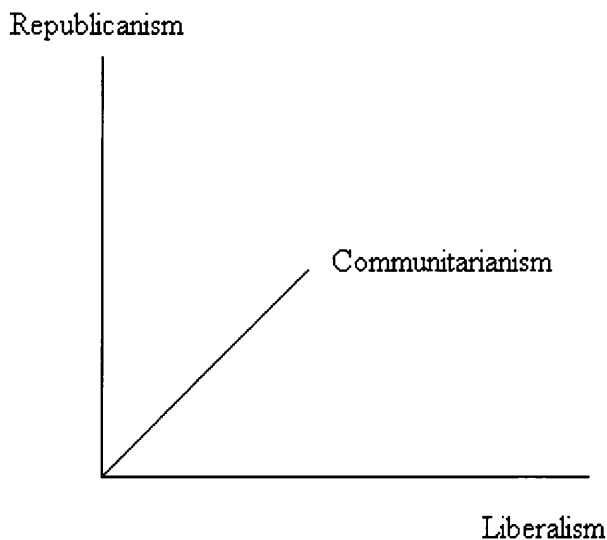
representative democracy is assumed to be an appropriate process for modern society, such as in the UK, where Members of Parliament are elected by the first-past-the-post system to represent local populations, even though they may not represent the political affiliations and leanings of the majority of those populations. The approaches considered here all fit within a democratic template; however this may only serve to demonstrate that democracy, like citizenship, is not as defined as it might at first seem but instead is a wider framework within which different societies might function.

Approaches to citizenship can only be discussed once one has considered the models of society within which citizens might live. What this section will do is consider three models of society, all of which would have members of society called citizens, and within which the state of being a member of society would be called citizenship. They are liberalism, republicanism and communitarianism. These three are not exhaustive, and each could be divided severally, but as major models within what may be called democracy they do represent predominant ideas. Likewise, since the purpose of this section is to establish the multiplicity of forms which democratic societies may take, the authors cited do not necessarily represent the plenitude of the arguments within and between these models. Thus, for liberalism I have chosen Hobbes, Mill and Berlin as being representative, although Hume and Hayek could have established liberalism as a model equally well. Republicanism could have been critiqued using authors such as Paine and Burke but I have chosen Plato, Aristotle, Constant and Rousseau to show the progression from the Greek city-state to the modern French and USA models of society. Finally, the model of communitarianism is represented primarily through Giddens, Janoski and Delanty, particularly in order to demonstrate its values aspect which is apparent in the policy documents in Chapter 3, but mainly to satisfy the requirement of establishing communitarianism as a model separate to both liberalism and republicanism. Other authors such as Rawls and MacIntyre could equally have represented the communitarian model and I would have drawn on their works in detail if this research were a critique of communitarianism and its values rather than questioning the assumption of communitarianism as citizenship *per se*.

Thus, the authors used represent these three models of society to demonstrate the multiplicity of democratic forms.

In the first instance liberalism will be represented here in opposition to republicanism. Strictly speaking, as both are interpretations of democratic theory, they are not antithetical. However, since the debate on citizenship is held within the narrow assumption of democracy, for the purposes of this discussion they will appear to be at odds with each other. Communitarianism, what Tony Blair has called the Third Way, is an approach which seeks to accommodate both of these models but with a moral dimension. For this reason it is considered last of the three: it is not as simple as being placed on a pair of axes with liberalism and republicanism; instead it is as if there were a third dimension upon which it resides. See Figure 1: *The Three Dimensions of Liberalism, Republicanism and Communitarianism*.

Figure 1: The Three Dimensions of Liberalism, Republicanism and Communitarianism



Of these three models of citizenship, republicanism is antithetical to the British constitutional monarchy. Therefore, this chapter, while concluding with an explanation of current communitarianism in practice, assumes there is now a

dichotomy of argument in the modern English context between communitarianism and liberalism.

The narrow context within which this research is placed does not presume to disregard other adjectival forms of citizenship such as the European, global or cosmopolitan. These are variously developed by authors such as Delanty (2002) and Heater (1999), by the European Union, by NGOs such as Oxfam and through arms of government such as the Department for International Development. These other adjectival forms could, in terms of Figure 1 within this research, be located on the communitarian axis. The focus of this chapter, and of the interpreted data in Chapters 6 and 7 for which it partly provides the foundation, is upon the more general adjectival models which the three axes represent, being linked to but not specific concerning other non-state bound interpretations of citizenship.

2.3.1 Liberalism

Liberalism approaches society from the viewpoint of the individual. It is essentially associated with the concept of negative liberty, i.e. the assumption that anything is licit that is not illicit and where freedoms are removed rather than granted. This is in contrast to positive liberty which states which things are licit and within which freedoms are granted. Under liberalism society is founded upon individuals who agree to give up some aspects of freedom in order to maximise others. This is a model of society presented by authors such as Thomas Hobbes in the 17th century, John Stuart Mill in the 19th century, and Isaiah Berlin the 20th century, each of whom will briefly be considered here.

This philosophy of the individual as the foundation of the state is developed by Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century. Prior to the English civil war absolute monarchy by divine right had, since *Magna Carta*, created an essentially feudal system which kept power within the hands of a few landowners and a slowly growing independent middle class (i.e. oligarchy). Hobbes published *De Cive* in 1642 at the start of the civil war: what he was

writing was appropriate for different types of constitutional provision such as the following interregnum, and not only that of the extant and subsequently restored monarchy.

In *De Cive* (trans. 1998) Hobbes' first chapter is 'On the state of man without civil society'. The focus he takes is upon rights and in particular that of liberty:

“For precisely what is meant by the term Right is the liberty each man has of using his natural faculties in accordance with right reason. Therefore the first foundation of natural Right is that each man protect his life and limbs as much as he can.”

(*op.cit.*, p.27)

What makes Hobbes distinct from those writers prior to him, is that he reduces his thinking to first principles, without society and religion. In Plato (1955) for example (see 2.3.2), although the individual is seen as the builder of the state, the state itself is identified in one of four forms (from timarchy, through oligarchy and democracy, to tyranny). Hobbes does not do this. Instead he builds from the atavistic individual. If each person has the right to liberty, then there must also be the right to maintain this liberty:

“But a right to an end is meaningless, if the right to the means necessary to that end is denied; it follows that since each man has the right of self-preservation, he has also the right to use any means and to do any action by which he can preserve himself.”

(Hobbes, 1998, p.27)

But this of itself, without check or balance, is the route to anarchy. Each person is given the right to the means to obtain what is necessary and for self-defence against those who are exercising the same right. There are no laws in this conception of people in the world. There is no society. For Hobbes, resolving this problem, society is a defensive measure where individuals work together for mutual benefit:

“A commonwealth, then, (to define it) is one person, whose will, by the agreement of several men, is to be taken as the will of them all; to make use of their strength and resources for the common peace and defence.”

(*op.cit.* p.73)

So the individual gives up freedom in return for surety within a state or commonwealth.

Thus there is a *quid pro quo* of security for power where the individuals come together, ceding their right of liberty in return for shared safety. These individuals have simultaneously become citizens and subjects (see Rousseau [under 2.32] for a comparison from a republican position). For Hobbes these terms, in effect, become synonymous. He, like Plato, has the state being driven by the citizens within it. The difference between the two is that Hobbes makes plain that the citizens have given up a part of their freedom in order to achieve safety. They are literally subjecting themselves to the will of the whole, i.e. society.

For Hobbes then, liberty is the cornerstone of the individual. In return for ceding some liberty a person becomes a citizen. It is a contract of peace for power. In *Leviathan* (1991, p.70) Hobbes writes on civil obedience thus:

“Desire of Ease, and sensuall Delight, disposeth men to obey a common Power: Because by such Desires, a man doth abandon the protection might be hoped for from his own Industry, and labour.”

(*ibid.*)

However, within the commonwealth Hobbes makes a distinction between a right and a law. He is writing of a difference similar to that Isaiah Berlin termed positive and negative liberty (see p.39):

“I find the words *Lex Civilis*, and *Jus Civile*, that is to say Law and Right Civil, promiscuously used for the same thing, even in the most learned Authors; which neverthelesse ought not to be so. For Right is Liberty, namely

that Liberty which the Civil Law leaves us: But Civill Law is an Obligation; and takes from us the Liberty which the Law of Nature gave us.”

(Hobbes, 1991, p.200)

Hobbes considers that society should be built from the individual and that society exists according to how much and in what way liberty is yielded. Laws work in the opposite direction; with an obligation, or duty, the state informs the citizen how to act. Thus rights have a focus upon the individual while laws have a focus upon society. The citizen, in Hobbes' view, has the freedom to do anything which is not proscribed (this is negative liberty) while laws allow him/her to act within parameters (this is positive liberty).

During the nineteenth century J.S. Mill was writing of the disillusionment of the citizen with the state. The state is an imperfect system which fails to take account of all of its members. Mill (1990, p.1107) had a strongly liberal view; he criticises government thus:

“It was now perceived that such phrases as ‘self-government’, and ‘the power of the people over themselves’, do not express the true state of the case. The ‘people’ who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised; and the ‘self-government’ spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest.”

(*ibid.*)

Here the power of government limits individuals in the control of their own lives. For Mill the state has become bigger than the (Hobbesian) system created by individuals for their mutual benefit. For him, an individual approach to society is best although the manner of his writing suggests that it is a philosophical desire:

“Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.”

(*op.cit.* p.1113)

The reciprocity of state and individual present within Hobbes, having been lost by Mill, is rekindled a century later in greater depth. Berlin (1969) makes the distinction between negative and positive liberty. Negative liberty is that espoused by Hobbes and Mill, (i.e. freedom from), while positive liberty is an allowance to do something (i.e. freedom to). Berlin (*op.cit.* p.122) explains negative liberty thus:

“I am normally said to be free to the degree to which no man or body of men interferes with my activity. Political liberty in this sense is simply the area within which a man can act unobstructed. If I am prevented by others from doing what I could otherwise do, I am to that degree unfree; and if this area is contracted by other men beyond a certain minimum, I can be described as being coerced, or, it may be, enslaved.”

So from the aspect of negative liberty Berlin accepts that society can impinge upon one’s liberty but that it is a question of how much one loses before a reasonable freedom fails.

Positive liberty is not the opposite of negative liberty (since both are liberties). Instead, it is the freedom to do something, i.e. what one is allowed to do:

“The ‘positive’ sense of the word ‘liberty’ derives from the wish on the part of the individual to be his own master. I wish my life and decisions to depend on myself, not on external forces of whatever kind. I wish to be the instrument of my own, not of other men’s acts of will. I wish to be a subject, not an object; to be moved by reasons, by conscious purposes, which are my own, not by causes which affect me, as it were, from outside.”

(*op.cit.* p.131)

Berlin extends this, developing the concept of the ‘real self’ which is central to his understanding of positive liberty:

“the real self may be conceived as something wider than the individual (as the term is normally understood), as a social ‘whole’ of which, by imposing its

collective, or 'organic', single will upon its recalcitrant 'members', achieves its own, and therefore their, 'higher' freedom.”

(op.cit. p.132)

Thus positive liberty, as Berlin perceives it, while expounding the idea that the individual is at the centre, has a balance in the form of the social whole. An individual is limited by the collective which is society. So we have freedom to act by the individual being limited by the greater good. Here we see the distinction most clearly between negative and positive views of liberty. Positive liberty is much more to do with rights than with freedoms. Rights accorded to an individual allow free action within bounds determined by a higher authority such as government/legislature.

It is at this point we may consider the position of republicanism, in contrast to liberalism/negative liberty, to see how close it comes to Berlin's conception of positive liberty.

2.3.2 Republicanism

The first republics were in Greece. Plato's Republic (trans. 1955) sets out his vision of what an ideal state might be. It is however a theoretical construct, based upon and reacting against the existing C4th BC Athenian model of the state. What, for the purpose of this argument, puts Plato's vision of society antagonistic to that of Hobbes' and the other liberals, is the assumption of the state in the first instance. Where Hobbes starts from the atavistic individual, republicans begin with the framework of the state, locating people in relation to it subsequently.

Plato's (1955, p.314) Socratic dialectic starts with rights and justice in the state and later moves to individuals, "We began our discussion of moral qualities by examining them in society before we examined them in the individual, because it made for greater clarity". Thus the examination of the state is made because it is a mirror of the citizens within it. It is not that Plato does not see the

weakness of starting with society as a model. Indeed this is developed in the Republic where the discussion is on imperfect societies:

“Societies aren’t made of sticks and stones, but of men whose individual characters, by turning the scale one way or another, determine the direction of the whole.”

(*ibid.*)

Thus Plato acknowledges that the citizen is an active creator of society. Yet through the dialectic of the Republic, the Socratic argument is constructed from the perspective of an order of society created to encompass its citizens and is therefore, in the case of this study a republican viewpoint.

More extreme is Aristotle’s teleological vision of society. For him the state is *ipso facto* a good thing. For example he says, “It follows that the state belongs to the class of objects which exist by nature, and that man is by nature a political animal” (Aristotle, 1981, p.59). The term political is here used in its original form from ‘πολις’, the Greek city-state, which is essentially small in its number of citizens, allowing for direct democracy. Hence Aristotle defines the citizen by “his participation in giving judgement and in holding office” (*op.cit.* p.169). At this time (C4th BC) the need for representative democracy does not exist; the number of the populace, partly on account of the qualification for those counted as citizens, is small enough for potentially equal participation. So, for important questions a plebiscite could be organised. An example of such a participatory role of the citizen was the annual choice of the demos on ostracism (from 507BC). Every member of the Assembly was entitled to cast his potsherd inscribed with the name of the citizen he considered the most powerful in the *polis*, with the intent of exiling him for ten years. The individual with the greatest vote was exiled so that the democracy was safe from tyranny. After the decade the exile was entitled to return with all lands and citizen rights restored (Forsdyke, 2000).

Benjamin Constant (1988), writing in the early 19th century, expands the reasoning behind this. For him, classical republicans yielded their private selves in order to maximise their citizen selves. The corollary of this was that, once the self was subjugated to the state, any citizen could be ostracised or worse:

“As a citizen, he decided on peace and war; as a private individual, he was constrained, watched and repressed in all his movements; as a member of the collective body, he interrogated, dismissed, condemned, beggared, exiled, or sentenced to death his magistrates and superiors; as a subject of the collective body he could himself be deprived of his status, stripped of his privileges, banished, put to death, by the discretionary will of the whole to which he belonged.”

(op.cit. pp.311-312)

The Greek form of republicanism has not continued into the present. While England had a republic during the Cromwellian interregnum, it did not last. By contrast France and the USA have enduring republics. Neither of these has functioned along the lines of an ancient republic. The French and American systems are founded upon written constitutions which state the boundaries within which members of the state are allowed to conduct their business. The roots of such written constitutions are found in Rousseau, stereotypically Swiss perhaps, in that he foresees a system for orderly government:

“In order then that the social compact may not be an empty formula, it tacitly includes the undertaking, which alone can give force to the rest, that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be compelled to do so by the whole body. This means nothing less than that he will be forced to be free; for this is the condition which, by giving each citizen to his country, secures him against all personal dependence. In this lies the key to the working of the political machine; this alone legitimises civil undertakings, which, without it, would be absurd, tyrannical, and liable to the most frightful abuses.”

(Rousseau [1754] 1913, 1.7)

The comparison here is with Berlin's positive liberty. Although Rousseau and Berlin are starting from disparate points their endpoints are similar. However, they are not the same. The compulsion within Rousseau, that the individual will be forced to be free, is the very antithesis of freedom in that it is the state which accords freedom to the individual. For Berlin, the focus is opposite; the individual chooses to be a part of the collective, enhancing individual freedom, not coerced by the state structure to inhabit a designed freedom.

By contrast, a Frenchman, de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* (1835) was writing about the republic of the USA, founded upon a written constitution but with a different focus to the role of the person in society:

“In the nations by which the sovereignty of the people is recognized, every individual has an equal share of power and participates equally in the government of the state... He obeys society, not because he is inferior to those who conduct it or because he is less capable than any other of governing himself, but because he acknowledges the utility of an association with his fellow men and he knows that no such association can exist without a regulating force.”

(op.cit. Vol.1, ch.5)

He continues, explaining that the freedom he would promote is negative (i.e. freedom from oppression) and much more in line with Berlin's philosophy:

“[The individual] is a subject in all that concerns the duties of citizens to each other; he is free and responsible to God alone, for all that concerns himself. Hence arises the maxim, that everyone is the best and sole judge of his own private interest, and that society has no right to control a man's actions unless they are prejudicial to the common weal or unless the common weal demands his help. This doctrine is universally admitted in the United States.”

(ibid.)

This is not to say that Benjamin Constant did not acknowledge the freedom which a republic offered its citizens. On the contrary, he was aware that the

balance between the regulation of the state and the right of freedom for any individual within it was difficult to achieve. He saw this demonstrated in the comparison between the ancient (i.e. Greek and Roman) and modern state.

“The danger of ancient liberty was that men, exclusively concerned with securing their share of social power, might attach too little value to individual rights and enjoyments.

“The danger of modern liberty is that, absorbed in the enjoyment of our private independence, and in the pursuit of our particular interests, we should surrender our right to share in political power too easily.”

(Constant, 1988, p.326)

In the modern period, these two approaches, liberal and republican, have shown the distinction between societies such as Britain and France. This is most marked in the difference between the constitutions; that Britain’s is disparate and largely unwritten, based on the principle that any member of society is free unless there are reasons against him/her being so; that France’s is a written constitution stating the bounds within which an individual’s freedom is set.

What links these political systems is that they are both representative democracies. In this respect modern republicanism least resembles its ancient roots. The modern citizen, in a representative democracy, has almost none of the direct power which de Tocqueville observed in nineteenth century USA. The greatness of population reduces the worth of any individual lot cast. However, as much as the political power of the citizen has been reduced, the individual’s independence as a person removed from the state has increased. Constant (1988, p.313), writing about French democracy, acknowledges this, although he does not use the term liberalism to describe the direction Gallic republicanism was taking in the nineteenth century:

“The exercise of political rights, therefore, offers us but a part of the pleasures that the ancients found in it, while at the same time the progress of civilization, the commercial tendency of the age, the communication amongst peoples, have infinitely multiplied and varied the means of personal happiness.

“It follows that we must be far more attached than the ancients to our individual independence. For the ancients when they sacrificed that independence to their political rights, sacrificed less to obtain more; while in making the same sacrifice, we would give more to obtain less.”

Berlin’s concept of positive liberty, with the individual at the centre but with a balance in the form of the social whole is not antithetical to Constant’s view of the liberalisation of republicanism. However, while the shapes of the societies built from liberal and republican foundations may not now be dissimilar, the routes by which they have approached the beginning of the 21st century reflect the differences between constitutional monarchy and republicanism; while the ends of the two models would seem to be common the means are philosophically quite different.

This leads us to a consideration of a third way (indeed, politically in Britain, ‘The Third Way’ – Giddens, 1998). It does not directly hold the middle ground between liberalism and republicanism, but takes from both while moving in its own direction. It is referred to here as communitarianism.

2.3.3 Communitarianism

Anthony Giddens (1998, 1999, a, b) has written about the Third Way. It is a type of communitarianism but with specific fiscal and social implications for the development of society as well as the impetus of exhorting the populace to be politically active. This approach is moralistic in contrast to liberalism but with links to republicanism. It is a philosophy adopted by New Labour in Britain and by the Social Democrats in Germany (New Centre). Giddens (1999b, web access) states:

“Third way politics is not an attempt to find a way between free market political philosophy and traditional socialism. It is an endeavour to find a way beyond both of them and to create a decent society in a world where the old policies have lapsed or proved inadequate.”

(ibid.)

Liberalism, in theory, promotes an economic climate conducive to free-market capitalism, the individual being free to conduct business while not transgressing the law. Classical republicanism inclines towards centralisation and a command economy. Modern republicanism provides an environment for capitalism while retaining some protectionist policies. During the C20th the socialist states exhibited economies closest to the republican model. Historically liberal (e.g. Britain) and modern republican (e.g. the USA and France) countries, which as the previous section explained, have reached a similar endpoint from different beginnings, represent a balance of free-market and command economics. Third way theory attempts to develop this balance, incorporating a moral understanding. This hybrid approach is intended to allow the market to function while the state supports a limited command economy. Meanwhile the state retains a social welfare function to develop society for a *better* future (Blair/Schröder, 1999). It is this social welfare function that forms the focus of communitarian citizenship and which is stressed in this thesis, since contemporary free markets with limited command economies and trade barriers are already found within both republican and liberal societies.

A distinction between liberal/republican approaches and that of communitarianism is that society is perceived as the way its inhabitants behave. In communitarianism the community is society; in this respect, it takes a local conception, extending it to national and, possibly, international levels. It covers regional devolution within the United Kingdom and the extension of belonging to the European Union (a communitarian creation compared to the European Community pre-Maastricht) with its own regional devolution. Article B of the Maastricht Treaty (1992), states that the EU is set up:

“to promote economic and social progress which is balanced and sustainable, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion and through the establishment of economic and monetary union, ultimately including a single currency in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty.”

(Europa, 2004, web access)

The communitarian notion of how the individual relates to society, being acted upon by the state (taxation, laws) for moralistic reasons, is quite different from the two models against which this is contrasted. Liberalism and republicanism are societal constructs which have laws as a necessity for the maintenance of a fair state; communitarianism would maintain a fair state because the state is itself a good thing.

Janoski (1998, p.20) develops the concept of the Third Way under the term 'expansive democracy', saying that "it deals with an expansion of rights, especially of individual and organisational rights concerning people who have been discriminated against including most class, gender and ethnic groups". Instead of focusing on rights for all citizens, the presumption is that the interest should be on the rights of those who suffer discrimination rather than the rights of everyone. It is a moral presumption which has links to John Rawls (1999, p.266) and his idea of building a 'fair' society from the bottom up. This is demonstrated by his Second Priority Rule:

"[A]n inequality of opportunity must enhance the opportunities of those with the lesser opportunity."

(ibid.)

This presumes that it is morally correct to treat people unequally because it is beneficial to society in certain circumstances. Instead of treating everyone equally, thereby removing injustice, Rawls would promote positive discrimination in order to redress societal balances. Liberalism and republicanism are amoral in concept – the individual may be treated fairly, treated the same way as every other individual – built on the precept of equality as a pragmatic precondition. In communitarianism action to redress societal imbalance is a moral consideration rather than a practical foundation of the state.

Along with the moral aspect of the Third Way there is a presumption of participation in society. While in liberal and republican societies there may be a necessity or even compulsion to be active in society at least to a minimum extent

to survive, in the communitarian perspective participation is a moral duty. Delanty (2002, pp.165-6), who is writing about civic republicanism, a form of communitarianism, says that:

“the value of civil society is not its ability to overcome conflicts but to promote values of trust, commitment and solidarity, values which allow democracy to flourish... [S]ocial responsibility primarily falls firmly on the shoulders of civil society rather than on the state, which can function only if civil society already speaks with one voice.”

Delanty continues, remarking that communitarianism was:

“central to the political rhetoric of the British Labour Party in the historic election campaign in 1997 when the terms ‘nation’ and ‘society’ became interchangeable. The appeal to trust and solidarity as particularly British civic values allowed the Labour Party to take over the Conservative Party’s previous monopoly of the discourse of the nation. Thus what had been a nationalist populist rhetoric – focused on traditional nationalism: war, heritage, the cultural mystique of Englishness – became a communitarian discourse.”

(op.cit.. p.166)

The political changes of representation which New Labour has brought into the British electoral system (such as devolution to Scotland and Wales, and direct elections for some city mayors, as well as regional, non-democratic, devolution within England, e.g. regional assemblies), might reflect what Warren (1992, p.9) writes concerning expansive democracy: that it argues for “increased participation in and control over collective decision-making, whether by means of direct democracy in small scale settings, or through stronger linkages between citizen and institutions that operate on broader scales”. In Third Way thinking, whether these changes in Britain have actually increased participation or power for citizens over their own environments is inconsequential, since it is the intention which is important, allowing the opportunity even if the reality might not match the theory. A comparison may be made with universal enfranchisement not providing the power to the ordinary voter which those who

gained the right might have thought it would. It was still morally correct to offer the franchise even if in doing so the franchise was itself diluted by the increase in potential voters, and thus devalued.

One of the major constitutional reforms intended by the New Labour government of 1997 was the further reform of the composition of the House of Lords (last reformed by the Parliament Act of 1911 under Asquith), since the Lords as a second, revising chamber, was not a body representative of the people. However the changes which have taken place, which have not made it representative (i.e. reduction in hereditary peers and increase in appointment of life peers), may be justified in Third Way logic because it is supposed to be morally superior to remove an unjust system of appointment (heredity) and not to replace it with a better system, than it is to leave it untouched; i.e. reduction of unfairness is a step in the direction of increased fairness. This same logic does not presume that there is a better system provided to replace what has been removed; the direction of movement is towards solidarity and is therefore in keeping with Third Way theory. Likewise, we see in the Scottish parliament a unicameral creation without the concerns of (lack of) representation in a reforming chamber. Although this limits the effectiveness of the parliament as a legislative body, lacking the process of revision through a second chamber, which Westminster retains, it may have greater solidarity than its London counterpart, so conforming to communitarianism.

Thus we see that communitarianism, in the guise of the Third Way, is a development of Rousseau's republicanism with an emphasis upon moral obligation towards solidarity of the community at whatever level it functions.

Giddens (2004, web access) takes this assumption of solidarity to the extreme of saying that rights and responsibilities not only are linked, but that they should be reciprocal:

“The aim of third way politics is to help people negotiate the revolutions of our time – globalisation, transformations in personal life and institutions, and

our relationship to nature. A fundamental feature of the new social contract pioneered in third way politics is ‘no rights without responsibilities’.”

This is a situation that is separate to liberalism and republicanism. In these two there is an obligation to take part in society but rights are not tied to responsibilities. Even members of society who do not follow its laws retain some rights. In contrast to this, Ken Livingstone (1998), reviewing Giddens’ *The Third Way* (1998) observes:

“Rights and responsibilities are something Third Wayers are big on. I didn’t realise how big until I read this book. For Giddens, ‘one might suggest as a prime motto for the new politics, no rights without responsibilities.’ This is a cloak for social authoritarianism. Rights are not conditional, they are absolute, or they are not rights at all.”

(Livingstone, 1998)

There is a distinction between the vision of society dominant among communitarians and the liberal/republican dynamic: community action is *assumed to be a part of citizenship*. This is in contrast to the *opportunity* to enter into community action which the other two ‘ways’ offer.

Indeed, in July 2005, a green paper was published (Youth Matters, DfES, 2005) in which youths would use an ‘opportunity card’ which could be credited for public amenities such as leisure centres and some high street shops, i.e. for activities which are deemed as being behaviourally positive (DfES, 2005, p.27). Credit upon these cards would be created by one of two methods, privately or through the state. The state would credit the cards of those in the poorest families monthly. However, “[a]dditional top-ups for opportunity cards could also be used to incentivise young people and reward them for:

- volunteering or contributing to their communities;
- achieving excellence, for example in attendance or attainment at school or college; or

- reaching milestones in improving their situation.”

(*op.cit.*, pp.28-29)

This would mean that for taking part in activities which should already be fulfilling, young people would be paid. It is a long way from the civic virtues which were advocated in the Crick Report (AGC, 1998, p.10). This would be payment in credit for doing ‘voluntary’ acts, thereby removing the voluntarism from them.

This proposal for a reward card has a negative side too. Following Giddens’ (1998 – see above) idea that there should be no rights without responsibilities, the Green Paper (DfES, 2005, p.30) reserves the option of removing these cards from ‘bad’ citizens:

“Increased opportunities do not come for free. They have to be paid for – by parents as well as local and central government. We therefore expect young people to respect the opportunities made available to them and their increased say in shaping services. We will therefore not top up the opportunity cards of young people engaging in unacceptable behaviour, especially any form of anti-social or criminal behaviour, or abusing the opportunities and services provided. In these circumstances, we believe that Local Authorities should withdraw or suspend use of the card.”

(*ibid.*)

The card, as an ‘Opportunity Card’ is well-named. It is not an entitlement card because it is not associated with rights as such. However, if all young people in the country are to be given one of these, holding one does, in effect, become a right, as much as one’s liberty is a right until one commits a crime.

Communitarian logic would accord with this because the end (community action) is justifiable by its means (payment) and therefore withdrawal of payment is seen as a reasonable incentive to act responsibly. While it may be more desirable to have community action on a purely voluntary basis, community action with reward is better than none at all. A comparison may be made with

the revision of the House of Lords (see above) where the direction of revision was communitarian even if the outcome was not an improvement in terms of effectiveness.

Communitarianism is the basis of the political understanding of the New Labour government which gained power in 1997 and has continued into the early years of the twenty-first century. It is a theory which assumes political power is indivisible from social connectedness and participation. With the introduction of National Curriculum citizenship (DfEE/QCA, 1999) under this communitarian administration, it seems possible that the curriculum has been influenced by communitarian thinking with an emphasis upon *active* citizenship.

In simplistic summary, republicanism invests power in the state with positive liberty for the individual, while liberalism does so with negative liberty. For both, the state should have the least power invested in it to be effective. Contrastingly, communitarianism accords positive liberty to the individual and invests power in the state because the state is, *de facto*, a 'good thing', carrying with it a moral dimension.

While all three of these models are within the democratic mould, communitarianism and liberalism in twenty-first century Britain represent polarities. Republicanism, as has been alluded to here in France and the USA, is not compatible with the British constitutional monarchy. It is not therefore a model which could be taught as reflecting British society. None of these three does absolutely. From a pedagogical point of view it might be appropriate to teach *about* all three of these in order to let the citizens of the next generation choose for themselves. However, for the purpose of this research, because they are compatible with a constitutional monarchy, citizenship education will be considered dichotomously as being contested between liberalism and communitarianism.

Having explained the multiplicity of citizenship and thereby having demonstrated that citizenship education promoting just one form of citizenship would fail in the object of learning about citizenship in general, the next chapter

presents a review of research into citizenship education, comparing it with the National Curriculum Order and tracing how the concept of citizenship developed in terms of the politics of the day.

Chapter 3, Citizenship Education Research **and the National Curriculum**

Hiero the Syracusan... abolished the old soldiery, organized the new, gave up old alliances, made new ones; and as he had his own soldiers and allies, on such foundations he was able to build any edifice: thus, whilst he had endured much trouble in acquiring, he had but little in keeping.

(Machiavelli, 1993, p.45)

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3, like the one preceding it, is in two parts. The first, *Research into Citizenship*, reviews recent international and English research in citizenship education. Following this is *National Curriculum Citizenship: why, what kind and how it is being promoted*. This brings together the three strands from Chapter 2 and *Research into Citizenship* in this chapter, explaining the perceived need for a citizenship curriculum, its development through to the National Curriculum Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999), and how it is being promoted in schools since 2002.

3.2 Research into Citizenship Education

Building on the background to citizenship in the previous chapter, what follows brings together recent international and English research. This leads to the current orthodoxy which is citizenship within a communitarian framework as presented through research in England. Subsequent to this, National Curriculum Citizenship is examined in light of the history of its development and the context of its present situation. The political orientation of the curriculum and the values present within it are also considered.

Recent research into citizenship has been produced via several routes. There have been international studies (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Hahn, 1998) which have included England (Kerr *et al.*, 2002; Whiteley, 2005); national studies have been undertaken by various authorities, including the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER, 2005), Community Service Volunteers (e.g. CSV, 2004), Ofsted (e.g. Ofsted, 2005a) and Haste (2005); finally there has been meta-research, compiling previous research in areas related to but not necessarily referred to as citizenship because much of it was conducted before the subject became compulsory in English schools (Deakin Crick *et al.* 2004 and 2005).

3.2.1 International Research – Torney-Purta, Kerr *et al.*, Whiteley, Hahn

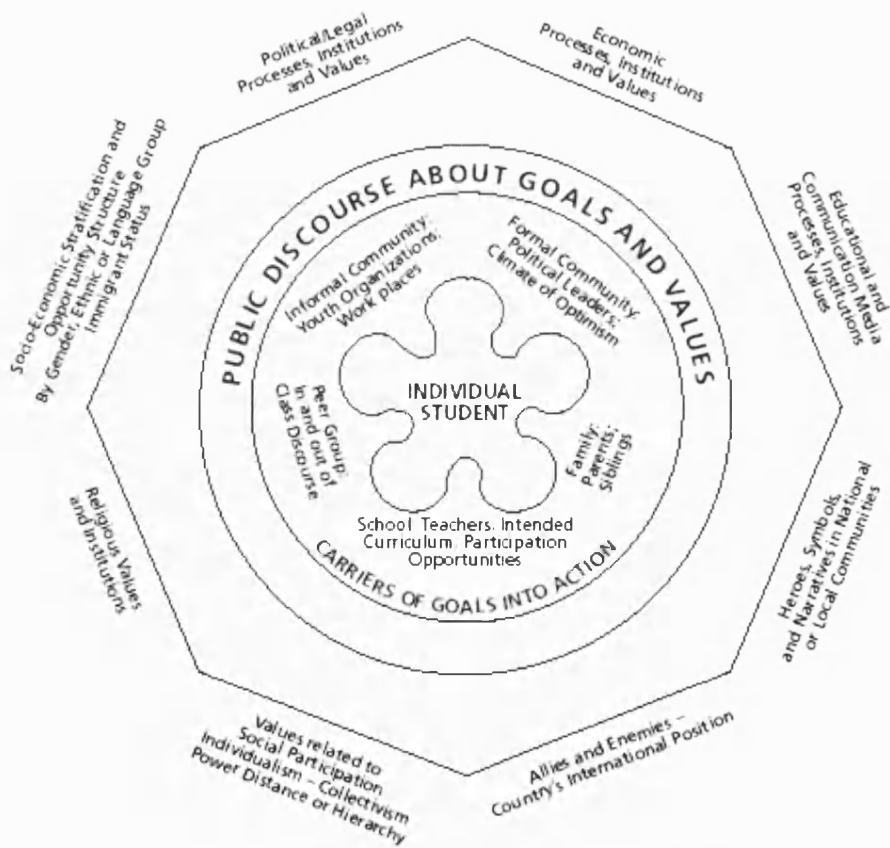
The IEA Civic Education Study (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001) is based on a cohort of fourteen-year-olds in 28 countries. The study itself sets the research background as being one where countries in the 1980s and 1990s, both emerging and extant democracies, were (re)considering how to prepare young people for citizenship (*op.cit.* p.12). Acknowledgement is made that young people seemed disinterested in participating in established fora for political action but were organising themselves (or being organised) in a different way:

“A global youth culture was intensifying in its importance and nurturing common aspirations for freedom along with shared consumer tastes. Environmental organizations and human rights groups often involved youth on an equal footing with adults and seemed poised to replace more hierarchically organized political groups such as political parties. An enhanced emphasis on individual choice challenged long-standing views of youth as passive recipients of lessons from their elders. Young people could be seen as active constructors of their own ideas, as people whose everyday experiences in their homes, schools and communities influenced their sense of citizenship.”

(Torney-Purta *et al.* 2001, p.12)

A model (known as the Octagon, see Figure 2 below) was developed to visualize the “ways in which the everyday lives of young people in homes, with peers and at school serve as a ‘nested’ context for young people’s thinking and action in the social and political environment” (*op.cit.* p.20). It was rooted “in two contemporary psychological theories – ecological development (Bronfenbrenner, 1988) and situated cognition (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998)” (Torney-Purta, 2001, p.20). The individual is perceived as interacting with many agents of socialisation, of which formal schooling is only one.

Figure 2: Model for IEA Civic Education Study



(Torney-Purta *et al.* 2001, p.21)

The IEA research was developed to consider civic education cross-nationally. The emphasis was upon schooling and was therefore focused upon but one socialising agent when the model admitted many. In particular, there were twelve, policy related questions central to the research:

1. *What is the status of citizenship education as an explicit goal for schools?*
2. *To what extent is there agreement among nations about priorities within formal civic education?*
3. *Around what instructional principles and through what courses are formal programs of civic education organized?*
4. *To what extent does formal education deal with civic identity development in students?*
5. *To what extent is civic education intended to contribute to the resolution of conflicts and tensions between societal groups?*
6. *How do students define and understand the concept of citizenship and related issues?*
7. *For what rights and responsibilities of participation are students being prepared in their own political system or society?*
8. *Do male and female students develop different conceptions of citizenship, and do they develop different potential roles in the political process?*
9. *Are there socioeconomic differences in students' understanding of or attitudes to civic-related topics or in the way their civic education is structured?*
10. *How do teachers deal with civic education in their teaching, and what is the influence of different types of classroom practices?*
11. *How well does the education of teachers prepare them to deal with the different facets of civic education?*
12. *How does the way in which schools are organized influence students' civic education?*

(op.cit. pp.22-25)

With such an emphasis upon schooling as these questions presume, there is a presumption of instrumental pedagogy behind the IEA research. It acknowledges (*op.cit. p.12*) that young people *are* already choosing the way they want to participate in society and that states are considering how to train pupils to participate 'appropriately' since the ways they have chosen are either not the ways education promotes or those the states would wish them to promote.

Page 25 of the IEA report states that the

“study is intended to inform and stimulate discussion among policy-makers, curriculum developers, teachers, teacher educators, researchers and the general public. The study does not, however, try to identify a single best definition of citizenship or advocate a particular approach to civic education. Rather it tries to deepen the understanding of possibilities and practices in civic education as it takes place in different contexts.”

(*ibid.*)

While this aim seems general, the research assumes a need for more citizenship education; thereby narrowing it. Returning to page 12, where the background rationale for the research was explained, there is a set of questions orientated towards better and more citizenship education both in schools and other contexts.

“In light of these factors, questions were asked regarding the direction that should be taken in order to *enhance the contribution of schools* to citizenship. Should the emphasis be on teaching factual information about the country and its structure of government? Should it be instead on making young people aware of political issues or interested in news provided by the mass media? Should they be encouraged to join explicitly political organizations, such as parties? Or should the emphasis be on providing opportunities for involvement in environmental organizations, or groups providing assistance to the community, or school councils? And how could community support be gained for programs that would provide *more rigorous study of citizenship* within schools and *more opportunities for the practice of civic education* outside schools?”

(*ibid.* my emphasis)

These questions are particularly appropriate and timely for citizenship education in England. When the IEA research data were being collected (pre-1999) there was no formal citizenship provision in English schools. The first phase of the IEA research was carried out in 1994, while the AGC Crick Report (1998) and the curriculum Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) were published before the IEA published the results of the full survey in 2001. Thus, the findings of the IEA

research record the situation of fourteen-year-olds in English schools prior to compulsory formal citizenship education.

Among the findings of the IEA research were that English pupils had above average interpretive skills and below average civic knowledge, and that “the most powerful predictors of total civic knowledge in all the countries” (Whiteley, 2005, p.23) were home educational resources and expectations of the number of years in higher education. This point is recurrent in other work (see later).

Kerr *et al.* (2002) prepared a report for NFER, based upon the IEA data, looking specifically at the English context. Part of the original impetus for the IEA research, that a new political culture was developing among younger generations, is reinforced:

“[T]here is some evidence that the attitudes and beliefs of young people in the study to the concepts of democracy, citizenship and government fit with the notion of the growth of a ‘**new civic culture**’. This ‘new’ culture is characterised by less hierarchy and more individual decision-making. The generation of young people represented by the study’s 14-year-olds, including those in England, is gravitating increasingly to actions linked to more informal social-movement groups rather than those linked to more formal conventional political parties and groupings. Young people also show much less interest in political parties, as well as in discussing political issues.”

(Kerr *et al.*, 2002, p.ii)

The research was rigorously conducted. However, the data are skewed towards an instrumental pedagogy. Thus, when pupils were asked about the concept of citizenship, they were asked to rank answers on an attitudinal scale. For example, when considering conventional citizenship (i.e. what the pupils thought it was) there were six questions to be marked ‘Not important’ to ‘Very important’. They were:

How important is it that a good adult citizen...?

- Votes in every election
- Shows respect for government representatives
- Follows political issues in newspapers, on the radio or on TV
- Knows about the country's history
- Engages in political discussions
- Joins a political party

(*op.cit.* p.57)

What is proposed by these questions is that there is a concept of **good** (active) citizenship rather than just citizenship. It assumes that if one does not do something which is good, then one is a **bad** citizen. Thus, the concept of citizenship being proposed is value-laden. It is inevitable that in any piece of research there will be assumptions made, but in this case, the assumption is that *conventional citizenship* is one that is value-laden – i.e. communitarian.

The Likert scale Kerr *et al.* (2002, p.57, above) used, having an even number of choices, did not use a box to say that a question was neither important nor unimportant. This answer might have been indicative of the liberal perspective not considered by their research.

Finally:

“Young people also show much less interest in political parties, as well as in discussing political issues. This possible shift in ‘civic culture’ is reflected in a distrust of political parties and, to a lesser extent, government.”

(*op.cit.* p.64)

Although there is no direct value orientation to these two sentences, they come soon after the value judgement above. Thus, distrust of political parties and government might reflect that “students in England scored significantly higher than the international average on the sub-scale ‘interpretative skills’, but they scored significantly below the average on the sub-scale ‘content knowledge’” (*ibid.* p.21). If pupils are more able to interpret political ‘spin’, it might well

follow that they would be disinterested if they lack trust in those governing them. Instrumental pedagogy would seek to reform pupils, rather than work with them to help reform the system which they distrust.

Whiteley's work (2005) is notionally a political science literature review for the NFER longitudinal study (see below). However, it takes as its basis for civic education and engagement the IEA study. Based on the findings of the IEA research Whiteley makes an argument for civic education to address the apparent paradox that with greater education provision there is a reduction in formal civic engagement. In particular, the area which shows least interaction is engagement through organised political routes, while non-organised, activist routes increase with greater education provision (Whiteley, 2005, p.51). Thus, people who come from families with aspirations to higher levels of education, would seem to choose to participate in ways they find most efficacious, spurning those routes which seem ineffective.

As Whiteley points out:

“This means that organisations mediate the relationship between the predictor variables and engagement in all of these models.”

(ibid.)

While this is a reasonable finding, the argument which he draws from it is that it is therefore necessary to use citizenship education to persuade people to participate through organised forms of political engagement (rather than helping them reform the organisations so that citizens find participation efficacious and appealing).

“Citizenship education appears to have a direct impact on these rather different forms of participation [organised and non-organised], even when many other factors are taken into account. This strongly suggests that once the core curriculum is fully in place and becomes a regular and accepted part of the education in Britain's schools, it is likely to strengthen civil society in the long run.”

(*ibid.*)

And so, the argument developed is that, because people who become more politically aware are choosing to eschew (ineffective) organised participation in favour of non-organised activism, the role of citizenship education should be to persuade citizens towards valuing organised routes in order to strengthen society. This could lead to 'authoritarian' citizenship rather than a version which values the sensibilities of the populace and helps them to alter organised routes for participation so that they are effective, thus promoting democratic involvement.

Hahn (1998) carried out comparative research on the citizenship perspectives of young people in England, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States. Her research data were collected in the 1990s before National Curriculum citizenship; she found that voting intentions in England were the second lowest of the five countries (ahead of the Netherlands). She contends that the attitudes of students are related to national political systems (see Preuss *et al.* (2003) in Chapter 2). English students see politics as being adversarial because that is the system they see being practised at Westminster. They have low voting intentions because they appreciate the limited worth of their votes in a first-past-the-post system. By contrast, Danish students have high voting intentions because their political system is one of proportional representation (1998, p.254) within which their votes are likely to have greater worth. Correspondingly, she finds that students in the UK and USA were the most likely of the five countries to write to their local representatives (*op.cit.* p.80); in those two countries their representatives are voted in locally. This is not the case in the other three. It seems that Hahn is suggesting that students are more aware of the political systems to which they will contribute than one might have thought.

As a non-British researcher Hahn is in a position to consider the different systems within British education without the assumptions which can cloud the thinking of observers within it. One of the points she makes is that there is a distinction between the attitudes of pupils towards political activity at state

maintained and independent schools. This is a recurrent point in her book. On voting intentions she writes:

“The interesting, but not surprising, finding in England was that once again there was a distinction between state school students and Public School students. Whereas 83 per cent of Public School students said they would very likely vote in general elections, only 58 per cent of the state school students said they were very likely to do so. The difference is masked by the 66 per cent reported for the total sample in England.”

(Hahn, 1998, p.79)

Independent school pupils felt a greater political efficacy than their state school counterparts. This may have something to do with the existing ethos of the schools they attend or is linked to the finding (see Torney-Purta *et al.* 2001 and Whiteley, 2005 above) that these children have home environments which are more conducive to politically efficacious attitudes (e.g. number of books in the house). Either way, these students seem to have been politically aware and motivated before 2002 and the introduction of the National Curriculum for citizenship.

This links with the import of Bernard Crick, during a radio discussion (Moral Maze, 1998), who was expressing that his work on the AGC committee was aimed primarily at state education, since independent schools were already providing an environment in which to learn citizenship skills.

“[I]nvolved in citizenship is skills: whether kids can express themselves well; whether they can stop and listen when someone else is putting an argument. Not merely skills on paper, you know, the basics, literacy, numeracy, but also skills in expression... My remit is to advise maintained schools. But I must say, often the independent schools are much better at the verbal skills of expression; however much they go on about basics and fundamentals, there is something in the culture of those schools that makes them better at verbal expression. We want to get that into the main schools.”

(Moral Maze, 23/03/98)

Another point Hahn makes concerning independent school pupils is their reluctance to participate in non-organised political activity while being keen to vote. This would accord with the intentions behind the National Curriculum (AGC, 1998, p.8; NFER, 2005, p.56) to promote the use of organised systems. She writes:

“Responses were different, however, at the British Public School, where all of the students told me they expected to vote and said that people like them and their families could influence public policy... When I asked if they might demonstrate or join an interest group, two student responses were typical of others at their Public School. The demonstrators ‘go over the top’ and demonstrating is ‘not a done thing’ (6/9/95).”

(Hahn, 1998, p.44)

Independent schools were apparently already providing something akin to citizenship education implicitly before the introduction of the Order in 2002.

3.2.2 National Research – NFER, CSV, Ofsted, QCA, Haste, EPPI

This section reviews six sets of research being undertaken within the English, national context. They representing the major reports since the introduction of the Order to schools in 2002, reflecting evaluations funded:

- by the government (NFER, Ofsted, QCA),
- jointly by the government and other agencies (CSV, Haste)
- through universities (EPPI – this is meta-research)

The foci for these pieces of research also fall into three groups, i.e. those:

- evaluating how the curriculum is being delivered (NFER, CSV)
- reporting as a semi-autonomous branch of government (Ofsted, QCA)
- researching areas linked to the citizenship curriculum (Haste, EPPI)

Using such foci, these six sets of research will now be discussed beginning with the DfES sponsored longitudinal research into the implementation of National Curriculum citizenship by the NFER.

NFER

“The Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study, conducted by the National Foundation for Education Research (NFER) on behalf of the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), aims to identify, measure and evaluate the extent to which effective practice in citizenship education develops in schools so that such practice can be promoted widely.”

(NFER, 2005, p.iii)

The largest-scale citizenship research being undertaken in England concurrent with this study is through the NFER. It is longitudinal in form, using large cohorts of pupils in hundreds of schools over the course of seven years with the first research report being published in 2004. The aim of the NFER longitudinal study is complicated. There are four interlinked purposes:

1. to identify effective practice in citizenship education;
2. to measure the development of this effective practice;
3. to evaluate this measurement, and;
4. to provide a basis for promotion of ‘good’ practice as identified by the research.

(NFER, 2004, p.i)

Each of the final three aims builds upon the ones preceding it. The whole is predicated upon the first aim – i.e. identifying ‘effective practice in citizenship education’. The research, being undertaken from 2001 to 2009 takes its concept of citizenship education from the content of the National Curriculum Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) since this is the current statutory framework.

Effective practice in citizenship education must be practice which delivers the aims of the Order, i.e.

“Teaching should ensure that knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens are acquired and applied when developing skills of enquiry and communication, and participation and responsible action.”

(op.cit. p.15)

This is to say that while pupils are developing life skills (some of which are useful for citizenship), they should acquire useable knowledge and understanding. More than this however, it presumes that pupils will have to participate in citizenship (‘should ensure... participation’) rather than learning about different forms of participation and being given the opportunity to take part or not.

Yet, in the 2004 NFER report, the best performing schools, which were termed ‘Progressing Schools’, were identified in this way:

“**Progressing schools** were developing citizenship education in the curriculum, school community and wider community and were the most advanced in terms of citizenship education. They were seen as democratic, involved a range of people in planning citizenship education, used a range of delivery methods, recognised or planned to recognise achievement through awards, certificates or the GCSE short course, and offered a wide range of extra-curricular activities.”

(NFER, 2004, p.91)

Pupils are ‘offered a wide range of extra-curricular activities’ to encourage their participation. This emphasis upon promotion (but not compulsion) of participation is continued in the 2005 (NFER, 2005, p.11) report:

“Around nine tenths of school and college leaders (91 and 89 per cent, respectively) stated that students were encouraged to participate in extracurricular activities.”

Involvement of schools in the local community (and thus the possibilities for the school to promote engagement of pupils in the local community) was a point of weakness in the 2004 study:

“Interestingly, none of the case study schools chose to emphasise the community participation strand of citizenship education. Indeed two school leaders stated that community involvement was the least important element of citizenship education for their schools. One headteacher explained that he felt encouraging students to participate in the community through school would mean that they are doing it for the wrong reasons.”

(NFER, 2004, p.42)

The report then notes that this means that community involvement is being interpreted by the headteachers as being the community outside the school rather than within it. This seems a reasonable inference by these headteachers, since the Order, under key stage 3 ‘Developing skills of participation and responsible action’, makes a distinction between the school (community) and the (wider) community:

“Pupils should be taught to negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in both school and community-based activities.”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14)

The NFER 2005 report centres on the pupils’ experiences of citizenship, unlike the 2004 report which focuses upon schools. Some of the findings have been encountered in the IEA report (Torney-Purta *et al.* 2001) reviewed above. There are four major points:

“Pupils feel that they are maturing as a result of their citizenship education experiences.

“There is inconsistent development of citizenship as pupils progress through school. The report identified a ‘dip’ in Year 10.

“Pupils’ citizenship development is linked to many factors outside school, an important one of which is home literacy resources [cf. Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Whiteley, 2005; Elley, 1994, and Mullis *et al.*, 2003].

“As pupils progress through school their feelings of belonging and attachment to different communities can change. For example, the longer pupils stay in one school the greater the attachment they feel to it.”

(NFER, 2005, p.57)

Thus, the picture of citizenship education is an improving one, from the pupil point of view. However, on the question of engagement, the report states:

“Students continued to report low levels of intention to participate in conventional politics in the future. While the number of students who state that they will vote is relatively high, and continues to rise with age as students get ever closer to the age of majority, their commitment to other forms of conventional political engagement remains consistently low. However, it should be pointed out that intention to vote among young people may not necessarily translate into actual voting at election time.”

(*op.cit.* p.56)

One of the implicit aims of citizenship education within the NFER research, since it would ‘promote effective practice’ (NFER, 2005, p.3), is that involvement in organised participation (in the above case voting) should increase. This links back to the Crick Report (AGC, 1998, p.8) which stated:

“There are worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life. These, unless tackled at every level, could well diminish the hoped-for benefits both of constitutional reform and of the changing nature of the welfare state. To quote from a speech by the Lord Chancellor earlier this year (on which we end this report): ‘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.’”

These pupils (NFER, 2005) feel less ignorant about political life than they might have done without citizenship education. If a proportion of them still does not want to exercise its right to vote then this is possibly because of the knowledge these young citizens have gained. This may not be apathetic behaviour at all, but pragmatism based upon realistic understanding of the political systems within which they live. Without the constitutional reforms noted in the Crick Report above (to improve the system to make it more democratic) it might be that non-organised action is seen as being more efficacious than organised participation.

This is what Whiteley (2005, p.15) refers to as the paradox of engagement and education. Citizens who understand the system of which they are a part can also understand its weaknesses. As a result they might act according to how efficacious their actions will be. If they live in a 'safe seat' constituency where their votes would be for a candidate who will most likely not be elected, they may choose not to vote – they choose not to vote *because* they understand the system and its flaws, not because they are apathetic. If the system were different, allowing these knowledgeable citizens enfranchisement of worth, it is possible that voting rates would be higher. Such a system is what was implied by "constitutional reform" in the Crick Report (AGC, 1998, p.8).

Notwithstanding the pupils' view of citizenship in the 2005 report (NFER, 2005), the First Longitudinal Survey (NFER, 2004) was focused upon schools and their policies. It has already been noted above that the NFER focus is upon citizenship promotion, not compulsion, so that, even in the *best* schools, opportunities are stressed, rather than subject delivery. The 2004 report identified four types of school approach to citizenship education: progressing, focused, minimalist, and implicit:

"Progressing schools were developing citizenship education in the curriculum, school community and wider community and were the most advanced in terms of citizenship education. They were seen as democratic, involved a range of people in planning citizenship education, used a range of delivery methods,

recognised or planned to recognise achievement through awards, certificates or the GCSE short course, and offered a wide range of extra-curricular activities.

“Focused schools were concentrating almost exclusively on developing citizenship education in the curriculum, but needed to build opportunities for active citizenship in the school and with the wider community. They were not seen as democratic, but involved a number of people in planning citizenship education, and used a range of delivery methods. They used awards and certificates to recognise achievement and offered a reasonable range of extra-curricular activities.

“Minimalist schools were at an early stage of development in terms of citizenship education, used a limited range of delivery approaches and had relatively few extra-curricular activities on offer. They were not seen as democratic, did not involve many individuals in the planning of citizenship education and have not made plans for recognising achievement.

“Implicit schools were not yet focusing explicitly on citizenship in the curriculum. They were seen as democratic and provided a variety of extra-curricular activities, and therefore have opportunities for active citizenship; however they did not include a range of people in planning citizenship education, and had no plans for recognition of achievement. With a greater focus on citizenship education within the curriculum these have the potential to become progressing schools.”

(NFER, 2004, p.91)

These criteria assume, perhaps understandably, that citizenship education in schools is inherently a good thing. The four types distinguished are in fact three plus one; the three represent the range within schools which are implementing the subject explicitly, from the degree of doing it well to the situation of having almost no explicit citizenship. The one, implicit schools, defines schools which have not made an attempt to teach citizenship explicitly. However, this is not to say that these schools are failing in their implicit coverage of the curriculum;

‘with a greater focus on citizenship education within the curriculum these have the potential to become progressing schools’ might lead one to presume that with the exception of lacking explicit approaches, *implicit schools* might almost have the same development of citizenship education as *progressing* schools.

What NFER says schools are doing

The report (NFER, 2004) acknowledges that citizenship is being delivered through a variety of subjects:

“Both survey and case study findings reveal that in many schools there were links between citizenship education and Personal Social and Health Education (PSHE). Table 4.1 ... [Figure 3, p.74] showed that 82 per cent of schools used dedicated citizenship slots in PSHE. In addition four fifths of school leaders that said that citizenship was taught through other subjects, with the largest proportion saying that it was taught through RE or Religious Studies (RS) and history, followed by geography and English (see Table 4.4 ...) [Figure 4, p.75]. One fifth again indicated that it was taught through PSHE (all but one of these school leaders had earlier mentioned dedicated citizenship modules in PSHE).”

(NFER, 2004, p.40)

So, schools are not only varied in the extent to which they are delivering the subject, but also in the methods they are using to deliver it. The NFER noted a broad compass of experience. In fact the four approaches it has defined are spread more or less equally among the 84 schools of its questionnaire:

Progressing (24 per cent)

Focused (27 per cent)

Minimalist (23 per cent)

Implicit (26 per cent).

(*op.cit.* p.92)

There is not so much balance concerning the aspects of citizenship taught – the emphasis being on social and moral responsibility:

“The schools involved in the case studies were asked if they emphasised a particular strand of the tripartite division set by the Citizenship Advisory Group (Crick Report, 1998) – social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy – in their delivery of citizenship education. Although all schools felt that they aimed for a broad coverage of all three strands, many schools mentioned that they emphasised the social and moral responsibility strand above the other two. One school felt that this element fitted in particularly well with their ethos as a church school, whilst a teacher in another school emphasised this area in order to combat some of the unacceptable attitudes he felt were held by students.”

(NFER, 2004, pp.41-42)

However, this is not to say that social and moral responsibility is most prevalent in all schools: political literacy is also an emphasis:

“[S]ome schools felt that they were placing most emphasis on the political literacy strand of citizenship. Two schools chose to emphasise this strand as they felt it was a new and distinct feature that was not addressed anywhere else in the curriculum. It was a strand with which many students were not, as yet, familiar. Another school coordinator commented that he chose to emphasise the political literacy strand as it reflected his own interest in the area.”

(*op.cit.*, p.42)

Community involvement was not emphasised by any of the schools:

“[N]one of the case study schools chose to emphasise the community participation strand of citizenship education. Indeed two school leaders stated that community involvement was the least important element of citizenship education for their schools. One headteacher explained that he felt encouraging students to participate in the community through school would

Figure 3. (NFER, 2004, p.37, Table 4.1) Citizenship delivery in the schools surveyed: current delivery and future plans

Delivery of citizenship education	Schools: Current Delivery %	Schools: Future Plans %
Dedicated citizenship modules delivered in PSHE	82	31
Delivery through assemblies	82	38
Delivery through other extra-curricular activities	62	31
Delivery through tutorials	50	25
Citizenship integrated into selected subjects	45	24
Citizenship integrated into all subjects where applicable	42	29
Delivery through special events (e.g. 'Citizenship Week')	38	36
Dedicated time slot allocated to citizenship every week/two weeks	31	12
Dedicated citizenship modules delivered in other subjects	31	18
Base: All School Leaders Respondents were able to give more than one answer so percentages do not sum to 100 Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study, First Longitudinal Survey 2002		

Figure 4. (NFER, 2004, p.42, Table 4.4)

Lessons in which citizenship education topics are taught

Lessons including citizenship topics	School Leaders %
RE/RS (Religious Education or Religious Studies)	88
History	87
Geography	76
English	69
Business Studies/ Economics	40
PSHE (Personal, social and health education)	20
N=67	

Base: School Leaders who said that citizenship education is delivered through existing subject.
Respondents were able to give more than one answer so percentages do not sum to 100

mean that they are doing it for the wrong reasons.”

(ibid.)

The report then notes that this means that community involvement is being interpreted by the headteachers as being the community outside the school rather than within it. This seems a reasonable inference by these headteachers, since the Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) is not consistent in its wording around the term ‘community’.

“‘The importance of citizenship’ uses: “the life of [pupils] schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world.”

(op.cit. p.12)

The introduction to the programmes of study states:

“[Pupils] continue to be actively involved in the life of their school, neighbourhood and wider communities and learn to become more effective in public life.”

(op.cit. p.14)

Paragraph 3b of the KS attainment targets reads:

“Pupils should be taught to negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in both school and communitybased [sic] activities.”

(op.cit. pp.14 and 15)

While both attainment targets have:

“Pupils take part effectively in school and communitybased [sic] activities”

(op.cit. p.31)

Thus, it is a reasonable interpretation of ‘community’ by headteachers to locate it outside the school; otherwise the Order would have used a different wording such as ‘*school community and local community-based activities*’ for example.

The NFER would seem to be confusing the issue or at least perpetuating an inherent confusion within the National Curriculum itself.

The *school* community, the school *in* the community, and *the* community, are three different entities, amongst others which might be identified using modifiers such as 'local' and 'wider'.

