THE PALGRAVE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Edited by Andrew Peterson, Robert Hattam, Michalinos Zembylas, James Arthur

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Editors' Introduction

Social justice, citizenship and education are intimately connected, and are so in a myriad of ways. The aim of this international handbook is twofold. First, to identify, explore and – where necessary and appropriate – problematize these connections. Second, through the various contributions offered here, we also aim to identify existing and potential possibilities for disrupting those educational policies, curricula and practices that sustain social injustice, and that result in closed and arbitrarily exclusive forms of citizenship.

Issues of social justice and injustice are wide-reaching – conceptually, geographically and experientially. As such, it is important at the outset that we offer some preliminary thoughts regarding the terms central to this book. In doing so, we are cognisant that there are significant conceptual difficulties in arriving at clear and tight definitions. Indeed, each of the contributions in the handbook offers its own understanding of the key terms as relevant to the particular conceptual frameworks and contextual factors at hand – and that is as it should be.

Nevertheless, as we planned this handbook our interest lay in social justice understood broadly as being concerned with notions of equity and fairness in the distribution of resources within given spaces (local, national and transnational, for example); the recognition of particular, and often multiple, identities; and access to democratic decision-making processes. As the chapters in this handbook make clear, education is integrally connected to questions of social justice in a number of ways, including how education systems and processes respond to and challenge – or, indeed, reinforce – issues of social (in)justice.

Clearly, where social injustice occurs, questions of citizenship (or non-citizenship) are inevitable, raising significant questions for the education and

schooling of young citizens. With this in mind, we are interested in conceptions of citizenship that move beyond legalistic, purely state-based understandings, and that view citizenship as a practice – as essentially concerned with questions of membership, belonging, (multiple) identities and relationships with others centred on forms of dialogical engagement and reciprocity.

Connected to this wider conception of citizenship is our commitment to understandings of education for citizenship which conceive the process as one of both being and becoming. While not our focus exclusively, the chapters presented here focus on education for citizenship as it pertains to young people. For our purposes, therefore, education for citizenship refers to the formal and informal processes through which young people are prepared for their role as participatory members of local, regional, national and global communities. While education for citizenship can take the form of a time-tabled curricular subject, we use the term in a broader sense that includes the formal curriculum alongside a range of other educational processes including mission, ethos and extra-curricular activities. In general terms, we understand education for citizenship to possess both a socializing and a transformative capacity, with young people learning about their role(s) within their various communities, as well as ways of actively responding to and challenging injustice through various democratic means.

We should also acknowledge that we write this Introduction in particular, complex and often troubling times. Various events and processes in recent years have each, and in various ways, brought into focus core questions not only about what social justice and citizenship may mean, but also about how each is experienced differently by different groups. These include – to name but a few pressing global concerns – the Europe Migration Crisis, the race to be the next President of the United States, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, global terrorism, climate change, data security, the slow rate of improving gender equality, and the fragile nature of global economic and financial systems. Each of the chapters in this handbook points to a range of factors, structures, processes and practices through which social injustices are enacted and experienced, and which, in turn, problematize notions of citizenship. Some are characterized by their persistent and entrenched nature, others by their contemporary and recent form – though the latter are rarely independent of the former. In such complex times, it would be all too easy to retract into critique and pessimism. Our aim through the various contributions in this handbook, therefore, is to supplement an appreciation of the complexities and power anomalies at play, with a commitment also to recognizing and celebrating possibilities for, and sites of, hope – including those existing within educational policy, curricula and pedagogies.

Following this Introduction, this handbook is comprised of two parts. In Part I, authors explore social justice and education for citizenship with respect to key points of analysis. These chapters are interested in the central concepts, terms, perspectives and identities through which we can seek to understand how social justice and education for citizenship are framed, experienced and disrupted. It is important to note that, while separating these terms out is both necessary and helpful for analytic purposes, there is a risk that crucial interconnections are over-simplified. This is perhaps inevitable, but is not our intention. As the authors that have contributed to this section make clear, these concepts, terms, perspectives and identities inter-relate in fundamental and significant ways. Our hope is that these relationships are clear to readers as they engage with the ideas expressed here.

In Chap. 1, Dina Kiwan explores the contested concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'race', critically examining the ways in which relationships to citizenship necessarily engage us in the recognition of power dynamics at play within society and also engage us with social justice. Central to her analysis is the way in which these concepts are constructed, intersectional and institutionalized in nature. Employing the idea of inclusive citizenship, Kiwan discusses issues and implications for education for citizenship.

In Chap. 2, Robert Hattam considers the issues of citizenship, schooling and 'educational disadvantage', and ponders the following questions: What does citizenship education mean to students attending schools that serve predominantly low socio-economic communities? Or, perhaps more to the point, what could it mean if their schools took citizenship seriously? Hattam positions schooling as playing a key role in the constitution of the citizen, before arguing that contemporary citizenship education is defined in terms of a weak version of citizenship that supports trends towards de-democratization and authoritarian forms of governmentality. The chapter examines notions of educational disadvantage and theories of citizenship in the context of the influence of neoliberalizing social policies. Focusing on the Australian context, the chapter reviews recent moves in Australia to refashion citizenship education in ways that simultaneously ignore the rising economic inequalities and the strangling of citizenship that are being faced by the nation, before tentatively arguing for the adoption of citizen virtue as a metaphor for citizenship-as-equality.

In Chap. 3, Jo-Anne Dillabough engages with key debates and concerns surrounding citizenship and equality in gender and education. Drawing largely on the work of Hannah Arendt and Bonnie Honig, as well as urban and cultural geographers concerned with the spatial dimensions of citizenship, Dillabough develops an alternative definition of gender justice that moves

towards a relational and narrative account of citizenship, largely employing a phenomenological approach.

In Chap. 4, Mary Lou Rasmussen, Rob Cover, Peter Aggleton, and Daniel Marshall provide a critical examination of sexual citizenship by examining key conceptual ideas that often underpin commonplace understandings of sexuality, citizenship and social justice, and trying to unsettle them. They explore how curriculum reform intersects with debates about sexual citizenship and social justice in education, before turning to some of the critiques of educational reforms associated with citizenship discourses in the area of disability, religion and what Quinn and Meiners term 'gay wins'. The chapter concludes with some provocations for future research related to sexuality education, education and belonging that purposefully eschews 'citizenship'.

In Chap. 5, Veronica Tawhai examines notions of *Indigenous peoples* and *indigeneity* as expressed through international instruments such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The chapter critically explores the tensions these notions cause for considerations of citizenship and social justice, particularly within the contexts of indigenous-coloniser/settler relations, and examines the implications for citizenship and social justice education. Recognizing that the preparation of citizens to engage, debate and progress such reconciliation presents particular challenges for citizenship and social justice educators, this chapter offers some considerations in this regard, in particular for curricula and pedagogy.

In Chap. 6, Heidi Lourens, Emma Louise McKinney and Leslie Swartz seek to address the relative lack of attention to disability issues worldwide by sketching key issues in the history of thinking about disability, notably the social and medical models. They illustrate how different ways of thinking can lead to dramatically different educational arrangements and outcomes, and how citizenship issues in the context of disability and education are embodied concerns that cannot be separated from other questions about disability and citizenship.

In Chap. 7, Jody McBrien focuses on refugees and asylum seekers, providing a brief historical overview of refugee flight from World War II to the present, exploring definitions of refugees and asylum seekers, and examining several resettlement countries' practices concerning education for refugees and asylum seekers. The chapter concludes by considering elements of social justice and citizenship education as they relate to refugee and asylum seekers.

In Chap. 8, Sarah Cemlyn and Andrew Ryder provide a multi-layered analysis of the barriers to and potential of education for active and participatory citizenship and social justice for Gypsies, Travellers and Roma across Europe. In the context of widespread and entrenched structural inequalities

and injustice for these minorities, they review developments in citizenship theories for their relevance, including multicultural, post-national, feminist and radical democratic citizenship, and the inclusive values of justice, recognition, self-determination and solidarity.

In Chap. 9, Andrew Gunstone critically examines the Australian reconciliation process initiated in 1991 by the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. In particular, he explores its goal of educating the wider community and the strategies developed to address this goal: community involvement and reconciliation publications, and resources. He argues that the few successes of the Australian reconciliation process, such as the 'people's movement' and the reconciliation walks, were largely a result of these two community education strategies. The chapter also discusses two limitations of the strategies – their failure to articulate a specific meaning of reconciliation and to address Indigenous rights – which ultimately significantly limited the success of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (CAR) in its various educational goals.

In Chap. 10, Liam Gearon provides a concise overview of the rise of universal human rights as a critical aspect of international politics and governance. Drawing from this contemporary history and outline of the relationship between the political and pedagogical in historical context, the chapter critically analyzes some of the complexities in the theory and implementation of a global human rights agenda through three lenses: its historical and philosophical antecedents, its political and legal implications, and the curriculum and pedagogical ramifications of global human rights.

In Chap. 11, Sharon Stein and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti consider how the questions raised by postcolonial studies about ethical engagements with difference and the enduring effects of a colonial hierarchy of humanity can help scholars and practitioners to situate existing analyses and conversations within social and historical patterns beyond the immediate context. They provide a social cartography that contrasts three different approaches to social justice in education as a means through which to prompt new conversations and questions.

In Chap. 12, Andrew Peterson explores global justice in relation to ideas about global ethics. The chapter argues that to understand global justice must necessarily involve a conception of the moral relationship between people living beyond national boundaries and that, in order to be meaningful, such an ethic must include a basis for motivation. Focusing on ethical relationship between humans within cosmopolitan approaches, the chapter considers a particular form of political-representational justice – dialogical interaction – before positing a particular way of conceiving the 'globally oriented citizen'.

In Chap. 13, Michalinos Zembylas and Zvi Bekerman adopt a critical approach in order to explore the potential and required interconnections among peace education, social justice education and citizenship education. Identifying common ground between these fields, Zembylas and Bekerman trace their own critical path, theorizing and researching peace education; a path that has directed them, first, to uncover the main foundational premises on which traditional work in peace education has evolved and, second, to reconceptualize peace education based on a critical paradigm away from 'fideistic' perspectives, which appear to take for granted that it is important to believe in peace and peace education.

In Chap. 14, Alan Sears and Lindsay Herriot examine the complex interplay between and among religion, citizenship and social justice in education. The chapter considers several key themes including: the idea that religion is a ubiquitous and persistent part of modern societies; the anomaly that religious people, groups and institutions are sometimes the victims of social injustice and discrimination and sometimes the purveyors of those same things; and the fluid and contested nature of human rights. To conclude, they argue that negotiating the complexities of the intersections between religion, citizenship and social justice requires a high degree of religious literacy.

Part II of the book contains country case studies. Each chapter addresses key historical and contemporary issues relating to social justice and education, as well as identifying their central implications for education for citizenship. While we have an excellent set of chapters drawn from a range of countries, we should also note that no volume can cover all countries or contexts. For various reasons, there are certain countries that we would have wished to have included but were unable to do so. We look forward, therefore, to engaging in further discussion with colleagues from countries not included here about how questions of social justice, citizenship and education for citizenship interconnect in their own particular contexts.

In Chap. 15, John Smyth argues that, in Australia, the historically dominant view of citizenship promulgated through schools has been a largely thin or 'passive' view, emphasizing responsibilities ahead of rights. He contends that, when coupled with the dominant neoliberal view of schooling, the consequences for citizenship are profound – resulting, in particular, in a diminished view of citizenship that conspires to reinforce a largely 'economic' or consumerist view of schooling. Smyth presents a more 'active' view of citizenship around the heuristic of the *socially just school*.

In Chap. 16, Ulisses Araujo presents experiences of citizenship education in Brazil, demonstrating how educators can foster students to build their intelligence, identity and values through the dialogue with peers, teachers,

family and culture. The chapter explores one particular way to reach this goal – through school forums, an institutional space of participatory democracy where students, staff, families and the community can work on everyday facts in the search for solutions to the ethical issues they face.

In Chap. 17, Abigail Bakan examines notions of inclusivity and multiculturalism in Canada and, in particular, ways in which the promise of inclusive citizenship stands in contradiction to reality, where diverse communities experience entrenched patterns of systemic discrimination. Bakan argues that the official context of formal inclusion associated with multiculturalism masks continuing and deepening exclusionary barriers to equal citizenship for marginalized sectors of Canadian society, suggesting that this unique contradiction – one of promise versus reality – points to specific challenges in advancing education for social justice.

In Chap. 18, Andrew Peterson and Ian Davies discuss the background to, and the issues associated with, social justice and education in England. They argue that, while social justice has long been identified by policy-makers as a key priority, very different approaches have been adopted in the name of social justice, including selective education, common schooling (or comprehensives) for all, as well as current neoliberal approaches in which strong control by central government occurs at the same time as individual schools operate with greater autonomy. In this context, changes in citizenship education since 2013 are explored and the connections with social justice made.

In Chap. 19, Ibrahima Diallo, Mohamed Embarki and Kaouthar Ben Abdallah chart the long, complex and tumultuous trajectory of education for citizenship at school in France. They explore the various turns and foci of education and schooling for citizenship since the French Revolution, before focusing on *laicïté*, which has been the pillar of education and education for citizenship at school in France. Within their analysis, authors explore the ways in which the composition of French society has significantly changed through the arrival of Muslims – mostly from former French colonies and protectorates – and the implications of this for social justice and education for citizenship.

In Chap. 20, Shun-Wing Ng and Gail Yuen survey the case of Hong Kong in the period after its sovereignty was returned to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997. They suggest that, in an era characterized by social injustice in the politicization process, the importance of nurturing justice-oriented citizens through revising the citizenship education curriculum and making good use of social-justice pedagogies in the citizenship education classroom is crucial. Four chronological phases of development of citizenship education in Hong Kong are conceptualized, with a clear suggestion of the

importance of nurturing justice-oriented citizens in order to attend to the holistic development of a person, especially in the rapidly changing social and political context of Hong Kong.

In Chap. 21, Brynja Halldórsdóttir, Ólafur Páll Jónsson and Berglind Rós Magnúsdóttir examine Iceland's unique history of democratic tendencies with a colonial twist. The chapter explores Iceland's historical context with a view to the developing concepts of democracy. It looks at the recent increase in demographic diversity that has presented challenges to an educational system traditionally viewed as mono-lingual and mono-cultural. The chapter goes on to discuss the development of inclusive education, framed around an examination of gender, in a socio-economic and educational perspective.

In Chap. 22, Aviv Cohen offers a review of the teaching of civics in Israel in relation to issues of social justice. By situating this subject matter as part of larger social, political, historical and academic debates, Cohen comes to the conclusion that, despite its potential, the teaching of civics in Israel does not succeed in promoting social justice. In fact, the nation-wide curriculum-standards and matriculation exam create a reality in which important elements of the civic debate in Israel are absent from this educational process.

In Chap. 23, Leonel Pérez-Expósito analyzes the vicious circle of economic and political inequality in Mexico, presenting a critique of the view that education can be an equalizer, given its economic value, and arguing that the reduction of inequality in Mexico is not only about having a better-educated workforce, but also about enhancing the political competence of its citizens. The chapter advances three main proposals for citizenship education in Mexico: teaching and learning about inequality, recognizing and developing students' *politicity*, and educating for effectiveness in political participation. These recommendations are the result of examining the gap between current citizenship education in Mexico and the citizens demanded by the existing context of inequality.

In Chap. 24, Martin Thrupp explores the case of New Zealand. Thrupp suggests that, while New Zealand has historically been a relatively egalitarian society, having taken important steps to redress the colonization of Maori people, socio-economic disparities have increased in recent decades and there is still much to be done to translate progressive legislation into everyday reality. He argues that education for social justice and citizenship mirrors these societal contradictions, with the enactment of social justice through the formal curriculum often falling short of aspiration. In this context, education for citizenship and social justice is becoming marginalized by the standards agenda and a fixation on data, meaning that the promotion of citizenship and social justice through education in New Zealand remains tenuous.

In Chap. 25, Tony Gallagher and Gavin Duffy observe that education for citizenship is challenged in divided societies, and consider such challenges as they relate to Northern Ireland – a place where education is divided on denominational grounds and society is still coming to terms with a legacy of political violence, and where national affiliation varies between Britain and Ireland. The chapter outlines the innovative citizenship education curriculum that was developed as part of the peace process and examines the evidence on its effectiveness. The analysis highlights a number of tensions that have emerged, particularly around the delineation of rights and the role of justice, and the challenge for teachers in dealing with controversial issues.

In Chap. 26, Sheila Riddell suggests that, while social justice features prominently in Scottish policy discourse, there has to date been little work examining the extent to which high-level policy goals are being achieved in practice. In this chapter, Riddell provides a critical analysis of the aspirations and outcomes of Scottish policy, starting with a review of the key principles underpinning understandings of social justice and citizenship, and the way in which these principles are reflected within Scottish educational policy. This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which the processes and outcomes of Scottish education reflect the principles of social justice and active citizenship.

In Chap. 27, Crain Soudien draws on the major issues in South Africa's modern history to see how the post-apartheid government which came into power in 1994 has responded to the demands and requirements of citizenship and social justice with respect to education. Soudien makes the argument that South Africa is an important global social laboratory as it attempts to locate the place of education in the process of building the dignity of all people. The chapter explores various important questions in working through the significance of the place of education: the role of education in the making of privilege and disadvantage, its place in the processes currently under way in the country in dismantling privilege and redressing disadvantage, and its role in constructing a new society.

In Chap. 28, Concepción Naval and Elena Arbués track the ways in which, in Spain, citizenship education has, in accordance with political change, adjusted to the laws that have governed the system of education. Naval and Arbués analyze certain changes that affect social justice and offer explanations for the comprehension of the proposals for education in Spain. They refer briefly to the most recent past, to the transition to democracy and the creation of social rights. Three specific contemporary issues are explored: the effects of the economic crisis on young people, some social phenomena and, finally, the impact of technology on the information society – issues that give an idea of the development of practice in civic education and of future research in this field.

In Chap. 29, Zeus Leonardo and Maliheh Vafai focus on the historical and current conceptions of citizenship and on the models of education for citizenship in the United States of America. Leonardo and Vafai begin with reflections on the country's colonial circumstances and the colonial understanding of the 'human' that defines what it means to achieve the American identity – and, therefore, the status of a citizen. Building on this definition, the chapter expands on the politics of the incorporation of immigrants into American citizenship via civics education as a process of subject-making with the end goal of social control. The chapter argues that the same ideology of assimilation to the socio-economic 'norm' that undergirded much of the Americanization campaign of the twentieth century is guiding a form of neoliberal Americanization in the twenty-first century in attempts to invent a new 'human' under the regime of market fundamentalism.

Contributor Biographies

Peter Aggleton is Scientia Professor in the Centre for Social Research in Health at the University of New South Wales, Australia. His research interests include gender, sexuality and youth, sexual and reproductive health and rights, and sexualities education. He led international research projects in each of these fields prior to his work as part of the Queer Generations research team. He is editor-in-chief of the journals *Sex Education* and *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, and co-founded the Australia Forum on Sexuality, Education and Health (AFSEH) with colleagues from New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria and Western Australia in 2012–2013.

Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti is a Canada Research Chair in Race, Inequalities and Global Change at the University of British Columbia, Canada. Her research examines historical and systemic patterns of reproduction of inequalities, and how these limit or enable possibilities for collective existence and global change.

Ulisses Araujo is Professor at the School of Arts, Sciences and Humanities of the University of São Paulo, and President of the PanAmerican Network for Problem-Based Learning (PANPBL). He is the Scientific Coordinator of the Research Center in New Pedagogies at the University of São Paulo. From 2003 to 2010, he was the Ministry of Education consultant for the programme Ethics and Citizenship: Constructing Values at School and in Society and, since 2008, he has coordinated the graduate courses on ethics and citizenship at the University of São Paulo. He has published eight books in Brazil, all related to citizenship and moral education. Since 2012, he has been a member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Moral Education* and, since 2013, a member of the Executive Board of the Association for Moral Education.

Elena Arbués holds a Degree in Teaching and Pedagogy, an MA in Marriage and Family, and a PhD in Education. After spending ten years working in primary education, her doctoral thesis centred on a pedagogical project on social competence

which, together with the official curriculum and the educational project of the organization, allowed teachers to elaborate different levels of curricular needs. The main objective was to carry out improvements in the curriculum in a school. She currently teaches Experimental Science to grade students in education, University of Navarra. She was a Visiting Scholar at Balliol College, Hollywell Manor, University of Oxford. She is a member of several research projects financed by public funds. Her current research focuses on civic education and promoting social participation.

James Arthur is Professor of Education and Civic Engagement and Director of the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham, England. He has written numerous books and articles in the areas of history teaching, educational studies, citizenship and character education, and higher education and religion. He is the former editor of the *British Journal of Educational Studies* and advises the English government on character education.

Abigail B. Bakan is Professor and Chair of the Department of Social Justice Education (SJE) at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto. Her publications include *Theorizing Anti-Racism: Linkages in Marxism and Critical Race Theories* (co-edited with Enakshi Dua), *Negotiating Citizenship: Migrant Women in Canada and the Global System* (with Daiva Stasiulis), *Critical Political Studies: Debates and Dialogues from the Left* (co-edited with Eleanor MacDonald) and *Employment Equity Policy in Canada: An Interprovincial Comparison* (with Audrey Kobayashi). With Yasmeen Abu-Laban, she is conducting research on the United Nations World Conferences Against Racism and processes of racialization in the context of Israel and Palestine. Her articles have appeared in *Race and Class*, *Social Identities*, *Rethinking Marxism*, *Politikon*, *Socialist Studies*, *Atlantis*, *Signs*, the *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* and *Studies in Political Economy*.

Zvi Bekerman teaches anthropology of education at the School of Education and the Melton Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also a Research Fellow at the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University. His main interests are in the study of cultural, ethnic and national identity, including identity processes and negotiation during intercultural encounters and in formal and informal learning contexts. He has published numerous papers in these fields of study and is the editor of the refereed journal *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education: An International Journal*. His latest book is entitled *The Promise of Integrated and Multicultural Bilingual Education* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

Kaouthar Ben Abdallah is a Language Sciences Associate Professor at the University of Franche-Comté in Besançon, France. Her works are based on linguistic and cultural diversity in French schools. They are linked to the immigration and, more specifically, to the bilingualism and linguistic integration of allophones in France. She is currently pursuing her researches on language and the social and cultural dynamics caused by multilingualism.

Sarah Cemlyn is a Research Fellow at Bristol University, where she previously taught social work and community practice for 20 years, and at Corvinus University, Budapest. Her research has addressed the human rights of Gypsies, Travellers and Roma and those of asylum seekers, and their experiences in relation to social care, education, health and housing services. She published the first research study of children's social services for Gypsies and Travellers in England in 1998, led a review for the Equality and Human Rights Commission in 2009 into inequalities experiences by Gypsy and Traveller communities, and has been involved in a series of studies of Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences of social policy, including education, and of community mobilization. With Ryder and Acton, she co-edited *Hearing the Voices of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers: Inclusive Community Development* (Policy Press, 2014).

Aviv Cohen graduated from the programme in Social Studies at Teachers College, Columbia University, was a post-doctoral fellow at the Melton Center for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and currently teaches at Tel Aviv University and at the Kibbutzim College of Education, Tel Aviv, Israel. His research interests include democratic civic education, the teaching of social studies, the Israeli educational system and the use of qualitative methods in the research of education.

Rob Cover is Associate Professor in the School of Social Sciences at the University of Western Australia, where he is chair of Media and Communication. His recent books include *Queer Youth Suicide, Culture and Identity: Unliveable Lives?* (Ashgate 2012), *Vulnerability and Exposure: Footballer Scandals, Masculine Identity and Ethics* (UWAP 2015) and *Digital Identities: Creating and Communicating the Online Self* (Elsevier 2016).

Ian Davies is based at the Department of Education, University of York, UK. He is a Professor of Education, Deputy Head of Department, Director of the Graduate School of Education and Director of the Centre for Research in Education and Social Justice. He has been a fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, has worked as an expert in education for democratic citizenship for the Council of Europe and is a visiting professor at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. He teaches and supervises undergraduates and PhD students, and leads an MA programme in citizenship and global education and an MA programme in social justice and education.

Ibrahima Diallo is a Senior Lecturer and Convener of Francophone studies at the University of South Australia. He is member of the Research Center for Languages and Cultures (RCLC). He publishes in the areas of French in sub-Saharan Africa and the geopolitics of French in Francophone Africa. His research interests include, among others, language policy and planning in French-speaking Africa, Islamic education and literacy, intercultural pedagogy and the French *banlieues*.

Jo-Anne Dillabough is Reader in the Sociology of Education and Youth and Global Cultures, Faculty of Education, University of Cambridge, and is Convenor of the working group Education, Equality and Development. She is also co-editor of the international journal, *Gender and Education* (with G. Ivinson, J. McLeod and M. Tambouku). She has published widely in the areas of youth cultures, education and global cities, as well as in the fields of social theory, gender and citizenship. Her books include *Lost Youth in the Global City: Class, Culture and the Urban Imaginary* (with J. Kennelly, Routledge 2010), *Troubling Gender in Education* (co-edited with Julie McLeod and Martin Mills, Routledge, 2010), *Globalization, Education and Social Change* (co-edited with H. Lauder, P. Brown and A.H. Halsey, Oxford University Press, 2006), and *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship* (co-edited with M. Arnot, Routledge, 2000).

Gavin Duffy is Research Fellow at the School of Education at Queen's University, Belfast. He currently coordinates the Sharing Education Programme, a project in Northern Ireland that promotes social cohesion and school improvement through collaboration. He is also carrying out work on teacher cooperation in Los Angeles.

Mohamed Embarki is full Professor in Language Sciences at the University of Franche-Comté, Besançon, France. Most of his writings are about phonetic and phonological variation in Arabic dialects. Recent works deal with the opposing tendencies of innovation and conservatism in the phonetic and phonological domains in Arabic (*Diachronica* 31/4), phonetic and phonological aspects of Arabic and its old and modern variations (*Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*), coarticulatory effects of pharyngealization (with Slim Ouni, Mohamed Yeou, Christian Guilleminot and Sallal Al Maqtari, Amsterdam, John Benjamins). His latest work deals with speech aestheticism and gender differentiation in the Arabic old cities (Brussels, Peter Lang).

Leonel Pérez Expósito is Associate Professor at the Metropolitan Autonomous University in Mexico City, and Visiting Scholar 2015–2016 at Harvard Graduate School of Education. He is a sociologist and holds a PhD in Education from the UCL Institute of Education, London. His research focuses on citizenship and political education, schooling and inequality, and assessment in education.

Tony Gallagher is Professor of Education at Queen's University, Belfast. His main research interest lies in the role of education in divided societies. For the last decade, he has been developing a model of 'shared education' in which schools work in collaborative networks to promote improvement and cohesion. He is the lead editor of the journal *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*. His most recent co-edited book, *Higher Education for Democratic Innovation*, was published by the Council of Europe in 2016.

Liam Gearon is Associate Professor in Religious Education at Oxford University and a Senior Research Fellow at Harris Manchester College. Immediately before

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Andrew Gunstone is Professor of Indigenous Studies at Swinburne University. His main research interests are in the politics of Australian reconciliation, and the contemporary and historical political relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Australia. He is also the Founder and Editor of the *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* (www.swin.edu.au/jaii).

Bynja E. Halldórsdóttir is an Assistant Professor of Education Studies at the University of Iceland. She received her doctorate from the University of Minnesota in 2012 with focus on Comparative International Development Education. Her research areas include (im)migrant education, immigrant positionality and multicultural education in diverse societies. She has recently authored articles on microaggression and minority integration in the Icelandic education system.

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Part I

Education for Citizenship and Social Justice: Key Themes and Perspectives

1

'Race', 'Ethnicity' and Citizenship in Education: Locating Intersectionality and Migration for Social Justice

Dina Kiwan

Introduction

Historically, citizenship has been an exclusionary concept, where only a sub-set of people within society was considered to be citizens. In ancient Greece, for example, women and certain categories of men were excluded – including the young, the old, those of certain occupations and slaves (Heater 1990). In contemporary times, we are witnessing a move towards the relative expansion of citizenship to all members in society – evidenced in academic scholarship, as well as in terms of various policy debates around the world. There has been a particular interest in the inter-relationship between citizenship, integration and ethnic/racial diversity. These discourses typically reflect a central tension in balancing unity and diversity around the world (e.g. Banks 2004; Brubaker 1998; Joshee 2004; Kastoryano 2006; Kiwan 2008, 2013, 2014; Kymlicka 2011; Laborde 2013; Ladson-Billings 2004; Meer and Modood 2013; Mouritsen 2006; Winter 2013). Different approaches to conceptualizing the relationship between 'race' and ethnicity and citizenship have been written about in the literature, including civic republican approaches, where any form of cultural diversity – be it ethnic, racial or religious – must not operate or be recognized in the public sphere (e.g. Brubaker 1998; Walzer 1983); nationalist approaches, which promulgate a single or

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common national/ethnic culture (e.g. Miller 1995, 2000); multicultural citizenship (e.g. Kymlicka 1995; Parekh 2000) and global citizenship (e.g. Delanty 2000; Held 2005). These different approaches to conceptualizing the relationship between ethnic and racial diversity and citizenship have differing implications for the accommodation of such diversity and differing conceptions of social justice.

There is a vast theoretical literature on social justice that is beyond the scope of this chapter; yet, conceptions of social justice are inherent to understanding how race and ethnicity relate to inclusive conceptions of citizenship. Traditional conceptions of social justice have been framed in terms of redistributive models – which can include not only material goods, but also more symbolic forms of recognition. Rawls' (1971/2005) *A Theory of Justice* is the most comprehensive contemporary account of a social contract-based notion of justice, where 'distributional justice' is emphasized, where 'justice as fairness' is the normative concept driving the equal distribution of resources. This relates to notions of 'equality of opportunity' and 'equality of outcome'. Miller (1976) has conceptualized justice in terms of justice as 'rights', justice as 'desert' (or entitlement) and justice as 'need'. Others have argued that distributional justice approaches do not adequately account for power relations – either within institutions or at a more micro-level (e.g. Iris Marion Young 2000) and referred to by Gewirtz as 'relational' justice.

In the field of education, it is evident historically that a number of the intellectual 'parents' in education (for example, Dewey, Froebel, Friere) were strongly motivated by their concerns for social justice. Many academics and practitioners claim to work on 'issues pertaining to social justice', yet there is often only an implicit understanding guiding their work and, indeed, it has been argued that the conception of social justice in education has been relatively under-theorized (Gewirtz 1998). Indeed, Amartya Sen (2009) in his book *The Idea of Justice* critiqued Rawls' contract-based focus predominantly on 'just' institutions. Instead, Sen proposes a focus on 'the lives that people are able to lead'; so, for example, democracy should not be judged in terms of institutions but, rather, by the extent to which different voices are not only heard, but are also listened to. Sen also emphasizes the link between justice and sovereignty. Rawls' theory of justice assumes a nation-state framework. In thinking about global justice, Sen cites Nagel, who argues that this is not a viable project, as the institutional demands cannot be met at the global level and so the most we can call for is a 'minimal humanitarian morality'.

This chapter's approach to social justice is premised on understanding *justice in terms of inclusion* – both in terms of *process* and in terms of *outcome*. This 'justice as inclusion' relates both to the societal and to the pedagogical

processes of involvement as well as actual curriculum content; as such, this approach emphasizes 'relational' aspects of justice, recognizing the implications of power relations at the macro and micro levels.

This chapter will, first, highlight some of the various and contested conceptual underpinnings of the terms 'ethnicity' and 'race', and debates relating to distinctions between these terms. It should be noted that this is a vast literature and so this chapter will not attempt a comprehensive review; rather, it seeks to highlight some features in the literature and some key debates in the field. In addition, it highlights the constructed, intersectional and institutionalized nature of these concepts (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). Indeed, it has been argued that where 'race and ethnicity are debated, categories of sexuality, gender, citizenship, morality, the meaning of history are not far behind' (Whitehead and Mattson 2002: 2). Understanding conceptions of 'ethnicity' and 'race' in relationship to citizenship necessarily engages us in the recognition of power dynamics at play within society and engages us with social justice. Following this, certain key issues of concern are highlighted, including a consideration of the different implications for social justice of accommodating such diversity in conceptualizing inclusive citizenship. The subsequent sub-section explores these different issues in relation to education for citizenship and the implications these issues hold for educational policy and practice. Different country case examples will be examined to elucidate different approaches to the accommodation of ethnicity and race in conceptions of citizenship in educational policy, curriculum and pedagogical practice. The chapter concludes with a summary of key points and suggestions for further research in the field.

Conceptual Underpinnings

The twentieth century has been described as an 'ethnic' century, in that many conflicts and social justice claims have been constructed in these terms (Cornell and Hartmann 2007), and the early twenty-first century looks likely to continue in this vein. The idea that ethnic and racial identities would decline in significance – that 'modernity … would bring an end to ethnicity' (ibid., 2007) (e.g. Marx, Weber) – does not seem to have been borne out, despite many national and international common nation-building attempts through language, education and naturalization policies. To the contrary, ethnicity and race are evidently salient organizational categories at both the macro political level, denoting the state's approach to social justice, and at the micro personal

level, in terms of how people understand and construct their daily lived experiences, and how they relate to one another.

What Is 'Ethnicity'?

The term 'ethnicity' can be traced to the Greek word 'ethnos', which means common descent or common blood – a nation (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). The Latin 'ethnicus' had a different meaning, however, referring to 'others' or those outside the dominant group. Cornell and Hartmann (2007) attribute this Latin meaning to fifteenth-century usage in English, where 'ethnic' designated someone who was other than Christian or Jewish. Although the use of the term related to religious belief, Cornell and Hartmann (2007) make the point that what is important here is the notion of boundaries, where 'ethnic' refers to others. According to Weber (1978: 389), 'ethnic' corresponds to a 'subjective belief in […] common descent because of similarities of physical types or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration'. Of note in this definition is that it is the constructed idea or subjective belief in a shared identity and history that is important. This is what Brubaker et al. (2004) refer to as ethnicity as cognition. This reification of an ethnic group, therefore constructs or creates 'substantial things-in-the-world' (Brubaker 2002: 166). He describes this as a social process, central to 'the practice of politicized ethnicity' (ibid.). Brubaker (2002) rightly emphasizes the relational nature of the construct of ethnicity (and, indeed, race):

> Ethnicity, race and nation should be conceptualized not as substances or things or entities or organisms or collective individuals – as the imagery of discrete, concrete, tangible, bounded and enduring 'groups' encourages us to do – but rather in relational, processual, dynamic, eventful and disaggregated terms. This means thinking of ethnicity, race and nation not in terms of substantial groups or entities but in terms of *practical categories*, *cultural idioms*, *cognitive schemas*, *discursive frames*, *organizational routines*, *institutional forms*, *political projects* and *contingent events*. (p. 167)

In effect, this suggests a shift from thinking about ethnicity as referring to a group to thinking of it in terms of a category; this corresponds to what Cornell and Hartmann (2007) refer to as a more 'constructionist' approach to understanding ethnicity, in contrast to 'primordial' and 'circumstantialist' accounts. Primordial accounts emphasize blood, family and kin, focusing on local community interests, where the bond is seen as natural, historical, permanent and not a matter of choice. Circumstantial accounts have more utilitarian accounts

as a rationale for group formation, with an orientation towards political and economic interests; as such, the nature of the tie is circumstance and a matter of choice, and can change over time. In contrast, constructionist views of ethnicity see ethnic groups as being actively involved in constructing and reconstructing identities while, at the same time, circumstances can change – also a driver of the construction of ethnic identities; hence, there is an interaction between both the interpretation of circumstances and the circumstances or events themselves, and so these identities change over time (Cornell and Hartmann 2007).

What Is 'Race'?

The historical context to modern theories of 'race' can be situated in relation to the justification of the emergence of European empires in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hannaford (1996) meticulously traces the genealogy of the concept and its philosophical development between 1684 and 1914 in philosophical thought. He examines Hobbes' arguments for the right of conquest, and Locke's application of Aristotle's genus, providing a framework for anthropologists' classification of people into types or races in the eighteenth century. He also traces how ideas of race were linked to character and intellect in the works of English and German romantics, including Burke and Herder. In addition, he reviews the contribution of sociologists, historians and scientists (including e.g. Spencer, Darwin, T.H. Huxley, Arnold and, later, Galton and Pearson) obsessed with the new 'logic' of race. These works contributed to ideas of social evolution and eugenics; they are linked to political life, including the work of de Gobineau, who is often referred to as the 'father' of modern racism and whose ideas have been influential. De Gobineau proposed a classification system of three races – White, Black and Yellow, where the White or Caucasian was attributed with higher intelligence and morality, and the Black with the lowest qualities (Giddens and Sutton 2013). This kind of theorizing is based on the idea that race is a genetically distinct sub-population, although biologically there is no evidence of these categorical distinctions; rather, there is a range of physical variations, as noted by the geneticist Lewontin and colleagues:

> In practice, 'racial' categories are established that correspond to major skin color groups, and all the borderline cases are distributed among these or made into new races according to the whim of the scientists. But […] the differences between major 'racial' categories, no matter how defined, turn out to be small. Human 'racial' differentiation is, indeed, only skin deep. (Lewontin et al. 1984: 126–127)

Indeed, the physical variation within such a population is as great as between such sub-populations. Most contemporary scholars now agree that race is a social construct, with no biological basis. Indeed, the social construction of race was recognized as early as 1936 in *We Europeans: A Survey of 'Racial' Problems*, by Huxley and Haddon; however, there were no international calls to renounce racial violence in the name of science in Nazi Germany (Hannaford 1996). And 'race' continues to have significant import in the twenty-first century, with different countries continuing to utilize such classificatory systems, underpinning policy. Indeed, W. E. B. Du Bois predicted that the twentieth century would be a 'problem of the colour line' (1903: xx), which, indeed, Hall (1993) has predicted will continue to dominate thinking in the twenty-first century. It becomes evident that race, like ethnicity, as discussed above, is a result of human cognition, where categories are created and acquire salience and organize human interactions within society (Brubaker 2009).

There are different standpoints in the literature with regards to the relation between race and ethnicity. Some argue for highlighting the commonality with regard to the two constructs (e.g. Anthias 1992; Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Jenkins 1997; Brubaker 2009), while others seek to highlight the distinctiveness of race and ethnicity and their different historical formulations (e.g. Mason 1994; Omi and Winant 1994).

Race can be seen to be relatively involuntary and (at least, initially), as a result of external categorization, in comparison with ethnicity, which is voluntary (as least, by constructivist accounts), and a result of internal self-identification (Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Brubaker 2009). Race is seen to be based on phenotype and ethnicity on culture; race is seen to be rigid, while is ethnicity more flexible. In addition, race is a product of European colonial history, while ethnicity arises in relation to nation-state building (Brubaker 2009). Although most scholars attest to the conceptual differences between 'race' and 'ethnicity' and are opposed to treating these concepts as an 'undifferentiated domain' (Brubaker 2009: 26), they construe the field broadly as emphasizing the 'extensive overlapping and blurring between the two' (ibid.: 25). The approach of distributive models of social justice is to allocate increased resources for the disadvantaged; however, critics of such approaches argue that such approaches do not challenge the structural inequalities inherent in existing power relations, institutional practices and processes. In contrast, approaches that are more relational to social justice (e.g. Gewirtz 1998; Young 2000) emphasize processes and power dynamics, as well as the complexities of intersectional identities. Such approaches emphasize the notion of 'recognition' as central to social justice while, at the same time, not essentializing difference.

One can also identify differences in scholarship between European and American scholars; European scholars tend to gravitate (although certainly not exclusively) towards the use of the conceptual framework of 'ethnicity', while American scholars, given the socio-political context and history of the Black civil rights movement, have a well-established scholarship in theories of race. From the 1980s onwards, a number of critiques of the field have emerged from a variety of perspectives – neo-Marxist, postcolonial, critical race theory and feminist (e.g. Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Appiah 1992; Bell 1995; Dirks 1992; Hooks 1981; Miles 1982; Mohanty et al. 1991; Said 1978). For example, critical race theory, developed out of legal scholarship, provides a critical analysis of race and racism, combining political struggles for racial social justice with critiques of legal norms embedded in institutionalized dynamics of power and racial privilege (e.g. Bell 1995; Delgado 1995; Williams 1992). This resonates with Foucault's theorizing on 'governmentality', where institutional practices of categorizing construct knowledge of populations, which are used to govern and subjugate them (Foucault 1977); this is also evident in the influential work of, for example, British-based sociologist John Rex (1983).

The following section highlights three themes in the broad field of ethnicity and race, with implications for social justice and inclusive citizenship. The first theme is intersectionality; this extends the consideration about units of analysis beyond the debate concerning the relationship between ethnicity and race to other key sites involved in the exercise of power which intersect with ethnicity and race, including age, class, disability, gender and sexuality. The second theme locates debates beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, with a focus on the transnational and global, highlighted through contemporary issues of migration and refugees; this challenges traditional conceptions of Rawlsian social justice premised on the nation-state. The third theme highlights some issues in debates on post-racialism and its practical implications for social justice and inclusive citizenship. These three key themes are explored in the educational context in the final section on the implications of education for citizenship.

Key Issues

Thinking Intersectionality

While some scholars – for example, Omi and Winnant (1994, 2014) – continue to argue that race (or ethnicity) is the most salient category in understanding social inequality, others argue for a more nuanced intersectionality, one that takes into account, for example, age, class, disability, gender, nationality and sexual-

ity (e.g. Brah and Phoenix 2004; Gillborn and Mirza 2000). Wimmer (2015) reviews three key texts on race in the USA that have recently appeared in updated editions; these key texts argue that 'race is the primary principle of stratification in the USA' and is accounted for in terms of both personal and institutional forms of racism, and that this has increased since the 1960s; in addition, they make a bold claim by arguing that this is a global finding (p. 2186). He systematically tackles each of these assumptions – that 'race' is the primary principle of stratification in the USA, that racism is increasing and that it is a universal phenomenon – arguing for 'understanding conjunction' rather than reduction, in response to the argument that 'race trumps' (Wimmer 2015: 2188).

Black feminists illustrate the critical intersectional treatment of gender and ethnicity/race, where, for example, bell hooks' (1982) seminal work in the 1980s argued that feminist discourses at that time did not take account of the non-White experience, or, in the United States, the legacy of slavery and racial discrimination. Patricia Hill Collins' (2000) work also advocates for intersectionality, in relation to gender, race and class in the US context. In the UK, Avtah Brah (2000) examines the racialization of gender, class and sexuality in a post-colonial context, of which she argues, historically, Western feminist perspectives have not sufficiently taken account. She proposes conceptualizing 'difference' as 'experience', as 'social relation', as 'subjectivity' and as 'identity' – which have educational implications that will be explored in the following section on implications for education for citizenship. More recently, debates relating to intersectionality and feminism can be seen in the works of Phoenix (2006), Yuval Davis (2009), Walby et al. (2012) and Bilge (2013). Bilge (2013) argues that some contemporary feminist approaches depoliticize intersectionality through a 'neoliberal culture of diversity' (p. 408) and, as a result, this neutralizes the social justice potential of intersectionality. For example, she argues that the constructs of post-racism and post-feminism illustrate a neoliberal myth of Western societies having overcome problems of racism, or sexism. Instead, the consequences are a socio-political context emphasizing notions of equality yet, at the same time, not recognizing the structural embeddedness of social divisions of race, class, gender, sexuality and citizenship status. Bilge (2013) claims that academic metatheoretical approaches detached from empirical research further disables intersectionality 'from its potential as a tool of social justice' (p. 412).

Thinking Globally: Migration and Refugees

Ethnicity as a key organizing concept can be contextualized in relation to immigration. This is evident not only in terms of migration to the West (in

Europe from postcolonial societies and the United States) but, increasingly, it is also evident as a global phenomenon, with flows of migrant workers within and to Asia and the Middle East, and flows of refugees in areas of conflict. Ethnicity as an organizing concept plays a different role; rather than a construct with which to lay claim to the nation-state, it instead plays a role of integration between different members of the migrating group(s) (Guibernau and Rex 2010). There is a vast literature on multiculturalism, minority rights and multicultural citizenship (e.g. Kymlicka 1995, 2001; Modood 2005; Parekh 2000), with differing nuances, ranging from 'strong' versions advocating minority rights through state policies, to weaker versions recognizing cultural diversity but nuanced with an emphasis on the nation-state's common values. Parekh (2000) and Kymlicka (1995) advocate for the recognition of ethnicities in the public sphere, rather than being confined to the private sphere. Yet, more recently, both scholars and policy commentators have critiqued 'multiculturalism', attesting to its 'failure', often linked to security concerns of Muslim populations in Europe (Modood 2010). The politicization of migration has been linked to migration policies of nation-states framed in terms of security discourses, both in the United States after 9/11 and in Europe, as can be witnessed in relation to the confounding of terrorism and the Syrian refugee crisis. Buonfino (2004) argues that there is 'an inescapable contradiction between democratic equality and plurality and […] the discourse type of securitisation of migration' that has emerged as 'the hegemonic discourse of European member states' (p. 24). In addition, scholars are questioning the assumed universality of models of multicultural citizenship developed in Western immigrant contexts, based on assumptions of eventual naturalization and assimilation into the nation-state. These models are challenged, for example, in contexts of high levels of migrant labour as found in countries in the Middle East gulf, and in contexts of high flows of refugees – for example, in Lebanon where over 1 million Syrian refugees entered Lebanon over a two-year period between 2012 and 2014 (UNHCR 2014), a country with an original population of approximately 4 million.

Demise of Ethnicity/Race?

Theories about the end of ethnicity or the end of race are evident in American scholarly discourses, where assimilation theories were based on the premise that all immigrants would eventually become Americans. Robert Park (1950) of the Chicago School asserted that assimilation was progressive and irreversible. More recently, Gans (2014) has argued that, for many Americans of

European origin, ethnicity holds only a symbolic value – what he calls a 'late generation ethnicity' – and is no longer an organizing category in their lives. And he proposes that even this is on the wane. It should be noted, however, that he is focusing on European immigrant identities in his study of what he calls 'terminal ethnic identity', and has to acknowledge the resilience, if not resurgence, of ethnic identities in the African-American community. He asks whether ethnicity will become 'entirely replaced by race, and indirectly by class' (p. 424).

Yet, in contrast to such views, other scholars have argued that this assimilation has not happened. For example, Glazer and Moynihan (1970) in *Beyond the Melting Pot* argue that Americans perceive themselves in terms of hyphenated identities, even if they do not retain knowledge of languages or cultural practices; these are constructed identities imbued with meaning. This publication had a significant influence on theories of ethnicity and race in the 1970s – dubbed by some as an 'ethnic revival' (Steinberg 2014). Steinberg (2014) argues, however, that rather than being a revival, we are in fact witnessing the demise of ethnicity. Yet, he struggles to address the issue of the melting pot and assimilation not applying to African-Americans – what he calls the 'black exception' – concluding: 'Thus, we do not have the hybrid nation that the Chicago sociologists prophesized, but rather a dual melting pot: one for groups of African descent, including African Americans, Caribbean immigrants, Afro-Latinos, and African immigrants; the other for everybody else' (p. 793).

Post-race theorists outside of the American context have pondered the conundrum of theorizing and conducting research on race, while simultaneously challenging it as an organizing social category. Gilroy (1998) asks: 'Is contemporary theorizing about race complicit in the reification of racial difference?' (p. 838). He argues that it is contradictory, on the one hand, to agree that race does not exist but is socially constructed, yet, on the other, to continue to use it. He says this amounts to privileging the political demand for justice and, as such, operating with race 'as a fixed and inflexible, thoroughly asocial category' (Nayak 2006: 421). Nayak (2006) poses the question of how researchers of race can circumvent the problem of its ethnographical study, where 'Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation' (Van Maanen 1997: 3). As such, the ethnographical study of race produces and reifies such race knowledge. He argues that it is not enough to acknowledge that race is a socially constructed category, that it becomes 'enacted as a "deferred presence"' (Nayak 2006,: 415). Instead, he supports a post-race approach, influenced by Judith Butler (2004), that 'subverts this position by adopting an anti-foundational perspective which claims that race is a fiction only ever given substance to through the illusion

of performance, action and utterance, where repetition makes it appear as-if-real' (ibid.: 416). Post-race theorizing has come under sustained attack as being over-intellectualizing with little practical import. In addition, Lentin (2014) warns that post-race theorizing may be utilized politically to avoid charges of racism by those challenging diversity in a post 9/11 era. As such, she argues, one can situate post-racist theorizing within 'the history of modern racism'.

Implications for Education for Citizenship

The three broad themes of intersectionality, globalization and post-race approaches introduced in the preceding section are considered in this final section to elucidate the implications for inclusive approaches to social justice and citizenship. Approaches to education for citizenship clearly vary across different socio-political contexts, with different policy aims, curricula and pedagogical approaches. In my work, I have highlighted four different models of citizenship education, outlining the different implications for the accommodation of ethnic and religious diversity (Kiwan 2008). These implications include: 'moral', 'legal', 'participatory' and 'identity-based', and I argue that 'identity-based models hold the greatest promise for substantively dealing with issues relating to ethnicity, "race", and religious diversity'. Examples of moral conceptions of citizenship can be seen in policy objectives where citizenship education is linked to sharing 'common values', emphasizing social integration and social cohesion, evident in policy discourses of many countries, as in the Netherlands (Bron 2005), England and Israel (Ben-Porath 2006), and Lebanon (Shuayb 2012; Fincham 2013). In these models, ethnic, racial and religious diversity is a challenge to the desired mono-cultural nation-state. Legal conceptions of citizenship education rely on human rights and anti-racist approaches, calling for the equality of all. Such approaches are evident in Northern Ireland, for example, and it has been argued that these approaches are sometimes utilized to avoid the thorny problems of national identity in divided and post-conflict societies (Kiwan 2013). Participatory approaches, as in the English curriculum when it was first introduced in 2002, focus on developing skills of civic and political literacy in learners, and do not take substantive account of the observed differential rates of civic and political participation in relation to ethnic or religious diversity. This civic republican approach does not take account of structural or institutional barriers in young people's participation (Kiwan 2008). Finally, identity-based models can be further sub-divided into models that support several models of citizenship – 'national', 'global' and

'multicultural'. National models of citizenship may be either civic republican in approach, as found in France (Kiwan and Kiwan 2005), or ethnic, for example, as in Germany. Global citizenship education approaches situate learning beyond the nation-state, acknowledging multiple levels and sites of action, in recognition of today's increasingly globalized world (Evans and Kiwan 2016). Multicultural approaches recognize a diversity of identities, against a backdrop of some commonality – a balancing of 'unity with diversity'. It should be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive but, rather, act as a heuristic in order to identify general approaches. Of note is the inter-relationship between education policy and naturalization policy (Kiwan 2011); this is also recognized by Faas (2013) in his review of ethnic diversity and educational policy in different educational systems. He notes, for example, that the UK, Netherlands, Canada, the USA and Malaysia use the term 'multiculturalism', in comparison with Greece, Germany and Ireland, where the preferred term is 'interculturalism'. He illustrates how this is reflected in different countries' naturalization policies, with tendencies either towards assimilation and lower barriers to becoming a citizen (e.g. UK, Canada), or towards higher barriers to assimilation (e.g. Germany, Denmark).

The sub-sections below present policy and practice examples relating to the key issues of intersectionality, globalization and conceptions of ethnicity and race.

Intersectionality in Education

Transformative pedagogies are increasingly being advocated in teaching and learning approaches to citizenship, as such approaches allow for learning through authentic real-world problems, engaging with their 'messiness' and intersectionality. Introducing pedagogy for transformative learning entails intellectual, affective and practical changes. It also entails both personal and community-level processes of change. Indeed, the American philosopher of education John Dewey (1933) described transformative learning as being when we come to see some aspect of the world in a new way. The Brazilian educator Freire's (1970) concept of 'dialogic education' is also pertinent, advocating an approach where the knowledge, experiences and perspectives of both teachers and students are valued. Such an approach enables marginalized perspectives to be heard, recognizing the power dynamics involved in the production of knowledge. Such approaches lend themselves to authentic learning about the intersectionalities of race, ethnicity and other dimensions such as age, class, disability, gender and sexuality. This is not to promote

unchallenged relativism but, rather, is a starting point for critical inquiry in relation to real-world problems. In this pedagogic model, reflection and dialogue are important in raising a critical consciousness, coupled with context-specific action (Nagda et al. 2003). Drawing on Kolb's (1984) active learning theory, students' informed reflection that draws on their lived experiences or other pedagogical activities in the classroom reflects a cyclical learning process of reflection, dialogue and action.

Also relevant to learning about intersectionalities in education for citizenship is Giroux's (1991) concept of 'border pedagogy', which he explains in terms of acknowledging the fluidity of borders that can challenge knowledge about groups, linking educational practices with a struggle for democracy. Border pedagogy addresses the relationship between knowledge and power, and how it is represented to secure authority. By challenging such representations and discourses, it reveals the interests that are produced and legitimated by these discourses and practices. Giroux (1991) argues that this politics of difference implies a radical pedagogical practice where the production of knowledge by learners and the marginalized rewrites their histories and identities.

Liasidou (2013) notes how there have been policy attempts to create inclusive learning environments but warns that, often, these well-meaning attempts do not account for the intersectionality of how, for example, race, ethnicity, disability and gender may impact on this access. An emphasis on intersectionality has the potential to enable the foregrounding of issues of power, as it necessarily engages with institutional recognition (or the lack thereof) of multiple sites of inequalities. This illustrates the need to go beyond pedagogical and curricular approaches to whole school approaches and links within the community.

Citizenship Education Beyond the Nation-State

While conceptions of global citizenship are not new, contemporary globalizing forces of international migration, conflict and refugees, global health, economic liberalism, global justice, global poverty and so on are heightening the awareness of policy-makers and educators to the global dimensions of citizenship, including those in the domain of educational policy and curriculum. More traditional conceptions of 'national' citizenship are being challenged and extended to take account of global, transnational and multicultural perspectives (Evans and Kiwan 2016). For example, Fincham (2013) examines constructions of citizenship held by Palestinian refugee youth in Lebanon's

refugee camps. Lebanon itself is a highly diverse multination-state with a history of sectarian conflict. Fincham (2013) illustrates that learning citizenship for Palestinian youth is highly complex, given that they live as stateless refugees with very limited civic, political, economic and social rights in Lebanon. They are typically educated in United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) schools through the Lebanese curriculum where, officially, Palestinians are invisible, although symbols of Palestinian citizenship are evident in the hidden curricula of school activities, maps and flags. Another example can be seen in Tereshchenko's (2013) astute analysis of regional diversity and education for 'national' citizenship in the Ukraine, a post-Soviet state. She illustrates how regional diversity in Ukraine is underpinned by a nationalizing system of education, and how regions are related to citizenship identity construction in the country. In East Ukraine, young people asserted their inclusion by challenging ethno-cultural markers of being Ukrainian; instead, they emphasized civic markers – in contrast to young people in West Ukraine – constructing their distinctiveness.

In the international policy arena, global education and, more specifically, global citizenship education has been made a priority by the United Nations since 2012, with the launch of the United Nations Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI). The development of global citizenship education has also been a significant focus of work in the scholarly work on citizenship education (e.g. Davies et al. 2004; Davies and Pike 2009; Niens and Reilly 2012). Global Citizenship Education (GCED) has been identified by UNESCO as a key objective over the period of eight years from 2014 to 2021. A technical consultation on GCED was held by UNESCO and the Republic of Korea (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, and the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding) in Seoul, South Korea in September 2013, followed by an international Forum on Global Citizenship Education held by UNESCO in Bangkok, Thailand on 2–4 December 2013. Two publications – UNESCO (2013) 'Global Citizenship Education: An Emerging Perspective', and UNESCO (2014) 'Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century' – lay the groundwork for the development of an international curriculum guiding framework for Global Citizenship Education: 'Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives', co-authored by Dina Kiwan and Mark Evans for UNESCO (2015). The document outlines core conceptual dimensions of global citizenship education, under cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural domains, and key learner attributes. Key learner attributes include being informed and critically literate, socially connected and respectful of diversity, and ethically responsible and engaged.

Learning objectives are outlined from pre-primary/lower primary to upper secondary. The document also focuses on implementing global citizenship education, in educational systems as well as in the localized educational context (both formal and non-formal learning contexts). It emphasizes transformative pedagogies, as discussed in the previous section.

Between 'Multiculturalism' and 'Anti-racism'?

When the Citizenship Education curriculum in England was first introduced in 2002, it was critiqued for lack of sufficient attention to issues relating to Britain's 'multicultural' context (e.g. Kiwan 2008; Osler and Starkey 2001, 2005). In the original policy report (the Crick Report), while T. H. Marshall is cited as a starting point for the conception of citizenship underpinning the approach in the English citizenship education curriculum, social inclusion is, paradoxically, not a primary concern (Kiwan 2008). In part, this was pragmatic, given the political sensitivities at the time of introducing citizenship education into the curriculum as a statutory subject, but it is also conceptual, influenced by Sir Bernard Crick – the author of the original policy document – whose civic republican approach attests to an embracing of political diversity, but not ethnic or religious diversity.

Tensions between anti-racist educators and multicultural citizenship educators were also a significant issue with the introduction of citizenship education in England at this time. Anti-racist educators have critiqued multicultural approaches as 'soft', celebratory and ineffective, rather than dealing with the substantive issues of structural disadvantage, oppression and exploitation (Gillborn 2004). Indeed, critical race theory applications to education originally championed in the USA (e.g. Ladson-Billings 1998) have been taken up in the UK, with the promise of more radical change (Gillborn 2006). It is of note that there is no reference whatsoever to any consultation with the then Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in the policy development of citizenship education at this time; in addition, there was no explicit reference to anti-racism in the curriculum objectives (Programmes of Study), although it is referred to in the more detailed curriculum guidance (Schemes of Work). In addition, a representative from CRE at the time believed that race was not seen to be an integral part of citizenship whereas, from the perspective of the CRE, anti-racism should be incorporated throughout the whole curriculum, rather than standing as a separate component (Kiwan 2008). Subsequent curriculum developments in 2007 brought issues of diversity directly into the conceptual frame of citizenship with the introduction of 'identity and

diversity' as an additional core strand in its conceptualization, articulating the need for 'critical thinking about ethnicity, religion and race' (Ajegbo et al. 2007,: 97). In particular, the issue of slavery was explicitly addressed with an example for an 'enquiry question-oriented approach' in the Appendix and areas of study referred to included immigration, the Commonwealth and the legacy of Empire, and extending the franchise (legacy of slavery, universal suffrage, equal opportunities legislation). In response to such critiques, multi-cultural approaches have developed more 'critical' forms of multiculturalism, with proponents of multicultural citizenship arguing that public institutions must recognize diversity in the public sphere and that a 'secure cultural context' should be considered a 'primary good' (such as, for example, religious freedom, free speech, the right to vote and so on) (Gutmann 1995).

Conclusion and Future Research

This chapter has reviewed conceptions of ethnicity and race in the vast literature in this field, highlighting debates and tensions in these conceptions, how they conceivably relate to one another, and implications for approaches to social justice. In spite of the contested nature of these conceptions in relation to the literature on citizenship, it is clear that ethnicity and race continue to be salient categories through which we organize our understandings and lived experiences in socio-political life. It is also clear that state policies' conceptions of social justice are framed with reference to notions of commonality and diversity. As noted by Brubaker et al. (2004), it is the constructed idea or subjective belief in a shared identity that is important – ethnicity (or race) as cognition. This reification of the group therefore constructs or creates as real 'substantial things-in-the-world' (Brubaker 2002: 166). This social construction of the categories of 'ethnicity' and 'race' raises methodological issues when conducting research in the field, as well as having implications for policy and practice. This issue is raised by Gilroy (1998), who highlights the paradox of, on the one hand, agreeing that race does not exist but that it is socially constructed, and yet, on the other hand, continuing to use it, as if it is a fixed and inflexible category. Similarly, Nayak (2006) is troubled that the ethnographical study of race produces and reifies such race knowledge.

Intersectionality emerges as a key issue in the vast literature of race, ethnicity and citizenship, which has been extensively written about by feminists, postcolonial theorists, those working in disability studies, and the many scholars working with these intersections. Brah (2000) advocates for conceptualizing 'difference' as 'experience', as 'social relation', as 'subjectivity' and as

'identity', whereby the study of social inequality is better understood through a more nuanced intersectionality, taking into account, for example, age, class, disability, gender, nationality and sexuality. Another key theme highlighted relates to the globalization of these debates, paying increased attention to issues of migration, conflict and refugees in relation to the nation-state.

Applying these conceptions and key issues from the literature to the domain of education for citizenship, the final section of the chapter explored pedagogical approaches of transformational learning in relation to learning about intersectionalities. In addition, country examples are given in order to explore different approaches to education for citizenship – highlighting, in particular, contexts that challenge traditional national models of education for citizenship, through the examples of Palestinians in Lebanon and citizenship education in the Ukraine. International policy initiatives, such as the UNESCO Global Citizenship Education initiatives, are also reviewed. The final country example of citizenship education policy development in England illustrates some of the theoretical tensions between anti-racist and 'multicultural' discourses.

Future research in the field of race, ethnicity and education for citizenship needs to attend to the issues raised by post-racists and the methodological challenges these pose. In addition, models of inclusive citizenship which are implicitly premised on Western democratic models, where residence leads to eventual naturalization and inclusive legal citizenship, are challenged in other parts of the world where large parts of the population remain marginalized, as evident in contexts of large refugee populations. This work should emphasize an intersectional approach so as not to lose sight of the multiple sites of social inequality, be it age, class, disability, gender, nationality or sexuality.

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2

Citizenship, Schooling, and 'Educational Disadvantage'

Robert Hattam

Introduction

In this chapter, I take up the issue of citizenship, schooling and 'educational disadvantage', and ponder the following questions: What does citizenship education mean to students attending schools that serve predominantly low socio-economic communities? Or, perhaps more to the point, what could it mean if their schools took citizenship seriously?

To ponder these questions, the chapter assumes that all nations are involved in border work of various kinds and that, of late, this work has intensified as nation-states grapple with ungovernability (Offe 1987) pressures from both inside and outside. This border work takes many guises and, importantly, citizenship is a key site for constituting the nation (Balibar 2012). As such, schooling plays a key role in the constitution of the citizen, and that contemporary citizenship education is defined in terms of a weak version of citizenship (Tudball and Henderson 2014; Balibar 2012) that supports trends towards de-democratization (Brown 2015) and authoritarian forms of governmentality (Lazzarato 2015).

After this Introduction, this chapter makes four moves. The first move provides an introduction to key terms of the chapter, including educational disadvantage and theories of citizenship. The second move provides a brief account

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of the influence of neoliberalizing social policies – especially the trend towards rising inequality and an intensifying class struggle being waged on the terrain of neoliberalizing capitalism (Lazzarato 2012). The third move reviews recent moves in Australia to refashion citizenship education in ways that simultaneously ignore the rising economic inequalities, and the strangling of citizenship that is being waged by the nation. Given that I am writing this while living in Australia, then I am going to refer to the Australian example in this section, and take as a global exemplar of neoliberalizing policy the Abbott Federal government, which was elected in late 2013. Abbott himself was deposed as the leader two years into his term – in large part because his style of leadership was increasingly losing support in the polls and, hence, scaring his own party, but also because his policy proposals were increasingly unpopular. The specific case to be discussed is a review of our National Curriculum, with special focus on civics and citizenship. The final move provides a tentative conclusion that argues for adopting citizen virtue as a metaphor for citizenship-as-equality (Ruitenberg 2015).

Educational Disadvantage and Citizenship

The term 'educational disadvantage' can be considered a 'key word' in educational sociology, to borrow from Williams (1976), but one that requires some discussion. The term 'educational disadvantage' here brings into view what is a global problem for educators – the way that schooling produces inequality. It is through schooling that nations organize all manner of sorting and sifting of their young people with the inevitable result that 'educational inequality is the proper business of schools performing their function of reproducing an unequal social order' (Connell et al. 1982: 189–190). While such a position is a straightforward rehearsal of educational reproduction theory, schooling 'also does many other things that contradict' (Connell et al. 1982: 190) such a thesis, most importantly providing a 'vehicle for significant changes in established social relationships' (p. 190). Citizenship education has been, and could be, one of those sites that gets past the (re)production thesis and becomes, instead, an educational site for the verification of equality. Unfortunately, though, there is plenty of evidence that the social justice gains made through schooling in the 1970s and 1980s have not been sustained, and that systems of schooling globally are now more than ever (re)producing social stratification (Teese 2000; Ball 2008; Au 2009). Against the logic of blaming teachers that drives neoliberal schooling policy, it seems clear that the real problem here is rising economic inequality, which is now a demonstrable

global problem (Picketty 2014). Increasing inequality manifests differentially and has a more profound impact on those regions that have a history of socio-economic disadvantage. What does citizenship education mean in those 'educationally disadvantaged' regions? And, here, I am referring to most suburban regions in capital cities in every nation. The minority are the wealthy and the rest, the majority, are experiencing rising economic inequality, the residualization of their public schools and policies that reframe inequality in terms of everyone gets to choose to which school to send their children. But then, most parents do not have a choice.

I also need to revisit a few basic insights from educational sociology that are pertinent for this chapter. In discussing citizenship education, we need to remember that citizenship is just one of many possible purposes for schooling and, in the past two decades, overwhelmingly, policy has privileged the notion that schooling is a preparation for work at the expense of the other options, including learning how to learn and active citizenship. The contemporary move to vocationalize schooling has been diagnosed in terms of the production of the entrepreneurial subject (Peters 2001), and freedom itself is now redefined in terms of the 'citizen-consumer' (Peters 2007: 173). In which case, the attempts to devise civics and citizenship education are, from the outset, minor keys in contemporary policy priorities. If teachers are to foreground citizenship education, they need to be resisting the force of high stakes testing, standardized curriculum, standards for teaching and, especially, the logic of marketizing that now drives policy regimes globally.

We can also learn from a cultural studies reading of schooling. Since the 1980s, not only has capital trashed the democratic liberal state settlement of the post-World War II era, but neoconservative forces have also mobilized a culture war that amounts to a contemporary counter-reformation against the achievements of the labour movement and other new social movements, such as feminism, gay rights, environmental activism and anti-racism. The counter-reformation of our times aims for substantial institutional reform, including schooling. 'Heretics' are publicly vilified, and the postmodern Inquisition is conducted by radio shock-jocks or tabloid media commentators (Hattam et al. 2009b). The 'truth' is produced in right-wing think tanks that are privately funded by capital (Buras and Apple 2008). Policy is now privatized and circulates in global policy networks involving edu-businesses, philanthropy, neoliberal policy advocacy and entrepreneurs (Ball 2012; Ball and Junemann 2012; Lingard et al. 2016). Books are banned, and the threat of 'sedition' scares those who want to critique government. In Australia, we experience this counter-reformation almost daily as a phoney debate that occasionally peaks as moral panic, conducted through media releases from Federal government

ministers and so-called education experts in the tabloid press advocating for the return of a 'traditionalist' view of education. The school curriculum has always been a site of contestation and cultural politics, but has now 'become a battle ground' (Apple 2003: 99) in the culture war. Citizenship education is one of the prizes of that 'war'.

The culture war matters here because this backlash politics is being fought out in schooling policy and that includes debates about what constitutes the mandated curriculum. Backlash politics 'accepts substantial inequality as a neutral baseline for educational practice and, simultaneously, enshrines the status quo' (Gutiérrez et al. 2002: 336). For educationally disadvantaged students, then, the policy prescription being asserted amounts to what Gutiérrez et al. (2002) call 'backlash pedagogy', which they characterize in these terms:

- 'does not harness diversity and difference as resources for learning but rather regards them as problems to be eliminated or remediated'
- 'reductive notions of learning and literacy', and
- 'prohibit[s] the use of students' complete linguistic, sociocultural, and academic repertoire in the service of learning' (p. 337)

In Australia, many times during the past ten years we have heard the refrain of 'a back-to-basics approach across the curriculum' and, especially, for those in 'disadvantaged schools'.

Before we can consider citizenship education, we also need to revisit some accounts of citizenship. Of course, these debates are old and extensive and, for the sake of brevity, I am going to frame this paper through reference to Balibar's (2012, 2014) most recent attempt to update the argument. For Balibar (2012), the 'concepts of citizenship and democracy are inextricably linked' (p. 1). The linkage for Balibar is an antinomic relationship, by which he argues that citizenship and democracy are constitutive of each other, that their pairing is not 'natural' but historical, and 'at the heart of the institution of citizenship there is a contradiction with regards to democracy' (Balibar 2012: 2). In the first instance, the idea of democracy 'lies in the sovereignty of its own citizens' (Balibar 2012: 14). 'But then this thesis has never ceased to be problematic' (Balibar 2012: 14). As Butler (2015) outlines, there is a tension between 'the political form of democracy and the principle of popular sovereignty' (p. 2). Mouffe (2005) provides a powerful analysis to this problem:

> It is […] crucial to realize that, with modern democracy, we are dealing with a new political form of society whose specificity comes from the articulation between two different traditions. On one side we have the liberal tradition con-

stituted by rule of law, the defence of human rights and the respect for individual liberty; on the other the democratic tradition whose main ideas are those of equality, identity between governing and governed and popular sovereignty. (pp. 2–3)

For Mouffe (2005), these two traditions set up what she calls the *democratic paradox*, which is evident as soon as we simultaneously demand both liberty and equality. But under the logic of (neo)liberalism, liberty trumps equality. By definition, democracy in nation-states is always defined in terms of an exclusion. Invoking the notion of 'we the people' is always 'accompanied by a radical *limitation* of citizenship' (Balibar 2012: 15). The liberal tradition invariably aims to limit popular sovereignty and to sustain the exclusion. On the other hand, the democratic tradition works to unsettle the established consensus of political stability, and historically supports – even constitutes – various 'social movements and struggles that led to entire categories that had previously been excluded, such as women, labourers, becoming or re-becoming citizens' (Balibar 2012: 16). Balibar also understands that we can never claim that democracy has been achieved but, instead, we need to acknowledge that democracy is always to come, to invoke Gramsci and Derrida – and this demands working on that tension between the impulses of liberty and equality.