To summarise the NFER 2004 report, there are two sets of schools at the extremes with a range between; there are those which claim to deliver citizenship explicitly (through both curricular and extra curricular provision) and those which claim to deliver it implicitly (through extra curricular activities). Schools which are neither wholly explicit nor implicit offer some discrete citizenship provision in lessons and/or offer a limited range of extra-curricular activities to supplement the subject. The inference is that the schools which have chosen the implicit route are working outside the system, not being included among the explicit schools which are rated in three groupings from minimalist to progressing (i.e. poor to good provision). These implicit schools might be engaging in worthwhile citizenship education but inspection is difficult – the MacNamara fallacy; whether we measure what we value or value what we can measure.

But this is only one way to view these data. The distinction perhaps should not be between those schools which claim to be teaching citizenship explicitly and implicitly, but between those schools which are teaching citizenship as a National Curriculum subject, and those which are not (this is the focus of the Ofsted reports – 2004a, 2005a, 2005c). The latter may well be allowing their students to learn knowledge for citizenship by immersion and experience an environment which is conducive to the use of the skills of procedural values, from which attitudes (or values) may develop appropriately. Perhaps this is the distinction which Barnard (1961, p.301) made between concepts being caught, not taught.

Such a point lies at the heart of this research. Quaker schools are not offering citizenship as a discrete subject because they do not follow National Curriculum

citizenship. They are likely to be classified under the title of *Implicit Schools* (this is developed further in Chapter 6). This does not necessarily presume that citizenship is being poorly taught within them. It does however question the extent to which National Curriculum citizenship is being delivered. If communitarian citizenship has a moral aspect which is not an assumption of the citizenship which is being taught in *Implicit Schools*, one may start to question whether one conception is more correct than another, or whether it is right to make such a judgement at all.

CSV

Community Service Volunteers (CSV) has conducted two surveys (2003, 2004) into citizenship in schools since it was made a compulsory subject. The first of these publications stated as its aim:

“This summary report aims to provide a thumb nail sketch of current provision and to record current attitudes towards this significant new dimension to the life of our schools and communities.”

(CSV, 2003, p.3)

It considered the situation of the subject in schools quantitatively, through teacher answers to eleven questions. These ranged from factual questions such as, ‘Who is responsible for citizenship education at your school?’ to attitudinal ones such as, ‘Since citizenship was introduced in September 2002, how have attitudes at your school changed towards it?’ Findings included that: training issues, particularly making the distinction between PSHE and citizenship clearer for teachers (*ibid.* p.10); schools should involve pupils in planning to a greater extent (*ibid.*); assessment needs to be considered (*ibid.*); research is necessary on how to address “the entitlement to *active citizenship* for all pupils,” (*ibid.* my italics); and that there are funding issues to provide support for teachers in what is a new subject (*ibid.*).

The subsequent report (CSV, 2004) used a similar set of questions and approach. There was an extra question, ‘How do you think citizenship is best taught?’ The

most popular answer to this was “Through a range of subjects” (*op.cit.*, p.7). The reports are positive in their outlook even though some of the data are not – for example, there was “a decline in those indicating that they involved pupils a lot (9% from 18%) and an increase in those saying that they do not involve pupils at all (29% from 21%)” (*op.cit.* p.6).

One of the major conclusions of this second report was this:

“It is perhaps not more training of teachers that is required so much as the right kind and quality of that training: this includes practising skills of facilitation which can directly contribute to the development of young people as *active citizens*. Without new and imaginative opportunities being made available to students, the current enthusiasm could begin to wane and this must not be allowed to happen.”

(CSV, 2004, p.10, my italics)

CSV has been a proponent of citizenship education from the perspective of active involvement since before its introduction to schools as a statutory subject. The CSV strategy statement is explicit:

“CSV is distinctive because of the strength of our work in citizen involvement, volunteering and learning, and our close working relationship with statutory, public, private and voluntary bodies, allied to our independence and thirst for innovation.”

(Web access, 01/06/05)

As an organisation it works with established bodies such as the DfES to promote its vision of active citizenship (i.e. communitarian citizenship). It is funded by a range of bodies including the DfES, the Home Office, the Active Communities Directorate, the Learning and Skills Council, and the European Social Fund. It is completely open about its political orientation but it does, nevertheless, hold a particular understanding of citizenship based upon active community involvement. Thus it is fitting that the final recommendation in its 2004 report is this:

“Schools, with their partners, should review and extend the scale and range of out of school activities which are genuinely citizenship [sic] and allow for skills development beyond the classroom. This will help all young people to be aspirant active citizens and lifelong learners.”

(CSV, 2004, p.11)

As with the NFER research, CSV presumes a communitarian conception of citizenship as being citizenship *per se*. Once again, this assumption is implicitly questioned throughout this research into citizenship education in Quaker schools.

OFSTED

Ofsted takes a different view of citizenship since its task is to police good practice within the maintained sector based upon the National Curriculum Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999). Its research is conducted with this task in mind. Some of its findings agree with the NFER and CSV. Other findings present a more stringent view of how citizenship should be implemented.

Research by Ofsted (2004a, 2005a) backs up the approach to citizenship education it promotes (Ofsted, 2003a). The focus of Ofsted’s work has been that citizenship should be taught as a discrete, explicit provision in addition to tangential, implicit coverage in the rest of school life.

“In two schools in the survey, GCSE humanities is being used for elements of citizenship. The work seen in these courses was found to be good, and in both schools the course was compulsory, thus providing an entitlement for all.”

(Ofsted, 2003a, p.19)

This extract shows how, since 2003, Ofsted saw good practice as being compulsory coverage within the curriculum. However, Ofsted’s view has strengthened through its appreciation that integrating citizenship with the existing curriculum is not enough to provide the level of ‘entitlement’ which the

HMI interprets as necessary. The 2005 research report (Ofsted, 2005a, p.4) says that:

“in one in four schools provision was judged to be unsatisfactory. For some of these schools, the judgement of unsatisfactory came as a surprise because key staff took the view that the school was developing good citizens in the broadest sense. This is not the issue. The National Curriculum provides a programme of study for citizenship. This is additional to any general provision that supports pupils’ development as young citizens, whether in the ethos of the school or the implicit contribution made by other subjects.”

Thus, the Ofsted approach to citizenship is not one that would ‘develop good citizens in the broadest sense’ but in a specific sense. The use of form tutors to deliver citizenship (in the broad sense) is not advocated by Ofsted because it sees a need for a specific understanding of citizenship to be delivered by subject specialists, necessitating discrete citizenship lessons.

Likewise, the skills of citizenship are an area of contention. Page 6 of the 2005 report (Ofsted, 2005a) explains that, from Ofsted’s perspective, skills are not transferable. Thus:

“[e]nquiry in science and participation in sport, meritorious as they are in their own right, are not about National Curriculum citizenship, unless they are dealing with material from the citizenship programme of study.”

(ibid.)

This is different from the NFER and CSV focus upon participation in general as being preparation for citizenship.

In reference to its own publication (Update forty-three, 2003b) the Ofsted report (2005a, p.6) shows that teaching citizenship through existing, related subject topics is not thorough enough.

“If one is planning to teach about the importance of voting, clearly this topic provides a good example of the sacrifice made by women to get the vote. This is useful, as is the terminology that historians use in dealing with this and other political movements and events, such as Chartism or the English Civil War. However, while such examples develop understanding and inform, they are not National Curriculum citizenship.”

Thus, pupils are not expected to understand the implications of topics for themselves, nor make inferences based upon the values they are encountering in the rest of their school lives without their being schooled in a direct fashion, specific fact to specific function.

These points are concisely outlined in the overview from the same report:

“There are growing numbers of expert teachers, and most teaching is satisfactory, but citizenship is generally less well taught where [form] tutors are involved. Assessment is the aspect of teaching that teachers feel least confident about, and in half of the schools pupils do not know what they need to do to make progress. Involvement in GCSE citizenship short courses has been generally associated with greater focus, better teaching and higher standards and achievement.”

(Ofsted, 2005a, p.3)

The import is clear. The way forward is through the uptake of the short-course GCSE; by doing so assessment is easier to accomplish. Education ‘to develop good citizens in the broadest sense’ is not the focus of Ofsted’s inspections; indeed it would seem that Ofsted thinks that it is more important for schools to show that they have covered the course (and done so well) than that their pupils have grown as individuals - i.e. that pupil development is secondary to subject provision, rather than *vice versa*.

Yet, this is not the generalist view of David Bell, Ofsted chief inspector (Speech, 17/ 01/ 2005), who said:

“Principally, it [citizenship] has brought to the fore a belief that our education system, and the curriculum taught in schools, has a role to play in fostering a sense of community and social responsibility and awareness among today’s younger generation.”

This understanding of citizenship would appear to agree with the idea of ‘developing good citizens in the broadest sense’ which Ofsted regards as being insufficient. It is what schools were attempting to provide through the whole curriculum before citizenship was introduced in 2002.

Notwithstanding this lapse in the Ofsted message, citizenship is narrowly understood by Ofsted to be National Curriculum citizenship. It does not allow for the idea of ‘developing citizens in the broadest sense’, which could encompass a range of approaches, including that implicit within existing arrangements, in schools such as the Quaker system in this study.

QCA

QCA publishes annual reports on curriculum and assessment for the range of school subjects. Each of these documents begins its page on background with:

“QCA has a remit to keep the curriculum under review and to advise the Secretary of State on curriculum and assessment matters.”

(QCA, 2005a, p.3)

There is a presumption in this sentence that the curriculum and assessment regimes are likely to need change, and that, with annual reviews taking place, this is a continuous process. Since QCA has a focus upon curriculum and assessment, these reports are likely to reflect subject self-justification rather than appropriateness for learning. It will be seen from what follows that in order to review the curriculum, assessment is needed. In order to assess a curriculum appropriately work must be produced. Therefore the curriculum must produce work. While this may be appropriate for foundation subjects which were always intended to lead to national examinations, it could be questionable whether it is a

suitable form of review for subjects which were not intended to be academically assessed (like citizenship and PSHE). It seems almost inevitable that a review of curriculum and assessment will call for a more clearly defined curriculum and better assessment procedures. It is not clear that such research will necessarily improve the learning experience of pupils studying citizenship.

Data for the QCA reviews are collected via its own quantitative methods and by making reference to other authorities such as Ofsted.

“Detailed quantitative evidence is provided by the QCA Monitoring Curriculum and Assessment (MCA) project. This yields statistical data through questionnaire responses from representative samples of schools and foundation stage settings. Evidence also comes from specific enquiries undertaken by QCA and other national agencies, including the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) and the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS). QCA phase and subject teams also undertake desk research into published research and reports, including international work.”

(QCA, 2005, p.3)

In the case of the citizenship report, MCA data were collected from 317 schools, one questionnaire from each school, which represented a 31.6 per cent response rate (*op.cit.* p.34).

The QCA curriculum reviews are undertaken subject by subject, although, since PSHE and citizenship are one subject at foundation and primary level the situation arises where the data collected for these two subjects overlap considerably, further confusing the issue of the extent to which they are discrete parts of the curriculum. Indeed, QCA collected one set of data for citizenship and PSHE from the foundation stage to key stage two, reflecting the joint nature of the subject at this level. These data were then used twice, once for each separate report on the two subjects, as if they were discrete below key stage 3.

The situation at secondary level has a common theme in both PSHE and citizenship. Page 6 of the PSHE report (QCA, 2005b) has as one of the weaknesses of PSHE:

“Many schools still teach PSHE and citizenship as a combined subject without making clear the distinction between the two or allowing additional time for delivery.”

(QCA, 2005b, p.6)

This is a situation also reflected in the citizenship report:

“Citizenship that is combined with PSHE and is not distinct was included by 34.3 per cent, suggesting some aspects of citizenship are co-taught with topics in PSHE without clarity about which subject is being taught.”

(QCA, 2005a, pp.13-14)

There is a difference between the two reports in how the subjects fit together poorly: for PSHE, it is emphasised that citizenship is seen to be encroaching on existing curriculum time, limiting what was already a subject with very limited formal timetabling (2005b, pp.13&14); for citizenship, provision of the subject with / through PSHE fails to make the citizenship content distinct from the social content (2005a, pp.13&14). The essence common to both is that by teaching them together each is limited in some fashion as a discrete subject. This may be inevitable but it does not question whether the knowledge and values which are intended to be delivered through these subjects are better taught through discrete or combined subjects. This is not an issue QCA will address since the focus of its reports, as shown above, is upon (justifying) the curriculum and upon assessment – not learning itself.

Assessment figures prominently in the QCA titles and is a large part of both reports. However, since both subjects are not necessarily formal, academic disciplines (citizenship GCSE is not compulsory), assessment is not a simple process. In order to assess children’s knowledge, work needs to be produced. Written work does not necessarily reflect the learning achieved in ‘active

citizenship' or in the behaviours and moral understanding of the children who are being taught these subjects.

“Ofsted found that a barrier to effective assessment was teachers’ lack of evaluation of whether learning outcomes of lessons had been met. There was also the prevailing belief that pupils enjoyed the subject more than others because it wasn’t assessed. *In discussions, some teachers and advisers have expressed reservations about assessing PSHE, saying that attitudes and values, and behaviour outside school, cannot be assessed.* However, the most effective schools show that having clear learning outcomes and objectives ensures that learning in these areas can be assessed.”

(QCA, 2005b, p.17, my italics)

This paragraph demonstrates how the need for assessment ignores the nature of the subject. PSHE is a much broader subject than the sex education within it which is compulsory. PSHE only has guidelines; it does not have foundation subject status with a National Curriculum document *because* it is not an academically based subject. QCA is assessment driven. For them assessment is a *sine qua non*. Therefore, it is not important that much PSHE content is not appropriate for assessment; what is important is that there are *clear learning outcomes and objectives* so that there can be assessment – i.e. schools must teach what can be assessed. This is not what the teachers (extract italics above) meant.

The situation for citizenship is similar. However, instead of ignoring aspects of the curriculum, as QCA seems prepared to do for PSHE, it first sees the need to establish what the subject is. Indeed, the report acknowledges that even with the curriculum Order published in 1999 there is no consensus upon what citizenship might be:

“Of course, citizenship is also the newest subject in the national curriculum and there remain issues about its aim, purpose and definition, as well as what a sufficient curriculum consists of and how much time should be allocated to it.”

(QCA, 2005a, p.11)

This confusion reflects the views of the respondents in my research, only some of whom knew what the Order represented as citizenship.

On the same page of the QCA report (*ibid.*) however, this weakness of definition is seen as a passing problem, if not an opportunity for resolution:

“As QCA begins to review the key stage 3 curriculum, there is an opportunity to clarify the aims and intentions of the subject and to ensure teaching requirements are clearer and more specific, so schools know and understand what kinds of teaching and learning experiences they should be providing for all their pupils.”

(*ibid.*)

So it seems, according to QCA, that the citizenship Order does not explain explicitly enough the content of the subject. This would move the subject away from what Bernard Crick envisaged when he intended the curriculum to be ‘light touch’ and ‘flexible’ (2000, p.5). Instead citizenship would become increasingly formal.

One of the drivers for this is assessment.

“Specifically, schools remain unclear about how to undertake teacher assessment in the subject, what the expected standards look like and how to draw together evidence to make an overall judgement on performance using the end of key stage 3 description. Some confusion also remains about why there is no eight-level scale in citizenship.”

(QCA, 2005a, p.19)

The final sentence of this extract is most illuminating. It demonstrates a lack of awareness concerning the definition of citizenship, its original ‘light touch’ interpretation, and the subsequent choice for there not being an eight point scale in common with foundation subjects. Citizenship was never intended (at least in the Crick Report, AGC 1998) to hold such a status. However, because teachers

are under pressure to assess pupils in citizenship as in the foundation subjects, they want a similar scale to make this easier. This may not reflect an understanding of the subject as much as the system by which they (the teachers) are appraised.

QCA asked respondents if they would like to see an eight-point scale for assessment. The report states that 63 per cent of respondents agreed. QCA uses this figure to justify advocating such a system:

“With 63 per cent of schools in favour of an eight-level scale and clear issues with the current end of key stage description, it seems right that policy here is reviewed.”

(QCA, 2005, p.21)

However, this headline 63 per cent is a combination of 36 per cent who wanted an eight point scale to be non-statutory and optional for schools to use if they wish, **and** 27 per cent who wanted it to be statutory and replace the end of key stage descriptions. It does **not** include the 37 per cent who disagreed, and preferred the end of key stage descriptions – i.e. 64 per cent of the respondents did not want a statutory eight-point scale. This does not mean that QCA was wrong to ask the question, but its interpretation of the data leads one towards an understanding that it found what it wanted to find.

Assessment in line with foundation subjects is directly antagonistic to what was envisaged in the AGC Crick Report (1998, pp.28-29):

“We decided that the assessment and reporting of pupils’ progression, as in existing National Curriculum subjects, was inappropriate for citizenship. This should not be taken as a signal that we see citizenship as a ‘soft option’ in the curriculum with no rigour or bite.

“We support assessment and reporting in citizenship through tightly defined learning outcomes. These provide a fair and rigorous basis for assessment, reporting and inspection, both internal and external. They enable assessment by teachers of pupils’ progress and progression in their citizenship learning.”

Likewise, the creation of citizenship as a GCSE subject acts against the AGC vision of citizenship. Perhaps the Crick committee were unrealistic in their expectations of teachers being able to assess pupils in this new subject. However, the attainment targets were developed with the view presented above, that attainment levels were inappropriate for such a values-based subject.

This is a point of convergence with the report into PSHE (QCA, 2005b) which, as demonstrated above, has assessment as a driver rather than an auditor. Citizenship, even in the form of the Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) has a values and practical orientation as much as a factual knowledge (civics) basis. This links with the question of definition alluded to earlier because it is still unclear to many schools what citizenship, and / or 'good citizenship', is:

“[S]ome schools appear to treat such activities [active citizenship opportunities] as an added extra for pupils, rather than seeing them as meeting a key aspect of the statutory national curriculum for citizenship.

“There remains some misunderstanding about the type of activities that are required, which often involve 'good citizenship' rather than, as Professor Annette of Birkbeck, University of London, describes it, 'citizenship for political good'.”

(QCA, 2005a, p.16)

This is clarified to an extent in the following paragraph:

“As the Ofsted [2005c, pp.3-4] subject report for 2004/5 puts it: 'Many pupils also take up opportunities to participate in activities such as charitable work or mentoring younger pupils. However, this is not done systematically enough and seldom meets the real intentions of the National Curriculum.'”

(QCA, 2005a, p.16)

So there is a definitional problem concerning active citizenship, and then there is a difficulty in how to assess whatever is defined as citizenship but which is not civics.

All of the citizenship report (QCA, 2005a) is put into the context of citizenship being the National Curriculum subject with the fastest growth (*op.cit.* p.5) and the take up of the short-course GCSE. This is seen as a positive situation for the subject, in line with a report upon the curriculum, and, apparently, “[t]here is considerable demand for full GCSE and A level in Citizenship Studies among teachers and learners” (*ibid.*). This would take the status of citizenship even further away from the original intentions of the Crick committee.

This statement of the popularity of the subject exists alongside the paucity in number of citizenship specialist teachers. Since citizenship is still a recent addition to the National Curriculum, there are only 850 teachers with a PGCE qualification in citizenship (*op. cit.* p.4). These teachers are found in ten percent of England’s schools (*ibid.*). On page 12 of the same report it says that 22 percent of schools have specialists in citizenship, i.e.

“those [teachers] with expertise in a related subject (often humanities) and who have been teaching citizenship for a number of years. When asked about the role of the subject leader for citizenship, 15.6 per cent have a subject leader who is responsible for citizenship only. Most schools (71.3 per cent) said that the role is included with that for PSHE, and 17.2 per cent include citizenship with another curriculum subject.”

(QCA, 2005, p.12)

So, even in those schools which profess to have citizenship specialists, most often they are PSHE teachers who are teaching citizenship. One might make the comparison by questioning whether we call biologists who teach chemistry, chemistry specialists. This is the case for citizenship, and does not account for the 78 percent of schools which, perhaps more rigorously, might not have anyone they would call a citizenship specialist on the staff.

These reports on citizenship and PSHE have commonality with the findings of my research. There is not agreement among teachers as to the definition of citizenship, how it is distinct from PSHE, or what the term active citizenship

means. PSHE is seen as lacking kudos, being given little curriculum time, and citizenship does not have the same respect as foundation subjects because it is not accorded full GCSE status.

The positive view of citizenship and the direction it should take, with full award status at GCSE with 'A' level to follow, predicated upon a clearer statement of subject content to be assessed via an eight-point scale analogous to foundation subjects, represents the views of a minority of the QCA respondents. A curriculum and assessment review is always likely to promote a more rigorous curriculum and more quantifiable assessment procedures. These have been the outcomes of the QCA reviews.

Haste – Nestlé Social Research Programme – ESRC

The Nestlé Social Research Programme and the ESRC have jointly funded this piece of research carried out by Haste (2005). Although making reference to citizenship throughout the report, its focus is upon 'civic action and inaction' among more than 1,000 children and young adults between the ages of 11 and 21. The civic action aspect of the research has much in common with the 'active citizenship' which CSV promotes and the 'participation and responsible action' strand of National Curriculum citizenship. Likewise, "the measure of the concept of democracy is one used in the IEA 28 nation study" (Haste, 2005, p.9) referred to above (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001). Being large-scale research with an active citizenship orientation the Haste study is included here and not in the following section of this chapter *Meta-research*.

The findings reinforce the perceived worrisome low voting intentions among young people which were highlighted by the Crick Report (AGC, 1998) and which are still perceived as being a problem in British democracy, for example by the Leader of the House of Commons (Hoon, 2005). Haste reports that 43% of her sample would be likely to vote, if they were old enough to do so, at the next election (Haste, 2005, p.2). However, she finds that:

“[b]etween a quarter and a half of young people are active in a *variety* of ways, helping in the community and making their voices heard.”

(*op.cit.* p.27, my emphasis)

This is important in Haste’s findings because the research has three strands, *viz.* voting, making one’s voice heard, and helping and community support (*op.cit.* p.2). Voting, while a measurable civic action, is only one part of Haste’s citizenship.

Other findings include the positive experience of community involvement, e.g.

“between 80 and 90 per cent of those who took part in ... activities said the experience ... increased their confidence [and] made them want to do more of the same kind of thing.”

(*op.cit.* p.24)

The research goes on to develop six profiles of citizenship involvement:

- Political activist
- Community helper
- Concerned about social control
- Contentedly inactive
- Diffident green
- Own-group identified

(*op.cit.* p.25)

The first three of these “are very likely to vote, the second three are much less likely to vote” (*ibid.*). These profiles reflect activities which have been undertaken (such as involvement in charity organisation) and projected activities (such as voting once at the age of majority).

However, one aspect of Haste’s (2005) work which is particularly relevant to this literature review, is the use of modifiers with the term citizen(ship). In the report the adjectives ‘effective’, ‘competent’ and ‘good’, are used to qualify the

nouns citizen and citizenship. Such adjectives modify the concept. There is likely to be a difference between an effective/competent citizen and a good citizen. Likewise it is possible that 'effective' and 'competent' refer to process while 'good' refers to morality. If there is not meant to be a difference between these two types of adjective, then I think this is a failing of the report, since respondents are asked

“How important is each of the following in being a **good** citizen?”

(*op.cit.* p.34, my emphasis)

'Effective' or 'competent' could equally have been used. Indeed, the question could even have read,

'How important is each of the following in being a citizen?'

There is no need for *any* qualifying adjective. If there is meant to be a difference between these two types of adjective, then the report does not make this clear. I perceive Haste to have used a normative question (upon which many of the results in the report are based) while referring to effective / competent citizens early in the report (*ibid.* pp.3 and 4). Effectiveness and competence are measures of ability rather than moral positioning. This conflation reflects a confusion of understanding concerning *citizenship* which is at the core of this research into Quaker schools.

3.2.3 Meta-research

EPPI

Finally, and in contrast to the rest of the research in the area, we come to the body of academic research into citizenship education. Much of this has been small-scale, and therefore not requiring financial support from government or government-supported bodies. In particular there are the EPPI (Evidence for Policy and Practice Information) reviews of citizenship education (Deakin Crick *et al.* 2004, 2005). These have a wider perspective upon citizenship than the

research outlined above. Many of the data they use were published prior to the introduction of the subject in schools (2002), and the concepts of citizenship against which the literature is reviewed are strongly informed by the Crick Report (AGC, 1998).

Beyond this, the range of literature is broad; not only is it citizenship-focused (Flecknoe, 2002; Gillborn, 1992, Holden, 2000; Taylor 2002), but also there are papers which deal with character education (Williams *et al.* 2003), moral education (Clare *et al.* 1996; Maslovaty, 2000; Russell, 2002; Behre *et al.* 2001), refugee and homelessness (Day, 2002), values education (Deakin Crick, 2002), pupil behaviour (Mooij, 2000), peer support and bullying (Naylor and Cowie, 1999) and school culture (Carter and Osler, 2000).

Thus it can be seen that this research has a much wider perspective upon the subject than the active citizenship of the studies in *National Research* above. In line with the Crick Report (AGC, 1998) and with Crick's own views (1999) the emphasis is upon process values, using members of staff across disciplines, all of whom are professional enough to deal with the issues of citizenship, discussing topics with children while allowing them rein to find their own positions. The findings are concerned more with pedagogy than with delivery (Deakin Crick *et al.* 2004, pp.35-36). For example, the first four of the combined findings (of fifteen) state:

- The quality of dialogue and discourse is central to learning in citizenship education.
- Dialogue and discourse are connected with learning about shared values, human rights, and issues of justice and equality.
- A facilitative, conversational pedagogy may challenge existing power/authority structures.
- Transformative, dialogical and participatory pedagogies complement and sustain achievement rather than divert attention from it.

(*ibid.*)

Likewise, Deakin Crick *et al.* (2005, p.1) explicitly take the Crick Report as their focus for, and therefore definition of, citizenship:

“The conceptual framework used for Citizenship Education therefore draws upon the Crick (1998) framework, [in] which Crick defines citizenship education as including three distinct strands: moral and social responsibility, community involvement and political literacy.”

(ibid.)

Specifically, and different from the focus promoted by Ofsted (see above), Deakin Crick *et al.* (2005) posit multiple views of citizenship, many having a personal and social focus. In the section on strengths and weaknesses of the study they state:

“A focus on cognitive learning outcomes might be considered to be a limitation, especially since citizenship education itself, and many studies of it, are often primarily concerned with personal and social learning (and *sometimes moral and political learning*). However, by deliberately placing cognitive learning in the spotlight, the review findings are able to show, by means of this clearer focus, that citizenship education pedagogies and curricular experiences can result in cognitive learning as well as social and personal learning.”

(Deakin Crick et al. 2005, p.4, my italics)

This illustrates that the concept of citizenship is not necessarily as fixed as that defined and espoused by the DfES, NFER, CSV and Ofsted. The EPPI conclusions are not particularly centred upon skills, engagement and assessment which these other pieces of research have highlighted. Instead they have an orientation towards good pedagogy, which would necessarily involve skills, engagement and assessment. One interpretation of the difference between the two is that for one (EPPI) the driver is learning, while for the others it is training.

The EPPI reviews acknowledge that citizenship may be interpreted in a non-communitarian way. It is noteworthy that the studies within the reviews are not

funded by government to the extent that NFER, CSV, Ofsted and Haste have been. This is not to say that these, usually larger, studies are skewing their results but that they, unlike the EPPI studies, have a presumption of communitarian citizenship as the norm. Like the EPPI reviews, this research into citizenship education in Quaker schools does not have such a presumption. It is, like some of the EPPI studies, small in nature, and better suited to questioning the conceptions of citizenship which school stakeholders understand.

Now that current research in the area of citizenship has been considered, it is appropriate to examine the development of the subject by the Department of Education (in its various guises as DofE, DfEE, DES and DfES) over the last two decades. This places policy in relation to theory, tracking the change in citizenship policy from implicit liberalism in the 1988 ERA (HMSO, 1988) to explicit communitarianism in the Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999).

3.3 National Curriculum citizenship: why, what kind and how it is being promoted

In order to explain National Curriculum citizenship in terms of what it is, how it is being promoted and why this is being done, this part of the chapter has been subdivided; the first part considers arguments around the need for a citizenship curriculum while the second traces the progression of National Curriculum citizenship from the Crick Report to its manifestation within the Order.

In what follows, *The need for citizenship and how it developed* considers the background to the introduction of citizenship into the National Curriculum. It takes a view of government action towards implementing such a curriculum through the Conservative and New Labour governments from the 1988 Education Reform Act to the introduction of the curriculum to schools in 2002. The 1988 start point is chosen since it was the year of inception of the National Curriculum in England from which the present system is derived.

From the Crick Report to the National Curriculum reviews the curriculum itself and what it means, the values and political stance it holds, and where it might be leading if taken at face value. This interpretation of the curriculum uses the political considerations from *The Meaning of Citizenship* and *Approaches to Citizenship* (Chapter 2), to put it into context.

3.3.1 The need for a citizenship curriculum and how it developed

There is a perceived need for citizenship education. The perception is that society is in decline and that through the education system remedial action may be taken to cure this ill. This may sound hyperbolic but it is recurrent among the many of the authors already quoted within this and the previous chapter. Torney-Purta *et al.* (2001, p.12) write about the disinterest in participation through established fora which we find among young people. Whiteley (2005, p.51) also refers to the non-organised political activity of the same group. In the Crick Report current society is said to be one of 'apathy, ignorance and cynicism' (AGC, 1998, p.8). It may be inferred that any curriculum for citizenship would be intended to address such concerns. The paragraph which contains the reference to apathy, ignorance and cynicism starts with the following oft-quoted sentence:

“We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves.”

(AGC, 1998, pp.7-8)

The implication is that the political culture pre-existing National Curriculum citizenship, and presumably in transition now, is one where people do not conceive of themselves as 'active' citizens, being unable to involve themselves

in their communities for the common good. If this were not the implication there would be no need for a change in political culture.

As will be seen, National Curriculum citizenship was developed from (though it is not the same as) the Crick Report. The point which is made here is that the new curriculum was not introduced to reinforce the *status quo* but to establish an understanding of society and the individual's place within it which had not before been prevalent.

In May 1997, the Labour Party came to office. On 7th July, nine weeks after the government was formed, its first White Paper was published. This was the command paper entitled Excellence in Schools (DfEE, 1997).

Chapter 6 of the White Paper was 'Helping pupils achieve'. Within it was a section on skills for life. These skills areas were work-related learning, citizenship and parenting. Citizenship was expounded thus:

“A modern democratic society depends on the informed and active involvement of all its citizens. Schools can help to 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 the 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.”

(DfEE, 1997, p.63)

The first sentence of this extract illustrates the communitarian stance the new government held. It is presented as a statement of fact, while it is actually an opinion. The presumption that society depends on the informed and active involvement of all its citizens, if it truly represented the British society of the 1990s, would have meant that all those eligible to vote would have done so at the general election of 1997. However, this election saw the government formed

with 43% of the vote, when only 73% of those eligible to mark their ballot paper actually did so (Morgan, 2001). This does not mean that the election was not legitimate, but rather it shows that the need for informed and active involvement of *all* citizens is an assertion. Indeed, the 73% was representative only of those who were registered to vote and did not represent all of the people with rights to vote who were not registered. Voting is only one aspect of civic involvement but this situation serves to show that what the White Paper was stating as fact was but an opinion.

As the last sentence of the White Paper extract intended, the Advisory Group on Citizenship was subsequently set up by David Blunkett and chaired by Bernard Crick. The preface to the report of this committee (AGC, 1998, p.8) makes reference to the 1988 Education Reform Act:

“That required a ‘balanced and broadly based curriculum’ which ‘promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils’ and also ‘prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life’.”

(*ibid.*)

The 1988 ERA was passed by a Conservative government. The Crick Report, with cross-party membership, including the Tory Kenneth Baker who introduced the 1988 ERA, was written under the auspices of the New Labour, communitarian government. However, this is not to say that there was not a communitarian ethic being advanced between 1988 and 1997. In 1989 the National Curriculum Council (NCC) published *Circular Number 6: The National Curriculum and Whole Curriculum Planning*. From this came the set of documents under the umbrella title of Curriculum Guidance (CG). CGs 3 and 8 (1990), *The Whole Curriculum* and *Education for Citizenship* respectively, use language about exercising responsibilities and participative citizenship:

“Education for citizenship develops the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for exploring, making informed decisions about and exercising responsibilities and rights in a democratic society.”

(NCC, CG8, 1990, p.2)

and

“The aims of education for citizenship are 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.”

(NCC, CG3, 1990, p.5)

Compare these with this extract from the beginning of the 1988 ERA:

“The curriculum for a maintained school satisfies the requirements of this section if it is a balanced and broadly based curriculum which:

- promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and
- prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.”

(HMSO, 1988, 1 (2))

The communitarian concepts of the Curriculum Guidance documents are expressed as specific aims which are absent from the relatively liberal 1988 ERA, yet all were published under a Conservative administration. However, while the CG publications and their recommendations may have been communitarian, the government itself was not. Thus, it was not until 1997 that the ideas from the 1990 publications were developed. Neither was citizenship considered a discrete subject in the CG documents. In the foreword of CG8 (1990) D.G. Graham, then chairman and chief executive of the NCC writes concerning citizenship:

“It is not a ‘subject’ as such. Elements of it can and must be taught through the subjects of the National Curriculum and other timetabled provision, enriched and reinforced by being woven into the wider work of the school in the community.”

(NCC, CG8, 1990)

Even the 1997 White Paper (DfEE, 1997, p.25) states that citizenship “forms part of PSHE”. However, there must be content if there is to be a curriculum, and this is the reason the Crick Report was commissioned. It says:

“Citizenship education in a parliamentary democracy is also part of preparation for adult life, just as the activity of acting as a citizen, not just as a subject, is part of adult life.”

(AGC, 1998, p.8)

The communitarian ethic of participation is within this sentence. However, it is much more about exhortation towards being involved than a statement that everyone *shall* be involved. This idea of encouragement is central to Crick’s philosophy, for example when he justifies (Crick, 1999, p.340) that citizenship as a subject should be more than civics education:

“A Civics curriculum would have proved a Greek gift to teachers. Such a curriculum could easily make matters worse if constitutional platitudes of the ‘our glorious Parliament’ kind were to be thrust on an already sceptical youth to instil only boredom mitigated by contempt. But I misjudged my committee. They all settled for something realistic and down-to-earth which focuses on citizenship and politics as participative and controversial matters, aiming to discuss and explore the diversity of values and interests that exist in a pluralistic society. If in addition as part of a curriculum (the blessed mantra of ‘values, knowledge and skills’) we did recommend something ‘civic’, it was not just knowledge of political and legal institutions but also of all the voluntary groups and pressure groups in a school’s neighbourhood that a child could encounter, should encounter and should be encouraged to participate in; to form dispositions that would put knowledge to use.”

Also within this we can see the strain of putting citizenship education into the National Curriculum format along with other, more regular subjects. For Crick, the essence of the subject, as his committee agreed, is participative citizenship in political, often controversial matters, with the aim of discussing and exploring the diversity of values and interests that exist in a pluralistic society. It manifestly is not teaching people how to behave in society and what opinions to hold. Instead, it is about raising issues for discussion, and through discussion for learning to occur in the individual. This is the kind of learning aim that John Dewey (1916) was advocating 80 years previously (see Chapter 2 of this thesis).

Yet the civics element is certainly part of the curriculum. It is necessary that students learn about the systems into which they are likely to grow up, if they are to be able to discuss, support and refute aspects of them. Thus, while the curriculum (for Crick) is not specifically civics orientated but focused upon skills which are procedural (process) values – such as tolerance – the civics element must still be there; otherwise the subject would cease to have a basis upon which it could be called citizenship.

It is interesting to note, then, that the Crick Report itself does state that citizenship is about teaching people how to live in society. Paragraph 3.1 states:

“We stress, however, that citizenship education is education for citizenship, behaving and acting as a citizen, therefore it is not just knowledge of citizenship and civic society; it also implies developing values, skills and understanding.”

(AGC, 1998, p.13)

However, this is not so much dictating the rules of behaviour within society (these are bounded by the law) but a matter of education such that students may become good citizens. This is not the same as educating them to *be* good citizens. The issue is one of potential, growth and opportunity, rather than transformation. Thus the Crick Report is not about preparing citizens in a specific mould although the ethic is undeniably communitarian. A year after the

Crick Report was published the National Curriculum Order came out. Concurrently, Kerr (1999, p.2), developed the following interpretation of citizenship education which shows the direction of change from the Crick Report to the Order:

“Citizenship or civics education is construed broadly to encompass the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens and, in particular, the role of education (through schooling, teaching and learning) in that preparatory process.”

The following section will consider what happened when the Crick Report was interpreted to create the citizenship Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999).

3.3.2 From the Crick Report to the National Curriculum

So the Crick Report, instigated by the new government of 1997, is communitarian in its ideals, reflecting the political persuasion of New Labour. It has, as a central idea, the freedom of the individual to develop an understanding of citizenship from a personal standpoint. Crick (1999, p.342), writing after the Report was published, stated:

“My main prejudice was to begin at the beginning, that is to build a citizenship teaching relevant to all the school population from concepts that children actually hold or that are at least familiar to them.”

Thus, by starting with what children (and staff) already know, citizens may develop a better understanding of who they are and what roles they have. This is very much a bottom-up approach and would fit with Dewey’s, liberal, educational aim of outgrowth from existing conditions.

However, the National Curriculum citizenship Order itself (DfEE/QCA, 1999) does not reflect this approach. The discussion and exploration of the Crick Report became a minority aspect within the introduced subject. This is clearly the case when one considers ‘The importance of citizenship’ in the Order:

“Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. It helps them to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights. It promotes their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities; and develops pupils’ ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions.”

(op.cit. p.12)

Here, we see the implicit criticism Crick made (Crick, 1999, p.340) of shoehorning citizenship into the National Curriculum mould. The terms knowledge, skills and understanding, although present in the Crick Report, are now uppermost in the rationale for the subject, which is that of being effective in society. The centrality of reflection and discussion, which was so important to Crick and the members of his group, has been reduced to an added skill which the subject provision allows pupils to acquire; it no longer is core to the learning process. This would mean that it is more important to act as a citizen than to be able to position oneself in relation to the state, reflecting, questioning and then acting for the best within society. This leads one to question the nature of citizenship, and consequently, what citizenship education should be.

Once again, as with the White Paper, Excellence in Schools (DfEE, 1997), we see a communitarian focus to the subject. The effectiveness of the citizen is central to the duty of being active within society. This was not the import of the Crick Report which was about the growth of the citizen. This trend is seen throughout the (slim volume of the) Order itself.

The National Curriculum Order is considered in two parts – through programmes of study and attainment targets.

i. The programmes of study

In the Order, the programmes of study are explicitly normative:

“Teaching should ensure that knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens are acquired and applied when developing skills of enquiry and communication, and participation and responsible action.”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, pp.14 and 15)

This paragraph, which is used to introduce each secondary key stage programme of study, is about ensuring that acquisition of knowledge and development of understanding take place. The pedagogical stance is transmissive, from teacher to pupil, ‘delivering’ the subject. This is not the focus of the Crick Report, which would have the student learn through discussion, and reach a continuing understanding of the person’s place in society. The use of enquiry and communication skills is referential to the AGC Report but not in the way Crick and his colleagues intended. The scope is narrower than Crick’s encouragement towards dispositions (Crick, 1999, p.340) and limiting of intelligence in Dewey’s terms.

The communitarian imperative is developed within the Order in the specific programmes of study themselves. For example, at key stage 4, paragraph 1d states that pupils should be taught about “the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes” (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.15).

As a programme of study, pupils *could* be taught about playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes without stressing the importance of it. The importance is contextual and contingent, not absolute. Who chooses to vote and why might be important but these are not issues which the programme of study addresses. Neither does it cover the historical rationale for universal suffrage, which might be more important when developing knowledge and understanding about becoming an informed citizen, than the act of playing an active role. The extent to which an individual participates in society (in this instance writing to one’s MP, voting etc.) is an active choice to be made by the citizen, not one to

be mandated by the state. This is a specific example of a communitarian stance affecting what could be a neutral statement about democratic and electoral processes.

Further into the programme of study for key stage 4, under the title of 'Developing skills of participation and responsible action', the Order states:

"Pupils should be taught to:

- a) use their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express, explain and critically evaluate views that are not their own
- b) negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in school and community-based activities
- c) reflect on the process of participating."

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.16)

The clause 'a' concerns thinking skills and is without significant political bias within the broad western democratic tradition, but 'b' states that pupils should be taught to take part responsibly in school and community-based activities. As a pupil and as any other member of society there are duties and obligations upon one, but outside of paying taxes and obeying laws, the manner in which one partakes of society is up to the individual. It is responsible for an individual to take part in society only to the point of fulfilling legal duties. Clause 'b' assumes more than this in the way of responsibility. This is shown to a greater extent in the attainment targets (see below).

Finally, in clause 'c', pupils should be taught to reflect on the process of participating. It is noteworthy that this is written as to be subsequent to taking part and not concurrent with it. *Ex post facto* deliberation assumes that participation is correct (better than not participating) in itself when deliberation might most effectively be a continual process; abstention might be viewed as negative participation rather than apathetic non-participation.

This reflection upon process is part of what Crick (1999) calls ‘Respect for Reasoning’:

“It may seem otiose to include respect for reasoning as a precondition for citizenship education. But perhaps it needs stressing that to be politically literate means a willingness to give reasons (however ill-formed or simple) why one holds a view and to give justifications for one’s actions and to demand them of others.”

(Crick, 1999, p.348)

Thus, reasoned *in*action can be understood in the same way as reasoned action. The reasoning is important in that it is as much participation as something physical or verbal; reasoning *is* the ‘taking part’, being undertaken throughout actions as well as after them. Subsequent action (or inaction) may be a demonstration of such reasoning. This demonstrates how the participatory understanding of Crick and that of communitarian citizenship differ: the prime concern of the former is with the growth of the student’s self; that of the second is with the student’s behaviour as a citizen. This is not to say that Crick would not want a student to participate physically and to reflect upon it, but it seems clear that he would respect reasoned inaction as participation in itself. This point leads to the next consideration of normativity in the attainment targets.

ii. The attainment targets

The Order states:

“End of key stage descriptions describe the type and range of performance that the majority of pupils should characteristically demonstrate by the end of the key stage, having been taught the relevant programme of study.”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.30)

For example, key stage 4:

“Pupils have a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the topical events they study; the rights, responsibilities and duties of citizens; the role of the voluntary sector; forms of government; and the criminal and civil justice, legal and economic systems. They obtain and use different kinds of information, including the media, to form and express an opinion. They evaluate the effectiveness of different ways of bringing about change at different levels of society. Pupils take part effectively in school and community-based activities, showing a willingness and commitment to evaluate such activities critically. They demonstrate personal and group responsibility in their attitudes to themselves and others.”

(op.cit. p.31)

There is a normative aspect to this attainment target. The use of the simple present tense throughout has the implication that these behaviours are what a student does rather than is what a student is capable of doing. The repeated use of an auxiliary verb such as ‘can’ would alter the meaning significantly and remove the normative implications within the paragraph.

Thus it might read:

Pupils have a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the topical events they study; the rights, responsibilities and duties of citizens; the role of the voluntary sector; forms of government; and the criminal and civil justice, legal and economic systems. They *can* obtain and use different kinds of information, including the media, to form and express an opinion. They *can* evaluate the effectiveness of different ways of bringing about change at different levels of society. Pupils *can* take part effectively in school and community-based activities, and *can* show a willingness and commitment to evaluate such activities critically. They *can* demonstrate personal and group responsibility in their attitudes to themselves and others.

As a result of such changes the paragraph ceases to be normative. For each of the changes the individual's behaviour becomes voluntary and the attainment target is actually about skills, which the individual may or may not wish to use, rather than assessed correct/incorrect actions.

The use of the auxiliary verb needs only to be applied to verbs of action. These are the areas of the curriculum which go beyond that which might be termed civics. Civic knowledge does not have a normative dimension even for a communitarian; therefore it does not need a modifying verb to qualify the learning involved.

The situation of citizenship education being interpreted as a subject, in the same way as chemistry for example, assumes that knowledge, skills and understanding can be interpreted in the same way for both. National Curriculum Citizenship is not a compulsorily examined subject. This is due to the moral aspects of the subject beyond the learning of civics – the values and attitudes of citizenship. Yet, by use of the framework which is current throughout the rest of the National Curriculum the assumption is that citizenship skills can be learnt and applied, based upon knowledge, as can any other subject, potentially leading to the short-course GCSE. This, combined with the communitarian assumptions of how knowledge and skills within the subject should be used, serves to create a political instead of a pedagogical programme.

This is not to say that a political programme is, *per se*, a bad thing. As was argued in Chapter 2, liberalism, republicanism and communitarianism are all situated within democracy. As a result, whatever considerations arise from these approaches, there is an unexamined presumption that democracy is an appropriate frame within which to place a political philosophy. Democracy broadly accepts the ideas of equality, fairness and justice (among others) which are represented by all three approaches.

So, while one may accept this inevitable politicisation which is inherent to any learning environment espousing equality and fairness (for example), the distinction which might be made between citizenship education pre and post

2002 is that of the distinction between an implicit presumption of absolute values and an explicit normative control of actions through citizenship education in particular. Both of these have expectations of how learners should behave in the adult arena although the latter is more prescriptive than the former. Elizabeth Frazer (2000) makes the distinction between morals and political values admirably:

“Political processes and relationships cannot create values that do not already exist as moral values. This means that one important goal for education is the imparting of and the critical consciousness of these values. But, it is inferred, this means that the study of ‘politics’ and discussion of explicitly political values is a diversion, at best, or positively undermines values education at worst, because of the particular place of power and pragmatism in politics.”

(Frazer, 2000, p.98).

If politics is the art of the possible, then such an art is not absolute in the same way that morals are. Political opinions are open to debate and are malleable while morals are not; how they are used is political. The use of the term ‘democratic values’ (e.g. DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.12) politicises morality, devaluing it. It is an instance of *catathresis* where two terms have been appropriated and a new definition created, using the morality of values to bolster the politics of democracy. The partner of this Greek term is *paradiastole*, or in modern terms ‘definition creep’, where a concept is changed subtly. This is the process which the word ‘citizenship’ has undergone. In English it was a word defining status and a term without precise definition as a process. It has become a communitarian tool to mean active participation in a state based upon *democratic values*. A more open (and effective) approach to citizenship education might be to separate citizenship education as it has become into civics and values, negating *catathresis* and avoiding *paradiastole*.

This may, however, not be an option. Perhaps instead, from a learning point of view, if values *have* become an integral part of citizenship, it would benefit citizenship education not only to allow students to learn about what the generations above them think is appropriate as a range of values for society, but

also to allow these same students to consider, *for themselves*, other democratic and non-democratic models of society. While they should be able to learn how the present system works (civics education) they may also choose to influence society towards a political system they think (more) appropriate to the needs of their own cohort as adults. It is not necessarily the role of the present generation of adults to prescribe what this should be but to provide the next generation with the skills and opportunities to make their own choices for themselves and to provide for those to follow.

Having now considered the background to citizenship and the creation of a National Curriculum subject in its name, Chapter 4 develops the notion of citizenship in terms of Quaker philosophy.

Chapter 4, Friends' Philosophy and Citizenship

Remember your responsibilities as a citizen for the conduct of local, national and international affairs. Do not shrink from the time and effort your involvement may demand.

Respect the laws of the state but let your first loyalty be to God's purposes. If you feel impelled by strong conviction to break the law, search your conscience deeply. Ask your meeting for the prayerful support which will give you strength as the right way becomes clear.

(QFP, 1:02.34 & 35)

4.1 Friends' Philosophy

The Society of Friends, being a Christian-based religious group has a New Testament basis for its values concerning life. These are manifested in the Testimonies, viz. truth, equality, integrity, peace, simplicity and community (a fuller account of Quaker philosophy and practice, and the situation of the seven English Friend's schools is to be found in Appendix G). Quaker living, predicated upon these Testimonies, has much in common with citizenship as a process. The use of 'community' encompasses the community of the local meeting, Quakers in general, national society and the world, according to who uses the word. Likewise, 'citizenship' is used occasionally in Quaker literature; and there is a range of contexts in which it sits.

What follows is a series of extracts from Quaker Faith and Practice (Society of Friends, *The Book of Christian Discipline*, 1995, hereafter QFP) which intends to show that the philosophy which Friends follow has an understanding of citizenship which is based upon the individual, the community and adherence to the principles underlying the Testimonies. The relevance it has to citizenship is that it sets out the *modus vivendi* Friends might aim to follow as members of the Society, and as members of society at all levels.

4.1.1 The individual

A starting point for understanding Friends' philosophy might be the first of the Advices and Queries:

“Take heed, dear Friends to the promptings of love and truth in your hearts. Trust them as the leadings of God whose Light shows us our darkness and brings us to new life.”

(QFP, 1.02)

While the exhortation is to Friends in general it has relevance at a personal level, since the heart, in this instance, is an individual concept. The idea, which is recurrent, is that the actions of the person should be founded upon what one feels to be ‘Truth’ from first principles.

Linked to this is an understanding that while we should find our own way, we should also let others find theirs.

“The Quaker emphasis in education probably lies in non-violence, in participation, and in caring. Not only to run the school without violence, but to produce young people who will feel a concern to reduce the level of violence in the world. Not to impose the aims of the school on the pupils, but to lead them to their own acceptance of these aims, to a share (however small) in its running, and a pleasure in its successes. To find that of God in every pupil.

“‘This is the true ground of love and unity,’ wrote Isaac Penington in 1659, ‘not that such a man walks and does just as I do, but because I feel the same Spirit and life in him, and that he walks in his rank, in his own order, in his proper way.’ This marvellous statement by an early Friend of the value of individualism surely commands our assent today. The school which *respects every pupil as an individual* will try to teach each one what he (or she) needs to learn, to draw out his unique talents, to understand his proper way, whether

he is studying or misbehaving. ‘This is far more pleasing to me,’ Penington continues, ‘than if he walked just in that track wherein I walk.’”

(QFP, 23.74, my emphasis)

In addition to allowing each person to find a personal route in life there is also the idea that, while we may be role models for social actions, it is up to the individual to find a way of becoming part of a community:

“When I taught my children how to do many things I ensured that they would have skills to give them abilities, enjoyment and health. What I think I chiefly taught them was that I was right and they were wrong. When I hear them teaching their friends how to play games I realise just how much I bossed them around. In seeking to pass on our values to our children I think we largely waste our time. They will pick up our values from us by the way we live and the assumptions that underpin our own lives.”

(*op.cit.* 23.82)

The concept that values are caught, rather than taught (q.v. Barnard, 1961) has become an aphorism. It is the meaning of the extract above (QFP, 23.82), is implicit in Crick’s (1999) procedural values and is a theme which recurs throughout this research from respondents.

4.1.2 Community

Quakers are international but each country has its own set of laws. It is incumbent upon Friends to follow those appropriate to the state in which they live:

“34. Remember your responsibilities as a citizen for the conduct of local, national, and international affairs. Do not shrink from the time and effort your involvement may demand.

”35. Respect the laws of the state but let your first loyalty be to God's purposes. If you feel impelled by strong conviction to break the law, search your

conscience deeply. Ask your meeting for the prayerful support which will give you strength as a right way becomes clear.

“36. Do you uphold those who are acting under concern, even if their way is not yours? Can you lay aside your own wishes and prejudices while seeking with others to find God's will for them?”

(QFP, 1.02)

Recurrent through Quaker Faith and Practice is the friction between what the law (or the state through law) may say and what one's conscience may argue. This is covered under 'Adherence to principle' below. When conscience does not interfere however, Quaker philosophy would advocate staying within the law of the land.

More than this, 23.01 exhorts Friends to take an active role in the community in order to improve it, working with the *status quo* but working for the betterment of the whole. Thus:

“Remember your responsibility as citizens for the government of your town and country, and do not shirk the effort and time this may demand. Do not be content to accept things as they are, but keep an alert and questioning mind. Seek to discover the causes of social unrest, injustice and fear; try to discern the new growing-points in social and economic life. Work for an order of society which will allow men and women to develop their capacities and will foster their desire to serve.”

(*op.cit.* 23.01)

This paragraph has strong parallels with the concepts involved with 'active citizenship', an idea central to National Curriculum citizenship.

Although there may be a commitment to 'active citizenship' in 23.01, it is poorly founded unless it is allied to understanding about the processes of society. Paragraph 23.47 develops this, allaying knowledge to the individual's place in society:

“Compassion to be effective requires detailed knowledge and understanding of how society works. Any social system in turn requires men and women in it of imagination and goodwill. What would be fatal would be for those with exceptional human insight and concern to concentrate on ministering to individuals, whilst those accepting responsibility for the design and management of organisations were left to become technocrats. What is important is that institutions and their administration be constantly tested against human values, and that those who are concerned about these values be prepared to grapple with the complex realities of modern society as it is.”

(QFP, 23.47)

Within 23.47 is a combination of knowledge about society, the place of the individual within it and the structures which create it, and the values orientation of that individual to fulfil moral obligations within the reality of everyday situations. Society is not a simple construct. The laws of the state are there as a framework within which to work, with reference to the moral absolutes contained within the Testimonies. This combination of the framework of the state and the principles underlying Friends’ philosophy may lead to instances of friction. It is clearly stated how Friends should react in cases of such friction; this is developed in the next section, ‘Adherence to principle’.

4.1.3 Adherence to principle

Number 38 of the Advices and Queries states:

“If pressure is brought upon you to lower your standard of integrity, are you prepared to resist it? Our responsibilities to God and our neighbour may involve us in taking unpopular stands. Do not let the desire to be sociable or the fear of seeming peculiar, determine your decisions.”

(QFP, 1.02)

This question is written in the personal dimension. There is a distinction between moral responsibilities and those to the state. This distinction between sacred and profane is found throughout Faith and Practice. There is a strong

background for this. Paragraph 23.86 is from an early Quaker, Edward Burrough in 1661, a few years after Thomas Hobbes and complementary to his understanding of laws, rights and the individual:

“For conscience’ sake to God, we are bound by his just law in our hearts to yield obedience to [authority] in all matters and cases actively or passively; that is to say, in all just and good commands of the king and the good laws of the land relating to our outward man, we must be obedient by doing ... but ... if anything be commanded of us by the present authority, which is not according to equity, justice and a good conscience towards God ... we must in such cases obey God only and deny active obedience for conscience’ sake, and patiently suffer what is inflicted upon us for such our disobedience to men.”

(QFP, 23.86)

Thus, while the law of the land is perceived as being important, it is not more important than conscience which is beholden to the higher law of morality. Quakers stood out against inequity to such an extent that there is still a Meeting for Sufferings within the Society today. This originally met to discuss those individuals who were imprisoned as a result of defying the law to uphold a higher justice based upon morality.

More modern incidences of Quakers who have stood against the law of the land in order to take a moral stand (mainly within the Peace Testimony) have included those against conscription in the First World War (24.14), the Second World War (24.15 and 24.16), and throughout the Cold War (24.27 and 24.28).

It is important to Friends that they should be *au fait* with the politics of the day and the processes by which to work within and to develop the structures of society in accordance with their moral stance. The state may have its laws and wherever possible Quakers should attend to these laws, but when laws are seen as unjust, there is a moral imperative to act according to what Friends would call Truth. The moral order is more profound than the secular; this is because laws are pragmatic, i.e. they are arranged to order society while morals are derived from first principles.

Paragraph 23.06 asserts that politics are an integral part of one's life. It is an essential aspect of social cohesion. A community is held together by multiple individual understandings of what a community is and how the individual acts for the whole.

“‘Politics’ cannot be relegated to some outer place, but must be recognised as one side of life, which is as much the concern of religious people and of a religious body as any other part of life. Nay, more than this, the ordering of the life of man in a community, so that he may have the chance of a full development, is and always has been one of the main concerns.”

(op.cit. 23.06)

The moral dimension of societal existence is greater than the civic dimension. From a Quaker point of view, as evinced by these extracts from *Quaker Faith and Practice* (1995), being a good citizen is acting in accordance with the moral dimension. Most of the time, by acting in this way one also follows civic duties, and by fulfilling civic duties one is working within moral boundaries. However, there are times when the demands of the state transgress these moral boundaries, from a Friend's position. In such an instance it is clear that it is up to the individual to assess these transgressions and then to act according to an individual understanding of the Truth.

Thus it would seem that the role of the Friend vis-à-vis the state is one of peaceful coexistence as long as the two follow a moral code predicated upon Quaker philosophy. In this respect it is different from the understandings of citizenship presented by negative and positive liberty. This will be considered later after a look at how Quakerism and citizenship compare and differ.

4.2

Quakerism and Citizenship: commonalities and differences

National Curriculum citizenship is a two-fold subject of knowledge and processes (including procedural values). The knowledge is that of how society works, from the management of one's bank account through to the role of the United Nations on the global stage. It sets out the plans of how to navigate the system (knowledge) and teaches one how to deal with people in the system (process). As an example, when considering elections, the knowledge aspect is represented by an understanding of what/who the political parties represent, and how one's vote is used. The process aspect involves knowing how to engage in a reasoned debate, interpret others' views and opinions, acknowledging the validity of the arguments and knowing physically how to vote. The values inherent in these processes include tolerance and respect, being reciprocal between citizens as a utilitarian necessity.

The relationship between the citizen and the state is one which has inclusion (direct and indirect) at many levels. On a parochial scale there is direct involvement with the locality, through community groups and voluntary organisations. At a wider scale there is representation through councillors, MPs and delegates of bodies such as unions and the Women's Institute, lobbying groups, charities, and religious and non-governmental organisations. Thus citizenship, with this understanding, is a grander concept than a relationship between the citizen and the state. As a communitarian conception it seeks to incorporate society into its definition, combining the role of person and citizen and removing the differentiation between the public and the civic.

Quakerism is a foundation of faith, a community with a shared spiritual orientation. The Religious *Society* of Friends, as Quakers are also known, is founded upon the values of truth, equality, simplicity, peace and community. As a society it has a structure of representation. Each meeting has a clerk. This clerk reports to one of 73 monthly meetings and monthly meetings are represented at the Meeting for Sufferings which is the standing body which runs

the *Society*. Meeting for Sufferings is analogous to parliament in the state. There is a yearly meeting for the *Society* in Britain which anyone may attend, which oversees the workings of the Meeting for Sufferings. There is a chief clerk, known as the Recording Clerk who is nominally at the top of this organisational pyramid. As with all of the clerks, it is a position of responsibility to the meeting rather than one of political power over it.

Like the state, the Religious Society of Friends in Britain is limited by geographical boundaries (England, Scotland, Wales, the Channel Isles and the Isle of Man (<http://www.quaker.org.uk/bym>); Ireland has its own hierarchy of meetings. Like the state, it needs knowledge and procedural ability among its members. The process of participation is important; without it the Society would cease to function. Without representation, the 30,000 members would not have a voice beyond their own local meetings. In this respect it is a society as is any other.

There are distinctions between the Society of Friends and the state that is the United Kingdom. They all stem from the difference in the relationship between the formation of the system and the place of values in relation to the system. For the state, values are necessary in order to make the system work. The values of the system are dependent upon the system chosen and thus are liable to change. When the term 'democratic values' is used, it means the values upon which the state is reliant for its existence; if the notion of democracy were to change, the necessary values would change with it. By contrast, within the *Society* values are the foundation upon which the edifice of Quakerism is built. For example, when I write that the position of clerk is one of responsibility rather than power it is because the role is one of representing one's equals fairly and responsibly. It is not a position of executive power.