The Context for Struggles over Citizenship: Neoliberalizing Inequality

To make sense of what is happening to citizenship education it is impossible not to be concerned about the neoliberalizing of schooling policy, our subjectivity and everyday life. It is uncontentious to argue that neoliberalism is now the dominant political philosophy of our times. But then I need to be careful here not to fall into the trap of asserting the term 'neoliberalism' as though we know what that means, or that just an assertion of that term explains anything. Instead, I intend to use this opportunity to engage in a self-clarification of how neoliberalism is affecting schooling. My point of departure is Foucault's (1991) analysis of governmentality, or what Gordon (1991) refers to as 'governmental rationality' (p. 1). Foucault identified a paradox, or what might be described as two contradictory imperatives of the modern state. On the one hand, the state 'is its own finality' (Foucault 1988: 152) and hence the aim of government is not only the conservation, but also 'the permanent reinforcement and development of the state's strengths' (p. 152);

on the other hand, the state has to be concerned with 'the care for individual life' (p. 147). Put simply, this paradox is resolved for the state through an art of government that connects the development 'of individuals' lives in such a way that their development also fosters […] the strength of the state' (Foucault 1981: 252). The state 'strives for the prudential by cultivating the pastoral' (Gordon 1991: 10). Such an art of government has tended towards 'a form of political sovereignty which would be government of all and of each, and whose concerns would be at once to "totalize" and to "individualize"' (Gordon 1991: 3). Foucault is warning against thinking about the exercise of power as pure violence or strict coercion, and wants us to contemplate the how of power in terms of a subtle integration of coercion technologies and self-technologies.

A more recent attempt at defining neoliberalism (Shamir 2008) argues that it is not 'a concrete economic doctrine nor as a definite set of political projects' but should be viewed as:

> a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organized around a certain imagination of the 'market' as a basis for 'the universalization of market-based social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives of the discourse and/or the practice of commodification, capital accumulation, and profit making'. (Carvalho and Rodrigues 2006: 342, citing Wood 1997 in (Shamir 2008: 3)

When applied to schooling, Ball (1997) argues that the recent transformation to neoliberal governmentality has meant 'new structures and new technologies of control', as well as 'the transformation of the values and cultures' of our institutions but, most importantly, the 'concomitant formation of new subjectivities' (p. 259). Hence, neoliberalism involves the practices of restructuring, renewing technologies of control that integrate coercion with self-formation, and constituting new subjectivities, which in our case, means new forms of citizen-consumers.

We might also refer to Peck and Tickell's (2002) attempt at periodizing the neoliberal project and, as a consequence, understand neoliberalism as *in* process. In which case, the rationality of government is being neoliberalized. It is not a thing but a process. Peck and Tickell identify three phases of neoliberalism, 'proto' neoliberalism, 'roll-back' neoliberalism and 'roll-out' neoliberalism. 'Proto' neoliberalism is the project of the Chicago School of Economics and is inaugurated by texts such as Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*, in which he outlines a critique of the welfare state and proposes *the* alternative. As Foucault (2008) outlines, this version takes the ord-liberal project from the

post-World War II German state, and pushes the logic somewhat. Briefly put, ord-liberalism asserted that the key role for governing is actively supporting the conditions for the 'free market'. The US variation goes one step further, applying market logic to all forms of social policy, literally marketizating the rationality of governing, and civil society. 'Roll-back' neoliberalism I have outlined above in terms of the politics of backlash, and of undermining all the major achievements of social movement struggle and the social democratic settlement of the 1960s and 1970s. 'Roll-out' neoliberalism can be defined in terms of 'the purposeful construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance, and regulatory relations' (Peck & Tickell 2002: 398) in order to sustain and further develop neoliberal governmentality.

But then Pack and Tickell's periodizing preceded the 'Global Financial Crisis' (GFC) of the mid-to-late 2000s, and the Greek debt crisis in 2012–2015. On these recent developments, Lazzarato (2015) provides some insightful analyses of what he calls 'state capitalism'. For Lazzarato, the phenomenon we need to understand is 'the alliance between the state and capital' (between the 'state' and 'the market' as economists would say) and, therefore, on state capitalism (2015: 93). Lazzarato re-focuses our attention onto how contemporary capitalism is working, and for him what is significant is the 'massive new appropriate/expropriation [that] has been underway since 2007' (2015: 27) that 'has led to an unprecedented concentration of wealth' (p. 27). Neoliberalism, for Lazzarato, represents 'a new stage of the union of capital and state, of sovereignty and the market, whose realization can be seen in the management of the current [debt] crisis' (2015: 94).

In which case, the GFC is an effect of neoliberalizing policy logics, but then the recent financial crisis offers state capitalism a new opportunity to continue to advance its project. The crisis for neoliberals requires austerity, further rolling back of the social state, privatization of state-owned resources and of governmentality itself, and a winding back of 'democracy' (paradoxically in its own name), and more authoritarian techniques. Demonstrations of popular sovereignty are despised. The Greek debt crisis provides us all with insight into the project of state capitalism and the next modality of neoliberalism.

> Primarily, the aim is to transform Greece into a laboratory of social transformation that will be generalized later across Europe. The model tested over the Greeks is a model of a society without public services, in which schools, hospitals and medical centers are demolished, health becomes a privilege of the rich, vulnerable populations are destined for a planned extermination, while those who still have a job will be working under extreme insecurity and economic misery. (Badiou et al. 2012: 1)

To pick up where this section started, we are now experiencing a new modality of state capitalism according to Lazzarato, one in which 'the problem of our societies is not confined man but indebted man' (2015: 105), or what Standing (2014) refers to as 'a new mass class […] the precariat – characterised by chronic uncertainty and insecurity' (p. 1).

Butler (2015) takes up this theme also in a recent book that provides a meditation on assemblies and, specifically, those recent outbreaks of popular sovereignty, such as 'Occupy Wall Street' after the GFC, or those assemblies referred to as the 'Arab Spring', or during the Greek debt crisis. Her book provides an exemplar for this chapter, in fact, as she sets up her meditation with reference to the tension between 'the political form of democracy and the principle of popular sovereignty' (2015: 2). She argues that such assemblies bring into question 'the reigning notions of the political' (2015: 9), and that the contemporary focus of assemblies is 'a bodily demand for a more liveable set of economic, social, and political conditions [that are] no longer afflicted by induced forms of precarity' (2015: 11). For Butler, precarity, as an effect of neoliberalism, should be understood as conditions of 'systematic negligence that effectively let people die' (2015: 11). Under the axiomatics of 'autonomization plus responsibilisation' (Rose 1999: 154), we now live under policy regimes that demand 'we are each responsible only for ourselves' (Butler 2015: 14) as a moral ideal, while simultaneously 'establishing every member of the population as potentially or actually precarious' (p. 14). We are now all subject to 'precaritization' (Lorey 2015: 1) which, for Butler, is a social condition that is both shared and unjust, and recent assemblies are outbreaks of popular sovereignty that enact 'a provisional and plural form of coexistence that constitutes a distinct and social alternative to "responsibilization"' (2015: 16). Importantly for Butler, and for this chapter, precarity is 'lived differentially' (2015: 21); hence, precarity is concentrated in those communities that have historically been not well-served by schooling.

Refashioning Citizenship Education: The Case of Australia

In Australia, as for all other nations, schooling is a key site for governmentality and, hence, for significant interventions by all manner of tactics. It is assumed by all governments that schooling quite literally makes up the nation, to borrow and bend a phrase from Hacking, (1986) and, hence, the school curriculum and the pedagogy of its teachers are sites for control. But, as Foucault

noted in various places, power in contemporary societies no longer emphasizes repression and, hence, policy for schooling is no longer based on a logic of 'you can't do that otherwise there will be trouble' but, instead, power operates through other means. For Foucault, power is always in relation; power is capillary in nature, and works in and through regimes of truth, or disciplinary forms of knowledge 'operating in a field of force relations' (Foucault 1990: 101–102). Power is productive, 'it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action' (Foucault 1982: 220) and it 'makes individuals subjects' (p. 212).

As stated in the Introduction, in this section I want to draw attention to recent moves in Australia to refashion citizenship education in ways that simultaneously ignore the strangling of citizenship that is being waged by the nation. Putting this simply, the Federal government has, for decades – and that includes both of the major political parties – been involved in many forms of border work and, specifically, tightening up citizenship for new arrivals, and especially refugees. While Australia does have a good record with its involvement in the UNHCR Humanitarian Refugee Programme (Gifford et al. 2009), its treatment of asylum seekers is appalling and, according to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra'ad Al-Hussein, Australia's policies are 'leading to a chain of human rights violations, including arbitrary detention and possible torture following return to home countries' (ABC 2014). Meantime, our Federal government has been developing a Australian National Curriculum with new proposals for civics and citizenship education that attempt to assert a weak form of citizenship (Doherty 2014). I want to argue also that the Australian case provides a global exemplar of neoliberalizing schooling policy. The specific event for this chapter is the Review of the Australian National Curriculum, which could be considered to typify the modus operandi of the Abbott Federal government, elected in late 2013, with Tony Abbott being replaced as prime minister two years later. Abbott is especially pertinent here, as he was considered the poster boy for the neoliberal and neoconservative political project in Australia and also in the UK and other parts of Europe, especially on refugee policy and citizenship (see BBC 2015).

But before we get to the case study of the Review of the Australian National Curriculum, I want briefly to mention a range of events that characterize contemporary border work by the Australian nation; these include (and the list could be many pages long):

- the public culture is awash with negative constructions of asylum seekers including: 'illegals' (Clyne 2003, 2005), 'terrorists' (Pickering 2001), 'queue jumpers' (Gelber 2003) and 'burdensome and threatening' (Klocker 2004);
- temporary protection visas (TPVs) have been devised for 'asylum seekers' which offered protection for only three years (Crock and Saul 2002);
- legal statutes[1] for an *Australian migration zone*, including Ashmore Island, Cartier Island, Christmas Island and Cocos Island, for offshore detention to manage processing of refugee claims of 'asylum seekers' and, specifically, to ensure they have no access to Australian human rights and citizenship laws;
- the *Tampa affair* and the inauguration of what is now known as the 'Pacific Solution' (Hattam and Every 2010);
- development of dog whistle politics (Manning 2004), a form of politics learnt from the US Republican Party and further developed by Lynton Crosby,[2] ex-Prime Minister Howard's chief election strategist at the time (p. 412).
- during the 2001 federal election, Prime Minister Howard made this statement about the Tampa Affair, 'Every nation has the right as an exercise of its fundamental sovereignty, to decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they will come' (Howard 2001). 'We decide who comes to this country' was used also as an election slogan by the Howard government.
- Tony Abbott, during the 2013 election, made 'Stop the Boats' one of his election mantras.
- The Abbott government changed the name of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship to the Department of Immigration and Border Protection, and citizenship is now managed by that Department.
- Australia has negotiated an agreement with Cambodia to settle refugees as part of its policy to ensure no illegal boat arrivals are settled in Australia.
- The Abbott government attempted to remove Gillian Triggs, the President of the Human Rights Commission, for speaking out about Australia's offshore detention regime.

Meanwhile, Australia has, in recent years, embarked on the development of a National Curriculum – one for all state jurisdictions, and against the histori-

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[1] In September 2001, the *Migration Amendment* (*Excision from Migration Zone*) *Act* 2001 and the *Migration Amendment* (*Excision from Migration Zone*) (*Consequential Provisions*) *Act* 2001.

[2] During the past ten years, Lynton Crosby has worked for David Cameron, Michael Howard, Boris Johnson (all leaders of the UK Conservative Party) and Philip Morris (the tobacco company).

cal demand for states' rights and, hence, state level design and control of the mandated curriculum. (For those unfamiliar with Australia, we have three levels of government – a federal government, state governments for six states and two territories, and local government.) In which case, until the Australian Curriculum was implemented in 2010, every state and territory had its own school curriculum documents and significant public service advisors who managed ongoing curriculum development.

The Australian Curriculum[3] was inaugurated by the previous Rudd/Gillard Labour federal government and has been a site for ongoing critique and contestation (Gerrard et al. 2013; Gerrard and Farrell 2014; Ditchburn 2012a, b, 2015). Our case begins during the first year of the Abbott Coalition government, when the then Federal Minister for Education, Christopher Pyne, announced a review into the development and implementation of the Australian Curriculum. None of this was surprising, given his public statements prior to the 2013 election and, from the outset, there was plenty of media commentary by Christopher Pyne and others (including Kevin Donnelly), discounting the time-consuming consultative process involved in writing the Australian Curriculum Shaping Papers, and the subsequent curriculum documents, not to mention reaching a national agreement with the six states and two territories. Pyne's criticism about the robustness, independence and balance of the curriculum – English and History, in particular – also received abundant media attention soon after the election. I propose that this case is an examplar of contemporary policy-making that pretends to be a public debate while really only offering a spectacle of neoliberal polemics. This case also exemplifies how contemporary policy developments are very much tangled up in media processes, which demands new methodologies and conceptual frameworks (Lingard and Rawolle 2005).

The review was called on 10 January, 2014 by the then Federal Minister for Education, Christopher Pyne. Pyne announced the appointment of Professor Ken Wiltshire AO and Dr Kevin Donnelly, and said how delighted he was to make that announcement and how confident he was that Professor Wiltshire and Dr Donnelly would undertake a comprehensive review. He claimed Kevin Donnelly (BA, DipEd, MEd, PhD) to be one of Australia's leading education commentators and authors. But then, Kevin Donnelly has significant connections to the Federal Liberal Party. Perhaps most significant here was his role as 'Educational expert/commentator' for *The Australian* newspaper for most of the Howard Federal government era. Once a week, he published his diatribe and, with the protection of *The Australian*, and with very large sums of federal

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[3] http://www.acara.edu.au/default.asp

money, he engaged in his criticism of the Australian schooling system. During this time, he discursively bashed up many public school jurisdictions – again, with no possible recourse from any of those who were his targets. His published books, if you check, are published in either right-wing vanity presses (e.g. Duffy and Snellgrove ceased publishing in 2005; Connor Court has the Director of the IPA on the editorial board) or presses with no reputation for academic publishing, with no peer reviewing. In fact, while he lays claim to some academic qualifications (i.e. he has a PhD), he has no peer reviewed publications that I could find. Perhaps even more important, though, is his writing for right-wing think tanks in the years prior to the review.[4]

Pyne's article in *The Australian* said much more; it was titled 'Putting critical content back into the Curriculum' – perhaps ironically, given the right critique of critical literacy for decades, sponsored by *The Australian*. The following sentences, we think, get at some of the intent missing from the press release:

> That means a curriculum that is balanced in its content, free of partisan bias and deals with real world issues.

> In particular, concerns have been raised about the history curriculum not recognising the legacy of Western civilisation and not giving important events in Australia's history and culture the prominence they deserve, such as Anzac Day.

In the very month that Pyne called for the review, Stephanie Forrest, a 'Research Scholar' with the Institute of Public Affairs published a paper titled 'Scrap the National Curriculum'. The second sentence says: 'The hostility towards the legacy of Western Civilisation in the National Curriculum's history subject demonstrates the absurdity of having a centrally-mandated and government-controlled single curriculum'. Later on in the paper, she says this: 'If this blatant denial of the importance of the Magna Carta, the English Civil War, Judeo-Christian tradition and Western Civilisation seems absurd

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[4] For the IPA (from 1999): All roads lead to Canberra; Outcomes Based Education: Dumbed Down and Politically Correct; In defence of a liberal education; Failing to Indoctrinate; Latham Needs to Rediscover the Basics; Funding: a no-brainer election issue.

Education Reform: Who Should Control the Curriculum?; Used Anglicans.

And for *Quadrant* magazine: Chairman Rudd's Education Revolution; The Dubious Quest for a National Curriculum; The Misguided Case for Indigenous Recognition in the Constitution (Part II); Getting the Schools Back to Basics; Government Schools Good, Other Schools Bad; A Back-to-Nonsense Curriculum; The Fabian Fallacies of the Gonski Report; The Case for Abolishing Government Schools; *The Literacy Wars* by Ilana Snyder.

enough'. It is the reference to Western 'Judeo-Christian tradition' that is interesting here.[5]

Fast forward to Thursday 9 October 2014; Minister Pyne released the Review[6] and a document outlining the Initial Government response to the Review without any fanfare – even those of us who are very interested only got wind of it a few days later. It is not possible here to do justice to the complete Review but, unsurprisingly, the advocates for the Review asserted these ideas: back to basics, and greater emphasis on our Judeo-Christian heritage, the role of Western civilization in contributing to our society, and the influence of our British system of government.

In the section on Civics and Citizenship, the reviewers affirmed a weak version of citizenship, one that focused almost entirely on these notions:

- 'The history of democracy, the origins of the Australian system of government, and the role of the founders in creating a democratic nation and a constitution' (p. 198);
- 'more explicit discussion of the values underpinning the Australian political system, including national values which pervade our society and have shaped our history – values like enterprise and equity, as found in the typical Australian expressions of "have a go" and "a fair go". Personal values need a greater focus as well including rights and responsibilities, mutual obligation, respect, tolerance, and the virtue of community participation. A well-balanced emphasis on the virtue of patriotism – pride in being Australian – along with being a citizen of the world is needed' (p. 198);
- The civics and citizenship curriculum should better recognize the importance and contribution of the many community, charitable and philanthropic bodies and organizations – especially religious – in areas such as health, education and social welfare (p. 199);
- Active citizenship was contained to[7] 'people volunteer for community groups', 'how they can use social media and other means to discuss ideas and work together to influence outcomes', 'how citizens can participate in government through contact with elected representatives', and 'ways in which citizens can participate in civic life and support their local community'. There was one mention of 'the use of lobby groups and direct action such as demonstrations and social media campaigns' (pp. 320–321).

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[5] http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/13/australias-judeo-christian-heritage-doesnt-exist

[6] See https://docs.education.gov.au/node/36269

[7] See https://docs.education.gov.au/documents/review-australian-curriculum-supplementary-material

Citizenship, here, is rendered through the liberal tradition that privileges liberty over equality, and assumes that the purpose of citizenship education is to introduce young people into an already existing democracy, that 'voting is the most crucial role of a citizen in the democratic system' (see fn. 6, p. 331), and we must also know about liberal institutions of government. There is no sense that democracy as we know it today is constituted out of social movement struggles, or that equality is foundational to very idea of democracy. There is almost complete silence on contemporary examples of popular sovereignty, with a one line reference to direct action, but with no content. The Review makes no mention of the border work of the Australian government or, in particular, the new forms of exclusion that is now very much in play, both legally and as a political tactic in the form of dog whistle politics. In fact, those attempts to include social movement struggle were critiqued as 'ideological' and even, seeking 'to impose 'values', or, perhaps more correctly, social norms of behaviour – in this case, those concerning social cohesion, acceptance of diversity and the development and appreciation of separate identities' (see fn. 6, p. 328). The author is seemingly oblivious to the fact that asserting a mode of civics and citizenship education that focuses entirely on inculcating students into the existing social and legal institutions unproblematically is about imposing values – mostly compliance and acceptance of a deluded consensus.

Towards Citizenship-as-Equality and Citizen Virtue

> The active citizen is not, on this account, she who, by her obedience, sanctions the legal order or the system of institutions upon which she has directly or indirectly conferred legitimacy by an explicit or tacit contact, materialized in her participation in representative procedures that result in the delegation of power. She is the rebel, the one who says *no*, or at least has the possibility of doing so. (Balibar 2014: 283–284)

In this section, I am arguing that we are now witnessing, across the educational policy regime that operates in most nations, a serious dissonance between the social reality we all live in and the concerns of education policy. This is especially the case with the fashioning of civics and citizenship education in Australia, which I understand to be a global exemplar of neoliberalizing education policy. This dissonance is evident in three ways in Australia. In the first instance, a citizenship education worthy of the name acknowledges that, fundamentally, citizenship is tied to equality and, in this case, supporting a high equity schooling

system. Unfortunately, in Australia our schooling system is in retreat from the equity gains of the late 1900s, and schooling policy now reasserts a strong link between socio-economic status and school success, and either pays lip service to this concern, or refashions equity in terms of parents' right to choose. Second, citizenship education is being refashioned at a time in which Australia engages in all manner of border work that involves tightening up on citizenship conditions and using a politics of division around cultural difference and/or invoking new forms of cultural racism as a key tactic for gaining political power. In which case, those with responsibility for governing are playing a very devious game – on the one hand, tampering with citizenship for their own political ends and through creating social division and exclusions, while, at the same time, arguing for a weak form of citizenship with a rationale that argues for 'respecting others, accepting difference, tolerance, co-operating with others and finding common ground' (fn. 6, p. 329). We can see here examples of liberal tolerance (Brown 2007) and liberal versions of multiculturalism (Povinelli 2002) that both argue for 'cultural diversity' while containing it at the same time. Putting it simply, 'these other cultures are fine but we must be able to locate them within our own grid' (Bhaba 1990: 208). Third, and perhaps more disturbing, those governing adopt neoliberalizing axiomatics (Lazzarato 2015: 147–168) for policy formulation in all spheres of social and economic policy and, hence, advance a project of 'precaritization' (Lorey 2015: 1), which further entrenches economic and educational inequality, and concomitantly a 'de-democratising of democracy' (Brown 2015: 18) – a hollowing out of democratic practice from the inside. What seems to be appearing, then, is a form of citizenship education that is framed up inside a logic of precaritization. Biesta (2011) diagnoses the problem for us, here and rather diplomatically:

> One potential danger of this situation is that education [schooling] is manoeuvred into a position where it contributes to the *domestication* of the citizen – a 'pinning down' of citizens to a particular civic identity – and thus leads to the erosion of more political interpretations of citizenship that see the meaning of citizenship as essentially contested. (Biesta 2011: 142)

In the small space that remains, I will map out in broad strokes a line of flight that proposes, instead, an alternative educational project – one that asserts a strong version of active citizenship and contributes to support for recent scholarship for citizenship-as-equality (Ruitenberg 2015; Zembylas 2015). I also want to draw on Balibar's notion of *citizen virtue* and Lazzarato's call for *refusal*.

In this chapter, I have attempted to frame my argument with Balibar's notion of *equiliberty*, a term he uses to define a dialectical and paradoxical terrain of citizenship in modern democracies, (with all the caveats we can muster for the use of the term 'democracy'). In our times, unfortunately, (neo) liberal versions of citizenship are hegemonic, with most critical scholarship now arguing for reasserting the tradition of equality, as put by Mouffe earlier. In a similar vein, Ruitenberg (2015) and Zembylas (2015) make an argument for an educational project for *citizenship-as-equality*. Their rationale asserts:

> in an effort to push personal and social understandings of citizenship to respond to the new challenges of multicultural societies, something important is lost in the process. What is needed, therefore […] is an understanding as well as a practice of citizenship that places its political aspects in the center […] and in the name of citizen's equality. (Zembylas 2015: 2)

Balibar (2014) makes a similar case when he calls for *citizen virtue*, which he defines in these terms:

> It is not a matter of what an individual must do to be a good citizen, fulfilling all of his duties and not causing any trouble, but of what a citizen *can* do – or better still, of what individuals can do in order to collectively become and remain citizens, so that the communities to which they belong (of which there are now many: the nation, Europe, perhaps others) are truly *political*. (p. 282)

In other places, Balibar (2012) outlines in more detail some characteristics for such a political project which he understands as the 'democratising of democracy' (p. 119). On this, he suggests the following:

- 'to openly confront the lack of democracy in existing institutions and transform them' (p. 124);
- 'requires the deconstruction of the discriminations and exclusions that have been institutionalized in its name' (p. 125);
- 'incorporating critique of capitalism into the problematic of citizenship' (p. 127); 'giving priority to the positive objective of transforming the concept and practices of citizenship […] over the negative objective of resistance and opposition to non-democratic laws or regimes' (p. 127);
- refers to the work citizens perform on themselves, or in Foucault's term, engage in subjectivation or technologies of self; and
- engage in 'insurrection', understood here as 'the active modality of citizenship; the modality that it brings into action' (p. 131).

Lazzarato ([2015](#)) also has some advice for thinking about contemporary politics and, hence, for reclaiming the political dimension of citizenship education. He returns to an old idea for politics, in which case he defines struggle in terms of the refusal, and he outlines a general project that he understands as the refusal of the 'general mobilization', or of 'not wanting to be assigned a function, a role, and an identity predetermined in and by the social division' (p. 247) and, hence, 'taking a position with respect to the conditions of existence in capitalist society' (p. 247). Lazzarato, as cited earlier, gives another clue for those of us interested in citizenship-for-equality. For him, the key issue is understanding 'state capitalism', which then leads us to examine the practices of neoliberalism. What Lazzarato affirms powerfully is the need to proscribe 'capitalism' as a key theme in the mandated school curriculum. Active citizenship education only makes sense if young people have the opportunity to study, to problematize and even to resist the most significant sites of social and identity formation. In which case, civics and citizenship is not only about learning the facts about our liberal institutions of government and the law as recommended by the Australian Curriculum, but should also be about studying the contested nature of democracy and, hence, the struggle between liberty and equality.

By way of a new proposal, active citizenship in schools, if it is to be taken seriously, requires a whole of school response. In which case, I want to propose *the knowledge producing school* as a frame for advancing citizen virtue. By way of a thought experiment, I propose pushing the logic of a 'students-as-researchers' approach beyond individual classrooms and imagine what might be possible if the practice were taken up by a critical mass of teachers in a school. What has yet to be properly advanced is the potential for whole school approaches to a students-as-researchers approach, in which case, the school becomes a repository of knowledge about its local community and surrounding environs, and also a laboratory for the capacity building of active citizens. Rather than the school curriculum being designed for preparing young people for their future, the curriculum instead focuses on providing opportunities for young people to be actively involved in working to make their communities better places to live. Being a researcher, here, is not about rehearsing already codified knowledge but, rather, being a producer of new knowledge that creatively brings together the lifeworld knowledges of the students with the official knowledge of school (Hattam et al. [2009a](#)). Perhaps most importantly, such a curriculum could provide opportunities for young people to demonstrate that they are uncanny theorists of their own lives (McLaughlin [1997](#)). Rather than working against educational reproduction of inequality (Hattam and Smyth [2015](#)), the knowledge producing school could work with

equality as axiomatic – in which case, schooling could become a verification of equality in the present.

> The only thing that is needed here is to summon other people to use their intelligence, which means to verify 'the principle of the equality of all speaking beings' (IS, 39). After all, 'what stultifies the common people is not the lack of instruction, but the belief in the inferiority of their intelligence' (IS, 39). The only thing that is needed is to remind people that they can see and think for themselves, and are not dependent upon others who see and think for them. (Biesta 2010: 55).

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3

Gender, Social Justice and Citizenship in Education: Engaging Space, the Narrative Imagination, and Relationality

Jo-Anne Dillabough

Introduction

Gender equality and citizenship are often tied to the concept of *sameness*, following a liberal democratic tradition where 'equal' often implies 'sameness'. The most obvious examples remain in the fold today; women are seen as equal to men in their capacity to learn and work, and should therefore be seen as the same in terms of measures of equality (Wollstonecraft 1793). This was an important and radical political position in the eighteenth century, and its enduring trace in liberal feminist thinking cannot be overstated. An extract from a contemporary effort to invigorate the gender equality, education and global citizenship agenda in Portugal is quite telling in this respect: 'to provide to all female and male students a common base of knowledge, attitudes and skills through appropriate education' with a view towards global citizenship (Pinto 2013: 4). Here, the notion of sameness and equality come together in a claim that women have equal rights to men because the principle of sameness is translated into the political notion that women cannot be discriminated

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against in relation to gender differences, such as child bearing status. This recognition through policy is thought to lead to widening access for citizenship rights and more inclusive forms of citizenship. Other contemporary examples of this practice in education are the elimination of gender-role divided forms of curriculum, equal access to school subjects, affirmative action, LGBT +, inter-sex and Trans debates in schools and the like.

In the second half of the twentieth century, and in some nations in the early twenty-first century, many democratic nation-states, when compared with autocratic or totalitarian contexts, sought to address questions about gender and citizenship and to develop various political mechanisms for expressing gender justice through citizenship. Education was one of the primary mechanisms for seeking gender equality through citizenship education and other social programmes, which would ultimately define and underscore the importance of female autonomy, other forms of sexual autonomy (LGBT+, Trans, intersex) and a notion of full political suffrage. We should not, then, be surprised that liberal discourses of citizenship emerge as traces of second-wave feminist initiatives through education; yet, these very arguments are often in conflict with lived experience, particularly in 'extra-state' or post-national geopolitical contexts and conditions (Sassen 2014). This is particularly so because of the role of the sovereign state in legitimizing an official concept of citizenship while often undermining citizenship rights pertaining to gendered minorities, and particularly those who do not have official citizenship status or are excluded from exercising their 'rights to have rights', what Arendt once referred to as the 'modern pariahs' *living nowhere* in the exclusionary nation-state (Arendt 1971). While a rights approach to gender equality and the widening of citizenship and social justice through education might seem the most logical way forward, arguably those groups less likely to possess the 'rights to have rights', such as female refugees and sexual minorities (e.g. transgendered subjects) are among the most 'symptomatic group' (Arendt 1958) ignored in terms of their access to citizenship rights and freedoms in contemporary politics. This includes their right to the making of regional forms of citizenship, freedoms and enhanced or confined mobility in sites which are traditionally invisible to national governance: refugee camps, and cities largely owned and governed locally by multinationals and associated land grabs (see Sassen 2014). This fundamental paradox raises a number of pressing questions about gender and social justice within education, practical as well as theoretical, to which our attention needs to be directed.

Despite extensive debate in feminist and gender studies over the meaning of citizenship and political legitimacy (Brown 2015; Honig 2013), the idea of sameness between men and women as a way towards equality and justice has

been one of the most influential paradigms shaping the gender, citizenship and education agenda. In this chapter, I explore some of the central debates and concerns surrounding citizenship and equality in gender and education. I then review current research trends in these areas, particularly as they relate to critiques concerning the limits of the liberal education project, and its global moves, forms of mobility and spatial scales, arguing that it is an insufficient foundation for achieving gender justice. Drawing largely on the work of Hannah Arendt and Bonnie Honig, as well as urban and cultural geographers concerned with the spatial dimensions of citizenship, I develop an alternative definition of gender justice which moves towards a relational and narrative account of citizenship (Cavarero 2013), focusing largely on a phenomenological approach. Such an account constitutes an ethical turn towards an agonistic, relational, spatial and ethically orientated form of education for gendered citizenship which is well-established in the philosophy of education literature and political theory but yet to surface in the sociology of education or cultural/human geography as a way towards rethinking citizenship education (Adami 2014; Honig 1995; Todd 2010, 2011).

Debates about Citizenship and Equality in Gender and Education

There has been a long debate within the field of gender and education about the nature and character of gender justice and its expression in education, as well as an assessment of the impact of encouraging gender equality through education (Arnot 2009; Arnot and Dillabough 2000; Banks 2008; Dillabough 2004). Much of this debate has moved outside of the 'developed' world and into education and development studies, and global citizenship education (DAWN 2015; Fennell and Arnot 2008; Swartz and Arnot 2013; UNESCO 2014). While these programmes are important and unique in various ways, a review of recent debates and associated educational programmes suggests that much citizenship education and global citizenship education still remains tied to the notion of gender equality between the sexes and may often fail to account for the cultural and spatial contexts within which citizenship may be defined. Many of the dominant trends remain largely concerned with the formation and implementation of liberal reform structures as they relate, primarily, to policy and practice in the wider global context. Drawing on the work of Escobar (2011), Siim (2013), and Sassen (2014), I identify four central concerns that need consideration when bridging gender, justice and education for citizenship, particularly as it pertains to global contexts.

First, the vast majority of global citizenship education projects seek to demonstrate their impact on the democratization of gender relations within the public realm of citizenship as a normative condition for achieving parity with those groups who have been accorded citizenship merely through birth right, religion, ethnicity or gender. They also attempt to forge this work with wider concerns for international understanding and tolerance. While each of these programmes and associated policies has an authentic reach, as we have learned over time, many such reform policies, when they are developed within the Western European tradition and scaled to different times, spaces and places (Sutoris 2015), appear to be shaped by the processes inherited from liberal ideology and economic logics which are seen as universal and easily transferrable to other nations (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012; Connell 2007). This can sometimes mean that, despite national or regional histories and context, equality is often thrust on the geopolitical landscape of gender relations in spaces where cultural, political and moral landscapes remain tied to highly autocratic processes and beliefs grounded in heteronormative political ideologies manifest at the level of family, individuals, collectives and community life. Geopolitics and space, as Escobar (2011) and Sassen (2014) have noted, are a critical concern with regard to the sometimes invisible constraints on citizenship as they relate to culture, geographies and political economies. For example, liberal reforms do not quickly or easily transform gendered belief systems and educational and social structures, and may not map easily onto different scales of global space. This is not only a problem of the transferability of ideological beliefs which often fail to survive the life of educational cultures and geopolitical landscapes. Such beliefs may also be counterintuitive for many nation-states and local regions which have not endorsed, at the level of everyday spaces, a central commitment to the idea that gender is an open and contested category within the realm of citizenship.

A second and related problem emerges when these often universal norms associated with the ideal of gender equality conflate with educational ideals without attempts being made to resolve underlying social and spatially related conflicts which may obfuscate any attempt to exercise gendered rights, decision-making capacities and freedoms in schools and societies. In other words, one may be overly concerned with access, retention and achievement at the expense of civic relations, operating within particular spaces and scales of the nation or globe, which must thrive if the latter equality issues are to be successful. Educational reformers concerned with gender equality in schools may therefore be unable to implement such reforms on the ground without ongoing and sustained economic and political support, particularly when global economic resources appear to be shrinking and unstable in both the developed countries and the apparently emerging economies, such as Brazil and China. One often

witnesses, as we are seeing in countries such as South Africa, that achieving equality on the ground may be seen by some male teachers as irrelevant (Msibi 2014, 2016) or inconceivable in particular regions, spaces and educational sites, despite a liberal democratic constitution and the legalization of same sex civil partnerships. As contemporary feminist sociologists and gender studies scholars have argued (Brown 2015), in such contexts liberal rhetoric falls short of guaranteeing sexual minorities and gendered bodies a legitimate place as 'citizens' and may function instead as a moniker of the 'West'. Time, place, political economies, ideologies and the scales at which inclusion and democracy are understood are therefore crucial to understanding how a positive enactment of citizenship can be achieved. As Saskia Sassen (2014) argues, the European migration 'crisis' we have witnessed across the last two decades is, by any other name, a 'geopolitics of extraction' – that is, a political and economic manifestation of moving already impoverished communities from one site of deprivation into another, or engaging in a politics of expulsion which renders them less invisible to citizenship. Citizenship, in such a context, is therefore just a word, and education is often beyond their reach. Importantly, the gendered effects of this expulsion are also hidden – although we can, with closer optics, witness how gendered minorities might fare within spaces, nations and institutions which do not recognize them as legitimate citizens.

> Then there are the countless displaced people warehoused in formal and informal refugee camps, the minoritized groups in rich countries who are warehoused in prisons, and the able-bodied unemployed men and women warehoused in ghettos and slums. Some of these expulsions have taken place over a long period, but not all at the same scale. (Sassen 2014: 3)

 Third, many gender equity policies have failed to represent the wide-ranging feminist critiques of liberal democracy and other attempts at educating the gendered citizen particularly since the late 1960's, including critiques drawn from postcolonial, 'differentiated' or cosmopolitan notions of citizenship (Todd 2011). This failure has often led to a neglect within education of what Brubaker (1992) refers to as the 'citizen/outsider' dichotomy. Here, the politics of gender and borders emerge as they relate to the internal inclusion of some gendered subjects within the sovereign polity at the exclusion of others; 'although citizenship is internally inclusive, it is externally exclusive. There is a conceptually clear, legally consequential, and ideologically charged distinction between citizens and foreigners' (Brubaker 1992: 21). We therefore sometimes witness forms of liberal proceduralism that cannot account for those gendered bodies classified as non-citizens or outsiders to what is deemed legitimate and

bordered space. This becomes even more important when considering how such critiques are often ignored in relation to advanced neoliberal economic logics linked to citizenship, new geopolitical formations or, for example, critiques from groups such as Indigenous women interested in decolonizing Western models of gender, citizenship and education (Andreotti and Souza 2012; Andreotti 2014). We need therefore to question the legal idealisms associated with territory and borders as they relate to gender and citizenship, particularly when such ideals undermine our 'capacity to think rights "beyond borders"' (Adami 2014: 164).

Finally, we must question whether education is the only instrument through which gendered citizenship can be fully realized. As Arendt (1958) noted, while education is often seen as a public issue and a place to cultivate the judgements, recognition and responsibilities that lead towards differentiated notions of citizenship, the dimension of the 'private' always and inevitably seeps into public life, making education anything but officially public. In an earlier political moment in countries such as the UK, Canada and Australia, the private seemed a less invasive force but there is little doubt that a merging of the private into the public is now a well-established, global project. This element of private slippage is a feature of advanced neoliberalism and represents a 'common sense revolution' in many countries worldwide but other forms of private slippage can emerge, such as dominant religious values about gender imported by schools, and the impact of private finance and school choice policies in undermining the enactment of civic engagement in schools (Tomlinson 2013). This reality reminds us of Arendt's (2003) earlier concerns about collective responsibility, even if we do not see ourselves as culpable for such a banal state of political affairs:

> No moral, individual and personal, standards of conduct will ever be able to excuse us from collective responsibility for things we have not done, this taking upon ourselves the consequences for things we are entirely innocent of, is the price we pay for the fact that we live our lives not by ourselves but among our fellow [humans], and that the faculty of action, which, after all, is the political faculty par excellence, can be actualized only in one of the many and manifold forms of human community. (p. 158)

Key Issues in Gender, Education and Citizenship

A number of gender and education scholars have exposed limitations of education for citizenship, particularly as they are seen to enhance or undermine equality and justice in schools. For example, some contemporary feminist education research explores gender, sexualities and education for citizenship,

the role of masculinities as they are performed in educational contexts, and the manner in which liberal notions of female citizenship have created institutional cultures which still undermine gender equality (Francis and Skelton 2005; Lapayese 2003; Martino and Meyenn 2001). This work has asked questions such as which classification of girl or boy or trans young person will get access to, or be denied, equal rights? Will they be given decision-making roles, or the right to create new knowledge forms about diverse gender formations in education? Importantly, will diverse gendered communities even be recognized in school contexts if they disidentify with the normative gender regimes of schooling (Allen and Rasmussen 2015)? While the focus of this work tends to address wider questions of sexuality and inclusion as a more general achievement, a key argument here is that the gender binary of male/female cannot address gender in its plurality, differences and in relation to particular embodiments and performances of gender at the scale of region, nation or transnational contexts. It also fails to confront the reality that education remains premised on heteronormative understandings of citizenship that carry a trace of the 'equality as sameness' argument which may undermine safety and inclusion in schools for those who do not conform to this binary; this binary forms the foundation of the original liberal and ultimately bio-powered social contract – the public/private split (Arnot and Dillabough 2000). This split, even today, represents a form of symbolic violence over those bodies deemed outside or beyond its making.

There is also substantial research charting the highly unequal cultures of higher education between men and women, and between and among culturally and sexually diverse groups in different ranks of the academy (Acker and Dillabough 2007; Acker and Webber 2013; Renn 2010) with their inherited masculine codes of practice. These institutions might proclaim gender equality through affirmative action and the widening of citizenship rights at the same time as defining legitimate professional categories which undermine gendered minorities and fail to challenge inherently masculinized structures, particularly in relation to promotion but also in relation to everyday gender relations (Moreau and Kerner 2015). Much decision-making at this level points to the covert ways in which less powerful groups are limited in terms of their ability to exercise their rights within institutional cultures in often masculinized higher education settings.

This issue also exists in other levels and arenas of education, such as the early years where women carry the burden of child-care both in and beyond the educational sphere (Langford 2008), and the affective and emotional labour associated with the inheritance of being a marginal subject in the state. Ahmed (2013) argues, for example, that if women are experiencing a double

marginalization in relation to race, they are identified in educational institutions as key to the resolution of this marginalization and are strategically deployed as units of production and 'diversity workers' in achieving the liberal goals of multiculturalism. Similarly, as Andreotti (2014) has argued, classrooms organized around liberal democratic dialogue point to its often divisive nature, with teachers sometimes paradoxically pursuing methods that imply particular notions of citizenship and agency which assume their own and others' marginality and political disempowerment, thus reproducing gendered and colonial notions of citizenry.

Within the frames of nationalism, Thomas (2013) and Pilkington (2016) have also shown indirectly that liberal policies on citizenship and citizenship education have failed to dismantle wider masculine cultures of nationalism and argue that some policies – particularly conservative policies on immigration and citizenship – are converging to form elements of populist discourse that undermine inclusive attempts at positive civic engagement. This work is corroborated by anthropologists working in development contexts where they witness first-hand the failure of liberal education policies to transform wider social cultures or to maintain sustained success, particularly as it concerns those young males and females who feel disaffected in or by the nation, or who are most at risk of increasing poverty, ill health or political violence (Escobar 2011; McFarlene 2016).

The links between national political histories, multiculturalism and citizenship are particularly well-described in the findings from Garratt (2011), who argues that citizenship education in the early 1990s was developed in the UK under a Conservative party encouraging more standardization and efficiency, and designed to erase political ideology or notions of difference from the curriculum. Garratt's research found that education for citizenship was unable to address the 'fraying of local communities' after 9/11, 7/7 and associated terror and counter-terrorist threats:

> The recent rise of the extreme right with the British National Party (BNP) claiming two European Parliament seats has been viewed as a 'ticking time bomb': an invidious reflection of modern Britain 'sleepwalking to segregation' […]. Forms of cultural separatism and the self-segregation of minority ethnic communities […] have created a […] challenging social imperative for citizenship education. (Garratt 2011: 28)

Importantly, while not directly linked to the widening of gender equality per se, the rise of far-right discourses in the UK have also demonstrated how certain forms of masculinity might have been inadvertently endorsed by con-

servative educational policies – such as the death of multiculturalism – that failed to acknowledge social rights and the Welfare State, and the need for a move beyond a segregationist orientation towards multiculturalism. Garratt (2011) argues that this political reality has emerged from a merging of new right politics within the Tory party and the maintenance of extreme right views in largely male-dominated youth populist movements and their presence in educational cultures (Pilkington 2016). He refers to this as the 'absent presence of diversity and anti-racism', in citizenship education policy. Later policy interventions failed therefore to acknowledge difference or cosmopolitanism but, rather, functioned to 'restore a common sense citizenship' (Garratt 2011: 28). Here again, we witness traces of 'equality as sameness'. Arguably more inclusive policies, such as the Ajegbo review, while explicitly naming diversity and gender equality, argued for 'core British values of justice and tolerance', and encouraged people to 'celebrate and embrace diversity' (cited in Garratt 2011: 32). Garret argues that, in both cases, gender and race were trivialized in global citizenship education programmes.

Recent work in the area of gender and indigeneity in Australia, Canada and Latin America also demonstrates how schools have acted as colonial sites of exclusion not only in relation to Indigenous people, but also in relation to citizenship education more widely. This work highlights the failure of multiculturalism to act as a form of political and cultural recognition and inclusion for Aboriginal and Indigenous males and females through state schooling, and demonstrates how teachers and texts have often essentialized the role of women as subordinate in Indigenous societies (Andreotti 2014). In a cross-national study of education for citizenship among disadvantaged youth in Mexico and Canada, Bickmore (2015) has also demonstrated how state education systems can function as sites of 'slow violence' (see Nixon 2011) where enacting citizenship or engaging civically in schools is implausible when violence, largely dominated by men and boys, forms the basis for young people's sense of community. McFarlene (2016) found similar support for such educational outcomes in South African schools, with a major focus on the role of masculinity and violence as central to undermining the cultivation of citizenship values. This is particularly the case for women and girls who live in townships and settlements on the fringe of South African suburban life (Dillabough, in progress). Recent work in South Africa also highlights how queer bodies and sexuality are not culturally embedded in the new democratic contract, although officially sanctioned in law, and therefore remain tied to the gender binary of male/female (Msibi 2014, 2016).

Similar research has been conducted within the realm of gender and development education. For example, an overview of research on gender and inclusion suggests that much work on changing the course of female citizenship in schools in sites of impoverishment indicates that such modes of transfer still carry limits in terms of effectiveness. In an extensive review of educational research reporting interventions designed to widen citizenship and increase gender equality through school practice, Unterhalter et al. (2014) found that many interventionist approaches, such as global citizenship education, tended to focus on enrolments, attendance, retention and attainment rather than on any links between these factors and real equality achieved in the classroom and the wider community. Paradoxically, 'interventions concerned with the distribution of resources and infrastructure were more likely to be associated with improvements in girls' attendance, enrolment and grade attainment than with girls' empowerment within school or broader gender equality outcomes' (Unterhalter et al. 2014: 4). In other words, it was not educational attainment or attendance per se which widened citizenship or inclusion or civic engagement solely through schooling. Rather, it was an investment in their social conditions which allowed for such interventions to flourish. Recent research also suggests that knowledgeable teachers who are educated to enhance girls' schooling through education, when sustainable across time, has positive advantages for increasing women's and girls' decision-making powers and political participation, as do less formal educational spaces (e.g. 'girls clubs'). Unterhalter et al. suggest that work on after-school clubs and faith-based communities, and greater efforts to educate boys and male teachers on gender equality alongside 'strategies to include marginalised girls and women in decision making, reflection and action, notably with regard to gender-based violence', represent important forms of educational support needed in the wider community to challenge notions of male citizenship rights in these contexts that are taken for granted and, often, violent (2014: 5).

Noteworthy, too, is that concepts such as the 'girl child' and 'girls in need' proliferate in the gender, education and development literature. The term 'girl child' has been inherited through tradition and culture in developing contexts and yet has been appropriated by many global knowledge-power holders in terms of what constitutes citizenship education. Arguably, it also reproduces earlier patronizing colonial encounters which represent more commercial interests than educational, relational or ethically just ones. Men, by contrast, are still represented in many developing contexts through textbooks and curriculum as the symbolically powerful figure, keeping their authority intact, at least at the level of representations (Caron and Margolin 2015). As Caron and Margolin (2015) argue, the figure of the 'girl child' is another fantasy

figure in development programming. They mobilize Žižek's conceptual ideas about fantasy, 'to show how and, more importantly, why girl-centred initiatives reproduce the shortcomings of women and gender-focused programmes before them' (2015: 1). In examining 'girl-centred' campaigns, they highlight how 'experts identify and diagnose girls' problems and prescribe solutions that not only circumscribe girls' futures, but are also counterproductive' (2015: 1). They argue that failures in second-wave liberal campaigns in earlier gender and citizenship initiatives should be reflected on to improve the efforts of global citizenship initiatives in education today using a Žižekian approach.

Without challenges to the symbolically weighty category of masculinity, as it operates at different regional and geopolitical scales through some development practices, it is difficult to imagine how to engage with liberal citizenship if the very freedoms necessary for pursuing it are undermined at various levels of culture. This is particularly so if the historical and cultural sphere of women's activities can only be redeemed when they are conflated with a subordinate private sphere, or the notion of girls as ultimately trapped either in a submissive role or as keepers of benevolence and innocence. This project, premised on structures, cultures and colonial entanglements associated with both explicit and tacit gender discrimination, is still drawn on to support abstract and unattainable notions of political community and citizenship (see also Ahmed 2013). As Arendt argues (1971):

> power tend[s] to be asymmetrically distributed, while the liberal institutions permit the economic masters to continue to enrich themselves at the expense not only of the poverty of the rest of us, but of our access to knowledge, to information, to understanding. (307–308)

What this educational research suggests is that access does not necessarily mean a better or fairer education, although it is a crucial step in the process of inclusion and the widening of citizenship rights (Unterhalter et al. 2013). Indeed, spatial, historical, national and global contexts are crucial in determining whether access will benefit sexual and gendered minorities in different geopolitical spaces, or whether it has the potential for harm. Gender equity within the state is a necessary condition for ensuring the wellbeing of those who attend schools. However, as the review of associated research has shown, when access is seen as an equality strategy on its own, it might function to mask ongoing inequities emerging from social entrenchment in heteronormative models of state education which remain premised on colonial divisions and forms of state governance and which do not respect civic rights. It is not only the 'developing' world where this issue looms large. This seems

a particularly important point when considering how such divisions operate in relation to contemporary constraints placed on young people's social and civic rights in many Western nations, such as the UK (for example, the right to engage in civil disobedience, securitized defences restricting urban youth from free mobility in 'global cities'), and their gendered and racialized manifestations. While considerable gains are thought to have been made in many Western countries and some success has been seen in the 'developing world', there are only moderate signs of success in the development context where wider questions of poverty and the effects of negative development loom large (Escobar 2011; Sassen 2014). These challenges should, moreover, not be seen as completely separated from what is often (controversially) referred to as the 'Global North' and/or the 'affluent West'. Clearly, this division becomes problematic when we consider the case of the UK, Spain, France and other European countries where affluence widens alongside growing national poverty levels, and gender and racial disciminiation remain high as does youth unemployment (London Poverty Profile 2015; Sassen 2014). It can be argued that many liberal feminist reform strategies, still dominant and mobile on a global scale, are limited in their reach and, in some contexts, have been incapable of altering what Pierre Bourdieu named the 'constancy of structure' in gender relations, particularly the continuing segregation and stratification of labour markets and education by divisions of sex, sexuality, race, migration and class. Bourdieu himself was not alive to witness the gendered arrangements of the political conflict in sites such as North Africa, the London Riots in 2011, or the EU's rising emphasis on education and extremism, but his insights about the symbolic violence of gender injustice across time and within education seem particularly poignant at present. They also appear relevant when witnessing, for example, the subordination of female minority ethnic groups and LGBT+ and Trans communities in many parts of the world; the role of ISIS/L in defining education as a site of conflict and atrocities for girls and women; the recognition that same sex desire and marriage remains unsanctioned in many nations of the world; that the teaching of anti-homophobic education remains outside education for global citizenship in many countries; and the use of educators to shape the belief systems of young people about the role of men in autocratic regimes.

> The strength of the masculine order is seen in the fact that it dispenses with justification: the androcentric vision imposes itself as neutral and has no need to spell itself out in discourses aimed at legitimizing it. The social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it was founded. (Bourdieu 1998: 9)

Indeed, as Benhabib and Resnick have argued, there are many other arenas of social life that must be attended to if we are truly to comprehend gender justice and the expansion of citizenship:

> The movement of peoples across national borders is posing unprecedented challenges for the people involved as well as for the places to which they travel and their countries of origin. Citizenship is now a topic in focus around the world but much of that discussion takes place without sufficient attention to the women, men, and children, in and out of families, whose statuses and treatments depend upon how countries view their arrival (2009: 1).

This discussion must necessarily involve a recognition of gendered subjects who might be identified by the official state and education as 'strangers', stateless or in perpetual exile; those, for example, who are expelled or remain entrapped and detained for lengthy periods in border zones which do not operate as sovereign states. In other words, liberal feminist initiatives within education may have presumed too much about the essence of gender as an inherited classification system within the official borders of the state, along with the national strategies by which the eradication of gender hiearchies is posited. Webster writes that, '[not] all women need or want the same things. The very legitimacy of the political representation of "women's concerns" is challenged by contemporary accounts of sex and gender' (2000: 1). Here, again, we witness the deeper problematic of equality through sameness as it might be expressed through education, and we are also made aware of the limitations that sovereignty, spatial divisions and some sovereign education systems might pose for those who are not defined as a citizen within the abstract boundaries of the nation-state.

Gender Justice and Citizenship Education: Definitions and Futures

How, then, can we define gender justice in education and link it to wider questions of citizenship while avoiding the pitfalls of liberal practice and ideology? A reference point most closely resembling efforts at capturing a notion of social justice as it relates to gender and citizenship can be found in two overlapping ideas about the nature and character of freedom and difference in education. The first is Arendt's (1958) notion that we can only be free when we are interested in the wellbeing and livelihood of others, and when 'we are connected to others', including their suffering in a particular space and time

(Ricoeur 2010). Arendt refers to this ideal freedom as the politics of friendship (cited in Herzog 2004) which rises above any liberal notion of freedom, where the unencumbered actor of the nation-state acts freely without constraints. This kind of political freedom endorses notions of social democracy, civic engagement, cultural differentiation and community, and moves away from individual autonomy as the sole dimension of political freedom. What is honoured here are cultural, spatial, social and political rights as they relate to a differentiated notion of citizenship which is not grounded in procedural binaries and a relational, ethical and contingent account of international human rights as one way forward in the invigoration of politics (Adami 2014).

The second kind of freedom Arendt refers to is a form which encourages a notion of historical responsibility for the other, be that a gendered body, a displaced female migrant, or young children living in exile. Gender justice therefore emerges when we are both acutely aware of the harms associated with being a marginalized gendered subject in past time and space in a sometimes 'borderless world' and seek to enact a form of cultural citizenship which recognizes these differentiated forms of life in schools and beyond. This Arendtian notion of citizenship views gender justice as an orientation towards an ethical citizenship that implies that educators struggle against neutralizing gender, treating it as a biological account or merely as an abstract form of proceduralism (Adami 2014). In this context, political freedom equates with political friendship and an enduring connection to others both within and beyond official borders. Autonomy, when it is equated with sameness as citizenship, is therefore not the aim. Educators must instead recognize education as a site where widening notions of citizenship can be accessed through an ethical relationality built into the storied and imaginative self as it negotiates, in positive contestation, its place in the polity (Honig 2003; Todd 2010, 2011; Adami 2014). It is these agonistic narratives that one arguably preserves as a way of enacting citizenship in order to move beyond a mere abstraction of the state apparatus upholding citizenship status (Honig 1995).

If we are to take this relational notion of citizenship forward within the realm of education on a practical level, Siim (2013) argues that we also need to consider how relational, post-national and intersecting narratives involve a recognition of other more grounded political conditions: civic engagement, positive social welfare conditions, freedom from endless securitization, from brutality, from expulsion, from the erasure of political visibility and the enforcement of social democratic and economic rights. All of these issues must be considered in relation to the moral responsibility of all nations to recognize and make visible the history of gender as a marginal category in national and post-national contexts, and the capacity to enact citizenship as

an ethical relation in the present. Here, both an ethical philosophy of enacting citizenship and positive social conditions come together to frame education for citizenship. These considerations must also pertain to the 'non-citizen' who cannot be recognized by sovereign policies within an abstract conception of national citizenship. A recognition of these social relations and international obligations within education means that students are taught that such relational narratives co-exist beyond national policies and sentiments, and can be exercised in institutions and in social life more generally. With this recognition comes an obligation towards a political striving – as individual and collective actors – for positive social conditions which must necessarily live beyond any proceduralist approaches tied to universal abstractions that can only be realized for the few.

Taken together, these ideas point towards our responsibilities to others, including those who we may have never known in past time, and our 'debt to the dead' (Dillabough and Gardner 2015; Ricoeur 2010). All newcomers to a space or region, including those apparent 'strangers' who are often deemed as threats to the nation, bring with them the possibility that nations, border zones and transitional spaces (often places where citizenship cannot be claimed officially) can be reinvigorated by them as a form of social hope. This newness to place, a political natality, is precisely what motivates political action and accepts as axiomatic that the world precedes us but is shaped by different social actors who preserve the social rights to build and rebuild the world they imagine in their plurality.[1] This is what Arendt refers to as the condition of plurality, and it is this cultural and ethical recognition of the human being, as a social condition and as a political debt, that must precede political action and holds, as its foundation, plurality as the centrepiece for citizenship (Arendt 2003, Herzog 2004). Herzog (2004) writes:

> In her article of January 1943, 'We Refugees,' Arendt outlines the main features of a non-political condition. The refugees' condition can certainly be recounted only negatively. Their loss is absolute: 'We lost our home … We lost our occupation … We lost our language … We left our relatives … and our best friends have been killed in concentration camps' (Arendt 1978a: 55–7). The only place they can dwell in is a nowhere, a camp; the only thing they can do is remember people who are no more. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, […] she compares the condition of stateless peoples with that of ancient slaves dwelling in the private sphere and who despite their oppression belonged to a community. She demonstrates that the development of the 'rightless' condition

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[1] Sassen (2014) argues that these very fundamental rights are not only being constrained, but are also disappearing from public life in many countries around the world.

of stateless people, meaning a 'loss of a polity itself,' resulted from the conjunction of two distinct processes, that of anti-Semitic rejection and imperialist expansion (1979: 297). The calamity of the rightless condition, she explains, lies in 'the loss of political status'. (Herzog 2004, 40)

I therefore wish to argue that any alternative conceptions of citizenship should attend to how understandings of gender at a cultural and a political level, including its contested meanings, must necessarily translate into political practices. Gendered actors must therefore be given the opportunity to struggle over the very meanings attributed to citizenship, something Honig (1995, 2003) refers to as an agonistic citizenship. In so doing, Honig (2003, 1) confronts 'the symbolic politics of foreignness' and argues that our debates over the 'stranger', asylum seeker or the 'other' are precisely what is needed to gather greater understanding of what it means to maintain positive democratic affiliations. This is an important shift in conceptualizing citizenship because, as Honig (2003) argues, it is often liberal approaches to citizenship that lead to anxieties over 'foreignness' because its very definitions are antithetical to definitions of citizenship in highly bounded liberal states. Here, for example, Honig (2003) turns the 'question of foreignness on its head'. Honig (2003) asks 'how can foreignness help us' better understand our affiliations to the lived practices of democracy in its 'contingent and fragile' forms. Citizenship must therefore reflect the social needs of actors to 'exercise moral imagination which activates [their] capacity for thinking of possible narratives (and counter-narratives) [which] can be understood by others' (Benhabib 1995, 129), or as constrained historical actors who 'think through different possible futures' (Skinner 1997, as cited in Dillabough and Arnot 2004) across space. The link between history, space, imagination and narrative can be bridged to think through such possible futures in order to reveal a phenomenological view of civic engagement that is both 'contingent and fragile'; 'Once we get to the point where we reject any abstraction of the individual from contexts, and reject any postulation of the individual's capacity for reflection on contexts (as an interpretive practice), we effectively deny any capacity of agents to criticize and change those contexts' (Weir 1997: 190). In so doing, we can remain committed to the idea that gender is an unfolding narrative in time and space, a 'vocabulary of citizenship shaped by spaces and places' (Siim 2013) and a form of positive political actions which bring together, in their differences, 'agonistic political subjects' (Honig 2003). These more philosophical positions ought to come together to bridge wider sociological, economic and political questions about the social functions of plurality within an international human rights framework. In so doing, relational accounts point to

the significance of civic action without such actions claiming authority over all forms of gendered experiences, or failing to acknowledge wider material conditions at different registers and scales of space and place.

In this conception of gendered citizenship, education emerges as a site for a contested conception of democratic politics, also known as an 'agonistic pluralism', where positive non-violent political conflict is understood as a necessary and positive condition of political existence. In *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics*, Honig (1993) develops this notion through critiques of consensual conceptions of democracy and argues that no political settlement can ever do justice to a truly inclusive citizenship. Yet, in keeping with this position, she draws particularly on Arendt (1971) to argue for the emancipatory potential of political contestation through *conflicts in interpretation* (Ricoeur 2010) and for the need to disrupt settled political practices. Honig's (1993, 2003) arguments point towards different purposes of education for citizenship. Recognizing, of course, that a necessary condition of politics must include both structures and stability, she suggests that citizenship cannot only be ascertained through a consensual state apparatus as this inevitably leads to the enforcement of dominant political ideologies. And neither should it be solely reliant on perpetual conflict, as such forms of indeterminate and violent political conflict undermine our collective capacity for social trust (see also Sennett 2012). Rather, both stability and conflict are essential ingredients for educating gendered citizens. Agonism is therefore a necessary ingredient for ethically oriented conflict, and highlights through practice how we might assess, integrate and generate positive conflict as a way towards enacting citizenship on the ground. In extending Honig's argument to education, then, she calls on democratic institutions to address the question of what constitutes citizenship, particularly in relation to those 'foreign others' who are thought to threaten them. Honig (2003) suggests that 'foreignness' ought not to serve as a spectacle of the 'dark phantom of the nation' but should, instead, reside at the centre of an agonistic pluralism which directs us away from singular rights and freedoms as though they are equally distributed and towards a strategy of subverting the many binary oppositions asserted by a nationalist form of politics and within education. She also highlights how many liberal nations treat foreignness and difference as something demanding resolution and therefore conduct themselves in anti-democratic ways:

> Foreignness is generally taken to signify a threat of corruption that must be kept out or contained for the sake of the stability and identity of the regime. This somewhat xenophobic way of thinking about foreignness endures in the contemporary world, though other options – from assimilation to the many

varieties of multiculturalism – are now also considered viable. All of these options persist in treating foreignness as a problem in need of solution, however. Even many of the most multiculturally minded contributors to diversity debates treat foreignness as a necessary evil and assume that we would be better off if only there were enough land for every group to have its own nation-state. (Honig 2003: 3)

Honig's (2003) vision of agonistic politics therefore functions to realize the capacity for gendered bodies to act in public space without brutality, harm or legal sanction; yet, her categories of action are not concerned with essentializing identity or in promoting equality through sameness, as sameness simply reproduces liberal logics which see foreignness 'in need of a solution', a topic which has been easily manipulated by political elites in the name of economic prosperity and national stability. Heterogeneous forms of gendered resistance to more conventional definitions of political participation are therefore indicative of the potency of social agency.

Such an argument suggests a bridge between a phenomenological and materialist approach to action, yet remains grounded in a critical vision of gendered citizenship which exposes the limits of liberalism but remains conceptually rich and politically strategic simultaneously. This bridge is reflected in the dualistic commitment to structure (i.e. the social conditions of plurality) and action asserted by theorists such as Arendt (1958), Todd (2011), Adami (2014), Honig (2003) and others by suggesting that we cannot simply accept equality as sameness when such phrases mask anti-democratic practices or present misleading accounts of political subjects as free, 'unfettered authors of their own destiny' (Weir 1997). And 'nor can we necessarily reject all critical foundationalist positions on agency if they provide a sociological framework or "radical critical historiography" (Felman 2001) for explaining how and why some gendered subjects may be excluded from citizenship or, by contrast, engage in acts of political reconstitution' (see Dillabough and Arnot 2004). It is here that Honig's (1995) notion of agonistic pluralism can be embraced as part of educational practice.

Feminist and gender studies research on citizenship suggests that it is increasingly important to develop a coherent position on what it means for gendered minorities to possess differing degrees and forms of political agency in nations, border zones and in schools; how material realities and spatial dimensions of social and cultural life shape the formation of citizenship identities. It also implies a willingness and commitment to pose questions to social institutions about how they seek to create the social and spatial conditions for the possibility of plurality such that it might live as one of

the many platforms for enacting citizenship. This vision of political action defines citizenship as the 'capacity and the responsibility to problematize and define one's own meaning' (Weir 1997: 187) in relation to others, those different others for whom we inevitably must seek to recognize and understand. This, Weir tells us, is the 'burden and privilege of modern political subjects'. A social agent is therefore able to narrate a vision of one's own political commitments as socially embedded, reconcile multiple and competing notions of selfhood, as well as position oneself ethically in relation to others:

> Ideally these reconciliations are achieved not through the imposition of an identity which excludes or represses difference and non-identity (the concern of post-modernists) but through a capacity to reflexively and practically accept, live with and make sense of differences and complexity. (Weir 1997: 187)

In conclusion, I want to suggest that gender and education scholars concerned with citizenship and social justice have a vitally important project as it relates to the realization of citizenship through education and society. On the one hand, they are faced with novel challenges linked to global notions of gendered inclusion in a post-national world order, worldwide concerns about gender, ethnicity, poverty and statelessness, rising forms of proceduralism, new public management and privatization both within schools and universities and within the social welfare sector, the mass expulsion and forced mobility of peoples from states, scarce resources in various parts of the globe and the architecture of securitization, the subjection of young women to extensive violence and abuse (e.g. human trafficking) and the enhanced criminalization of ethnic minority male youth, in particular. On the other hand, they are charged with a call to change the course of education for citizenship by recognizing Arendt's ethical call for enhancing the social conditions of plurality (which does not equate with diversity or multiculturalism), with gender representing a complex narrative of social and cultural understanding that does not live in a finite or static procedural framework that solely accounts for an inherited imperial classification system bound to heterosexuality, the binary concepts of male and female, racialization, and equality as sameness as nation-state ideals. These are challenging tasks to reconcile in conditions of austerity, the evacuation of the 'left hand of the state', rising xenophobia and militarized conflict in parts of the world which may sometimes leave us feeling as though the suffrage movement might have never existed. Both hands of this project – in a transnational dialogue – must be reconciled through an ethical politics of interpretation, action and recognition. Arendt writes:

A characteristic of human action is that it always begins something anew […] Such change would be impossible if we could not mentally remove ourselves from where we are physically and imagine that things might as well be different from what they actually are. […] They owe their existence to the same source: the imagination. […]. Without the mental freedom to deny or affirm existence, to say yes or no – not just to statements or propositions […] to express agreement or disagreement […] no action would be possible and action, of course, is the stuff of politics. (Arendt 1958: 211)

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4

Sexuality, Gender, Citizenship and Social Justice: Education's Queer Relations

Mary Lou Rasmussen, Rob Cover, Peter Aggleton, and Daniel Marshall

Introduction

The most recent iteration of the Australian Curriculum (revised and published in September 2015) confines its references to same-sex attracted and gender diverse young people to the domain of Health and Physical Education. Likewise, in perhaps the majority of the world's schools, issues of gender and sexual diversity remain unengaged with and undiscussed in formal terms outside the focus on health. Is this a problem of sexual citizenship? And would young people's sense of participation and belonging be enhanced by more explicit engagement in documents such as this?

Different Australian states and territories attend to questions of sexual and gender difference in specific ways: some through explicit recognition of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LGBTQI) students and others through more general references to diversity within and across the

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curriculum. Both approaches (and perhaps others) advocate respect for difference and inclusion, but each goes about the pursuit of such goals in different ways. In this chapter, we seek to engage with some of the 'orthodoxies' that have arisen regarding sexual citizenship within the context of education, by revisiting the concept of sexual citizenship and considering its key dimensions. Rather than assuming that the inclusion of LGBTQI students in such policy documents is a valuable measure of citizenship, our focus here is on the question of sexual citizenship and the limits of recognition as it pertains to young people and sexuality. How might it be possible, for example, to envisage belonging and participation outside the dominant discourses of citizenship, recognition and inclusion? What might be the costs and benefits of eschewing such discourses in education? Our goal is to provoke different ways of thinking about young people, gender, sexuality, belonging and relationality.

Sexual citizenship is often associated with people's capacity for participation and belonging as these pertain to gender, sex and sexuality. For instance, sexual citizenship may be perceived as being related to young people's capacity to self-identify in a particular way at school, or to advocate for the rights of a particular group of students to be recognized in curriculum documents and in policy. In this chapter, we focus on recent critiques of sexuality and citizenship in order to think about how these critiques inform our understanding of the inter-relationship between sexuality, citizenship and social justice for young people in education.

Jeffrey Weeks (1998) theorizes sexual citizenship as a way to engage critically the signal prominence of sexuality to contemporary life. As Weeks argues, 'The sexual citizen exists – or, perhaps better, wants to come into being – because of the new primacy given to sexual subjectivity in the contemporary world' (1998: 35). Citing the work of Ken Plummer among others, Weeks offers this discussion of the scope of the concept:

Sexual, or what Ken Plummer prefers to call intimate, citizenship is about:

the *control* (*or not*) *over* one's body, feelings, relationships: *access* (*or not*) to representations, relationships, public spaces, etc; and *socially grounded choices* (*or not*) *about* identities, gender experiences. (Plummer 1995/1997: 151; emphasis in original)

The idea of sexual or intimate citizenship is a sensitizing concept (Plummer 1997), which alerts us to new concerns, hitherto marginalized in public discourse: with the body, its possibilities, needs and pleasures; with new sexualized identities; and with the forces that inhibit their free, consensual development in a democratic polity committed to full and equal citizenship (for overviews

of the debates see Evans 1993, 1995; Waites 2005; Richardson 1998). It has a positive content, in the articulation of new claims to rights and 'sexual justice' (Kaplan 1997). But it also offers a sharp critique of traditional discourses on citizenship, and on the occlusions and hesitations of contemporary debates. (1998: 37–38)

As Weeks makes clear, gender, sexuality and citizenship are by no means universal concepts (1998: 35). At least in part, this is because understandings of sexuality and gender, and the relationships between these ideas and notions of public and private, are shifting and have different meanings among different communities and groups of people. Sexuality and gender also have diverse histories; their meanings are mediated by cultural, political and religious influences and differences (Cover 2002: 110–111). Notions of social justice are similarly inflected and contested. So, when we talk about sexual citizenship and social justice, it is crucial to be specific about time, space and context.

Sue Lees has written extensively about ideas regarding sexual citizenship and curriculum in relation to citizenship education in England. She argues:

> citizenship education offers an opportunity to develop more integrated and critical approaches to gender relations of schooling. It provides an opportunity for schools to develop whole school policies which would address problems of sexism, homophobia, bullying and violence which are endemic in the present structure of hegemonic heterosexuality. It is only when citizenship education and sex education adopt a wider framework which problematises the relations of power underlying sexual relations that progress can be made. (Lees 2000: 273)

Lees' hopes for citizenship education and sexuality reflect a familiar aspiration that effective education might be able to address and resolve major social problems. Such arguments place a great deal of faith in the power of education and critique to bring about reform regarding gender and sexual relations; while this faith is seductive, we want to approach it with some degree of scepticism to help us reflect more clearly on the ways in which ideas about citizenship, gender, sexuality and education are being conjoined and put to work.

Sexuality and gender citizenship are increasingly understood as fundamental to questions of social justice and access to education, but these understandings are qualified. For instance, in the Global North, the idea that young people can attend school or university and publicly declare a non-normative gender or sexual identity is increasingly seen as a basic right. However, most schools and higher education institutions have toilets that are organized according to

binary understandings of sex. So, the question of whether one has a right to identify outside the binary may translate to enrolment forms and policy documents, but structurally there may not be support for people to use educational spaces in ways that accord with their gender identity. Furthermore, the type of school a student or teacher attends (e.g. public or religious), and their experiences of home life, will also influence how they can identify; a person may be able to identify as lesbian at home, but not at school, or vice versa. Curriculum and pedagogy are also associated with questions of citizenship. Do students have the right to education about sexuality as part of their education? Or do the 'rights' of parents or of the state determine what is appropriate in terms of children's education about sexuality? Significantly, the state may legislate to require students' attendance in lessons related to sexuality education, or, alternatively, it may recognize parents or young people's right to opt out of such provision. These rights, tensions and liberties seriously qualify the nature of the sexual and gender citizenship open to young people through education and in schools.