The question of voting is one which starkly distinguishes Quaker processes from democratic politics. There is no voting whatsoever in the Quaker system. Voting is divisive (the houses of parliament vote in division lobbies). Those who lose a vote are not fairly represented. Quaker business practice starts and finishes any meeting with a period of silence. Decisions within are made as a

‘feeling of the meeting’. There is no recourse to voting since any decision made via a poll leaves a disaffected minority. This ‘feeling of the meeting’ is important because it is representative of how God is moving within the group. In this respect, any Quaker meeting is also a Meeting for Worship. The role of the clerk is to establish what the ‘feeling of the meeting’ is, if possible, drafting and redrafting paragraphs until everyone present is satisfied. Quaker business is protracted and often agreement is not reached on every topic discussed. However, the system remains because it is founded upon a strong values base of truth, integrity, equality, simplicity, peace and community.

Thus, the Quaker system of business and representation is different from that which one would normally regard as democratic. Yet it is democratic because anyone may have a voice. In contrast, if one is part of a minority in western democratic societies, one has no voice unless represented through a separate lobbying group which subverts the system (e.g. Stonewall, which represents the homosexual voice). Moreover, while the Quaker system of business does allow members to participate appropriately, Friends should participate in governance of their own accord because they see the system working. The level of participation is theirs to choose. At a meeting one may remain silent and not contribute to a discussion: the feeling of the meeting might still represent what one thinks. This is in contrast to the perceived malaise in voter turnout at local and general elections in this country and in other nations.

A.C. Grayling, writing in 2001, just after the British general election made the point that:

“every refusal to vote is an act of self-disenfranchisement in which a citizen, betraying the endeavours of history, demotes himself to a serf”.

(Grayling, 2001)

This might have more value if the electoral system in the UK were one of proportional representation. In a divisive, first past the post system, most voters live in constituencies where the outcome is already decided. Indeed, much of what has been termed apathy might be electors reflecting that whoever is elected

will continue the process of government already being undertaken: in other words, whichever party one votes for the government always gets in.

Sparrow (2003), writing in *Reform*, states:

“Disenchantment with established political parties in Britain is widespread and particularly acute among No Party voters. Four in every five think that none of the traditional parties ‘have any really new or attractive ideas for tackling problems in the country’ and 61 per cent think that ‘whatever party is in power, it makes little difference to what actually happens in the country. Partly as a result, No Party voters show little enthusiasm for the electoral process.”

(2003, p.18, quotes from ICM poll, 11-13 September, 2003)

Thus, low voter turnout may be a sign – in part at least – of voter intelligence rather than disinterest.

The concept of communitarian democracy (as presented within the National Curriculum) is just one form of democracy. The representative system of the Society of Friends is another. The major difference between them is that the former assumes and promotes participation in the political process, using values to support the system, while the latter allows participation, basing its processes upon a values system. Such an approach as the Quakers adopt might better reflect the orientation of Sparrow’s No Party supporters than the “worrying levels of apathy” (AGC, 1998, p.8) noted in the Crick Report.

The Quaker business system has commonalities with communitarian and liberal democracy. Local Meetings are represented at Monthly Meetings by clerks, and upward to the Meeting for Sufferings by a series of other clerks. As such there is an element of representative democracy occurring. Thus, in process the *system* is democratic. Balanced against the system is the individual. Finding that of God in everyone (including one’s self) is the starting point for most Quakers. How each interacts with the world and the laws of the state is a personal choice. The *Society* should also act on this premise. In this way the individual and the *Society* should co-exist harmoniously because they are both

working from a foundation in morality. However, when the individual and the *Society* interact with the state and its laws, which have been created through pragmatism and voting (both of which are not necessarily concordant with equality) there are times when the state will produce statute with which Quakers do not agree. In these instances as individuals and/or as the *Society* law will take second place to the moral position.

This situation is what Thoreau was discussing in 1849, when he wrote:

“Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator?”

(Thoreau, 2004, web access)

He continued:

“A very few, as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men, serve the state with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it.”

(*ibid.*)

The difference between what Thoreau advocates and what a Quaker might do is that Thoreau’s civil disobedience would be for the moral preservation of the state albeit in the name of God, while the Quaker would break the law to preserve the morality of people, be they citizens of one’s own country or another.

To this end, Quakers, if upholding what they consider to be morality above law, may be considered to work from fundamental principle. By living witness to God through the testimonies of truth, equality, integrity, peace, simplicity and community, rather than by means of proselytising evangelism, civil disobedience takes the forms of peaceful protest, peaceful action and inaction where appropriate.

The Quaker understanding of citizenship is one which acknowledges the processes of the state and works with them for the betterment of all, as long as

those processes accord with moral philosophy. When they are discordant the Quaker might work for other 'citizens' by attempting to change the iniquitous processes until concordance is resumed. Within state law Friends have much in common with the understanding of negative liberty and liberal philosophy, allowing each person to make personal choices in life as long as those choices do not affect others detrimentally. In contrast, they would not have much in common with positive liberty within state law. In this respect their understanding of politics would move against a communitarian approach to citizenship. But this is not the entire picture. Since there are times when Quakers would act outside of state law, they would do so when working within a positive-liberty understanding of what is right, based upon the Testimonies. Living witness to these Testimonies is usually personal, since proclamations by the *Society* are less likely to be counted as actions against the state than personal actions of civil disobedience. In such circumstances, there is an understanding that action is a *personal* thing (related to liberalism) predicated upon positive-liberty-as-morality (related to communitarianism). It would not be true to say that the Quaker understanding of living in society rests entirely within any of the three models of political society which are the basis of this work.

Chapter 5, Research Design

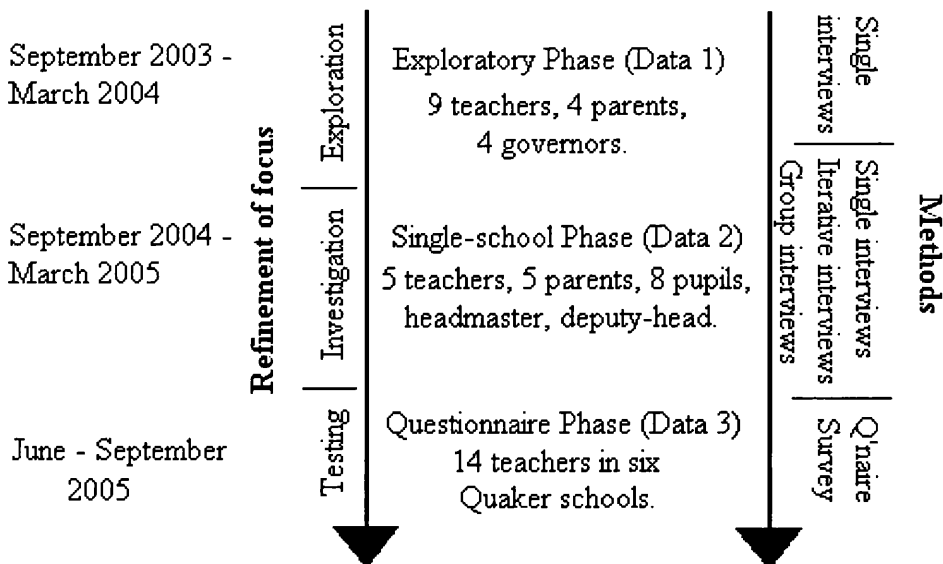
What is demanding is ... the following: we should know the cognitive faculty before we know. It is like wanting to swim before going in the water. The investigation of the faculty of knowledge is itself knowledge, and cannot arrive at its goal because it is this goal already.

(Hegel¹, in Habermas, 1972, p.7)

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to collect the views of Quaker school stakeholders on citizenship education in light of its inclusion into the National Curriculum. There were three phases of data collection (Figure 5: Mapping the Research). The first, with teachers, parents and governors, was exploratory. The second, with teachers, parents and pupils, was focused upon Friends' School Saffron Walden (FSSW). The final phase was a questionnaire survey of teachers in English Quaker schools to test the views within the earlier data.

Figure 5: Mapping the Research



¹Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie, in G.W.F. Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Hermann Glockner, Stuttgart: Frommann, 1949-1959, 19, p.555.

These three phases were conducted over the period of two years to investigate the four research questions underpinning the study:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
3. Why are these schools doing this?
4. What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

Following this introduction there are six sections to this chapter, the first of which sets out the *Case for the Research* (i.e. the 'why'). Next are *Epistemology* and *Methodology* (i.e. the theoretical 'how'). *Design* identifies the practicalities which come from the methodology, i.e. 'who', 'when', 'where' and 'what'. Following *Design* are a section on *Ethics* and a discussion of *Reliability, Validity and Generalisability*.

5.2 The Case for the Research

This study is researching how Quaker school stakeholders understand citizenship education. The context is one which has a new, communitarian, citizenship orthodoxy imposed upon the English maintained school sector through the National Curriculum. Quaker schools, being part of the independent sector, do not have to teach the National Curriculum, although they do shadow it. Thus, they provide a good case, as part of the English school system, in which to examine this conception of citizenship education which itself has a moral basis in 'democratic values' (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.12).

However, even without National Curriculum citizenship, Quaker schools would merit citizenship education research being undertaken within them. They have a specific ethos (see Chapter 4), being institutions allied to the Religious Society of Friends. This ethos is likely to promote a singular vision of citizenship in society and to influence a citizenship education pedagogy particular to these schools. Academic research in Quaker schools, in common with many other

independent sector schools, is limited to research masters degrees undertaken by employees within them such as I undertook before this doctoral study. It follows that any research at greater depth will add to this under-researched part of the English education system. In particular, investigation into how Quaker stakeholders define citizenship, what education for citizenship might be, the influence of Quaker ethos upon these and how these schools already implement what might be termed citizenship education, will add to the corpus of academic citizenship education knowledge in an area outside current research (being undertaken by NFER, CSV, EPPI etc.).

That I bring to the research questions of my own provides a focus for the research, primarily that while investigating the perceptions and practices within Quaker schools, there is an assumption of National Curriculum, communitarian citizenship being the only model for citizenship education and therefore the only model for members of society to follow. Thus, the rationale for undertaking this research has three levels, citizenship education in relation to the National Curriculum, in relation to Quaker ethos/schools, and to resolve my own knowledge deficit about individual-state relationships and how we might educate our children for them.

Chapter 2 explained that there are several approaches to citizenship; it used three terms – liberalism, republicanism and communitarianism – and proposed that republicanism has been superseded by communitarianism leaving a current dichotomy between communitarianism and liberalism. Chapter 3 developed the idea that, at least within the UK, citizenship education through the National Curriculum reflects an orientation towards communitarianism as citizenship *per se*, rather than as one form of citizenship to be delivered through citizenship education. While I think it is important to acknowledge my own orientation towards liberalism, the focus of this research is not to promote liberalism over communitarianism; rather, the intention is to investigate citizenship education, questioning the presumption of communitarian citizenship as citizenship *per se* within the National Curriculum.

One of Aristotle's (1952, p.232) contentious arguments is *ignoratio elenchi* (literally 'ignorance of the pearl' which in modern terms might be 'missing the central point'). It runs thus:

"Those [fallacies] that depend upon whether something is said in a certain respect only or said absolutely, are clear cases of *ignoratio elenchi* because the affirmation and denial are not concerned with the same point. For of 'white in a certain respect', the negation is 'not white in a certain respect', while of 'white absolutely' it is 'not white absolutely'. If, then, a man treats the admission that a thing is 'white in a certain respect' as though it were said to be white absolutely, he does not effect a refutation, but merely appears to do so owing to ignorance of what refutation is."

(*ibid.*)

In terms of citizenship education, communitarianism, instead of being taught as one form of citizenship theory, is being proposed as citizenship theory *in toto*, i.e. as 'white absolutely' instead of 'white in a certain respect'.

This is thus the context in which this research is undertaken. The maintained sector, already having to deliver National Curriculum citizenship, is likely to stress this communitarian understanding because of the latter's central focus within the National Curriculum. In contrast, independent Quaker schools, since they do not have to teach National Curriculum citizenship, provide a case through which to study stakeholders' understandings of citizenship education and this example of Aristotelian fallacy.

So, to Epistemology.

5.3 Epistemology

Epistemology creates the foundation for methodology; it sets out how one understands knowledge before establishing how to conduct research. There is

an inherent complication in that, like the quotation from Hegel at the beginning of this chapter, one already has knowledge and preconceived ideas on any subject before formally undertaking research into it. This notwithstanding, the following is intended to explain the theory of knowledge which underpins this research.

I brought to doctoral study an understanding of research theory based upon two schools of thought, i.e. positivism and interpretivism. MA and MRes research had prepared me to a level which assumed approaches to research are based upon different understandings of how knowledge is derived. Thus positivism embodies strong empiricism through experiment and observation leading to substantive, generalised knowledge (hard facts), while interpretivism represents attempts to understand respondents' interactions with their worlds and how they interpret them, leading to personalised knowledge (soft facts).

Maseide (1990, p.4) considers arguments to define a positivist (empirical / analytical) approach:

- a) the aim of social science is to discover facts
- b) reality is out there (and can be identified/measured)
- c) typical respondents exist
- d) methodological problems are technical more than anything else

This contrasts with an interpretivist philosophy in which, as Silverman (2001), with reference to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p.107) states, "Accounts are not simply representations of the world; they are part of the world they describe" (Silverman, 2001, p.95). Therefore, following this thinking, there are no direct facts, only interpretations of what is experienced. Ultimately this leads the researcher to Holstein and Gubrium (1995, p.117):

"Construed as active, the subject behind the respondent not only holds facts and details of experience, but, in the very process of offering them up for

response, constructively adds to, takes away from, and transforms the facts and details. The respondent can hardly ‘spoil’ what he or she is, in effect, subjectively creating.”

Following this line of thought, theory and reality are interrelated concepts. Theory is a perception and an interaction with reality, a construction of it which affects it by its very creation.

Linked in my mind to these two epistemological approaches were what I saw as two methodological approaches – quantitative and qualitative theories. In my initial understanding, positivism and quantitative approaches were allied as were interpretivism and qualitative approaches.

In this sense, my previous research, based in the interpretive paradigm, had been qualitative, particularly orientated about the ideas of Sarup (1996). I was prepared to use narrative (written, spoken or a combination) as the basis of my data because it particularly allowed for the process as well as the result of a respondent’s opinion to be considered. Sarup (1996, p.17) considers narratives to be divided into:

“a story (*histoire*) and a discourse (*discourse*). The story is the content, or chain of events. The story is the ‘what’ in a narrative, the discourse is the ‘how’. The discourse is rather like a plot, how the reader becomes aware of what happened, the order of appearance of the events.”

Although I had placed myself in the interpretivist camp, both of these assumptions were predicated upon the researcher being separated from the research and not having an active involvement of it. However, once one takes account of the situation to be studied and the political environment surrounding everyone involved in the research, the idea of developing a research rationale based entirely within either the positivist or interpretivist paradigm becomes difficult to maintain.

This positivism/interpretivism debate concerns the status of knowledge as absolute or interpretive. I do not place myself in one camp or the other, although it is the case that in this research, the data given to me by the respondents have been developed as their personal understandings of the issues and facts. However, some interpretations are generalisable – for example, if several respondents were to say a flower is blue I would accept that as a consensus view, even though they would all be seeing blue in their own ways with possible variations of hue which are not perceptible to the researcher. Such knowledge is, according to Stake (2000a, p.22, writing in 1978):

“a form of generalization too, not scientific induction but *naturalistic generalization*, arrived at by recognizing the similarities of objects and issues in and out of context and by sensing the natural covariations of happenings. To generalize this way is to be both intuitive and empirical, and not idiotic.”

While Stake does not see such generalisation as inductive, this consensus can take on the status of accepted knowledge until disproven. In this regard interpretive empiricism can share much common ground with scientific induction. Swann (2003, p.18) in a Popperian essay remarks that a weakness of this inductive approach is that one may see what one wishes to see, being blind to other evidence. She uses the argument of Oetzi, the 5,000 year old ice-man found in the Alps, who, for ten years after being discovered was thought to have died from exposure. However:

“[I]t was only when a researcher studied a new set of X-rays that the arrowhead was observed. Although the arrowhead is discernible on the original X-rays, the earlier researchers, who did not anticipate such a find, simply did not notice it.”

(*ibid.*)

Generalisation may lead to accepted knowledge (without the status of scientific law proposed by positivism) but it also stands to be challenged by subsequent empiricism. It is upon such an understanding of knowledge that this research is

founded. This is developed further at the end of this chapter when explaining *Reliability, Validity and Generalisability* (5.8).

Epistemological discussion is not limited to the positivist-interpretivist debate. Nor are different research paradigms necessarily discrete. Lincoln and Guba (2005, p.195) in Table 1 (next page), set out five 'Inquiry Paradigms'. They propose positivism at one end of the paradigmatic spectrum, with participatory action research at the other. Different paradigms can be, in their understanding, commensurable:

“Is it possible to blend elements of one paradigm into another, so that one is engaging in research that represents the best of both worldviews? The answer, from our perspective, has to be a cautious *yes*.”

(op.cit. p.201)

This is a development from the simplistic, antagonistic understanding of research paradigms I brought to this research. I came to acknowledge that what I was aiming to achieve from the research process would underpin the paradigmatic stance taken. In order to understand what I wanted to achieve I needed to review my understanding concerning learning and knowledge.

The following develops a theory of learning which uses ideas from Dewey, Crick and Habermas. These three authors have been chosen because their writing has much in common in terms of both citizenship education and education in general. The first two have been discussed in Chapter 3 and Habermas (1972) brings them to an epistemological point here.

The data collected in this research, leading to consensus knowledge, do not stand unaffected; they are interpreted by me, as the researcher, in relation to the literature in Chapters 2 and 3. This interpretation supersedes the hermeneutic, questioning the assumptions upon which both respondent data and research /

<i>Paradigm</i>	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical Theory et al.	Constructivism	Participatory Action Research
Issue Ontology	Naïve realism – real reality but apprehensible	Critical realism – “real” reality, but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time	Relativism – local and specific co-constructed realities	Participative reality – subjective-objective reality, co-created by mind and given cosmos
Epistemology	Dualist / objectivist; findings true	Modified dualist / objectivist; critical tradition / community; findings probably true	Transactional / subjectivist; value mediated findings	Transactional / subjectivist; co-created findings	Critical subjectivity in participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional, and practical knowing; co-created findings
Methodology	Experimental / manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental / manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	Dialogic / dialectical	Hermeneutical / dialectical	Political participation in collaborative action inquiry; primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experiential context

Table 1: Basic Beliefs of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms, Lincoln and Guba (in Denzin and Lincoln, eds. 2005, p.195)

policy literature were based. In this respect the interpretation of data is a continuing process, represented by the writing of this thesis as being summative, but which is part of my own progressive education. This is what Dewey (1916) writes about in 'Education as Growth' when he refers to growth as "*being* an end", not "*having* an end" (*op.cit.* p.54). This understanding of knowledge and its educational purpose has a supplemental effect upon how I interpret citizenship education, preferring Crick's (1999, *passim*) 'procedural values' rather than the attainment targets of the National Curriculum Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999). Crick's (1999) procedural value of tolerance and the skill of political literacy are more than knowledge (positivist or interpretivist). The process of toleration, allied with listening, interpreting and debating skills, allows the individual to challenge his/her view of the world, comparing it against those presented by others. The continuous outcome of this is that one is able to update one's position in relation to learning. This is Dewey's 'education as growth' and is proposed by Habermas (1972, p.301) as 'emancipatory' learning:

"The *only* knowledge that can truly orient action is knowledge that frees itself from mere human interests and is based on Ideas – in other words, knowledge that has taken a theoretical attitude."

Knowledge which leads to internal theoretical development is comparable with 'education as growth'. It does not presume that we learn to achieve an end but that learning is a continuing process, perhaps even a procedural value itself.

My development of a 'theoretical attitude' arose as a result of realising that there was a difference between 'education being an end' and 'education having an end' and the corresponding difference between a procedural values approach to citizenship education and National Curriculum citizenship. Before this I had been working with an assumption of education as the former, ignoring the latter. In this sense, this development is Popperian, because:

"we become conscious of many of our expectations only when they are disappointed, owing to their being unfulfilled. An example would be the encountering of an unexpected step in one's path: it is the unexpectedness of

the step which may make us conscious of the fact that we expected to encounter an even surface.”

(Popper, 1979, p.344)

It was an interest in values education which drew me into a study of citizenship education in the first instance. As it says in the citizenship Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.4):

“[National Curriculum citizenship] will play an important role, alongside other aspects of the curriculum and school life, in helping pupils to deal with difficult moral and social questions that arise in their lives and in society.”

Yet, on further reading the Order, which promotes ‘democratic values’ (*op.cit.* p.12) and is highly structured, with programmes of study and attainment targets, I encountered incongruity between the open-ended nature of ‘moral and social questions’ and the closed nature of the specified learning goals.

Thus, the instigation for my interest was a Popperian, post-positivist, unfulfilled expectation of what citizenship education would be within the National Curriculum. It was this that led to the Aristotelian fallacy of communitarian citizenship promoted by the National Curriculum being presented as citizenship *per se*. However, my epistemological approach for the research, collecting oral data from respondents, developed from reading Dewey, Crick and Habermas, and was interpretivist/constructivist. Citizenship education in Quaker schools is a narrow focus, what Lincoln and Guba (2005, p.195) call a ‘local and specific constructed reality’. Knowledge from respondents, concerning what they *think* about citizenship education, is necessarily interpreted through my understanding of the interviews we had, even when complemented by school policy documents as is the case in this research.

5.4 Methodology

Methodology sets out the approach undertaken for the research in light of both the outlined epistemological stance (above) and the research questions (below). It is followed by *Design*, which explains the actual framework of the research and how it was carried through.

There are two sections in this *Methodology*:

- Process
- Tools

Process establishes the type of research to be undertaken, discussing the appropriateness of different methods. *Tools* explains which methods were used and why.

5.4.1 Process

Flyvbjerg (2006, p.242):

“Good social science is problem driven and not methodology driven in the sense that it employs those methods that for a given problematic, best help answer the research questions at hand.”

The purpose of this research is to investigate how those involved in Quaker schools understand and practise citizenship education. Since these schools do not have to follow National Curriculum citizenship, the premise behind the research is different from that in national UK studies (NFER 2004, 2005; CSV 2003, 2004; Haste 2005; Ofsted e.g. 2005a). Questions need to be generalistic, in order to establish:

- what forms of citizenship respondents understand;
- how what they see as being done fits this understanding;

- how their own conceptions of citizenship education relate to National Curriculum citizenship; and
- how these different understandings have reference to Quaker philosophy and practice.

The research *Process* therefore sets out the type of research which was undertaken, setting out the possible routes of study. The four research questions taken into the study were:

1. How do Quaker school stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
3. Why are these schools doing this?
4. What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

While these questions had been set, there was a range of options open for the types of data to collect and how they might be gathered. Undertaking research into citizenship education in Quaker schools presumes that data will be collected from Quaker schools and the people associated with them. Direct stakeholders in schools include pupils, teachers, parents and governors. There being only seven English Quaker schools presented three options for the research.

- At the widest extreme, research could be undertaken in all seven schools using a sample of all of the stakeholders in each. This would have been a piece of ‘global’ research into an enclosed system.
- At its smallest, the research could have been a case study of one school and its implementation of the citizenship curriculum and/or implicit citizenship within whole-school life.
- Between these is a combination of single and multiple-school research.

The research process chosen depended on which of these options best enabled, in the prevailing circumstances, the research questions to be addressed.

Relatively large-scale research involving sampling in multiple schools would have tended to limit the research to questionnaires and group interviews with stakeholders. This would be an approach similar to the national research being undertaken in the English maintained sector on National Curriculum citizenship (NFER 2004, 2005; CSV 2003, 2004; and Nestlé 2005) and academic research such as Maslovaty (2000) and Naylor and Cowie (1999). It is best used for researching an existing intervention such as the way schools are currently implementing National Curriculum citizenship.

Small-scale research in a single-school could take the form of a case study. The choices within one school include the types of data to be collected and the range of respondents who might provide such data. Thus one might undertake an ethnographic study, working within the school, collecting 'thick', descriptive data (e.g. Geertz, 1973, *passim*), using interviews and observation to "convey the full picture" (Punch, 1992, p.192), "understood in the context of narrative accounts which draw on the whole culture in which the actions occur" (Gomm *et al.* 2000, p.99). Alternatively, one could be an outside, visiting researcher, collecting data from a more distant perspective, in the forms of interviews and/or questionnaires (e.g. Flecknoe, 2002; Holden, 2000; Leighton, 2004). These data would necessarily be 'thinner', but the view looking in might be different from that which an ethnographer would see from being within, i.e. a series of separate representative views with less personal researcher involvement.

The third option is some combination of these two, utilising both interviews and questionnaires (e.g Gillborn, 1992), conducting a single-school case study which is complemented by interviews and/or questionnaires with stakeholders from other schools, in order to test the data for generalisation to the wider set of schools.

The approach chosen was a form of this third option. This is set out below in *Case Study Method*.

Case Study Method

The research is in three parts; a preliminary cross-section of Quaker school stakeholders, a single-school study at Friends' School Saffron Walden, and a follow-up multi-school questionnaire survey. Together, the three create a case-study of attitudes to and understandings of citizenship education within English Quaker schools. The single-school study is a case study within a case study. In this respect, the form of the research as a whole is a nested case study of citizenship education in English Quaker schools. The term 'single-school study' has been used to differentiate between it and the whole.

I have entitled the research a case study. This is in the sense that it "aims to understand the case in depth, and in its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and its context" (Punch, 1998, p.150). However, analysing attitudes towards citizenship education and National Curriculum citizenship in a school which does not formally teach the subject, limits the type of research being undertaken.

Stake (2000b, p.436) says that case study "is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied." To this end the research is a case study. However, by adopting an approach to collecting data through interviews, my research is not ethnographic; it does not collect 'thick' data by my being a member of the school body. I am not researching the schools themselves; rather I am researching what direct stakeholders in the schools (i.e. teachers, governors, parents and pupils) think about a particular aspect of their school.

As such it is an *instrumental case study*, i.e. "a particular case is examined to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization," (Stake, 2000b, p.437). In this case I am considering the position of citizenship in Quaker schools through the views of stakeholders and through what the schools do about citizenship, thereby 'providing insight into an issue'. This is in contrast to an *intrinsic case study* which would be investigating Quaker schools 'first and last, [because] the researcher wants better understanding of this particular case' (*ibid.*). Inevitably there is not an absolute distinction between the two as the

situation within Quaker schools is researched in order to establish an insight to the issue. Indeed, Stake (*ibid.*) makes this point:

“Because we simultaneously have several interests, often changing, there is no line distinguishing intrinsic case study from instrumental; rather, a zone of combined purpose separates them.”

The case also fits within the definition of case study which Yin (1989, p.23) develops; i.e.

“[It] investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.”

In this sense, the process of the case study acts as a methodic vehicle to allow what is of interest, both for the respondents and for the researcher, to be established and clarified. The research does in part establish extant citizenship aspects within the Quaker schools, using multiple sources representing different stakeholders. Thus, as a case study, my research would seem to fit with Yin’s understanding. However, Yin (1989) has three forms of case study: exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. This is in contrast to Stake (2000b) who, as I have noted above, has a wider picture of case study as intrinsic or instrumental. My research is both exploratory and explanatory since it is asking respondents what they think about the issue of citizenship in Quaker education and it is necessarily descriptive (though not thickly, see above) to give the data context. It is also investigating possible routes for the development of citizenship within Quaker schools.

In light of these two perspectives, I find Stake’s understanding of case study more useful for the research undertaken here. In particular, the single-school study at Friends’ School Saffron Walden (FSSW) is a useful environment in which to research the idea of citizenship in Quaker schools because it allows an insight into the issue of citizenship education, at a greater depth, in a single, Quaker educational establishment.

Corcoran *et al.* (2004) with reference to Feagin *et al.*, (1991) state:

“Whether an outside evaluator is conducting the case or insider practitioners conducting a self-study, they are striving for a holistic understanding of cultural systems of action. Cultural systems of action refer to sets of interrelated activities engaged in by the actors in a social situation. It is a system of action rather than an individual or group of individuals. This means that the researcher considers not just the voice of individual actors, but also of the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them.

“Indeed, case-study research is a study of practice. It is a study of all the players, or practitioners, involved directly, or indirectly, in the innovation. Further, it is a study of the practitioners’ actions and the theories they hold about their actions.”

(Corcoran *et al.* 2004, p.11)

In this respect my research may be regarded by some as not being fully a case study. It does collect data from different groups and it does attempt to inter-relate these but it does not attempt to achieve a truly holistic understanding of the schools themselves since it is *instrumental* in its approach. Using FSSW as part of a nested study provides depth of data to be verified against other schools through a summative inter-school questionnaire.

5.4.2 Tools

Interviews and questionnaires were used to collect data from respondents. Those who agreed to participate in this research did so on the understanding that they would be contributing to research rather than being evaluated themselves. This distinction is important in two ways. First, the interviews were semi-structured, designed to let the respondents give information which I checked against my question areas, only asking follow-up questions once their flow of views stopped. This allowed the participants to express what they thought was apposite, letting them lead their own way around the topics of discussion. Second, without trust in me, the respondents may well have been tempted to

provide the data they thought was appropriate to give. If I had 'evaluated' the people who were talking to me (i.e. measured and judged their opinions in terms of correctness or value) they would likely have been less inclined to give me their personal views.

Interviews

During the process of these interviews I have read around the subject of citizenship in/and education. This reading will certainly have influenced the interviews which I conducted and the subsequent reading and interpretation of transcripts. As a result the findings of the study are not generated by grounded theory. However, the points which come out of the respondents' transcripts from the baseline study have developed the approach taken during the second year of this research, adding another avenue of insight to the reading around the subject.

Questionnaires

The single-school study provided data of depth within one school. In order to verify these data for generalisation across the wider, Quaker school teacher population, questionnaires were developed from the single-school interviews. Cohen *et al.* (2000, p.247) state a rule of thumb:

“[T]he larger the size of the sample, the more structured, closed and numerical the questionnaire may have to be, and the smaller the size of the sample, the less structured, more open and word-based the questionnaire may be.”

With only seven schools in the system a large-scale survey was not going to be appropriate. I was researching the attitudes to and understandings of citizenship education in Quaker schools. This required collecting data which were both factual (e.g. regarding what citizenship provision respondents thought existed in their schools), and matters of opinion (e.g. regarding what respondents thought *about* what happened in their schools). As an extension from the single-school

study, this would still fulfil what Cohen *et al.* (2000, pp.247-8) call ‘a site specific case-study’, i.e. where:

“qualitative, less structured, word-based and open-ended questionnaires may be more appropriate as they can capture the specificity of a particular situation.”

In this case, the specificity of the situation is citizenship education in Quaker schools. The purpose of the research was not measurement or quantification. Thus, a questionnaire using closed-questions was not going to be appropriate when gaining personal views. However, there is a use for closed questions when establishing the background of a respondent, such as subject specialism or whether or not the respondent is a Quaker. To this end, the questionnaire (Appendix D) had some introductory closed questions followed by open-ended questions to establish the attitudes of the respondents.

5.5 Design

Design has two sections. *Framework* sets out the shape and timing of the research, while *Practice* details how the research came together in the three phases of data collection.

5.5.1 Framework

As has been explained above the research is a nested case study of citizenship education in Quaker schools using FSSW as a single-study school, with other data from respondents representing the wider Quaker school system in England. This structure grew as a result of the practicalities of access I experienced while undertaking baseline interviews in five schools, in order to establish what the situation of citizenship in these schools was. Thus, the shape of the research was designed in three parts, hereafter referred to as Data 1, Data 2 and Data 3:

- Baseline interviews (Data 1)
- Study at Friends' School Saffron Walden (Data 2)
- Questionnaires to seven Quaker schools (Data 3)

Data 1 was a set of interviews exploring the situation of the new concept of citizenship education and the place of a syllabus for it within Quaker schools, while, in particular evaluating its place against Quaker ethos. Respondents included nine teachers (who were heads of school or specialists in subjects allied to citizenship; e.g. PSHE, careers, RE), four governors from two of the Quaker schools (one of whom was also a parent at FSSW), and four other parents of children at FSSW. These respondents volunteered in response to letters sent to the headteachers and governors of the Quaker schools. Parents were contacted by individual letter, following informal contacts through my Duke of Edinburgh Award experience at FSSW. Five schools were represented by the teachers, two by governors, and all of the parents came from FSSW.

Table 2: Participation of Stakeholders in the Research

School	Teachers Data 1	Governors Data 1	Parents ² Data1/Data2	Pupils Data2	Teachers ³ Data 2	Teachers Data 3
A	1					3
B(FSSW)	2	2	5 / 5	8	6	1
C	2	2				4
D	2					1
E	2					2
F						3
G						

Data 2 was a single-school study based at FSSW based upon the exploratory research in Data 1. Respondents included teachers (including the headmaster and his deputy), parents and pupils. The study explored, in greater detail than Data 1, the various definitions of citizenship, the perception of how this subject might manifest itself in (Quaker) schools, and the relationship between

² One parent included in Data 1 is also one of the two FSSW governors. She was interviewed between the other parents and governors reflecting this dual status (see Table 3, Omicron).

³ One extra teacher (Megan) volunteered to take part in the final two interviews, while another was unable through illness to participate in the final interview or pilot the Data 3 questionnaire.

citizenship and PSHE (the subject many maintained schools have used to 'carry' citizenship). Five teacher respondents volunteered as a result of a request during a staff meeting to be involved in the research, while one other joined at the penultimate interview. They gave their names to my contact in the school and I followed this with letters of explanation before they formally agreed to take part. The eight pupils were all involved in the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme (DofE) and had volunteered to participate in the research after they had asked me what my research topic was. Four of the five parents involved in Data 2 had children in this DofE group – one of these was Omicron from Data 1; the other parent did not have a child in the DofE group but had taken part in Data 1 (Mu).

Data 3 was a questionnaire survey sent to all seven Quaker schools, based upon the interviews from the teachers in Data 2. It aimed to establish the extent to which the findings from Data 2 were representative of (non-citizenship specialist) teachers within the Quaker school system. Letters were sent to headteachers of the schools, each containing six questionnaires with reply-paid envelopes, and asking them to distribute them to teachers who might be interested in the research. Participation was entirely voluntary. There were fourteen responses.

The 'why' and the 'how' of the research have so far been explained. The three periods of data collection (Data 1, Data 2 and Data 3) are now set out more fully, developing the remaining Ws – When, Who, Where and What.

5.5.2 Timing of the Research

As may be seen in Table 3, data were collected over a period of two years, in three phases – Data 1, Data 2 and Data 3. Data 1 is in two parts, the initial interviews with teachers (who were in management positions or specialists in citizenship-related subjects) were conducted within twelve weeks. The second part, with parents and governors, is spread out over a longer period, reflecting the timescale of getting access to these respondents. These respondents were given Greek letter codes.

Table 3: Timetable of Data Collection

	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Type of Respondent</i>	<i>Respondent</i>	<i>School</i>
<i>Pilot</i>	<i>September 2003</i>	Teachers	Pilot 1, Pilot 2	
<i>Data 1</i>	<i>October</i>	Teacher	Alpha	A
	<i>November</i>	Teachers	Beta, Toni	B
		Teachers	Gamma, Delta	C
	<i>December</i>			
	<i>January 2004</i>	Teachers	Eta / Theta	D
		Teachers	Iota / Kappa	E
	<i>February</i>			
	<i>March</i>	Parent-Governor	Omicron	B
		Parent	Mu	B
	<i>April</i>			
	<i>May</i>	Parents X3	Lambda, Xi , Nu	B, B, B
	<i>June</i>	Governors X3	Pi, Rho, Sigma	B,B/C,C
	<i>July</i>			
	<i>August</i>			
<i>Data 2</i>	<i>September</i>	Teachers X5	Toni et al.	B
	<i>October</i>			
	<i>November</i>	Teachers X5	Toni et al.	B
		Headmaster, Ass. Head Pastoral		
	<i>December</i>			
	<i>January 2005</i>	Teachers X5	Toni et al.	B
		Pupils' Group		B
	<i>February</i>			
	<i>March</i>	Parents' Group	Agatha - Omicron	B
	<i>April</i>	Teachers X5	Toni et al.	B
<i>Data 3</i>	<i>May / September</i>	Teachers - Survey	A1 – G6	A – G

Data 2, the single-school study at FSSW, was undertaken over the course of two terms. Access had been agreed, partly as a result of negotiations necessary for Data 1, using existing contacts through my DofE involvement and having

previously taught there. Christian pseudonyms were used for this set of respondents.

Data 3 was a questionnaire survey sent to teachers in the seven Quaker schools. Only four schools returned questionnaires from the first approach in May 2005; the other three schools were sent a second set of questionnaires in September, in order to increase the number of returns. Letter/Number codes were used for the questionnaires, the letters representing schools and the numbers the respondents within them.

Having now explained what was to be done in the research, how it was to be undertaken and the timescales involved, the following section of this chapter is *Practice*, which details how the research came together in the three phases of data collection.

5.6 Practice

A full account of the different parts of the research and when they happened is to be found in Appendix H (Practical Methodology). This section is intended to explain more concisely how the design was put into practice.

5.6.1 Data 1 – Baseline Research

As explained above, Data 1 was a set of interviews with seventeen respondents (teachers, parents and governors), exploring the situation of the new concept of citizenship education and the place of a syllabus for it within Quaker schools, while evaluating its place against Quaker ethos in particular.

There were two pilot interviews with teachers in non-Quaker schools. These were semi-structured using six questions based on the research questions (Table 4), were recorded on audio tape and were transcribed for verification by the respondents. After a discussion based on these questions, I provided an exemplar questionnaire (which I

suggested they might like to trial on their pupils), and asked them to make comments on it. In order to present a stimulus which was not focused upon the National Curriculum conception of citizenship, but providing a wider perspective, this questionnaire (Appendix A) was based on Ichilov's (1990) continuum of citizen involvement which represents both vertical and horizontal participatory approaches (Jochum *et al.* 2005) and the moral continuum – from the state being a liberal entity to it being an Aristotelian good in its own right.

Table 4: Questions for Pilot Interviews, Data 1

Research Questions	Questions for Pilot Interviews
<p>[i] How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?</p> <p>[ii] What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?</p> <p>[iii] Why are these schools doing this?</p> <p>[iv] What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship</p>	<p>How has citizenship been introduced into your school?</p> <p>What did you think citizenship was as you were introducing it to school?</p> <p>How does citizenship integrate with the pre-existing curriculum?</p> <p>What are you teaching and how are you doing this?</p> <p>What is the relationship between citizenship and the hidden curriculum?</p> <p>How are you monitoring progress and judging success?</p>

From these pilot interviews the focus of the research was confirmed as an exploration of the subject rather than an evaluation of how it was being implemented. The pilot respondents demonstrated a limited knowledge of National Curriculum citizenship; their schools were delivering citizenship education implicitly, with no specific lessons being devoted to the subject. Instead, it was being delivered either as an extension of PSHE or as an existing part of the whole academic curriculum.

Therefore, in order to give respondents stimuli for a subject in which they were unlikely to have specialist knowledge, they were shown nine cards with questions upon them, each of which was directly relevant to one of the research questions (in italics):

How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?

What does citizenship mean?

What do you think is the broad concept of citizenship?

What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?

What does your school do that has implications for citizenship?

What approaches to citizenship provision do you have in your school?

How are you implementing citizenship in your school?

Why are schools doing this?

What are the assumptions underpinning the development of citizenship related curricula in your school? (Are there any?)

What relevance do you see the subject of citizenship having to your school?

What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

What effect does the hidden curriculum have?

As added stimuli towards helping the respondents to frame their views after they had given their answers to the card questions, they were provided with an exemplar questionnaire (as during the pilot interviews), based upon Ichilov's

(1990) continuum of citizenship involvement (Appendix A), and a copy of the attainment targets from the citizenship Order. On viewing these documents the respondents were given the opportunity to revisit the original question cards in order to develop the views they had first framed.

The Data1 respondents, being offered the various stimuli of the Appendix A questionnaire, card questions and National Curriculum documentation, all proceeded to pass over the questionnaire containing Ichilov's continuum as being too demanding. It was therefore not effective as an interview stimulus.

The interviews were digitally recorded, and the transcript from each interview was sent to the matching respondent for verification of what was said.

Coding the Data 1 interviews

Each interview transcript was coded by paragraph according to the four research questions (in italics, preceding page). Some paragraphs were coded more than once; for example, a passage ostensibly about 'how Quaker schools deliver citizenship education' might be coded for 'the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship' and 'how Quaker stakeholders define citizenship', as well as for the original stimulus. These paragraphs from all of the respondents (i.e. all the teachers, or all the parents and governors) were then grouped under their codes and read for themes which might come out of them. Then, for comment upon these themes, each paragraph was once again read in the context of its interview. Thus, the themes developed from the body of the interviews, seen as a whole, rather than from one at a time, and examples were checked for their context by returning to their original transcript in each case.

The data from this exploratory phase of the research are represented in *Chapter 6, Data 1 – Year 1*.

5.6.2 Data 2 – Single-school Study

The second phase of the research was based entirely within Friends’ School Saffron Walden, forming a single-school study. Data 2 took the form of iterative (individual) and one-off group interviews, as well as one-off interviews with the headmaster and his assistant-head (pastoral). All were recorded digitally, transcripts being sent to respondents for verification of what was said.

The iterative interviews were open-ended, similar to those during the previous academic year (Data 1) in that the respondents had the opportunity to lead much of the content of each interview although I had an agenda for each as well. The interviews always covered more topics than on my agenda, overlapping with ideas from previous/subsequent discussions.

Iterative Interviews

Data 1 had explored the concept of citizenship in Quaker schools, establishing routes for further exploration. These new routes marked a development from the original four coding headings to six questions, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Development of Data 2 Questions

<p align="center">Original Coding Headings for Data 1</p>	<p align="center">Amended Questions for Data 2</p>
<p>[1] What do respondents think citizenship is?</p> <p>[2] What are schools doing towards citizenship?</p> <p>[3] Why are they doing this?</p> <p>[4] What is the relationship between</p>	<p>A What do respondents think citizenship is?</p> <p>B What are the similarities/differences between the respondents’ concepts of citizenship and that contained within the citizenship Order?</p> <p>C What are Quaker schools doing which</p>

Quakerism and citizenship?	<p>might be termed citizenship education?</p> <p>D Why are they doing this?</p> <p>E What is the influence of Quaker ethos?</p> <p>F How should subjects such as citizenship be taught?</p>
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The two extra questions (B and F) came out of the Data 1 interviews. Respondents seemed to hold an understanding of citizenship which did not accord directly with that of the National Curriculum. This led to question B. The gathering of Data 1 was intended to explore questions rather than directly investigating the pedagogy of citizenship education. Nevertheless this was an issue which arose from the baseline data. Also, the headmaster of FSSW requesting me to consider the place of PSHE in the curriculum, a pedagogical aspect became a necessary addition.

Iterative Interview Practice

A series of four iterative interviews were conducted with six respondents over the course of two terms from September 2004 to March 2005. The sequence of interviews reflected the six research questions developed from Data 1. The first was general, asking the respondents what they thought citizenship was and how it pertained to schools. The second asked them to consider the citizenship curriculum in the light of FSSW. The third focused upon the influence of Quaker ethos and possible models for delivery of the subject, while the final interview reviewed the previous three, considering the planned survey to be sent to schools during the following term.

The nature of the interviews, while directed towards the themes in the previous paragraph, was informal enough that the same themes were addressed in more than one interview with the same respondent. This allowed for different interpretations by the respondents to be developed, for example on the role of the school with regard to citizenship education, or the influence of Quaker ethos

upon pupil development. After each interview, the respondent received a typed transcript to verify what was said. With this they could return to the next interview with their thoughts upon the previous one and its transcript.

Group Interviews

Two group interviews were held early in 2005, at the midpoint of the Data 2 collection. The first was with pupils. The second was with parents. They were intended to explore what views of citizenship and education these stakeholders held, triangulating with the non-teacher interviews from Data 1 and balancing with the iterative interviews with teachers which were part of Data 2. The interviews were recorded and participants were provided with pencil and paper to write down any notes they wanted; these provided corroborative data for transcription purposes.

An assumption behind the group interviews was that neither the pupils nor the parents were pedagogical specialists. As a result the questioning was to be focused upon the first two of the questions from Data 1, i.e. ‘What is citizenship?’ and ‘What are schools doing towards this end?’ The six questions (A to F) behind the iterative teacher interviews presumed a greater knowledge of the school and time for reflection. Thus the interviews were designed to be in three parts:

1. What is it to be an adult in society?
 - 1a. What is citizenship?
2. What should schools be doing to this end?
3. What is your school doing to this end?

A pupil pilot group interview established that it would likely be difficult for the participants to make a distinction between schools in general and their own. Pupils only have experience of the schools which they attend. As a result, I made question 3 the second question, with the original question 2 as a follow-up. The interviews, subsequent to the pilot therefore took the form:

1. What is an adult in society?
 - 1a. What is citizenship?
2. What is your school doing to this end?
 - 2a. What should schools in general be doing towards this end?

The pupils were provided with pencils and paper in case they wanted to make notes during the discussion. These were collected to verify who was speaking at what time to make the transcription process easier.

The group interview with parents took place in March 2005. Like the pupils' group, convenience sampling was used, it being the preferred approach of the headmaster⁴. Eight parents (seven mothers and a father) signed up with five attending on the day. Four of the five were the parents of children who had participated in the previous group interview, one of whom was the parent-governor in Data 1 (Omicron), while the other who did not have a child in the group interview had also taken part in Data 1 (Mu). The parental group interview was run on similar lines to the pupils' group, based on three question areas for discussion, working from the general to the specific. An agreement form for all the parents was created that they should respect the anonymity of the remarks made during the session (Appendix C). This agreement form stressed that the session was a talking shop for ideas to be explored as well as for opinions to be aired, and that not all ideas would necessarily represent fixed opinions.

Coding the Data 2 interviews

The Data 2 interviews were coded using the six research questions (see Table 5) which developed from the Data 1 process. All of the transcripts were coded by paragraph according to these six research questions. As with Data 1 some paragraphs were coded more than once; for example, a comment about 'what

⁴ Other routes for sampling would have involved gaining access to a list of the names and addresses of the parental body, or personal interaction with parents at the end of the school day. The first of these the school could not allow under its own ethics, and the second would have been obtrusive, possibly negating the good working relationship I had created within FSSW.

Quaker schools are doing which might be termed citizenship education' might also be coded for 'how subjects such as citizenship should be taught' according to context. These paragraphs from all of the respondents (i.e. all the teachers' iterative interviews, or the parent group interview, or the pupils' group interview) were then grouped under their codes and read for themes which might come out of them. Then, for comment upon these themes, each paragraph was once again read in the context of its interview. Thus, the themes developed from the body of the interviews, seen as a whole, rather than from one at a time, and examples were checked for their context by returning to their original transcript in each case.

5.6.3 Data 3 – Questionnaire Survey

The iterative interviews with teachers shaped the development of the questionnaire which was to be sent to the seven Quaker schools, in order to test the extent to which the views on citizenship collected at FSSW were generalisable among teachers in the rest the English Quaker education system.

The rationale for the questionnaire survey is that it provides the research with a cross-sectional dimension, enabling data to be collected from the seven schools anonymously and without the need to build up rapport which was a part of the iterative interviews at FSSW. This allows for triangulation of the views collected during Data 1 and Data 2.

The survey was intended to take a sample from the population of teachers within the seven English Quaker schools to establish the degree to which the issues and views developed by the FSSW respondents are reflected in the wider population represented by the seven schools. Six questionnaires were sent to each school – a total possible response of 42 questionnaires. While not a large-scale survey, this sample represents a proportion of the population of secondary teachers within this small group of schools.

The questionnaires were sent out at the end of the first half of the summer term. Three schools did not return any responses. A second set of questionnaires was

sent to them for the beginning of the Michaelmas term 2005. Two schools replied to the second posting, i.e. six of the seven schools took part in the survey. The total number of returns was fourteen, plus the five pilot returns. While only a one-third response rate, the returns do qualitatively reflect the views of teachers in six of the seven English Quaker schools, serving to test teachers' views from the Data 2 phase. The data from the pilot returns have not been included in the Data 3 findings since they represent the views of teachers who have been in discussion with me concerning citizenship. As a result, their validity as being representative of the views of non-specialist teachers in Quaker schools is questionable. They have, however, been used as part of the Data 2 findings because the discussion around the questionnaire was part of the final iterative interview in which they each participated.

5.7 Ethics

The first of the BERA ethical guidelines states:

“The British Educational Research Association believes that all educational research should be conducted within an ethic of respect for persons, respect for knowledge, respect for democratic values, and respect for the quality of educational research.”

(BERA, web access)

Throughout the research all of the respondents have been given the opportunity to confirm the transcripts which represented their interviews. Where they have altered what I have written (including typographic errors) I have accepted their amendments so that these have become the final data.

While the opportunity was given to the respondents, only a few responded with alterations to transcripts. Of these, only Pi and Toni actually altered what had been recorded. In both cases their changes were accepted as the absolute data. It is questionable whether the low number of respondents who did make changes reflects the accuracy of the transcriptions and that they fairly reflected what the

respondents meant to say, or whether the respondents did not feel confident to make comments on the transcripts. Of four parent respondents from Data 1 who were also invited to take part in the Data 2 group interview, only two agreed. The two who did not agree to join the group may have decided that they were not happy with the transcripts of their interviews. Alternatively, the lack of anonymity within a group environment could have been the reasoning.

With the exception of the headmaster of Friends' School Saffron Walden, who readily gave his permission for his name to be used, all of the respondents have remained anonymous. Since the data have been collected in three phases, there are three sets of pseudonyms, Greek letters for Data 1, random first names for Data 2, and letter/number codes representing the questionnaires in Data 3. However, respondents were aware that they might still be recognised by a colleague reading a report based upon this research, but that otherwise anonymity would be preserved. I do not believe that anything I have quoted a respondent saying would be detrimental to him/her, but this is not to say that respondents were not careful in presenting their views. This could be particularly true of the teachers in Data 2, who were known by the staff in general to be participating in my research.

References to third parties have been given pseudonyms. When instances were given in the data which might have developed a respondent's views but which might have shed a poor light upon particular children, they have not been used. Other instances, from which it might be possible to identify particular children, have only been included when they are not judgemental upon these individuals.

With regard to respect for the quality of educational research, I have made clear both the direction of my particular political bias, and that I have a history in and commitment to Quaker education in independent schools. Any reader of this thesis should be aware of my position as a researcher and be able to interpret my findings in light of this.

I believe the ethics of the study to be within the BERA guidelines which are the most appropriate for this research. In addition to this, my approach throughout

the research was intended to reflect the Quaker respect for the individual, and the inner light of truth which comes from each person. For this reason, as much as for following BERA guidelines, I have attempted to represent a faithful version of each respondent's views and to clarify where inferences are mine alone.

5.8 Reliability, Validity and Generalisability

Generalisation is predicated upon the reliability and validity of the research process. Research which is inherently interpretive, such as investigations into the attitudes and understandings of citizenship education, is unlikely to conform to the validity and reliability requirements of positivism. This is not to say that interpretive, case-study research like this study cannot generalise within the boundaries of its own reliability and validity. Indeed, authors such as Campbell (1975), Giddens (1984), Walton (1992), Bochner (2000) and Flyvbjerg (2006) have defended the generalisability of qualitative research in these terms.

Case-study research does not sit within the positivist paradigm, and it would be inappropriate to make judgements about reliability, validity and generalisability from such a standpoint. With this in mind, having set out, at the beginning of this chapter, my understanding of knowledge and how it supposes that there would be generalisation as an outcome of this research, there follows an explanation of reliability and validity in this study and the extent to which it might be generalisable.

Reliability in qualitative research is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993, p.332). Lincoln and Guba (2000, p.39) say that “[l]ocal conditions, in short, make it impossible to generalize”. Understanding attitudes to citizenship education in Quaker schools in the period which this research has been undertaken (2003-2006) (what Gomm *et al.* p.109, refer to as ‘temporal boundaries’) has made for a narrow set of parameters to replicate. Arguably, since citizenship cannot again be introduced to the National

Curriculum for the first time, it would be very difficult to reproduce this study. Notwithstanding this point, since the epistemology outlined at the beginning of this chapter assumed that there must be generalisable knowledge to a degree, some aspects of this research should be reliable.

This thesis has clarified the status of the respondents, that none of them is a citizenship specialist and that they all at some period have had experience of values education (usually in the form of PSHE). The Quaker schools in which the research has been undertaken form a bounded group, which can be identified and contacted for a second, similar, piece of research, and the single-study school has been named for the same reason. I have made my position as an ex-teacher at FSSW, with continuing involvement at the school through the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, clear throughout. The literature behind the research has been laid out in order to allow the reader to understand the position I hold as a researcher of citizenship education. This chapter has set out the methods of data collection and Chapters 7 and 8 explain the coding headings used in the analysis of the data. To such an end this research fulfils the five points LeCompte and Preissle (1993, p.334) set out for the replication of a study:

- The status of the researcher
- The choice of the respondents
- The social situations and conditions
- The constructs and premises used; and
- The methods of data collection and analysis

However, while the research may have reliability in these terms, it does not necessarily follow that it has **validity**. This is essentially to ask whether the research does what it set out to do and whether the findings from the research represent the data collected, i.e. what Cohen *et al.* (2000, p.107) refer to as internal validity.

In order to promote this internal validity the research collected data over the course of two academic years, in three phases, from teachers in six schools, and from pupils, parents and governors. Thus, the data have been triangulated over time and across different types of Quaker school stakeholders.

Single and group interview respondents have been sent transcribed copies of what was said – i.e. ‘member checking’ (Punch, 1998, p.260). The teachers involved in iterative interviews always received transcripts of the previous interview before the one subsequent, and they were used as pilot respondents for the questionnaire which was designed from the data in their first three interviews. As will be seen in Chapter 7, the headmaster of FSSW was also sent an early copy of the Data 3 questionnaire which changed in response to his comments. Therefore, respondents have throughout the research been informed about, and had the opportunity to verify, the data collected.

A weakness of the research in terms of validity has been the analysis by a single person. I have intended to off-set any bias by explaining my coding headings and by representing the breadth of respondents’ views under these headings. In the discussion of the findings in the final chapter I have attempted to clarify the difference in view between what was represented by the respondents and that which I take from the research.

This leads to the issue of external validity, i.e. **generalisation**. Gomm *et al.* (2000, p.103) make the distinction between theoretical inference and empirical generalisation.

“Theoretical inference involves reaching conclusions about what always happens, or what happens with a given degree of probability, in a certain type of theoretically defined situation.”

Whereas:

“[E]mpirical generalization... involves drawing inferences about features of a larger but finite population of cases from a study of a sample drawn from that population.”

(*ibid.*)

Taking into account the epistemology I adopted at the beginning of this chapter it may be seen that this research is predicated upon an understanding of empirical generalisation in common with Stake’s (2000a, p.22) naturalistic generalisation. This being a study into the views and attitudes towards citizenship education held by Quaker school stakeholders, it is these views and attitudes which have been generalised. Such generalisation does not presume that every stakeholder has these views and it is accepting that they might be temporally bounded, limited by their proximity to the introduction of the still new citizenship curriculum and by teachers’ relative lack of knowledge about it as a result of its recent nature. In this respect, the generalisation in this study is what Lincoln and Guba (2000, p.39; after Cronbach, 1975, p.125) call ‘generalisation as a working hypothesis’. Generalisation cannot be dissociated from reliability or validity. The relevance of the research in time (i.e. that it is collecting data early in the English education system’s experience of National Curriculum citizenship), which is central to the rationale for the study to be undertaken, is also the factor which limits its reliability and therefore its generalisation. As a result the validity of generalisation is likely to be greater *within* the case than *outwith* it. This said, some of the findings might find relevance, and therefore be individually generalisable, with readers who see similarities between the Quaker schools (FSSW in particular) and their own. This is what Lincoln and Guba (2000, p.36) were espousing as an advantage of naturalistic generalisation:

“[I]f you want people to understand better than they otherwise might, provide them information in the form in which they usually experience it.”

Thus, it could be that this research has most relevance to, and learning potential for, readers in similar contexts to that in which the research was undertaken, and who have a similar epistemological and axiological stance to me as the

researcher. This would accord with Bernstein's (2000, p.12) 'framing', where "framing is concerned with *how* meanings are put together, the forms by which they are made public, and the nature of the social relationships that go with it."

5.9 Summary

The data collected represent the views of Quaker school stakeholders concerning citizenship education. This research examines the assumptions which have led to National Curriculum citizenship by comparing the views of these respondents against academic and policy literature.

Single, iterative and group interviews were used to collect the data, supplemented by multi-school questionnaires developed from these interviews. The data have been interpreted qualitatively owing to the nature of the research questions which have asked the respondents for their perceptions rather than for fixed, agreed knowledge. My understanding of the research and my place within it has developed as the process has been continuing. The respect in which I hold the respondents has grown as they have consistently given cogent answers on a curriculum area about which they specifically know little but about which, in general terms, they do have an understanding.

The next two chapters describe the data from the research. Data 1 is covered in Chapter 6, while Data 2 and Data 3 are explained in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6, Data 1 – Year 1

In the majority of schools much or all of citizenship has been placed within PSHE programmes, either timetabled as a subject, or taking place in tutorial time and assembly. In many schools however, the perceived close relationship between citizenship and PSHE is proving problematic. Taking the broad view, PSHE is about the private, individual dimension of pupils' development, whereas citizenship concerns the public dimension. They do not sit easily together, particularly when little time is devoted to them. Often, schools claim the content of lessons is citizenship when it is in fact PSHE.

(David Bell, Chief Inspector - Ofsted, speech, 17/01/05)

6.1 Introduction

The research conducted during the first year of the study is termed Data 1. This chapter reports it in two parts. The first represents the views about citizenship held by teachers, parents and governors involved in Quaker schools. Secondly the state of citizenship education provision in the five schools which gave information about their approaches is explained. These approaches are considered against the NFER codification of types of school citizenship.

As detailed in Chapter 5 - Research Design, the purpose of this part of the research was to establish a route to follow during the second year of the research (Data 2 and Data 3), using digitally recorded, open-ended interviews in order to allow respondents to take their own route around the topic (Gamma and Toni data were recorded in the form of research notes which were verified by the respondents).

Four research questions underpin the research:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
3. Why are schools doing this?
4. What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

To this end respondents were shown nine cards with question stimuli upon them (original questions in italics):

How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?

What does citizenship mean?

What do you think is the broad concept of citizenship?

What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?

What does your school do that has implications for citizenship?

What approaches to citizenship provision do you have in your school?

How are you implementing citizenship in your school?

Why are schools doing this?

What are the assumptions underpinning the development of citizenship related curricula in your school? (Are there any?)

What relevance do you see the subject of citizenship having to your school?

What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

What effect does the hidden curriculum have?

These respondents were presented with the cards to peruse and consider. Then I asked them to answer any of the questions in any order they liked. The respondents were given the opportunity to explore the questions for themselves answering the questions on as many or as few of the cards as they chose.

As an added stimulus towards helping the respondents to frame their views they were provided with the same exemplar questionnaire as the pilot, based upon Ichilov's conception of citizenship (1990, see Appendix A). This was offered to them supplementary to their first answers to the card questions, once their flow of ideas had dried up, in order that they might revisit their ideas from another viewpoint. This led to further discussion on the card questions they had previously answered, and upon those they might not have visited.

Three different sets of people were interviewed - teachers, parents and governors, to give an overview from a range of stakeholders. The data from these groups are presented separately, and in two rather than three sections, both because the research timescale was split this way and because the data for the teachers were all collected in schools while the data from parents and governors were all collected in the respondents' homes. The data for the parents and governors are from informal settings, while those of the teachers have been gathered in professional settings. Notwithstanding this, the parents and governors do represent two different groups, as will become clear later.