In this chapter, we first consider some conceptual ideas that often underpin commonplace understandings of sexuality, citizenship and social justice, and try to unsettle them. We next explore how curriculum reform intersects with debates about sexual citizenship and social justice in education. We then turn to some of the critiques of educational reforms associated with citizenship discourses in the area of disability, religion and what Quinn and Meiners term 'gay wins'. We conclude with some provocations for future research related to sexuality education, education and belonging that purposefully eschews 'citizenship'.

Sexuality Citizenship and Social Justice: Conceptual Underpinnings

Roland Coloma has written about public pedagogies of sexuality in the Philippines (2013). He argues for the importance of educational research outside formal school contexts that is able to examine how people 'teach and learn and the intertwined relationship among, education, society and the state' (Coloma 2013: 484). Debates about citizenship and sexuality in the Philippines are but one example of how people teach and learn about sexuality via public pedagogies.

On the subject of citizenship and queer critique, in the European context, Robert Payne and Cristyn Davies argue 'The concept of citizenship

is currently in panic' (2012: 251) because of continuing contestation over and tightening of borders. Arguably, citizenship is now even more under pressure, prominently in the European context, as people and nations strive to come to terms with the unprecedented flow of people into the European Union, and in other countries as well, including the USA and Australia, where calls to further restrict the flow of migrants and refugees have mobilized anxieties about sexuality and gender. As this heightened flow of migrants into Europe continues, questions are increasingly asked about who can become a citizen. Public debates over sexual assaults in Germany and Sweden have recently become conflated with questions of citizenship.

We see this in the comments of people such as Dominic Cumming, the campaign director of an organization which asked for Britain to exit the EU. Cumming is reported as having:

> tweeted there was 'nothing' to stop migrant sex attackers moving to the UK once they got German citizenship. He said: 'EU law = once Cologne sex abusers get citizenship they can fly to UK & there's nothing we can do. #VoteLeave = safer choice'. (Mortimer 2016)

Cumming's tweet mobilizes the threat of sexual assault as intrinsically connected to migration. Via such tweets, people are taught that the admission of 'migrant sex attackers' and the potential for their inclusion as European citizens is ultimately a threat to the security of women in the UK. Widely reported international debates and commentaries associated with these assaults educate diverse publics about sexuality, citizenship and social justice – offering recognition that education about sexuality and citizenship is not confined to educational contexts. Instead, education about sexual citizenship needs to be recognized within diverse publics.

In early 2016, numerous reports emerged about groups of young men of 'North African or Arab' appearance who were linked to a spate of sexual assaults and rapes in the German town of Cologne on New Year's Eve, 2015 (BBC 2016). As a result of these reports about sexual assaults of women in Cologne, young men of middle-eastern appearance, whether or not they were part of the recent influx of asylum seekers, were actively cast as a potential threat to gender justice. Here is another contemporary example of how we learn about sexuality through public pedagogies. This event helps us to demonstrate how public pedagogies regarding sexuality, religion and gender become inter-related with ideas about who has a right to be considered European. Such pedagogies point to some of the shortcomings of citizenship discourses;

they illustrate citizenship's tendency to be aligned with the production and enforcement of boundary-making.

In January 2016, *Spiegel Online International* hosted a debate between two prominent German feminists, both white women, Alice Schwarzer and Anne Wizorek,[1] related to this event. Wizorek decries the sexual assaults and the debate stating 'unfortunately it has had the wrong focus: It is wrong to only speak about sexualized violence if it is committed by migrants or refugees'. While Schwarzer insists on the importance of making this link: 'In recent decades, millions of people have come to us from cultural groups within which women have absolutely no rights […] since the end of the 1970s, at the beginning of the revolution in Iran under Khomenei, we have experienced a politicization of Islam. From the beginning, it had a primary adversary: the emancipation of women' (*Spiegel Online International*, 21 January 2016). Following on from the attacks, Schwarzer suggests the need to examine more closely the beliefs of those who are coming to Germany, while Wizorek argues 'the right of asylum cannot be restricted just because people come to Germany from countries that represent more sexist attitudes' (*Spiegel Online International*, 21 January 2016). Schwarzer's tendency to describe groups of people based on their religious or ethnic identity is a form of essentialism, or the belief in a true essence or authentic self (Fuss 1989). Gloria Anzaldúa (1991) warns against the problems of using terms describing people's sexuality in ways that erase class, ethnic, religious and racial differences between people associated with the term.

A related example can be found in Germaine Greer's critique of transgender people:

> Australian-born academic and writer Germaine Greer has said that in her opinion, transgender women are 'not women'.
>
> She also claims that 'a great many women' who are not transgender think transgender women – who she refers to as 'male to female transgender people' – do not 'look like, sound like or behave like women'.
>
> In an interview with BBC Newsnight's Kirsty Wark, Greer did say that she would be prepared to use female pronouns when referring to someone, if that was their preference, 'as a courtesy'. (http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-34625512)

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[1] 'Alice Schwarzer, 73, the grande dame of German feminism, and Anne Wizorek, 34, a prominent member of the new generation of feminists, often have different views about the direction the women's movement should take. For decades, Schwarzer […] has been at the forefront of women's issues. In more recent years, a younger generation of feminists, led by Wizorek, has sought to challenge Schwarzer's preeminence.' (*Spiegel Online International*) http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-feminists-debate-cologne-attacks-a-1072806.html

In Greer's critique, we can find an effort to mark out and patrol the boundaries of not only what might count or pass as a woman, but also what might pass for a good secular, progressive, feminist citizen – that is, someone who is not transgendered. This illustrates the mobilization of deeply conservative ideas about gender, and how the allocation of sexual and gendered citizenship reveals the emergence of other authorities – beyond the nation-state – as qualifiers and conferrers of the recognition of citizenship. In Greer's critique, a mode of reactionary, essentialist feminism is deployed, revealing the powerful ways in which the recognition of citizenship rests on the body and how the practice of citizenship is an embodied one.

We cite such debates to indicate how contested and contestable formulations of sexuality, gender, national identity and religious belief are often drawn together in highly generalized ways in debates over citizenship. They also demonstrate how such debates, carried out in the public square of popular opinion and the media, function as powerful public pedagogies mobilizing discourses about sexuality and gender that often essentialize people's behaviour and views according to ethnicity, nationality and belief. This brief examination of one incident and a selection of associated public commentaries demonstrate how sexual citizenship is always already laced with ideas about race/ethnicity, religion and gender. This is a key part of the problem of utilizing sexual citizenship as a means of securing justice.

Payne and Davies, inspired by the work of Engin Insin, argue the need to reject current framings of citizenship debates that focus on questions of who can, and who cannot be admitted as citizens within the nation-state. Rather, they want to turn attention to an 'insurgent queer reframing [that] aims to rethink the very terms of citizenship debates' (Payne and Davies 2012: 254) so that different types of inquiries might ensue that do not centre around who is in, and who is out. Like Payne and Davies, Margrit Shildrick also notes that citizenship 'relies on a series of exclusions of those who do not or cannot fit' (2013: 138). 'Sexual Citizenship, Governance and Disability: From Foucault to Deleuze' (Shildrick 2013) provides a useful introduction to conceptual debates related to sexuality and citizenship. For all those who might purportedly benefit from inclusion within citizenship, Shildrick argues, there are also many who will likely not benefit because of the ways in which citizenship is inevitably bounded by a series of exclusions (suggesting that people with disabilities are just one group who are excluded). Other limitations of citizenship that Shildrick notes, when thinking disability and sexuality together, are the ways in which people with disabilities have their sexualities silenced, rendered unintelligible, or, conversely, rendered as pathological and therefore in need of administration by the state (2013:

140). The limits of sexual citizenship have been debated for some time, across disciplines, and within and outside education contexts.[2] We now move to think more about how sexual citizenship manifests as inclusion of same-sex attracted and gender diverse young people in Australian curricula.

Sexual Citizenship and Curriculum Reform

In Australia, there is ongoing discussion concerning the place of sexuality and gender difference in the curriculum. In the Australian Curriculum (which was revised in 2015) 'diversity' is specifically related to students with a disability, gifted and talented students, and students for whom English is another language or dialect (EAL/D). There is but one explicit reference to same-sex attracted or gender diverse young people to appear in the Health and Physical Education curriculum. In the curriculum developed by the state of Victoria, diversity relates specifically to disability and learners of English as an additional language (EAL).

The dissociation of diversity from LGBTQI young people, along with the absence of explicit mention of these young people in the Australian Curriculum, is at once both curious and problematic. The decision to exclude mention of LGBTQI people from the Australian Curriculum speaks to the discussion above concerning the limits of citizenship debates that focus on questions of who can, and who cannot, be admitted. In the Australian Curriculum, it appears that LGBTQI people are excluded; but will naming them formally in the Curriculum necessarily result in more or better inclusion?

In a piece entitled 'Making schools safer and more welcoming for LGBTQI students' (2015), David Rhodes argues in the affirmative. He worries that the erasure of LGBTQI means that:

> teachers will be reluctant to teach it. Much debate has surrounded the implementation and review of the national curriculum, including its political, cultural and religious agendas. However, the reality for LGBTQI students is that the curriculum oppresses and silences those who don't conform to heterosexist ideals.
>
> […] A multicultural curriculum enhances opportunities to promote understanding about difference […] As a supposedly progressive and liberal society, we need to discard our prejudices to ensure that all young people are protected

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[2] See also Wendy Brown's (2002) discussion of the paradox of rights and Shane Phelan's discussion of gays, lesbians and the dilemmas of citizenship (2001).

and safe at school. Homophobic violence remains a significant issue in Australian schools. (Rhodes 2015)

We have some sympathy with Rhodes' concerns, but, recalling Lees, there is a touching faith here in the capacity of sexual and gender progressivism to provide an antidote to prejudice. We are less optimistic that formal inclusion of LGBTQI students in official curricula will make schools safer for LGBTQI students. This argument rests, in part, on the assumption that homophobia is something caused by ignorance, and that it can be effectively combatted by the right combination of anti-homophobia education and exposure to LGBTQI peers and curricula. Such a reductionist analysis fails to grapple with the multiplicity of structural, interpersonal and personal factors under-pinning homophobia and different forms of homophobic expression (see Rasmussen 2016; 104–123). To be clear, we would like the Curriculum to be more inclusive of LGBTQI issues. Where we differ with Rhodes is over the extent to which such a move can make schools safer (for some relevant queer critiques of safety, see Rasmussen 2006, Marshall 2014 and Cover 2012).

The shifting boundaries of inclusion of same-sex attracted and gender diverse young people are apparent if one continues to look at curricula, within the Australian context. The curriculum in the state of Victoria may be more explicitly supportive of 'same-sex attracted and gender diverse students'. However, this support is bounded in a number of ways. First, it is explicit only within the context of Health and Physical Education (HPE). Discussion of diversity in the Victorian curriculum, outside HPE, do not explicitly engage with or incorporate LGBTQI young people. Second, the topic is classified as one of several 'sensitive issues', as it also is in the Australian state of New South Wales – alongside domestic violence, child abuse and mental health. Third, when they are mentioned, issues of same-sex attraction and gender diversity are not grouped alongside other cross-curricula diversity categories such as disability and EAL but, instead, are positioned as something special and 'set apart'. This is apparent in the following excerpt from the Victorian HPE curriculum:

Sensitive Issues[3]
The Health and Physical Education curriculum includes a number of topics that need to be handled sensitively. These topics include:

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[3] See http://victoriancurriculum.vcaa.vic.edu.au/health-and-physical-education/introduction/learning-in-health-and-physical-education

- sexuality and relationships
- violence prevention education, including gender based violence and domestic violence
- mental health.

The approach to addressing sensitive issues within the Health and Physical Education curriculum should be consistent with the school ethos, community and parental expectations and prescribed guidelines of the relevant educational sector.

Same-Sex Attracted and Gender-Diverse Students

As with other areas of student diversity, it is crucial to acknowledge and affirm diversity in relation to sexuality and gender in Health and Physical Education. Inclusive Health and Physical Education programs which affirm sexuality and gender diversity acknowledge the impact of diversity on students' social worlds, acknowledge and respond to the needs of all students, and provide more meaningful and relevant learning opportunities for all students.

Diversity in relation to sexuality and gender is acknowledged and affirmed in Health and Physical Education programs. The design of the Health and Physical Education curriculum recognises the responsibility of school communities to ensure that teaching is inclusive and relevant to the lived experiences of all students, including those who may be same-sex attracted, gender diverse or intersex. The curriculum allows flexibility for schools to meet the learning needs of all young people, particularly in the health focus area of relationships and sexuality.

Disclosure

When discussing topics such as human relationships or sexuality there is a possibility that students may disclose personal information such as sexual preference, abuse or family violence. Teachers need to use strategies to minimise the risk of harmful disclosure in the classroom. Strategies include:

- making it clear to students prior to teaching sensitive topics that students should not tell personal stories or disclose their own or others experiences in class
- engage in protective interrupting, that is interrupting the student before they disclose
- inform students that if they want to discuss personal issues that this can be done privately outside class.

Mandatory Reporting of Child Abuse

In Victoria teachers are mandated to make a report to the Department of Health and Human Services Child Protection if they form a reasonable belief that a

student is in need of protection because they are at risk of harm or neglect, or if a teacher holds a reasonable belief that the student is being subjected to physical or sexual abuse. Teachers should refer to the Child Protection – Reporting Obligations section of the Victorian Government Schools Policy and Advisory Guide.

Juxtaposed with the discussion of same-sex attraction and gender diversity is a directive reminding teachers of their duty of mandatory reporting of suspected child sexual abuse or family violence. Under the heading, *Disclosure*, teachers are cautioned to be sensitive to the possible disclosure of a child's sexual preference in class, or the disclosure of abuse or violence. In the Victorian curriculum we see an example of the inclusion of same-sex attracted and gender diverse young people explicitly in HPE curriculum, no doubt with the implied function of making schools safer for such students. However, the curriculum's collocation of coming out about one's sexual or gender preferences with the disclosure of family violence or abuse, speaks loudly to the problems and limitations of inclusion. Here we see coming out being explicitly privatized and, at least by implication, constructed as something that may likely be the source of harm. We also see the privatization of sexual preference, and the messages this sends about what it means to belong at school.

Sexuality Citizenship, Social Justice and Education

The production of boundaries of sexual citizenship in education is also evoked in Dan Goodley and Katherine Runswick-Cole's (2013) discussion of a touching at school. They present a narrative of touch, sexuality and 'bodies-as-disability' with a view to complicating how people think about impairment, citizenship and sexuality in various contexts, including secondary school. Their work tells the story a 16-year-old girl called Mandy with a 'label of moderate learning difficulties' who attends a mainstream secondary school in the UK. Charlotte, Mandy's mother, recounts the following story to Goodley and Runswick-Cole about how Mandy's touching of peers was addressed by the leadership team at the school:

> There was just… they started saying silly things like, Mandy is being inappropriate with the boys, inappropriately touching that was it and I was like 'oh, oh!' What do you mean inappropriately touching and they said she is touching their

arms and touching their legs. I said well you have to understand that when Mandy's language skills were much poorer than they are now, rather than make this awful 'uh, uh, uh' sound that she had, the speech and language taught her to touch your arm when she was a lot smaller, touch your leg. So when you are sat down and she wants to talk to them she will touch their arms. When they said she was inappropriately touching we thought she was touching breasts or touching genitalia they made everything so sordid sounding. But in my mind, she has an interest in boys, she has an all teenager interest in boys so she is showing that she's looking probably for a relationship some time in the future and I hope for her she can. Children used to hug her and the teachers used to hug her and the secretary used to hug her and then we'd read her report and it would go 'Mandy has a tendency of hugging people'. Because they are hugging and communicating that way she thinks it is only natural. (Charlotte) (Goodley and Runswick-Cole 2013: 11)

Charlotte's storying of Mandy's touching, as told to Goodley and Runswick-Cole, is one instance of how sexuality, disability and citizenship become entangled in education contexts. In Charlotte's telling, Mandy is constituted as an improper citizen of the school because of the way her touching is interpreted as sexualized. In this passage, it is possible to see how the advice given to Mandy about touching has been ambiguous, and likely confusing. At different times in her school experience, Mandy's touching of peers (including hugging) has been explicitly encouraged by teachers, tacitly accepted, and then ultimately constituted as sordid and something which could have her excluded from 'mainstream' education.

For Goodley and Runswick-Cole, such narratives of 'bodies-as-disability' illustrate how the 'ideals of normative ableist imaginary and symbolic threaten to marginalize non-normative embodiment' (2013: 12). Significantly, the authors do not recount these narratives with a view to associating disability with lack – thereby inviting a recuperative response. Rather, they want to think about how people who are differently embodied, and who do sexuality in ways that challenge the boundaries of normativity, may provoke us to 'think again about what it might mean to become emancipated together' (Goodley and Runswick-Cole 2013: 16). This is a refusal to constitute people with disabilities via a deficit discourse, as in need of education about good touching in order to stay in school. In place of such an educational intervention that will make Mandy into an acceptable citizen of the school, within its conventional understandings of good and bad touching, Goodley and Runswick-Cole imagine a 'post-conventional body' that is constituted differently in different social fields, a body that 'yearns for interconnections with

others', a desiring body. They see the potential of Mandy's story to help us think again about embodiment, desire and touching in education.

Another way of thinking about sexuality, citizenship and social justice in education is that put forward by Therese Quinn and Erica Meiners in their contemplation of 'queer worlds and just futures'. Both these authors acknowledge 'gender non-conforming and nonheterosexual youth are harmed in our communities and in our schools. This harm is substantial and has lasting significance' (Quinn and Meiners 2013: 152). At the same time, however, they insist on judging efforts to combat bullying and homophobia – what they term 'gay wins' in education, such as the establishment of gay-inclusive anti-bullying laws and policies – within a larger visioning of social justice. Quinn and Meiners contend that the proliferation of success in the USA (such as the right to be 'out' at work, to celebrate LGBT History month and to anti-bullying initiatives) needs to be read alongside growing neoliberalism, school privatization and the decimation of public education – and the devastating impacts of these trends on the poor and children of colour. Examining education using this frame, they argue it is questionable to what extent 'gay wins' can properly be conceptualized as *socially just*.

An example of the way in which such 'gay wins' can be understood involves thinking about the wider perspective of institutions, practices and policies that are not ostensibly related to sexuality and, resulting from the narrow frames through which policy is often discussed, relegates sexuality to an outsider position. However, it is possible to reframe such distinctions in order to see that broader pictures of social justice that have an impact on educational norms and practices are directly implicated in the cultures and discourses of sexuality in school settings. In Australia, for example, a recent Senate inquiry has affirmed that one fifth of primary teachers are on fixed-term contracts, and the same is true for approximately one third of secondary school principals (Commonwealth of Australia 2013: 76). How is this progressive casualization of the teaching workforce relevant to questions of sexual citizenship and social justice? In several ways, we suspect. First, the increasing precarity of teaching may result in teachers needing to conform to specific types of gender and sexual norms in order to secure and retain contracts. Second, it may have implications for teacher involvement in areas of the curriculum (such as sexuality education) that have the potential to provoke negative feedback from parents and/or students. Beginning teachers striving to gain permanency, as well as teachers worried about their contracts being renewed, are understandably 'reluctant to take stands on potentially controversial issues' (Quinn and Meiners 2013: 163). School cultures, fund-

ing of public education, teachers and teacher education are all part of the picture of sexuality, social justice and education.

Roman Kuhar has investigated sexual citizenship in the context of debates about religion and education, and secularization in Croatia and Slovenia. In particular, he has examined the ways in which the Roman Catholic Church mobilizes sociological argument concerning the family, the nation-state and social transformation, rather than explicitly Biblical argument, to argue against sex/gender equality in school curricula. Kuhar argues that in these states:

> the Church is secularizing its discourse in order to 'clericalize' society. Furthermore, it successfully re-generates the issues of the family and marriage as an ideological battleground of contemporary cultural wars, constituting gays and lesbians as outsiders in the nationalist and patriarchal imaginary of post-socialist nation states. It is in this context that the 'envisaged new morals' of sexual citizens face their resistance and counter-narratives. (p. 90)

Kuhar points here to the way in which sexual citizenship interconnects with religious and cultural differences in specific ways in different country contexts. In countries such as Croatia and Slovenia, both Church and state work together to constitute a vision of the nation (past, present and future) from which gays and lesbians (among other gender and sexual minorities) remain firmly excluded.

However, distinctions between religious and secular discourses are not always straightforward for young people themselves, or for ways of thinking about sexual citizenship and social justice in education. Mary Lou Rasmussen's (2016) recent research speaks to some of the problematic ways in which sexuality education becomes evaluated as 'progressive' by the extent to which it has become secularized. Rights-based approaches are routinely contrasted with approaches to sexuality education that are perceived as 'backward-looking' and religious in their emphasis. In this respect, a slippage can occur whereby sexual citizenship is inevitably secularized. We can see this in the writing of scholars working to secure more open and 'progressive' forms of sexuality education in majority world contexts.

In Indonesia, drawing on claims made in the United Nations' Convention of the Rights of the Child and the Cairo Declaration on Reproductive and Sexual Rights (p. 41), Brigitte Holzner and Dede Oetomo (2004) critique sexuality education informed by religious perspectives on the grounds that such education invariably portrays sex outside of marriage as unhealthy and dangerous. In contrast, they advocate for a sexuality education that is informed by a rights-based approach and 'a citizenship discourse [that] supports a belief in

self-control through rational choice, not requiring outside controls' (Holzner and Oetomo 2004: 41). They suggest that an alternative 'discourse of competence and citizenship would more adequately reflect the actual sexual behavior of youth' (Holzner and Oetomo 2004: 40). Here, as in other contemporary accounts, it is possible to see how discourses of competence and citizenship with regard to sexuality come to be framed as *contrasting with* and *distinct from* religious discourses within the field of sexuality education.

In the field of sexuality education, there is a tendency to emphasize ideas such as decision-making, autonomy, rights discourses, equality and citizenship, and rationality as a necessary counter to more prohibitive (read 'religious') forms of sexuality education. Given that many young people live in communities where religion continues to play a significant role in life, what then are the consequences of espousing sexuality education and modes of sexual citizenship that remain silent on questions of religion and spiritual belief? To put this another way: should discourses of sexual citizenship and social justice offer space for religiosity, and what are the affordances of such a manoeuvre? Or, are religious citizenship and sexual citizenship really incompatible? We recognize that divisions between sexuality and religion are by no means uniform within or across country contexts. Events in Croatia and Slovenia are not mirrored in the Indonesian context, although ideas about sexual autonomy, rights and citizenship do cross borders.

Implications for Education for Sexual Citizenship

In short, there is a need to be wary of analyses that assume that greater sexual citizenship will flow unproblematically from more inclusive forms of education. Robert Payne argues:

> Stepping out of […] either/or framing here might allow, for instance, the claim that homophobia also coexists with education and inclusiveness. Seen as a process, an atmosphere, a contingent relation, rather than a thing, homophobia surely evades easy quantification and therefore appraisals of what counts as 'adequate' content. (Payne 2013: 95–96)

Jen Gilbert makes a similar argument in her book *Sexuality in School*, observing 'our attempts at mastering homophobia will be frustrated by the surprise of sexuality' (2014: 95). Even though sexuality in school manifests itself in ways that we cannot control, foresee or manipulate, Gilbert notes, 'Everything counts – policies, programs, warm gestures, well-chosen readings,

impromptu discussions, formal professional development' (2014: 96). These are all aimed at making schools more hospitable places for all members of the school community.

Gilbert argues that 'part of the responsibility for the teacher or the school is to hold open spaces for these unplanned experiences to emerge' (2014: 97). Siding with Gilbert, we, too, see the need for a range of responses to LGBTQI issues in education. What is crucial here, however, is that the enactment of reforms does not come to stand in for the idea that sexual citizenship has been achieved in education. The contingent relations referred to by Payne, and the surprise and warm gestures referenced by Gilbert, point to the value of thinking more carefully than this about relationality, sexuality and gender – as the examples below hopefully show.

School Dress, Relationality and Education

As referenced by the relationship between notions of the 'citizen' and 'citizenship', debates over sexual citizenship proceed through reference to people's experiences – often highly individualized – of life in the context of the external world. Reflecting the way in which the general concept of citizenship often rests on accounts of particular, individual experience, this section focuses its attention on quotidian, individualized practices of clothing and schooling as a way of extending our discussion of how citizenship rests on the body.

As Quinn and Meiners note, issues such as material and economic injustice cannot be distinguished as separate from queer relations. Here, we are explicitly trying to queer relations pertaining to clothing. In doing this, we recount stories of relations between affect, cultural and religious difference and material inequality, and ideas about belonging that relate to what one wears to school, and how this can play a part not only in exclusion/inclusion, but also contingency and surprise. Partially, this means that the clothes young people are required to wear to school may be crucial for how they are able to imagine themselves as belonging at school. It is also recognition that clothes can make queers of us all – for instance, wearing symbols of religious faith at school may be considered 'queer' in some contexts, and conservative in others.

Since the 1990s, critical reflections on relationships between the body, clothing and identity have been informed by feminist post-structuralist theories of the cultural production of gender. One approach to identity, based on the work of influential scholar Judith Butler and others, understands identity as the body which 'performs' coherent and intelligible codes, behaviours, attributes and articulations that are 'in accord' with pre-given cultural

knowledges that allows that identity to be recognizable and 'recognized', and therefore capable of participating socially – even if the form of participation is as a minority, outside or excluded subject (Butler 1990). Theories of identity grounded in performativity have sometimes been criticized as assuming that subjects simply choose an identity-for-the-day by choosing an outfit-for-the-day (Butler 1993); a post-structuralist approach does not begin by assuming there is a subject or person who makes that choice. Rather, this approach assumes identity is not a choice but, rather, a non-voluntary and non-conscious set of expressions that are conditioned by the available norms, counter-norms, relationalities and types of belonging, and such performances include the wearing of clothes that express identity in ways which can be recognized and, sometimes, misrecognized by others. Clothes have sometimes been equated with stereotypes which link an identity (such as youth, lesbian, straight-masculine, and so on) to a set of attributes (such as hip, boyish, tough, uncaring, and such); stereotypes are unwittingly adopted to ease the recognizability of one's identity as often as they are railed against (Cover 2004); clothes are not merely an ideological falsehood that 'covers over' a real body that possesses a metaphysical truth. Rather, clothes, the way they are worn and the contexts in which they are seen are integral to the performance of coherent identities – it is for this reason that people, young and old, can feel either particularly vulnerable or particularly bold about their choices of clothes in relation to others. Naturally, this becomes more piqued in institutional settings such as schools, in which clothes not only signify particular kinds of identity attributes, but where choices are also produced and restricted by institutional rules.

Importantly, clothing performs work in relation to identity not limited to gender and sexuality. For example, clothing is an everyday marker of wealth and income inequality. Clean clothes, unwashed clothes, home-made varieties of school uniforms, pre-loved items (to name a few examples) can mark students in particular classed ways within school cultures. A familiar strategy employed by schools to support students who are 'less fortunate' is the establishment of a public clothing exchange. This strategy, which reinforces the production of difference within a very public school context, marks specific students as in need of, and desirous of, peers' charity. Within the logic of this charitable act, clothes matter not only because students would appreciate clean or new clothes, but also because the improvement of the clothing situation of students is seen as a way of addressing the larger issue of inequality that the clothing makes visible. However, such acts of charity often require the students in need to become emblems of inequality grateful to receive token efforts of justice. Unfortunately, the pity promoted by the charitable exchange

often fails to encourage wider structural transformation, and the sentimentality of rescuing the individualized victim can even perversely work to further obscure the structural conditions giving rise to the injustice in the first place.

Our point here is recognition that contingent relations can move in many directions, including ones that are often unanticipated by peers and tutors alike. Often school-based strategies of reform value destabilization and the provocation of contingent or queer relations in the belief that such developments are predictably benign – however, as demonstrated by this example, they can go awry. This relates to a major point introduced earlier in this piece where we call for greater critical reflection to attend the faith in or fantasy of control which we suggest is exemplified by drives for queer policy reform which see such measures as straightforward mechanisms for a reformed, inclusive citizenship.

Clothes can also provide 'cover' – wearing a uniform may provide a way of blending in – when one is desperate not to stand out. Regardless of how uniform policies are constituted, young people will often queer their uniforms – finding ways to ensure that they do not conform to uniform standards. This may mean short skirts, tight shirts and visible underwear – using clothes explicitly to sexualize bodies and space in places that are formally constituted as non-sexual in character.

Clothing can queer students in many ways. But it is more likely to be read as queer when it relates specifically to school policies about who gets to wear pants and who gets to wear skirts or dresses. Thinking about uniform options in terms of clothes, rather than what sorts of people are meant to wear what sort of clothes, can bring about important shifts in relations at school – not only with other students, but also in terms of their own gender expression. This can help signal the types of relations people may want to cultivate with their peers; relations that conform to their own expressions of gender.

Relations within schools are profoundly influenced by uniform policies. The decision of whether or not to have uniform at all may also be considered a part of queer relations. The absence of a uniform does not mean gender norms will not apply. It might mean that people's decisions to wear clothes can have more elements of contingency and surprise. And these elements of challenging norms through clothing are not confined to members of school communities who identify as gender diverse or transgender. Critically, queer relations are something in which everybody is implicated.

One of us (Rasmussen) attended a very middle-class Catholic school in Melbourne, Australia, where, as in many other schools, uniforms were – and still are – mandatory. Uniforms were also a frequent source of frustration, shame and resistance. As in other girls' schools, both then and now, school skirts/dresses were

the customary attire. The cream-coloured dresses we wore in the summer months provided little camouflage in the event of a bloody mishap. And the cream coloured bodyshirts that formed our winter attire felt like they magnified the curves in our growing adolescent bodies; curves which at least some of us were not keen to accentuate. A successful campaign resulted in the rejection of the detested bodyshirts and the adoption of shirts and ties – alongside the pleasures of learning how to tie a Windsor knot.

Surprises are also a possibility in school clothing. Rasmussen remembers a school assembly in her first year at high school – when two students in the sixth form (then the last year of high school) – dressed, in drag, as Bryan Ferry and Jerry Hall and gave a stirring rendition of 'Let's Stick Together'.

> And now the marriage vow is very sacred
> The man has put us together
> Now you ought to make it stick together
> Come on, come on and stick together
> You know we made a vow
> To leave one another never.
> (*Lyrics*: Wilbert Harrison, 1962)

While the lyrics for this song were certainly pure, the highly sexualized performance was not. As per the original video, it featured a girl dressed as a kitten, wearing fishnet stockings and lashings of red lipstick, and meowing loudly onstage into Bryan Ferry's ear. This isn't quite how it might be imagined how Catholic schooling would be. The event provided a welcome revelation about what clothing could do for a girl, and what girls could do in clothing. This moment also stands out across time, precisely because it constituted such a radical departure from the conservative gender norms that normally govern school life. What this reflection highlights for us is some of the ways in which belonging is governed by unruly and unpredictable participation within a set of norms, regulations and expectations that are only aspirationally regulatory. While they certainly do discipline and constrain expressions and experiences of belonging and citizenship, what this recollection underlines is how life is routinely characterized by its deviations from universalist policy directives. In Judith Butler's terms, life – indeed, the very body itself – is brought to life through an endless sequence of 'necessary failures'. In summary, life is queer, and it is recognized through how the body circulates in the context of the social – as refugees, as students in uniform, as young people under surveillance. Recognition rests on the body, and this is why citizenship is so queer. Citizenship rests on a shifting body and a shifting embodiment.

Policy, whether regressive or progressive, promises a stasis which denies the fluctuating character of belonging, the embodiment of citizenship and the queer relations which enable its recognition. Certainly, a central controversy of citizenship is that it routinely establishes its own existence to the extent that a citizenship claim can lay claim to one kind of body or another (as we saw in our discussion of Goodley and Runswick-Cole). As Weeks demonstrates, 'the question of political citizenship raises powerful and disruptive questions about who should be citizens' (1998: 38).

This consideration of the different ways in which clothing intersects with our experiences of schooling may appear to be somewhat detached from this discussion of sexuality, gender and citizenship. But we are deliberately moving the conversation away from the formal questions of inclusion and exclusion that are often linked to sexual citizenship discourses. This sideways move argues for an idea of queerness expressed by Jen Gilbert, building on Lee Edelman, 'as the future unfolding […] queerness is not an identity but a quality of experience, a reading practice, a position, or an aesthetic orientation' (2014: 12). Our discussion of clothing at school could be read as queer in this sense. It evokes the quality of particular experiences of clothing, the ways that people are read based on their attire, the ways that clothing position us within and outside hierarchies and friendship groups, and how clothing is intertwined with aesthetics.

Conclusions and Future Research

In order to respond ethically to the present conditions and shortcomings of sexual citizenship as a framework for understanding sexuality within educational contexts, it is important not to assume that we can simply 'throw off' the shackles of restrictive norms and arrangements as if there were an underlying acceptance, diversity and social justice waiting to burst free. Indeed, any sense that present cultural conditions and discourses can be removed to return to a greater, more just and more ethical past is always grounded in a false nostalgia, rather than making sense of the fact that future directions will always be produced in the context of present conditions (Butler 1999: 16).

Future research must be centred on the practice of encouraging critique of contemporary norms in order to produce the conditions in which new frameworks of social justice can emerge. Such critiques can happen in three ways: first, the problematization of *pragmatism* marks the mechanisms by which policy and curriculum are built and disseminated; second, in developing new frameworks for approaching and understanding *diversity* in order to avoid replicating the constraints of minority labels, identities and stereotypes; third, in trying to develop an understanding of the changing forms and prac-

tices in which *support* is desired, offered, achieved, de-institutionalized and re-formulated for contemporary younger persons living in contemporary cultures.

In the case of the first, future attempts to think sexuality, citizenship and social justice together must make sense of new, imaginative and innovative arrangements for thinking about gender and sexuality that avoid the narrowing and simplifying motivations of policy and curriculum development. In *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (2009), Josê Esteban Muñoz, perceives queerness as 'that which follows the event as the thing that is not yet to be imagined' (p. 21). Imagining the relationships between sexuality and gender and education in such a way means that we cannot anticipate what sexuality, gender and citizenship might look like in the future.[4] In our own work, too, we want to hold onto the idea that 'queerness is not quite here'. Such an approach resists what Muñoz terms 'gay pragmatism', or modes of analysis/activism/research in which:

> queerness presents itself as the 'extraordinary' while at the same time fleeing the charge of being 'ordinary' […] being ordinary and being married are anti-utopian wishes, desires that automatically rein themselves in, never daring to see or imagine the not-yet-conscious. (21)

The desires to be 'ordinary' and to get married are just two examples of the gay pragmatism to which Muñoz points. We can also see examples of 'gay pragmatism' in education via Quinn and Meiner's critique of 'gay wins' – 'moves to establish gay inclusive bullying laws and policies' (2013: 149). The inclusion of same-sex attracted young people in the school curriculum of Australian states may be read as another example of such pragmatism. Muñoz deliberately seeks to move away from expressions of LGBTQI politics that clamour for rights such as sexual citizenship, and which by their nature are bounded and exclusionary.

Queer utopianism, as envisioned by Muñoz, is grounded in the everyday, 'it can be glimpsed in the utopian bonds, affiliations, designs, and gestures that exist within the present moment' (2013: 22–23). Queer relationality by extension implies an alternative way of thinking about relations between gender, sexuality, education and social justice. It is a way of thinking sexuality, gender, social justice and education together in the present, but not fixing what these might look like in the future. In that context, educators and researchers must take into account the counter-pragmatism of an unknowability of queer futures that opens the fields of possibility for incorporation of approaches from unexpected spaces, including the past, the archive and approaches that repeat past efforts with difference (Butler 1990).

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[4] Importantly, as Marshall has argued elsewhere, the general atmosphere of ahistoricity which hangs over much contemporary LGBTQI policy debate in schools means that the political project of imagining the future can find generative resources in the archives of the past (e.g. see Marshall 2011, 2012, 2013).

One example of this might emerge in the second area of future research – developing new articulations of *diversity* that include not only the creation of safe and inclusive spaces for LBGTIQ youth in school settings, but also open up space for imagining frameworks in which to overcome the separation between heteronormativity and toleration of marginal sexual/gendered others (Cover 2013: 333). A tolerance framework for diversity maintains categories of identity, regularly through stereotypes that link an identity to a set of (sometimes negative) attributes, circulates these and establishes them firmly in the public imaginary. Pointing out how fixed categories of identity affirmed by recognizable stereotypes operate as a means of discrimination, unsafety and non-belonging for the non-dominant is an important area of work, presenting an imperative to develop new ways to approach how stereotypes, identity regimentation and non-belonging can be undone or countered in both pragmatic and conceptual ways.

Finally, future research and practice must, in the light of counter-pragmatist and pro-diversity approaches, consider what support might mean in the context of schooling and other environments. What might support mean for young sexually and gender diverse people, and how do different frameworks of support assist young people's transitions into adulthood? As LGBT young people transition to adulthood in the context of an emerging 'post-lesbian and post-gay' (Altman 2013), 'post-AIDS' (Dowsett and McInnes 1996) and 'post-rights' (Nash 2013) era, there are major opportunities for reflecting on the forms future support might take. It is in this historical context of major legal and cultural changes that we can reflect on how notions of social justice and citizenship are in flux, where the politics and lived experiences of sexuality and gender can offer insight into these transformations, while also suggesting a significance that extends beyond the discrete interest of sexuality and gender per se.

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5

Indigenous Peoples and Indigeneity

Veronica M.H. Tawhai

Ehara taku maunga i te maunga haere
He maunga tū tonu
Ko tōku kīngitanga
No tuawhakarere
No aku matua tipuna
He ihu tō mai no te Pō

(*My mountain is not a moving mountain*
It remains steadfast
My sovereign authority
Descends from time immemorial
From my ancestors
Drawn forth from the Great Night of Creation)

—Te Kani a Takirau[1]

Introduction

In September 2007, communities across the globe celebrated the adoption by the United Nations (UN) of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP). It had been 22 years since the drafting of the Declaration had

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[1] A proverb of the Ngati Porou people from the East Coast of Aotearoa (New Zealand) from our ancestor Te Kani a Takirau. For further discussion on Ngati Porou political philosophy, see Mahuika 1998, 2010.

begun,[2] 14 years since the Draft was completed and submitted to the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,[3] 13 years since its adoption by the Sub-Commission and its submission to the UN Commission on Human Rights,[4] and 12 years since the establishment of the Commission's Working Group[5] to begin what would be a long, arduous process of negotiating the texts with states[6]. The eventual adoption by the Human Rights Council[7] in June 2006 of an amended version submitted by the Chair of the Working Group[8] was contentious. The Chair's text was considered by some to be 'deficient in many crucial aspects'[9] and a move away from what had been the agreed consensus model of decision-making.[10] These changes were argued by the Chair as required to provide 'the necessary balance for achieving a consensus or, at least, for making it [the Draft] acceptable to the majority' and to grasp the 'unique opportunity'[11] at hand to obtain an instrument for Indigenous peoples' rights at the international level. It was hoped the Draft Declaration would then proceed straight to the UN General Assembly for adoption. However, only after being brought before the General Assembly's Third Committee,[12] an unexpected deferment by that Committee, further amendments by states and extensive lobbying by Indigenous peoples[13] was the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly, 13 September 2007.[14] As stated the President of the General Assembly, Sheikha Haya Rashed Al Khalifa, 'the importance of this document […] for the human rights agenda, cannot be underestimated. By adopting the Declaration, we are also taking another major step forward towards the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all'.[15]

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[2] In 1985, by the Working Group on Indigenous Population (WGIP). See Economic and Social Council resolution 1982/34, *Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous population*, E/RES/1982/34 (7 May 1982).

[3] In 1993. Now known as the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights.

[4] In 1994.

[5] Known as the Working Group on the Draft Declaration (WGDD), in 1995.

[6] Tauli-Corpuz (2007a).

[7] Sucessor body of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

[8] Commonly referred to as the 'Chair's text'. Thanks are given to Tracey Whare, Aotearoa Indigenous Rights Trust, for her assistance with these terms when researching the background to the adoption of the UNDRIP.

[9] Peace Movement Aotearoa (2007: 1).

[10] Diaz and Whare (2006).

[11] Chavez (2009: 105).

[12] Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee.

[13] See Tauli-Corpuz (2007a), for an extensive description of the process leading up to the adoption of the UNDRIP by the UN General Assembly.

[14] See General Assembly resolution 61/295, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, A/RES/61/295 (13 September 2007).

[15] UN News Centre(2007: para. 7).

Yet, the celebrations accompanying the UN's adoption of the Declaration were clouded. Some lamented the changes that the text had undergone. Despite the changes that had been made, and much to the dismay of their local Indigenous peoples, many of whom had been heavily involved in the drafting process, four colonizer/settler states – the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand – also voted against the Declaration's adoption.[16]

What were the reasons behind the opposing votes of these states? What made the Declaration unacceptable to colonizer/settler states in particular? What were the changes that the Declaration's text had undergone since the original drafting by Indigenous peoples? If instruments such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights exist, why was a specific declaration on Indigenous peoples rights needed? What were the implications of the UNDRIP now that it had been adopted?

This chapter explores these questions through an examination of the notions of *Indigenous peoples* and *indigeneity* as expressed through instruments such as the UNDRIP; the tensions these notions cause for considerations of citizenship and social justice, particularly within the contexts of indigenous-colonizer/settler relations; and what might be the implications for citizenship and social justice education. Indigenous peoples' struggles for social justice arise from experiences of oppression, discrimination, and displacement of lands and of our political power. This power, as expressed by the ancestor Te Kani a Takirau, emanates from deep within our understandings of the spiritual-physical place of our peoples within the universe, foundational to our sense of balance, health and wellbeing. While states have, to an extent, engaged in addressing Indigenous peoples' grievances as to the material outcomes of this displacement for our lived citizenship, there is a reluctance to address Indigenous communities as 'peoples' with rights to self-determination and political authority. As highlighted by Maaka and Fleras (2005), it is only in these constitutional terms that true reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and colonizer/settler states will occur. The preparation of citizens to engage, debate and progress such reconciliation presents particular challenges for citizenship and social justice educators.[17] This chapter offers some considerations in this regard, in particular for curricula and pedagogy.

Indigenous Peoples

While Indigenous peoples across the globe are diverse, comprising approximately 370 million people belonging to 5000 Indigenous nations across 90 different countries,[18] there are commonalities. Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel

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[16] For an account of the votes, see General Assembly, United Nations (2007).

[17] On the topic of societal transformation being a task for education, see, for example, Freire (1970, 1973); hooks (1994); Smith (1997).

[18] United Nations (2016).

(2003) explores these commonalities in his critique of different academic, intergovernmental and indigenous organizations' definitions of 'indigenous peoples', where he himself proposes indigenous peoples are we who:

- identify ourselves as descendants of the original inhabitants of our ancestral homelands;
- may have our own political, economic and social institutions reflecting our distinct spiritual, political, cultural and economic systems, knowledges and practices;
- have an indigenous language, different from the dominant society's, which forms a unique part of our identity and the basis for expression of that identity, and;
- distinguish ourselves from the dominant society and others and, while trying to ensure a relationship with ancestral lands that may be threatened or suppressed due to alienation of some kind, seek to gain, enhance or protect our self-determination, if not absolute autonomy (Corntassel 2003: 91–92).

This notion of Indigenous peoples as specifically non-dominant, oppressed and/or marginalized peoples under the political rule of others, as opposed to simply 'first inhabitants', emerged with the first investigations by international entities into the situations of Indigenous peoples.[19] These determined that the situations of Indigenous peoples – who, at that time, were grouped with minority populations – were distinct due to factors such as colonization and should be addressed separately. Indigeneity theorists Maaka and Anderson (2006: 13) agree that 'understanding both historical and contemporary forms of colonization is essential to understanding Indigenous Peoples', as the current struggles, aspirations and initiatives of Indigenous peoples are framed within these contexts of colonization and displacement. The effects of colonization for Indigenous peoples were elaborated on by the Global Indigenous Preparatory Conference for the United Nations High Level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly: the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples, held in Alta, 10–12 June 2013, otherwise known as the *Alta Outcome Document* (2013: 4):

> [U]surpation of indigenous peoples' lands, territories, resources, air, ice, oceans and waters, and mountains and forests; extensive destruction of indigenous peoples' political and legal institutions; discriminatory practices of colonizing forces

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[19] Such as the 1982 report submitted by UN Special Rapporteur on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities Jose R. Martinez Cobo, see Martinez Cobo (1982), and the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 of 1989, see International Labour Organization (2013).

aimed at destroying indigenous peoples' cultures; failure to honour treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with indigenous peoples and nations; genocide, ecocide, loss of food sovereignty, crimes against humanity, war crimes and the militarization of indigenous peoples and our lands; corporatization and commodification of indigenous peoples and our natural resources; and the imposition of 'development' models that are destroying the life-giving capacities and integrity of Mother Earth and producing a range of detrimental impacts of which climate change could prove to be the most destructive.

While only making up 5 % of the world's population, Indigenous peoples are subsequently 15 % of those living in poverty, one third of those living in extreme poverty;[20] we experience ongoing socio-political and economic inequalities,[21] and face multiple human rights crises, such as extreme violence against indigenous women and children,[22] and becoming environmental and climate change refugees.[23] As observed by Rangitane, Ngati Kauwhata psychiatrist and scholar Emeritus Professor Sir Mason Durie (1989a: 284), 'the separation of people from land, language and family is in itself a prescription for illness'. Alienation of ancestral lands, whether through confiscation, forced or unjust sale, perpetual lease, militarization or climate change has seen Indigenous peoples separated from our sources of food, medicines, shelter, security and livelihood, as well as physical landmarks such as mountains, rivers, valleys and seas which form the social, cultural and spiritual supporters of our knowledges, traditions, sense of identity and continuity as peoples. This displacement economically has undermined our abilities to be self-sufficient, to contribute to the economic livelihood of our wider regions, or to engage in world economies – resulting for many of our communities in entrenched poverty.[24] Poverty from land alienation compounded with ongoing societal discrimination in wider society, such as in education and employment, has seen many Indigenous communities unable to secure the necessities for good health, security and wellbeing, such as quality housing and foods, access to health care or an ability to pay medical costs when health care is available.[25]

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[20] United Nations Development Programme (2016). See also International Fund for Agricultural Development (2009).

[21] Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2009).

[22] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) et al. (2013). See also, for example, Amnesty International (2004, 2007).

[23] See, for example, United Nations University, Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS) and United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) (2016).

[24] United Nations Development Programme (2016).

[25] Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2015).

Separation from homelands along with the suppression of other factors essential to a positive sense of self and identity – such as languages, traditions, knowledges, practices and community – has also meant a state of mental-emotional and spiritual distress for many Indigenous peoples. Choctaw scholar Karina Walters (2002: 109) describes these long-term effects of colonization on health and wellbeing as 'historical trauma':

> The cumulative effects of these injustices have been characterized as a 'soul wound' […] and constitute considerable historical trauma. This trauma is compounded intergenerationally and experienced at an individual as well as collective level […] depression, survivor guilt, unresolved grief, high mortality rates from cardiovascular disease, and violent death.

Across the globe, alienation from culture and a positive sense of identity has been connected to higher rates of depression, social and self-harm, such as crime, forms of violence, alcohol and substance abuse, sexually at-risk behaviours and suicide amongst indigenous peoples – particularly indigenous youth.[26] Inversely, research shows a strong and positive sense of identity for youth can act as a protector against health risk factors, a buffer against historical trauma and current discriminations, and be a pathway to healing[27]. This finding is already a part of Indigenous knowledges as many indigenous traditions, including proverbs, chants, songs, dance, arts, stories and ceremonies, emphasize this link between wellbeing and connection to personal identity, family, community, elders and lands, and maintaining ancestral knowledges and practices.[28] Subsequently, wherever colonization and attempts to destroy these connections have transpired, there are long and detailed histories of Indigenous peoples' resistance: armed resistance, peaceful protests, blockades on land, flotillas at sea, occupations, state parliamentary petitions, mainstream political participation efforts, and autonomous political and socio-cultural land-based, education-based, health-based movements, to name a few.[29] In addition to these local and regional resistance efforts, Indigenous peoples have brought injustices to the attention of the international community, which ultimately culminated in the formulation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

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[26] For example, see Lawson-Te Aho (1998).

[27] For example, see Durie (1994); Lawson-Te Aho (1998); Walters et al. (2002).

[28] For example, a common indigenous proverb in Aotearoa New Zealand is *Hokia koe ki o maunga tapu, kia purea e koe i nga hau o Tawhirimatea* – Return to your sacred mountains so that you may be cleansed in the winds of Tawhirimatea.

[29] For indigenous resistance examples, particularly in colonizer/settler contexts, see, for example, La Duke (1999); Mudrooroo (1995); Trask (1999); Walker (2004).

Indigenous Peoples and the UNDRIP: Calling for Social Justice on a Global Scale

While it had taken over twenty years from the beginning of its drafting to have the Declaration adopted by the UN in 2007, Indigenous peoples' engagement as to our rights on the international level has a far longer history. It was not long after its establishment in 1920 that Indigenous peoples lobbied the League of Nations[30] to assist in bringing states to account over local injustices: specifically, the Iroquois leader Chief Deskaheh in 1923 regarding the rights of his people to live by their own laws, and the Maori leader Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana in 1925 about breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the New Zealand Coloniser/Settler Parliament.[31] While the 1923 and 1925 attempts were unsuccessful in terms of securing an audience with the League, it was the beginning of a powerful dynamic between Indigenous peoples and international rights bodies in progressing the greater realization of social justice for all peoples on a global level.

International human rights instruments have been helpful to advancing social justice for Indigenous peoples in the first instance through the setting of minimum human rights standards, many of which Indigenous communities do not enjoy. Indeed, while aimed at all the world's citizens, some of these were developed as a direct result of an awareness of injustices suffered by Indigenous peoples. For example, the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2013: 4) Convention against Forced Labour 1930 (No. 29) is said to have been 'directly inspired' by a growing awareness of the '[d]iscrimination and exploitation of indigenous and tribal workers'. In specifying the actions required by states to see global human rights standards realized, the standards have provided an important negotiating tool from which Indigenous peoples can hold states to account. Examples include the ILO conventions for the abolishment of compulsory, forced and child labour[32] and for freedom of association and the right to collective action;[33] the World Health Organization's (WHO) convention affirming the right of all to the highest standard of health;[34] and the UN conventions, covenants and optional protocols expanding on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, such

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[30] What would become the United Nations, in 1946.

[31] See Tauli-Corpus (2007a).

[32] See the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention 1957 (No. 105), Minimum Age Convention 1973 (No. 138) and Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 1999 (No. 182).

[33] See the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize 1948 (No. 87) and Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining 1949 (No. 98).

[34] See the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control 2003.

as those addressing the elimination of discrimination[35] and the upholding of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.[36]

As discussed above, in addition to these generic human rights instruments it has been considered necessary to have initiatives specifically addressing the situations of Indigenous peoples and to promote and protect Indigenous rights. These include: the appointment by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1971 of a Special Rapporteur to undertake the *Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations*, and the reports on this study 1981–1984;[37] the establishment by the Sub-Commission of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) and its inclusion of Indigenous peoples representatives[38] to address indigenous issues and begin the drafting of what would later become the UNDRIP;[39] the establishment of the UN Voluntary Fund for Indigenous populations in 1985 to assist Indigenous peoples' representatives to participate in UN fora mandated to investigate and promote Indigenous rights and fundamental freedoms;[40] the ILO's Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples 1989 (No. 169);[41] the proclamation of the International Year of the World's Indigenous people in 1993 to promote international cooperation on indigenous issues;[42] and the First[43] and Second[44] Decades of the World's Indigenous peoples, 1995–2005 and 2005–2015, to strengthen 'action-oriented programmes and specific projects, increased technical assistance and relevant standard-setting activities'.[45] Significant initiatives undertaken as a

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[35] See the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1965 and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination against Women 1979.

[36] See the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966.

[37] For example see Martinez Cobo (1982, 1983).

[38] For further commentary on the work of the WGIP to include Indigenous representatives against the norm of UN participation protcols, see the article written by the first WGIP Chair, Eide (2009).

[39] Again, see Economic and Social Council resolution 1982/34, *Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous population*, E/RES/1982/34 (7 May 1982).

[40] Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (2006).

[41] International Labour Organization (2013). This replaced the ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Populations 1957 (No. 107), and subsequently reflects the evolution of understanding about indigenous rights, the 1957 Convention being replaced by the 1989 Convention due to recognition that the 1957 version was assimilationist in nature.

[42] See General Assembly resolution 47/75, *International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, 1993 A/RES/47/75 (14 December 1992).

[43] See General Assembly resolution 48/163, *International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, 1993 A/RES/48/163 (21 December 1993).

[44] See General Assembly resolution 59/174, *Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, A/RES/59/174 (24 February 2005).

[45] General Assembly resolution 59/174, p. 2.

part of these Decades include the establishment of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues by the Economic and Social Council in 2000,[46] the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous peoples in 2001[47] and the UN Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007.[48]

It is from this powerful relationship between Indigenous peoples and international human rights entities that the UNDRIP came into being. The UNDRIP consists of 24 preamble paragraphs and 46 articles, addressing a range of Indigenous rights areas that are 'indivisible and interrelated'.[49] These include the right of self-determination; rights to lands and resources; rights to traditional knowledges, practices and systems be they economic, cultural, social, political or spiritual; rights to equality and non-discrimination; and the rights for Indigenous peoples to have agreements with states such as treaties and for those to be honoured.[50] As stipulated in the Declaration, its provisions are considered the 'minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world'.[51]

Opposition to the UNDRIP

At an international conference held on Indigenous and minority participation in the years shortly following the adoption of the UNDRIP, it was reported that a study of parliamentarians had shown a number[52] to believe that special measures for Indigenous and minority groups are 'not useful', 'not necessary' and, in fact, 'discriminatory' (Protysk 2010: 17). These types of sentiment were amongst those voiced by states in opposition to the Declaration texts and in the debates over its provisions. As mentioned earlier, the original texts of the Draft Declaration developed by Indigenous peoples participating in the

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[46] United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) (2007).

[47] Initially called the 'Special Rapporteur on the situations of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples', changed to 'Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous peoples' by Human Rights Council resolution 6/12, *Human rights and indigenous peoples: Mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people*, RES/6/12 (28 September 2007).

[48] See Human Rights Council resolution 6/36, *Expert mechanism on the rights of indigenous peoples*, RES/6/36 (14 December 2007). This body replaced the original Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

[49] Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations 2013: 5.

[50] For a summary of these rights areas under the DRIP, see Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations (2013).

[51] United Nations (2008: 14).

[52] Between 25 % and 35 %.

WGIP[53] and the final texts adopted by the United Nations[54] had some significant differences. While it is not possible to examine each of these differences here, there are some pertinent examples that perhaps summarize the political points of contention for states.

A first significant change is that to do with citizenship. In the original texts, Article 32 states 'Indigenous peoples have the collective right to determine their own citizenship in accordance with their customs and traditions. Indigenous citizenship does not impair the right of indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the States in which they live' (Economic and Social Council report annex 1993/29: 9). In the final version of the texts adopted by the UN, in which this provision appears in Article 33, the first sentence has been changed to 'Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions' (UN 2008: 12). The notion of Indigenous peoples having our own forms of citizenship to our own politically self-determining nations has been rejected and replaced with identity and membership that are far less explicit in terms of their political meaning.

Another change is to do with Indigenous peoples' laws. In the original text, Article 26 states: 'Indigenous peoples have […] the right to the full recognition of their laws, traditions and customs, land-tenure systems and institutions for the development and management of resources, and the right to effective measures by States to prevent any interference with, alienation of or encroachment upon these rights' (Economic and Social Council report annex 1993/29: 9). The final version of the Declaration in the corresponding Article 26(3) says States shall 'give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned' (UN 2008: 10). The notion of 'laws' instead appears under Article 27, where states are affirmed a role of adjudication over Indigenous lands and will give 'due recognition' to 'indigenous peoples' laws'. 'Laws' has therefore been removed from the context of Indigenous peoples' ownership, control of and use of lands, and only given recognition where it is the legal processes of states giving it recognition.

Article 11 of the original Declaration texts specifies: 'States shall observe international standards, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, for the protection of civilian populations in circumstances of emer-

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[53] See Economic and Social Council report annex 1993/29, *Discrimination against Indigenous peoples, Report of the working group on indigenous populations on its eleventh session, Annex 1*, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/29 (23 August 1993).
[54] See United Nations (2008).

gency and armed conflict, and shall not: (a) Recruit indigenous individuals against their will into the armed forces and, in particular, for use against other indigenous peoples […] Force indigenous individuals to abandon their lands, territories or means of subsistence, or relocate them […] for military purposes' (Economic and Social Council report annex 1993/29: 9). This section is completely absent from the final texts. Article 28 of the original text further stipulated 'Military activities shall not take place in the lands and territories of indigenous peoples, unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned'. In the final version of the texts, the last sentence as it appears in its corresponding article (Article 30) has added 'unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned' (UN 2008: 11). Again, the ability of Indigenous peoples to be self-determining is over-ridden by the state who, in this instance, will decide what 'public interest' is independent of Indigenous peoples' concerns.

In addition to the above Articles, that arguably diminish the Declaration text in comparison with its original, four colonizer/settler states still voted against the UN's adoption of the text. Their reasons, as with the amended Articles above, primarily concern the assertion by Indigenous peoples of political power and the right to be self-determining. Examples drawn from the statements of these states' representatives in their explanations as to why they were unsupportive of the DRIP's adoption by the UN included:

- With regard to the notion of Indigenous peoples as 'peoples' with rights to self-determination, the representative of the USA insisted the texts worked on by states 'were not intended to imply that the existing right of self-determination' – that is, from the international covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights – is 'automatically applicable to indigenous peoples per se or to indicate that indigenous peoples automatically qualify as "peoples"' (Hagen 2007: 4);
- With regard to Indigenous peoples' laws and lands, the representative of Australia commented 'Customary law is not "law" in the sense that modern democracies use the term; it is based on culture and tradition' and 'any right to traditional lands must be subject to national laws'(Hill 2007: 1–2);
- With regard to the requirement of states to obtain Indigenous peoples' 'free, prior and informed consent' on decisions affecting our communities, the comments of the New Zealand representative as to support for 'the full and active engagement of indigenous peoples in democratic decision-making processes' as opposed to provisions that 'imply different classes of

citizenship, where indigenous have a right of veto that other groups or individuals do not have' (Banks 2007: 2);

- With regard to the provision of self-determination, the comment also from the representative of Australia that they too encourage the 'engagement of Indigenous peoples in the democratic decision-making processes in their country', however 'does not support a concept that could be construed as encouraging action that would impair […] the territorial and political integrity of a state' (Hill 2007: 1–2);

With regard to the enforceability of the UNDRIP, these four states also confirmed their view that the Declaration was not binding on them, as shared by the Canadian representative: 'this Declaration is not a legally binding instrument. It has no legal effect in Canada, and its provisions do not represent customary international law' (McNee 2007: 2).

Indigenous Peoples and Colonizer/Settler States: The Clash Over 'Indigeneity'

Where Indigenous peoples and colonizer/settler states clash as illustrated above is referred to as the 'politics of indigeneity'.[55] Indigeneity is the insistence from Indigenous peoples that, beyond apologies for past human rights atrocities, compensation for stolen lands and taskforces to eliminate ongoing inequalities, there are issues of power and power-sharing that need addressing. Returned lands and resources are important to assist in the rebuilding and healing of indigenous communities. However, there is a risk in focusing on compensation in order to 'settle' and then forget the history of colonization. Ngati Porou leader Dr Apirana Mahuika (1998: 215) urged:

> The answer is not the termination of the grievances for the sake of focusing on the future, but a resolution to these so that our history into the future will bear witness to the fact that we as a nation recognised the wrongs and that we did something about them […] [T]o do things in a token manner adds to the current grievances and, in the process, another damning chapter to our nation's history.

The risk of colonizer/settler states perpetuating the dynamic of colonizer gain and indigenous loss even in the attempts at reconciliation is the point *indigeneity* makes; that until there is power-sharing and decisions

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[55] See Maaka and Fleras (2005).

being made about indigenous people either by indigenous peoples or in partnership, injustices will continue to occur. Indigeneity should therefore not be confused with indigenous political representation, at least as it currently manifests. While indigenous peoples can participate in mainstream political processes, numbers are required to wield any significant influence over decision-making on indigenous issues, and indigenous representatives remain subject to the usual political conventions of government, opposition, party consensus and so forth. Within current constitutional arrangements, indigenous peoples are therefore like any other number of minority groups vying for influence in the decision-making process. Subsequently, as highlighted by indigeneity theorists Maaka and Fleras (2005: 31), the political status indigenous peoples are asserting is one where they are 'constitutionally distinct' requiring states to consider a 'new social contract for living together differently in partnership' (2005: 45). Yet, the notion of indigeneity is also more than partnership, depending on how partnership is being configured. In practice, partnership has primarily been concerned with legal recognition of Indigenous authorities and their engagement in service delivery. Durie (1989b: 298) emphasizes that 'unless the sharing of power is also an objective, then genuine partnership will be illusory'. Maaka and Fleras (2005: 274) agree that partnership is 'illusory if the institutional and constitutional structures of society remain the same' as '[e]xisting social, economic and political arrangements are tipped to the advantage of the colonisers'. A key facet of indigeneity is, subsequently, the notion of social and constitutional transformation, to enable expressions of genuine power-sharing. This includes challenging deep-seated beliefs about the superiority of Western democracy as the only valid system of rule and, instead, advancing a constitutional vision drawing on indigenous systems of law and governance. As emphasized by Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou indigenous rights lawyer and intellectual Moana Jackson (2012: 5):

> The aim should be not just to recompense for the past actions but to accept that a better and more just future for indigenous peoples will ultimately require a restoration of the political and constitutional authority which the colonising states have so consistently sought to suppress […] [A] constitution for our land must come from our land. We believe that the imposed colonising constitution from Britain grew from that place, and that we must find something which breathes from the stories in our own land […] democracy and indeed the very concept of political power itself are not unique to Britain or Western Europe, but have roots deeply grounded in our own history and traditions.

Constitutionally, the potential implications of indigeneity are therefore multi-layered. First, is the notion of Indigenous peoples as nations with rights to self-determining authority, if not autonomy, over our own affairs and based on our own systems of governance. Second, is the notion of indigenous peoples as nations with rights to co-governance in partnership with states of all citizens within their territories, within transformed constitutional arrangements that give equal cognisance to indigenous systems of law. Third, is the expectation that individual indigenous citizens have rights to full participation within mainstream political processes, and that our participation will be valued and special measures taken to ensure that participation if required. Indigeneity, as summarized by O'Sullivan, is therefore 'concerned with rights that predate citizenship, itself, but that seek to shape its contemporary form and practice'.[56] It is particularly these different constitutional scenarios beyond the notion of a single unitary form of citizenship and state that makes indigeneity problematic for colonizer/settler states. Then there are those who, both indigenous and non-indigenous, constitute the citizenry of these states and who will be expected to engage in democratic decision-making on these issues in future. Instruments such as the UNDRIP that push for greater understanding of indigenous peoples and indigeneity subsequently represent an exciting new era of challenge for those of us engaged in citizenship and social justice education.

Indigeneity and Education for Citizenship and Social Justice

The situations of Indigenous peoples call out for the greater realization of social justice in response to the historic and current experiences of oppression, displacement and discrimination that contextualize many Indigenous lives. Effective measures alleviating the negative outcomes of these experiences will, as stipulated in the UNDRIP, necessarily acknowledge Indigenous rights to self-determination, and the political authority, laws, citizenship and sense of nationhood that entails. As these notions for many are contentious, education has an essential role in developing a deeper understanding of indigenous peoples and in the preparation of citizens to engage in the debates that the notion of indigeneity raises. Indeed, in 2016 the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) set as part of its action plan to 'raise awareness on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and indigenous issues […] [and] develop the capacities

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[56] O'Sullivan (2007: 7).

of States, indigenous peoples, civil society and United Nations personnel at all levels'.[57] Specifically, some considerations around curricula and pedagogy might include:

Curricula

- Local Indigenous peoples' knowledges, systems, practices and traditions (including stories, poems, songs and other art forms) about citizenship and nationhood;
- Historical experiences of local Indigenous peoples as citizens of colonizer/ settler states, including the processes of colonization, oppression, displacement and discrimination;
- Current situations of indigenous peoples in terms of inequities in enjoyment of citizenship, such as disadvantage, over-representation in negative indicators affecting health and wellbeing, and ongoing instances of discrimination;
- Resistance efforts by Indigenous peoples, historical and current, against suppression of Indigenous citizenship and discrimination;
- Initiatives by Indigenous peoples and others (governments, non-government organizations) to improve Indigenous peoples' citizenship experiences.

Pedagogy

- Dialogical, where learners and educators can discuss, debate and (mentally, emotionally, spiritually) process information with each other in safe, supportive spaces;
- Place-based, where learners and educators physically visit significant sites of citizenship and nationhood for local Indigenous peoples, to connect to and learn from the land and its stories;
- Community-based, where learners and educators connect with local Indigenous peoples such as elders, historians, story-tellers and artists, to draw on our people resources locally and strengthen connections for teaching and learning delivery, as well as curricula;

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[57] Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Economic and Social Council, United Nations, agenda item report C.19/2016/5, *System-wide action plan for ensuring coherent approach to achieving the ends of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, E/C.19/2016/5 (19 February 2016).

- Action-based, where teaching and learning activities engage learners and educators in directly contributing to the goals of the UNDRIP, Indigenous peoples aspirations for development and the realization of greater social justice in the community, and;
- Futurities-focused, where teaching and learning activities engage learners and educators in imagining more just futures for Indigenous peoples and wider society, and the many pathways and potential scenarios through which that may happen.

As expressed by the current Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Victoria Tauli-Corpuz of the Kankana-ey Igorot people, who was also Chair of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous issues when the DRIP was adopted, that day would be 'forever etched in our history and memories as a significant gain in our long struggle for our rights' and 'a day when the United Nations and its Member States, together with Indigenous Peoples, reconciled with past painful histories and decided to march into the future on the path of human rights' (Tauli-Corpuz 2007b: 1). The UNDRIP itself is therefore a key resource that can be used in teaching and learning about citizenship, social justice and Indigenous peoples. Again, this might begin with the posing of questions between educators and learners such as: If instruments such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights exist, why was a specific declaration on Indigenous peoples rights needed? Why did its adoption take so long, from the beginning of drafting until its arrival at the General Assembly? Why did some states initially oppose its adoption? What are the implications of the UNDRIP now that it had been adopted? How can we contribute to the realization of the goals and aspirations specified within its text?

Into the Future

As we approach the ten-year anniversary of the adoption of the DRIP by the UN General Assembly, while there have been challenges and will continue to be difficulties in its implementation, some celebration can be made of the fact that the four initially opposing states are now signatories.[58] Other developments – such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) *Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples Issues* 2009,[59] the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) Policy on engagement with Indigenous

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[58] Australia on 3 April 2009. See Macklin (2009); New Zealand on 20 April 2010. See Sharples (2010); Canada on 12 November 2010. See Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (2010); United States of America on 16 December 2010. See The White House, Office of the Press Secretary (2010).

[59] United Nations Development Group (2009). See also United Nations Development Group (2001).

peoples 2009,[60] the Secretariat on the Convention on Biological Diversity's *Akwe*: *Kon. Voluntary guidelines for the conduct of cultural, environmental and social impact assessments* 2004[61] and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) *Tkarihwaie*:*ri*: *Code of ethical conduct to ensure respect for the cultural and intellectual heritage of indigenous and local communities* 2010[62] – show the depth and breadth to which Indigenous peoples' rights are being, if not observed, then at least considered, by international human rights bodies. There is, however, much work to do in following up these initiatives with the growth of knowledge, understanding and appreciation among the citizens of the world as to the unique philosophies, knowledges, practices, experiences and aspirations of Indigenous peoples as citizens of Indigenous nations as well as states. It is to this task that citizenship and social justice educators must rise. This will include reflecting deeply on approaches to curricula and pedagogy, and imagining how our teaching and learning can both embody the aspirations of Indigenous peoples and indigeneity, such as the goals of the UNDRIP, as well as contribute to their realization.[63]

> Kia kaha!
> Kia maia!
> Kia manawanui!
> (Demonstrate strength!
> Demonstrate courage!
> Be stout-hearted, be profound!)[64]

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[60] International Fund for Agricultural Development (2009).

[61] Secretariat on the Convention on Biological Diversity (2004).

[62] United Nations Environment Programme (2010).

[63] The writing of this chapter is dedicated to a dear friend, Aaron J. Stewart (22 February 1981–4 April 2015) of the Tuhoe people who, taken far before his time, was an exemplar of how acceptance and celebration of difference could be joyous and lead to great peace.

[64] Thanks are given to elder Benjamin Diaz, from the Ngati Kahu, Ngapuhi people, for his translation of this proverb.

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6

Disability and Education: More than Just Access

Heidi Lourens, Emma Louise McKinney, and Leslie Swartz

Introduction

Questions of citizenship in education for disabled people[1] are linked to broader struggles for disability rights. In introducing this chapter, therefore, we begin by sketching some key issues concerning the way in which disability has been understood and thought about as a rights issue. It is not possible within the space provided to do full justice to the range of concerns; instead, we focus on key issues relevant to this book. In 2006, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly which formally declared

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[1] The question of terminology is central to many debates about disability. Proponents of the social model in Great Britain favour the use of the term "disabled people/persons" because, as they argue, these are people who are disabled through social exclusionary and discriminatory processes. In the USA and elsewhere, "persons with disabilities" is preferred, as there is an objection to seeing the disability as defining the person as a whole. In this chapter, we choose to use the term from the social model which emphasizes social exclusion of whole persons, but we recognize that there are cogent arguments in favour of other terms as well. It is not possible in this field to use a term to which some people will not object. See Swartz (2010), for a discussion of these questions.