The respondents developed sets of themes recurrent through the interviews. These are presented under the two groups (teachers and parents/governors). While these themes might seem to be discrete, it is not the case. For example, although there is no section about teachers' focus upon Quaker ethos, they did tangentially allude to it / make assumptions about it throughout their responses. Thus, the themes which have arisen are those which have been directly developed by the respondents. The differences may reflect the situation of professional involvement on behalf of the teachers and personal, more detached involvement by the parents and governors. This may also reflect the follow-up questions I used as a researcher: although the interviews were of similar length regardless of who was the respondent my follow-up questions to parents and governors would have dwelt on non-specialist pedagogic/curriculum knowledge when asking about Quakerism and citizenship. In contrast, because teachers knew more about curricula in their own schools, my follow-up questions to them were focused to a greater extent upon the second and third questions – i.e. what

are Quaker schools doing that might be termed citizenship, and why are they doing this?.

From the teacher interviews seven themes developed from the four research questions:

- Definitions of citizenship
- Politicisation
- Qualification of staff
- Knowledge versus values
- Pedagogy
- Evaluation
- Meeting and assembly

From the interviews with parents and governors, while the theme of ‘definitions of citizenship’ was common with the teachers, four different themes were prevalent:

- Definitions of citizenship
- Quaker ethos
- Examples of citizenship in school
- The role of parents
- Views on the Order

Thus, the data are separated, first into ‘Teachers’ Views’, and secondly into ‘Views of Parents and Governors’.

6.2 Teachers’ Views

Nine respondents were involved in the teacher interviews. They have been coded as Alpha to Kappa to retain anonymity. The different views held by the

respondents are detailed below. Much said by the different individuals is common.

6.2.1 Definitions of Citizenship

Respondents conveyed their own ideas of citizenship using the cards as a stimulus. Although they were able to refer to a copy of the citizenship attainment targets during the interviews, all developed their views without recourse to doing so.

The closest the Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) comes to defining citizenship is under the title of 'The importance of citizenship'. It states, citizenship gives pupils-

“the knowledge, skills and understanding necessary to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. It:

- helps them to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights.
- promotes spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom.
- encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world.
- teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities; and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions.”

(op.cit. p.12)

However, all the teachers focused upon the role of the individual in society, setting out an understanding of the position each person holds in relation to the rest. For example:

“I think [citizenship] is about developing children's ideas about their place and role in the society and community they live: about making

them aware of the problems as a global community that we face, as a society we face, and then as a very small community, a local community. And their place within those issues which are going on.”

(Delta, p.1)

And,

“To be a citizen is completely different to citizenship as outright. To be a citizen is to be able to live in society that the person chooses to live in and accept society’s expectations and to know how to find out about other expectations, because there is no way a citizen can know everything about how their society would work.”

(Beta, p.6)

However, it is not as simple as this. A recurrent theme in the teachers’ responses was that there was a political understanding inherent in the curriculum reform. This is not to say that there is a Labour focus to the Order (in fact, the group which created the Order was cross party) but that there is an imperative behind its introduction. Gamma, in response to reading the attainment targets, said:

“The role of education for individual development should not be one of informing individuals of their rights and duties; rather it should be about allowing students to become receptive to different influences. As a result of these differing ideas opportunities arise for each person to consider his/her values stance on a range of issues. Thus it is more about travelling with a view to consider various truths on their merits rather than being told what is the correct attitude to adopt on any topic.”

(Gamma interview notes)

Thus, there is a tension between what the respondents think citizenship *is* and what the Order is presenting.

6.2.2 Politicisation

One respondent put this quite strongly:

“I do feel that maybe, I am not saying that I hold anything against the one particular political party in power at the moment, but they are the ones trying to bring this in, are they actually trying to say that we want people to vote, this is the main thing, direct society.”

(Delta, p.4)

This respondent is saying that there is an initiative to make citizens vote. This would agree with the implication in paragraph 3.5 of the Crick Report:

“The British Election Study reports that 25 per cent of the 18-24 age group said they would not vote in the 1992 general election, the highest abstention rate among all age groups. In the 1997 general election, the reported figure had risen to 32 per cent abstention, again the highest among all age groups, though MORI put it at 43 per cent. This is compared to 71 per cent actual turn-out in the total electorate (the lowest in the post-war period).”

(AGC, 1998, p.15)

Another respondent made the point like this:

“I feel the citizenship curriculum is government directed for a specific aim they have in how the people in the country are. They want them to know certain things are important.”

(Beta, p.7)

This respondent developed this further:

“Otherwise why doesn't it come out of schools? If it was education led, from the bottom, then that would be fine, but as it's been imposed from the top, it's got an agenda and therefore it isn't – [It is] narrowing what we should be delivering.”

(Beta, p.7)

Bernard Crick, a year after the AGC report, wrote a personal view:

“However, one idea I wanted to revive. The very project of a free citizenship education, as distinct from a would-be indoctrinating one.”

(Crick, 1999, p.343)

This view of citizenship is not the one the teachers in this study think represents government policy from their understanding, having read the curriculum document, and the way in which they may be expected to implement it. The freedom Crick advocates is not perceived by these respondents as being in sympathy with the NC requirements.

The issue of normative education was raised by a third respondent who said that the role of education for individual development should not be one of informing individuals of their rights and duties; rather it should be about allowing students to become receptive to different influences. This is what Edwards (2003, p.119) writes:

“Rather, education should help young people acquire the necessary understandings, skills, dispositions and values to *construct for themselves* identities that will enable them to live their lives meaningfully, purposefully and co-operatively amidst the change and uncertainty they will increasingly encounter.”

(*op.cit.* my italics)

The students are the constructors of their own views of reality, the world and their places in it. It is the role of teachers, amongst others, to help young people to reach this path and help to keep them on it.

Finally, one respondent noted: “I don’t like the word citizenship. I don’t think it’s about making people citizens” (Delta, p.2). There is certainly an assumption within the new curriculum that we are all citizens. However, quite what sort of

citizens we are, i.e. the levels at which we work (local, national, international, global) and the type of political environment within which we interact (monarchy, constitutional monarchy, republic in Europe, globalised republicanism), is unclear.

This lack of clarity might lead to confusion. Teachers could be uncertain whether they are doing the right thing when teaching citizenship since, if they hold different interpretations of the nature of a citizen, they might not be sure if they are indeed teaching the same thing as each other.

6.2.3 Qualification of Staff

One view raised was that the quality of the citizenship that could be covered would depend on whether “you’ve got the teachers who are inspired to do it and implement the curriculum” (Delta, p.2).

The question of who should be teaching citizenship and why is developed by Harber (2002, pp.227-228) who states,

“If citizenship education was at least partly to employ a critical social and political perspective examining the nature of the social structures that shape our lives – the economy, ‘race’, gender, power structures – it would require a conceptual analysis of society based on the social sciences. This would necessitate teachers with social science degrees and social science teacher education.”

Likewise Flew (2000) has considered this problem although his contention is that teachers are not trained in the concepts of critical thinking or to deal with controversial issues, which would be necessary for helping students to learn the same. Essentially, however, since England has never before had a formal citizenship curriculum, and the number of newly qualified teachers with a specialism in citizenship is inevitably limited, it is an issue of (with an apology to Juvenal) who teaches the teachers?

Flew (2000, p.22) shows some of the complexities here:

“Take, as a first example of something which teachers of citizenship need to have mastered, the term ‘justice’. It is one the meaning of which pupils are going to have expected to have grasped as early as the end of Key Stage 2 [...], that is to say by the age of eleven.”

And:

“But social justice is certainly very different from, and arguably incompatible with, that without prefix or suffix kind. I suggest that talk about social justice should either be banned until considerably later or else replaced by talk about fairness, something which though related to is certainly not synonymous with (traditional, without prefix or suffix) justice.”

(op.cit. p.23)

Nonetheless schools *do* consider such concepts, have always done so on an *ad hoc* basis, and will surely continue to do so. However, since most (maintained) schools are using a combination of specialists and generalist form tutors to deliver citizenship, this question of how qualified members of staff are is pertinent. Teachers across subjects are being used for this. If they do not feel confident then the quality of the teaching process of which they are in charge is likely to be open to question.

One respondent (Toni, interview notes) said that although he was responsible for the delivery of PSHE/citizenship in form time, he really only followed it half-heartedly. He then went on to justify this by saying that he did not feel qualified to teach it, particularly that he did not think he was able to teach morals.

This leads to the consideration by Delta:

“So what picture is that presenting to children, about the subject as a whole and whether the staff value it? You know, children do go on what they see the

staff doing and they are role models. 'If my teacher thinks it is worthless, I'll think it is worthless.'

"So now you've got a problem. They know what citizenship means and they think it is worthless."

(Delta, p.8)

So there is not only the consideration of the knowledge aspect to the curriculum which is of concern to these respondents, but also the values to be delivered and how teachers value these values.

6.2.4 Knowledge versus Values

Paragraph 1.7 of the Crick Report (1998) states:

"Citizenship education must be education for citizenship. It is not an end in itself, even if it will involve learning a body of knowledge, as well as the development of skills and values. Such knowledge is as interesting, as intellectually demanding and as capable as any other subject of being taught and assessed at any level."

(QCA, 1998, p.8)

The respondents felt that the knowledge necessary for citizenship was broadly being covered by existing teaching in subjects across the curriculum but that there were always areas for development. For instance, Kappa says, "I was going to increase the amount of citizenship directly within the PSE but at the same time, we felt it was covered fairly well in all of the other subjects."

Citizenship knowledge is only a part of the whole subject. It is the part which can be assessed. However, the necessity of assessment is to grade what is gradable. In the pressurised environment of education as an arena of attainment it sometimes follows that what is taught is focused upon what is subsequently gradable. Hence the question was raised by one respondent: "how can you mark what is right and wrong?" (Beta, p.9).

One respondent reflected on the assessment of community based activities: “I am not sure I would be confident about evaluating their contribution because it would defeat the object of the contribution.” (Beta, p.3). In the citizenship curriculum Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999), participation and responsible action are considered as part of the programme of study as *skills*. Skills should be assessable. However, the respondent is here making the point that there is a values element to community involvement. This values element is not what was considered for assessment in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998).

In contrast, a view was promoted that the introduction of this new curriculum “is happening, so it is placing things that we did before in the spotlight, which is good. If it then disappeared it does not mean that this was not good in itself because it has done its job.” (Delta, p.11). This is a positive slant upon the issue and perhaps a productive one. It reflects the view that although teachers have always helped in the individual development of their pupils, the present focus may not be a bad thing. This respondent was not alone in this view. Others considered that there was a lack in the present school curricula of knowledge about society, or that, generally, the content of the citizenship curriculum was not covered by existing PSHE and citizenship provision within the schools. Issues of politicisation that were noted above were the concerns here.

6.2.5 Pedagogy

It was agreed by all that “teachers have always done citizenship.” They have introduced it tangentially in their lessons, be they of English, history, geography, religious education, art, design or otherwise. One teacher, Toni:

“was expressing his view that he does teach citizenship in his [subject deleted] lessons because he is guiding (he corrected this from teaching) the children and not the subject since, although he has his subject to deliver, his focus is upon his students and their welfare.”

(Toni, interview notes)

The pedagogical point from this is that values are caught, rather than taught (Eta, p.1). It was a general assumption among the respondents that students picked up an education in values as a result of being part of the life of the school.

“I think what schools need to do is to bring up students to think in certain ways and to have certain values which they then translate into actions and responses [...] so that they go out thinking about it but not necessarily thinking ‘I am thinking citizenship’.”

(Eta, p.1)

It seems that students have variable take-up of ethos (see below) but for most respondents the awareness of issues is an holistic rather than specific matter. By focusing upon citizenship as an individual, discrete entity, the ethic of this holism might be diluted as students may see it as another subject rather than as a way of living.

Different schools are delivering PSHE and citizenship in different ways. One of the approaches is to rely on form tutors to cover such topics during pastoral time. Aside from the question of how qualified these tutors feel themselves to be and the effects this may have (see 6.2.3. *Qualification of Staff*), there is also the difficulty that consistency of provision using such a range of tutors with differing abilities and approaches would be difficult.

“Well you would get all sorts of mixed messages through the school wouldn’t you? All sorts within one year group you would; three or four form staff with different attitudes are all going to approach it very differently.”

(Theta, p.3)

This has implications for how such teaching might be evaluated in-house, leading to the next area of consideration.

6.2.6 Evaluation

There seemed a general consensus that if citizenship were to be a part of the curriculum then it should be evaluated. However there was a question of the reasoning behind any evaluation and this had implications for the kind of evaluation to be conducted. The distinction was that there are the inspections to be borne in mind where proof of curriculum content and delivery is important, but there is also the quality of delivery / learning to be considered. Ofsted inspectors are looking for evidence of delivery and perhaps of learning notwithstanding the question of how to assess morals. Quality of learning is much more difficult to assess but this is what interested the respondents if it were possible. Otherwise, the focus of evaluation would be likely to be upon the types and range of provision within the schools. Since provision is through form tutors, year groups, whole school assemblies and meetings, the learning opportunities are varied for the students. As Theta remarked:

“It is all under discussion at the moment anyway. Different strands which are covered through RE, PSHE, which are different and taught by many different people. That is the thing here. We don’t just have one person dealing with the whole thing.”

(Theta, p.2)

Kappa thought it would be possible to record aspects of citizenship through other subjects. She gave an example of geography:

“Next week, [the pupils] are doing settlement geography, are looking at Bramfield and Rayfield, and they have got to give their views on that, so that is very citizenship. In a way it could be, within their modular exam, assessed because it very specifically says, in the specification, that students are to develop their own assessment of brownfield and greenfield sites etc. And they could be geared towards that. So you might find that there is assessment through other subjects.”

(Kappa, p.2)

Even within this positive interpretation of how one might assess citizenship provision Kappa acknowledges that citizenship would have to be engineered ('geared towards that'), rather than citizenship naturally come out of another subject for assessment.

The issue of quality of provision was deemed difficult to measure and even recording the subjects covered was not without its own complications. One respondent envisaged each form tutor having to write a report for each student separate to the PSHE report:

“[T]hey are going to have to use these descriptions [from the Order] and actually formulate a report at the end of Key Stage 3. They are going to have to use those [key stage descriptions] and link what they have been doing in those lessons and write a proper report. The tutors will really have to look back in their notebook to see what we really have been doing. Actually to write a proper report, because that is what has been asked for.”

(Delta, p.6)

This would satisfy the needs of paperwork but the same respondent noted that the process might lose its worth by its very action.

“You could literally: ‘Bobby has a broad understanding of ...’ literally you are substituting a name into each place. And instead of *more* knowledge, *some* knowledge, *basic* knowledge, *foundational*... You are just substituting words.”

(Delta, p.6)

The focus upon a more holistic view, as noted under ‘pedagogy’ above is developed by the same respondent.

“Parents want to see, they want to know how their little Bobby is progressing. Well, at the end of the day really what a parent wants to know is, do they sit down, are they quiet, have they learnt general things and do they have a broad overview. So I don’t know how we are going to make this meaningful.”

(Delta, p.6)

On the need for a formal evaluation which might satisfy an inspection this view was offered by one respondent.

“Well I think a lot of us would say that it was completely unnecessary. You shouldn’t, but the processes forced on us require us to be able to justify what we have done. To the extent that, for example, if we used assemblies, if we said that we would deliver a lot through assemblies, we would have to have a list of the assemblies and the topics we have done in them in order to justify it.”

(Beta, p.5)

Eta did not consider that there was a need to justify explicitly what these schools are doing towards citizenship since the Quaker ethos was what was important to these schools:

“I don’t think we would feel that we were under pressure. We would be irresponsible as a Quaker school if we were not inculcating Quaker values.”

(Eta, p.5)

Likewise Iota reiterated the freedom of the independent sector to justify itself:

“We certainly don’t take on government guidance wholesale. That is the beauty of an independent school. To a degree you can do that.”

(Iota, p.1)

Thus we see that, although there is a freedom within these schools to teach according to ethos, there is a certain pressure, differentially perceived that the National Curriculum places upon these schools since they are still a part of the English education system, even if they are not a part of the maintained sector.

6.2.7 Meeting and Assembly

A rolling topic base for assemblies might satisfy the provision of knowledge within the curriculum. There are problems within this, one being that the freedom of individual staff to lead assemblies of interest to them becomes more limited, but also that the deliberation of the individual pupil in the congregation remains unknown. How can the learning of any pupil be assessed when it would be an invasion of privacy to ask, or at least inappropriate to the process of allowing personal consideration time?

The views of two respondents are representative of that felt by all of the respondents who considered this:

“You know. And for some of them they will just not remember anything, because they either did not have any interaction that was meaningful or that nobody said anything that they thought was meaningful. So at the end of the day they only take away what they deem to be meaningful and what they think is meaningful is going to come from what they think is valuable and what they think is valuable comes from all those cultural influences upon them.”

(Delta, p.10)

“They take their own agenda in, which nobody has any control of, and then through the meeting process, deal with it and take it away and it will never be shared with anybody.”

(Beta, p.4)

However, the inherent lack of direction in meeting was seen by Gamma as its very strength:

“[She] made a point that she thought the opportunity for meeting was important [for the individual]. At such times pupils may offer ministry. It is only in meeting that the positions held by individuals within the school diminish. The focus is upon the value of each person being equal and the views of each being respected for what they are. While this positional equality

does not carry through to the rest of life in the school (members of staff are responsible for their charges and there is a hierarchy of employment) there is a residual respect for the individual, whatever his/her role in the community.”

(Gamma, interview notes)

Thus, meeting is an important time for emphasising equality and for giving individuals a chance to be heard in an otherwise hierarchical establishment. While meeting may not be a learning environment in which the outcomes are assessable, it remains an opportunity for Crick’s procedural values to be exercised.

6.2.8 Teachers’ Summary

An overview of citizenship arising from these interviews with teachers:

The question of citizenship divides into two complementary and interconnected parts. Firstly there is knowledge of the state and how to act within it (skills) – the *status quo*: forms of government and accepted roles of citizens. In contrast to this is the issue of moral position (values); the underlying standards and questions which affect the way we interact with the status quo. The skills aspect enables an individual to be a part of the *state*. By contrast, however, knowledge and morals are complementary because each without the other should not allow a person to be a part of *society*. Thus they are related, since knowledge is about the state and morals are about the person, but society is the conjunction of the two. The former is about facts while the latter is concerned with questions. An assumption, for the purpose of learning, exists that the *status quo* is fixed. However, when morality becomes part of the discussion it allows the concept of change to be considered. The fusion of knowledge and morality is an acceptance of the *status quo ad quem*; yet there is no end point to society but a continued development, changing according to the morality of the polity.

The teacher respondents represented in this report broadly support the knowledge aspect of the citizenship curriculum. They consider that their schools are already teaching much within it although they acknowledge areas which are lightly covered or even absent from the school timetable. The consensus is that good curriculum coverage would cover these areas even without the new curriculum existing. However respondents were not sure that such teaching should be explicit and denoted as citizenship; it might be deemed to lack intrinsic interest by staff and students alike, which would diminish the worthiness of the intervention itself. Linked to this was one major area of concern; that of the moral issues inherent within the subject. Enduring values are caught rather than taught and while they may be a part of the citizenship curriculum, inasmuch as it is part of the school, they are about people rather than citizens. Values cannot (and should not) be assessed since this would assume that there is only one set of them. Questions concerning values are better avenues for elaborating issues rather than didactically transferring knowledge of what is right, justifying one's position rather than standing on a point of learned (but not necessarily understood) principle.

This is related to Crick's (1999) argument for 'respect for reasoning'; although it is written with children in mind, it could be just as appropriate for adults:

"It is beside the point to object that reasons given to young children may often not be understood; for the real point is that the habit of giving reasons and expecting them to be given is basic both to intellectual method (as distinct from memorising) and to political democracy (as distinct from passive obedience)."

(Crick, 1999, p.349)

There is a compelling argument that values cannot be assessed if they are not absolute. It is more justifiable to explain one's views rather than to state what is 'right' when there might be more than one option available.

The schools in this study are already attempting to provide many opportunities for the social growth of their students through the hidden curriculum. Quaker values underlie approaches to dealing with children and including them in the community on a daily basis. This is developed further in the next section, the 'Views of Parents and Governors'. That the schools are considering improving these opportunities is good practice and does not suppose that they are failing their responsibilities to the pupils. The feeling of the respondents was that although inspectors have to be able to scrutinise documentation, it is those they have in their care who are the focus of their work and who should continue to be so.

6.3 Views of Parents and Governors

As was noted above, the interviews with parents and governors were conducted in their own homes, contrasting with the teacher interviews being in schools. Also there was a time period of nine months for the entire Data 1 collection. The interviews with parents and governors, not being held concurrently with those of the teachers, may differ as a result of these two considerations of location and date, bearing in mind the development of my understanding of the issues surrounding the topic, the recent reading I had done and the instances in the news concerning society, politics and citizenship which all parties may have heard, read or watched. Thus, the parent and governor data are presented separately to those of the teachers since they are reflective, not only of the type of respondent but also of the different time when the interviews took place.

This second set of interviews was with four governors from two of the schools and four parents of children at one school. One of the governors (Omicron) is herself a parent at Friends' School Saffron Walden, along with the four other parents. Of the other three governors, two were chairmen of their respective governing bodies and one had previously been chairman. This final governor (Sigma) was the predecessor of the chairman (Pi) of the FSSW governing body,

and had taught at the school of the other chairman (Rho) for 22 years. He is still active within Rho's local Quaker meeting and its school community.

The five parents (Lambda, Mu, Nu and Xi and Omicron) had eight children who were pupils in the school in years 3 to year 10 at the time of data collection. There was also another child who had recently left to study 'A' levels elsewhere.

From the parent and governor interviews five predominant themes arose. These were:

- Definitions of Citizenship
- Quaker Ethos
- Examples of Citizenship in School
- The Role of Parents
- Views on the Order

This is not to say that the other themes discussed by the teachers were not also discussed by the parents and governors; for example, the influence of Meeting for Worship was developed by two of the governors and is written about under *Examples of citizenship in school* (6.3.3). These five headings represent themes which run through this second set of interviews. Although these themes have been approached here as if they were discrete this is not the case within the interviews themselves. Inherent to the research design, participants were given the freedom to develop ideas themselves. As a result these respondents talked about curriculum when they had been intending to talk about ethos, and *vice versa*. Throughout the five themes the one overriding issue is that of the respondents interpreting citizenship to accommodate their existing views, rather than considering citizenship as something separate to their own views but which may overlap with them. Even when respondents attempt to look at them as being separate they revert to this predominant view.

6.3.1 Definitions of Citizenship

“I should have looked up citizenship in the dictionary before... you suddenly think ‘What do I think about that?’”

(Omicron, p.1)

The parents and governors are in contrast to the teachers. While the teachers did not show weakness of knowledge of the subject area, these respondents were willing to admit, perhaps as a defensive gesture, that they did not know exactly what citizenship was. However, once they entered into their discussions with me, they all seemed to have a definite understanding of what it meant to them. Thus, they appeared to understand implicitly that there is a recognised, establishment meaning for this term as well as their own interpretation of it, although this distinction becomes blurred as their ideas developed.

For example Lambda, quite early on in the interview says, “I’m not sure what citizenship is,” (Lambda p.2), but when it comes to considering the relevance of citizenship to her school says,

“Well, potentially enormous relevance, because, you are educating young people to be, kind of, active participants in their communities, in their lives really, in the world; and to have a, one would hope, positive function. You know, their lives have a positive impact and function in the world. So enormous.”

(Lambda, p.6)

This exemplifies the point that while *citizenship* as a term is not readily used outside the educational/academic arena, this respondent, as a non-specialist does have a defined idea of what it means.

Likewise this is true of the word *citizen*. Lambda has her own definition but is also aware of a more political usage. So we have: a citizen... “would be a member of a nation state; a member of a planet state...” (Lambda, p.10)

And we also hear her say as a result of the prompt word *citizens*:

“But also I think it is used in a slightly exclusive way. Perhaps by emphasising that it implies that others are not, because of asylum issues and so on at the moment, it is a way of...”

(Lambda, p.11)

She does not finish the sentence, perhaps shying away from a more political definition into a silence.

This dilemma is true of Xi. She gives a ‘new-orthodox’ answer in the first instance:

“What does citizenship mean? I would have said that it meant, I don’t know... a knowledge of both the, I was going to say the entitlement and the responsibilities that people have towards the society that they are living in.”

(Xi, p.1)

This is comparable to Derek Heater (1999, p.53) who writes:

“The purpose of citizenship is to connect the individual and the state in a symbiotic relationship so that a just and stable republican polity can be created and sustained and the individual citizen can enjoy freedom.”

But Xi develops her own slant upon this definition which is more to do with the person than the citizen:

“I’m very keen on them learning citizenship, learning to consider themselves and other people in the context of the world that they are living in really.”

(Xi, p.2)

Xi has divorced the idea of citizenship from the state and towards the person.

This particularly comes to light when I ask her, soon after:

John: What is a citizen?

Xi: I am probably going to contradict myself and narrow it down again. I don't know. I suppose technically it is a sort of paid-up tax-paying, member of a community, isn't it. If you go back to the actual meaning of the word, it was somebody who lived in a city or in a state, was it? City I suppose. Which brings one slightly back to the entitlements and responsibilities bit. But I do think it goes a bit further than that. Actually it is difficult isn't it because being a citizen is actually a totally neutral state. You can't help being a citizen ... Because a citizen is like having blue eyes. If you live somewhere you are automatically a citizen of that area.

(Xi, p.3)

Immediately she is aware that while she has her own understanding of what citizenship might be (in terms of the *person*, not the *citizen*), this understanding does not necessarily fit with the definition of a citizen as with Heater's understanding, perhaps because the historical Graeco-Roman image of citizenship is no longer appropriate.

This is a point Dobson (2003, p.73) makes, with when he quotes Heater (1999, p.157):

“A citizen was, as originally conceived, a full member of a *polis* or *civitas*, a single, coherent political body. Because the environment in which the citizen has been expected to operate has been dramatically diversified, has citizenship perforce so adaptively evolved that it has lost its true essence?”

Lambda and Xi are both parents without day-to-day involvement in running a school and might therefore not have reason to encounter terms such as citizenship and citizen regularly. Likewise the governors, who are involved with development of the school in the long term, also had this problem of definition. Pi used an establishment definition in response to the card with the prompt, 'What does citizenship mean?'

“Citizenship, I think means two different things, depending on whether you mean national or international citizenship. National citizenship means understanding how your society works, how your democracy works. Understanding politics I suppose. But on the international level that won’t work because you can’t vote in any elections outside your own country (well Europe is a bit different I suppose) but on a world basis you’ve got no influence at all. On an international level it means helping the underprivileged, if that is not too much of a cliché. Being prepared... because we live in a privileged part of the world, I think it means being able to share those privileges with the citizenry of the world. I can’t really go further than that.”

(Pi, pp.1-2)

Here we see the distinction between national and international citizenship. The more rigid definition is the national one, while the international definition is a more person-orientated rather than citizen-orientated notion. This international perspective is congruent with Lambda’s (above) idea of a planet state. This, in turn, is akin to Andrew Dobson’s (2003, p.30) post-cosmopolitanism:

“[T]he political space of obligation is not fixed as taking the form of the state, or nation, or the European Union, or the globe, but is rather ‘produced’ by the activities of individuals and groups with the capacity to spread and impose themselves in geographic, diachronic, and ... ecological space.”

Finally the establishment definition with which Pi started is transformed into a personal understanding of citizenship: “Quakerism is citizenship under another name” (Pi, p.8).

This is fundamental to all of this set of respondents. They *all* think they understand citizenship and they *do all* have an understanding of it, but each understanding is personal, and yet, has reference to Quaker ethos which is fundamental to how they live, their choice of school for their children, and/or central to the schools they represent.

6.3.2 Quaker Ethos

Bourdieu (1991, p.238):

“It follows, among other consequences, that symbolic capital is attracted to symbolic capital and that the – real – autonomy of the field of symbolic production does not prevent this field from remaining dominated, in its functioning, by the constraints which dominate the social field as a whole. It also follows that objective relations of power tend to reproduce themselves in symbolic relations of power, in visions of the social world which contribute to ensuring the permanence of those relations of power.”

It would be unlikely at an independent school to find parents willing to participate in research, who were *not* positive in their understanding and backing of the ethos behind the institution. This is more pronounced in the case of governors, who, at Friends’ schools are very likely to present philosophical views which represent, more or less, Quaker thinking. This is because most of the governing board of any Quaker school is composed from members of the Quaker Meeting allied to the school. An exceptions to this, in this set of respondents, is Omicron, the parent-governor. She is not a Quaker but is an old-scholar of, and has three children at FSSW, being a parent there for more than ten years.

This is illustrative of the Bourdieu reference above. These respondents have a common set of views concerning society, predicated upon a philosophy which has led them to support Quaker education – the places and the behaviours of individuals within society, and the values upon which these behaviours are founded. The seven Quaker schools are part of a larger independent system of schooling within England but the respondents have an affinity with Friends’ schools because of the ethos which reflects and reproduces their own views of the world and how we should go about living in it.

Parents and governors may not directly know what happens within school on a day-to-day basis, but what they have is an overview of how a school runs, the

behaviour of the children within it and a general understanding of the ethos underpinning the educational environment. Thus, Nu (who is not a Quaker but an Anglican) says:

“[O]ne imagines, the whole Quaker ethos would be preparing them in all things to be broad, broad, rounded individuals. And therefore, if you are a broad and rounded individual you’ll be able to contribute to society and be a good citizen.”

(Nu, p.1)

She sees the school as preparing her son for society because of its focus upon the individual. This focus upon individuality (particularly respect for the individual) is fundamental to her choice of school.

“[I]t is absolutely the right environment. Because he has an attitude now that is, he’s alright, he’s comfortable with himself. And if other people don’t like it, that really is their lookout. He’s very comfortable with what he is. And if he’s got changed out of school stuff, he[’ll] usually be waltzing around here in a pair of green cords and a checked shirt, and a Barbour and a flat cap. And he’s happy with that. That’s who he is. He knows who he is. And if you don’t like him and you think he should be wearing a baseball cap on back-to-front or whatever, then his attitude would be, ‘Sorry, I don’t do that. It’s not me.’”

(Nu, pp.6-7)

There is a lack of peer pressure upon the child to be anything other than true to himself, while respecting that of self in others. Paragraph five of the *Advices and Queries* (QFP, 1995) contains this sentence: “While respecting the experiences and opinions of others, do not be afraid to say what you have found and what you value.” The emphasis is upon the individual standing up for him/herself, but being aware of the opinions of others.

This focus upon respect for the individual is exemplified by Mu as well. She also is a parent without a Quaker background, who feels that her views are synonymous with Friends' philosophy. In response to a question on seeing changes in what her children are taught the respondent makes a comparison between a previous independent school and the present Quaker one:

“I think, I get the feeling they are probably more interested in the children making up their own minds; trying to find their own way about these things which they have not come to previously.”

(Mu, p.3)

The language of the two respondents is different but the message is similar.

Expressed in more Quaker terms this becomes:

“I think it is the fact that the Quakers do feel that everybody has something special and that everybody should be treated equally. And I think that is so important, and that is so important in citizenship, not to be too judgemental. And I think that is really what Quakerism is all about isn't it; accepting people for what they are. And finding that something special in them, whatever it is.”

(Omicron, p.3)

Paragraph 17 of the Advices and Queries (QFP, 1995) states:

“Do you respect that of God in everyone though it may be expressed in unfamiliar ways or be difficult to discern? Each of us has a particular experience of God and each must find the way to be true to it. When words are strange or disturbing to you, try to sense where they come from and what has nourished the lives of others. Listen patiently and seek the truth which other people's opinions may contain for you. Avoid hurtful criticism and provocative language. Do not allow the strength of your convictions to betray you into making statements or allegations that are unfair or untrue. Think it possible that you may be mistaken.”

Thus we see that fundamental to Quaker thinking is consideration for others and considering any given situation from the point of view of another. It is doubtful that Omicron was referring directly to paragraph 17 of the Advices and Queries but the tenet is central to Friends' philosophy. As a non-Quaker parent-governor who has extensive experience of the Friends' system and one school in particular, she understands the Quaker ethos in a more defined sense than Mu and Nu, but the feeling is the same.

Finally, the one Quaker parent interviewed (Lambda), on the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship, says:

“Well, I really really do think that the school is special in that individual differences between children are recognised and celebrated... because there is this sort of toleration of difference, therefore there is much less likely to be something that is covert happening [peer group pressure].”

(Lambda, p.3)

This is what Nu was talking about with her son being able to be a farm boy, wearing Barbour and flat cap. The individuals are held as important because they are individuals who are part of the wider community. Lambda, earlier in her conversation states:

“I think that the fact that the school draws children from different cultures is an important element; it's actually a very important element, particularly in quite a monocultural area like [town name]. I think that that is good. That underpinning the philosophy of the school there is this notion that all people are equal and that there is that of God in everyone. To that extent the children's individuality and the right to be themselves is respected.”

(Lambda, p.2)

These have been the views of the parents (including one parent-governor), only one of whom is a Quaker. The views of the other three governors, all of whom are members of the Society, are predictably couched in a similar linguistic form.

Rho is a Chairman of Governors who lives in the locality of the school and is present in the school on a weekly basis. She made a point about Quaker ethos very early in our interview:

“I do believe that the centre [sic] thing to Quakerism is valuing everybody and that’s what attracted me to it in the first place and why I am still here. [The school] is... the thing about [the school] is that we do value the students equally, whatever their abilities. Obviously we value them in different ways but we do value them equally. And our discipline is based on respect for one another. And that is not just paying lip-service to that. I have seen that day-to-day.”

(Rho, p.1)

And she continues soon after:

“[W]e’ve had lots of people feeding back to me what they think about the school. And without exception the first thing they say is how friendly and confident the children are at [the school]. And I say that that’s the thing that is most important isn’t it? It goes back to this whole thing of valuing each other as individuals and so they’ve then got the confidence to value other people. But it is striking at [the school] and it is something which always pleases me.”

(Rho, p.2)

What Rho does, which Mu and Nu do not, is develop the idea of individuality as being not only the respect for you as an individual but also the respect you owe to others’ individuality. It may be implicit in what they say but Lambda and Omicron, with their Quaker backgrounds develop this more clearly and it becomes explicit with Rho.

Sigma is a teacher retired from one of the Friends’ schools after 22 years of service, and was until recently the Chairman of Governors of another. In a reminiscence of what made the school where he taught special he said:

“I think that is probably the most important thing actually: building confidence.”

(Sigma, p.9)

Once again this issue of confidence in the individual is noted as being important, and is connected to respect and treating people equally.

Pi, who was Chairman of Governors at the time of the interview, makes a distinction between the way Quaker ethos is perceived and whence it philosophically comes:

“Yes, a lot of people would say that the Quaker ethos is much more of a personal thing. Treating your fellow citizens, your fellow men, women on an equal basis. They look at the Quaker ethos in very much a social thing. I don't. I think it has got to be a religious thing foremost. And the social side comes out of that naturally. But there is a temptation to take the easy way out and say, “We accept all people as being equal,” and they never stop to think why.”

(Pi, pp.7-8)

This brings us to something Lambda says concerning Quaker ethos, whither it finds its basis and how it might be interpreted in terms of citizenship. Particularly Quakerly is the notion of ‘recognising that of God inside someone’:

“What are the assumptions underpinning citizenship? Well I think that the assumptions would have to be based on the Quaker Testimonies. Equality particularly, equality, simplicity, truthfulness, sincerity... you know, working in peaceful ways... [I]t would be much more related to a sort of genuine equality because of this notion that everybody has a little bit of God inside them, so everybody is equal; genuinely equal, and that integrity is important. And the way that you go about that ought to be in a non-violent way.”

(Lambda, p.5)

6.3.3 Examples of Citizenship in School

Bernard Crick:

“My remit is to advise maintained schools. But I must say, often the independent schools are much better at the verbal skills of expression, however much they go on about basics and fundamentals, there is something in the culture of those schools that makes them better at verbal expression.”

(Moral Maze, BBC Radio 4, 26/03/1998)

This section pulls together instances of current citizenship activities within the schools. Bearing in mind the understanding of citizenship that the respondents have, this may or may not reflect citizenship as in the curriculum Order.

One of the areas Lambda was keen to develop was equality. For her daughter this has allowed her to become involved in sport and to have a positive self-image:

“Well, we are using equality in not only do they have to have the equality of opportunity which I think that they do have at Friends’ but that they have a right to be treated with equal respect, so that a child who is not a particularly sporty child has as much right to be treated with dignity and respect by the teacher and by the group as those that aren’t. And I’m sure that you’ve seen experiences of this at sports day. Everybody’s cheering for the one at the back, and certainly the smallness of the school means that frequently children are in school teams whether they are sporty or not. I mean this particularly happened to *Brenda* who was fairly turned off sport by the end of primary school but actually has always had to be in the hockey team, and actually now has developed into a reasonably good hockey player. And that is simply because... in a sense she did not have a choice but it’s just what everybody did because the ethos was... we’ve only got so many girls so everybody has to be in the team. And so it is equality of participation as well I think.”

(Lambda, p.5)

After questioning her about peer group pressure or the lack of it (see under *Quaker Ethos* above) she explained:

“No absolutely; in fact my daughter, a couple of years ago, when she was interviewed for the Ofsted report, they asked her about bullying. And she said, “There isn’t any bullying in our school.” Which was quite a strong; marvellous statement to make. I mean, the young people are making these statements about how they perceive their situation, so that’s.... I think she said if there was it would be dealt with really strongly and it wouldn’t happen. Things are in place to ensure that it doesn’t.”

(Lambda, p.4)

But, just as with the difficulties of definition, Lambda is aware that she does not know what goes on day-to-day in the classroom, although she does have an impression brought home by her daughter in Year 9:

“I don’t think they ever have said that there is citizenship on the curriculum. I would expect that it gets covered in PSHE sessions and assemblies and these fringe things that happen that aren’t integral to the curriculum. But I would hope that they become integrated in the mainstream curriculum by teachers using opportunities to talk to the pupils about the world and why it is as it is. In history for example, the GCSE set are doing work on World War II, and I know there is a lot of discussion and debate about that. What happened then actually has direct reference to what is happening now in Slovakia at the moment, and that sort of thing. I would hope that teachers would engage with those in the mainstream curriculum, and I am sure they do but I don’t know how they do it. I don’t know how systematically they do it. I think a good teacher would do that automatically.”

(Lambda, p.3)

This is an instance of the faith parents have in the schools they support. They respect the efforts of the teachers and of the institution as a whole even if they

do not always agree with everything that every teacher does. This is what Mu was meaning when she said:

“I would say that I was, quite often I am pleased that school is reinforcing what I think, because that is not always the case in life generally, or in the previous school even. So that, to me, that’s a real bonus. It’s not all a bed of roses, but from that point of view...”

(Mu, p.6)

She is explaining that the whole, while not perfect in all its parts, succeeds. This issue of the whole and the sum of its parts is revisited with reference to Pi later in this section.

However, like Lambda, Mu has an idea of what her school is doing for citizenship:

“What the school... does in citizenship, part of that I think they do through their PSHE classes and, as far as I can work out from what *Jason’s* told me, I think that is done well. But from a child’s point of view, it is very obviously they’re being taught how to become good people. So I think in a way it is almost better at Friends’, I think that it comes out in all of the classes; everything they do. To me, that’s the way to do it. It’s integral to everything that’s done. But I suppose English is always used, that is the kind of thing that comes up in English. At the moment they are doing *Journey to the River Sea* by Eva Ibbotsen and it’s about these children in South America... so this makes mention of the native Americans in South America so there is an opportunity to talk about that and how they’ve been treated and how we see these Europeans who have kind of landed on their ... Something like that is a good opportunity to talk about these issues. It is quite an obvious example but it could come up in almost any subject.”

(Mu, p.1)

She feels that she knows some of what is done because she takes time to find it out from her son (see *Role of Parents* below). There is an holistic element to

existing citizenship provision. It is not *called* citizenship in school but it is being covered through general teaching. The emphasis is upon values, of respect for others and putting oneself in their positions.

Bourdieu (1997, p.49) says:

“It follows that the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives proportionately greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies, as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled.”

The holistic, citizenship-within-subject approach to values education is not a direct, visible form of transmission. It is lived rather than delivered in what Mu is saying. Values are a form of cultural capital and this is what the respondents are considering as the major aspect of citizenship. It is possible, as Bourdieu would have it, that it has the greater weight *because* it is not explicitly denoted as ‘citizenship’. Such holism has much in common with Barnard (1961, p.303) concerning religion, moral values and attitudes, who thought that such things could only be ‘caught, not taught’.

This holistic approach is happening in the top year of the junior department too. Nu’s son was in Year 6, moving to the senior school in the next school year. She has seen this respect and understanding of the situations of others thus:

“The other thing which they have been doing, at a lesser level than this which fits into the stuff, is they had two people running in the London marathon. This year they had [name withheld] and they had *Jamie’s* last year’s teacher. Did you know her? She’s fabulous; absolutely fabulous. And they did quite a lot of work in the school fundraising to get money for them for that. And the thing she was doing. She was running... It was VICTA, visually impaired children? And they had a day to experience what it must be like to be visually impaired. And they did this thing where they came home with various types of, sort of like specky things with bits on and stuff like that to show what it

would be like. So again, that what it was really, involving them in the fundraising to start off with but it was also making them aware of the things.”

(Nu, p.7)

The focus, once again is upon values and awareness of others and their experiences.

Xi has much experience of the PTA. While she is Anglican, her husband is a Quaker. She thus understands much of Quaker philosophy and has put her daughters through the local Quaker school. What she had to say on Quaker ethos is better developed here under examples of citizenship. She, like Lambda, is not exactly sure what goes on in the school, but has years of indirect experience of what her daughters have been doing.

“What approaches to citizenship provision...? They have, I am not actually sure to be honest, what they have. They have what used to be called RE which is now PSHE, which at the moment, my elder daughter’s left actually so I’m not sure what they do in the 6th Form as regards that. I never quite gathered what they were doing further down the school with her. The younger one, at the moment: it’s studying different religions. I would have said that the approach to citizenship provision was, as I can gather, more in assemblies and their general attitude in the school that they are concerned...”

(Xi, p.1)

That she generally agrees with this lack of direct citizenship teaching is exemplified by an holistic understanding of education and what the school actually does:

“I feel that with the Friends’ schools, the idea of citizenship shouldn’t have to be taught specifically in a lesson. That it should be, which I think it is, the general ethos all the way up the school. That they should absorb it in the teachers’ approach to everything and ... and I think to a large extent they do do that.”

(Xi, pp.1-2)

And:

“[T]hey are encouraged to take notice of people outside of the school and their situation. And they have their starvation lunches⁵. They do raise a lot of money, one way or another for different things, which I think does help them to realise that they do have a responsibility to people outside school and to different sectors of society. They have a school council which is good.”

(Xi, p.2)

This concurs with Crick’s (2000, p.124) attitude towards the learning of citizenship. He states:

“My personal difficulty is that I do not believe that values can be taught – taught directly that is. They must arise from actual or imagined experience if they are to have meaning; or else they are but a set of rules to learn by rote.”

(*ibid.*)

Crick’s view is not a solitary one and reflects Barnard’s (1961) issue of catching not being taught such aspects of learning.

Omicron is concerned that she does not know what citizenship is once she has started to look into the concept but she is quite certain that there is an holistic approach to what might be termed citizenship:

“I suppose, when you say is the school actually doing anything for citizenship, I mean, do things like Amnesty come into it? Because then you are thinking about a huge wide... Is that citizenship, or is citizenship closer to home?”

“I don’t know.

“Oooh; this drives you mad doesn’t it?”

(Omicron, p.2)

⁵ ‘Starvation lunches’ refers to charity lunches. In this Quaker school, as in many institutions, several times each term the regular menu is suspended. Soup, a roll and a piece of fruit are provided instead. The savings made by providing the simpler fare are given to charity.

Here she is wrestling with the concept of citizenship itself while she was confident on what it is to have Quaker values. Amnesty campaigns for justice but justice is not a term which is readily used by Omicron since it would be encompassed by the wider values she has espoused above and below. This is why she settles upon a Quaker approach which she allies to these Quaker values:

“I don’t know what the school is actually doing to implement citizenship. I think this perhaps comes in the hidden curriculum, but it is something that comes from Quaker values and Quaker ways, but it comes in without you thinking that you are implementing citizenship. Do you see what I mean?”

(Omicron, p.3)

This values approach to citizenship fulfils only one of the three aspects which the then Lord Chancellor was promoting in a speech to the Citizenship Foundation in 1998: “Citizenship education... should foster respect for law, justice and democracy.” (AGC, 1998, p.61). Justice is allied to values. Law and democracy are not; these are two of the tools of society which justice partly underpins.

These are examples of citizenship in school which parents think their children are experiencing. The link though is to Quaker Ethos (above) because for these respondents the two are becoming synonymous, even though the interpretation by parents is generally values based rather than focused upon rights, laws and the mechanics of society.

For the three, non-parent governors the situation is more general. Their experience of Quaker schools tends to have been over a longer period than the parents and they draw from a greater number of years of different contact with the schools.

Sigma, who was a teacher at one Quaker school and a governor at another, had this to say:

“I would think that quite a bit of that is going to be specifically taught within the RE or PSE or whatever it is called. But to my mind what actually happens within the school rather than what one is told about is probably the best way in which that is [covered] – the relationships between people. I think back now to very early days in [school name withheld] when the then Head, [name withheld] came in in the morning and binged down the keys, this is to a morning Meeting, something or other had happened which had upset him. He explained to all and sundry, staff and pupils, that the equal value for people, and that due respect should be shown to the person who answers the telephone in the office, etc. etc. and that in many ways they were the most important people in the school and not the headmaster because they were the first contact that people had. I see that as a little bit of citizenship and a very important part of relations between people.”

(Sigma, pp.1-2)

This links with what Pi was saying when he was trying to define citizenship:

“What do you think is the broad concept of citizenship? I suppose it is understanding what is meant by teamwork. And of course teamwork can involve anything. You can be the headmaster’s secretary or you can be someone who brings in the tea on Saturday afternoons. You still are part of the team and you can understand what part of the whole concept you are playing.”

(Pi, p.3)

This again is a focus upon respect for individuals, being respect for others so that the whole may work better together. The emphasis is upon the individual, in this case through the conduit of equality (cf. Lambda) but the outcome, if not the intention, is that the community may benefit from individual respect.

As an ex-teacher Sigma was able to offer a pedagogical view of this respect for the individual during his time teaching:

“[T]here have been some staff that have been prepared to put themselves out to look after the...[challenging students]... specifically for a period of time if that has been needed, and to bring them back into the fold when they have been quite outrageous.”

(Sigma, pp.3-4)

Here the same philosophy of respect for the individual is developed, but this time it is respect by some teachers for students, allowing them the opportunities to grow even when they have behaved inappropriately. This does not always work as he points out:

“I had the job of taking one of these who was always up to wizard wheezes and ([who] specialized in removing the supply of electricity by devious means), of taking him on, and finally to the railway station, he not knowing that he was not going to be returning again. I felt a bit of a swine.”

(Sigma, p.3)

The loss of the child to the school for the benefit of others was good for the others but for the child concerned Sigma feels he had failed in helping him. This is a trade-off schools have to make – respect for individuals over respect for the individual. In this case it was felt, after some time, that the one school was not appropriate for the one student’s needs while for the others their environment needed to be preserved.

Rho shows awareness that Quaker principles and values are not synonymous with citizenship. She talks about citizenship being a linkage of political learning and Quaker living. She is not sure her school does much of the former but of the latter she says with an example:

“[T]he other bit of course is Quakerism. That is lived in school day by day and I do go to Meeting on Friday afternoon so I know about that. In Meeting on Friday afternoons we have speakers who tell us... There was a wonderful video the other day from a sixth form boy who had been during last year’s holiday – had gone to Uganda? One of the African countries; it may not have

been Uganda. Where there has been a lot of damage from landmines and lots of amputees... [H]e worked with the Amputees Football Team. That may not be the title. Anyway they were all people with no legs or one leg and they had a football team, and he had done a video of it. It was really very, very moving.”

(Rho, p.3)

Paragraph 20 of the Advices and Queries (QFP, 1995) encapsulates this aspect of Quaker experience:

“Do you give sufficient time to sharing with others in the meeting, both newcomers and long-time members, your understanding of worship, of service, and of commitment to the Society's witness?”

The sharing that is included in paragraph 20 of the Advices and Queries is implicitly picked up by Pi, who links with the notion that the Quaker philosophy behind actions is as important as the actions themselves (see under *Quaker Ethos*) says:

“The importance of Meeting is to make children appreciate the spiritual side of things. I have always been fascinated by the doctrine that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts: in many, many ways. And that is just as true of silent Meetings as it is of anything else.

“It's the chance to sit, and reflect, and meditate. To sit and take things calmly and quietly is something that a lot of children don't get and is a privilege. To be introduced to that in a Quaker school.”

(Pi, p.7)

For Pi, this is a part of citizenship; indeed, on the following page he says, “Quakerism is citizenship under another name.” (Pi, p8). For him this may be true, but he does not make the corollary, that citizenship is Quakerism. They are not synonymous but Quakerism may be an interpretation of citizenship. As I have said above, this may be because Quakerism is about values but not about the attributes of society such as law and institutions. For Pi, his values are

appropriate to the society in which he lives because by following them he exists within the boundaries set by the laws of that society anyway. The boundaries of Quaker values, because they are set by the individual and his thinking based upon Friends' philosophy, may be, for the most part, co-existent with the values we would like to see in society in general.

For Pi at least, and implicitly for Mu (above) among these respondents, the focus of Quakerism is "that the sum of the whole is greater than its parts" (Pi, p.11). His interest is in the community of the school, as should befit a governor, while that of the others has been ranging from the individual students themselves to the students as part of the community that is the school.

6.3.4 The Role of Parents

Basil Bernstein (2000, pp.xxii-xxiii):

"I feel very confident that some social groups are aware that schooling is not neutral, that it presupposes familial power both material and discursive, and that such groups use this knowledge to improve their children's pedagogic process."

Six of the respondents particularly alluded to the role of parents in citizenship education (one parent and one governor did not). The theme was that parents and the school, understanding a common philosophy of living (one of the motivations for a parent choosing a Quaker school for a child), already covered many aspects of citizenship, although not necessarily all of those within the National Curriculum.

First of all is the assumption that parents speak and listen to their children. For Mu, while her thoughts and those of her spouse broadly agree with those of the school there is a dissonance apparent with the views other students bring to the school and present to her son. She sees this as constructive, allowing him the opportunity to raise issues with her:

“I try to be open with *Jason* and make it possible for him to talk to me about anything that’s come up during the day, and so I was kind of hoping that he would be able to talk about things... And I think that obviously there is going to be a clash between what he hears at home and what he hears at school. I mean, we’re at one, the school’s values and our values are the same. And everything we try to teach *Jason*, that’s the same. And that’s probably true of the other parents and their children. But, wonderful to relate, there’s still a kind of subculture that’s milling around underneath which I think is just as well.”

(Mu, p.5)

But this is not just one-way.

“So, hopefully, you’ve got a hidden curriculum at home, and you know that the way that you behave and ... But I think that sometimes it does work because I can hear things that *Jason* has said, ... gosh,... I’m really glad that he has shown some consideration for someone else. You know, in a given situation he’s said I’d better not do that because they might not like it or something. And that’s quite good because that’s the philosophy we’re trying to do.”

(Mu, p.6)

Mu leads by example, living the philosophy with which she feels comfortable as a role model. Once again the focus in this passage is on respect for others.

The following is a lengthy extract explaining how Nu confronted her son when, the day before this interview (as a Year 6 pupil), he felt under stress as a house captain at the swimming gala:

“[Q]uite obviously *Jamie* had got himself quite worked up. If Penn lost it was going to be down to him as house captain – it was going to be his fault. So, there was that worry. We sent him off. We gave him quite a big lecture. It was quite a big lecture over the boiled eggs, yesterday morning, about, you know, it doesn’t matter if you win, your job as house captain is not necessarily

to be the best yourself, but it is to encourage the weaker ones. And he's, 'Oh, we've got So-and-so; we've got [a poor swimmer], and he can't swim.' And so, I said, 'Yeah, okay. So your job is to make [the boy] feel good about himself, and when he goes to do his thing, you say 'Come on [lad], give it your best,' and you try it.' So we went through all this and yes, he went off to school quite happy. Swimming gala came and went, and as it happened Penn won, so *Jamie* had to get the cup and he was all thrilled with himself. But, what I said to him last night was, 'Well that was really good, I'm so pleased for you because it is obviously great for you. But, when you go to school tomorrow, make sure you don't go in and start rubbing the others' noses in it, because remember, you were scared that that was what was going to happen to you. And the thing to remember about *Jamie*, is who got the biggest cheer yesterday afternoon?' And he said, 'Penn did, when we won.' And I said, "Actually, that wasn't the biggest cheer." The biggest cheer was when some girl in Year 4 who literally couldn't get up the bloody pool, and I forget what her name was now. It doesn't [usually] happen because they set it out so that everybody is in a similar thing. But this poor kid was having such trouble, was minutes, seemed a long way behind everybody else. Everyone was chanting her name. *Cornelia* I think it was, '*Cornelia, Cornelia.*' And then when she got there everybody gave her this kind of standing ovation. That's the one who got the biggest cheer of all. So I said, 'What does that teach you *Jamie*?' And I said, 'That wouldn't happen anywhere else but that happens at your school.'"

(Nu, p.3)

What this relates is not a one-off conversation but a double opportunity for the parent to explain the situation to the boy. Throughout is the issue of respect for the individual even though this is not explicit. There is encouragement for the weaker members of the team, awareness of how others feel and how he might have felt if he had been in their position, and finally the expression of support for the weak girl swimmer who received the largest applause of the afternoon. The final sentence shows how the parent feels she and the school are sharing a common philosophy.

When Xi opened up the prospect of parents talking to their children she saw it as developmental for her as for her daughter:

“Actually, talking to teenagers is extremely good in trying to clear out. You suddenly realise how hypocritical you are being about ... and clear minded about some things.”

(Xi, p.2)

This extract shows how proper discussion is two-way, both parties learning from it, both parties understanding the situation of the other better. This is what Bernard Crick would call political literacy, in that disputants “must both study and learn to control, to some degree at least, the means by which they reconcile or manage conflicts of interests and ideals,” (Crick, 1999, p.339). For Xi, a Quaker education is succeeding in this aspect but not on the political side:

“Judging by the arguments I’ve had with my daughter, she is perfectly capable of making a sound [argument]: I very rarely agree with her at the moment; we are going through that stage, but her position is perfectly logical, and you can’t fault it; but she does not have the building blocks to build her argument. She does not have the basic knowledge to build her argument on most of the time.”

(Xi, p.4)

What comes from this paragraph is that while her daughter has developed values and skills appropriate to discussion, Xi feels that her daughter is not learning enough facts to use as a basis for discussion. She does not directly say the school is failing in this; this would go against what she said before about learning in Friends’ schools, that “they should absorb it in the teachers’ approach to everything,” (Xi, p.2). This is the holistic approach developed by the other parents. However, the school is implicitly failing because she, as a mother, is clearly doing what she thinks is correct. The role of a parent for her is to help her children develop skills of discussion while the school perhaps needs to develop civics knowledge.

Omicron even-handedly sees the role of parents in her family as a positive influence while acknowledging that those parents who fail, fail their children, and that those children who are failed are the ones who need school input. Thus she proposes that from her situation:

“I think you see, that they learn a lot of citizenship from *Matthew* and I. Because I think, I’d like to think that we are good citizens and that we hand down our good citizenship, but there are a lot of people who aren’t good citizens, and so it wouldn’t continue on down would it? You know, there are an awful lot of dysfunctional families now aren’t there.”

(Omicron, p.7)

So Omicron acknowledges that there is a need for citizenship education in those families, which, unlike hers, do not ‘hand down good citizenship’. However, as will be seen in the next section, on respondents’ views of the curriculum Order, the usefulness of school input is questioned. On reading the Order she said:

“There’s an awful lot of it I can see is very useful to a lot of children, but it is going to be useful to the children who aren’t taught it at home and aren’t going [to] want to if they did?”

(Omicron, p.9)

Hidden within this second quotation is the implicit assumption that, as good parents, she and her husband *are* offering appropriate citizenship experiences to their children and that their children are prepared to learn from those experiences. In contrast, families whose parents fail to provide these citizenship experiences have children who would fail to want to learn from other, positive citizenship experiences. This has an implication for schools; the children who will gain most from citizenship in schools will be those who are already learning it at home as part of everyday life (i.e. holistic approach): children who could gain least from citizenship in schools might be those who need it most because they are not living ‘citizenship’ values at home and are not, as a result, receptive to these values in school.

Pi develops a different focus. He says that independent schools do not seem to be putting emphasis upon citizenship as a discrete subject, perhaps having a good reason for doing so:

“Another thing is this; about the fact that independent schools are not looking for classes in citizenship. Now, this is because, it could be because their parents do it. I know my parents ... made sure that when I went to university I got a postal vote. Because that was their sort of attitude, and that is the sort of attitude that goes with saying, ‘We are going to make you a good citizen; we are going to send you to an independent school.’ Whereas the attitude of many people is that, ‘He’s going to school; they’ll do it all and we’ll forget about it.’”

(Pi, p.10)

In contrast, Rho questions whether contemporary parents *are* doing what is necessary at home:

“Yes; of course, I suppose the answer is that in the ‘good old days’ this sort of thing would have come from parents and not from school. I mean, whether that would have been a good thing or not depended on the parents’ views. In the days when even my children were small, when we all ate around the table in the evening and we discussed what was going on in the world; I suppose *that’s* when children’s views were influenced and formed. And of course it is no good harking back to those days; families just aren’t like that any more are they. So, in... school has more of a role in that; I don’t know whether that is true. Because I was just thinking about being a boarder at a Quaker school. You would get more because you are there all the time. You would get more of this sort of atmosphere than if you were a day pupil dipping in and out wouldn’t you.”

(Rho, p.10)

This is an era of lower boarding numbers than in the middle of the last century, and higher day scholar ratios. The students who might gain most from school input would be, for Rho, boarders, and yet their numbers are reduced from

historical levels. Either way, there is a set of views apparent here about the role of parents in educating their children with regard to citizenship which may be a focus for further research.

6.3.5 Views on National Curriculum Citizenship

The parents and governors had access to the citizenship curriculum Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) about half-way through the interview. I guided them, showing them the paragraph entitled 'The importance of citizenship' on page 12, the programmes of study and the attainment targets. I explained to them that programmes of study were intended to be for teachers' planning while attainment targets are indications against which achievement is assessed.

Five of the respondents made specific comment that 'The importance of citizenship' agreed (in part or entirely) with their views. Approbation of the programmes of study and attainment targets was not as forthcoming. Since the respondents were immediately positive about the importance of citizenship it is reproduced in full below, succeeded by the immediate comments of the five respondents.

"The importance of citizenship

"Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international level. It helps them to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights. It promotes their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions."

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.12)

“Well, I’ve just been going through that and thinking, well, to be perfectly honest, that’s a lot of the stuff that I’ve been rambling on about. That’s encapsulated all my ramblings. About being responsible, for thinking about other people, and about the environment, the neighbourhood, the community.”

(Nu, p.7)

“I would absolutely agree with the definition there. I mean a very positive definition of the importance of it.”

(Lambda, p.7)

“That’s very laudable.”

(Xi, p.3)

“The first paragraph, the first sentence I mean, is more or less what I was trying to say at the beginning [*Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels*]. Yes.”