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the equal citizenship of disabled people and their right to enjoy all human rights (United Nations 2006). The UNCRPD promotes, protects and ensures the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by people with disabilities, as well as promoting respect for their inherent dignity (Kayess and French 2008). At the time of writing, 160 countries have signed this Convention, while 159 ratified it. This global commitment not only signifies the growing international awareness of the rights of disabled persons, it also alludes to the reality of an unequal and discriminatory past. As will become evident throughout this chapter, disabled persons did not always enjoy full citizenship as they were kept at the margins of society and lacked the power to change and steer their own lives (Shakespeare 2013).

In writing about the segregation of disabled persons, it would be very difficult not to mention the previous and current inequalities within institutions of learning. Education has been one area in which the social exclusion of disabled persons was most pertinent and far-reaching (Hanafin et al. 2007; Konur 2006). If disabled children attended schools at all, they often attended segregated special schools with very limited educational scope (Ferguson 2008). This early marginalization commonly affected later employment and their overall inclusion within mainstream society (McKinney 2013).

Although we are steadily moving towards a more inclusive and equal society for all, exclusion and disablism remains a reality for many disabled persons worldwide (Bantjes et al. 2015; Goodley 2014; Roulstone and Mason-Bish 2012; Watermeyer 2013); even within progressive circles in education, disability is commonly not thought about or is seen as a 'boutique issue' affecting only a few people. The fact is that disability is far more common than was once thought – the World Health Organization (WHO) and World Bank (2011) put global disability prevalence at around 15 %, making disabled people the largest single global minority, apart from women. Disability prevalence is also highest in poorly resourced and troubled contexts, so disability issues inevitably intersect with other rights and resourcing questions. It is not possible to engage adequately with any questions of global rights and emancipation without having to engage in some manner with disability concerns. Where these concerns are ignored, this constitutes a choice – conscious or unconscious – to exclude a proportion of the population (Swartz and Bantjes in press).

Sadly, many disabled children and students still experience exclusion and discrimination within their schools and universities (if they are in these institutions at all) and, in some instances, matters have even remained unchanged (Srivastava et al. 2015; Swart and Greyling 2011; Swart and Pettifer 2011). By way of introducing our argument, we discuss the conceptual development

of disability, and its historic and current influences on the global educational landscape. We look at how the movement of inclusive education shaped policies, and provide an overview of the current challenges to inclusive education. Taking everything into account, we reflect on the current education for disabled persons and the implications it has for their full citizenship.

Conceptual Underpinnings

In this section, we trace recent definitions of disability and how it translated – and sometimes still translates – into teaching ideologies and practices. First, a glimpse into the medical and social model of disability will be provided, following which we will describe the principles of inclusive education for disabled pupils.

The Medical and Social Models of Disability

There are many ways in which disability is conceptualized and many models of disability (Goodley 2014). Though the distinction between what has been termed the 'medical' and the 'social' models of disability are part of a debate which goes back more than 30 years – which has to some extent been superseded by more focused debates on disability, citizenship and emancipation – the fundamental argument between the two models remains foundational to contemporary understandings.

Until the late 1970s, the medical model was the predominant, seemingly uncontested, way of thinking about disability (Oliver and Barnes 2012). It conceptualized disability as an inherent biological defect of the individual, without considering the context of that person (Watermeyer 2013). The task of 'restoring' the disabled body to acceptable levels of 'normality' was left to those who were in power, such as medical professionals (Oliver and Barnes 2012). Medical personnel were considered experts in curing the 'biological insufficiency' of disability (Longmore 2003, p. 42). Moreover, the role of medical professionals, despite their general lack of expertise in fields such as education, commonly transcended the question of how to deal with bodily impairments, as their assessments directed the entire lives of people with disabilities (Rieser 2006). Their evaluations determined, for example, where (or whether) disabled people went to school, and whether and where they should work (Barnes 2012). This rendered disabled people dependent on the care and goodwill of professionals and, as a direct consequence, left disabled persons

without any control or say over their lives (Abberley 1996; Shakespeare 2013; Watermeyer 2013).

Probably the most disconcerting consequence of medical model thinking is the unquestioned grounds it creates for discrimination. Simply put, if disability is construed as stemming from biological deficits only, the contextual grounds in which disability is rooted and created can be brushed over. The unfair distribution of power, privilege and status remains unexamined as the social and economic marginalization of people with disabilities goes unnoticed (Swartz and Watermeyer 2006). The focus is sharply and unwaveringly turned to care and cure, rather than restructuring of society. In this way, discrimination can continue without the slightest ripple of disturbance so long as it is securely kept hidden under the cloak of biological cause and effect. In this regard, disablism is not that different from other forms of discrimination. For example, the history of colonialism and apartheid is marked by countless examples of nonchalant, unexamined, careless discrimination. The similarity here between issues of racism and those of disablism is not coincidental; neither is it coincidental that race was commonly conceived of in biologistic terms by those perpetrating racism (Hook 2012). Biologistic notions of both race and disability have led not only to educational exclusion, but also to genocide (Evans 2010; Lifton 1988).

Though overt, murderous discrimination against disabled people may be an extreme case,[2] other forms were, and are, far more common. The unfair distribution of physical and social capital was further reinforced by the confinement of disabled people to institutions – some of which were considered medical facilities (Malacrida 2015), but a substantial proportion of which were segregated special schools (Barnes 2012; Hughes 2002; Priestley 2006). True to the medical paradigm, at these schools barriers to learning and full civic participation were understood to be 'within the child', and the message was clear: disabled learners were considered tragic, dependent and different (Priestley 1999). Here, at the margins of society, victims of disability experienced 'social death', where their human rights were denied and they were subjected to oppressive practices of professional care (Barnes 1990). In this physical and ideological context, Rieser (2006, p. 135) rightfully proclaims, 'The medical model view of us creates a cycle of dependency and exclusion which is difficult to break'. Professionals thus played a prominent role in steering the lives of disabled people, leaving them with no control over their own

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[2] There are, of course, still those who believe that various forms of disability – and especially, but not exclusively, cognitive impairments – constitute grounds for selective abortion and even 'mercy killing' (see, for example, Kittay and Carlson 2010; McBryde Johnson 2005).

destiny. Instead, their voices were faint and unheard as they inevitably became the 'invisible objects of charity' (Longmore 2003). However, the power not only lay with professionals, but also with non-disabled people who met the standards of normality and who, as a consequence, monopolized political, social and physical capital to which the biologically disabled had no access (Gottfried 1998).

The introduction of the social model in the late 1970s in Great Britain started interrogating this way of thinking and set in motion a political agenda for change. It marked an important turning point for how disability has been understood for decades. No longer was disability seen as a product of functional limitations and biological deficit within an individual but, rather, as caused by the external physical, attitudinal and political barriers directed towards and imposed on disabled people (Ash 1984; Barnes and Mercer 1997; Beauchamp-Pryor and Symeonidou 2014; Oliver and Barnes 1998). In the words of Oliver (1981), 'This new paradigm involves nothing more or less fundamental than a switch away from focusing on the physical limitations of particular individuals to the way the physical and social environment impose limitations upon certain categories of people' (p. 28). In tandem with the gaze that now turned away from physical deficit, the focus of intervention also changed direction. The aim switched from normalizing the 'defective' individual, to social restructuring and political emancipation as intervention for difficulties associated with disability (Reichart 2014; Shakespeare 2015; Swartz and Watermeyer 2006). In this light, instead of the individual, society needed to change.

Undoubtedly, one of the most notable contributions of the social model is its influence on the educational setting. Hand-in-hand with new social understandings of disability, educational policies and conceptualizations moved away from the 'specialness' of the child and 'special' care, to the removal of societal barriers that hindered equal participation within the education milieu. The emphasis on the social model thus helped to shape and restructure primary, secondary and tertiary education towards education for all (Rieser 2006; Swart and Pettipher 2011). In this way, the social model opened up the way for the emergence of inclusive education – a concept that is today considered a theoretical framework in its own right (Goodley 2011).

Inclusive Education

As disability scholars rejected the medical understanding of disability in favour of a sharper focus on societal barriers, the educational gaze also needed to be

adjusted accordingly. In primary and secondary schools, this meant replacing the former dual education system where disabled students were segregated into special schools, and moving towards unified classrooms where disabled learners could attend their neighbourhood schools with their non-disabled peers (Allan and Slee 2008; Graham and Slee 2008). Unlike the schooling system, higher education had mostly not been sub-divided into institutions that catered for disabled and non-disabled students separately. What needed to change in higher education was that barriers to access and participation needed to be removed (Hadjikakou and Hartas 2008). Thus, on all levels of education, the focus had to move away from the medicalized welfare perspective of the disabled person as the 'problem' to be 'cured'. Instead, the new gaze had to interrogate the social, physical and educational barriers within regular schools and universities (World Health Organization and World Bank 2011). As Howell and Lazarus (2003) wrote, 'Increasing access and participation is not about trying to make "others" fit into an existing system. Rather it is about changing the system so as to accommodate a larger and more diverse student population' (p. 61). Such a cultural shift would require a refocus; from what cannot be done, to ways to make education more accessible for all students including those with disabilities. In this way, Adams and Brown (2006) and Howell and Lazarus (2003) argue, these students will be better equipped to achieve success.

This change in the ethos of learning environments is well-known as 'inclusive education' and was first placed on the global agenda with the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education in 1994. Its definition is neatly captured in the World Report on Disability (World Health Organization and World Bank 2011). It reads, 'Inclusive education entails identifying and removing barriers and providing reasonable accommodation, enabling every learner to participate and achieve within mainstream settings' (p. 210). The Salamanca Statement highlights that an inclusive education system is the most effective way of combating discriminatory attitudes and achieving education for all (UNESCO 1994). It asserts that inclusion is a universal right that links to an inclusive society, and provides guidelines for including children with disabilities in regular classrooms, alongside their peers without disabilities. An inclusive education approach uses the social model to interpret educational difficulties: while it acknowledges that a child may have an impairment, it suggests that difficulties that a child may experience may also be as a result of features within the educational system (McKinney 2013). Not only did this statement identify the need for the removal of barriers, it also pinpointed the provision of support and reasonable accommodations within the general education system. It is thus evident that one of the main aims

of inclusive education was attainment of equality (Beauchamp-Pryor 2013). Article 7 of the UNCRPD speaks to the general rights of disabled people. Article 24 specifically states that all disabled people have the right to receive an equal education within an inclusive education system that is free from discrimination. The focus of this article is on compulsory quality primary and secondary education for all. The term 'people', rather than 'children', has been included in order to incorporate life-long learning and acknowledges that not all people who complete a primary and secondary education are children. Standard Rule 6 on Education found within the UNCRPD highlights that states should recognize the principle of equal primary, secondary and tertiary educational opportunities for disabled children, youth and adults, in integrated settings (Schulze 2010, p. 136).

Inclusive education is much more than a process of trying to fit disabled children into mainstream school environments (Peel 2003). An inclusive education system is focused on supporting all children, teachers and the education system in order to best meet the full range of learning needs of all children, including those of disabled children. The focus is no longer on the individual child but, rather, on overcoming and preventing the barriers within the education system that prevents it from meeting the full range of learning needs (Department of Education 2001). This is in line with a social model of disability.

Key Issues

Since the 90s, countries all over the world have bought into the ideology of inclusive education. Governments of 94 countries, for example, adopted the Salamanca Statement of 1994, whereby they openly committed themselves to include disabled persons in inclusive schools (Goodley 2011). Following this statement, countries drafted and implemented policies to enforce equal and quality education for all. Political responses were evident not only in high-income nations such the United States of America (USA) (Beauchamp-Pryor 2012), Australia (Ryan 2011) and Europe (Beauchamp-Pryor 2012; Magnus and Tøssebro 2013), but also in the developing world such as southern Africa (Howell 2005, 2006; Matshedisho 2007; Moswela and Mukhopadhyay 2011; Peel 2003). However, the difference between higher- and lower-income countries is often evident in the implementation of these policies. In the USA and Canada, for example, there has been a steady increase in disabled children in regular classrooms (Ferguson 2008), while in some less wealthy countries, nothing much has changed (Howell 2005, 2006; Moabelo 2012).

The number of disabled students entering higher education was, and still is, increasing across the world (Hadjikakou and Hartas 2008). This increase has been documented in, to name but a few, Northern Ireland (Redpath et al. 2013), Scotland (Riddell and Weedon 2014), Australia (Ryan 2011), Canada (Mullins and Preyde 2013), the United Kingdom (UK) (Adams and Holland 2006; Pumfrey 2008; Tinklin et al. 2004) and southern Africa (Foundation of Tertiary Institutions of the Northern Metropolis 2011; Matshedisho 2007). Tinklin et al. (2004) express that this increase in numbers may be as a result of institutional competition and greater legislative accountability. Higher education institutions have had to comply and support with disability-specific policies and regulations protecting the rights of disabled students (Barnes 2007; Matshedisho 2007). According to Matshedisho (2007), disabled students are now making use of legally mandated disability frameworks in order to access support. Having said this, a number of authors caution that this seemingly rosy picture may be somewhat misleading. First, Beauchamp-Pryor (2013) and Hopkins (2011) observed that, in the UK, the increase may simply be due to a higher number of disclosed disabilities. In other words, in the light of anti-discrimination legislation and improved support for disabled students in higher education, these students may be more willing to disclose their disabilities. Second, when taking a closer look, it appears that this increase was more prominent for students with less visible disabilities such as learning impairments, rather than students with sensory disabilities such as a visual impairment (Beauchamp-Pryor 2013; Hopkins 2011). Third, a quantitative increase did not automatically translate into the attainment of equality and inclusion. Many studies showed that, despite the rise in numbers, disabled students are still under-represented in higher education worldwide, especially at a post graduate level (Chataika 2010; Howell 2006; Moswela and Mukhopadhyay 2011; Nicholl et al. 2013; Redpath et al. 2013; Ryan 2011; World Health Organization and World Bank 2011). Yet, documenting this increase, and what it may mean, reflects the newfound awareness around the inclusion of disabled students. And, in this awareness, change is already evident.

Of course, an increase in numbers does not automatically translate into an increase in real inclusion for disabled students. While these students may be present in mainstream teaching institutions, the real question to ask is whether they are truly part of the environment; whether they feel welcome and wanted by their non-disabled peers and teachers (Bantjes et al. 2015). Simply being, there is not enough. Ferguson (2008) captures this neatly when she writes, 'Students can be "in" but not "of" the class in terms of social and learning membership.' (p. 111). Inclusion can never be successful while disabled pupils are placed in different classrooms than their peers, if they cannot

participate in social and physical activities and if they do not receive adequate support (Bantjes et al. 2015; Ferguson 2008). Disabled students face disadvantages as a result of higher education institutions focusing on perceived student inabilities and lack of functioning, rather than institutions' lack of accommodation and inability to tackle barriers (McKinney and Swartz 2016; Vickerman and Blundell 2010; Lundie 2009; Denhart 2008). Beauchamp-Pryor (2012) describes the current situation of many disabled students in tertiary education as follows: 'included, but not inclusive' (p. 181).

Inclusion of disabled students is an important issue at all levels of education, as we have suggested. But a truly inclusive environment requires disabled students themselves to be trained as educators and fully part of the educational system. Just as it is important to have black leaders and role models in education (Soudien 2010), it is important to have disabled leaders and role models. For this reason, and because of the relative lack of attention to higher education issues in the literature, in the following sections, we discuss some ways in which students currently experience exclusion on tertiary campuses. We will look at their transition to higher education, their social lives, their academic experiences and physical accessibility.

Transition and Entry into Higher Education

This section examines the barriers that many disabled students experience accessing and remaining in higher education. It explores the impact of finding a suitable institution, renegotiating family relationships, preparation and orientation of campus, acceptance of disability, disclosure of disability and the impact of perceived capabilities by faculty members towards students with disabilities.

Making the transition from school into higher education can be a stressful and overwhelming event for all students (Beauchamp-Pryor 2012; Gencoz and Or 2006; Hopkins 2011; Lourens 2015). For students with disabilities, this transition can be further complicated due additional factors, including finding an accessible institution, renegotiating family relationships, and time-consuming preparation and orientation (Lourens 2015). Seeking a campus where the physical layout of the institution is accessible and where their individual needs and accommodations are met is often time-consuming and stressful (Hadjikakou et al. 2010; Lourens 2015; McKinney 2013; Redpath et al. 2013). For other disabled students, close proximity to family is important due to supports, transportation accommodations, as well as back-up in case the support from the institution would not be satisfactory (Beauchamp-Pryor 2013; Elliot

and Wilson 2008; Hadjikakou et al. 2010; Lourens 2015). Additional prepa-
ration – such as orientation of the campus and meeting and preparation with
disability units at higher education institution – were noted as additional work
that non-disabled students would not have to take into consideration (Elliot
and Wilson 2008; Hopkins 2011; Lourens 2015),

Disability Onset and Schooling Received

The onset of a person's disability may have an impact on their integration into
higher education. Students with acquired disabilities may experience feelings
of trauma, self-blame, a loss of control, depression, shock, anger, anxiety and
stress (Dorset 2010; Kennedy et al. 2009; Larner 2005; Garske and Turpin
1998). All of these adjustment factors may have a negative impact on students
with newly acquired disabilities with regard to integrating into higher educa-
tion, as well as completing their studies (Li and Moore 1998; McKinney 2013).

For many students, making the transition from a special school into a
higher education institution is particularly difficult (Beauchamp-Pryor 2012,
2013; Lourens 2015; McKinney 2013). Some students receive a great deal
of support while being educated in a segregated special school and are often
unprepared for the transition into the mainstream setting of a university
(Beauchamp-Pryor 2012; Hopkins 2011; Lourens 2015). There also seem
to be differences in transition experiences between students with visible dis-
abilities and those with invisible disabilities. In general, those students with
invisible disabilities, or those whose disabilities have a stigma attached to the
disability – such as those with psycho-social disabilities, may experience addi-
tional barriers. Some students select not to disclose their disabilities out of
fear of being discriminated against; others who, due to a lack of awareness,
do not define themselves as having a disability, do not receive the information
and support they require (Elliot and Wilson 2008; Fuller et al. 2004; Lourens
2015; McKinney 2013).

Disability Disclosure

Studies have shown that disabled students disclosed their disabilities to higher
education institutions at a variety of times. Some students select to disclose on
their application forms when applying, some at registration, some once they
have been accepted, some during the course of their studies; some select not
to make disclosure at all (Jacklin 2010; Kranke et al. 2013; Lourens 2015;

McKinney 2013). Many disabled students fear disclosure of disability due to anticipated discrimination and harassment (Hadley 2011; Getzel and Thoma 2008; Denhart 2008). Many do not feel adequately prepared or supported to disclose their disabilities (Hadley 2011; Getzel and Thoma 2008; Getzel and McManus 2005). While students may only access accommodations and support if they disclose their disabilities, many are fearful of being negatively labelled and, hence, do not get the support they may need (Burgstahler and Doe 2006).

Some students elect not to disclose their disability until they have been accepted into an institution, only disclosing once they feel comfortable, or when they require accommodations or support (Getzel and Thoma 2008). These students may feel that they do not really belong in higher education or that they do not deserve to be there – leading to an increased risk of students feeling isolated and withdrawn (Hadley 2011; Getzel and Thoma 2008). There are additional stressors that disabled students face relating to the disclosure of their disabilities when being required to validate their disability status. Many institutions require students to undergo medical and/or psychiatric assessments, depending on the type of disability (Beauchamp-Pryor 2012; Lourens 2015; McKinney 2013). This process can be emotionally draining, costly and time-consuming.

Perceived Capabilities of Students with Disabilities

According to Hadley (2011), institutional faculty members may underestimate or stereotype the abilities of disabled students – a factor which can lead to self-fulfilling prophecies and decreased integration. Disabled students may be prevented from undertaking studies in specific areas due to assumptions relating to their category of disability, rather than their ability or personal preference (McKinney 2013; Vickerman and Blundell 2010; Denhart 2008; Howell 2006; Konur 2006; Roer-Strier 2002; Rodis et al. 2001). This is often as a result of a lack of understanding surrounding issues relating to disability (Getzel and Thoma 2008; Getzel and McManus 2005).

A significant barrier for disabled students in higher education is being misunderstood by faculty members (Denhart 2008). Perceptions among faculty members may include the assumption that disabled students were intellectually inferior, incompetent and lacking in effort (Denhart 2008; Konur 2006; Reid and Knight 2006). While stigma is attached to all categories of disability, students with psycho-social disabilities may experience greater negative perceptions. The success of disabled students in higher education is substantially affected by staff perceptions (Hernandez et al. 2007; Konur 2006; Fuller et al. 2004).

Implications for Questions of Citizenship

It is clear from the above discussion that, despite international legislative and other advances, the questions surrounding disability and inclusion at all levels of education remain primarily at a level of access. Even where access is achieved, there is a distinction between a diverse classroom or lecture theatre, and one which is truly inclusive and allows for full participation by all. In order to facilitate full participation, it is essential to consider what this means in terms of models of disability.

As we have suggested earlier, despite there being many models of disability (Goodley 2011), the fundamental divide in thinking about disability resides in the question of whether disability is seen as an inherent problem or shortcoming of an individual or, more correctly, as a product of social processes which interpret difference as deficit, and which exclude people from the mainstream. An important principle in disability studies generally, stemming originally from work on the built environment, is that of universal design (Steinfeld and Maisel 2012). Within the built environment, universal design involves, among other things, the design of accessible buildings which have benefits for all and not just for disabled people – for example, the use of ramps as opposed to stairs has benefits not only for wheelchair users, but also for parents pushing children in strollers, people with temporary injuries and, often, for older people as well. The principles of universal design can be expanded to include questions of social and digital access for all (Burgstahler 2012), and the key question becomes not how we extend the physical, social and digital environment to include disabled people but, rather, how we create a physical, social and digital environment which is accessible to all. Garland-Thomson (2015), the renowned critical disability studies scholar, raises the question of what it takes to create what she terms a 'habitable world' for all people, as opposed to a world to which some people must try to adapt.

This conceptual shift has profound implications for education and citizenship, as it requires every aspect of education to be thought about in an inclusive way – this goes for curricular issues as well as questions of pedagogy, and the physical, social and digital environments within which learning takes place. It is certainly possible and important for disability to be thought about and taught as a diversity issue at all levels of education (Pugach et al. 2012), but it is probably far more important for education to be designed in an inclusive way such that classrooms, lessons and buildings, for example, accommodate all. The most important lesson disabled and non-disabled children can learn is that the educational institutions they attend are there for all – it is not

a favour or a question of charity for the learning needs of all to be taken into account, but just how things are and should be. Proper inclusion from a very young age has enormous benefits for social integration as well and, hence, for perceptions that all, regardless of disability status, have equal citizenship rights. This is more important than a curriculum which introduces disability as a topic area. Just as disability and exclusion are embodied experiences, so should inclusive education be embodied. Inclusive education is, at heart, an experience, rather than a topic to be studied.

The questions we discuss here do, of course, have echoes with other questions, such as those of race and gender in education – indeed, with all issues discussed in this book. But it is probably true to say that, though it is commonly accepted, for example, that strong female teacher role models are helpful in citizenship education, there is less consciousness of how helpful it is to have disabled educators teaching diverse classrooms. Many who espouse views on disability as a human rights issue may not have thought through questions of how to design classrooms accessible to disabled teachers. A further complicating issue is the way in which disability, probably more than any other issue, may trouble and challenge notions of 'equality' and 'fairness' that are taken for granted. What does it mean to teach and assess fairly and equitably in a world which systematically excludes certain people?

Watermeyer (2014), for example, discusses his ongoing struggles as an academic with a severe visual impairment simply to get access to all the reading materials he wants and needs to use as part of his research and teaching. Importantly, he points out that the struggle to gain equal access to the basics of educational resources has personal consequences. These consequences affect self-esteem and, more fundamentally, the sense of whether, as a person, one is entitled – has the right – to participate on an equal basis with others. The corrosive effects of trying to learn in an environment which excludes one may include an emotional component which, in turn, may affect the ability to learn. If questions of disability, as Watermeyer and Swartz (2016) have suggested, may include issues of traumatization, this has profound implications for educational design and for creating learning environments which are not only technically accessible, but also responsive to understanding the emotional consequences of disablism. Disablism is a complex concept, and even well-meaning over-protection within the family may have consequences for the ability and readiness to learn in a diverse and challenging world. Questions of micro-aggressions in educational contexts have been extensively discussed in the context of race but far less so in the context of disability (Dávila 2015). These questions may be especially pertinent to issues of inclusion of people with psychosocial or intellectual disabilities in educational

settings. Wolframe (2013) discusses what she terms 'sane privilege' as similar to white privilege in education – a system of discrimination whereby people with mental health problems are excluded and assumed not to have the ability to enter equally into key aspects of educational practice. The stigmatization of people with intellectual disability and the implications of this for learning in inclusive environments have not yet fully been explored (Ditchman et al. 2013; Sinason 2010). True inclusion raises questions which go to the heart of what is commonly most valued about education – the idea of intellectual achievement. Much has been done to include people with intellectual disabilities at all levels of education, including higher education; however, the questions these attempts at inclusion raise for educational policy and practice as a whole are far-reaching and need more thought (Goodley and Runswick-Cole 2011; O'Rourke 2011; Runswick-Cole 2011).

The question of equality in education may be seriously challenged when disability is considered alongside other issues. Bantjes et al. (2015) show how, in the South African context, the move to integrate schools by race and to eliminate discrimination across the board may, paradoxically, lead to the exclusion of some disabled people. Obvious issues for inclusion – such as questions of race and gender – may obscure and complicate questions of disability inclusion. It is easy to speak of intersectionality in education, but disability may be overlooked (Flintoff et al. 2013). A particular area of concern is that of physical education – disability is profoundly embodied and, even where formal curricula are inclusive, there may be exclusions from activities and life skills which may have a profound effect on future health and well-being (Bantjes et al. 2015; Evans et al. 2015).

Conclusion

Even with positive legislation protecting the rights of disabled students, many disabled students experience barriers in accessing and remaining in education (Hanafin et al. 2007; Lourens 2015; McKinney 2013; Ryan and Struhs 2004). It is important to think about disability not just as a topic for citizenship education, but more fundamentally as an embodied concern and a challenge for educational inclusion and universal design at all levels. No aspect of education should be considered without a disability lens, and thinking about disability may assist in thinking about all other issues of inclusion. An educational system in which disabled students are excluded is not a just system.

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7

Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Education for Citizenship and Social Justice

Jody L. McBrien

Introduction

During the writing of this chapter, the concept and significance of the term 'refugee' has been in flux and of rising importance. In the summer of 2015, hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers – frequently called 'migrants' by media and national spokespersons whose countries have shut their borders – have flooded into Europe from Syria, Afghanistan, Sudan and other countries experiencing civil unrest and war. Responses from countries to which asylum seekers have fled have included everything from fencing them out to welcoming them in. Observers wonder how long any welcoming spirit will endure, given the constantly rising numbers of desperate people in flight, representing diverse cultures and religions.

This influx of asylum seekers is the largest since the numbers of displaced people resulting from World War II. During World War II, the largest number of displaced people and refugees were Jews who survived the concentration camps. Survivors suffered from severe mental and physical illness due to the brutal treatment they endured in camps. As is the case today, persecution also occurred when they tried to resettle in 'safe' countries, as anti-Semitism remained high during the war and after liberation. For instance, the United States refused admittance

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to hundreds of Jews on the ocean liner *St. Louis* in 1939, sending it back to Germany (*Holocaust Encyclopedia* n.d.). As a result, many of these passengers were sent to German concentration camps, where they suffered and died. Jews attempting to flee to Palestine prior to the 1948 establishment of Israel were considered to be 'illegal immigrants'. A famous case was the ship *Exodus* 1947, bound for Palestine with 4500 Jewish asylum seekers. Britain intercepted the ship, forcing its return to Germany. According to research conducted by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), 'In most cases, the British detained Jewish refugees denied entry into Palestine in detention camps on the Mediterranean island of Cyprus' (USHMM n.d.). Pogroms occurred in Germany, Poland, Russia, Romania and other countries during and after the War, resulting in the rapes and deaths of thousands of Jews.

These past tragedies are mirrored in recent world events. In summer 2014, more than 43,000 unaccompanied minors from Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala were met at the US border by protesting Americans who held signs telling them to go home (Abdullah 2014). The children were fleeing from rape, beatings and murders by drug cartels, and other situations of national unrest. Australia has enforced harsh restrictions regarding those arriving by sea (Australian Independent Media Network 2014). Slovakia has stated it will only take Christian refugees (BBC 2015a), in spite of being a signatory to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and 1967 Protocol (hereafter referred to as the 'Refugee Convention' or 'Convention'), which state, 'The Contracting States shall apply the provisions of this Convention to refugees without discrimination as to race, religion or country of origin' (Article 3). Hungary created a 'razor wire fence' on its border with Serbia and used 'tear gas and water cannons' on those trying to break through the fence (Stojanovic 2015). For a few days, the world mourned tragic photos of a two-year old boy, Aylan Kurdi, washed ashore on a Turkish beach. Canada had denied, or at least delayed, refugee status for his family, so the family attempted a dangerous boat passage to Greece (Moyer 2015). The United States has only considered taking in an additional 10,000 refugees in 2016 (Harris et al. 2015). Several Republican presidential hopefuls, notably Donald Trump, have used the November 2015 attack on Paris and December 2015 attack in San Bernadino, California, to rally anti-immigration sympathies against Syrian and Muslim refugees. Currently, Muslim refugees and asylum seekers receive much the same treatment as Jews did as they flee to save their lives and those of their children.

In 2015, the total number of refugees, asylum seekers, and displaced people is at a historical high of 60 million (UNHCR 2015a). Refugees account for nearly one third of that total, and half of the refugees are children. Projections about the war in Syria alone indicate that thousands more will flee the country as the conflict grows more complex and intense.

Delegates who debated the terms of the 1951 Refugee Convention ultimately made compromises, because they believed that the need for such a document would end within three years of the conclusion of World War II. One of the major concessions was hard fought by Australia regarding the rights of asylum seekers. The Australian government favoured refugee rights, as members of this group would be chosen and invited to resettle by signatories of the Convention. However, Australians strongly opposed including the right to resettle as an asylum seeker, who could arrive uninvited and demand residence, arguing that such a right interfered with a nation's sovereignty. As a result, and beginning with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, people have the 'right to *seek* and enjoy asylum from persecution' (Article 14, emphasis mine) – but countries are not obligated to provide such asylum. The same is true of the Refugee Convention (University of Minnesota 2003) and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (Brennan, p. 2). Other ambiguities – such as the definition of 'persecution' and 'well-founded fear' – have created loopholes for nations as they determine refugee status. Many nations (approximately two thirds) that have ratified the Convention have not subsequently created laws to determine implementation strategies (University of Minnesota 2003).

In spite of national disagreements about who should be considered a refugee and how they should be treated by countries in which they seek asylum, the Refugee Convention and Protocol have provided for rights and protections for, and the responsibilities required of refugees since World War II. Sixty-four years later, the need is even greater with millions of refugees and asylum seekers in need, the largest numbers from Syria, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq and Albania (BBC 2015b).

This chapter will provide some diverse perspectives towards the Convention and its terms, definitions of refugees and asylum seekers, and an examination of several resettlement countries' practices concerning education for refugees and asylum seekers. The author will conclude by considering elements of social justice and citizenship education as it relates to refugee and asylum seekers.

The 1951 Convention Related to the Status of Refugees and Its 1967 Protocol

The Refugee Convention was created as an international document to provide some protection for the hundreds of thousands of people who were displaced as a result of World War II. When world events, such as the Vietnam War and civil wars in African states made clear that refugee situations were enduring, the 1967 Protocol was added to remove the geographical and temporal limitations

of the 1951 Convention. Of 195 sovereign states, 148 are signatories to one or both of these documents – thus agreeing, at least on paper, to abide by the Articles that state the rights of refugees (UNHCR 2015b). The documents also define the term 'refugee' as a person who:

> owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UNHCR 1951)

Given the changes in refugee populations since the 1940s, some nations and legal experts have argued that the Refugee Convention is outdated or imprecise, and unable to address current refugee concerns (Berg 2011; Brennan 2003; Millbank 2000; Rohl 2005; UN n.d.). Concerns include the advent of non-nation-state terrorism, natural disasters and climate change, an increase in internally displaced people and extreme socioeconomic deprivation. Such arguments could expand or reduce the number of people currently considered to be refugees and asylum seekers under the Refugee Convention. An argument for reduction comes from Chris Berg, a Research Fellow with the Australian Institute of Public Affairs. In 2012, he argued that the 'well-founded fear of being persecuted' was designed for the Cold War, and that 'the bulk of today's refugees are displaced not because of politics, but because of economic hardship or conflict' (paras 7–8).

Some countries' policies and laws have expanded their definitions of 'refugee' beyond those in the original Refugee Convention in order to reflect world change. For instance, the original document excluded anyone who had actively taken part in war crimes or crimes against humanity (Article 1F). Many countries – including Australia, New Zealand, Germany and the United States – have made an exception for child soldiers and other abducted children who have been forced to commit atrocities by rebel forces and drug cartels. Happold (2002) provides the most complete documentation on national and international arguments for and against granting refugee status to child soldiers. In his conclusion, he argues that, even if child soldiers are excluded from refugee status under Article 1F of the Refugee Convention, they may be protected by the European Convention on Human Rights and the UN Convention against Torture, which 'prohibit the deportation of any person when there are substantial grounds for believing that the individual will be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in the receiving State' (p. 1173).

In 1998, cases in Rwanda, followed by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY n.d.), recognized systematic rape as a 'crime against humanity'. Since that time, rape has become a reason to petition for refugee status. Worldwide, young girls are increasingly victims of rape, sexual violence and human trafficking, resulting in the need for international protection.

The term 'environmental refugee' has become prevalent in recent years – in part, because of changes resulting from global warming, whereby sea levels are rising and overtaking people's homes and livelihoods, and droughts are more widespread and long-lasting. Environmental refugees do not currently have the protection of international laws. However, some analysts claim that 'they face greater political risks than refugees who flee their homes due to conflict or political oppression' (*National Geographic* n.d., parag. 21). *National Geographic* specifically cited Bangladesh, the US state of Louisiana, Venice, the Maldives and expanding desert areas in Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea as areas losing arable land annually. Others have suggested that the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe was exacerbated by large areas in Syria suffering from extreme drought (Baker 2015).

For now, the UN Refugee Convention remains the most important international document determining who is a refugee, and the rights and responsibilities of refugees. The 2015 refugee crisis and the need to provide social justice to millions living in dangerous situations, as well as balancing the civil rights of citizens already living in resettlement countries, are of central importance as the world considers obligations stated in the Refugee Convention. In this chapter, we will concern ourselves primarily with the obligation of Article 22, with regard to public education:

1. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education.
2. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships.

The chapter will proceed with definitions of refugees and asylum seekers. From there, we shall examine educational practices with a consideration of their citizenship education and social justice.

Who Are Asylum Seekers and Refugees?