(Pi, p.6)

“Right, well, yes, yeah. It sounds like a Quaker document doesn’t it.”

(Omicron, p.5)

The DfEE/QCA paragraph effectively sets out a mission statement for the Order. It is difficult to disagree with what is within it because it is general rather than specific. Its overall tone *is* in agreement with the thoughts of the respondents as they have been putting forth their views. It does not focus upon respect for the individual which has been central to the respondents’ interviews but respect is there. Likewise most of the respondents have not made much of the need for knowledge of political and economic systems, or duties or rights; this is because they have focused mainly upon the values aspect of what they have called citizenship. The term ‘values’ is in the paragraph, but only as a noun qualified by the adjective ‘democratic’. None the less, its presence accords with the orientation towards values which the respondents, as a group have held.

It is when the respondents considered the programmes of study and the attainment targets that their views ceased to be so congruent. The three Quaker governors (i.e. excluding the parent-governor) were positive about the contents.

Pi admitted that this was only a first view of the document and that with the time available his critical appreciation was going to be limited. However he gave it a cautious, positive review:

Pi: Key stage 3 seems fairly well integrated. No doubt, if you go through it with a fine tooth comb you will find, see bits that clash.

John: And would you find that you agree this follows on what you were trying to say at the beginning of our conversation?

Pi: Yes, it puts it in far more detail. I didn't mention resolving conflict but conflict and citizenship are at opposite poles aren't they. Citizenship means living in a society without coming into conflict with it.

(Pi, p.7)

Once again we see Pi interpreting the curriculum document through the prism of Quaker values, redefining citizenship in terms of Friends' philosophy. For him the knowledge aspect of rights, responsibilities, democratic systems and the law are only adjuncts to these values.

Rho was more fulsome in her appreciation of the Order. She did not make a specific comment on 'The importance of citizenship' but rather chose to make a statement about the whole document once she had given herself a chance to read it through:

"I think it is broader than I'd anticipated. I think it is more... I have... because I know nothing about education really any more, I wonder whether education is, because of the sort of the statutory side of education, it has given me the feeling that it was a narrowing of experience. But this does sound as if

it is broadening doesn't it? It does sound pretty broad. It depends how it is taught of course, but it sounds pretty good."

(Rho, p.7)

She was particularly pleased that the emphasis upon national identity was limited:

"What it isn't, which I had feared it might be, is not nationalistic, is it. That was... because you see I was brought up in the days of the Empire... You know it does clearly say, 'diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identity in the United Kingdom, and the need for mutual respect and understanding.'"

(Rho, p.9)

Sigma also praised the document although he expressed concern about its implementation. Most subjects are taught by specialist teachers with interest in their subjects, while citizenship, if it is to be taught as a separate subject, is not likely to be delivered by such specialists. There is a possibility that there might be teaching towards assessment rather than teaching for pupil experience:

John: What do you think about this [document]? Do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing?

Sigma: I like it. I do. Yes I do. What I'm not sure about is all the testing and teaching for testing. A lot is going to depend on the person putting it across and the way it is put across obviously, as with anything else. They've got to value it themselves for it to be accepted by the majority.

(Sigma, p.9)

The parents, including the parent-governor, were less fulsome in their appreciation of the document as a whole. This is in the context, as described above, of parents who already discuss concepts of behaviour and values with their children.

Lambda, as well as agreeing with the statement of the importance of citizenship, made a subsequent comment upon it:

“Interestingly it talks about spiritual development doesn’t it? Which I am personally very interested in but I would not have necessarily put it as part of citizenship.”

(Lambda, p.7)

She has made a separation in her own definition between spirituality and participation with society but is willing to forego judgement until she has read further. However, commenting on the programmes of study she does not find herself holding the same level of agreement with which she had started:

“I mean this doesn’t really tie up, on my brief glance at it, it doesn’t really tie up with that [The importance of citizenship]. If I were trying to draw a curriculum out of that mission statement there, then the detail of what they have come up with is actually something quite different I think.”

(Lambda, p.7)

Perhaps this is the same as the point Nu is making:

“When you look at the page there, I have to say, there is far more in the ways of politics than I would have imagined there would be. If someone had said to me, ‘On your very basic understanding of citizenship is, if you’d got to draw up an action plan, what are you going to include in that... So what you include in your stuff?’ I must confess I would not have expected there to be as much emphasis on the political as there appears to be. But I would have seen it in terms of less politics but more ‘touchy feely’ for want of a better expression. I would not have expected as much about politics and political reform and voting and who can vote and who can’t.”

(Nu, p.12)

Here we begin to see a pattern which had been revealing itself in the definitions of citizenship. While the respondents have acknowledged a weakness in the

depth of their knowledge of the subject (for example Nu's 'very basic understanding' above) they all have definite views upon what it is. These views have generally been about the values of society rather than the political, civics orientation of citizenship.

This is made clear in the discussion Omicron and I had in the second half of our meeting. I was explaining what I thought citizenship might be:

John: And with those rights come duties and obligations. That is what this is supposed to be about in schools, as well as everything you were talking about.

Omicron: Ah, you see, this is what we naïve mummies only think about; being a nice person. We don't think about...

(Omicron, p.7)

While Omicron was making a joke of the situation, the truth is contained within it. Her 'nice person' is the person (rather than the citizen) founded upon values for living rather than upon duties and obligations. For her, the duties and obligations are implicit; one does things because of lived values rather than because there is a duty to do so.

Xi also makes this distinction. For her, 'ethics' are more important than the statements of rights to allow people to be different. This emphasis is linked to what Pi said above (under *Quaker Ethos*) about understanding why, rather than just knowing how, one ought to behave. Her reference is to respect for ethnic identity where she sees the Order as entrenching differences rather than building a community ethic:

"I think that's what they're doing... this is a step behind where they ought to be. It's difficult though because I know a lot of the ethnic communities want to remain rigidly within their... It depends how, are people integrate or want to be considered as integrated. As I say, in [local town] that's actually not a problem and in most Quaker schools that is not a problem, but if you were in

an inner city in Yorkshire that is quite a different thing. And I don't know whether this actually covers that or not. But in a way that is ethics not citizenship. With this they are happy for everybody to live in their separate little bubbles basically. It doesn't actually say... mutual respect and understanding is one thing, but that is not... you can still do that and never speak to the person next door to you."

(Xi, p.8)

Finally, in light of the idea of teaching and learning citizenship as a separate subject, three of the respondents made comments as to how interesting it might be. The first two were responses given from the respondents developing their own ideas while the third was in response to my asking her if citizenship as a discretely taught subject might not be boring:

"Key stage three sounds quite interesting but key stage four sounds deadly."

(Omicron, p.7)

"If this were being offered as a GCSE subject there would be motivation there for people, for kids to think, 'I'll have a look at that. I'll have a look at this voting lark.' But otherwise, if there is not, I can just imagine them thinking, 'What are we doing here? I've got double French after this. I've got homework to do. I would be better employed sitting in the library doing that.'"

(Nu, p.13)

"Any subject could be death by boredom if it doesn't happen to be your cup of tea, can't it... I have no feeling that children have to be entertained entirely through their school lives. Boredom does you no harm actually. A certain amount is a good discipline."

(Xi, p.5)

These three responses raise the issue concerning whether students are interested in a subject called citizenship. They might be taken into account with the view expressed by Sigma:

“A lot is going to depend on the person putting it across and the way it is put across obviously, as with anything else. They’ve got to value it themselves for it to be accepted by the majority.”

(Sigma, p.9)

The existing position, according to these parent and governor respondents is that citizenship education is already present in *a* form in the Quaker schools they know, but that this is through an holistic, values approach more akin to its being ‘caught’ (i.e. learned) , rather than explicitly ‘taught’.

6.3.6 Summary of Parents and Governors

The parents and governors held a conception of citizenship which was based upon values in society, particularly those values associated with Quaker ethos. Although they admitted that there might be more to the subject than their interpretation (i.e. citizenship is not / is more than Quakerism), they felt that Friends’ philosophy was appropriate for society (i.e. Quakerism is / is part of citizenship).

The Quaker ethos developed by these respondents is one based upon respect for the individual. This respect is not only a selfish consideration; it is also selfless in that in order for any individual to have self-respect s/he must be respected by others. Therefore there is a community obligation contained within this concept of respect which acknowledges equality of opportunity and equality of the person. This focus upon the person and not on the citizen is part of what distinguishes Quaker ethos from citizenship; ‘personship’ does not acknowledge physical boundaries. This is an implicit contrast of definition made by respondents when they considered *citizens* to be members of cities, states or other locations.

The respondents held an holistic view of how citizenship education was being conducted at present. When they expressed an opinion they did not consider that the schools had set citizenship syllabuses, nor discrete lessons in which it

was taught. Reference was made to PSHE lessons and to instances within subjects such as English and history when concepts and issues which would be citizenship have been discussed during lessons. The holism inherent to pupils' education means that the entire life of the school is important, not only lesson time but also during Meeting and assemblies, events such as sports days and swimming galas, and opportunities for visiting speakers to inform, for example about NGOs and charities.

We might refer once again to Bernstein (2000, p.32):

“Often people in schools and in classrooms make a distinction between what they call the transmission of skills and the transmission of values. These are always kept apart as if they were a conspiracy to disguise the fact that there is only one discourse, not two, because the secret voice of this device is to disguise the fact that there is only one.”

The holism which is developed by the respondents reflects this single approach to skills and values which Bernstein is promoting. They even take the idea further than the school boundaries. The role of parents was seen to be one which integrated with the philosophy underpinning school life. They have chosen a Quaker education (and are prepared to pay for it) because it reflects and represents their own values orientation on a day-to-day basis. There may be other independent schools which have a similar outlook but the Quaker ethos is a major reason for the parents' choice of school and this is why they support what it is doing. All but one of the parents in the sample is a non-Quaker but they felt that the ethos within their school was appropriate as an adjunct to the life of their children at home.

The views of the parents and governors upon the Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999) were mixed. There was general approbation for the sentiment of 'The importance of citizenship' on page 12 of the document. In many ways this paragraph accords with the values orientation towards citizenship developed by the respondents. Once they had considered the programmes of study and the attainment targets the views upon them were varied. Some liked the document in general, others

were surprised that the topics were so diverse (i.e. outside of the values orientation they had given their own definition of citizenship). None was negative about the Order but one expressed a concern that the sentiments of 'The importance of citizenship' were not reflected in the programmes of study, nor in the attainment targets.

6.4 The Situation of Citizenship in Quaker Schools

Four research questions underpin the research:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
3. Why are these schools doing this?
4. What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

The interviews with teachers were designed to elicit answers to these questions. What they have said will be considered against these questions. However, concurrent with this research upon Quaker schools, the NFER (2004, 2005) has been researching the implementation of National Curriculum citizenship in the maintained sector. Therefore the situation in these Quaker schools is considered first against what the NFER has to say concerning the approaches to citizenship adopted by the maintained sector.

6.4.1 How Quaker Schools are Implementing Citizenship

All seven English Quaker schools were invited to take part in the Data 1 research through letters sent to the headteachers. Five participated. The data are predominantly from teacher/parent/governor interviews but data from three school policy documents were also collected. Only one of these was specifically a citizenship document, having been completed for an ISI (Independent Schools Inspectorate) inspection the previous academic year. The other two made reference to citizenship and how it was being implemented within their curricula.

In the two schools which did not provide paperwork, at least one interview was with a senior member of the management team. In each case this person was likely to have had as good an understanding of the place of citizenship as any one else in the school since I had been directed to them by the headmaster in both cases. Thus, five schools out of a possible seven are represented in this summary.

I have developed themes which came out of the data, rather than imposing themes such as the three-plus-one coding which is present in the NFER, 2004 survey. Thus, from the information provided by the schools, three distinct approaches to citizenship can be seen to have been adopted by these five schools.

1: Schools C and D

There has been a curriculum audit to establish which parts of the citizenship curriculum are already being delivered through the existing formal curriculum. Those parts not covered are being incorporated into the existing PSHE curriculum. Inspection is the driver for this approach. If the paperwork is in order then the lessons should follow providing 'proof' that the subject is being delivered.

2: School A

Citizenship is being introduced as part of another initiative (for example, Healthy Schools Initiative - Alpha) being developed within the school. The focus upon community development is strong. This is a school-orientated approach; the impetus is coming from within the school, covering aspects of the citizenship curriculum en route rather than being focused upon it per se. 'Proof' of delivery could be less evident than by using and supplementing the existing curriculum, although the learning by pupils may be of different quality / unequally dispersed?

3: Schools B and E

The school considers citizenship to be being delivered through the existing curriculum. What could be a large change of implementing a new subject is not to be rushed but considered and acted upon later. Independent schools do not need to teach the subject so it waits its turn in order of priority.

Citizenship is taught implicitly in all of the schools. There is the use of form tutors to cover citizenship topics in pastoral time since the subject does not fall distinctly into any of the examined subjects. One school (C) has incorporated citizenship into PSHE, following the approach of a little and often throughout years 7-11, while there is an approach by another school (D) which has no citizenship *per se* in certain years, linking it with PSHE and careers lessons.

In all of the schools there is an understanding that Quaker ethos is central to any child's experience of citizenship and that, since ethos is outside of the formal curriculum, formal teaching of citizenship should be understood in relation to this ethos. Thus, one policy (School C) states in its first line that the school "aims to nurture those qualities perceived to represent 'that of God in everyone' by maintaining a culture in which all in the community can be themselves and develop confidence, self-esteem and tolerance." The search for God in everyone is central to Quaker philosophy. The subsequent focus upon community and self-development with tolerance would suggest a balance between liberal and communitarian approaches. The same document (School C) later considers three influences upon a child's development; namely the family, the school and the broader community. The role of the school is seen as a playing a part in the citizenship development of a child; it is not the pivot about which the other two revolve. This is in contrast to the citizenship curriculum order itself which does not put citizenship education into a broader context.

School D has chosen to implement citizenship as a part of PSHE/careers teaching in key stage 4. Particularly in year 11, it considers 'values and the quality of life', 'racial conflict', 'refugees and asylum seekers' and 'human rights'.

By contrast school E, in provided documentation, states:

“Citizenship is not taught as a separate subject at [this school] but is viewed as integral to the curriculum and to extra curricular activities. It is not an option, it is a way of life.

“In relation to the National Curriculum each subject area has highlighted activities or topics whose treatment contributes to an understanding of the role of Citizenship at key stages three and four.”

(School E, policy document)

Provision of civics education: forms of government, enfranchisement and voting systems form no parts of syllabuses. Neither is the British constitution explicitly considered and therefore there is no comparison with other countries which have different forms of government. Thus, while the values aspect of the citizenship curriculum may be covered by existing arrangements, the constitutional aspect is absent from teaching within these schools, unless covered tangentially through subjects such as history and geography where (for example) elections and voting patterns may be considered.

6.4.2 Quaker Schools in NFER Terms

Had these five schools been part of the questionnaire survey which provided data for NFER 2004, I would say that they would all have been included under the definition of *implicit*. It is possible that two of the schools would have been included in the minimalist to progressing categories since they made reference within policy documentation to citizenship, one of these having a separate citizenship policy. However, the emphasis upon citizenship in all of the schools is not actually upon citizenship itself (as in the National Curriculum Order) but upon allowing their students to grow into adults prepared for society.

The policy statement of the one school (C) which was specific to citizenship states:

“The school will work with parents and the broader community in order to help students gain the knowledge and skills required to become confident and effective members of a modern, multicultural and technological society.”

(School C, policy document)

This is a generalistic, implicit approach to education as a whole, rather than citizenship in particular. For this school at least, *education* would appear to be synonymous with citizenship education but not necessarily using a definition which would agree with the contents of the citizenship Order.

6.4.3 Quaker schools in terms of the original research questions

There are four research questions underpinning the Data 1 phase of the study:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?

The concept of citizenship was slightly different for each respondent. However, common to the answers given was an acceptance that it was something to do with the state and how one functions within it. Even though the concepts of duty, responsibility and rights were raised by some, the overwhelming focus of what citizenship is to these people is that it is a set of behaviours based upon respect of, and for, the individual. This respect is the value behind most of what the respondents said; even when they considered ideas such as equality, tolerance and justice, these were predicated upon a fundamental individual respect.

This may be condensed by evoking the ‘Golden Rule’ of St. Francis:

‘Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.’

It may also be seen in John Rawls’ (1999) ‘Original Position’. If one assumes that in any situation the positions of you and someone else could have been

transposed, you would want justice meted out to you that you considered fair in both of the positions.

2. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship?

The schools are approaching citizenship not directly, but indirectly. The respondents were mixed in their views of how effective this was. The parents and governors were generally very positive about it but the teachers especially, who are closer to the everyday aspects of pupil/school behaviour, realised that it is not an approach suited to all students, some of whom may fail to pick up cues from the environment concerning behaviours. This may partly be the case for overseas students, who might only be in the school for one or two years, and who may not be fluent English speakers, but it is also the situation for some home-students for whom the Quaker environment is not appropriate (i.e. those who respond better to explicit direction and narrower boundaries of behaviour than is common to Quaker schools. Many of these may be asked to move to another educational environment more appropriate for their needs).

3. Why are these schools doing this?

The indirect, implicit approach to citizenship education adopted by the schools is the result of maintenance of the *status quo* because these schools have not had to deliver National Curriculum citizenship. The value of respect for the individual is being lived rather than taught didactically, with community skills being part of an holistic approach to education which contrasts with the Order and Ofsted for maintained schools. Citizenship education is not explicitly taught; it has been interpreted by these Data 1 respondents as being covered in part through existing school policies (as a result of audits) and extra-curricular / hidden curriculum activities. Citizenship (National Curriculum or otherwise) is not a focus of the schools, although the concept of community is implicit within Quaker ethos.

4. What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

The concern for the person rather than the citizen comes directly from Quaker ethos. The twin focus of looking for that of God in each person and respecting the other person by seeing a situation from his/her perspective is what forms the respondents' views of citizenship. This is true to the extent that more than one of the respondents considered Quakerism to be a part of citizenship, even though citizenship is not Quakerism. Being a good person, respecting others, will enable the individual to be a good citizen. However, being a good citizen will not necessarily make one a good person. Thus, Quaker ethos directs the view of citizenship which has been taken by the respondents, and the educational approach which the schools and parents have adopted for their children.

6.5 Direction for the Second Year of the Study

The responses from the Data 1 research showed that citizenship is variously defined by different respondents and that these were often variant from the National Curriculum definition. Therefore a supplementary question was included to explore this, viz.

'What are the similarities / differences between the respondents' conceptions of citizenship and that contained within the National Curriculum?'

Current in the literature during the time of this data collection was a question concerning how citizenship might be taught (see Chapter 3, Ofsted and NFER research). At the same time, I was asked by the headmaster of Friends' School Saffron Walden, within which the single-school study was to take place, if I could use my research to add to his review of the PSHE curriculum and its delivery. Since there was overlap between PSHE and citizenship both in the data I had already collected from FSSW and in the policy literature, and in order to accommodate the headmaster's request I also added a question on teaching practice, viz.

‘How should subjects such as citizenship be taught?’

This brought six research questions to the second phase of the research:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are the similarities/differences between the respondents’ conceptions of citizenship and that contained within the Order?
3. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
4. Why are they doing this?
5. What is the relationship between Quaker ethos and citizenship?
6. How should subjects such as citizenship be taught?

Chapter 7 details the Data 2 research within the single-school to which these six questions were taken and the Data 3, multi-school survey which was developed from the Data 2 findings.

Chapter 7, Data 2 and Data 3 – Year 2

I note with interest that a number of otherwise high performing schools, have found their provision for citizenship to be judged as unsatisfactory by inspectors. Sometimes, it is the only aspect of their work to be so judged. The root of the problem here is often misunderstanding. National curriculum citizenship is not about the way a school goes about its business, or its ethos, although these factors are important. Neither is it participation by some pupils in extra curricular or community activities. Obviously, such activities are of great worth to the pupils involved in them, but national curriculum citizenship is, and should be, an entitlement for all pupils.

(David Bell, chief inspector - Ofsted, speech, 17/01/05)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is in three parts - *Process* reviews the research process for the Data 2 and Data 3 phases of the study. *Single-study analysis* and *Questionnaire analysis* present the results from these data. The questionnaire data are supplemental to the single-school findings, their qualitative answers complementing the views of the iterative interview respondents.

7.2 Process

The second year of data gathering developed from the Data 1 findings. It consisted of a single-school study (Data 2) at Friends' School Saffron Walden, and was followed by a questionnaire based upon the findings from this one school, sent to all seven Quaker schools in England (Data3).

The Data 2 (see 7.2.1) phase of data collection was in two parts. The first was composed of four sets of iterative personal interviews over the course of the Michaelmas and Lent Terms. The second (see 7.2.2) was a collection of one-off

interviews with the assistant head, headmaster, a group of pupils in Year 11 and a group of parents.

Data 3 (see 7.2.3) represents the data collected using a qualitative questionnaire (Appendix D) sent to all seven English Quaker schools during the summer term 2005. The Data 3 responses have been used as an extension of the data from the single-school study. They represent teachers from Quaker schools who were willing to take part in research into citizenship education and PSHE.

7.2.1 Iterative Interviews

Interviews were conducted four times over the course of two terms, once each half term from September 2004 to March 2005. As explained in Chapter 5, five teachers volunteered to take part in response to an announcement in a staff meeting made by one of the respondents in Data 1. In the second term another member of staff (Megan) joined for the final two interviews, having enquired concerning what the topics the respondents were discussing. One of the original participants (Ursula) was unable to be part of the final interview or complete the questionnaire because of illness. Another (Kirsten) was unable to meet for the final interview but did complete the final interview questionnaire. Whilst none of these teachers is a citizenship specialist, since the school (like the other Quaker schools) is not explicitly teaching citizenship, they are all involved in the implicit delivery of the subject within the holistic school pedagogy. The selection of non-specialists in the field of citizenship reflects that they are the main conduits for PSHE (and therefore citizenship) in many schools (Bell, speech, 2005; Ofsted, 2005b). They are what Lipsky (1980) terms 'street-level bureaucrats', i.e. they are the people who implement policy even though they may not have had a hand in developing it. In the case of citizenship, as is shown in this chapter, they may not choose to understand policy in the way policy-makers intended it to be understood.

A schedule of four interviews was designed for each respondent using four themes: Conceptions of Citizenship, Citizenship in School, Quaker Ethos, and

The How of Education. This schedule was built around the six questions which came from the first year of the research, viz:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are the similarities/differences between the respondents' conceptions of citizenship and that contained within the Order?
3. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
4. Why are they doing this?
5. What is the relationship between Quaker ethos and citizenship?
6. How should subjects such as citizenship be taught?

Table 6 shows how the research questions relate to the four interview themes. Each interview had a stimulus to elicit responses and an opportunity for respondents to bring ideas to the conversation, using examples from school life to illustrate their ideas. While the focus of each interview was upon particular areas, the interconnected nature of the research questions led to considerable overlap and revision of ideas across interviews. Before each of the last three interviews respondents received a copy of the transcript from the previous interview, allowing them to adapt their ideas in light of personal experience and to provide points of reference against which to consider new ideas. Thus, the respondents had the opportunity to become active in the research process, learning about themselves at the same time as I learned about what they thought and professed.

Table 6: Dates, themes and questions in the iterative interviews

Interview Date	Theme	Questions
September	Conceptions of Citizenship	1, 2, 6
November	Citizenship in School	2, 3, 4, 6
January	Quaker Ethos	5, 6
April	The How of Education	4, 5, 6

The nature of the stimulus changed over the course of the two terms. In the first set of interviews, which were about gaining trust and developing a rapport with the respondent, as well as obtaining first definitions of citizenship, I had prepared a sample questionnaire (based on Ichilov 1990, see appendix A). I provided it as a set of ideas against which the respondent could develop some ideas, rather than something to be completed by the respondent, since this would have given the meeting the atmosphere of a test. I did not use this stimulus questionnaire with one respondent since our interview grew out of another discussion on the life of the school more generally.

For the second set of interviews, focusing upon the citizenship curriculum, respondents had already received a copy of the citizenship programmes of study and attainment targets to be considered before we met. During the interviews I also presented a piece of paper with the three terms, 'curriculum', 'school community' and 'wider community' (terms from the NFER 2004 report), to see how the respondent would put these into the context of the curriculum document.

The third set of interviews also used these three terms as stimuli by putting them on cards and having six more cards, three with 'implicit' written on them, and three with 'explicit' written on them (Appendix B). These cards were presented to the respondent with the question:

'Assuming that citizenship should be part of education, how would you integrate implicit and explicit approaches using the curriculum, the school community and the wider community?'

The respondents were asked to place these cards on a table to show how they thought 'the curriculum', 'the school community' and 'the wider community' sat in relation to 'explicit' and 'implicit' approaches to citizenship education. This representation served as a stimulus for explanation and discussion of the respondents' views.

The other half of each third interview was concerned with the place of Quaker ethos and how it relates to the concept of citizenship, how much each respondent

knew about Friends' philosophy and what the school did to promote or explain this.

The final interviews were also in two parts. The first part was a discussion of a questionnaire I had designed from the data collected in the previous three interviews, which was intended to be sent out during May 2005 to teachers in the seven Quaker schools. Previous to these fourth interviews the respondents had been sent a trial copy of this questionnaire to complete before we met. As part of these discussions the respondents were able to elaborate their written answers, addressing questions such as the place of citizenship in schools, how it might be taught and the extent to which Quaker ethos relates to citizenship. The second part of the interviews allowed the respondents to air their thoughts on the research process, how it had been useful and how it could have been improved both for itself and for them. This was in order to gauge how involved they had felt themselves to be in this part of the research and to help me reflect upon the research process from their point of view, e.g. whether or not I balanced the style of interviews so that they felt comfortable; whether or not the content of the sessions was appropriate.

7.2.2 Group and One-off Interviews

The one-off interviews in November 2004, with the assistant head and the headmaster, were loosely structured and provided data clarifying the place of citizenship within the school, verifying the information given in Data 1 by Beta and Toni. An in-house review of PSHE was being undertaken at the time that the respondents were already linking PSHE and citizenship. Therefore the headmaster and I agreed that I would make reference to PSHE in my questions. While the headmaster had already been prepared to admit me to the school for my research, once we had discussed the study's direction, ethics etc., he enabled better access for me during the remainder of the year, including helping to organise the two group interviews. As with all of the other interviews, transcripts were sent and acknowledged, although neither respondent chose to amend what was written within them.

Two group interviews were held. The first was with pupils while the second was with parents. They were intended to gain the views of pupil and parent stakeholders as a non-pedagogical balance to and a verification of the teachers' responses. All of the participants volunteered to take part in the research. The pupils all knew me from my involvement with the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme being run at the school. Four of the five were parents of children who had participated in the previous group interview, while the other was one of the parents who had taken part in Data 1 (Mu).

One of the findings from Data 1 was that while parents have relevant views upon citizenship and the running of the schools to which they send their children, they tend not to have an in-depth knowledge about how these schools run, nor of the particular subject policies within them. From informal discussions with the pupils while on weekends camping with them, they also seemed to have a distinct knowledge of the school, but not necessarily concerning policies. As a result of this, the group interviews were designed to be in two, generalist parts, reflecting the participants' different focus upon citizenship and schools:

1. What is an adult in society?
 - 1a. What is citizenship?
2. What is your school doing to this end?
 - 2a. What should schools in general be doing towards this end?

As explained in Chapter 5, the focus for question 2/2a begins with the single-study school and then widens to schools in general. This was different from 1/1a which moved from the general to the particular because, in the group interview pilot, the three children considered the question in relation to their schools first, and afterwards considered the bigger picture as a result of my follow-up questions.

All participants, parents and pupils, were sent transcripts of their interviews to verify, and change if necessary, what was said. While none did formally, whenever I met the group respondents for the first time after the interviews, they

expressed an interest in the research and orally acknowledged the veracity of their transcripts.

7.2.3 Questionnaires

Data 3 represents the data collected using a qualitative questionnaire (Appendix D) sent to all seven English Quaker schools during the summer term 2005. The Data 3 responses have been used as an extension of the data from the single-school study. They represent teachers from Quaker schools who are willing to take part in research into citizenship education and PSHE.

The questionnaire was developed from the data collected from the first three sets of iterative interviews in Data 2, and trialled upon these respondents prior to their final interview. Any questionnaire is a balance of brevity and coverage of the subject. In this instance, there were three sections to the questionnaire:

- Conceptions of citizenship
- The how of citizenship education
- The place of Quaker ethos with respect to citizenship issues

This reduced format was the result of a draft sent to the headmaster of Friends' School Saffron Walden. He told me that he thought his staff would not take the time necessary to fill in what I had sent him (which explicitly questioned the place of citizenship in schools in addition to the three sections above). The final format was four pages long, the first page being introductory, with the subsequent pages containing questions on the three sections.

Six questionnaires were given to the headteacher of each school in March 2005. Thus there were potentially 42 responses. Three schools did not return any responses from this first attempt. A second set of questionnaires was sent to these schools for the beginning of the Michaelmas term 2005. Returns were anticipated within the half term if they were to arrive at all. Two schools replied to the second posting, i.e. six of the seven schools took part in the survey.

Fourteen responses were obtained from six of the seven schools.

School A – three responses

School B – one response

School C – four responses

School D – one response

School E – two responses

School F – three responses

As explained in Chapter 5, each questionnaire was individually coded with the school letter (A – G) and a number (1 – 6) in order to establish the number of returns from each school. Where quoted, the references (e.g. B6) are to these codes. The five pilot questionnaires (Data 2) which could have been used as examples of responses have not been included since, although they were representative of the survey in general their data have been used earlier in this chapter. The single School B response was from the single-study school, accounting in part for the low return rate from School B. While there were nineteen possible questionnaires from which to use data, only statements from the fourteen responses have been used as specific examples, complementing / contrasting with the views already expressed within Data 2.

7.3 Single-study Analysis – Data 2

This section considers the data using the four themes upon which the iterative interviews were based: conceptions of citizenship, citizenship in school, Quaker ethos, and the how of education.

All of the respondent quotations are referenced by the name of the respondent, the number of the interview, and the page of the transcript from that interview – e.g. (Ursula, 1, p.1). In the case of the interviews which were not recorded (at the respondent's request) all quotations are from my research notes which were

verified by email subsequent to the interview. Where reference is made to trial questionnaire answers the format is (name, questionnaire response).

7.3.1 Conceptions of Citizenship

Under the theme ‘conceptions of citizenship’ there were two questions: what the respondents think citizenship is and what they think it should be. Although respondents made distinctions in what they said between the indicative (i.e. ‘is’) and the conditional (i.e. ‘should’ or ‘would’), this does not mean to say that they necessarily meant what they would appear to have been saying. Context is often important: sometimes when a respondent says, ‘I think citizenship is ...’ what is meant is, ‘I think it should be...’ This tends to occur because none of the respondents officially teaches citizenship, and so all comments about the subject are, to a greater or lesser extent, conjectural. However, there are instances where the distinction between the conditional and indicative *is* made by the respondents. At such times the distinction is often between the indicative of what the respondent thinks the citizenship curriculum is and the conditional of what it should be. Another way of viewing this would be to say that there are two accounts of indicative citizenship – that which the government is promoting, and that which respondents feel ordinary people would promote. So when respondents are saying what they think citizenship *should be*, it seems plausible that they are voicing what they think citizenship *is* to them.

The range of citizenship *as content* which respondents explore is wide. There are four major sets of understandings:

- political citizenship,
- the relationship between the individual and the state,
- societal citizenship and,
- moral citizenship.

Each of these concepts will now be developed in terms the respondents used. There are common aspects throughout with Marshall’s (Marshall and Bottomore,

1992) civil, political and social definitions, and those of the Crick Report (AGC, 1998) – i.e. social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy.

Political citizenship

Political citizenship emerged from the interviews as both the process of acting in a political environment and preparation for such actions.

Thus Ursula says:

“I think it is partly political. I think part of it is political, yes. Because, if you are going to be a citizen of this country, we are a democracy. So, you have got to be part of that democracy and you’ve got to know how that democracy works. For you to actually be part of that democracy you’ve got to know how everything works; if you don’t you are just voting for the sake of voting, almost. Or whatever. You’ve got to understand the system.”

(Ursula/Phil, 1, p.3)

In the same interview a second respondent (Phil) continued:

Phil: Yeah. Because they had that really good advert on television the other day where the chap was saying, “Don’t do politics, don’t do politics.” And then he’d go, “Ach, pubs; why can’t they open longer?” and his friend’s going, “You don’t do politics, and that’s all to do with politics.” These political issues he’s brought up. And I don’t remember the other one...

Ursula: It was the European Union came up or something, or roads;

Phil: He kept grumbling, but he said, “You don’t do politics, you don’t do politics.” Suddenly it became apparent to him that he was concerned with the country and that he did need to vote. I think it was all about voting actually.

(Ursula/Phil, 1, p.3)

The media are a source of projection for this perception of citizenship. In this instance Phil (*ibid.*) said it was a television advertisement.

Another respondent (Kirsten) acknowledges the political aspect of the subject but questions its prevalence in a person's life:

“They talk about, you know, they've got to learn all about the work of parliament, the government and the courts, and the legal system and so on. To be fair, apart from going and voting every four years, possibly getting the odd speeding ticket, how much interaction does the average good citizen have with parliament or the legal system?”

(Kirsten, 2, p.7)

While these respondents acknowledge the political aspect of citizenship it is not the dominant understanding they have of the term. More important to them are the concepts of social interaction and morality (see below). However, there is a link between the political concept of citizenship and the relationship between the individual and the state.

The relationship between the individual and the state

Like the political conception, this has limited focus from the respondents. It is mainly tangential to the political idea of citizenship. These extracts are included to show the extent of this definition from participants. They are representative of citizenship as a process, as a status and as an educational preparation.

Kirsten (Kirsten 1, p.5), citizenship as process, on reading ‘The importance of citizenship’:

“I think *this* sounds very much like my idea of what we are trying to do in a Quaker school. The duties and responsibilities [of the Order] is like our rights

and responsibilities, and I would say that this is in agreement with what I think it is.”

As status:

“For me personally the passport is the defining thing. You are merely a member of this group. You are not a member of this group. Because there are so many things you can’t do if you are not a citizen of, say, the United Kingdom, or New Zealand, or where ever. So legally, the defining line for citizen is what we see on our passports.”

(Parental Group Interview, p.4, Charlotte)

As educational preparation:

“I think citizenship starts small first and then gets bigger. So you start citizenship within school, how you get things done, which helps impact on things like school council, you have to have members from your form on the school council, which is sort of almost like a mini [version of] what they will do when they are eighteen.”

(Ursula, 1, pp.2-3)

The difference between the ideas of citizenship as politics and as the relationship between the individual and the state is that the first is one of activity while the second is relational. That neither of these conceptions is held strongly by the respondents serves to highlight the ill-defined understanding of the term ‘citizenship’ in British society. The extract on status, from the parental group interview, is taken from a parent who holds a non-British passport. She was the only respondent to consider a passport as a means of explaining citizenship.

The social and moral senses of citizenship were more widely developed by the respondents than the political and status conceptions.

Citizenship as social interaction

In contrast to the civics aspect of citizenship, is an understanding of the importance of social interaction as a good for society:

“I think it is more important that they learn how to be good neighbours and keep their noise and their arguments and so on to reasonable levels, and how to be courteous to people that they meet on a daily basis; that to me would be better citizenship than knowing what Lord Wolfe’s job is.”

(Kirsten, 2, p.7)

Social interaction is seen as an important element by Phil, who thinks it is something which is not happening in the home environment.

Phil: If you are not told at school it puts a lot of pressure on being told at home. And let’s look at how much time people spend talking in families.

John: So you are making up for a lack of family life. That’s quite worrying isn’t it?

Phil: Yep. But it is the way the world is. Everyone rushes around doing lots of things. Parents at work, children don’t have time to talk to parents because they are too busy doing homework, or busy watching neighbours [laugh]. But people don’t talk at home! Unless you are a specific sort of family who make a point of it.

(Phil, 3, p.13)

The link between home and school was made by another respondent (Toni) in the first interview, before seeing any documentation:

“We are at school to impart/learn the formal subject matter leading to recognised qualifications. However, the school which a pupil attends should *reinforce the values and ideas the parents stand for at home*. It is a

partnership. These values and ideas concern the social skills, how one interacts with another; being able to live with and among each other. Necessary for us to do this is the ability to control/be aware of our emotional responses.”

(Toni, 1, p.1, research notes, my emphasis)

In order for a school to reinforce home values and ideas allied to social interaction there is a presumption that, in the first instance, the home environment fosters social interaction; that the school environment is supplementary to the home, not instead of it. At this point the respondent’s view is conditional although it is presented as indicative. It is reflective of an ideal educational situation rather than that assumed by the curriculum Order.

The original idea, of social interaction, remains however. In response to a questionnaire question prior to the fourth interview the same respondent wrote:

Q. What do you understand by the term citizenship?

A. Becoming part of civilized society.

(Toni, questionnaire response)

The use of ‘civilized’ is what links the concept of citizenship to social interaction. Politeness and civility are social graces and not part of the machinery of state; social rather than political.

Moral citizenship

The ideas in social citizenship include a set of values. When specifically considered, these values are representative of moral citizenship. There is no dividing line between social and moral citizenship. Instead, the difference is analogous to the difference between the political and status-orientated definitions of citizenship outlined above. Social citizenship may be considered to be a manifestation of the theory of moral citizenship, i.e. action based on principled reasoning (Rowe, 2005).

A moral basis for citizenship can be aligned with the rules of society. Indeed, Ursula went as far as to say that morals were derived from rules, rather than *vice versa*:

“I think to be a good citizen of any community, whether it is local, national or international, you have a set of rules. You have systems in place – government systems in place. And I think from that we get our morals. Part of our morals comes from that. I mean, if you think of our earliest morals from the Ten Commandments, which were a set of rules, written down.”

(Ursula, 3, pp.2-3)

However, most of the respondents had a less tangible morality. Thus we see that in two of the (trial) questionnaire responses there is a moral understanding of the definition of citizenship:

Q. What do you understand by the term citizenship?

A. A moral code for society.

(Sara, questionnaire response)

Q. What do you understand by the term citizenship?

A. Educating pupils in the social, ethical and moral ways of the world.

(Phil, questionnaire response)

While both of these responses were written after three interviews, discussing different aspects of citizenship, they are much the same as these ideas offered by parents in the focus group, who had not necessarily had the opportunity to discuss the subject in such depth.

“[T]o me citizenship is much, much broader. It’s much more, of the world, and being, well, a decent person in its widest sense.”

(Parental Group Interview, p.5, Mu)

“I guess it is about educating children to feel better about themselves, their relationships, taking more responsibilities. For me, citizenship, if it is taken on that sort of level, I can see that their aim, to get everyone to participate in schools, is to reduce bad experiences – the wife-beating, the ... everything else. And if they start low enough, young enough to install, I guess we would call them good values, but I do think that they are Quaker values; I do think that really, at the end of the day, what they are trying to achieve is to reduce the negativity and increase the positivity.”

(Parental Group Interview, p.9, Charlotte)

The second of these respondents was the parent who thought of citizenship in terms of her passport. Yet, for her, citizenship as process, rather than as status becomes values orientated. To some extent this reflects the general opinion of the group although there were other considerations such as taxes, politics and practical skills. For example, on the next page of the transcript:

Omicron: I think the sad thing is that the proportion of people who really need the lessons in citizenship are the ones who are not going to get it from the home background, and probably are just going to go like this [shrug?] at school, and not listen.

Brenda: Is that what Blunkett’s [i.e. the home secretary] trying to address?

(Parental Group Interview, p.10)

To return to the school staff, Sara collected a set of phrases which had struck her between the first and second interviews.

“Working out moral boundaries...

“Society’s not all singing from the same hymn sheet...

“I think there isn’t a united sort of fix...

“There is a lot of unrest in different areas, and I don’t, any of us, particularly know where we’re coming from at the moment. When we were growing up there were far more, we probably had far more boundaries, didn’t we? We knew where we stood more. Which has got nothing to do with what we were...”

(Sara, 2, p.12)

These thoughts are moral in dimension. The last sentence, which tails off unfinished, is indicative that while the respondent felt these were important issues, and relevant to our discussions on citizenship, they were not relevant to National Curriculum citizenship which we had been considering.

This same respondent, near the beginning of the first interview, defined citizenship in all three of Marshall’s terms – civil, political and social:

“Citizenship the term? It, to me it would be... for a student to know your place in society, your obligations, to know your responsibilities, to know your rights, to be... to give you the opportunity to have a fulfilling life.”

(Sara, 1, p.2)

This respondent does not know about T.H. Marshall and his tripartite vision for citizenship, yet she uses concepts which mirror his ideas more nearly than those of the current definition of citizenship, as proposed by the curriculum Order (knowledge and understanding, developing skills). She does not see citizenship as being a skills orientated discipline but as knowledge of where one sits in society, knowing how society works so that each person may make his/her own way through it. Crucially though, she sees citizenship as part of an educational panorama – ‘the opportunity to have a fulfilling life’ is a moral basis upon which her Marshallian ideas are predicated.

Throughout the above quotations the distinction between what the respondents think citizenship *is* and what they think it *should be* has been difficult to tease out. However there are instances where the respondents appreciate the differences with greater clarity.

For example, one of the parents saw the idea of citizenship as a template to recreate a utopian past. However, she thought that pupils would learn in spite of, not necessarily because of what they were being taught. She thought this is good ('it's just as well') because she does not agree with the utopian idea.

“Maybe David Blunkett and people have got this notion of a past where everyone volunteered for things, and we were all part of a really cohesive society. They would like that to reappear. But it's not like that, and it's just as well, because of it being so organic... really they'll [the children-citizens] go and do what they want anyway.”

(Parental Group Interview, p.9, Mu)

This idea of a past, with a different approach to society to the one we have now, is one which Blunkett (2005, p.11) does implicitly support when he talks of “a revival of community identity”, and to which Minogue (2002, p.17) makes reference, “where many people [have] become individually less self-reliant, but that those they do rely on are different”. This is not to present a return to a pre-welfare state system, but to presume that citizens should be self-reliant, even with this system in place.

Another take on this idea of creating model citizens is presented by one teacher in her second interview:

“Being a good citizen. Yeah. I actually think, this is my personal thought, that politicians regard themselves as successes, and that the only way to be successful is to be like them. And they assume that everybody aspires to be like them. And to have the life that they have.”

(Kirsten, 2, p.11)

The assumption here is that a political understanding of citizenship is normal amongst the political classes but that it does not represent society as a whole. The unsaid corollary of this is that this respondent does not think that being a

good citizen is being a political animal. There are other ways to be successful in life without this narrow understanding, which are still under the adjective 'good'.

In summary, there are four definitions of citizenship which respondents use. In answer to the question (1) 'What do respondents think citizenship is?' these are:

- Political citizenship,
- The relationship between the state and the individual,
- Individual to individual relationships, and
- Moral interaction.

This is a broad range of interpretation. **Political citizenship** is concerned with the skills and knowledge to negotiate political society, i.e. civics with personal skills. Citizenship as **the relationship between the state and the individual** is a weak concept; this would follow the traditional British concept of citizenship which is itself limited (e.g. Hahn, 1998). The idea of **citizenship as social interaction**, i.e. interpersonal relationships is a point where citizenship is a part of PSHE, as originally anticipated in the White Paper, 'Excellence in Schools' (DfEE, 1997, p.63) and developed in the PSHE curriculum document (DfES, 2005) in the section 'Preparing to play an active role as citizens'. **Moral interaction** as citizenship is the process of being a good person. The conflation of citizen and person once again shows that the idea of a 'citizen' in Britain does not have the same meaning as for a *citoyen* or a USA passport holder. Neighbourliness, respect for others is not a national or international concern; it applies to the person next door or the person adjacent on the Circle Line. The looser the definition of citizenship the more diverse is the range of its meanings. This is in contrast to the National Curriculum which has its communitarian understanding of citizenship based upon rights and responsibilities (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.12).

7.3.2 Citizenship Education in School

The theme of citizenship in school is tripartite:

- What is happening in school which might be termed citizenship.
- How the respondents' views of citizenship are being implemented at the moment.
- The perception of PSHE in the school.

The first two of these are inter-related. As a researcher I am able to view what the respondents say they are doing and compare it with the citizenship curriculum. The respondents have their own views of what constitutes citizenship [see *Conceptions of citizenship*, 7.3.1]. Some of these conceptions overlap with the curriculum Order while others do not. The third point, on the place of PSHE in school at the moment, is included because citizenship is most closely allied to PSHE of all the subjects taught in school. It is likely that, in the event of citizenship being formally introduced into a Friends' school, it will be taught with, or as part of, PSHE. Even if PSHE were not used as a conduit for delivery, it makes a useful comparison against which to consider how citizenship would be interpreted by members of staff and pupils. The respondents talked much about PSHE as they see a significant proportion of citizenship being delivered through that part of the curriculum already. In this way, the third point links with the previous two.

Rights and Responsibilities

Rights and responsibilities exist in the school through a 'rights and responsibilities charter' (Figure 6). This lays down the expectations students should have. It is the foundation upon which part of the disciplinary regime within the school is based. Rights are seen as reciprocal to responsibilities. For example, a pupil has the right to a productive working environment and the same pupil has a responsibility to allow others that same right. When pupils fail to uphold one of the responsibilities, they are required to complete a form, explaining what responsibility they have failed to observe. If three of these forms are submitted within three days for any pupil, further disciplinary action is taken.

Figure 6: Friends' School Charter

<p>As a member of Friends' School you have the right:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. To live life in peace and safety.2. To be an individual and be proud to be different.3. Not to be bullied.4. To tell a member of staff if someone or something is making you unhappy.5. A right [sic] to learn in an ordered environment. <p>A Charter of Student Responsibility</p> <p>WITH RIGHTS COME RESPONSIBILITIES</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. To allow others to live in peace and safety.2. To respect individual differences.3. To inform a member of staff if you believe that someone's rights are being denied.4. Not to be afraid of reporting any incidents.5. To be supportive and helpful towards pupils and staff.6. To play an active part in making this school a place of high quality education for ALL by making the most of every lesson.

“We’ve had it about five years now... When we first started it though, we gave it out as a forum and said to the children, ‘What do you think should be in this? What do you think is important?’ That’s how we drew up the rights and responsibilities, and it was actually suggested by the pupils.”

(Phil, 1, p.4)

This member of staff (Phil) was dealing with pupils in key stage 3. Another respondent, dealing with pupils in key stage 4 related the introduction with a different response from her class.

“Well, the same time that I arrived, [we] introduced rights and responsibilities. And, from a teacher’s perspective, it was a very good way of getting those ideas across to the children. The children, of course, rebelled entirely against it and got very uppity. They were very full after that of what their *rights* were, but none of them were prepared to exercise the responsibilities as well, to the point where they weren’t even prepared to sign the charter. Some of them, Year 10 in particular, were not prepared to sign it. And nowadays, we still have them sign it at the beginning of the year but I don’t think that it means very much to a lot of them.”

(Kirsten, 3, p.7)

She also says that the process of explaining one’s misbehaviour in relation to the rights and responsibilities charter has become a practical process, rather than a thought-provoking practice for the pupil to reassess the misbehaviour itself.

“[I]f you give them a yellow form for misbehaviour in class, and you ask them to fill in their bit, which asks them what rule was broken, they will write things like ‘someone else’s right to learn was being denied’. So they know the theory of it but in practice I don’t think it works.”

(Kirsten, 3, p.7)

The charter, set up as a statement of how the individual relates to the system (analogous to the relationship between the citizen and the state, above) fails in this respect.

A third respondent, Ursula, says:

Ursula: If we give them a yellow card, a demerit sort of thing, that is what it should refer to. It says which part of the contract has been broken. Now, if the kids aren’t actually aware of their contract apart from signing it, then they don’t know what they are breaking. So they need to be able to link it in. And I think that is where you can tie the two things into together, in that way.

John: Out of interest, how does [*sic*] this contract and the school rules cross over?

Ursula: I don't think it does to be perfectly honest. I think the contract is more things like, I have a right to learn, and the follow on from that is that I have a responsibility not to stop others from learning. As opposed to, you must have you hair tied back, you must have your shirt tucked in.

John: No, I wasn't really clear; I meant, how do they complement each other?

Ursula: I don't think they do. I think they are completely different. I think. I'll have to think about that now...

(Ursula, 2, p.2)

What is developing from this extract is that the responsibilities in the school charter are not aligned with the school rules – yet they are being used to enforce these rules. There is a discontinuity between the charter and the school rules. The same respondent continues:

Ursula: One of the rights they have is the right to be an individual, so you could say, well, the girls who want to have their hair down and the boys who want to have their top button undone, that is part of being a responsibility, part of being an individual. But then you've got to balance that out with the good of the whole school.

John: So is the good of the whole school in the rights and responsibilities?

Ursula: No, I don't think that is. I think it probably should be.

(Ursula, 3, p.8)

This is a development of what she had to say in the previous interview:

“I think the contract is more things like, I have a right to learn, and the follow on from that is that I have a responsibility not to stop others from learning. As

opposed to, you must have you hair tied back, you must have your shirt tucked in.”

(Ursula, 2, p.2)

So rights and responsibilities, which may be representative at a school level of the relationship between the individual and the state, are in place. However, the use of rights and responsibilities fails as preparation for understanding the relationship between the individual and the state because the charter, created upon a template of precepts does not directly relate to school rules. Neither the charter nor the rules of the school are necessarily inappropriate but they are not mutually compatible. As a result, when the charter is invoked to raise issues about behaviour the rights and responsibilities are diminished in value.

The concept of community is strong in the school. It reinforces two of the conceptions of citizenship developed by the respondents, social interaction and morality. The community exists because of its Quaker status, with Friends' ethos being held as important to the running of the school. Moral values are central to Quakerism, which was founded upon respect for the individual combined with respectful interaction. All social interaction should have a moral understanding for it to be appropriate. The school's webpage (<http://www.friends.org.uk/>) has the strapline 'a sense of community' clearly superimposed upon it.

In the first set of interviews, before I had introduced the idea of community, three of the respondents gave these ideas:

“Where the school does develop community really well is to bridge the gap between junior and senior schools. Members of staff in several departments (including sport, foreign languages and CDT) teach at both KS2 and KS3. This allows pupils moving from primary to secondary education within the school to feel a part of the community of the senior school before even arriving, knowing already the outline of the school buildings and some faces of the teaching staff.”

(Toni, 1, p.3, research notes)

“I think our society has lost its identity. We, for instance, in this school we do have a Meeting for Worship or an assembly each morning, but I gather, in a lot of schools that does not happen, so you haven’t got the community feel in school perhaps.”

(Sara, 1, p.4)

“[The pupils] look more to the staff than just to their peers for guidance and I think, just the ethos of the Quaker school, means that we do place a great deal of importance on fostering behaviour that is tolerant and kindly and for the good of the community.”

(Kirsten, 1, p.2)

There is a combined sense of continuity, identity and fraternity within these passages. Each considers what the school offers in a different way but all three use the term community freely. It was not until the second interview that I used it as a key word in terms such as ‘the wider community’ and ‘the school community’.

A fourth respondent, Ursula, using the term community, allied it directly with rules and morals.

“I think to be a good citizen of any community, whether it is local, national or international, you have a set of rules. You have systems in place – government systems in place. And I think from that we get our morals. Part of our morals comes from that.”

(Ursula, 3, p.3)

Charity

Charity is not part of National Curriculum citizenship but the respondents made repeated reference to it when they discussed their visions of the subject. There were two types of charity which were raised; local and bigger than local. The local Saffron Walden charity is called ‘Rescu’; it works on projects in the town

at a community level and it was through the discussion upon community that this charity was considered.

John: How does this school interact with the wider community?

Phil: What, with fund raising, working in Rescu ...?

John: That'll do...

Phil: The junior school go out to old people's homes at Christmas, food parcels. I mean, you are interacting with the wider community every time you go out of school, on a trip or a fixture, or anything like that.

John: So that is a lot of opportunities for interaction with the wider community. Would you say that any of those had implications for citizenship?

Phil: Yeah. When you've got your fund raising, you are looking at different charities and things you want to raise money for. That's also looking globally; last year they did quite a lot for WaterAid. So they're actually having to look at the wider community. And the house system that we've got – they actually chose the charity to give to, so they had to research charities. So different children have got different interests in charities.

(Phil, 2, p.3)

On how the school interacts with the wider community, Ursula relates:

“[One member of staff] organised Water Aid, to collect money for charity last year, and [another] normally helps with the Quaker Homeless Action Christmas appeal; so they do that, but it is more of a charity-based thing.”

(Ursula, 2, p.6)

On reading the programme of study Kirsten opined:

“Opportunities for individuals and groups to bring about social change, locally, nationally, within Europe and internationally - we do quite a bit on that. We do support things like Amnesty International, and we get the children involved in the Christmas cards and all sorts of things like that, Quaker Homeless Action – we do a lot of fund-raising things, some initiated by the children, some initiated by us. I think as well, we look back quite a lot to look at what Quakers have done to bring about social change; in the past.”

(Kirsten, 2, p.3)

This emphasis on charity in the wider (including international) community is not so much about charitable giving – as in alms to the poor – but charity with a focus upon social justice. Amnesty International and Quaker Homeless Action are pressure groups as much as they are charities, working in the political field as much as the charitable one. Thus, charity is citizenship in the form of moral interaction. Yet this might reasonably be said not to be citizenship. Andrew Dobson (2003, pp.26-28) makes a distinction between the Good Samaritan and a good citizen. He says that the Good Samaritan was only able to do good because he had money and did not do so because of a sense of citizenly responsibility. He was therefore being charitable, not citizenly, and being from a different social group would not have felt a political affinity with the mugged traveller, but a link through humanity. In this respect social and moral interaction are not aspects of citizenship. This leads to the concept of responsibility.

Responsibility

Kirsten sees citizenship as being predicated upon the idea of responsibility. She uses careers education as a conduit for personal development so that pupils were confident enough to be responsible for themselves.

Kirsten: But you see, my remit of careers at [school name], I was the only person apart from the head of sixth form who sat on both the academic committee and the pastoral committee, because it was considered to

have implications for both. And, as part of my job there I actually introduced a year 10 induction course to teach the kids skills that they needed to cope with life and GCSE. So, study skills and... but I also included in that, outside speakers (drugs awareness and this kind of thing), the theme of my little three day course I had was 'taking responsibility'; so it had a much bigger remit than just careers, or indeed, how to do well at GCSE. I did that because kids came to me. They used to come to me if they had problems, where they did not feel they could talk to anyone else. And one of the things they used to say to me was how stressed and how anxious they were and how they thought they were going to fail at life. And so I wanted to do something to help them feel more confident.

John: Do you see that in students here?

Kirsten: Yes, and in fact I've been pushing for that here, and this term we've started it. Year 10 have actually had an induction course this year, along the lines of my induction course, for the first time.

(Kirsten, 1, pp.6-7)

This idea of responsibility for oneself is developed by Toni:

"The corresponding areas of Quaker ethos and citizenship are in the responsibility and respect aspects."

(Toni, 3, p.2, research notes)

And:

"Citizenship is a part of teaching, if one can call it a subject and if teachers are aware of it. For example, in one recent form period /registration I was taking students to task over their coursework. I was explaining that pupils need to take responsibility for their own work and that this is good preparation for adult life when they will have to be responsible."

(Toni, 3, p.4, research notes)

So, for Toni, responsibility is first being responsible for oneself. It is the essential ingredient for the individual to function in wider society. It also is a component of interaction with others. However, this was not the interpretation given to it by the respondents. Thus, in these interviews, responsibility is a foundation for political citizenship; the individual must be able to exist and work for oneself.

The school council

The school council is perceived as being a *potentially* useful conduit for the pupils to voice their opinions. Practically it is not seen to function well. By extension, this poor pupil-school council representation does not positively reflect the idea of interaction between the individual and the state. Students are not keen to be part of it, seeing representation as a chore; as such it is a poor preparation for understanding political life. The school council is seen by pupils and some members of staff to be failing to represent pupils' views, because as a forum it is neither clear what views should be brought up within it nor whether they are likely to be considered. A comparison (raised within the pupils' group interview) is with the smaller food committee, which listens to the pupils' views and, where appropriate, acts upon them. It may be that the school council discusses the kind of issues which it is inappropriate for such a forum to consider because it may be unable to act upon such issues.

The theory is that a school council should present an introduction to representative democracy:

“So you start citizenship within school, how you get things done, which helps impact on things like school council, you have to have members from your form on the school council, which is sort of almost like a mini what they will do when they are eighteen.”

(Ursula, 1, p.2)

However, a school council is still a forum for learning as with the rest of the school environment. Having annual representatives upon it from form groups, the opportunities for learning how the system works and to develop appropriate skills, are limited:

“We have also tried to get them to think hard about the opportunities of school council and that they can’t moan about things unless they use their rights to voice their opinions. They can’t expect change unless they use those rights. And with things like school uniform, they have all complained about school uniform but there are changes afoot, but we’ve said to them, ‘Well, you girls, you should be forming a committee and suggesting to people, “Could we be involved?”’ But it is a bit late and it is quite hard work. And again, with school council, they think, ‘Nobody listens; what’s the point?’ You know. But we are trying to use opportunities to *use debating skills*, I suppose.”

(Sara, 2, p.3)

One way to allow pupils to learn more could be to allow them to attend the meetings of the council, to view how the system works in order to become more knowledgeable:

John: So, in light of the fact that you do know quite a lot about it, how do you think you could improve it?

Phil: To have more people attending... not to have to contribute but to sit in on the school council. I think people see it as a chore rather than something they want to do at the moment. Especially higher up the school. You have to volunteer people to do it rather than them volunteer.

(Phil, 4, p.4)

Finally, in order for the school council to be seen by pupils as working, it needs to be able to act upon the topics it discusses:

Megan: They’ve got to see that it is working. Which is getting better.

John: How could that be... to show pupils that it is working.

Megan: Because quite often they bring good suggestions, and then they are thought about as a school. They need to see that happening. At the moment, we listen to what you say, we go away, and maybe we say that you are right. So I think a higher profile, and a lot more time spent on what they are sending to school council and is that appropriate.

(Megan, 2, p.6)

Negative views of the school council were voiced by the pupils in the focus group. These pupils were well-motivated, having volunteered to attend after school, in their free time. There is a positive note at the end when Girl 4 refers to the food council⁶:

Girl: You come away and you don't feel that they have listened to that point. I mean, yes, they've heard it but ...

Girl 2: And you are only allowed to send two students from each year group. Why can't anyone who wants to go along and listen just be there? Why does it have to be two representatives?

Boy 1: No one wants to go. It is a complete waste of time. It is not even to do with voting. You don't get voted in. You say 'I'll go,' because you need someone there.

Girl 3: If they didn't have it people would complain.

Girl 4: And food council is good. They listen to you there. And I go. They write things down and you see a difference. It's really good.

(Pupil Group Interview, p.17)

⁶ The food council is a committee coordinated by the catering department. It has pupil representatives on it but, unlike the school council, it is not run *by* the pupils – instead, it is run *for* the pupils, being reliant upon their ideas for many of the menu improvements.

School councils are seen as a major route for active citizenship in schools (one of the twelve question areas of the CSV 2004 survey was specifically about school councils – CSV promotes active citizenship). As representative bodies they are inherently limiting in the numbers of pupils who can participate. The NFER Report (2005) on citizenship in schools found that 44% of pupils had been involved in electing pupils to represent them on school councils but that approximately 10% had acted as representatives (*op.cit.* pp.35-36). Direct, democratic representation utilising a high proportion of the pupil roll, could be possible at a school such as FSSW with its limited numbers, but it becomes more difficult in one significantly larger. If the representative system were to be given a greater presence (see Megan, 2, p.6, above), then the pupils might realise its potential as a route to developing skills of political citizenship, fulfilling Dewey's outgrowth stipulation. If school council is not accorded a greater presence it will continue to fail in this.

The perception of PSHE in school

PSHE is included in this research because much of the citizenship which is already being covered at FSSW (and at other Friends' schools – see Data 1) is, ostensibly, PSHE. This accords with the PSHE curriculum (DfES, 2005) which, as well as having parts which are tangential to citizenship, such as 'Developing good relationships and respecting the differences between people' and 'Developing confidence and responsibility', also has one strand entitled 'Preparing to play an active role as citizens'. Furthermore, if citizenship were to be formally introduced into the curriculum it would be likely to be as part of PSHE because this is what Ofsted (2005b) has reported half of English schools already doing:

“Over recent years, PSHE programmes have adapted to accommodate, for example, an expansion of careers education and guidance and work-related learning. The pressure on PSHE programmes has now become intense in half of the schools because of the inclusion of parts or all of the National

Curriculum programmes of study for citizenship, but with no additional time provided.”

(Ofsted, 2005b, p.15)

If citizenship were not to be incorporated into PSHE because of the added pressure it would place upon such a host subject, then it would be likely to be introduced as a discrete part of the curriculum. It would (unless taught as a short GCSE), be a subject without the academic kudos reserved for GCSE like PSHE. Thus, it is worth researching PSHE in schools as a precursor to the development of citizenship education provision.

Sara wonders why PSHE is not considered a valuable lesson by pupils, when, ostensibly, it is about matters which should concern them:

“It is a mystery to me; it has always been a mystery to my why PSHE is not as successful as one would think when it is really about the students themselves. Why they are not more engaged... historically they are ... more problems, less focus, more lack of interest, when actually it’s all the things one would imagine they would be most concerned about, most interested in.”

(Sara, 2, p.1)

Yet she acknowledges that these matters are held as being important to the pupils outside of formal PSHE lessons:

“Whereas, when things are less formal, in the form room for instance, something will come up, I trying to think of a particular example, umm... well, the Year 10s, they’re off. There is a big discussion in the classroom and there’s all this, sort of, energy and enth[usiasm], you know, ‘No, that’s not right...’ and... You try and formalise that, it seems, and you put the name PSHE, ‘That’s timetabled, that’s just a doss lesson. You know..., we’ll be doing drugs again.’ Switch off.”

(Sara, 2, p.2)

What Sara has to say here is reflected in the 2005 Ofsted Report on PSHE. The first two of its key findings were:

“Too many schools perceive achievement in PSHE only in terms of pupils’ subject knowledge and understanding; no attempt is made to judge whether there has been any impact on their attitudes, values and personal development. “In too few PSHE lessons were pupils given opportunities to analyse, reflect, speculate, discuss and argue constructively about their understanding of issues.”

(Ofsted, 2005b, p.3)

Thus, schools are focusing too much upon formal subject knowledge (in an area about which pupils are already supposed to have informal understanding), so that schoolchildren lose interest, and yet they are not giving pupils the opportunity to discuss and develop their perceptions – which children do value.

Sara partly answers her own query about the lack of success of PSHE (Sara, 2, p.1) by acknowledging that the school does not accord kudos to it. As a result the pupils do not respect it, following the implicit example set by the school.

“And along with careers education and also with PSE, [is] the fact that the lessons get used up for other things as well. All form administration that has been fitted into form time always gets shovelled into PSE time... It gets stolen all the time.”

(Sara, 2, p.2)

Following from this, Phil makes a balanced response to the idea of PSHE. She sees it as being a balance of teacher skills and resources – pupils will find the subject interesting if it is well taught.

John: Do you think it is important? To do this?

Phil: Oh yes, definitely. I mean, I really enjoyed it last year. A lot of people don’t see it as an important subject...

John: Why not?

Phil: I think because the pupils get to a point where, as they move up the school, it is not an exam topic, and so, if it is not well delivered, it can be seen as boring, and so just a free lesson to.... But if it is delivered well, and... It is all about having the right resources to deliver it. When I did it quite a few years ago we didn't have very good resources, and so you were always hunting around, whereas if there were actually packs there for staff, with really good resources, a varied number of materials to use, so good worksheets, good videos, things like that, it would make a difference. The book I had last year was very good and had lots of different things in it.

(Phil, 2, pp.1-2)

She continues to develop the point concerning the importance of good teaching to make the subject worthwhile:

“But the delivery is... it is the same in any subject... if the delivery is not good then it is not interesting and they are not going to want to do it. But the difference in other classes is that, say the delivery is not good in French, they still want to get their French GCSE, so they get by, but in PSHE, if the delivery is not good, it is not an exam topic, so they had may as well, sit back and...”

(Phil, 2, p.2)

Toni presents some answers to what he feels are the problems for PSHE; for him the subject is one taught as if it were examined but failing to live up to its promise. This accords with the Ofsted (2005b) findings stated above, concerning an over-emphasis upon “pupils’ subject knowledge and understanding”. Toni’s view is that PSHE would benefit from a less formal pedagogy.

“It is for this reason (over formalised approach) that Toni feels PSHE could be better conducted within the school. It is made formal to such an extent that the students (and staff) perceive it as a time-filler. He suggests two options which would perhaps be better. The first is that PSHE should be scrapped as a lesson and that pupils should spend a period a week with their form tutor, to be organised and run by the form tutor, so that the students may approach topics informally but sensibly, as they arise. The tutor’s role would be to act as a guide, keeping language sensible, so that the students could practise interacting with each other appropriately. Although it would be difficult to justify this (there being no paper trail) for inspection, what the students would get from it would be better than through the formal system.”

(Toni, 1, pp.1-2, research notes)

Citizenship, as part of the statutory curriculum for secondary schools, has a specified knowledge content greater than that within PSHE (i.e. it has programmes of study while PSHE has non-statutory guidelines). Delivery of such content is likely to require more formal lessons than would PSHE. This would appear to delineate citizenship from PSHE, with citizenship having a focus upon knowledge and skills, while PSHE might be centred upon pupils’ experiences, relating to each other and comparing each other’s values.

Against this, however, is the point made by the Assistant Head. He reasonably says that there is an expectation for PSHE to be covering a range of topics. If the system were not formal then:

“[t]he great danger of doing it implicitly is that you miss half of it out. The assumption is that this department must be doing that because that’s what they are doing, so we don’t need to do that. Here, I’ve no overview of that at all. So I think there is a great danger in that [*If we assume that we do have to teach it*]. The danger of swinging the other way is that it is seen as yet another subject, yet another 40 minute block to add to thirty other 40 minute blocks in the week. And there is the sort of switch-off element there.”

(Assistant Head, p.6)

He sees both sides of the problem – that if the subject is not made formal, necessary aspects may be omitted, while as part of the timetable there is the risk that formality will stifle interest in it.

In contrast to Toni, who saw PSHE as being too formal, Ursula saw PSHE as already being informal. This was particularly relative to the citizenship curriculum, which she had read; although some aspects overlap she thought there was a distinction between the two:

“At the moment PSHE is distinctly different I think. After looking at citizenship I think PSHE is more warm and cuddly. Whereas I think citizenship is ‘Boom – this is it.’ You can have an opinion, you can have debate. You can have debate in PSHE but it’s a warm and cuddly debate. Do you know what I mean?” (Ursula, 3, p.2)

So Ursula, without having read the Ofsted (2005b) report on PSHE, could already see the greater formality of citizenship compared to the values orientation of PSHE. Crick’s procedural values, which (as explained in Chapter 3) did not become central to the citizenship Order, *are* at the heart of PSHE. Where citizenship is prescriptive in *what* to do, PSHE lays out the processes by which pupils may make their own choices – by recognising what their own views are as a basis for discussion (DfES, 2005, web access). What the PSHE curriculum does not do is require pupils to consider the position of their interlocutors. Under ‘Preparing to play an active role as citizens’ it states:

“Pupils should be taught:

- “to take part in discussions with one another and the whole class, [and]
- “to take part in a simple debate about topical issues.”

(DfES, 2005, web access)

In contrast, the citizenship Order (1999) has, in clause 3a:

“Pupils should be taught to use their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express and explain views that are not their own.”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14)

This citizenship provision is merely an extension of that for PSHE. The two subjects were intended to dovetail in schools. As the Order states:

“Citizenship is complemented by the framework for personal, social and health education at key stages 3 and 4.”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.12)

Where the two do not complement each other is the civics aspect of the citizenship curriculum. This is manifestly content-based and is a cause for limitation of PSHE when it has to incorporate citizenship, as many schools are doing. Indeed, one of the recommendations of Ofsted (2005b, p.4) is:

“Schools should ensure that their curriculum and teaching time for PSHE are not reduced by the demands of provision of National Curriculum citizenship.”

A parent's view of PSHE (Charlotte, below), is that teachers do not accord much importance to the subject. This may be to do with the fact that most PSHE is taught by form tutors rather than by specialists. Unless all of the form tutors do a good job the subject can receive a poor reputation.

“I think my point of view was really the facilitation. The implementation hadn't been done as well as it could have been done. Because the commitment ... I felt that the teaching staff that had taken PSHE had done it because they *had* to do it, not because they had a passion for it. And there hasn't been any continuity, and therefore the children have, in some cases, treated it as a bit of a joke. Whereas it could have been quite significant. It could, I believe, have been done quite differently, if they had the right people taking this. If they had the passion and the information, the children could get a lot more out of PSHE at school than what they have. Obviously I am talking

about my own children, but I do know from their peers what they say about PSHE at times. And it is incredibly disappointing because, in a Quaker school, I think we should expect, because of the Quaker philosophy, I expect them to do a lot better.”

(Parental Group Interview, p.5, Charlotte)

These issues, raised with particular reference to FSSW, are found to be prevalent across schools in the maintained sector. The weakness of form tutors delivering PSHE is an important Ofsted point (2005b, p.6).

“Often PSHE programmes emphasise knowledge and understanding at the expense of other objectives. Teachers with weaker subject knowledge tend to fall back on the more tangible aspects of programmes and conventional teaching methods. As a consequence, for example, four out of ten lessons taught by form tutors, as against one in ten lessons taught by teachers with specialist knowledge, fail to explore what pupils think or to challenge existing attitudes.”

Like the Ofsted extract, it seems that PSHE at FSSW is taught using a set curriculum which emphasises ‘knowledge and understanding at the expense of other objectives’. This is in place so that all of the items on the syllabus are met. However, this limits the form tutors to specific topics at specific times. As a result the PSHE delivery falls between two stools: it is not important enough to merit academic kudos but it is too rigid to allow tutors to address issues of current importance. Added to this, tutors are not specialists, having to teach a subject with which they may not feel specialised – in such cases they may cover topics cursorily and therefore fail to do justice to the topic. This leads to the point made in Data 1 – Delta was talking about citizenship but in relation to contemporary PSHE she said:

“So what picture is that presenting to children, about the subject as a whole and whether the staff value it? You know, children do go on what they see the staff doing and they are role models. ‘If my teacher thinks it is worthless, I’ll think it is worthless.’

“So now you’ve got a problem. They know what citizenship means and they think it is worthless.”

(Delta, p.8)

PSHE is a difficult subject to cover fully and with interest. The expectation amongst many schools has been that it should be taught by non-specialists during specific lessons, covering fixed subject content. Citizenship, while separate to PSHE was designed to be complementary to it. However, the possibility of conflation of the two, at the expense of citizenship content, has been established in schools which have attempted to teach the two together. Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools said:

“In many schools however, the perceived close relationship between citizenship and PSHE is proving problematic... They do not sit easily together, particularly when little time is devoted to them. Often, schools claim the content of lessons is citizenship when it is in fact PSHE.”

(Bell, speech, 17/01/05)

Thus, if FSSW were to implement citizenship through PSHE it might not only run the risk of tarring citizenship with the (kudos-lacking) PSHE brush, but also of conflating the two subjects, failing to deliver citizenship to the extent intended.

7.3.3 Quaker Ethos

The theme of Quaker ethos may be subdivided into three areas:

Understanding ethos

Manifestation of ethos

Preparation in ethos / ethos and citizenship

Most of the discussion on Quaker ethos concerned how it might be understood and how it manifests itself in school. Thus, the first two sections are *Understanding* and *Manifestation* of ethos. The final area, *Preparation in ethos / Ethos in citizenship*, is included, the first because it has links to *The How of Education* later, and the second because it ties the first two together with the research into citizenship itself.

While Quaker ethos was ostensibly the focus of the third interview with the teacher respondents during the single-school study (see Table 6, p.229), it was a topic which arose in both the first and second interviews. Thus, of the quotations which follow in this section, the interviews most commonly cited are number 3, but where respondents raised the issue tangentially to other themes in the other interviews, these views have also been included.

Understanding ethos

Quaker philosophy is to many people a nebulous concept [see Appendix G]. Among these respondents there is an understanding of ethos which may be summed as pastoral care based upon the values of fairness and respect for the individual, and looking for that of God in each person. Pastoral care is more community-based, while looking for God is more spiritual (and individual) but the two *do* overlap; the former is seen as being a part of the latter since the community is viewed as being composed from individuals. For example, showing respect for a person's views when one disagrees with them is obviously a demonstration of tolerance, but attempting to see their point of view is to try to see the values orientation of that person. Thus the two are related. Trying to see someone's point of view might only be perceived as tolerance when it is in fact an attempt to appreciate the spirit of that person. None the less, here there will be a delineation between the two as far as is possible, since this separation of the pastoral and spiritual will reflect the views of the respondents. Returning to the idea of the nebulous, there are instances where respondents admit that they are unsure of what they mean in terms of ethos, and also where they express their views by omission rather than inclusion. These are both included in what follows.

Respect

Respect might be an umbrella for the values to be discussed here for without it they cannot be upheld. One respondent, Toni, in his first interview, before I had asked any questions but after we had been discussing some pupils we had both taught, provided this vignette:

“Imagine you are cycling and a pedestrian walks out in front of you, forcing you to stop at a danger to yourself. Your immediate reaction might be termed ‘cycle rage’. Automatically, you emit a verbal obscenity at the pedestrian who is unhurt. You have vented your fury and, as a result, you feel better. The pedestrian may, as a result of your outburst, feel humble, if not already from the act of causing you unnecessary trouble. What of the other people on the street? The by-passers, who had nothing to do with the incident, are drawn into the situation because you have been loud and obnoxious. This is not respectful of them and it would have behoved you to have been aware of your response and the effect it was going to have on others.

“The extension of this is that it is not enough just to think about our actions and how they affect others, but also to help others, i.e. selflessness rather than selfishness.”

(Toni, 1, p.1, research notes)

Respect for oneself, the directly injured party and for bystanders, is related to fairness and selflessness. The community ethic which is founded upon this respect for others is developed:

“I think, just the ethos of the Quaker school, means that we do place a great deal of importance on fostering behaviour that is tolerant and kindly and for the good of the community. Because it is of importance to us; and so it leads what we are doing rather than being something which is added on.”

(Kirsten, 1, p.2)

And:

“Yes, but you know the underlying principles of it [Quaker ethos], and you know look for that of good in everyone, you shouldn’t be overly competitive... Like, when we’ve been pushing the house system for the last couple of years, some of the children are like, ‘Oh, it’s competitive. We shouldn’t do it because we are Quakers.’ But it is also saying to them that that is not supposed to be the underlying aim of it; that you all work together, you mix within your year groups; you know, there are lots of principles that are Quakerly that you can put into it.”

(Phil, 3, p.6)

The issue of competitiveness and how it is not a Quakerly trait is a misconception borne of misunderstanding. Competition is seen in a bad light when it is doing someone else down, but it is not a bad thing to strive to do well oneself, or to work with others to do well. This may be compared to MacIntyre (1981, pp.128-129) where he distinguishes between *hêsuchia* and *pleonexia*. *Hêsuchia* is the act of competition in order to reach an end, while *pleonexia* is the love of competition for its own sake. The Quaker understanding of competition is closer to that of *hêsuchia* than *pleonexia* because the value of competition is seen to come from its outcomes rather than being intrinsically virtuous.

In terms of citizenship, competition as *hêsuchia* is predicated upon respect for others; one should only find oneself competing in a positive situation. If there is a positive aspect to *pleonexia* it is that the individual is taking part at all, but it becomes secondary to *hêsuchia* in that the individual is part of the team. This was the point made in Chapter 6 by Nu when she described a swimming gala and the support for the weakest person in a race. Even the slowest person deserves respect for having been part of the race.

The issue of respect is more than inter-pupil. Mutual respect between pupils and staff fosters a harmonious working relationship within the context of the school community.

Megan: Because it is about questioning their authority. It’s about your

perception of your authority. If you see your authority as being based on power, and 'I can shout louder,' it doesn't work. Your authority comes because...

Ursula: You respect the children – they respect you.

(Ursula, 3, p.11)

A similar concept was raised by Sara. She had collected a set of phrases which she brought to the interview, and one of them elicited this:

“Yes. I've put here, 'same standards for children and adults'; sometimes adults can be guilty of having double standards. We need to bear that in mind.”

(Sara, 2, p.12)

Respect for fairness is paramount in this extract but it is nothing without respect for the individual which was apparent in the previous quotation.

This is not a situation beheld of all members of staff however. The first two respondents, earlier in their conversation:

Megan: Yes. It is hard to work here if you don't have... if you don't value those principles and those ideals, and that way of working and being. I think.

Ursula: I think anybody who stays here a long time – it's almost like some sort of osmosis where it kind of sinks into you.

Megan: It goes through you doesn't it.

(Ursula, 3, p.8)

Absorption of Quaker ethos by osmosis would not be a certain way of delivering citizenship. It is not patent which values would be being promoted at any time,

nor of their extrinsic worth. Therefore it would be difficult to assess or justify against any policy document.

Misunderstanding ethos

As much as ethos is explained by the respondents it is also questioned. When I asked Kristen whether she thought she had a reasonable understanding of what it is to be a teacher in a Quaker school her response was forthright:

“I don’t know because I have no criteria against which to judge my understanding. I mean, I haven’t been given a list explaining what it’s like to be a teacher in a Quaker school, so I don’t know if my experience matches up to it or not.”

(Kirsten, 3, p.2)

Yet this same teacher had given in her first interview:

“I think, just the ethos of the Quaker school, means that we do place a great deal of importance on fostering behaviour that is tolerant and kindly and for the good of the community. Because it is of importance to us, and so it leads what we are doing rather than being something which is added on.”

(Kirsten, 1, p.2)

For her, the concept of Quaker education is something with which she does accord. She uses ‘us’ in relation to the term ‘ethos’. It is however, nebulous to the extent that she feels unable to give a direct response to what Quaker ethos entails. Yet, in the same interview which contains the negative response, she acknowledges that she leads assemblies with Quaker references and says that she uses Faith and Practice (QFP, 1995).

Linking insufficient knowledge of Quaker ethos and practice with that of the pupils is this conversation between two of the respondents:

John: So, you are saying that the only explicit clarification of what happens in meeting, *happens in meeting*.

Ursula: At the beginning of term. Again it's a PSHE lesson in Year 7. We talk about it in PSHE. What's going on and why it happens and that sort of thing. But that's it. So, anybody who joins after Year 7 ...

Megan: The form tutor should do it. Well, when I was a form tutor I would explain what was going on, but whether that happens with every form tutor ...

Ursula: I don't think there's anything. There's no sort of ... checklist with...

Megan: tick, tick, tick...

Ursula: Explain this... But it is a vicious circle isn't it. *If the teachers themselves don't quite understand it, how can they tell the children?*

(Ursula, 3, p.8, my emphasis)

Finally, one of the weaknesses of the school in this area of understanding Quaker ethos is the lack of Quaker staff who can highlight situations as they arise. This extract from Phil explains the position.

“It's strange here because it's not pushed down your throat or anything but it [Quaker ethos] comes up very subtly in a lot of things that happen. I think more recently we've lost sight of some of them because we don't have any Quakers or strong Quakers on the staff. Whereas before we did, [name withheld] and I can't remember who else. They were really useful to have on the staff because if we were talking in a meeting it would... they would occasionally say, 'Well that conflicts with this, this and this,' and that was really good to have because I think, the last few years we've moved a little bit too far away from it and sort of ... and unfortunately, the introduction of league tables and exam results – that's what parents look at in order to send their child to your school.”

(Phil, 3, p.5)

Clearly, this respondent feels that Quaker ethos is important and that its manifestation within the school context is waning as a result of absence of Quaker teachers in the staffroom. If the school were to rely upon Quaker ethos as the vehicle for providing citizenship values, it would be necessary to develop a stronger understanding of it amongst the members of staff.

Manifestation of ethos

Ethos manifests itself widely, from one-to-one relationships to the inclusion of all members of the school community. First, there is an approach to teaching founded upon the Quaker idea of looking for that of God (or good) in everyone

“When working with individuals Toni says that it is important to believe in the good in people. He says that it is important to see what is good in anyone, to allow oneself to forgive. When mentoring, his approach is to have a structure with his students but not to have formality. For example, the meetings are at regular times but the content of them is not rigid. Even within this, each individual needs a modified approach, allowing some more time to relax than others, instilling confidence in the mentor and his faith in the student.”

(Toni, 1, p.2, research notes)

Informal, individual approaches to personal development are located within a wider application of ethos. At the other extreme, a rare example of the school community acting in a much broader sense is offered by Sara:

“All cogs in the wheel... I have got one very, very fond memory of when the whole [senior] school went to the Millennium Dome. When we say the whole school, I think in an awful lot of schools if you said ‘whole school’ it would not include the maintenance men, all the cooks, the groundsmen. This was *‘the whole school’* and it was the most fantastic day. I think that is my favourite memory of the school as a community. I think we have great

strengths in that area and I think the pupils have great respect for the kitchen staff and the maintenance people, in the main...”

(Sara, 2, p.8)

Later in the same interview, Sara explained that procedural values were developed in school on the basis of ethos:

“I think the origins, implications so on, for religious and ethnic identities and the need for mutual respect and understanding is strong here. Because of the Quaker ethos. We are continually telling children of the need for tolerance.”

(Sara, 2, p.12)

Meeting for Worship, while held in the local Meeting House on Sundays, is only attended by boarders on occasional weeks. There has been a recent reintroduction of a longer, half-hour meeting to complement a shorter period of silent worship during the week in the senior school. The junior school also practises Meeting for Worship, but separately and on its own schedule:

Ursula: We’ve started, haven’t we, at the end of every half term...

Megan: Having a meeting.

Ursula: That’s a half an hour meeting isn’t it. It’s from 3:30 to four, which is really good. I know the junior school has them every third or fourth Monday – a silent worship. We have our silent worship on a Thursday.

John: How long is that though?

Ursula: Ten, fifteen minutes. Occasionally someone will stand up. Andy [the headmaster] says things from Faith and Practice.

(Ursula, 3, p.7)

A last instance of how ethos is apparent in school was provided by an anecdote by Phil concerning the pupils in a games lesson:

“Several years ago now, we had a boy, [with a physical disability] and he went home to his mum and he said, ‘They passed the ball to me in basketball today – and they weren’t even told to!’ Our kids are so inclusive; they really encourage people to participate – you know, get involved. And that group; they are sixteen now, and the boys, they *are* very competitive to win, but they still included everybody, and [he] really grew as a person and in confidence as a result of that.”

(Phil, 3, p.9)

This positive example is one which shows the pupils living the ethos, rather than conforming to it.

However, there was almost as much raised concerning how ethos is not apparent within the school. The respondents who said this all felt that they did have sympathy with the ethos and that they were looking at the system critically with a view to improvement by a greater emphasis on ethos.

Conflicts

Quaker schools, as fee-paying institutions, have to attract customers. The parents who send their children to such schools are predominantly non-Quaker. They are looking for the school to provide a range of services, only one of which is an environment to promote the spiritual and social development of the child. While this pastoral aspect may be important to the parents, they also require schools to provide their children with a good set of examination results at sixteen or eighteen years. Without this, and without other aspects of an independent school education the roll would not make the business viable.

Sara was also a parent at the FSSW for a number of years. However, when she first considered sending one of her children to the school she walked away unimpressed. This is developed in these two extracts from her third interview.

John: So would you then say that the school is run with Quaker principles or

not?

Sara: I would guess that those who were Quakers would say probably not. I would guess they would say no uniform. And the hair issues and things like that... They would prefer people to be able to express themselves. But the downside of that is that I don't think the parents would like it. Parents paying fees want to be impressed. So... bit of a tricky one.

(Sara, 3, p.7)

And:

Sara: I came and looked round it for my daughter, who is twenty-five this year, as a secondary school for her. It was ghastly. The... we were shown around by students who were all chewing gum and they looked very shabby. I think it might have been in the green jumper stage. And just, very, unenthusiastic. It all seemed very grubby and shabby and... as did the kids.

John: And yet it was a successful school then wasn't it? Fourteen years ago?

Sara: I don't remember there being any head's address or anything like that. There wasn't anything formal. It was just a tour of the school. I found it very off-putting. The school [child's name withheld] was at was probably a complete contrast.

(Sara, 3, p.9)

Fourteen years ago, FSSW was considerably more Quaker in its manifestation of values. Since then, the boarding roll has fallen and the day-scholar roll increased. While, as a business, the school has remained viable, the essence of what makes it Quaker is perceived to have diminished. Toni explained this in a discussion on community:

“The school sees itself as a bounded community with links to the wider community. However, these links are either less robust than the school thinks or of a different order. The school has a small boarding roll in comparison to its day scholars. Yet, although there is a five-day teaching week, the ethos is very much boarding-centred. The strength of this internal community resulting from this ethos precludes wider communitarian involvement. Pulling against this ethos is the inevitable interaction with the wider community through the day-scholar roll. The parents of these children are from the locality and are a link to the parts of the community they represent. While this may be a positive aspect in terms of citizenship, the 20th century vision of a boarding school with some local pupils is becoming / has become outdated.”

(Toni, 2, p.1, research notes)

The contrast between what the ethos of the school might be and what parents want from it is explained by Kristen:

“I think that we within the school, the teachers, the staff, have an expectation that we will not only educate the children in an academic sense but that we will *mould* them into nice people and neighbourly people and people who are aware of others in the world and their needs.... I think that the parents are more and more tending to be interested in achievement, academic achievement and what I would call a return for their money. And I think that ‘getting ahead’ is more important to them than being nice... And I am seeing more and more children who have no sense of fair play – who think that cheating is perfectly acceptable if it gets you ahead. And I can only assume that that is an attitude learned at home because they certainly haven’t learned it here [from staff].”

(Kirsten, 2, p.9)

Thus, one of the problems is that academic requirements are putting pressure upon the time and space for pastoral development which is assumed by ethos. As a result, it has become more difficult to deal with behavioural issues because there is less time to take a pupil aside to think situations through.

Continuing Toni's discussion on community which was started above, this conflict between academic and pastoral needs becomes apparent:

“[There is] an emphasis upon rules and traditions prevalent in the school at the moment which contrasts with Quaker ethos. These rules are a reflection of the rigidity within the school (of curriculum time and demands upon students and teachers) which the school would not necessarily profess to be the case. This has implications for the student-staff relationships on a daily basis. Many of the students at the school have various issues which ‘traditionally’ have been dealt with as an ongoing part of the children’s education. With the recent growth of the roll and the concomitant growth in class size, the time allowable to deal with PSHE/citizenship issues *en passant* has been reduced while the expectation of individual academic achievement has remained the same or even increased. It is inevitable that there is a tension between the academic and social needs of any child and this has been exacerbated with this growth in numbers.”

(Toni, 2, p.1, research notes)

The academic-pastoral conflict is further developed by Phil, the majority of whose teaching is in a non-academic subject:

“It is interesting – those people who hold Quaker beliefs are those who don’t teach or are those who don’t have quite such academic subjects. And also they’ve been here a *long* time. There is a little core clique as we sit in the corner and ... I’ve been here nine years but the others have been here a long time. But I think, because I teach PE which is not an academic subject as such, I relate to their philosophies more than... And you can actually see it in staff meetings... people who don’t teach strongly academically driven subjects have got the same philosophies. But people who do teach strongly academic subjects, probably do have the same philosophy, but their subject drives them into having to look at something else in order to get the best results.”

(Phil, 3, p.9)

Phil's point is that values education is placed below results in the unwritten hierarchy of educational needs. Teachers who do not have responsibility for GCSE results in core subjects are able to focus upon the Quaker (values) aspect of school life. She sees herself as holding Quaker beliefs although she is not a Quaker, and she describes herself as being one of those teachers who is able to emphasise the place of ethos because of her subject specialism. If one assumes that citizenship has a values content, then it might be a useful comparison to note that those schools which are already teaching citizenship, using cross-curricular approaches, tend not to use the sciences and mathematics as subjects for its delivery (NFER, 2005, p.9). English is the only core subject cited as being used extensively (58%, *ibid.*). This would seem to accord with Phil's view that most core subject teachers are not focused upon values education – in terms of FSSW, the school's moral ethos. The report later states concerning general opportunities for participation and discussion compared to traditional, book-centred learning styles:

“School leaders were consistently more positive about opportunities for participation and discussion across the whole school than teachers and students.”

(NFER, 2005, p.59)

This might reflect the need some teachers perceive to focus on results rather than personal development. Such a view also came from the student group interview:

Fiona: It is interesting to learn about it if you know that you are going to need it.

Harold: If you feel you are going to get something out of it then there is more incentive.

Gudrun: It's exams rather than ...

Unknown girl: It's all about passing exams.

Irene: It's weird that this school is not, by far, the worst; it's like a national thing. You are not taught for life, you are taught for...

Group: ... the exams.

John: Is that particularly bad in Years 10 and 11 do you think?

Jason: Yeah [with others], there is a pressure for results and grades.

(Pupils' Group Interview, p.6)

Two pages later in the transcript, two of the girls are talking about value-added learning (i.e. not absolute learning but learning relative to previous knowledge). This is in the spirit of Quaker ethos, looking for the best in the individual.

Fiona: What if you have to work so hard for grades that are not very high grades. If someone works really hard for a grade and it's a C; it's not considered a good ...

Gudrun: But that might be amazing for them.

Fiona: Yeah. But it's considered a pass. A C or a D might be really good for them but it is not recognised because other people get better than that.

(Pupils' Group Interview, p.8)

This is a point which agrees with the first finding in the Harlen and Deakin Crick (2002, p.4) review of summative assessment:

“After the introduction of the National Curriculum Tests in England, low achieving pupils had lower self-esteem than higher-achieving pupils, whilst beforehand there was no correlation between self-esteem and achievement.”

Self-esteem, or respect for oneself, is central to the process aspect of citizenship. Participation is predicated upon confidence. The focus upon the recognition of

academic achievement through summative testing would appear to have a negative impact upon cross-curricular, whole-school citizenship education.

The pupils were disparaging about the school's approach to discipline. Respect for laws in society is analogous to respect for the disciplinary system in school. If schools are environments where *active* citizenship is practised, then respect for the laws of the community would seem to be important to its people – in this case pupils, parents and members of staff.

Leda: We don't have any discipline. We don't know what discipline is here. We are open to talk and maybe that is because we don't need discipline here.

Jason: We don't have detention. We call it homework support club, which is a big lie, because it is not support; you have to go there and do it or...

John: If they just called it DT...[i.e. detention]

Jason: It's a Quaker name for detention!

(Pupils' Group Interview, p.15)

This is more than just a gripe about discipline. These pupils want better discipline and more effective procedures. One teacher example from Sara is this:

“All this business of, when they don't do their homework, you are supposed to write in a book in the staffroom, to say what it was they did not do and provide another copy of it. And then you are supposed to go and try to find them at four o'clock to make them go to the 'support session' where the teacher who has been designated to go there will then help them to do your work, and they don't turn up anyway, because they always have a match, or they always have to do something else after school, an activity or something – the only thing it does is waste teacher time. The children do not alter their behaviour one iota.”

(Sara, 3, p.9)

My personal experience of this was on 16th March 2005. I had been asked by a parent to collect her son from school because her other son was to be collected at a later time. I was ready for four o'clock when the boy came out of school, informed me that he was sorry but he was going to be another half hour because he had a detention. Duly, at half past four he returned, happy at having completed his homework and not needing to spend time on it at home that evening. The only person who suffered any punishment was I – who had been made to wait half an hour in the school car park.

Thus the experience of teachers (and parents) wasting time on sanctions which are inappropriate for pupils, is an example of how ethos is failing to inform the running of the school. In this respect the professed ethos of the school as developing community values through respect for the individual is failing to manifest itself. As such, preparation for citizenship through Quaker ethos would appear to be a limited option in terms of effectiveness.

Notwithstanding this are all the good points made in the first half of this section on manifestation of ethos. Many of the staff do carry through on their commitment to Quaker ethos.

This double-sided issue – that Quaker ethos provides a relaxed environment for the individual but makes for a difficult community to regulate is expressed in adjacent paragraphs from the 2002 inspection report (<http://www.isinspect.org.uk/frreports.htm>):

4.13 Behaviour in the Senior School ranges from good to disappointing. There is little sense of urgency as pupils move between lessons. A few pupils seem unaware that their behaviour in class is sometimes rude and that the boundary between a friendly relaxed atmosphere and indiscipline is being challenged.

4.14 The Quaker ethos is best seen in the general relationships between pupils and their appreciation of one another.

(ISI, 2002)

The school, from an inspector's point of view, is succeeding in its relationships between pupils but this may be at the expense of some classroom discipline. However, two positive points to provide balance to this statement of positives and negatives. Firstly a view from one respondent about the value of Quaker silence as experienced by pupils, and secondly, on the approachability of pupils that Sara thinks is good in comparison to other schools.

Sara: You are asking for examples? Well obviously there is the meeting for worship assembly. I think that is just amazing. And I don't think they'd admit it but they do value that time.

John: It is quite short isn't it.

Sara: It is short but when you think that these two hundred kids come in and they *do* sit in silence... and I remember [a previous head teacher] saying to me that when students leave, years later they often say that what they miss most about school are the silent assemblies and things, because it does not happen in life does it.

(Sara, 3, pp.4-5)

And Ursula said:

“But then... a lot of other teachers are in schools where a lot of it boils down to crowd control, and they can't sit and have a conversation on an adult level with their children. There are not many children I would say, here, that we couldn't sit down and have a decent conversation with. And be able to reason through arguments, and debate things, without, 'Ooh... urrgh,' that sort of thing. You really don't get that.”

(Ursula, 3, p.11)

Although the place of Quaker ethos is not clearly stated and acted upon universally among members of staff, what exists of it within the school is valued.

If it were more clearly understood it is possible that the benefits from it would still be present without so much of the problems due to misunderstanding.

Preparation in ethos / ethos and citizenship

The theme of preparation in ethos relates to both how pupils and staff are given instruction in and opportunities to experience what it is to be a Friend. For both groups the number and quality of learning situations are limited, including the general life of the school imbued with the Quaker ethos.

The school governors are considering ways to promote more understanding of Quaker philosophy amongst the staff (Parental Group Interview, p.11). This is in response to the absence of Quaker teachers providing a continuous presence in the staff room. The respondents feel that it is important for teachers to be *au fait* with the school's underlying philosophy if they are to be able to impart ethos through practice. However, as will be shown below, some teachers are more *au fait* than others.

Teachers receive a copy of Gillman (1988) 'A Light that is Shining', on entry to the school. While this does give an introduction to Quakers it does not relate this knowledge to school life. There is a weekend each year, run at one of the Quaker schools, for staff to find out more about what it is to work in them. Only one weekend is run and attendance is limited to two teachers from each school (Megan in Ursula, 1, p.5). Just starting in the summer of 2005 is a teacher version of the Quaker Pilgrimage to the north-west of England (based on a version for 6th formers – see below) which runs over a weekend into the half-term week. This is a new intervention; it will provide an opportunity for more teachers to attend than the dedicated weekend at one of the schools.

Pupils receive an introduction to Quakerism in their first term of Year 7 (Ursula, 3, p.8). This is part of the PSHE package. Assemblies are the main conduit for information about Quakers for most of the rest of the school. Such assemblies are of two types – those where a member of staff makes reference to Quaker charities (e.g. Quaker Homeless Action, Kirsten, 2, p.3) and those in which a

reading is taken from Quaker Faith and Practice (1995). For example, the headmaster often reads from this book (Kirsten, 3, p.4; Ursula, 3, p.7). Assemblies usually start in the form of Meeting: they are silent for a period of reflection. Then what would pass for assembly in another school would happen; readings and presentations are made by staff or pupils (Kirsten, 2, p.2; Kirsten, 3, p.4).

Sixth form students have the opportunity to go on the Quaker Pilgrimage (Megan in Ursula, 1, p.6). This is a long weekend in the Michaelmas term in Cumbria. Students meet with others from the southern Quaker schools (the northern schools have their own weekend; the split is in order to cope with numbers), visiting sites of early Quaker activity and sitting in Meeting among this group. There is a limit to the number of sixth-formers who may attend this weekend. All those leaving the school after 'A' levels are given a copy of Faith and Practice. At the end of Year 11 pupils are given a book about the Quaker Tapestry (an historical Quaker artefact in Kendal) (Phil, 3, p.5).

Ideas for the improvement of preparation for ethos included: in-service training, weekends before teachers started their first term at the school (as part of induction), weekends for members of staff to refresh their views, opportunities to know what the other Quaker schools are doing in this regard, and a member of staff allocated as the point of reference for Quaker issues.

Thus on in-service training:

“The obvious thing would be to have a whole-school inset, but rather than just talking about nebulous principles and an ethos, we need something concrete like, ‘This is how this would apply to discipline; this is how this should apply to sanctions that could or shouldn’t be used,’ or whatever. And I think it does need to be fairly concrete.”

(Kirsten, 3, p.11)

And:

“Well, it’s the dreaded ‘inset’ word. But you need a course. You need to do something. And actually, first of all, the ethos needs to be explained to you. You need, almost like an overview of it. Your old spider chart with, this is, the feelings about peace. This is the gambling... etcetera. And this is the simple life. And then, in more detail, well this is what it actually means.”

(Ursula, 3, p.4)

Both these respondents point out that it is not enough to have an InSeT day on Quaker philosophy but that the practical applications of it need to be established. Then teachers may give sound reasons for school rules (e.g. on discipline, gambling) being implemented rather than following them because they have been laid down.

On staff induction and continuing training all the respondents had something to say. Representative of what was said are these extracts:

“I mean, to be perfectly honest with you, the time I would have liked to have done this would have been before I started work here. I think it might have made coming into the school much less puzzling if I had been able to go on a weekend retreat in the holidays before I started working here. And be taught not just about Quakerism but about any subtleties about teaching in a Quaker school – what you might expect to encounter and how to deal with it in way which was in sympathy with the Quaker ethos but which was still providing children with the structure and discipline which they actually need even if you are being more tolerant and so on.”

(Kirsten, 3, p.5)

“Yes, I think we should have training. There should be some time once a year or so, to update us on how we are sitting with the other schools, and how they are perhaps developing. What they can learn from us and we can learn from them.”

(Sara, 3, p.11)

This last extract links with staff with colleagues in the other Friends' schools – implied is a sense of common ethos and that the schools should be working together to promote Quaker values. Thus there is a perceived need for Quaker values and for continuing opportunities to understand them. Fundamental to this perception is the concept that teachers should have a working knowledge of Quaker ethos:

“If the teachers themselves don't quite understand it, how can they tell the children?”

(Ursula, 3, p.8)

Thus, there is much in the way of preparation for ethos being undertaken within the school, but much of it is informal, does not necessarily include all members of the community, and is difficult to assess or quantify. If citizenship is founded in part upon Quaker ethos being present in the hidden curriculum, it would be necessary to make ethos more formal so that everyone understands how the two relate to each other. It is possible however, that (as explored in Chapter 4) citizenship education and Quaker ethos do not have the same assumptions of values and actions. If this were the case, the presumption of ethos as the foundation of National Curriculum citizenship in school may be false.

7.3.4 The How of Education

The respondents espouse an approach to education which is at odds with current practice in many schools. While there is an impetus towards the acquisition of results being interpreted as education, the teachers here would rather see a system which offers individuals opportunities to grow and learn. It is not that these educators do not value academic attainment but that they would like pupils to learn in positive environments, allowing learners to acquire knowledge and skills rather than be force-fed the requirements for A*-C GCSEs.

With respect to citizenship they see the subject as being non-academic. If it is to succeed without the disdain which haunts PSHE it will need appropriate support, ideally with specialist teaching and a time commitment equal to academic

subjects. Inadequate pastoral time or time which is appropriated for music competitions, visiting speakers (or any other requirements which do not fit into the regular academic schedule), is not valued by staff or pupils because it can be, and is, appropriated. [One avenue to be considered is the teaching of the half GCSE in citizenship. This would have similar status as other GCSE subjects. Ironically, by achieving this status as an academic subject, the value of the subject, as interpreted by the respondents, might diminish.]

Thus, the respondents have a view of education in its wide sense, seeing academic and pastoral subjects contributing to its whole. Citizenship, notwithstanding its knowledge aspect, is regarded as part of the pastoral side of education, analogous to PSHE.

Schooling is a balance of teaching and learning opportunities. Teachers, if given the location, time, knowledge and hardware may attempt to maximise their skills. Pupils, if provided with a safe, comfortable learning environment with set behavioural boundaries may attempt to maximise their learning. The more these requirements are met, the more likely the educational arena will be one of productive enjoyment; the less they exist, the more obstructive the learning situation.

The best situation for teaching:

“In order for any subject to be taught effectively it is best taught by someone who is enthusiastic about the topics and who has good subject knowledge and understanding.”

(Phil, questionnaire response)

This statement would appear to be obvious. Yet in much secondary schooling, as at FSSW, PSHE is taught by form tutors and not specialists. This respondent has a realistic understanding of the demands placed upon schools. She acknowledges that the ideal situation is not always achievable. When she considered her own experiences teaching PSHE (her subject specialisms being in other areas) she acknowledged that she had some constructive lessons when

there were well-resourced packs from which to teach the subject. As a non-specialist in this area she had found teaching PSHE difficult when she felt under-resourced as she had been in her first year of delivering it.

This was expounded when she was considering how she would teach citizenship:

“I think teachers would be up for teaching it; it is like anything, as long as you’ve got good resources, it makes it very easy. It’s like with PSHE, people think, ‘Ach, I don’t want to teach that!’ if they don’t have the resources. But as soon as you’ve got good... I mean, I taught it last year and I absolutely loved it because I had good resources, but if I’d had been just sent in there cold turkey and been given a topic heading, I’d have hated it. It is too much to compact into a lesson if you are doing it for the first time. It is a lot of work. Which is probably a huge turn off if you just said, ‘Right [name withheld], you’re teaching citizenship.’ If I had a good resource pack behind me, and details, and you did not have to research... it is far more staff friendly.”

(Phil, 1, p.7)

This has a link with the Ofsted (2005b) report into PSHE. One of its key findings is:

“The quality of teaching by specialist teachers remains considerably better than that of non-specialist form tutors. Tutors who teach PSHE are given insufficient training to help them improve their subject knowledge and the teaching skills needed in PSHE.”

(Ofsted, 2005b, p.3)

Phil is making reference to the necessary subject knowledge *and* to appropriate ideas to teach the subject. While she does not use the term ‘teaching skills’, her ‘resource pack’ is obviously more than a policy document.

While any subject may best be taught by someone who has competence in it, and good resources ameliorate the difficulties for a teacher who does not feel a

specialist in that discipline, in the final interview Phil presses on the issue of subject specialism being the best situation:

“[I]deally, a specialist teacher would be better because you need that enthusiasm and commitment to it which I don’t think that everyone who teaches, even PSHE, shows at all.”

(Phil, 4, p.5)

This point, building on the previous one about being well-resourced as a teacher, is one about being well-resourced as a school. Subjects are best taught by teachers who specialise in them. Mathematics, chemistry and history, for example, are taught using teams of teachers with specialist knowledge, albeit as a second subject. This should be just as true for subjects like PSHE and citizenship. One of the recommendations of the Ofsted Report (2005b, p.5) on PSHE is:

“All secondary schools should consider the benefits of specialist PSHE teams with a view to raising the quality, consistency and coherence of their teaching of PSHE.”

Likewise, the Ofsted Report (2005a, p.3) on citizenship states:

“There are growing numbers of expert teachers, and most teaching is satisfactory, but citizenship is generally less well taught where tutors are involved.”

The perceived weakness of tutors for delivering citizenship was furthered in another report from the following October, which exposed the inability of non-specialists to extend more able pupils:

“Whereas lower-attaining pupils achieve little in citizenship in some schools, in others higher-attaining pupils are free-wheeling because insufficient demands are made of them. This is particularly the case where citizenship is taught by non-specialists using material that has been prepared for them.”

(Ofsted, 2005c, web access)

Specialist teaching does not necessarily mean that one teacher should be a specialist in a whole subject. There might be value in using existing strengths from teachers in other disciplines.

Megan, in a questionnaire response to the question, 'Having completed this survey, how do you think your school could improve provision of PSHE / citizenship?' wrote:

“More time? Certainly a more directed programme. Better use of specialist teachers. I'm thinking of creating a rota for 10/11, having five of us do it depending on our expertise.”

(Megan, questionnaire response)

And so, specialist knowledge would not necessarily mean someone having a comprehensive grasp of the subject. Specialisms within a subject might be utilised. This could be true for many subjects – for example, geography is often taught by two teachers, one for human and one for physical aspects.

The same respondent, in discussion over whether the use of specialist or non-specialist teachers in PSHE and citizenship was better, said:

“I think it is both. Form tutors because they know the kids and specialists because they know the subject. And I think there is a role for somebody who is not necessarily a specialist, when you are teaching citizenship, to explain the role it has in everybody's life, rather than just...”

(Megan, 2, p.3)

Kristen, in answer to the same question, wrote:

“Swings and roundabouts. I don't believe it is a question of subject specialism, rather of life experiences and ability to engage young people in mutually

respectful discussion. You could have all the knowledge in the world, but without genuineness, respect and empathy it is futile.”

(Kirsten, questionnaire response)

For her, subject specialism is less important than competence as a teacher. This may be linked to her understanding of citizenship which she expounded in her first interview:

“I think [citizenship] is a very esoteric concept and that every situation and every child demands a different response in order to arrive at the same end point. And that I think that when you try to put it into a programme of study you take away its effectiveness. So I am not a believer in a programme of study for this at all.”

(Kirsten, 1, p.7)

Perhaps this is a specialism of a different order – one of pedagogy over subject. Pedagogy requires an understanding of the student in order for learning to occur.

This is what Toni develops:

“A teacher should be able to decide how and when to cover topics so that they are appropriate for the individual. If the social needs of the pupil are met first, then the academic side of education is easier to achieve. Thus while pupils are pupils and not staff, they deserve the respect accorded to any individual.”

(Toni, 1, p.2, research notes)

Such an understanding leads Toni to a combination of approaches where explicit citizenship teaching is complementary to implicit pastoral citizenship in other subjects.

“[There is a] need to employ a member of staff specifically for the purpose of delivering this part of the curriculum (i.e. citizenship) *explicitly*, while the rest of the members of staff continue with their relatively implicit (but personally explicitly expressed) approaches. This single person, with a job description

which is orientated towards this end, rather than it being ‘bolted-on’ to an existing curriculum responsibility, would be in a position to deliver *explicit* citizenship teaching. This is representative of the need for the subject to be given greater recognition and importance within the school which it does not have at the moment.”

(Toni, 3, p.2, research notes)

This would accord with Ofsted’s view. Citizenship should be taught by specialists to ensure that the curriculum is delivered (as above, Ofsted, 2005a, p.3), while citizenship-related aspects within other subjects serve to complement this explicit approach. This is an example, on teaching about the suffragettes, in history:

“If one is planning to teach about the importance of voting, clearly this topic provides a good example of the sacrifice made by women to get the vote. This is useful, as is the terminology that historians use in dealing with this and other political movements and events, such as Chartism or the English Civil War. However, while such examples develop understanding and inform, they are not National Curriculum citizenship.”

(Ofsted, 2005a, p.6)

And so to the idea of equality of value between academic and pastoral subjects. Under the ‘perception of PSHE’ within ‘Citizenship in school’ it was noted that PSHE was perceived as a ‘Cinderella subject’. It loses time to other needs within school because it is a non-academic subject. This is a negative spiral: it does not have kudos, in part because it is not able to preserve scheduled lesson time allocated to it. One of the likely approaches for the delivery of citizenship is through PSHE or a lesson on a similar template. The respondents realise the weakness of this situation. For example, Phil put it this way:

“It’s hard though. It is hard, further up the school, because I think that [pupils] get into the idea that it is not important at all, and I think the higher up you go the more you need to start looking at it as general studies, and maybe, even changing it higher up the school, to looking at politics and how you can affect

your country, your vote counts, what parties to support, why support them, cover the issues that you are interested in, rather than... You know, really try and feed more to the children and what a difference they can make.”

(Phil, 4, p.5)

Here, Phil is promoting a positive vision of citizenship as a worthy subject; she is considering its likely success through the existing PSHE provision. The lack of importance accorded to such non-academic subjects is not due to their relative unworthiness but to the importance placed upon examination results.

These two issues, of importance and examinations were shown in the questionnaire from Kirsten:

Q. Give examples of how PSHE at your school is preparatory for adult life?

A. The fact that the lessons are stolen regularly to stage house competitions suggests that it is not regarded as a necessary/valuable preparation for adult life.

Q. How could the balance between academic and personal learning opportunities for students be improved in your school?

A. Be realistic! We are judged on exam results in league tables.

(Kirsten, questionnaire responses)

Another view was that informal learning is valuable but that it is not given parity with academic achievement. This lack of emphasis is transmitted to the pupils who then reinforce the negative view of non-academic subjects within the lessons.

Thus, in her second interview, Sara says:

“I think the skills that we’ve been talking about need to be taught. And I suppose there needs to be a distinction between the formal, academic lessons, and the less formal lessons, but they need to be given equal validity, and

weight. I suppose it is a bit like vocational and academic subjects; some people are doing apprenticeships in carpentry and some people are doing 'A' Level maths. They are different people but they should be given equal weight."

(Sara, 2, p.4)

And later:

"[The pupils] need to understand that they need to respect informal learning. They are not always very good when the formal arrangements are relaxed or changed. I think... they don't exactly take advantage of the situation but they don't understand the ground rules as well as they do in more formal lessons - what they need to learn."

(Sara, 2, p.6)

Because academic lessons are valued over non-academic lessons, there is not an emphasis on the value of learning in non-academic situations. The pupils see school as a schooling environment rather than a learning environment. When presented with non-regular learning environments pupils let off steam, failing to make the most of the opportunities.

Such generalisation is open to dispute. In the pupils' group interview there was a range of views on schooling, broadly in agreement with what their teachers had said.

First, for example, one girl tried to express the worth of different types of learning:

"I think schools should stop thinking in the old-fashioned way about how to teach people. I mean, they are starting to... and especially in junior schools they are bringing in things which are new and interesting, but we don't all learn from sitting at desks – and obviously they are trying to bring more of that in. But things like sitting and studying maths, and putting emphasis on the main core subjects like English, science and maths; they are important in life

and you do need to do them, but other things are just as important, and not just schools but education as a whole, shouldn't just focus on whether a person can do those things, because you can have just as much talent if you are a people person or if you are particularly good at music or some form or art. But some of those things are regarded as highly as maybe being good at maths is, which gives certain people unfair advantages."

(Pupils' Group Interview, p.4, Leda)

The same girl also offered this on the value which is given to PSHE:

"Subjects like PSHE, which are important everyday, are taken as dossy subjects, and teachers don't necessarily work that hard to promote them. And they are quite important for leading on to knowing about life, and other important issues that are just as important as maths but are not held as ideally regarded."

(Pupils' Group Interview, p.5, Leda)

There followed a discussion which touched on the ideas of subjects being valued because they are academically examined, and that subjects like PSHE which is taught from a pack, are limiting because they do not visit the issues which concern the pupils:

Nick: Because there is no exam, we don't get anything out of it...

Irene: There is no structured curriculum or sort of plan that the teachers have to follow like there is for the other subjects...

Unknown girl: I thought there was...

Leda: It is not personalised. I mean a teacher could have a really imaginative mind and find a way of bringing this to a student but they can't –they have to put on this video which really no one is interested in. So, rather than that we should be bringing in issues... like we had a talk on

alcohol the other day which wasn't bad but it didn't a great amount for any of us, who...

Irene: They don't teach you what you need to know. They manage to skirt the issues.

(Pupils' Group Interview, p.5)

The pupils have little respect for PSHE because they see it as deserving of little:

John: Here's my question to you. Should PSHE be about teaching you stuff or about you experiencing and learning stuff?

Various: Teaching, both, teaching us so that we can learn...

Harold: It should be building awareness of what could happen. How you can act and how you should act and the results of what you might act.

John: But it would require you to take it as a serious subject. That's the problem. It is a difficult thing when ...

Gudrun: We do *nothing*, so you can't take it as a serious subject.

Unknown girl: It is a vicious circle.

(Pupils' Group Interview, pp.12-13)

Good PSHE teaching requires a focus upon the pupils themselves. Ofsted (2005b, p.7) states that it has the following features:

- use of a well-structured lesson with clear, realistic learning objectives
- lesson activities that were matched to the lesson aims
- high expectations of the pupils, taking due note of their prior experiences

- good subject knowledge, manifested in the high quality of teacher exposition
- effective use of a range of strategies including group work, role play and whole-class discussion
- creation of a climate that allowed and encouraged pupils to express their views on their feelings
- promotion of respect for the views of others.

The importance of classroom discussion is also raised by NFER (2005, pp.iii-iv) for citizenship:

“The classroom continues to be a ‘traditional’ teaching and learning environment with methods such as note taking, working from textbooks and listening while the teacher talks taking precedence over discussion and debate and the use of new information and communication technologies (ICT).”

The inference from this is that discussion and debate should be a more important part of citizenship than is the case in many instances, agreeing with the pupils’ views.

However, the pupils also acknowledge that some aspects of this good teaching (such as discussion and debate), are difficult for teachers to develop, because of the parameters of regular class sizes, the attitudes of pupils and the limitations of teachers to control lessons:

Fiona: I think a good PSE lesson would be just like this: sitting down and discussing things. Because you ...

Harold: It’s got to be more practical...

Ophelia: A change from a normal lesson.

Leda: But it is quite difficult to do that with a class of, I don't know, thirty students. I mean we're, I think we're [the Duke of Edinburgh group] quite exceptional to want to talk about things like this. And I find that, it is in human nature, especially at around our age to be rebellious and not want to do any of this sort of thing, and citizenship, yeah, I'm sure it is a very important thing, but for a lot of people, they have no reason to care any more. And maybe that is why it should be brought back into school because people aren't really bothered about it at home... It's got to be a different approach. You can't just expect students to sit and listen. It is going to have to be thought outside and new ideas brought in, because if we're not going to have discipline, no one's allowed to hit children any more, and we don't even have detention any more really, you need some other way of helping people to listen because they want to, not because they are scared – because they know it is good for them.

(Pupils' Group Interview, pp.15-16)

Finally, as discussed before under 'Conflicts', the pupils are aware that schools are examination orientated rather than education orientated:

Harold: If they related it to what we could use it for, like some of the maths which we are just learning – we don't see the point of learning it.

Fiona: It is interesting to learn about it if you know that you are going to need it.

Harold: If you feel you are going to get something out of it then there is more incentive.

Gudrun: It's exams rather than ...

Unknown girl: It's all about passing exams.

Irene: It's weird that this school is not, by far, the worst; it's like a national thing. You are not taught for life, you are taught for...

Group: ... the exams.

John: Is that particularly bad in Years 10 and 11 do you think?

Jason: Yeah [with others], there is a pressure for results and grades.

(Pupils' Group Interview, p.6)

This concept of grades/examination orientated education is found throughout the respondents interviews. One view which is representative of this came during a part of the discussion with Kirsten on how society has changed over this last generation:

“I think it is partly because people have more affluence and have got used to the idea that they can buy their way through life. I also think that government initiatives and the emphasis placed upon results and league tables has changed the way that people look at education. They see it as a sausage factory; you put the raw materials in at the beginning and you get out what you have paid for, or what you have earned but they see that as being the... aim, or the desired result from education. Not, as you say to turn you into a well-rounded person, or to emerge as an adult who can cope in the world, but as somebody who has got a clutch of exam results which will get you into the next stage of life. There is too much emphasis on the exam results.”

(Kirsten, 2, p.11)

7.4 Questionnaire Analysis – Data 3

Data 3 is the set of fourteen responses from six of the seven Quaker schools. A further five responses, from the Data 2 respondents could have been represented in this section. However, since they have already been used in 7.3, the fourteen

stand alone in this section, complementary / contrasting with the views expressed by Data 2 teachers. Appendix D is a copy of this questionnaire.

As detailed in *Research Design* (Appendix H, p.404) and in section 7.2.3 of this chapter, there were three areas for questioning:

- conceptions of citizenship,
- the how of citizenship education, and
- the place of Quaker ethos with respect to citizenship issues.

These areas of investigation form the headings for this section.

7.4.1 Conceptions of Citizenship

The responses from the questionnaires defining citizenship may be grouped into three concepts. Predominant among the responses was an understanding of citizenship involving society and/or community. The other two were a concept based upon morality and one predicated upon rights/responsibilities and legal frameworks.

Thus, an example from the predominant group would be:

“Examining what it means to exist harmoniously / successfully in a community, whether it be local, national or global.” (A3)

This is in contrast to National Curriculum citizenship; paragraph 1f of the key stage 3 programme of study (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14) says pupils should be taught about “the work of community-based, national and international voluntary groups”. The various dimensions (from local to international) are similar, but the focus from A3 is upon society while the NC is orientated about particular, organised ‘groups’.

Another response:

“My definition [of citizenship] is helping prepare pupils for roles they will play in society as adults.” (C3)

This position differs from the National Curriculum in that it considers the roles of adults in society rather than citizens in a country:

“Teaching should ensure that **knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens** are acquired and applied”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14, original emphasis)

In contrast, only two respondents offered understandings similar to the National Curriculum:

“Awareness about moral, legal, ethical and political issues and the needs, rights and responsibilities of citizens.” (E1)

“Encouraging self-ownership of actions and responsibilities through a knowledge of the law and one’s own rights.” (F1, respondent’s emphasis)

Both of these responses have similarity with paragraph 1a of the programme of study:

“Pupils should be taught about the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society, basic aspects of the criminal justice system, and how both relate to young people”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14)

The third group was composed from the two who put forward a moral code without reference to society, community, the law, rights or responsibilities:

“Respect for people and belongings and regard for the planet.” (B6)

“A part of many subjects – how to put yourself in someone else’s shoes.” (F5)

Both of these responses are similar to paragraph 3a of the programme of study:

“Pupils should be taught to use their imagination to consider other people’s experiences and be able to think about, express and explain views that are not their own”

(DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14)

These ideas were specifically in answer to the question: What do you understand by the term citizenship? A follow-up question was: What do you know about National Curriculum citizenship? The questionnaire was designed to find answers by asking similar questions in different ways. Respondent C4 explained her concept of citizenship as being:

“Establishing young people to take their places knowledgeably in society.”(C4)

Her response to the follow-up question was, “Not enough.” However, this belied her understanding of the difference between social and political education. In answer to the final question, asking the respondents to add anything extra to their responses, she wrote:

“I think there is a distinction between ensuring that children have good quality tools for civic life: how our democracy works, managing money, employment, the law, health, etc. and personal and moral development which I believe to be caught rather than taught.” (C4)

Implicit in this answer is that the respondent thinks National Curriculum citizenship has more to do with civics while her own view is based upon moral development. Yet, she is not confident enough in her understanding to develop this in answer to the original question.

Likewise, the respondents’ conceptions of citizenship were tested when asked how they perceived citizenship and Quaker ethos to interrelate (see below).

7.4.2 The How of Citizenship Education

Citizenship is being introduced in many schools through the medium of PSHE. Where it is not being taught as part of PSHE it has similarities with it, being (in those schools where the short GCSE is not undertaken) a non-academic subject in which most teachers do not necessarily feel qualified. Question 2 asked respondents who was best used to deliver subjects such as PSHE and citizenship – form tutors, subject specialists or another option. Space was provided for comments subsequent to their choice.

None of the respondents suggested that these subjects should be taught using only form tutors. Approximately half considered a mix of the two types of teacher, with the other half favouring specialist delivery. While this could be interpreted as offering two, diverse sets of opinions, the comments appended to the respondents' choices clarify the situation.

While some answers did not include a clarifying comment, most did. What comes from the data is that it is important for the teacher (specialist or form tutor) to feel comfortable with the subject being taught, and motivated to teach the subject well. These points were true of respondents from both categories of answer. Thus, one respondent (A5) answered that specialists were best in this area, but her comment was:

“I have only ever talked about relationships, sex, etc. where I feel confident.” (A5)

As a specialist she is confident in the areas she has taught. Implicit in this response is that she has not taught areas in which she is not confident.

In contrast, respondent B6 thought that using both tutors and specialists is the best option:

“A combination – form tutor where issues are sensitive, specialist where specialist knowledge is needed.” (B6)

In this respect form tutors are specialists – at being form tutors.

Question 4 continued to ask about this distinction between tutors and specialists. Respondent C4, who thought a combination of tutors and specialists would be most effective had this to say:

“Much of the best work is through example in the school and tutor group. Specialist issues – e.g. drugs, sex etc. better from specialists. Tutors need good specialist support in more ‘taught’ aspects.” (C4)

This starts to explain the point that the differences among the respondents are limited. This respondent sees specialists and form tutors having different, complementary roles to play in the delivery of these non-academic subjects.

Another respondent, F2, who opted for specialists as the best teachers, wrote:

“Some areas need a wide experience from staff with different subject areas. There are some topics that need handling by experts who are confident and happy with teaching those areas.” (F2)

This is a balanced answer, explaining that while specialists are often best, there are many opportunities for teachers with different talents.

In contrast, several of the respondents who selected specialists as the best teachers of these subjects, chose this way because they felt non-specialists were not good at covering these aspects of the curriculum:

“I often feel inadequate because of my own subject limitation. Consequently I do not feel I teach PSHE particularly well.” (B6)

And,

“I hate teaching it – I have no teaching materials for it!” (C6)

And,

“Staff for whom PSHE is not their subject specialism, usually give less time and commitment to its preparation and delivery.” (E5)

There is a distinction to be made between formal and informal teaching of PSHE and citizenship. When these subjects are not seen as part of the formal curriculum but as part of the life of the school, responses are more balanced. This was pronounced in three of the five pilot responses from FSSW. Instances from the other schools include respondent C3 who offered this:

“The key in my experience is the teacher who sees it as important and enjoys discussion etc.” (C3)

Likewise, E1 wrote:

“Teachers with knowledge of a variety of disciplines can bring much to PSHE. Personality and ability to make material interesting is more important than being specialised in PSHE and citizenship.” (E1)

The distinction to be drawn from this is whether one considers subjects such as PSHE and citizenship to be syllabi, taught in the same way as other, academic subjects, or if they are aspects of school life to be managed and negotiated. When they are interpreted as the former, respondents opt for specialist approaches to teaching; when they are the latter there is a consensus towards generalist teachers being appropriate convenors for discussion.

This has a link with how respondents view the possible relationship between Quaker ethos and citizenship, which is covered in the next section.

7.4.3 Quaker Ethos and Citizenship

The respondents were asked: How does Quaker ethos relate to citizenship? Their answers ranged from being synonymous to antonymous. Most responses provided a set of ideas which agreed with the concepts of citizenship they had developed earlier (see above).

The two extremes are shown by these two statements:

“Surely this [Quaker ethos] is the essence of citizenship.” (A5)

and,

“Almost contradicts it.” (C5)

In the middle of these two is the balance of Quaker values:

“Quaker ethos is that individuals should contribute to society through their behaviour.” (C6)

Among the responses were terms which represented Quaker values and which did not have much significance to civics. These included, ‘Peace and mediation’ (A2); ‘God in everyone’ (A3); ‘Respect’ (B6, D1, E1 and E5); ‘Strengthens social concerns’ / ‘Social conscience’ (C3, D1); ‘Reflective approach’ and ‘Recognising other views’ (C4); ‘Personal responsibility for society’ (C4 and F2); and ‘Service-giving attitude’ (E5).

The emphasis of these responses is upon the procedural values of respect and responsibility. The civics and political aspects of citizenship are altogether absent from Quaker ethos as these respondents see them. The closest any of the responses come to citizenship in this respect are:

“Personal responsibility for own behaviour and the good of society.” (C4)

and

“It is a duty to develop a responsible and service-giving attitude to society.”

(E5)

In both these cases the respondents made reference to society, not to the state, the country or its citizens. The language used is not one of citizenship. One response pools many of the points made by other respondents; it focuses upon procedural values and the importance of the staff-pupil relationship:

“In many sessions – although teacher/advisor led – pupils value openness, honesty and tolerance, a sense of community within the ‘classroom’ forum, within which young people foster the desire to take responsibility for their own actions and for [the] well-being of others.” (F1)

This represents the overlap of Quaker ethos and citizenship; its focus is community predicated upon individual responsibility. Being based in morality there is no discourse on laws and obeisance, institutions or panjandrums. Quaker values run concurrent with many of the procedural assumptions of citizenship but not necessarily as part of, or as being synonymous with it. Perhaps this was most concisely put by one of the two Quaker respondents to the questionnaire. In answer to the question, ‘How does Quaker ethos relate to citizenship?’ she wrote, “Sometimes it could be in conflict but it strengthens the social concerns” (C3, respondent’s emphasis). The other Friend wrote, “Respect of others, social conscience, all part of operating within a society” (D1). This second Quaker view complements the positive point of her colleague from another school without making reference to the possible conflict.

7.4.4 Questionnaire Discussion

The questionnaire respondents present an understanding of citizenship which is predicated predominantly upon notions of community and society rather than political action. This difference is neatly explained in the second Ofsted Annual Report on citizenship for 2005.

“Many pupils also take up opportunities to participate in activities such as charitable work or mentoring younger pupils. However, this is not done systematically enough and seldom meets the real intentions of the National Curriculum; they are ‘doing good’, rather than ‘political good’ (that is, informed, effective citizens).”

(Ofsted, 2005c, web access)

The teachers’ concepts of citizenship in action are about ‘doing good’ rather than ‘political good’. The moral base of their reasoning is similar to that which might be explored in PSHE lessons. Although two of the respondents (E1 and F1) defined citizenship in terms of rights and responsibilities, their further answers on the subject were not political. These respondents hold a social, not political understanding of society and its values.

In terms of how to teach subjects such as citizenship and PSHE, the emphasis from these respondents is upon process as well as content, knowing the pupils and being comfortable with the subject. Thus, implicit delivery of these subjects is seen as being best when teachers understand the pupils, while explicit delivery needs teachers who are confident with the subject *and* who understand the pupils.

Teachers who are not specialists in a subject they are asked to teach are prone to delivering it poorly. This agrees with the 2005 Ofsted, annual reports on PSHE and citizenship:

“The improvement in [PSHE] teaching has been the result of a number of factors, not least the increased deployment of teachers who have the necessary teaching skills and the specialist knowledge. The other key factor has been the extent to which provision has been targeted more effectively at the identified needs of the pupils.”

(Ofsted, 2005d, web access)

And:

“Whereas lower-attaining pupils achieve little in citizenship in some schools, in others higher-attaining pupils are free-wheeling because insufficient demands are made of them. This is particularly the case where citizenship is taught by non-specialists using material that has been prepared for them.

“Achievement is high where pupils understand the relevance of what they are studying. For example, in one school where pupils achieved well, topics and themes were addressed through stories of the day or ‘real’ issues.”

(Ofsted, 2005c, web access)

In both instances, good teaching is predicated upon teachers who are knowledgeable of the subject they are delivering, and understanding the pupils who are there to be taught.

Quaker ethos is seen by most of these respondents to be concordant with citizenship in that if one is being a good person, one is not likely to be acting as a bad citizen. The difference between this view and that of Ofsted (2005c) is that for these teachers being a ‘good doer’ overlaps with being a ‘good citizen’, while Ofsted makes a distinction between ‘good’ and ‘political good’ – i.e. they are different.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has considered the data from interviews with teachers and parents/pupils at Friends’ School Saffron Walden, as well as questionnaire data from teachers at both FSSW and five other of the English Quaker schools. The need for specialist / well informed teachers, confusion concerning the definition of ‘citizenship’ in schools, and the conflation of citizenship and PSHE (inherent within the National Curriculum – but seen as detrimental to both by Ofsted and NFER publications) have become apparent.

The views of the Data 3 respondents reflect an understanding of citizenship which is (for most) neither the same, nor as extensive, as that put forward within

the National Curriculum – they tend to conflate the concept of the good citizen with that of the good person. For this reason citizenship is seen to have much in common with PSHE. In order to teach subjects such as citizenship and PSHE properly, they presume the need to be prepared to a greater extent than they feel that they already are. Their understanding of Quaker ethos is that the individual person is important and they consider, for the most part, that this should be a philosophy which is useful on the path of citizenship education, since there is conflation of the good person and the good citizen.

In these respects, the range of responses from the questionnaires triangulate with the data from Data 2 and from Data 1. From those respondents who are willing to participate in research in this area, the findings would appear to be generalisable. The nature of a limited return, qualitative questionnaire, only allows for generalisation at this level. It cannot be said that the responses represent the views of the majority of teachers in Quaker schools, only that there is agreement among those who expressed enough of an interest to be involved in either interviews or the questionnaire.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions

The thrust of guidelines and teaching programmes is reflected in their unquestioning nature-‘democracy is good, how we do things is democratic: therefore we are good’ (see, for example, QCA, 1999, pp.14–15)

Leighton (2004, p.177)

8.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to consider the findings from the data presented in Chapters 6 and 7, weighing them against the research questions. Based upon this consideration, a range of theoretical approaches to delivering citizenship is offered, with particular reference to the situation of citizenship in Quaker schools.

This research is predicated upon the idea that National Curriculum citizenship presents a communitarian form of citizenship as citizenship *per se*. The study set out to question this presumption in Quaker schools, which are outwith the maintained sector, do not (have to) teach National Curriculum citizenship, and therefore are likely to reflect understandings of citizenship education which are not communitarian. This situation, allied with Quaker ethos which each of the respondent schools would promote, serves as a case study to investigate how citizenship education is perceived by one set of independent school stakeholders, and to ascertain what already exists as citizenship education in these schools. To this end six research questions were developed to take into the single-school study and multi-school questionnaire. These were:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are the similarities / differences between respondents’ conceptions of citizenship and that contained within the National Curriculum Order?
3. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
4. Why are they doing this?
5. What is the relationship between Quaker ethos and citizenship?

6. How should subjects such as citizenship be taught?

8.1.1 Findings

The findings may be summarised in six points:

- Citizenship is analogous to being a member of society in general terms, with neither a strong liberal, nor communitarian focus. Instead, respondents use a range of weak definitions which reflect the moderate liberalism of the 1988 ERA (HMSO, 1988, para. 1(2)b), i.e. preparing “for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.”
- There is not a presumption that citizenship education should prepare pupils for a (better) communitarian society; instead it should reflect the institutions and structures of the *status quo* and empower pupils to improve them.
- Citizenship education is currently being delivered in Quaker schools implicitly through existing curricula and activities, being supplemented within some by an expansion of the PSHE curriculum.
- Citizenship – within the definitions respondents have used – is considered something which is better caught than taught. Therefore the Quaker schools are perceived as providing environments in which the individual may practise being part of a community.
- Quaker ethos promotes good citizenship behaviours, following the laws of the state while observing a moral code. For the respondents, Quaker ethos promoted what they thought was citizenship. National Curriculum citizenship differs from a Quaker view of citizenship because communitarianism holds the state as a moral entity, while Quakers are advised to use the state to uphold moral tenets – the state itself is not considered to be moral.

- In terms of pedagogy, respondents feel that specialists should be teaching specific subject knowledge (i.e. civics), but that social interaction (i.e. the human part of political literacy) is already a well practised part of the everyday relationships between teachers (especially form tutors) and pupils.

The following sections (8.2 – 8.7) develop these findings, dealing with each research question in turn.

8.2 How Quaker stakeholders define citizenship

Everyone can attempt to give a definition for citizenship but there are many interpretations. These can be as limiting as being a synonym for nationality, or as wide as describing one's relationship with the world. In between are several interpretations. The literature review established three major understandings of citizenship: liberal, republican, and a third derived from these but with a moral aspect - communitarian. The liberal concept of citizenship is predicated upon the state being an organ of service for the individual, while republican/communitarian citizenship conceives of the state being served by its citizens. Within this research most respondents understand citizenship as being a focus upon the person as a part of society, not necessarily framed within a liberal structure of the state being the servant of the citizen but with even less relationship to the communitarianism of the National Curriculum, which focuses upon the framework of the state and one's moral interaction with it. Some respondents demonstrated an understanding about NC citizenship, a few acknowledging that this was different from their personal definition, but most were unaware of what is contained within the citizenship Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999). However, those who encountered NC literature through this research did not appear to alter their personal views upon learning about it: the respondents in the single-school study did not change their understanding of citizenship even when they had read the National Curriculum document; rather, *they*

superimposed their understanding of citizenship upon what they read in the document, or held two concurrent concepts, viz. their own and the NC version.

8.3 The similarities / differences between the respondents' conceptions of citizenship education and that contained in the National Curriculum

The respondents predominantly hold a moderately liberal conception of citizenship in contrast with the communitarian model presented within the National Curriculum. The similarities are those which are common to all democratic societies, i.e. that there are duties and responsibilities for individuals to fulfil; that suffrage has been granted and that we can vote for our governments. What differentiates the two conceptions is the way these duties are interpreted and the relationship which is understood to be between the individual and the state. This is reflected in a difference in approach to teaching citizenship between the National Curriculum and, in this instance, Quaker schools.

Citizenship, as with many subjects, has a political orientation. In history for example, two hundred years after the Battle of Trafalgar, the Napoleonic Wars are not part of the National Curriculum, yet the rise of European dictatorships in the C20th is included. This has a political implication for our understanding of Europe, since much of the French state framework is a relic from the Napoleonic era. By omitting this aspect of history the English understanding of Europe is likely to be limited. As for history, citizenship has many facets and therefore many ways in which it might be interpreted. Two examples of this are from Ofsted (2005a) and Deakin Crick *et al.* (2005). Ofsted holds a narrow concept of citizenship, being a subject which needs to be discretely taught, while the Deakin Crick *et al.* meta-research takes a much wider view requiring a cross-curricular, holistic emphasis:

“[I]n one in four schools provision was judged to be unsatisfactory. For some of these schools, the judgement of unsatisfactory came as a surprise because

key staff took the view that the school was developing good citizens in the broadest sense. This is not the issue. The National Curriculum provides a programme of study for citizenship. This is additional to any general provision that supports pupils' development as young citizens, whether in the ethos of the school or the implicit contribution made by other subjects."

(Ofsted 2005a, p.4)

"A citizenship pedagogy, based on the key themes characteristic of learning processes identified in the review, will have at its core communication, facilitating and enabling, dialogue and discussion, encouragement to engage with learning, and relating learning to experience. This more conversational and negotiated style of teaching and learning involves mutually respectful teacher-student relationships where traditional authoritarian patterns of control are no longer appropriate. Citizenship education practices and processes that promote student learning and achievement cut across the curriculum and suggest the need for curricular flexibility, with more opportunities to develop different groupings of learners in interactive and conversational learning context."

(Deakin Crick *et al.* 2005, pp.5-6)

Citizenship is a political subject, not only in the civics topics contained within it but also in its very existence. Historically, the definition of citizenship has not been fixed internationally, leading to a range of contemporary democracies (Hahn, 1998, p.80), within which different forms of citizenship have been enacted. The National Curriculum has adopted *one* form of citizenship, in doing so promoting it as *the* form of citizenship. In England, citizenship has been a word defining status as well as being a term without precise definition as a process. The National Curriculum definition has transformed it into a communitarian tool meaning active participation in a state based upon *democratic values*. The conjunction of 'democratic' and 'values' (a form of *catachresis*, see later under 'Moral education') is a further narrowing of definition; by inference, values which are not outwardly democratic are not conducive to citizenship.

What results from this is that it is not unreasonable for respondents to be unsure about National Curriculum citizenship, since it is a creation which was not represented by the 1988 ERA (HMSO, 1988) (although it has been current within pro-citizenship organisations for decades – e.g. Citizenship Foundation, CSV *et al.*). What has happened is that, rather than subtle changes being introduced politically (like the promotion of C20th history instead of the Napoleonic era), a whole new school subject has been created, using a term in the English language with a refined, rather than a general definition. In this respect citizenship is a political subject because it has been introduced with a political agenda driving it towards a particular teleological endpoint, rather than being a subject reflecting the *status quo*. This is demonstrated in the oft-quoted excerpt from the Crick Report, that:

“we aim at no less than a *change* in the political culture of this country, both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves.”

(QCA, 1998, pp.7-8, my italics)

This quotation from the Crick Report is a sentence in two parts; the second (after the colon) is *all* the object of the verb ‘change’. Had the citizenship curriculum been developed to represent the *status quo*, this would have been unlikely to be the case. Indeed, this represents the difference between citizenship developed after the Crick Report (i.e. the Order, DfEE/QCA, 1999), and that of the original National Curriculum within the Education Reform Act (1988), i.e. a balanced and broadly based curriculum which:

- (a) promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and

- (b) prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

(HMSO, 1988, para 1 (2))

The 1988 ERA set out education for citizenship in general terms, not making reference to *citizenship* itself, and not educating for the *status quo ad quem*.

Thus, the situation of respondents having a conception of citizenship education which reflects that of the 1988 ERA, represents a kind of ‘policy lag’, where they have yet to ‘catch up’ with the new concept of communitarian citizenship as citizenship *per se*.

8.4 What Quaker schools are doing which might be termed citizenship education

Quaker schools, being part of the independent sector, are not under an obligation to provide specific citizenship education. However, in line with most private schools, they seek to shadow the maintained sector since this allows pupils to move between the sectors with relative ease and because, in common with state schools, they aim to put their pupils through GCSEs at the end of year 11. It is with this contextual interest that six of the seven English Quaker schools took part in this research. Among these, three approaches to delivering citizenship have been adopted:

- Citizenship is being incorporated into the existing curriculum (subsequent to a curriculum audit), being supplemented by extra coverage in the PSHE syllabus.
- Citizenship is being developed as a part of another scheme (e.g. Healthy Schools Initiative).

- Citizenship is considered to be being delivered implicitly through the existing curriculum and extra-curricular arrangements.

The first of these three accords with what many schools are doing in the maintained sector (CSV, 2004; NFER, 2004). The focus upon citizenship is predominantly implicit, being contained within existing curriculum subjects or as an addition to timetabled PSHE. None of the Quaker schools follows the approach that citizenship would be best taught as an explicit, discrete subject – i.e. the *modus docendi* promoted both by Ofsted (2005a) and, to a lesser extent, by the NFER (2004) in its concept of a progressing school.

Both the definition of citizenship and how it is being delivered in schools are linked with pedagogical understanding. In terms of educating pupils, none of the three can be seen as being separate unless citizenship is defined in the narrowest of terms. This leads to the next part of the discussion.

8.5 Why they are doing this

Much of the discussion with FSSW respondents (Data 2) and the questions in the survey (Data 3) assumed a link between PSHE and citizenship (they are almost considered as one subject at the primary level, e.g. ‘the non-statutory framework for PSHE and citizenship’). Many schools have chosen to deliver citizenship through PSHE (Bell speech, 2005). Citizenship, as a non-academic subject similar to PSHE, is likely to be interpreted similarly by non-specialist staff who are required to teach it.

The respondents tend to think that citizenship would best be taught either by specialists or by a combination of specialists and non-specialist form-tutors. The emphasis upon specialists reflects the specific content of a subject new to schools. Teachers with decades of experience have not taught citizenship; while they are knowledgeable, professional educators they do not feel they have the specific subject knowledge for key stages 3 and 4. However, the aspects of the

curriculum which are process orientated, and which have more in common with PSHE (such as listening to others, empathy, questioning one's own views in the light of others' positions), are areas with which the respondents have more confidence. This facet of citizenship is what prompted the respondents to say that there is a part to be played by form-tutors. It also reflects the concept of citizenship the respondents have predominantly offered (see above).

Such a two-sided understanding of citizenship reflects the (simplistic) distinction one may draw between Ofsted documents (2002 – 2005 *passim*) and the Deakin Crick *et al.* reviews (2004, 2005); the former views it as a syllabus while the latter consider it as a part of an holistic education predicated upon the precepts of the Crick Report (AGC, 1998).

The weakness of informal delivery of citizenship is that it is patchy, and by its nature it is difficult to record for assessment. One of the findings from Community Service Volunteers (CSV, 2004) was that the teachers involved had varying confidence in assessing their 'students' achievement in citizenship'. In the report none of the respondents was 'very confident', 58% were 'fairly confident' and 42% were 'not confident' (CSV, 2004, p.6). CSV is particularly interested in 'active citizenship'; *ergo*, involvement should be recordable. Achievement is a measure more usually associated with academic lessons. This is an outcome of citizenship's being accorded discrete subject status within the National Curriculum; in the 1990s citizenship was a cross-curricular theme with an emphasis on coverage rather than assessment. Academic attainment is easier to measure than social skills attainment. The emphasis Ofsted would place upon discrete citizenship teaching would allow for more focused assessment, leading in a growing proportion of schools to summative assessment by short GCSE in citizenship (Ofsted, 2004b). The question which arises from this, and which is outside of the parameters of this research, is: are we assessing what is valuable or valuing what is assessable? This instance of the McNamara fallacy holds true for citizenship as it does for education as a whole. Amongst the participants in this research, there has been an implicit distinction made between assessable and non-assessable citizenship, these two being the foci for specialist and non-specialist teachers respectively. The first deals with the subject as an academic,

recordable discipline, while the second deals with the individual as part of the educational whole.

8.6 Quaker ethos and citizenship

Civics and moral education would appear to be different. Civics deals with the structures of the state and government, and how they interact with the individual, while moral education deals with notions of right, wrong and the grey areas in between. National Curriculum citizenship has a moral dimension (Rowe, 2005). Within the programmes of study (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.14-16) are the concepts of responsibility and fairness, while 'The importance of citizenship' (*op.cit.* p.12) contains the terms democratic values and respect. Quaker schools are founded upon the principles of the Religious Society of Friends. These are demonstrated by the testimonies of equality, integrity, peace, simplicity and community. The area of overlap these two sets of morals have is significant, but this is not to maintain that they are the same. The term 'democratic values' is catachrestic in that it takes two existing terms and allies them to create something new. There are three differing interpretations of this novel entity. The first is that it assumes the values of current British society and denotes them democratic. The second is that it is imposing a new values set upon that society. The last is a combination of these, imposing a new values set, using the National Curriculum as its route of delivery, but making the pretence that this new values set is the same as the *status quo*.

Society has many sets of morals in use at any time. This is the nature of the multicultural society in which we live. One of these is that put forward by the Society of Friends. Most of the respondents in this research (teachers, parents, governors and pupils) have promoted a moral understanding in agreement with Quaker ethos. While Quakers may espouse a version of democracy, it is different to that which is current within the British or any other national political system. There is not a single understanding of democracy but many.

One (perhaps the overriding) example of this would be tolerance. In a citizenship syllabus which nominally promotes democratic values, the curriculum becomes its own paradox because it does not consider other sets of values which are democratic / non-democratic – there is only one, i.e. that based upon democratic values. Another example might be fairness. *Habeas Corpus* is central to English law, yet year on year it is being eroded by different administrations. It is not clear whether this does or does not follow the ‘democratic’ value of fairness. The structure of the state is not moral, but pragmatic founded on morality. As a result, having a citizenship curriculum with a basis in ‘democratic values’ does not represent the civic structure it serves.

The moral basis for Quakers, *viz.* the testimonies of equality, integrity, peace, simplicity and community, are not the grounds for a democratic state but do lay out questions against which the individual can judge his/her actions.

8.7 How to teach subjects like citizenship

The distinction between morality and civic structures is analogous to the repeated choice by respondents for citizenship to be delivered by both specialists and form tutors. The civics aspect of citizenship, being new to teachers in English schools, is seen as being best taught by specialists (according to most respondents). This has a parallel with PSHE, which has specific knowledge content which non-specialists feel uncomfortable teaching. However, social education, i.e. how we interact with each other, is what involves teachers daily throughout and outside the formal curriculum. Therefore, the respondents feel that this is what form tutors can do well, especially since it is these teachers who should have the most personal understanding of pupils in their care, unlike other specialist teachers.

Behind all of the questioning of citizenship and morality is the theme, which arose in Data 1 (Eta, p.1) and has remained in the background to the research –

that correct behaviour is something that is caught rather than taught (Barnard 1961). As teachers we can teach but we cannot determine the learning which will result. As Leighton (2002) writes:

“Teaching poetry does not make people into poets even if it might equip them with some understanding. Teaching people to read and write does not mean that they will read and write well; in the context of citizenship it should perhaps be borne in mind that we cannot control what they will read and write or how they will understand what they have read.”

(Leighton, 2002, p.172)

Being an advocate of good English, and willing one’s pupils to develop an appreciation of iambic pentameter, does not mean that they will use or appreciate either once they have left the schooling system. One might question why this should be the case for citizenship any more than for English. Yet this is the rationale behind the Crick Report i.e. “a change in the political culture of this country” (QCA, 1998, p.7). English is nonetheless taught, with a view to it being caught. So we should do with citizenship, with a focus upon the process rather than the content, an approach which Crick (2000, p.5) termed ‘light touch’ and ‘flexible’.

8.8 Conclusions for Quaker Schools

Quaker schools are part of the independent sector. As such they do not have to teach citizenship. This section is a précis of Appendix E: *Report to Quaker Schools*.

Quaker schools are special in that they have a particular philosophy common to them. However, Quakers are part of the wider Christian tradition. As a result, it is possible that the considerations made in relation to Friends’ schools could be interpreted by other independent and maintained schools, according to how

those schools see themselves and their denominational ethos in relation to the Quaker ethos presented in this research.

These conclusions develop four aspects of the research which have arisen during the process. They are:

- PSHE,
- Citizenship,
- PSHE in citizenship, and
- Quaker ethos and citizenship.

As will be seen, PSHE does not stand alone in the school curriculum, nor does citizenship; however in order to set out the concepts they are treated as discrete entities for the first two of the four conclusions. Added to this, many schools have chosen to deliver citizenship within PSHE since it covers many similar topics and is also a non-academic subject.

8.8.1 PSHE

PSHE is seen in a mixture of lights. While it may be an important part of school life generally, specific lessons in the subject are not necessarily *seen* to be important by pupils or members of staff (e.g. Sara, 2; Phil, 2; Pupils' Group Interview). There are two major approaches to teaching PSHE: via specialists and via tutors.

Specialist provision of PSHE would confer a more academic status upon the subject. A good specialist could cover the content of the syllabus appropriate to the year group being taught, with minimal repetition and confidence in the subject, holding an overview of what each year group experiences. This would overcome much of the perception that at key stage 4 PSHE is tedious because 'We have already done this.' Using specialists, schools would be certain that they were covering the knowledge content of the syllabus, allowing form tutors to complement the course with concurrent values discussion on an *ad hoc* basis

if given some time to do so each week. If, for example, there were a problem in school concerning alcohol, this could be discussed as a group with the tutor without justification against or displacing other PSHE content.

Tutor provision of PSHE would require a syllabus with resources appropriate for non-specialists. In order to limit the pupil experience of having covered topics before these resources would have to be appropriate to different year groups, enabling revision of topics without repetition of lesson plans. It would be almost inevitable, using this approach, that leeway to deal with current topics would be limited because of timetable demands to cover a set syllabus. Teachers who are not PSHE specialists would be unlikely to adapt a course to make it fit with current news stories, any more than a non-specialist geographer (for example) would be expected to do so in that subject. As a result PSHE, using form tutors, is restrictive in terms of adapting to topical events. However, a well-designed course, sufficiently resourced, would cover the syllabus laid out by the school. It is a question of priorities.

8.8.2 Citizenship

There is a range of approaches to citizenship. As an independent school there is no compulsion to teach citizenship. Resultantly, the whole range of options is open to Quaker and other independent schools.

At one extreme it might be sensible for the school to hold a stance which holds that it allows pupils to experience citizenship through experiencing the school community. The basis would be upon (Quaker) ethos, using the procedural values such as equality, integrity, peace, simplicity and community. This would be a specific interpretation of citizenship without adherence to the National Curriculum (DfEE/QCA, 1999). It would not preclude certain parts of National Curriculum citizenship being incorporated into PSHE or other subjects; however, this would be for their intrinsic value, not because they were part of citizenship *per se*.

In the middle is a mix-and-match approach which acknowledges aspects of the National Curriculum, incorporating them into existing subject provision within the school. This could be achieved by one of two methods, each of which could have many forms:

- Using existing subjects to cover the syllabus, extending them as appropriate; or
- Incorporating citizenship into PSHE.

In both cases it would be difficult to ensure adequate coverage of the syllabus. In the first it is difficult to trace what is being taught and whether it is implicit or explicit coverage (e.g. Ofsted, 2005). In the second, citizenship would be likely to suffer the same paucity of kudos already ascribed to PSHE if it were included. It is a big subject if taught fully; there is a question as to whether or not it could be incorporated into another subject without it or the other being compromised. Also, as found by this research most teachers do not understand what the National Curriculum means by the term citizenship. Non-specialist provision would be likely to make for delivery of a subject different to that contained within the National Curriculum. This would not necessarily be a *bad* development for values education but it might not conform to the citizenship provision the school was intending.

Finally there is teaching citizenship as a separate subject. If one were to follow the National Curriculum, and if one were to follow Ofsted guidelines, this is the only viable option. All subject coverage would be explicit because it would be within citizenship lessons. This might be an avenue leading to the short-course GCSE, giving it an academic standing. However, it is unlikely that many school timetables would have the space to incorporate citizenship and PSHE as separate entities while maintaining the number or academic breadth of other GCSE subjects.

8.8.3 PSHE in Citizenship

A radical solution might be that, instead of citizenship's being incorporated into PSHE, PSHE should be incorporated into citizenship. A simple distinction between the two subjects can be made with reference to drugs and alcohol. Citizenship explains how/when a citizen can obtain these lawfully, what is outside of the law and what happens to those who overstep the boundaries of law. PSHE explains the situation for the person in terms of health and social awareness. There is an area of overlap between the two but it might be easier to work from the statutory to the social than *vice versa*. Indeed, much of the social and health aspects would develop in discussion from the statutory. In this way citizenship might be the framework within which PSHE might function. The aim of the course might be to gain a half GCSE in citizenship over two years, thereby gaining academic kudos, while allowing time for the important personal, social and health syllabus to be developed *en route*.

I would offer two options, one at each end of the range of options. The radical solution would require buying into the concept of citizenship developed in the National Curriculum. If the school were really interested in promoting citizenship I would advocate using citizenship as a vehicle for PSHE; otherwise I would advocate the other extreme of the range of choices, i.e. that citizenship in general terms be developed in the individual by being part of the (Quaker) school community, but that National Curriculum citizenship should not be part of the independent school curriculum.

8.8.4 Quaker Ethos and Citizenship

The teachers who took part in this research have put forward the view that they should know more about the Society of Friends' philosophy. It would seem however, to be a risky strategy to link Quaker ethos with citizenship.

While at first inspection National Curriculum citizenship would seem to accord with the Quaker Testimonies (Society of Friends, 1995) and Christian values in general (e.g the Ten Commandments, and the Parables from the New

Testament), upon further consideration citizenship has a political orientation which is different from that developed from Quaker values. To teach citizenship from a Quaker standpoint would be to advocate the importance of the individual and his/her relationship to society in its widening circles from a foundation in values. This would be different from National Curriculum citizenship where the emphasis is not upon the individual but upon the state, which the political individual (i.e. the citizen) is there to serve. Unlike the point made above, where PSHE might be developed from citizenship topics, (Quaker) ethos and citizenship (in National Curriculum terms) are politically divergent, the former being predicated upon a liberal notion of society, while the latter is a reflection of communitarianism [see Chapters 2 and 3]. A highly developed understanding of both Christian (Quaker) ideology and communitarian citizenship would be necessary in order to avoid conflating the two and weakening the moral message. I am sure that done properly, such treatment of the subjects might be to the advancement of both; the corollary is that if fine distinctions are not made, both would be diminished.

Chapter 9: Reflections on the Research Process

Research for a PhD is a developing process; one does not begin as an accomplished researcher or as a competent academic. Instead, as a result of reading around the subject and allowing oneself to understand it at an increasingly deeper level the beginning researcher changes as data are collected and thought about. Add to this the necessity of reacting to the vicissitudes of real situations, particularly when collecting primary data from respondents who have other, understandably more pressing responsibilities, and the experience of research at this level becomes complicated and enriching.

The reflections in this Chapter include:

- What I have learned about citizenship
- Citizenship, citizenship education and National Curriculum citizenship
- What I have learned about research(ing)
- What the research can offer to schools
- What the research can offer to academe
- Limitations of the research
- Whither now?

9.1 What I have learned about citizenship

My understanding of citizenship has developed throughout the research. It began with an amorphous concept founded upon a values base. This was an idea which equated citizenship with morals. It made sense that a good person was, *de facto*, a good citizen. I was confused as to why National Curriculum citizenship was being introduced since I thought schooling was partly about developing the good person and providing opportunities for personal development, thereby already providing citizenship education.

I began to appreciate that demonstrating citizenship was different from demonstrating the qualities of a good person, and that citizenship is inextricably tied to the state. The state sets out laws for us to follow so that institutions function. As citizens we are given rights. In order to fulfil one's citizenship there is also a number of responsibilities. At the simplest level this means that one must be seen to obey the law.

It was at this point in the journey towards understanding that I began to appreciate why I was uneasy about the type of citizenship being proposed through the citizenship education found in the National Curriculum.

As I understand it, the state is not a moral entity; a person is a moral entity. The state is a structure for organising people and is created pragmatically; people are moral individuals who make choices among the grey areas between right and wrong. For me a distinction had become clear – that the state (and therefore citizenship as a concept) was separate from the moral individual. People have a place in the state and it is with this function that they are called citizens. Citizens are therefore people acting in a particular way, i.e. working with(in) the state. However, the social and moral lives led by people are much broader than the aspects of life which are termed citizenship.

Communitarian citizenship, as I have interpreted it to be promoted through National Curriculum citizenship education, conflates civic and social life, conferring upon the state a moral dimension. In this interpretation, a good citizen and a good person are the same thing. What develops from this is that the state then says what it is right for a person to do – the state becomes the arbiter of morality. In such circumstances, when a citizen wishes to remonstrate against a perceived unjust law, in breaking such a law the individual not only fails to fulfil the responsibility of the citizen, but also breaks the (citizen's) moral code. Therefore it becomes morally wrong to act against perceived injustice.

The distinction between civic and moral life which I discerned meant that I personally could not support a communitarian concept of citizenship. Following

my liberal understanding, one would comply with the laws of the state (i.e. fulfil one's responsibilities) but remain free to interpret morality by one's own lights. Indeed, the actions voluntarily carried out by a moral person might be seen to have the same ends as those a communitarian citizen would consider responsibilities, although the rationale behind the actions might be very different. The moral person would be acting because the inner voice says one should, while the communitarian citizen acts because the state says to do so. The moral person is empowered to a greater extent than the communitarian citizen because one may act to change the (pragmatic) state towards a moral standpoint, while it is difficult to alter the very structures of a moral state, which would themselves purport to be values.

Thus I have taken a journey of understanding concerning citizenship. While this research is intended to be valuable to the teaching and academic communities, I have grown through its process. I do not see this as an end point; rather it is a stop on the continuing road of learning.

9.2 Citizenship, citizenship education and National Curriculum citizenship

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to make clear use of three terms: citizenship, citizenship education and National Curriculum citizenship. This terminology grew with the research process. The literature continually conflates each of these with one of the others, and since 1999, often all three are considered under 'citizenship'. This is particularly evident within the National Curriculum itself. When the Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p.12) states, "Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels", it is unclear whether it is a combination from the three which is being promoted or just one of them. Much of the time this conflation is perhaps a result of confusion by the writer; other instances might reflect the use of *paradiastole* which I raise in Chapter 3. Perhaps, in the instance above, National Curriculum citizenship is considered as

being citizenship education (rather than one form of it), which presupposes one form of citizenship (instead of one of many). Careful reading of these separate terms has allowed my understanding of the subject to develop, yet I have found that it takes only a lapse of concentration to make the same error when reading and in my own writing.

As a personal finding from the research process, the use of terminology with refined understanding has become paramount. It is as a result of this development of thought that I use 'National Curriculum' instead of 'national curriculum' throughout this study; a national curriculum may be largely unwritten and implicit, being more general than *the* National Curriculum which is entirely documentary and a product of the DfES. One of the skills I have developed as a result has been to read for the meaning which the author may have both consciously conveyed and unconsciously implied. This is a matter of interpretation and inference. The authors to whom I refer in Chapter 2 particularly, are those who clearly state their conscious meaning, rarely falling into conflationary implications, thereby reducing the need for inference of possible meaning, as I have made above concerning page 12 of the Order. The path towards critical reading has been illuminative.

9.3 What I have learned about research(ing)

The three years spent conducting this research have seen a development in my understanding of what it is to be a researcher and how one may set about researching a topic such as citizenship education. While this study has relied upon qualitative methods, each piece of research requires an approach appropriate to its particular needs. In this instance, case study enabled insight into the understandings stakeholders in Quaker schools have concerning citizenship education. Had there been another focus to the research, the methodology would likely have been quite different, with questions sitting within other paradigms and other methods being more appropriate. In this

respect I have learned that research can be complementary even if contrasting with other studies in the field (see 9.4 below).

My skills as a researcher have developed over the course of the study: conducting interviews, transcribing what was said, interpreting these transcriptions, getting lost in the data, finding oneself again, being too close to the study to see the bigger picture, and taking time to view the research from a distance in order to put it into perspective; all these have contributed to the learning process. While I have learned much about citizenship education in Quaker schools, my main finding as a researcher is Socratic, in that I understand that I know an increasingly diminishing fraction of what is to be known, relative to my appreciation of what is unknown. Thus my outlook on research, education in particular and learning in general, has evolved to the extent that I now perceive research as an intrinsically worthwhile process as well as being extrinsically rewarding by its findings. I am in a position to move on from this research with an appreciation of life-long learning which I did not hold coming into it.

9.4 What the research can offer to schools

Citizenship has become compulsory in the maintained sector. Since this research has been undertaken in independent schools the responses have been elicited from teachers, governors, parents and pupils who have no *ex cathedra* compulsion to deliver/experience the subject. They have been given the opportunity to consider citizenship (education) in relation to the ethos of their particular (Quaker) schools. The outcome for schools could be that for those in the independent sector, and particularly the seven Friends' schools, the question of whether and how National Curriculum citizenship should be shadowed will have been expanded and clarified. I have proposed a choice from three options to follow: picking aspects from the Order that work with the grain of the schools' ethos; delivering citizenship as part of the existing curriculum; and teaching citizenship as a discrete, explicit entity, perhaps including current

PSHE provision. These suggestions should allow heads and governors to consider the question of citizenship from a standpoint of greater understanding.

One positive aspect of the research was that some of the respondents who took part reported that they had gained from the experience. Some of the teachers at FSSW who spoke to me on several occasions, gaining trust in me over the course of two terms, expressed that the time they had given to the research had allowed them to appreciate issues of pedagogical practice around citizenship education and PSHE to a greater depth. Two of these committed this to paper in answer to the last item on the questionnaire which they helped to design. The request was: 'Please use the space below to answer any questions you think I should have asked'. They wrote:

“Have I benefited from my involvement? Yes, hugely.”

(Toni)

“Has being involved in a PhD study been a valuable experience for me?

Answer: I have really found it to be highly useful and I have far more awareness now!”

(Sara)

From my point of view as a researcher, this has been a worthwhile outcome. If only these two teachers think they have improved their understanding as a result of their input to the research, then while it may not be quantifiable, it is a positive outcome.

9.5 What the research can offer to academe

Working within the independent sector has meant that respondents have had the opportunity to consider citizenship as teachers in the maintained sector might have done before the 1999 publication of the Order, but with the hindsight of the developing political situation into which the new subject has been introduced.

Maintained sector schools have been teaching citizenship as part of the National Curriculum since 2002 and, had their teachers been involved in this research, their views would have been responding to their direct experiences of delivering the subject, or preparing to do so. It is the assumption of the DfES that citizenship, with the communitarian orientation of the Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999), should be taught. This research adds to the questioning of this assumption. It does not suggest that citizenship should *not* be taught; rather, it raises questions about the definition of the subject, before questioning how and whether we should teach it. Contemporary research into citizenship (e.g. the long-term NFER study) is evaluating how the Order is being taught, the extent to which pupils understand the topics being covered and what are the best modes for teaching it. The political doctrine of communitarianism is, however, an *a priori* assumption behind all this, and this thesis questions whether it is in the best interests of education that this assumption holds. As such, this research complements contemporary research on three major grounds:

- It provides analysis of citizenship education in the independent sector, when other, contemporary research is being conducted entirely within the maintained sector. This focus upon a specific part of the independent sector (Quaker schools) represents an opportunity to question the need for a citizenship education curriculum within an environment where the National Curriculum is not mandatory. Therefore this research presents citizenship education without an assumption that it should be a formal part of the curriculum. In doing so it begins to balance research such as the NFER longitudinal study, which presumes to establish the best ways to teach National Curriculum citizenship, instead of explicitly questioning what it might be, what form it might take, and the rationale behind it.
- It provides analysis of citizenship education in a specific context. As a case study, English Quaker schools provide a bounded community with a particular ethos. While generalisations made from the data are strongest within this case, the findings will contribute to the growing

research base on citizenship education since its introduction into the National Curriculum. In this respect, this study should provide comparative material for subsequent meta-research such as the reviews by Deakin Crick *et al.* (2004, 2005).

- It elicits data from a range of perspectives, including parents, pupils and governors as well as teachers. Such a breadth of stakeholders is not being investigated by contemporary research. If citizenship concerns the community, it might follow that representatives of that community should be part of any research into citizenship education. This study represents the views of stakeholders across the Quaker schools, fulfilling this presumption.

9.6 Limitations of the research

The inherent limitations of this research, confined as it had to be within a conventional PhD framework, with a single field researcher, data collector/transcriber/interpreter and writer have already been discussed in Chapter 5. The avenues for possible research were many, and choices were necessary. Particularly absent from the research were questions of identity and power, which my preliminary reading around the subject raised as possible issues pertinent to citizenship (in its various forms, see 9.2) and which would have been complementary with this research. I chose to maintain a narrow focus upon the liberal-communitarian distinction in order to retain an appropriate breadth of study for one person to undertake. Researchers following this study may consider this and other complementary avenues which I have not explored.

Since I have been the sole researcher, data have been collected and interpreted by me, with my personal bias to the fore, although I have tried to make this clear throughout. However, any reader needs to appreciate my understanding of citizenship and education in order to work with my personal disposition, given that I am inevitably part of the research process. This is a possible weakness of

the research process, but my openness with regard to interest, and my engagement with research supervisors and others, have been attempts to offset it.

In an ideal situation this research would have been conducted in partnership with the Quaker schools rather than only with their cooperation. One of the initial intentions I had was for the respondents to have some joint ownership of the research process. This was achieved to an extent with the FSSW respondents who were able to help with the development of the multi-school questionnaire. Otherwise I was working as an outsider rather than as part of the system. I also approached schools individually rather than as a group. This made for a situation where only six of the seven schools actually took part in the research process at any point. Had they all participated, and had there been a greater response to the final questionnaires sent to all the schools, data may have been more amenable to further analysis, thus providing more detailed feedback across the Quaker education system in England.

9.7 Whither now?

Research in this area is already examining how citizenship is being delivered in maintained schools (NFER), but its remit is limited, and it lacks a comparative element. Research which compares pupils' civic behaviours and behavioural intentions across schools which do and do not teach (communitarian) citizenship would examine the efficacy of the new subject. This might also serve better to justify the place of citizenship in the National Curriculum.

A complementary area of research might be to question the necessity for specific citizenship education at all. The arguments promoted in the Crick Report (AGC, 1998) and elsewhere concerning the perceived democratic deficit, rest on a recent perceived decline in civic virtue, but the proponents of this argument have always been those who are already interested in civic(s) education and/or organised forms of civic engagement. Young people *are* already involved in society, in what Kerr *et al.* (2002, p.ii) refer to as a 'new civic culture'. Haste

(2005) is also positive about the proportion of young people who are civically active. The perception of a democratic deficit perhaps rests on an overly narrow focus upon voting-as-citizenship-involvement, failing to understand that there is already a healthy level of engagement through non-organised, activist routes (Whiteley, 2005, p.51) which National Curriculum citizenship would promote. If there is a positive level of societal contribution by young people in schools and early in adulthood, perhaps research could investigate how these people are contributing to society, and how such activities reflect / contrast with the focus of National Curriculum citizenship. Such research would help to further an understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in England.

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Appendix A: (Ichilov) Survey – Views on Citizenship

This short questionnaire is for research being conducted at the University of Bath. Your answers will help with the provision of citizenship teaching in independent schools like yours.

You do not need to put your name on this sheet: you will remain anonymous.

It might make you think about why we are learning this subject in schools today.

Part A – About You

Name of school: _____

Are you male or female? M / F

In what year group are you? 7 / 8 / 9 / 10 / 11 / 12 / 13 / staff / parent

How old are you? 11 / 12 / 13 / 14 / 15 / 16 / 17 / 18 / 19 / 19+

What is your nationality?

On the lines below, please write why you think schools are teaching citizenship. There is no correct or incorrect view to hold. When you have finished, please start the questionnaire

Part B – About Citizenship

For each question please circle the appropriate letter (a, b, c or d).
Some items give you the opportunity to elaborate on your response.
This is not a test. There are no incorrect answers.

1.i. Our society gives us the right to vote. Is it important we should have this right?

- a) Yes
- b) No

1.ii. Do you think you will vote at elections when/if you are eligible?

- a) Yes
- b) No

1.iii. Do you think everyone should use this right to vote?

- a) Yes
- b) No

2 When you think that something is wrong / unfair in society, is your view based on:

- a) a feeling that you know this is so?
 - b) knowing so because you have facts at your disposal?
 - c) an understanding that it depends on the situation of the people involved?
 - d) other- please explain
-
-

3 When you do something that is 'good' for your friends/school/society, do you do it:

- a) because you want to do it?
 - b) because it will be noticed if you don't do it?
 - c) both?
 - d) Neither? Please explain
-
-

4 Do you think citizens should:

- a) let the government run the country?
- b) vote and be aware of what the government does?
- c) vote and support causes?
- d) vote and actively campaign for causes?

5 Do you think that, as a citizen, you have:

- a) a specific role to fulfil in society, (i.e. specific things you must do)?
- b) a general role to fulfil in society (i.e. you are recognised by who you are)?
- c) no particular role in society?

6 Should the morals and laws of society reflect:

- a) the history and beliefs of the nation or religion?
 - b) those that are universal across the world?
 - c) other- please specify
-
-

7 Should citizens act to:

- a) promote a good cause?
- b) demonstrate against something which is bad?
- c) both promote good causes and demonstrate against others?

8 Do you think it is better / more effective to participate through:

- a) conventional means (e.g. voting / contacting your local MP)?
 - b) unconventional means (marching / striking)?
 - c) both conventional and unconventional?
 - d) other- please specify
-
-

9 In what way would you define yourself as a citizen?

- a) as a citizen of the state (i.e. by your nationality)
 - b) as a citizen of society (i.e. by your culture)
 - c) both
 - d) neither – please explain
-
-

10 Should citizenship be focused upon:

- a) your country (e.g. Britain, Taiwan, Jamaica)?
 - b) international concerns (e.g. European, Asian, North American, World)?
 - c) both?
 - d) neither? Please explain
-

Please read through what you have written on the first page and the subsequent questions.

Have your ideas about the teaching and learning of citizenship changed as a result of completing the questionnaire? Y / N

Please explain why you answered Y / N on the following lines (if you need more space, please use the back of this sheet of paper):

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

John Dodsworth, University of Bath (Education)

Appendix B: Cards for Interview 3, Data 2

For the third interview in Data 2, a set of cards was prepared for the respondents. They comprised the format set out below, written on separate index cards.

Curriculum	Explicit	Implicit
School Community	Explicit	Implicit
Wider Community	Explicit	Implicit

Appendix C: Parental Interview Agreement

Participant Copy

Focus Group Agreement

I sign this agreement on the understanding that what is said as part of this focus group should remain **anonymous**. It is incumbent upon me to respect the ideas and opinions of the others in the group. I am aware that not all ideas represent fixed opinions and that what is said as one I may interpret as another.

I shall receive a transcript of the focus group which I shall be able to verify and amend by post or email.

The ideas and opinions contained within the transcript are reflective of those of the day and may not be those the members of the group hold later. I reserve the right to change what I say or ask for it not to be used for the purpose of the research.

Signature.....

.....

Convenor Copy

Focus Group Agreement

I sign this agreement on the understanding that what is said as part of this focus group should remain **anonymous**. It is incumbent upon me to respect the ideas and opinions of the others in the group. I am aware that not all ideas represent fixed opinions and that what is said as one I may interpret as another.

I shall receive a transcript of the focus group which I shall be able to verify and amend by post or email.

The ideas and opinions contained within the transcript are reflective of those of the day and may not be those the members of the group hold later. I reserve the right to change what I say or ask for it not to be used for the purpose of the research.

Signature.....

Appendix D: Data 3 Questionnaire

Staff Survey in Quaker Schools about PSHE and Citizenship

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. It will inform a PhD study and provide the basis of a report to the headteachers of Quaker schools in England. Both you and your school **will remain anonymous**.

Some questions are multiple choice, others ask you to write a comment.

It is not intended that you spend more than 15 minutes completing this survey.

Once you have completed the survey, please return it in the envelope provided.

Section A, Personal Details:

Post within school (e.g. subject teacher, HOD, etc.):

Subject specialism(s): _____, _____

Years teaching experience: _____

Years experience in this school: _____

Are you a Quaker? Y / N

Age: 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60+

Sex: M / F

What experience do you have of teaching social education (PSE or other)?

I teach it now.

I have taught it but do not any more.

I have never taught it.

If you have taught social education at any time please explain what it was:

If you have had a career outside of education please state what it was and when you moved into teaching:

5

Describe the values of your school?

6

How does Quaker ethos relate to citizenship?

7

How could the balance between academic and personal learning opportunities for students be improved in your school?

8

a. What could be done to improve the Quaker experience for pupils?

b. What could be done to improve the Quaker experience for staff?

9

a. In what ways do you think form/tutor periods are useful for pupils and staff?

b. How else might this be done?

10

How could the running of the school council be improved?

11

Are aspects of citizenship taught in your school? Yes / No

If Yes, how?

12

Having completed this survey, how do you think your school could improve provision of PSHE / citizenship?

13

Please use the space below to answer any questions you think I should have asked.

Thank you for completing this survey. If you would like to be given the results of this questionnaire from the seven schools, please contact me via email at:

j.n.dodsworth@bath.ac.uk

John Dodsworth

Appendix E: Report to Quaker Schools

Citizenship in Quaker Schools

Introduction

Citizenship became a compulsory part of the curriculum for maintained schools in 2002. The independent sector has an interest in continuing awareness concerning developments such as this; while it is not bound by the National Curriculum it does receive pupils from and send them onto state schools in England. By shadowing, if not slavishly following the NC, the transition between sectors is made the easier. This research was intended to identify what provision the English Quaker schools have made for citizenship already and to explore possible avenues for where they might take it.

Background

This report is intended to form part of a thesis appendix early in 2006. It has been created as part of doctoral research into citizenship in Quaker schools. The researcher was educated at Sidcot School (1985-9) and has taught at Friends' School Saffron Walden (1995-2000). Funding was provided by the Economic and Social Research Council, first for a Master of Research (2002-3) followed by three years towards the PhD. Interviews for the research were conducted over the course of eighteen months from the autumn of 2003 until spring 2005, predominantly with teachers but also with governors, parents and pupils. The final piece of data to be collected was a questionnaire survey of teachers to which six of the seven schools replied.

The Basics of Citizenship

Much of this research revolves around the definition of citizenship. As a subject new to most schools in its discrete form, it is an unknown quantity to many teachers. Dictionary definitions centre on the status and conduct of the

citizen – i.e. a registered individual. However, there is a range of understandings of what citizenship means. Also, citizenship education (usually reduced to ‘citizenship’) could manifest itself in many ways, perhaps using prepositions such as education through/for/about citizenship. Each of these educational approaches, allied to particular definitions would lead to different understandings of the subject. Citizenship, as conceived and developed in the National Curriculum and related literature, reflects one construct of citizenship from the several options available. This research has focused upon two interpretations of the subject under the two terms of *communitarian* and *liberal* citizenship. Briefly, communitarian citizenship is based upon the idea of the citizen serving society while liberal citizenship assumes the state is there to serve its people. In the first the state is necessarily more important than its citizens; in the second the people and their freedoms dictate the structures of the state. A full discussion of these two concepts is presented in the thesis which will be available electronically upon request.

Findings

What schools are doing

There is a range of approaches the schools take towards teaching citizenship. Broadly speaking there are three options:

- i. Citizenship is already being taught through existing subject provision; there has been a curriculum audit but the school sees no need to take development further.
- ii. Citizenship has been included as part of one or more subject policies (e.g. PSHE and/or careers) in order to complement existing coverage in other subjects.
- iii. Citizenship is being delivered mainly as part of a whole-school initiative (e.g. eco-schools or healthy schools) which is complemented by existing coverage in other subjects.

What citizenship is

Citizenship is difficult to define in the same way that education is difficult to define; everyone understands what it means but each person has an individual, if similar, definition. All teachers who took part in the research felt able to provide their understanding of the term; few said they knew what National Curriculum citizenship covered.

The main finding from this part of the research is that there are two types of citizenship, i.e. that offered by most of the teachers and that within the National Curriculum. This is not a qualitative statement; it does not propose that one view is better than the other.

The first, i.e. that offered by most respondents, assumes that being a good citizen is the same as being a good person, who behaves responsibly, respecting other people. This is what I have termed liberalism. The second, i.e. NC citizenship, promotes the development of ‘active citizenship’. Active citizenship is the process of engaging with the state and society using formal, established fora promoted by the government. This is what I have termed communitarianism.

These two definitions of citizenship may seem very similar. The difference between the two is that, with liberalism, by being a good person (in its many forms from personal to public) one already contributes to society, while in communitarianism, one is perceived as a good person *because* one is a good citizen. There is a presumption that one should be active in the community in order to be considered a good citizen. This presumption does not hold with liberalism – a good person may be a virtual recluse; ‘active citizenship’ is not a prerequisite for upholding morality.

This has relevance when considering the type of (citizenship) education schools offer. The liberal education Quaker schools have historically provided, is designed to allow the individual to grow within a structured, supportive environment. Pupils take part in voluntary activities (e.g. being a member of a

choir or a team) because they want to do so – not because they are told to do so.

However, the NC model of citizenship would require a different educational approach. Participation in communal activities is promoted as a good for the community. As a result there is a moral imperative to participate. Personal choice concerning ‘voluntary’ activities becomes restricted.

The ostensible outcomes for the two types of citizenship underlying education are similar but under liberalism the community is improved because individuals choose to participate while under communitarianism the community is improved because individuals are expected to take part. A criticism of the first is that utilisation of formal state structures for involvement and representation within society can be neglected because that use is voluntary. A balance against this would be a criticism against the second: that by focusing on formal structures and promoting involvement in these, individual action outside of formal structures is not encouraged, limiting personal opportunities for the individual to contribute through non-formal processes.

Who should teach citizenship

Teachers who took part in the research made a distinction between specialist and non-specialist teachers. Citizenship is a new subject. Many schools have incorporated it into its sister-subject PSHE. Similarities between PSHE and citizenship have led much of the discussion upon the roles of teachers.

The use of specialist and non-specialists is analogous to the two definitions of citizenship identified earlier. Where particular knowledge and skills are required to be taught respondents suggested specialist teachers should deliver lessons. Contrastingly it was considered that form tutors were appropriate mentors for daily/topical situations concerning behaviour and attitudes towards school and society. Thus there is a distinction between the specific and the general, the former focusing upon how state structures relate to the

individual (i.e. how the citizen should participate) and the latter dealing with how the individual interprets and acts with / reacts to community in its many forms.

Discussion

Citizenship and PSHE

PSHE and citizenship have much in common. Both are non-academic subjects (although there is a short-course GCSE in citizenship) dealing with the relationships between people and between people and society. Most schools which have begun to teach citizenship since 2002 have partnered it with or incorporated it into existing PSHE. The rationale for this approach is that many topics are common to both. For example the issue of narcotics, while being PSHE when it is considered in terms of health, peer pressure and social environments, is manifestly citizenship when drugs are classified according to the law and how the judicial system views/deals with their abuse and trade. The two overlap when the topic covers the people and institutions which society provides to remedy the care for such ills.

The major reason schools have incorporated citizenship into PSHE is that PSHE already exists as part of the school curriculum and that, because of timetable demands, there is not space to treat citizenship as a separate subject. Since, as stated above, there is much in common between the two, incorporation has been the simplest route for delivery and school inspection.

A second (radical) option is open to schools which might satisfy the requirement to teach both subjects more efficaciously. It could be presented that it is easier to work from the statutory to the personal than *vice versa*, i.e. PSHE should be taught in the light of citizenship instead of citizenship being incorporated into PSHE.

Using the example of drugs again, the subject could be introduced to pupils through the statutory judicial framework classifying drugs, what the penalties are for their use and explaining the organisations in society which exist for help, treatment and rehabilitation. Once this formal, citizenship framework has been outlined, the PSHE content could be addressed, working from the formal to the informal, the black&white to the grey. Then pupils would have the opportunity to discuss the topic from a position of knowledge, about how the state views drugs, about the effects various narcotics do/do not have on the body and about the different levels of right and wrong, e.g. under-age tobacco smoking to class A usage.

Another example, sex education and family planning, could use the same model although at first sight it might not seem to be citizenship education. By starting with the role of the state and the citizen concerning would-be parents and children (e.g. clinics, funding benefits, responsibilities under law), one could work through health issues including contraception, leading into discussions upon relationships. Pupils might find themselves better resourced for understanding and debate via this approach rather than by working from PSHE towards responsibilities and state provision.

Quaker ethos and citizenship

Quaker Faith and Practice has several paragraphs directly written on citizenship (e.g. paragraphs within 1.02). These would adjure the reader to uphold the law and give to society in order to improve both the systems and social outcomes it produces. The caveat to this is presented in the form of social conscience. Thus, the outcome of this is that while one should strive to live justly and use existing systems to do so, there is a point, when the system itself cannot be improved using its own structures, where the individual, upon hard questioning of social conscience, is bound to act outside of the organisations of the state – sometimes against them. It is at this point that personal/social responsibility overrides civic responsibility. The essence of Quaker living is that we should aim to act with that of God within us while looking for that of God within others. The state, being secular, is not a moral

entity but a pragmatic set of structures for the ordering of society. If there is a contest between ethos and the state, ethos should always be more important to a Quaker.

National Curriculum citizenship purports to be founded on 'democratic values', i.e. it has a moral foundation. This leads to a presumption that our form of democracy is moral. This would argue against the *amorality* of the previous paragraph. The compatibility of citizenship with Quaker ethos is again a question of definition, particularly a definition of citizenship as a moral or an amoral entity. As an amoral entity the state is a set of structures which allows its people to interact for mutual social and financial prosperity. A moral state, predicated upon democratic values (what ever these are) has worth in its own right, being intrinsically a good thing rather than a tool to promote good outcomes. It is my contention that Quaker ethos presupposes an amoral, imperfect state for the concept of citizenship used in Quaker Faith and Practice, i.e. that one should uphold the law to the point of conflict with one's own morality. This is different from the state having intrinsic moral worth as promoted by the National Curriculum.

In order for citizenship to be taught and understood in terms of Quaker ethos, a form of the subject in terms of civics (without morality) needs to be adopted, i.e. citizenship is a subject which explains the structures of the state and how we may use these for our mutual benefit, giving up unlimited freedoms in return for certain social securities. The contrast to this is presented by the National Curriculum, i.e. citizenship is a subject which explains how we should act vis-à-vis the structures of the state, promoting civic virtue through demonstrating our rights and exercising our responsibilities within these structures. This would be a moral code running separately to and possibly (in certain circumstances) against Quaker ethos.

It is with this distinction in mind that I would recommend that a civics approach to citizenship be adopted in Quaker schools running parallel but not as part of continuing moral education. This would not necessarily conform to the concept of citizenship proposed through the National Curriculum.

Where to go from here

The possible routes for developing citizenship in schools are many. Drawn from this research are three major options:

- a) The status quo should be maintained; citizenship is already being experienced through the school community. This does not preclude certain aspects of NC citizenship being taught within existing timetable / subject provision but this would be for their intrinsic educational value, not because they were part of citizenship as a discrete entity.
- b) A mix-and-match approach should be adopted, acknowledging aspects of the National Curriculum. This could use existing subjects to cover the syllabus, extending them as appropriate, or PSHE and citizenship could be combined, one subject as the bearer for the other.
- c) Citizenship should be taught as a discrete subject on the timetable, leading to the GCSE qualification.

None of these options clarifies the definition of citizenship underlying it, although the third would presume an understanding concurrent with the National Curriculum. If a school were to make a clear statement of its understanding of what citizenship means, all stakeholders would have the opportunity to appreciate the focus of the subject. Using such a definition an approach to citizenship education could be adopted accordingly.

References:

DfEE/QCA (1999) *Citizenship: The National Curriculum for England, Key Stages 3-4*, London: TSO.
Society of Friends, London Yearly Meeting (1995) *Quaker Faith and Practice, The Book of Christian Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain*, London: Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

Appendix F: Sample Interview Transcript

January Tuesday 11th, 2005, Jen---- -----

J – Jen, D – John

D You get a chance to play... I am not a primary teacher for nothing.

J Do you miss teaching?

D Yes. I'll go back to it.

You recognise these terms?

J Yeah.

D It's like being a poker dealer. What I've got on my beautifully presented cards cut out of the back of a box, are three 'implicit' and three 'explicit'. Now, these are three concepts, the wider community, the school community and the curriculum which we looked at last time. I'd like you to spend a few minutes thinking; if you assume that citizenship is going to be taught and that Friends' is going to teach it, in one form or another (we can discuss what form that might be later), how do you think it is best done as teaching? Should you teach it with the wider community, the school community and through the curriculum, should you just do it through one, or through two, or through none of them, and should you do it explicitly, saying, 'We are going to do it through the school community, make this a definite thing through assemblies and Meetings to talk about citizenship, or the implicit, that we don't talk about citizenship per se, but everything we do is citizenship anyway?

J Okay.

D And that could go to the wider community in Saffron Walden, or to the parents...

J No, that's fine.

So, implicit means that we'll just include it anyway?

D Implicit means that you are not stating that it will happen but that it just happens. And explicit is that you are *saying* that this is definitely citizenship.

Curriculum
Explicit

School Community
Implicit

Wider Community
Implicit

J Do you want me to explain why I have put them where I have?

D Please.

J Well, I could easily have put implicit in the curriculum as well, but in order to meet educational needs [of inspection], they [ISI] would say, 'How are you teaching it?' and we could say, 'We definitely teach it within the curriculum.'

D Okay.

J I think that if you just put implicit for all of them, the government would not be happy with that.

D So by educational needs you mean...

J I think it is important to all the mediums, but if Ofsted came in and said, 'Are you teaching citizenship?' and we said, 'Well, we're sort of... we don't teach it anywhere specifically; it just sort of happens,' I don't think they'd be happy with that.

D So you are saying that for inspection purposes it needs to be explicit.

J I could easily have just put implicit in all of them.

D Do you think it makes a difference to the teaching of it whether you teach it explicitly rather than implicitly?

J Well, at least you can guarantee it is being taught. Whereas some people might choose to leave out little sections that they didn't want to do.

D Wouldn't that happen anyway?

J I don't know. It depends on what the government is saying.

D No, but even if something is down on the policy document in the school, but you are not going to be tested on it, does it really matter if you don't teach it?

J [Yes] Because it might be the important section on politics that children won't cover.

D It might matter to you that it doesn't get taught, but what is there to make sure that it is taught? If something is examined, it is definitely going to be taught. I am not sure that justifying something through a policy document means that it is actually being done. You could probably look at the PSHE document now and say that I know it says that we do that there but I am not sure that we actually do.

J Actually most of it is done. I would say. I mean, when I taught PSHE last year, it was all covered. What was down [on the policy]. I think in the last couple of years it has changed and it has... before there was not enough

structure to the PSHE programme, there were not enough resources, so no, it probably didn't get done, because if you didn't have the resources you tended not to do that topic. Whereas now I think it is a lot better and I think there are a lot more resources. So actually you can teach it. But you can't teach something if you haven't got the resources. Well, it is a lot harder to teach.

D You said last time that you were keen on the idea of having specialists on hand to help out with that.

J Yeah.

D Do you think there is another way you might go about teaching it that would work better, or do you think that there should be more of an explicit function in the school community or the wider community? The question perhaps I am asking is, 'Should the school curriculum bear the brunt of this?'

J It is hard because, if you took it and put it into this school community, you are talking about assemblies and things, it would very much depend on somebody having the expertise to teach or give an assembly on that topic. I mean, if somebody is particularly interested in a particular area it would be a really good assembly. But assemblies are so short: can you really cover what you need to cover in that time?

D How long are assemblies?

J Fifteen minutes. Maximum. Ten minutes really. I mean that's why, if you just put implicit there [under curriculum] a lot of it will be covered, and people *do* do assemblies on specific areas which you could call citizenship. I mean most of them are in areas you could class as citizenship. It is like we were saying last time. A lot of it is already taught.

D So, if you did not have your inspection driven needs for it to be explicit, would you have implicit there?

J No, if the government is saying that it has got to be taught you have got to say somewhere that it is being taught.

D That is what I am saying: if you didn't have that. In independent schools you don't need it. The Independent Schools Inspectorate is not pushing this. So technically, independent schools do not have to teach this. And they are not being assessed on it. They are still looking at the personal, social and moral aspects of education...

J Is it already actually in the state sector?

D Yes.

J And having to be taught?

D Yes. In the independent sector there are no plans in the pipeline to assess it. As far as I know. So my question to you is, and it is what I asked you before, is, if we assume in the independent sector you don't have to teach it, but you might want to, would your explicit card remain there?

J I personally think that the topics placed under citizenship need to be taught.

D Right. So you would [keep the explicit focus]

J Yes.

D But if schools are already doing them anyway...

J They are doing a lot of them. It is like you said, it is not examined, so if you are not strong on say the political aspect of it, you might do one lesson on that, whereas, if you were really keen and interested, you might extend it to three lessons. So again, the depth to which each topic is covered depends on the teacher's expertise.

D Okay.

J Which is why we should have specialist teachers to do it. So they actually have the knowledge and they have been trained.

D I agree; it is not so much the knowledge is it as the way of making it interesting for the students when it is not an assessed subject.

J I mean, the problem we had here was that RS was not an assessed topic and the children did not take it very seriously. They take it *more* seriously now that there is an exam for it.

D And that's the half GCSE isn't it?

J Yeah.

D So an option is taking half of that and half of this.

J Yes.

[Buzz break between first and second parts of the interview]

D Before you came to this school did you know anything about Quakers?

J No, nothing.

D How did you find out what you know about Quakers now, since becoming a member of staff?

J Well, originally, when I was applying for the job, I read up on Quakers to get an underlying ethos so that I didn't say the wrong thing in my interview. But general just through... It's strange here because it's not pushed down your throat or anything but it comes up very subtly in a lot of things that happen. I think more recently we've lost sight of some of them because we don't have any Quakers or strong Quakers on the staff. Whereas before we did, Mike Collins and I can't remember who else. They were really useful to have on the staff because if we were talking in a meeting it would... they would occasionally say, 'Well that conflicts with this, this and this,' and that was really good to have because I think, the last few years we've moved a little bit too far away from it and sort of ... and unfortunately, the introduction of league tables and exam results – that's what parents look at in order to send their child to your school. Actually, I think takes away from the child's education as a whole. I mean, I am very much in favour of in Years 7 to 9 – I think they should do as many trips as possible, go and do lots of different things, whereas occasionally, if we say that we want to take a trip on *this* day, you know, people are in uproar because you are going to miss their lessons. Whereas there is much more to life – there is academic education and there is a whole world out there that they need to be educated in as well.

D That's good, so you have a more holistic attitude...?

J Hmm-hmm. Which I actually think is more Quakerly as well.

D Now, it has struck me that you've got Quaker views as staff, your learning about Quakers as staff, and then learning about Quakers as students. What do they get?

J I don't think they really get... from what I can see... it is not, 'This is Quakerism, this is what you believe.' I think, again, it is very subtly... the knowledge is given to them through school but it is... again it is done in a very subtle way, that they probably don't even realise that they know half of it.

D Now, do you know if there are any copies of Quaker Faith and Practice in school?

J Andy Waters has one because he reads from it in assembly on a Thursday. I think the library's got a couple. There might be one in here [staffroom]. It is a little red book. I think the children would know, just because Andy Waters reads from it in assembly. They would know it's a little red book. They might never have read it... though they do get given one at the end of their sixth form, at Friends and Families day. So, in Year 11 they get the Tapestry book, and it's got all the panels of Quakerism, and at the end of sixth form they get the Quaker book, Quaker Faith and Practice.

D Did you get a copy of Harvey Gillman's book, 'A Light that is Shining'? All the staff got it at one point.

J Oh, I probably did...

D But can't remember... because that is quite good. I am conscious that you have now been here, what, eight years?

J Nine.

D This is your ninth year yes? So, you have been here a while. You are in a position where, if you don't understand what the tenets of Quaker philosophy [and **you do**] are then...

J Yes, but you know the underlying principles of it, and you know look for that of good in everyone, you shouldn't be overly competitive... Like, when we've been pushing the house system for the last couple of years, some of the children are like, 'Oh, it's competitive. We shouldn't do it because we are Quakers.' But it is also saying to them that that is not supposed to be the underlying aim of it; that you all work together, you mix within your year groups; you know, there are lots of principles that are Quakerly that you can put into it. But the children were the first to say, 'Oh, that's not Quakerly,' and they are not Quakers. Then you can say that my whole subject is not Quakerly because any sport that is a match – that's competitive.

D Yes, but I don't think Quaker philosophy is against competition. Competition depends on how it is interpreted. So, if you have (and it is only my personal understanding of it), Quaker philosophy is about developing the individual and getting the maximum out of the individual, and if that, as you were saying in the last... the last time we chatted we were talking about how PE had a lot to offer in citizenship, because you are working on team development, team development, helping...

J Less able...

D and coping to deal with them as a team. Now if you are in a competitive environment and you are a better team because you are in a competitive environment, why is that a bad thing?

J I suppose it depends on how it is introduced.

D It's an interpretation of it. So, it is like saying that Quakers are against voting. Well, yes, they are against voting, but why are they against voting? Do they aim for consensus? Well, no; they aim for the feeling of the meeting. It is a different understanding.

J We're not allowed to vote in staff meetings or anything like that.

D And nor should you be if you are a Quaker school. Do you know how a Quaker business meeting is run? Or any meetings in school that are run on Quaker business meeting lines?

J No, I don't know what it is, so...

D Well, governors meetings are. They start [and end] with a period of silence. The idea is that you should find the will of God – should be the will of the meeting. So actually, every business meeting is also a meeting for worship. And ideally, every staff meeting should be a meeting for worship effectively, in that you should have the time (which you don't) to have a period of silence at the beginning and at the end, having discussions to find resolution.

J We *do* have a period of silence at the beginning and the end. [Good – you see, this is a Quaker school!]

D I was very aware, having gone through a Quaker school myself, that I hadn't picked up bits and pieces, and I spent four years as a pupil. Because we weren't specifically taught, we weren't given Quaker Faith and Practice when we left.

J I don't know if it is taught in RS.

D It is supposed to be taught in Year 7. There is supposed to be an introductory course in what Quakers are. Now, whether that's enough I am not sure. Do you think there should be some 'explicit' teaching of what Friends' philosophy is?

J I think, if they do do it in Year 7, it is maybe quite hard... or, if they, when you are teaching citizenship education, it should be put to them how a Quaker might view this. So, the Quaker view. A couple of years ago I went to a Quaker Action meeting on, not alcohol abuse, but basically drugs and how they viewed everything; um; and it was quite funny because it was not the sort of meeting that I thought it was going to be. Obviously it done in a Quaker way ☺; it ended up like an Alcoholics Anonymous meeting. It was like that! Bizarre. But, that was led in a different way. We are used to getting handouts and off we go. It was far more discussion and ...

D More of a learning...

J Very interesting.

D So what do you think, based on your experience as a member of staff, if you were to be in charge of induction of new staff, how would you induct new staff into the school in a way that is Quaker? Without being indoctrinating.

J It is quite hard. Like I say, I have learnt things just through the situations that have arisen. I think, again, it is sort of like we were saying. If what you teach has a Quaker view on it, you should probably be told of that sort of twist.

D But I was thinking. You were saying that people like Mike aren't here any more. If you haven't got that Quaker presence in your staffroom, do you not need something that is more formal?

J I think you do, because there are some of us who will sit in a staff meeting and we will literally, go like [intake of breath and wincing expression]... because we'll go like, 'That's not Quaker, that's not Quakerly.' And... there's enough of us who try to keep it down...

D At the moment.

J At the moment.

D If you leave in a couple of years time for one reason or another, and other people who have been here for more than five years leave, then you probably haven't got that,

J No [in agreement].

D ...that quorum. I just wonder, i. should there be something more formal, and ii, if there is something more formal, what sort of shape should that take?

J I think a document could be given that shows you the implications of Quakerism on a school. And then, at least you can have an understanding of what you should be aiming for in an ideal world. Even if you have to come to a compromise and go half way. At least you are aware that you shouldn't be doing this, this and this. You know, they had an idea that they wanted to set Year 8 into ability sets, and I was very opposed to that because I think, especially at Year 8 level they should be working together and be aware of other people's ability. But some people who came from academic schools to here, they were very blinkered on the way that this is the best way to teach. Whereas there was a core of us that said, 'But is that the best for the children?' - As an individual. Not necessarily the high fliers, but the lower ability ones - are they being categorised into a class at fourteen.

D I went through, at Sidcot we had maths streamed; it was the only thing that was streamed. So we took English, all through to O level in mixed ability classes. Frankly I probably could have done better at English literature if I had been a bit more pushed, but I am sure that my whole growth as a person was better for having had a mixed class. And it is going to be a trade-off between the two of them.

J That is what we were saying before about the league tables. The league tables push you towards, you will learn more in ability groups, you probably will get better grades. You might even get better grades with the less able pupils because they are being taught with a similar sort of environment. As a person, are you better for it?

D That is a very Quaker view.

So, how could your induction to a Quaker school have been better then?

J I don't think I was really given an induction to Quakerism – how it affects education. I think I was obviously shown all the systems in the school but none of it was, 'This is because we are a Quaker school,' or 'This is not Quaker,' you know.

D So, in that case, what influence does Quakerism have on the school? what makes us different to... Stoke – because we are a Quaker school?

J I don't know ☺

D That's fine – I think Stoke is very similar to us.

J Yes, I do.

D For me, I walk into that school and it feels...

J Yes. Again, it is like, if you ask parents, 'Why did you choose Friends'?' they just say it's the feeling. It is very personal; it is the atmosphere.

D So what is that atmosphere?

J I don't know. It is really hard to put your finger on. When parents were asked, they couldn't really put their finger on it either.

[Comparison of junior and senior schools – unflattering political comparisons! Senior school seems more Quakerly]

J Several years ago now, we had a boy, severely deaf, George Schooling, and he went home to his mum and he said, 'They passed the ball to me in basketball today – and they weren't even told to!' Our kids are so inclusive; they really encourage people to participate – you know, get involved. And that group; they are sixteen now, and the boys, they *are* very competitive to win, but they still included everybody, and George really grew as a person and in confidence as a result of that.

D That's a really positive view of the school as a Quaker instance.

[On staff]

J It is interesting – those people who hold Quaker beliefs are those who don't teach or are those who don't have quite such academic subjects. And also they've been here a *long* time. There is a little core clique as we sit in the corner and ... I've been here nine years but the others have been here a long time. But I think, because I teach PE which is not an academic subject as such, I relate to their philosophies more than... And you can actually see it in staff meetings... people who don't teach strongly academically driven

subjects have got the same philosophies. But people who do teach strongly academic subjects, probably do have the same philosophy, but their subject drives them into having to look at something else in order to get the best results.

D Being judged by their results.

J Yeah. It's horrendous. The world's just falling apart 😊

I think a lot of people would teach in a different way if they were not driven by grades and results.

D So, how do you get round that? Or do you say that there is nothing wrong with that but we need to take the opportunities to look at the whole pupil?

J I suppose there are certain things that you have to have in order to get on in the world. You really have to have your GCSE English and you really have to have... you know, in order to open other doors further. So you have to come to a compromise.

D But GCSE English is not difficult to get.

J If you are able. [Good point] I came from a school where you were expected to get all your GCSEs and all your highers. Not... you weren't expected to get fantastic grades, but you were expected to get them. Having taught here you realise that there are children who are not able to get them and are never going to get them.

D In which case why are we forcing them to do something that they are not going to get?

J Well, the thing with the grades now is – A to C, that is what you are aiming for. D, E, F – it can show the level you're at. If you are going for a job and you didn't have your GCSE English [A-C] but you had a D; they would be like – 'Well, they are almost there.' So it is more of a benchmark of the standard.

D What does that do for building up the character and confidence of the individual?

J At the moment people still look upon A to C as passes. You get a D, you fail. I think nationally colleges need to do it more on a points system. So you get points, and you are having to aim to get points. I think that would help children a lot. People talk about failing your GCSEs but people don't actually fail them; you still get given a grade. If they were given points [instead] that would encourage children a lot more – an E student to work for that D. Whereas now, the E student will never get a C, so what's the point? They might get an A in art but a D in maths. They would be balancing their grades.

D Okay; so what do you think about Quaker philosophy?

J In schools or in general?

D Both, if you like.

J If I had to put myself down to a faith, I'd probably go with Quakerism. And I *wish* that you could teach it in this school without ... I think it would be a type of way to teach children but unfortunately league tables get in the way and you would probably have to push unnecessarily, and put too much pressure on the children. It is the pressure the children get put under that I think is wrong. There is so much pressure during exam time. These are your GCSEs. You have to get them. And unfortunately you *do* have to get them. I just don't like the pressure they are put under. And I think in a proper Quaker school you would not put them under that sort of pressure.

D Do you think it is necessary?

J I think there is a different way of sitting exams than sitting them all in a bulk at the end and...

D Yes, but we all went through that. They've got the coursework and the exams.

J Yes, but the coursework in Year 11 is a nightmare. The children work constantly. They don't really have a respite at all – all their coursework, then they have their mocks, then they have more coursework, and then they are sitting exams. It is just absolutely 'chocka', you know. And Year 10 here are fantastic in that they do things outside school. There is a lot of them who are doing things like Duke of Edinburgh and things like that, but they are absolutely whacked. I don't know how they do it. You know, they go and do their service for Duke of Edinburgh, go to the Brownies at six o'clock till eight o'clock, come home, and they do their homework, which is supposed to take them two hours. And you know, it is just...

D So, why do we need all that homework?

J A lot of it is coursework, and homework is there to reinforce what they learned in the lesson and to make sure that they understand it. So I do agree that you do need homework.

D I agree that you need homework, I just wonder that you need so much of it. I think we are about finished.

How did what we just said here reflect with this? [pointing to the cards with which we started]

J You would have to go like *that!* [substitute explicit card for implicit]

D So, ideally...

J Ideally, that is what I would like, yes. I would like to be able to address it in everything, but unfortunately in life, unless you are told to do

something you won't do it. A lot of the time, when you have the choice to do something or not to do it you would choose not to do it.

D Even if you think it is worthwhile?

J Um. Sometimes life is so chaotic and so busy that if you haven't got time to do it properly you might choose not to do it.

D Okay, I'm going to throw something at you from left-field now...

J You said we were finished!

D I know, but this has got interesting ☺ What if I were to say to you that I don't think the content really matters.

J The content of citizenship.

D Citizenship, geography... pretty much anything, because there is not enough time in the school curriculum to teach everything we should teach. There never is going to be, ever. And if you don't teach some of the citizenship curriculum and you don't teach some of the PSHE does it matter? Because they are going to pick up these things elsewhere.

J *Most* children might pick up things elsewhere, but all children might not. I came from a family who did not talk about politics a lot and I really did not have a clue about politics.

D Does that really matter?

J Yes, because I only got interested in politics, well I'm not interested, I am only looking at politics if they affect me. So, as a teacher, if it is suddenly going to affect my life, I suddenly become interested. But I was educated into that growing up. Even at twenty-two I didn't even think about it.

D Well you could say the same with geography or history. You have the option to drop one of them at fourteen, well surely, the most important aspects of your geography or history will probably be in those years between fourteen and sixteen?

J Well, not necessarily, you still have got to know where all the countries are in the world.

D Do you?

J Well it helps, when you are booking a holiday ☺

D Geography before the national curriculum did not focus on that, and still does not really. Do you see what I am getting at? I am being a bit on a limb!

J Are you saying that what comes, as you journey through life, you'll come across things, and as you have to learn about them and have to understand them, then that's...

D Yes, so does the actual content really matter? Because when you are talking about explicit teaching of citizenship, what you are going to cover in that is content. But when we were discussing last time about what it is all about, it is rather more than just content isn't it? It is far more than knowledge about government and laws, the penal system.

J I think you have to know about them though. Someone has to tell you about them. I didn't even... I mean, if noone educates you in certain aspects then you need to know if you want to know more fully about them and expand your knowledge. It came about that we were talking about career guidance the other day, and my career guidance was appalling. I did not even know what an 'ology' was. And so I did not know if I wanted to go and do sociology, psychology, anything like that, because I hadn't been told about them. And looking at it now, if you actually, if I'd been told or given a hint about what they were all about then I might have taken a completely different career and direction in my life. If you are not told about them, how do you know that you are not interested in them?

D Were you not just limited then... I mean, highers are better than A levels. You take more so the Scottish system is better because you take a broader range. One of the weaknesses of the English system is that it is too focused at A level and you go to university and it is so narrow that you are limited in your career.

J Well, they've expanded it now because you have got your ASs, which are more or less highers. And then you narrow it down at A2 which is like the Scottish sixth form studies. So basically you have just copied the Scottish system 😊 If you are not told at school it puts a lot of pressure on being told at home. And let's look at how much time people spend talking in families.

D So you are making up for a lack of family life. That's quite worrying isn't it?

J Yep. But it is the way the world is. Everyone rushes around doing lots of things. Parents at work, children don't have time to talk to parents because they are too busy doing homework, or busy watching neighbours 😊 But people *don't* talk at home! Unless you are a specific sort of family who make a point of it. We didn't talk as a family.

D That's why you are so dysfunctional 😊 Yeah right.

J Yeah, but you have to be taught it; you *have* to be taught it somewhere, early on. That's why you need an explicit in there.

D Okay; but you see, I think a good school will teach it anyway.

J They might not teach you about politics and voting, and this, that and the next thing, and how it affects you.

D That is a very good point. I will always be arguing against you – even if you took the other side 😊

J I know 😊

Appendix G: Quaker philosophy, practice and schools

Most readers will not have a thorough knowledge of Quakers. This appendix is written to explain the background to Quakerism, how Friends worship and what the ethos of the schools is, in order to put the research into context.

The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) is generally said to have been founded by the itinerant lay preacher, George Fox, in the seventeenth century. In fact what he did was pull together under one title many of the small groups which were disaffected with the religious dogmas of the time and which did not meet under the guidance of a priest. Broadly speaking, the ideology behind the society was to understand Christianity in a simpler fashion, focusing on belief without the trappings of organised religion. However, over the 350 years or so since its foundation, how the Society sees itself has been dynamic, leading to a schism in the USA which has spread worldwide and to various understandings of what it is to be a Friend even within British Meetings.

It would be a gross simplification to say that Friends believe one thing. The very best that can be achieved is to say that Friends join in worship, each with a personal understanding and interpretation of ethos. Harvey Gillman (1988, p.45) develops this, explaining that the present members of the Society represent the range of understandings over the history of Quakerism:

“There are still enthusiasts who wish to carry the message of George Fox to the market place; quietists who feel that too much outward activity gets in the way of the Spirit; evangelicals who witness to the effect in their lives of Jesus Christ, their saviour and redeemer; liberals whose gospel is a social one and whose emphasis is on a religious humanism; mystics who speak of the Spirit in all things; and others who would simply call themselves Christians, for whom no other title quite fits their understanding of religion. Indeed it is one of the joys, though not unmixed sometimes with anxiety, to have all these Quakers sitting down together in worship. For it is worship which brings Quakers together.” (ibid. 1988, p.45)

The term Quaker is variously supposed to come from either George Fox preaching that one should quake in the presence of the Lord or that Friends suffered ecstatic fits when in Meeting. Whichever its origin, it was intended as a derogatory term but has become accepted by members as a common reference, although within the society they refer to themselves as Friends. The term 'Meeting' has a double meaning for Friends. It is a contraction of Meeting for Worship (analogous to Mass) and it is also a noun analogous to the members of a parish. The closest the society gets to doctrine is to say that Friends should look for that of God in each person. This is also referred to as the Inner Light.

The Society does not have a creed or clergy, and is not as such a church; yet it does have the means to run itself as a society. Thus, while there is no belief system, there is a Quaker ethos which is based upon a range of statements on how to live and a set of questions without answers. This is called the Advices and Queries. It is supplemented by the Quaker Testimonies which are a collection of ideas concerning the ideas of truth to oneself, expressed in the ideas of truth, equality and community, simplicity, peace, and the environment. Both the Advices and Queries and the Testimonies are contained within Quaker Faith and Practice (1995). This is the closest Quakers come to a liturgical text but it is more an expression of feeling than a credo. Experience of God is valued over teaching. Testimony is living as a witness to the God in oneself.

The first chapter of Quaker Faith and Practice (1995) is the Advices and Queries.

The first of these states:

“Take heed, dear Friends to the promptings of love and truth in your hearts. Trust them as the leadings of God whose Light shows us our darkness and brings us to new life.” (1995)

If one were to encapsulate what it might be to be a Friend, this might act as a suitable starting point from which to look for something better.

Some of the aspects most commonly associated with Friends' philosophy are derived from the Testimonies. Modern Testimonies which are commonly cited include equality, integrity, peace, simplicity and community. Others, such as the earth and the environment, represent continuing concerns which have especial contemporary resonance (in this case green/sustainability issues) but which are broadly covered by those stated previously. Two examples of the Testimonies given below are those of equality and peace.

Concerning equality, the lack of a clergy and the fact that Quakers prefer not use titles such as Mrs. and Dr. are both the result of the testimony to equality, viz:

“The Quaker testimony to equality stems from the conviction that all people [are] of equal spiritual worth. This was reflected in the early days of Quakerism by the equal spiritual authority of women, and by the refusal to use forms of address that recognised social distinctions. Equality is also a fundamental characteristic of Quaker organisation and worship, with the lack of clergy and any formal hierarchy.”

(<http://www.quaker.org.uk/peace/factsheet/tesleaf.pdf>)

Pacifism is demonstrated through the peace testimony. Again, the Quaker website offers an explanation:

“The peace testimony is probably the best-known testimony, both within and outside the Religious Society of Friends. It derives from our conviction that love is at the heart of existence. Again, there is no set form of words, but Friends are deeply attached to the Declaration made to Charles II in 1660, which begins: ‘We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fighting with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever’. It has been the Quaker experience over the centuries to ‘live in the life and power which takes away the occasion of all wars’.”

(<http://www.quaker.org.uk/peace/factsheet/tesleaf.pdf>)

Worship

Quakers attend Meeting for Worship. This is usually held on Sunday although the format is used at any time. During Meeting the assembly sits in silence. There is no minister (because Friends have no clergy) and there is no liturgy. A Meeting may be small or large, perhaps being predicated upon Matthew's gospel:

“Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.”
(Matthew 18:20)

However, although there is no formal minister, any one of the assembled may, if moved by the spirit, give ministry (i.e. stand up and say something when God moves one to do so). Fundamental to Meeting for Worship is that silence allows the individual to open up to God (how ever interpreted). Thus, one quotation of George Fox states:

“Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts.”
(<http://www.quaker.org.uk/qfp/chap2/2.18.html>)

While another by William Penn is:

“True silence ... is to the spirit what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment.”
(<http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/w/williampen107902.html>)

Meeting ends after an agreed time (usually one hour) when the clerk to the Meeting shakes hands with an adjacent person, signalling an end to proceedings. Then the clerk commences the organisational duties common to any meeting.

Business meetings run on Quaker lines start and finish with a period of silence. Decisions within them are made as a ‘feeling of the meeting’. There is no recourse to voting since any decision made via a poll leaves a disaffected minority and would act against the testimony of equality. This ‘feeling of the meeting’ is important because it is representative of how God is moving within

the group. In this respect, any Quaker meeting is also a Meeting for Worship. Governors' meetings at Quaker schools are run in this way.

Friends Schools

There are seven Friends Schools in England: Ackworth (Pontefract), Bootham (York), Friends' School Saffron Walden (Cambridge), The Mount (York), Leighton Park (Reading), Sibford (Banbury) and Sidcot (Bristol). They represent a range of environments being in the north and south of the country, in urban, market-town and rural locations. They all have boarding facilities and are coeducational, except The Mount which remains a girls' school. The heads of the schools congregate every six months in order to maintain an understanding of what each of them is doing, and there are other ways in which the schools keep a group identity, such as a combined choral concert at a different location every few years. Thus, while each school is different in its character there is a shared Quaker identity amongst them.

What the schools say is their ethos:

The seven Quaker schools have independently developed mission statements, sets of aims and/or statements of ethos based upon Quaker principles.

For example the Leighton Park prospectus offers a view based upon the Testimonies discussed above:

“Quakers hold that all people have a divine light, or ‘that of God’, within them. Accordingly, every individual is encouraged to develop his or her own special skills and talents and to share them with others. The Quaker peace testimony encourages us to live and work together in ways that promote honesty and co-operation, both within the school community and in the wider world.”

(Leighton Park prospectus, p.3)

Likewise, the Sidcot School pamphlet, 'The Nature of the School', states:

“As a Friends’ School our Quaker philosophy underpins all the work we do with our students and is fundamental to our existence. This means that we value [self-respect, responsibility, peace, internationalism and silence – each of these is given a paragraph of explanation].”

(Sidcot – Nature of the School, pamphlet)

A third example is that of Sibford which has a set of aims on its website:

“Sibford is a Quaker School. Our Quaker ethos, which is expressed through the following aims, underpins all of our policies and practices:

“- to nurture the qualities which we perceive to represent that of God in everyone;

“- to create and maintain a culture in which all members of the community can be themselves, developing confidence, self-esteem and tolerance;

“- to enable every pupil to recognise and acknowledge his or her gifts and talents and to help each one realise his or her potential wherever it may lie;

“- to meet the needs of our pupils, be they educational or pastoral, by ensuring a secure setting in which they feel valued and respected;

“- to provide our pupils with a thirst for life-long learning and an appreciation of and active concern for their immediate environment and the wider community.”

(www.sibford.oxon.sch.uk)

These examples are representative of how the schools explain that Quaker ethos is central to their educational philosophy.

Quaker schools, being fee-paying, are inspected not by Ofsted, but by the Independent Schools Inspectorate. The reports of these inspections reflect the ethos of the schools. For example, the Ackworth report (2003) states with respect to personal development:

“6.1 The school provides a very good range and quality of opportunities within both the curriculum and other activities, including boarding, through which pupils develop a system of spiritual belief and a moral code as well as developing very well socially and culturally. Central to all aspects of school life is the Quaker ethos of quiet reflection and the search for good within oneself and within others. The high moral standards of the school are apparent throughout the curriculum.

“6.2 The provision for pupils’ spiritual development is very good. From the moment a pupil enters the school, whether as a day pupil or as a boarder, the atmosphere of calm friendliness spreads like a mantle over them. The distinctive feature of silent worship at morning meetings, house meetings, Sunday meetings and every day before lunch becomes a natural part of the life of all pupils. Attendance at Sunday meetings is an expected requirement for all boarders. In Year 10, boarders have an induction course in Quakerism and are invited to join the full Sunday meeting attended by Quakers from the surrounding area. Once a year a general meeting is held when Quakers come into school to hear a report on the school year and to meet and talk to pupils. As part of the RS curriculum, pupils in Years 7 to 9 learn about the history and beliefs of Quakers. They are also introduced to other Christian beliefs and the other major world faiths.”

(<http://www.isinspect.org.uk/frreports.htm>.)

The development of the person as part of the community is evident in the 2001 report on The Mount:

“6.1 The school provides a range of suitable opportunities through the curriculum and other activities for the pupils to develop a system of personal values and beliefs as well as developing spiritually, socially, morally and

culturally. Its distinctive Quaker ethos is evident throughout the school and is one of its major strengths. The corridor walls with displays of Quaker posters, the morning meeting for worship, sixth form visits to Friargate meeting house, and visiting lecturers all contribute to this atmosphere. The religious studies lessons often begin with a handshake and silence. Pupils and staff, Quaker or not, are expected to attend the regular morning meeting for worship, and all speak warmly of the experience and how it engenders a feeling of community.”
(<http://www.isinspect.org.uk/frreports.htm>)

It may be said that what is propounded by the schools and exemplified by these ISI reports is the ethos one would expect within any ‘good’ denominational school, in the independent or maintained sector; schools should provide students with the opportunities to learn and grow in positive, supportive environments and that a background in Quaker philosophy may promote the same values as any Christian, Jewish or Muslim ethos. However, Ian Small, headmaster of Bootham School in York until the summer of 2004 tried to identify what is specific to Quaker schools in an article for the Daily Telegraph (13/03/2004):

“No school is quite like any other, and the Quaker schools are no exception. But the strands of a common heritage run through the fabric of each one and have left a structure of values that will leave their mark on all the young people in the Quakers’ care.

“These values stem from one simple core belief: that religion should start from personal experience, not from dogma or ceremony. As all individuals have ‘that of God within them’, everyone has strong potential for good and is worthy of dignity and respect.”
(Telegraph, 2004)

And later:

“There are other powerful reasons for choosing a Quaker school [such as that the] increasing uniformity of the national curriculum is challenged by the Quakers’ emphasis on personal development and learning, while the warm and

friendly atmosphere of a Quaker school makes parents and pupils alike feel at home straight away.” (ibid.)

In a similar vein the clerk to the governors of Friends’ School Saffron Walden, David Jones, offered this thought as part of his address at the school speech day in 2004. He acknowledges that there are aspects to Quaker education which, while they are important to Quaker schools, are present in other ‘good’ learning institutions:

“[W]hat are Quakerly concerns? T.S. Eliot once wrote, “Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? And where is the knowledge we have lost in information?” I have always treasured that crucial distinction between the three grades of whatever it is that we store in our brains – Wisdom, Knowledge and Information, or, as I suppose we must put it nowadays, Wisdom, Knowledge and Data, and I would like to think that our Quaker schools, as well as a good many non-Quaker ones of course, know the importance of recognising the differences between them.” (Speech, 2004)

Finally, a group of Quakers called the 'Education: Our Spiritual Concern Group', has developed a set of ideas which might encapsulate what a Friends’ education might represent. None of the Friends schools explicitly adopts this but Friends’ School Saffron Walden does include it on its webpage. It is included here to represent what Friends’ outside of the schools think education based on Quaker ethos might be. It is values orientated (being based on ethos) but is apolitical.

“Quakers believe that there is that of God in every person:

This means that those of us involved in education approach every learner hopefully, believing that each individual's educational needs should be recognised and equal value given to them.

It means that we believe in 'immense potentialities', and that the purpose of education is to help individuals to believe in these in themselves.

It means that we believe that learning is a lifelong experience and is part of living rather than a preparation for it.

It means that we respect each individual and value the contribution that each has to make to the learning process.

It means that we treat individuals as equal, whatever their gender, race, culture, class ability, sexual orientation or circumstances. It means that we actively reject, and work to eliminate, discrimination of any sort.

It means that we believe that learning happens most creatively when relationships are based on mutual respect.

It means that we wish to adopt methods of discipline based on trust and mutual support, seeking to promote the positive.

It means that we encourage individual responsibility to the group and the group's responsibility for each individual.

It means that we seek to avoid hierarchies of power and to encourage a participating community.

It means that we want to empower learners to challenge injustice and to develop the imagination to find alternatives, to build compassionately a community which is inclusive of those who may be disadvantaged or rejected.

It means that we encourage questioning and exploration, honesty and openness.

It means that we seek to nurture and value spiritual growth and to open windows into new worlds of creativity and imagination.

It means that we seek creative ways to go forward, particularly in situations that involve or might lead to conflict.

It means that we stress achievements and successes, bearing in mind that excessive use of competition may be destructive.

It means that 'teachers' recognise that they are learners too and need to strive to be good listeners.

It means that we try to live out our vocation 'adventurously'.

It means that we value simplicity, pursuing the things which bring true fulfilment and seeking to find and communicate a right relationship with the material world.

It means that we try to keep before ourselves and others the ideal of unqualified and unlimited love.”

'Education: Our Spiritual Concern Group' (February 2000)

What is constant within these different interpretations of Quaker ethos towards education is that there should be an emphasis upon the individual development of the pupils who attend Friends' schools. This personal development is manifest within a strong community environment which is intended to be supportive rather than restrictive, allowing young people to push their own boundaries while respecting the freedoms of others to do the same.

Appendix H: Practical Methodology : **the How and the Where of the Research**

Data 1 – Baseline Research

Data 1 was a set of interviews exploring the situation of the new concept of citizenship education and the place of a syllabus for it within Quaker schools, while evaluating its place against Quaker ethos in particular.

Two pilot interviews were held in September 2003. Both respondents were teachers, one from the maintained sector who taught PSHE in addition to his specialism and one from the independent sector who, as coordinator of PSHE was incorporating citizenship into his subject.

The questions I asked in the pilot interviews were based on the research questions but intended to discover the state of citizenship implementation. The answers given to them clarified the situation of citizenship in these schools. While citizenship was supposed to be running in maintained schools by September 2002, one year on this was not the case in both pilot instances. In both schools, citizenship *was* being incorporated through PSHE, since the respondents thought that much of the syllabus was already being covered there intrinsically. However, there was no particular, discrete citizenship teaching. As a result, it seemed that the focus of the research as an investigation of the attitudes to and understanding of citizenship education, while researching the place of the subject against Quaker ethos in particular remained appropriate.

The pilot interviews were semi-structured using six questions based on the research questions (Table 3), and were recorded on audio tape. After a discussion based on these questions, I provided an exemplar questionnaire (which I suggested they might like to trial on their pupils), and asked them to make comments on it. This questionnaire (Appendix A) was based on Ichilov's (1990) continuum of citizen involvement.

Table 3: Questions for Pilot Interviews, Data 1

Research Questions	Questions for Pilot Interviews
<p>[i] How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?</p> <p>[ii] What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?</p> <p>[iii] Why are these schools doing this?</p> <p>[iv] What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship</p>	<p>How has citizenship been introduced into your school?</p> <p>What did you think citizenship was as you were introducing it to school?</p> <p>How does citizenship integrate with the pre-existing curriculum?</p> <p>What are you teaching and how are you doing this?</p> <p>What is the relationship between citizenship and the hidden curriculum?</p> <p>How are you monitoring progress and judging success?</p>

The pilot respondents found the exemplar questionnaire offered a wider range of ideas concerning citizenship than they would otherwise have developed, i.e. they were political (civics) concepts which were not part of the existing PSHE curriculum. The answers they had given to the six questions in the earlier part of the interview considered the nouns ‘citizen’ and ‘person’ as being synonymous. As a result of reading the questionnaire, their understanding of this relationship and of the term citizenship was challenged.

Neither of the pilot respondents had seen the citizenship Order (DfEE/QCA, 1999); they both brought definitions of citizenship to interview which were not

influenced by the Crick Report (AGC, 1998) or the Order. Copies of the citizenship programmes of study and attainment targets were sent to the respondents with their verification transcripts.

From these pilot interviews the focus of the research was confirmed as an exploration of the subject rather than an evaluation. The four research questions were taken to the subsequent Data 1 interviews:

1. How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?
2. What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?
3. Why are these schools doing this?
4. What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

To this end respondents were shown nine cards with question stimuli upon them (original questions in italics):

How do Quaker stakeholders define citizenship?

What does citizenship mean?

What do you think is the broad concept of citizenship?

What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?

What does your school do that has implications for citizenship?

What approaches to citizenship provision do you have in your school?

How are you implementing citizenship in your school?

Why are schools doing this?

What are the assumptions underpinning the development of citizenship related curricula in your school? (Are there any?)

What relevance do you see the subject of citizenship having to your school?

What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?

What effect does the hidden curriculum have?

As added stimuli towards helping the respondents to frame their views after they had given their answers to the card questions, they were provided with an exemplar questionnaire (as during the pilot interviews), based upon Ichilov's (1990) continuum of citizenship involvement (Appendix A), and a copy of the attainment targets from the citizenship Order. On viewing these documents the respondents were given the opportunity to revisit the original question cards in order to develop the views they had first framed.

The interviews were digitally recorded, and the transcript from each interview was sent to that respondent for verification of what was said. These data are presented in Chapter 6.

Data 2 – Single-school Study

The second phase of the research was based entirely within Friends' School Saffron Walden, forming a single-school study. This school provided me with the best opportunity for conducting the research, largely due to my existing contacts, having taught there and through my continuing involvement with the Duke of Edinburgh Award within the school. The headmaster, Andy Waters was also empathetic towards school-based research since he had recently completed a master's in education requiring his own research dissertation.

Data 2 took the form of iterative (individual) and one-off group interviews, as well as one-off interviews with the headmaster and his assistant-head (pastoral). All were recorded digitally, transcripts being sent to respondents for verification of what was said.

The iterative interviews were open-ended, similar to those during the previous academic year (Data 1) in that the respondents had the opportunity to lead much of the content of each interview although I had an agenda for each as well. The interviews always covered more topics than on my agenda, overlapping with ideas from previous/subsequent discussions. The next section sets out the process for the iterative and group interviews.

Iterative Interviews

Sampling

The teachers who volunteered to take part in the iterative interviews did so in response to an announcement in a staff meeting made by one of the respondents in Data 1. This respondent gave me their names by email and I then formally contacted them individually, first by post and then by telephone. Since Friends' School did not have a developed citizenship curriculum I used the term 'Preparation for Adult Life' in the letter instead of citizenship because I wanted to learn what they knew and thought rather than what they did not know about National Curriculum citizenship. In the telephone conversations I explained my citizenship focus, giving the teachers the opportunity to withdraw if they decided that they did not want to take part after all. Following the process of events which Fontana and Frey (2000, pp.655-6) set out, the purpose of the first set of interviews, having 'located informants', was to continue 'gaining the trust' of the respondents and 'establish rapport' with them, before finally 'collecting empirical materials'. This final part of the first interview was intended to gain data in order to understand their concepts of citizenship in educational terms; I did not want to test them on the subject but to ask their opinions, thereby reinforcing the rapport and trust previously established.

Coding

Data 1 had explored the concept of citizenship in Quaker schools, establishing routes for further exploration. These new routes marked a development from the original four coding headings to six questions, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Development of Data 2 Questions

<p style="text-align: center;">Original Coding Headings for Data 1</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Amended Questions for Data 2</p>
<p>[1] What do respondents think citizenship is?</p> <p>[2] What are schools doing towards citizenship?</p> <p>[3] Why are they doing this?</p> <p>[4] What is the relationship between Quakerism and citizenship?</p>	<p>A What do respondents think citizenship is?</p> <p>B What are the similarities/differences between the respondents' concepts of citizenship and that contained within the citizenship Order?</p> <p>C What are Quaker schools doing which might be termed citizenship education?</p> <p>D Why are they doing this?</p> <p>E What is the influence of Quaker ethos?</p> <p>F How should subjects such as citizenship be taught?</p>

The two extra questions (B and F) came out of the Data 1 interviews. Respondents seemed to hold an understanding of citizenship which did not accord directly with that of the National Curriculum. This led to question B. The gathering of Data 1 was intended to explore questions rather than directly investigating the pedagogy of citizenship education. Never the less this was an issue which arose from the baseline data. Also, the headmaster of FSSW requesting me to consider the place of PSHE in the curriculum, a pedagogical aspect became a necessary addition.

Iterative Interview Practice

Having used Data 1 to establish the areas for further and deeper study, the major focus of Data 2 was to let teachers tell me their views so that I could find

answers to these updated questions. In the quest for depth I chose one-to-one iterative interviews as the method of data collection. Iterative interviewing allows the research relationship between researcher and respondent to develop, gaining trust throughout the process and collecting different types of knowledge at points between the first and final interview. For example, in this research the respondents tended to provide policy-based answers in the first interviews while by the final, summative interviews their responses were much more personal, including details of school processes which did not work well as a balance to the earlier positive policy statements. By meeting the respondents several times they could bring ideas to the research which they had developed in their own time, and they were able to revisit topics covered in earlier conversations from a different angle. Had the research process continued to be based upon single interviews, as in Data 1, but with a wider range of respondents, the data would have reflected a shallower/broader discussion of the questions.

The iterative interviews were conducted over the course of two terms from September 2004 to March 2005. Each respondent spoke to me four times. Each of the sequence of interviews was different in focus reflecting the six research questions developed from Data 1. The first was general, asking the respondents what they thought citizenship was and how it pertained to schools. The second asked them to consider the citizenship curriculum in the light of FSSW. The third focused upon the influence of Quaker ethos and possible models for delivery of the subject, while the final interview reviewed the previous three, considering the planned survey to be sent to schools during the following term.

As said above, the nature of the interviews, while directed towards the themes in the previous paragraph, was informal enough that the same themes were addressed in more than one interview with the same respondent. This allowed for different interpretations by the respondents to be developed, for example on the role of the school with regard to citizenship education, or the influence of Quaker ethos upon pupil development. After each interview, the respondent received a typed transcript to verify what was said. With this they could return to the next interview with their thoughts upon the previous one and its transcript.

In the first interview, introducing the topic and developing a rapport with the respondent, I had prepared an exemplar questionnaire as in Data 1 (based on Ichilov 1990, see Appendix A). The interview was open-ended. I asked the respondents to give me their views of citizenship and what a citizen is. When they had given me their views I handed them the questionnaire, just as with the Data 1 respondents, as a set of ideas against which the respondent could develop responses without needing to answer the questionnaire itself. I did not use the questionnaire with one respondent since our interview grew out of another discussion on the life of the school more generally.

The second interview was based upon the citizenship curriculum itself. Preparatory to the interview the respondent had received a copy of the National Curriculum programmes of study and attainment targets for their own perusal. During the interview I also presented a piece of paper with the three terms, 'curriculum', 'school community' and 'wider community' (from the NFER 2004 report), to see how the respondent would put these into the context of the curriculum document.

The third interview was in two parts: the first half developed these three terms (curriculum, school community and wider community) by putting them on cards and having six more cards, three with 'implicit' written on them, and three with 'explicit' written on them (Appendix B). These cards were presented to the respondent with the question:

'Assuming that citizenship should be part of education, how would you integrate implicit and explicit approaches using the curriculum, the school community and the wider community?'

The other half of the interview was concerned with the place of Quaker ethos and how it relates to the concept of citizenship, how much each respondent knew about Friends' philosophy and what the school did to promote or explain this.

The final interview was also divided, both parts being summative. First, the respondents were asked to say what they thought about three questions as a result of having discussed the issues over three interviews:

- i. What did they think citizenship education was?
- ii. Should we be teaching it?
- iii. How should we teach it?

The second part of the interview provided respondents with an opportunity to respond to the transcripts of the previous three discussions as well as to consider the provisional questionnaire (which had been posted to them in the week prior to the interview) to be sent to all seven schools in the summer term (2005). Their thoughts on the research process, how it had been useful and how it could have been improved both for itself and for them, were elicited and discussed.

Group Interviews

Group interviews “avoid the researcher being seen as an authority figure”, “elicit genuine responses ... rather than simply responses to the interview situation”, and avoid people “feeling uncomfortable or threatened” (Cohen *et al.*, 2000, p.287). They promote what Krueger (1994, p.6) calls “a permissive, non threatening environment.” This tool was chosen in order to collect data from pupils because it provided access to the respondents in a way that the headmaster of FSSW thought was appropriate. It produced a range of views in an environment which the pupils found comfortable. Based upon this positive outcome the same tool was selected to collect more data from parents of children at FSSW to complement the rest of the single-school study.

Two group interviews were held early in 2005, at the midpoint of the Data 2 collection. The first was with pupils. The second was with parents. They were intended to explore what views of citizenship and education these stakeholders held, triangulating with the non-teacher interviews from Data 1 and balancing with the iterative interviews with teachers which were part of Data 2. The interviews were recorded and participants were provided with pencil and paper

to write down any notes they wanted; these provided corroborative data for transcription purposes.

Pupil Group Interview

The group interview with pupils was organised through the auspices of the headmaster of FSSW who had given an interview in November 2004. It was agreed that I should send him a letter to be given to pupils who already knew me through my involvement with the school's Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme. Thus this was a convenience sample, i.e. one where "advantage is taken of cases, events, situations or informants which are close at hand" (Punch, 1998, p.193). He sent my letter to them with a covering letter of his own. The interview took place in January 2005 and had been trialled in December with three teenagers, all three of whom had attended, but were no longer attending, FSSW.

An assumption behind the group interviews was that neither the pupils nor the parents were pedagogical specialists. As a result the questioning was to be focused upon the first two of the questions from Data 1, i.e. 'What is citizenship?' and 'What are schools doing towards this end?' The six questions (A to F) behind the iterative teacher interviews presumed a greater knowledge of the school and time for reflection. Thus the interviews were designed to be in three parts:

1. What is it to be an adult in society?
 - 1a. What is citizenship?
2. What should schools be doing to this end?
3. What is your school doing to this end?

The pilot interview established that it would likely be difficult for the participants to make a distinction between schools in general and their own. Pupils only have experience of the schools which they attend. As a result, I made question 3 the second question, with the original question 2 as a follow-up. The interviews, subsequent to the pilot therefore took the form:

1. What is an adult in society?
 - 1a. What is citizenship?
2. What is your school doing to this end?
 - 2a. What should schools in general be doing towards this end?

The pupils were provided with pencils and paper in case they wanted to make notes during the discussion. These were collected to verify who was speaking at what time to make the transcription process easier.

Parent Group Interview

The group interview with parents took place in March 2005. Like the pupils' group, convenience sampling was used, it being the preferred approach of the headmaster⁷. Eight parents (seven mothers and a father) signed up with five attending on the day. Four of the five were the parents of children who had participated in the previous group interview, while the other was one of the parents who had taken part in Data 1 (Mu). It was run on similar lines to the pupils' group, based on three question areas for discussion, working from the general to the specific. The meeting was set for nine o'clock in the morning in order to involve parents once they had brought their children to school. An agreement for all the parents was created that they should respect the anonymity of the remarks made during the session (Appendix C). The two things the parents all had in common were that they had children at FSSW at the time and that they were willing to attend a group interview. In other ways they may not have been as homogeneous since they may have come from a range of backgrounds and nations, three of the five being non-English, two of whom were originally from Commonwealth countries. The group interview agreement stressed that it was a talking shop for ideas to be explored as well as for opinions to be aired, and that not all ideas would necessarily represent fixed opinions.

⁷ Other routes for sampling would have involved gaining access to a list of the names and addresses of the parental body, or personal interaction with parents at the end of the school day. The first of these the school could not allow under its own ethics, and the second would have been obtrusive, possibly negating the good working relationship I had created with the FSSW.

As stated above, the iterative interviews with teachers shaped the development of the questionnaire which was to be sent to the seven Quaker schools, in order to establish the extent to which the views on citizenship collected at FSSW were generalisable among teachers in the rest of the English Quaker education system. It is with this in mind that the next section is introduced.

Data 3 – Questionnaire Survey

Data 3 was a questionnaire survey sent to the seven Quaker schools, to elicit responses from teachers as to how citizenship is/might be taught in their schools, what they think citizenship is, and what the values of their schools are in relation to citizenship.

Surveys come in different designs for different types of research. For example Bryman (2001, p.41) defines cross-sectional research design thus:

“A cross-sectional design entails the collection of data on *more than one case* (usually quite a lot more than one) and at *a single point in time* in order to collect a body of *quantitative or quantifiable data* in connection with two or more variables (usually many more than two), which are then examined to detect *patterns of association*.”

(*ibid.* original italics)

Likewise Cohen *et al.* (2000, p.169) state this regarding the use of surveys to collect data:

“Typically, surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions, or identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or determining the relationships that exist between specific events. Thus, surveys may vary in their levels of complexity from those which provide simple frequency counts to those which present relational analysis.”

The rationale for the questionnaire survey is that it provides the research with a cross-sectional dimension, enabling data to be collected from the seven schools anonymously and without the need to build up rapport which was a part of the iterative interviews at FSSW. This allows for triangulation of the views collected during Data 1 and Data 2.

The survey was intended to take a sample from the population of teachers within the seven English Quaker schools to establish the degree to which the issues and views developed by the FSSW respondents are reflected in the wider population represented by the seven schools. Six questionnaires were sent to each school – a total possible response of 42 questionnaires. While not a large-scale survey, this sample represents a proportion of the population of secondary teachers within this small group of schools. Thus the usual concern that small scale surveys are not appropriate for generalisation may be reduced in this instance:

“Surveys typically rely on large scale data, e.g. from questionnaires, test scores, attendance rates, results of public examinations etc., all of which would enable comparisons to be made over time or between groups. This is not to say that surveys cannot be undertaken on a small scale basis, as indeed they can; rather, it is to say that the generalizability of such small scale data will be slight.”

(Cohen *et al.* 2000, p.172)

There are only seven Quaker schools within the English school system. So, while the survey is small in scale, it was intended to be global in its sample of the system. The data, not intended to be tested via quantitative techniques, represent the views of the respondents both in absolute terms (for those responses which require boxes to be ticked) and qualitatively (where written responses are required).

The questionnaires were handed to the headteachers of the seven schools, at a presentation I gave them on my findings at that point of the research. The intention behind this was that, if they understood my research and the backing which had been given to me by FSSW, it might stimulate them to pass the

questionnaires onto their staff in a positive light, improving the possible response rate.

Sampling issues

If a global sample were to have been taken, i.e. all of the teachers in English Quaker schools, the data could have been cross-referenced by a series of variables. However, having applied for a smaller number of returns and with a qualitative understanding of the data to be collected, such cross-referencing was not going to be possible. Further research might consider the use of a global sample, but this would require promotion of the research from within the seven schools, rather than the action of an external researcher. In such an instance it could be established, for example, whether a difference exists between those with different lengths of service or between different levels in the management hierarchy. This was not possible within the practicalities of research for this thesis. Therefore, the questionnaire was aimed at non-citizenship specialist teachers, who might have been interested in responding to the issues contained within it. Hence there were only six copies sent to each school.

Development of the questionnaire

The survey was intended to take a sample from the population of teachers within the seven Quaker schools to establish the extent to which the issues and views developed by the FSSW respondents agree with those from others in the wider population.

The questionnaire was developed from the first three iterative interviews with the teacher respondents at FSSW. Topics which arose from these discussions included:

- what respondents think citizenship is,
- how citizenship is/might be taught in their schools,
- what they think citizenship should or should not be, and

- whether or not it should be in the curriculum as a subject at all.

To this end the questionnaire was intended to have four major sections, viz.

- (i) conceptions of citizenship,
- (ii) the place of citizenship in schools,
- (iii) the *how* of citizenship education, and
- (iv) the place of Quaker values with respect to citizenship issues.

These sections reflected the recurrent questions which were examined through the iterative interviews (see Table 4, p.138). A questionnaire format for six questions would have been too long and these were the four most developed during the interviews at FSSW.

However, even with this reduction to account for the practicability of a research tool, on an initial trial of the questionnaire, it seemed to be asking for too much (response from headmaster at FSSW), in that it would, with all four sections, take too long to complete. As a result the place of citizenship was removed as a focus (although it remained inherent in the other sections), since this was a theme which was already well developed from previous work in first and second years of the research. The shortened questionnaire (Appendix D) was now only four pages, instead of five, retaining the three other themes. This development of the research tool represents a balance struck between creating a tool for collecting maximum data, and the length of questionnaire which is likely to be attempted by busy teachers. The final questionnaire design was intended to collect the best quality of data while minimizing the time it would take to complete it.

As well as the three sections there is an introductory page for details of the respondents including:

- Post within school
- Their main subjects and subsidiary subjects (if applicable)
- Years of Quaker school experience

- Years of teaching experience
- Quaker or non-Quaker background
- Male or female respondent
- Age of respondent (20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60+)

These personal data were intended to establish whether the respondents represented recently qualified or more experienced teachers, the amount of Quaker experience / immersion they were likely to have, and to discover whether specialists from similar subject areas replied.

The final trial of the questionnaire was with five of the single-school teacher respondents before the final of the sequence of interviews. Points which arose from this pilot included:

- making the title more prominent / important-looking;
- including a sentence asking the respondent to write something even if unsure of the issue;
- using Arabic instead of Roman numerals, and removing asterisks which denoted multiple choice answers instead of respondents creating their own.

All of these recommendations were adopted since they simplified the questionnaire and made it look easier to complete. Using these respondents for the pilot was also intended to increase their feeling of ownership of the research as well as being a stimulus for the final interview.

Questionnaire Practice

The questionnaires were sent out at the end of the first half of the summer term. Key Stage 3 and 4 teachers have disrupted timetables in the second half of this term owing to examinations and pupil study leave, allowing them more opportunities to complete questionnaires such as this. It was anticipated that all

responses would be returned by the beginning of the summer holidays, early in July, after which time the data could be collated.

Three schools did not return any responses. A second set of questionnaires was sent to them for the beginning of the Michaelmas term 2005. Returns were anticipated within the half term if they were to arrive at all. Two schools replied to the second posting, i.e. six of the seven schools took part in the survey. The total number of returns was fourteen, plus the five pilot returns. The data from the pilot returns have not been included in the Data 3 findings since they represent the views of teachers who have been in discussion with me concerning citizenship. As a result, their validity as being representative of the views of non-specialist teachers in Quaker schools is questionable. They have, however, been used as part of the Data 2 findings because the discussion around the questionnaire was part of the final iterative interview in which they each participated.