The description of a refugee, as defined by the 1951 Convention, is quoted above. It does not draw clear distinctions between refugees and asylum seekers, although it clarifies that those still within the borders of their native countries (internally displaced people) are not protected by the Convention. Definitions between asylum seekers and refugees are, in broad terms, as follows:

- Asylum seekers are persons seeking refuge in another country because of 'well-founded fears' based on the 1951 definition of a refugee. They await approval of their petition for refugee status by the UNHCR and/or a country at which they have arrived after fleeing their native country. In some cases, large numbers flee together and arrive at a refugee camp in a neighbouring country. They may be immediately considered 'refugees', depending on a country's laws for processing asylum. In other cases, asylum seekers travel directly to a country in which they seek permanent resettlement. Once they reach the shore, they request permanent asylum and resettlement. In the United States, for example, many asylum seekers came from the USSR as athletes or artists on tour during the Cold War. Many also came from Cuba, Haiti and Central America. Asylum seekers arrive from Asia at Australia on boats. Currently, throngs of asylum seekers from Syria, Afghanistan and some African countries are walking and fleeing by sea, sometimes hundreds of miles, to seek asylum in Western Europe.
  Asylum seekers are frequently placed in detention while their petitions are processed (Corbett et al. 2014). Nations differ in their processes for adjudicating cases. In the USA, for example, asylum seekers appear before an immigration judge. Due to the volume of applications, asylum seekers may wait for over one year to present their case. It is not illegal to arrive in a country and petition for asylum, even though people doing so are often placed in prison-like conditions. The Australian Human Rights Commission reported that, in 2015, there were 2013 people in immigration detention facilities, including 127 children; and 1189 people in community detention, including 642 children. Australia also operates third-country detention centres. As of June 2015, there were 655 asylum seekers (including 88 children) in detention in Nauru, and 945 adults on Manus Island, Papua New Guinea. Offshore detention began in the early years of the twenty-first century in Australia; this was phased out in 2007, and was reinstated after high numbers of boat people arrived on Australian shores in 2012 and 2013 (Ramzy 2015). Australia maintains strict, mandatory detention

requirements for all asylum seekers waiting to be processed for refugee status. Many refugee advocates, including the UNHCR and Human Rights Watch, have criticized the offshore detention centres, finding them to be dirty, overcrowded and unsafe (Human Rights Watch 2015).

People who are designated as refugees have the protection of *non-refoulement*, meaning that signatory nations may not return them to a country in which they fear persecution or death. There is debate about whether or not asylum seekers have this protection. For instance, Australia's argument against requiring states to accept asylum seekers includes the possibility of returning such people to their homeland. Other groups, such as Amnesty International, declare refoulement to be illegal (Pegliario 2010). Unfortunately, refoulement can lead to severe punishment, even death, for the asylum seeker. Peglario cited cases of Cambodia and Thailand returning asylum seekers, and even recognized refugees, to countries in which they were persecuted. Meho (2004) cited cases in which Iranian asylum seekers were returned by the Turkish government and a report of 40 such people being executed on their return (p. 71).

- Refugees are people who have been determined by international bodies (such as the UNHCR) or nations to meet the 1951 definition (or its expanded contexts, as explained above). This does not, however, mean that they will receive third-country resettlement in a country such as the United States, Australia, or New Zealand, or any of the 26 countries currently working with the UNHCR to resettle refugees. To receive third-country placement, their papers and testament will be processed and reviewed by officials from resettlement countries. Countries establish quotas regarding the number of refugees they will resettle annually. Less than 1 % of refugees are resettled in countries of third-placement.

The UNHCR has established three 'durable solutions' for refugees, as follows:

1. Voluntary repatriation, after one's home country has returned to a stable condition and fear of danger is resolved;
2. Local integration in the country of first asylum, in which people can establish the ability to work and provide for themselves/their families; or
3. Resettlement in a third country, one of 26 countries currently contracted with the UNHCR to provide refugees the opportunity to begin again in a third country. This third option is, by far, the least used option, with fewer than 100,000 refugees resettled annually. Some refugees spend their entire lives in camps, waiting for a durable solution (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 2013 Figures by country of resettlement

Country of resettlement	Number of persons
United States	59,548
Australia	10,691
Canada	9,160
Germany	4,775
Sweden	2,456
Norway	1,202
Netherlands	1,029
Finland	929
New Zealand	894
United Kingdom	710
All others	1,832
Total	93,226

Source: UNHCR 2013.

Education of Resettled Refugees: Intercultural Concerns

Approximately one half of all refugees are minors. Thus, according to the Refugee Convention, they must be afforded the same opportunities for elementary education as nationals. When in temporary placement in host countries or in transit, however, refugee children's education depends on services available in camps or other temporary placements. Quality varies greatly, and a large percentage of these children have no access to schools. An analysis by the RAND Corporation (2015) reported that half of Syrian refugee children have no access to education. Those in schools face poor quality situations: overcrowded classrooms, shortened instructional time and inexperienced teachers. Researchers have found educational problems facing refugees in camps and temporary host countries worldwide (Al-Hroub 2015; Kirk and Winthrop 2007; Mareng 2010; Oh and van der Stouwe 2008).

One need for revision of the Convention is with respect to secondary education. Even developing nations are working to meet demands for secondary education (UNESCO 2011). Thus, an addition to the first clause would strengthen refugee rights not only to elementary education, but also secondary education where it is commonly available. An additional concern is in regard to the final commentary in the second clause of Article 22 about the 'recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas, and degrees'. Refugees with certificates and degrees in professional areas, especially health, must often re-apply for certification in their countries of resettlement. This application often results in requirements for refugee professionals to take additional courses and/or exams, frequently costing more than a refugee can afford (Allen 2009; Colic-Peisker and Walker 2003; Tomlinson 2002).

Although education in third-country resettlement is far more stable and organized, as it is available through education offered to all children in the country, challenges remain for refugee students. Global tendencies towards standardized (Western) methods and content of education have led to common issues in supporting refugee education in resettlement states. Language issues remain a top priority (Brown et al. 2006). Until children are able to communicate effectively in the majority language of their new country, they are likely to feel isolated and frustrated as they try to learn and interact with their peers and teachers.

Other concerns include teacher training and communication with refugee communities to increase intercultural understanding and reduce bias. For instance, teachers in countries that value individuality and competitive cognitive styles have been found to judge harshly refugee students and families who place more emphasis on community and dependent cognitive learning styles (Timm et al. 1998). Lee (2002) also found that some US teachers judged their Hmong students to be culturally deficient and educationally inferior to mainstream US students. Other issues involve past years with no schooling, poverty and bullying (Humpage 2009).

Second Language Learning

Methods for acquiring the predominant language in any country have long been a matter of debate. The United States, although it has no official language, holds strongly to a tradition of English language. Some countries have one or more official languages. Even in these circumstances, there is frequently a preferred language. The language of instruction in public schools is typically the preferred, or majority, language. In most cases, the language of instruction, typically the majority language, is the one in which refugees need to acquire proficiency in order not only to complete their academic studies with success, but also to acquire well-paid jobs (Hartley 2013; Hauck et al. 2014; McBrien 2014; Roxas 2011).

Theories of language acquisition differ, from beliefs in language immersion to bilingual instruction. The extreme end of immersion is one in which students of other languages are placed in mainstream classes and must fend for themselves as they try to figure out the content and context of the subjects. Not surprisingly, this method – especially at levels of education above elementary, in which subject content is more complex – frequently results in confused, frustrated and unmotivated students (Roxas 2011). Other forms of second-language learning methods include some of a student's primary

language to learn the language of instruction of their new country. There is often no concern about the importance of retaining the home language; rather, the home language may be used only used as a step towards becoming fluent in the new language.

There is some overlap between immersion and bilingual education. In bilingual instruction, two languages are used to teach the academic curriculum. It can be one-way instruction, in which only one group is learning bilingually (for instance, Chinese students learning in Mandarin and English, while English-speaking students in the room do not learn the Chinese language); or two-way bilingual education, in which all students gain proficiency in both languages of instruction. Two-way bilingual instruction allows all students to develop and maintain minority languages, strengthening cultural plurality at the school and community level (Cerda and Hernandez 2006).

Even though students benefit from being fluent in two or more languages, xenophobic attitudes in some countries limit these opportunities for students by reducing or cutting out international language programmes. Several documents, such as the European Communities Directive on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers (1977, Article 3) and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families (1990; Article 45.3, 4) point out the importance of the mother tongue in children's education. The UNHCR has also strongly favoured mother tongue instruction for refugee children as one way to reduce the chaos of change that they face (Van Bueren 1998). In the United States, Chinese-American students with limited English proficiency won a Supreme Court case (*Lau* v. *Nichols* 1974), arguing that their civil rights were violated because they were not provided special accommodations to learn English and thus were victims of educational discrimination. The case led to amendments to the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, broadening funding, programmes and definitions of eligible students.

Teacher Training

In the United States, the country that takes in the most third-placement refugees annually at approximately 70,000, there is no required teacher training to learn how to support either migrant or refugee students. Only two states, Florida and California, require that teacher candidates graduate with a certification in ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages).

As a result, there is inadequate training for those who will have resettled refugees in their classrooms, even in top resettlement states such as Texas,

California and Georgia (Anders 2012; McBrien 2005, McBrien and Ford 2012). Studies in other resettlement countries indicate a similar lack of teacher training (Humpage 2009; MacNevin 2012). Lack of training can result in prejudice and discrimination against refugee students, due to teachers' lack of self-examination, as well as frustration on the part both of teachers and of refugee students. Reports from refugee students and parents have referred to exclusion, intimidation and insults from both teachers and peers (McBrien 2005, 2011).

Teachers interviewed in New Zealand expressed comments similar to their US counterparts (McBrien 2014). They felt they received inadequate training; and what they knew, they picked up on their own. Even though New Zealand has Refugee Educational Consultants assigned to each major refugee resettlement area in the country, teachers still felt inadequately prepared. Information from teachers indicates the need for ongoing training in this area. Many said they learned on the job, rather than having training prior to working with resettled refugee students. One teacher recounted an experience with New Zealand students that helped her realize that native-born students also needed to learn about refugee issues so that they could better understand and include the newcomers. Several teachers described incidents of bullying that they believed might be reduced with lessons on global issues that included the plight of refugees. They believed that local students' lack of understanding of worldwide refugee issues reduced their sensitivity towards these students. In Sydney, Australia, Macquarie University has a programme that matches university students with high schools in the city that have large numbers of refugees (Macquerie 2015). The volunteer mentors described both how much their interactions taught them about the challenges encountered by resettled refugee students and their growing interest in social justice.

Communication

Support for refugee students extends beyond language instruction and teacher training. In the realm of globalized (Westernized) education, parent involvement is a major component in student success. Many cultures, such as Chinese and South Korean, have granted respect to teachers to the extent that parents would not consider questioning a teacher's judgement. In a 2011 study, Vietnamese mothers described the need to bribe teachers in order for their children to receive high grades (McBrien 2011). Such practices contrast with Western practices, in which teachers frequently request parental information about their children. Given cultural mores, refugee parents may be intimidated with such requests from educational authority figures.

One successful model in breaking the communication gap is the use of refugee liaisons (McBrien and Ford 2012). An organization in Atlanta, Georgia (USA), trained resettled refugee adults who had acculturated well into their new communities. Training included a thorough explanation of US schools and expectations for parental involvement. Liaisons were trained to provide information about and to their particular culture: for instance, a Bosnian woman was a liaison for resettled Bosnians and their children's schools; an Ethiopian was a liaison for her Ethiopian community and their children's schools; and so on. Liaisons provided extensive cultural training for school personnel about both their culture and the refugee experience. In addition, they provided training to parents of their cultural background about school expectations. Liaisons were also found to go beyond their job requirements, providing basics such as bedding and kitchen provisions to new families, and helping them to navigate the bureaucracy of social security, medical aid and other social needs.

In New Zealand, excellent school models, observed by the author in Auckland, have included ways to educate refugee and other immigrant parents on campus while their children attend school. Additionally, they provide child care for babies and toddlers. This has worked particularly well for refugee mothers, many of whom are reticent about turning over their youngest children to others for care. They are never far from their pre-school children, so aides can call for them if a child is in need of parental care (McBrien 2014, chap. 3). And they can learn at the same time as their school-age children, so they can be at home during the hours when children are out of school. Having parents at schools also increases the opportunity for schools to transmit information to parents, and for parents to better understand the school system.

Of course, this model requires additional funding, and not all schools can create this environment. Others have created simultaneous adult learning centres during after-school or early evening homework help for school-age children. Some schools in Christchurch and Nelson have also created community centres at schools that function as a 'one stop' place where refugee parents can go to receive information on medical, legal and psycho-social needs.

The use of both cultural liaisons and multi-modal school services increase intercultural understanding through training and through face-to-face contact. A teacher at a cooking class for refugee women in Auckland, New Zealand, told me that the class was so much more than cooking: 'They are learning measurements, health, and food safety. They tell each other about the most economical places to buy food. They also discuss their personal situations. More established refugee women tell new ones that they do not have to

suffer from domestic violence. They explain where they can go for help.' An after-school intervention in Christchurch had native students as well as teachers mentoring refugee students. This created an informal and more comfortable venue for both youth and adults to learn about one another.

Gordon Allport (1954) is credited with contact theory, which posits that prejudice can be reduced by inter-group contact when four conditions are present: (1) the determination of equal status among all group members, (2) common goals among group members, (3) cooperation among members, and (4) acceptance of the over-riding cultural authorities. Although some of his initial theory has been problematized and recast (Pettigrew 1998), the premise remains that face-to-face intercultural dialogue and work can increase understanding between groups and can reduce prejudice and discrimination. Above-mentioned situations are examples of contact theory. Others include involving native-born students and adults to act as language and/or educational tutors; local citizens who volunteer to help refugees acclimatize to their new communities; and task forces that bring numerous resettlement agencies, health care workers, social service employees, law enforcement and the like together to work with refugees. Excellent examples of this latter group interaction occur in Florida with several area Refugee Task Forces, organized under the Department of Child and Family Services, Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Social Justice and Citizenship Education

The theme of this publication involves the correspondence of social justice and education for citizenship. Kibreab (2003) argued that refugees who resettle in developed countries in North America, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand, where they have a clear path towards citizenship or, at least, permanent status, tend to stay in their country of resettlement. In contrast, those in less-developed countries prefer to repatriate whenever possible (p. 24), as 'the commonly accepted standards of civil, political, and social rights of citizenship, wherever they exist, are in most cases denied to refugees' (p. 62). Still, the incarceration in receiving countries of asylum seekers –who are, by definition, legal immigrants – remains controversial. This practice is particularly disruptive and upsetting to children of asylum seekers who do not make the decisions themselves, but are forced to abide by restrictive policies of the countries from which their parents request asylum, because they typically have no say in the decision and are forced to leave other family members, friends and their school environment (if they are in school). The practice is also bewildering and frightening for unaccompanied minors, many of whom

are also trying to avoid recruitment or persecution by local gangs (Phippen 2015). Levinson (2011) stated that unaccompanied children to Europe often receive more humanitarian aid than in the USA because European nations have signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

In some ways, it seems that native-born students, teachers and administrators, more than refugees, are in need of social justice and citizenship education. A need for teacher training has already been addressed, as it could increase knowledge of ways to create inter-cultural activities and opportunities for contact between native-born students and refugees. Although multicultural instruction is controversial in numerous Western nations, it is helpful for native-born students to learn about other cultures and the refugee/asylum seeker experience. Additionally, citizenship education for native-born students could help them understand the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

In general, citizenship education for resettled refugees is needed for naturalization. Some countries, such as the United States, impose requirements that are not imposed on native-born citizens. For example, a Canadian colleague seeking naturalization said she had to agree that she would bear arms for the United States. In contrast, I have no such requirement. It seems unjust that natural-born citizens can be pacifists, while naturalized citizens cannot. Additionally, fees requested for naturalization can be prohibitive for resettled refugees, who tend to earn lower than average wages.

Conclusion

A final note is important in any discussion about the currently overwhelming numbers of refugees and asylum seekers. They are not the problem. In media pieces, one can frequently read the phrase 'the refugee problem'. Refugees and asylum seekers are the result, not the cause, of appalling world situations – civil war, terrorism, torture, child abduction and political crime. If the world is to reduce the crisis situation of millions of refugees, it needs to look to the cause of the issue, not the result. Seeing refugees and asylum seekers as the 'problem' encourages the receiving host country citizens and politicians to view them in a negative and often discriminatory light. Instead, this critique should shine on the terrorists and political bodies that cause the flow of refugees and asylum seekers.

Meanwhile, countries can offer support to refugees and asylum seekers by concentrating efforts on the greatest problem areas for the newcomers. The first is facilitating second language acquisition (while supporting newcomers in maintaining their native language). New Zealand offers a model of

a well-researched second-language learning programme (English Language Learning Progressions) that provides a rubric in listening, speaking, reading and writing for various levels of language learning in public schools. At the same time, the new resettlement strategy compromises the language learning of adults as it places primary importance in gaining any job over the importance of learning the primary language of the country (McBrien 2014). The United States also puts employment above language learning for adult learners, at least since the Refugee Act of 1980. In considering long-term stability for refugees and allegiance for their new countries of residence, resettling countries might consider the positive social effects of supporting language learning for all refugees.

A second priority of resettlement countries could be educating not only refugees about their new land, but also native residents about the needs and the opportunities of welcoming refugee residents. The year 2015 witnessed extreme examples of welcoming and despising refugees, particularly Muslims. History proves the problem of discrimination towards groups of minority religious and ethnic status. Groups such as Welcoming America have devised helpful ways for native citizens to understand why refugees are relocating to their towns. Their methods could be replicated in other cities and countries for both schoolchildren and adults. In schools, citizenship classes could include more information about the notion of global citizenship and activities to provide the message that, in the world, we are also 'the other'.

Education is not only for the sake of self-improvement through the acquisition of knowledge. Along with the teaching of subject matter, public schools are seen as a way to boost the public good and pass on the culture of the society. The new era of globalization has seen unprecedented world migration, including millions of people involuntarily leaving their countries as a result of terrorism, persecution and wars. As a result, nations must conceptualize social and educational policies that include notions of social justice for those who are endangered because of their beliefs, or the involuntary fact of being born in volatile, insecure nations.

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8

Education for Citizenship and Social Justice: The Case of Gypsies, Travellers and Roma

Sarah Cemlyn and Andrew Ryder

Introduction

This chapter considers the relationship between Gypsies, Travellers and Roma, social justice and education for citizenship in the UK and elsewhere in Europe. It will outline how these communities are represented by others and understood by themselves before providing an analytical framework related to the chapter's central conceptual underpinnings. It will delineate issues of social injustice and inequality affecting the communities, and how these are tackled by politicians, policy-makers, advocacy groups and community organizations. The core of the chapter explores the role of education in relation to promoting social justice, and the more specific task of education for citizenship, drawing on examples from the UK, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Italy to elucidate the tensions, challenges and opportunities within and outside school, and the implications for minority groups and those from the dominant majority. While there is a major focus on school-based experiences, the chapter overall conceptualizes education as taking place both within and beyond the institutional setting of school, to include arts work, family-based

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training, adult community education and education through activism. The conclusion considers some of the points arising for future research in relation to educational rights and the complexities of education for a socially just citizenship.

Gypsies, Travellers and Roma

In the UK, the three terms 'Gypsies', 'Travellers' and 'Roma' are used together to refer to groups who have cultural, historical and increasing political links, but separate ethnic and cultural identities. Romani Gypsies have at least a 500-year history in the UK as part of the diaspora of nomadic groups from northern India which began to reach the Middle East and Europe from the eleventh century and were first recorded in the UK in 1505 (Fraser 1995). The term 'Gypsy' has been reclaimed by UK groups, though its linguistic equivalent can still be extremely pejorative in parts of Europe (Oprea 2012). Irish Travellers have Celtic roots in Ireland and have been migrating to and from Wales and England for over a century. The groups referred to as Roma in the UK are more recent migrants from central and eastern Europe, particularly since the mid-1990s, first as asylum-seekers from persecution at home, but then as internal European Union migrants once the 'A10 countries' acceded to the EU in 2004 (particularly, in this context, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) and the 'A2 countries' in 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania).

In the broader European context, however, 'Roma' is an umbrella term for a wide range of groups with different histories, traditions and customs, which include groups who share an ethno-linguistic connection through Romani history, language, experience and customs, as well as other groups that, although they do not have this shared history, share socio-economic characteristics (mainly of exclusion) and, in some cases, a nomadic tradition (Matras 2011). The emphasis on shared historical and linguistic origins for many groups is broadly accepted in the literature, though not without contention; but so also is the variety of groups involved and their characteristics. Vermeersh (2014: 477), drawing on earlier work by a leading Romani activist and educationalist, argues that the term is used 'not to refer to a fixed cultural identity but rather to a social position marked by a broad variety of socio-economic characteristics' and comprises a great diversity of smaller ethnic groupings (Liégeois and Gheorghe 1995).

While 'Roma' is an endonym for many such groups, therefore, for those with different traditions it may be an exonym. However, it has become the dominant term in policy and strategic documents of the European Union

(EU) with an emphasis on the principle of non-discrimination. Simhandl (2006) traces how the evolution of this EU discourse nonetheless involves a division between representation of 'Roma' in Eastern Europe as an ethnic category and of 'Gypsies and Travellers' in Western Europe as a non-ethnic category with shared nomadic roots, although this discourse may, in turn, be shifting as Europe-wide initiatives, such as the EU requirement for National Roma Integration Strategies, include countries across Europe. These strands result in the multiple terminology used here, reflecting the UK position where Gypsies and Travellers self-identify as separate from (but with connections to) Roma as an ethnic group while simultaneously in European contexts being encompassed within the overall political and bureaucratic category. UK Gypsies and Travellers have campaigned for recognition as minority ethnic groups which are protected under the Equality Act 2010 (previously the Race Relations Acts) and achieved legal recognition in stages related to the different groups (Cemlyn et al. 2009). Discrimination and hostility persist, but discrimination is sometimes successfully challenged under this legislation (e.g. when a group attending a Travellers' conference was turned away by a London pub – BBC 2015).

Importantly, the term 'Roma' is also frequently used by activists within Romani politics, because even groups who do not identify as Roma may be perceived as such by outsiders and because there is a political momentum in collective approaches (Ryder et al. 2014a), alongside ongoing debate about inclusiveness. For example, one key pan-European network group is named European Roma and Travellers Forum, while another is the International Romani Union. Romani identity can be a mobilizing frame for citizenship struggles directed towards different levels – local, national and European – in different contexts, thus shaping the particular framing of identity; for example, as 'a national minority, a migrant community, a social underclass, or a transnational European group' (Vermeersh 2014: 482).

The above outline is not definitive but is, rather, intended to give some flavour of how this area can be subject to conceptual confusion and political contestation; how group ascriptions may not be accepted by those involved, but where both policy and community actors seek to achieve a consensus of designation to enable cross-sector partnerships and/or community-based collective action. There is a further debate about the extent to which Roma non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have moved away from connecting with and representing grass-roots concerns towards implementing, instead, the top-down concerns of donors (Gheorghe with Pulay 2013; Trehan 2001), which will find some reflection in examples discussed later.

Conceptual Underpinnings

In considering how education contributes to the aims of social justice and citizenship, we outline our approach to different elements of this equation. We take a tripartite approach to social justice, following Nancy Fraser (Fraser and Honneth 2003), comprising:

- redistribution – referring to a greater equality of material resources;
- recognition – which demands respect for the experiences and identities of marginalized groups whose voices are silenced within dominant paradigms; and
- representation – the right to participate equally in democratic decision-making processes and debates at all levels, from the local through the national to the international.

Using a different analysis, the cultural materialist approach of Iris Marion Young (1990) further illuminates the material underpinnings of injustices of recognition and resultant struggles for control over symbols and meaning, as evident in the Roma movement.

Lister et al. (2007) point to two main traditions of citizenship discourse: civic republicanism, deriving from classical Greece and focusing on participation in processes of government; and the liberal tradition, which emerged in the Enlightenment and focuses on individuals' civil and political rights. These strands continue, though the liberal tradition in its neoliberal form has dominated since the late twentieth century. Marshall's (1950) influential definition included not only the liberal citizenship rights of civil and political claims against the state – sometimes referred to as 'negative rights' to prevent infringement of liberties, but also social rights involving positive state provision, with citizenship involving an implicit, if limited, form of equality in contrast to the inequalities of the class system. Social rights, which are vital to citizenship and widely valued (Bell and Cemlyn 2014), are currently under attack in Europe through austerity policies which are undermining education, health and welfare provision (Richardson 2011).

Citizenship has been the focus of intensive recent research and analysis, building on – while also critiquing and widening – Marshall's definition. From the 1970s, processes of globalization, de-industrialization and the rise of neoliberal economics have fundamentally altered social, economic and class structures across the world and the relations between and within nation states, not least the situation of the Roma. Meanwhile, the struggles of marginalized

groups for recognition, redistribution and the right to be heard have challenged the limited Marshallian notion of the working class, highlighting other wide-ranging inequalities. While the incorporation of social rights remains a central element of recent discussions amongst progressive campaigners and researchers (NEF 2012; TUC 2014), paralleling the redistributive element of social justice, the notion of the (white) working class of the global North has been deconstructed so that barriers to equal citizenship and the rights of the wide range of oppressed and disadvantaged groups in the global South as well as the global North are encompassed. In many ways, Roma represent the global South within the global North. Moreover, the notion that citizenship is embedded in the relation between the individual and the sovereign nation-state has been challenged by the growth of supranational institutions (such as the European Union and the international human rights regime), by devolution within nation-states and by migration across borders (Bloemraad et al. 2008; Isin and Nyers 2014).

Faced with these challenges to the concept's validity, Isin and Nyers (2014) posit a 'minimalist yet broad-ranging definition' of citizenship as 'an institution mediating rights between the subjects of politics and the polity to which these subjects belong'. They argue that, here, the term 'polity' avoids viewing the state as the sole locus for citizenship, while 'political subjects' is used because not everyone has the legal status of citizen and because citizenship involves collective, as well as individual, acts and negotiations. Citizenship involves both status and performance, since rights need to be exercised to be meaningful, but the possibility of citizen performance cannot be taken for granted. Indeed, the boundaries drawn around citizenship mean that exclusion is inherent in the concept, that those who are included are defined by those who are excluded (Isin and Nyers 2014; Lister et al. 2007). Centrally, it involves struggle as marginalized groups seek to assert their rights to social justice and equality in a process of 'citizenship from below'. Its dynamic, fluid and contested nature, the discarding of previous conceptions, and the struggles for new visions and realizations have led commentators to refer to citizenship as a 'momentum concept' (Lister 2007) or a space between 'no-longer' and 'not-yet' (Isin and Nyers 2014 drawing on Arendt (2005)). All these themes have resonance for the situation of both migrant and non-migrant Roma across Europe, and their access to and involvement in education which can be a crucial underpinning of citizenship, although the nature of that education may be contentious.

In reaction to the single supposedly universal concept, citizenship has thus been theorized from numerous different perspectives (Isin and Wood 1999), including 'multicultural' (Joppke 2002), 'cosmopolitan' (Linklater

2002), 'post-national' (Sassen 2002), feminist (Lister et al. 2007) and 'radical democratic' citizenship (Laclau and Mouffe 2001); each perspective, in turn, involves further internal debates. Multiculturalism (Modood 2007) has clear relevance to Gypsies, Travellers and Roma as minority groups, but they are not viewed as constituting a 'national minority' in the sense of having clear historical and linguistic roots in another nation or 'institutionally complete' cultures in Kymlicka's (1995) liberal version of multiculturalism. However, one approach within Romani politics has been to focus on transnational ethnic mobilization, especially from the 1971 first World Romani Congress, when a flag and anthem and notions of international fraternity were adopted (Klímová-Alexander 2005). Versions of multiculturalism that emphasize a more fluid approach to cultural heritage and group identity have been under sustained attack as European governments, not least the UK, re-emphasize adherence to a common dominant national culture and values (Flint and Robinson 2008). Gypsies, Travellers and Roma have always been viewed as outsiders and a threat to the norm, either as exoticized groups (Bhopal and Myers 2008) or as criminal or anti-social (Richardson 2006). Currently, when Roma communities are constructed as 'a threat' and meet a securitized response (Van Baar 2014), their identity is more likely to be used as justification for overt exclusion or deportation, as in the case of France in 2010 (ERRC 2010), or the building of walls to keep them in or out (ERRC 1999).

Cosmopolitan and post-national versions of citizenship reflect the changes to its parameters brought about by international human rights regimes, transnational governance structures and cross-national or global NGOs and campaigning organizations. Cosmopolitan citizenship can refer both to ethical frameworks which view citizenship as inherent to humanity as a whole, and to instruments of global governance; critiques include the possibility of particular political interests being masked by the language of universality, the lack of actual global government, and global migration regimes privileging the global elite and excluding outsiders (Ivasiuc 2015; Linklater 2002; Lister and Pia 2008). Ethel Brooks (2012: 4) a Romani feminist academic, summed this up:

> Romani people are quintessentially cosmopolitan, immersed within multiple cultural formations and sites of belonging. Yet their international standing is far from benign, for movement within and across nations is correlated with multiple violences, state and nonstate, committed against Romani people throughout the world.

From a policy perspective, within the dominant neoliberal paradigm of citizenship focusing on active participation in markets, European Roma can

be considered to benefit from the transnational EU's focus on addressing the exclusion they face, but significant shifts towards inclusion are scarce, and Kovats (2012) has pointed to the dangers of 'Europeanizing' the Roma issue and thus enabling individual nations to avoid their social, economic and political responsibilities towards their citizens (Acton and Ryder 2012).

Feminist analysis has been a key driver in revealing previously obscured exclusionary perspectives across a range of disciplines, including citizenship studies (Lister 2003; Lister et al. 2007), and in considering how citizenship is embodied and contextualized in lived experience. Lister posits that the challenges to supposed universalism within citizenship can be incorporated through the notion of 'differentiated universalism', which recognizes the barriers erected between those with different cultural frames from the dominant majority to prevent their access to citizenship rights. Drawing on accounts of citizenship 'from below' mainly in the global South, Lister proposes four values of 'inclusive citizenship': justice, articulated in terms of 'when it is fair for people to be treated the same and when it is fair that they should be treated differently'; recognition, framed in terms of 'the intrinsic worth of all human beings, but also recognition of and respect for their differences'; self-determination, being 'people's ability to exercise some degree of control over their lives'; and solidarity, or a belief in 'the capacity to identify with others and to act in unity with them in their claims for justice and recognition' (Lister 2007, pp. 3–4). These values underpin the approach to citizenship here.

Ideas of radical democratic citizenship (Laclau and Mouffe 2001) are also pertinent. They outline transformations in Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony, which highlights how the ideology of the ruling class is normalized through everyday power relationships so that systems of domination are taken for granted and resistance seems futile. Radical democracy expands the sphere of politics and struggle to include everyday life, 'identity forming practices' (Rasmussen and Brown 2002: 178) and the centrality of social division and antagonism within politics, in contrast to the supposed international consensus after the end of the Cold War. There are links with Habermasian ideas of many different voices engaged in debate in the public sphere and widening the arena of democratic struggles (Habermas 1996), but also differences in not envisioning a final rational consensus including everyone. Radical democracy connects with citizenship (and human rights – Ife 2009) 'from below', the politics of daily struggles and the political insight and understanding that is gained from the margins and the experiences of oppressed people (Freire 1972; hooks 1984). Ryder et al. (2014a) trace this analysis through the political and community mobilizations of Gypsies, Travellers and Roma in the UK

and Europe from the 1960s to the present. However, critics have argued that radical democracy's permeation of all aspects of life could lead to a loss of focus on countering hegemony and renewed exclusions under the guise of universality.

Where the radical democratic approach reveals and validates the politics in private and communal spaces, there is a link with the notion of 'ordinary citizenship' (Neveu 2014) and feminist analysis of embodied citizenship (Lister 2003). While 'activist' citizenship acts 'break routines, understandings and practices' (Isin 2009: 379 quoted in Neveu 2014: 88), and 'active' citizenship in its neoliberal version involves responsibility and performance of expected roles, ordinary citizenship involves 'the way through which members of a society produce, in the lived world, an understanding of their universe and endow it with meaning' (Neveu 2014: 90).

Taking this further, Ivasiuc (2015), from an anthropological perspective, has challenged whether the notion of citizenship is relevant to some Roma at all – not only because of its colour blindness, inherent exclusion and roots in European colonialist history, but also because its individualist approach does not take account of the daily practices and meaning of belonging for Roma, for whom the collectivity of community and clan are primary modes of relating. Ivasiuc advocates further attention to the micro-politics of grassroots political activity, illustrating this call with reference to practices which may involve avoidance of or resistance within state citizenship practices such as voting, and to community development approaches which may actually widen rather than reduce economic and social divisions within communities.

Citizenship frameworks in relation to Roma therefore raise a number of different questions, problematics and options. The post-national framework is relevant to some community mobilizations, professional activists and NGOs which promote social justice and educational equality through transnational networks, but runs the risk in Europe of enabling nation-states to abdicate their responsibilities and of being distant from the grass roots. Radical democratic, feminist and anthropological frameworks do provide opportunities for illuminating meaningful citizenship experiences and activities among grassroots Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities, including experiences within and in relation to school but, as yet, there remains limited understanding of how these frameworks may support the most marginalized Roma.

The Romani activist and intellectual Nicolae Gheorghe, who campaigned with and on behalf of Roma all his life, tussled with such dilemmas. In a seminar to commemorate his work, participants discussed how Gheorghe sought to weave a way between two paradigms of citizenship:

a statist civic one where government bears the main responsibility for Roma as citizens – here activists and NGOs should support and monitor the State's progress – as opposed to the autonomous, often ethnic nationalist model which proposes minority rights and legal protection for cultural patterns'. His aim was 'for Roma to achieve localised forms of empowerment and autonomy, subject to their national governments who would work within EU-devised frameworks. (Acton and Ryder 2015)

Gheorghe also championed affirmative action in his support for citizenship, and the notion of 'inclusive citizenship' was suggested as best reflecting his hopes 'based on the aspirations of those at the margins and engaged in a struggle for justice, recognition, self-determination and solidarity' involving both agency and a socially just institutional framework (Acton and Ryder 2015). By contrast, in the same seminar a younger Romani activist and intellectual, Iulius Rostas, illuminated points from Ivasiuc's arguments above with echoes of the aspiration for Europe-wide recognition of minority group status:

> I am not for citizenship, I think we are a little bit different from the rest […] It makes me special […]. For me something that applies to all Roma is the concept of politically insular minorities, developed by the U.S. Constitutional Court in the '30s […] how we justify special protection for Roma, because Roma in whatever country you pick are a minority whatever they do […] Taking into consideration the level of anti-Gypsyism and their unpopularity, the need for special protection comes naturally. Once defined as a politically insular minority the system has to apply strict scrutiny, whenever there are measures targeting this ethnic group, to make sure that they do not affect negatively the rights of this minority. (Acton and Ryder 2015)

This makes an interesting comparison with Lister's (2007: 53) discussion of how poor people wish to claim universalist principles of respect and dignity, not be treated as 'different or "other"', but be part of the mainstream and be 'first and foremost "citizens" before being "people experiencing poverty"'. It confirms that the discussion of citizenship in relation to Roma has to be nuanced, dynamic and embrace different approaches and potentials.

Returning to education for citizenship, this can be considered from different perspectives to include how education broadly provides tools to enable the exercise of active citizenship or, conversely, denies access to such tools through exclusion and segregation, thus generating racialized 'abject' citizens in the words of Isin and Nyers (2014: 5). It can also mean teaching about the shape and meaning of citizenship in terms of structures and processes, its dimensions and areas of challenge, with the aim of generating 'good' productive citizens

within dominant neoliberal norms. Or, more critically, it can enable students to reflect on and question their relationship to established political processes and ideologies, and focus on a wider range of skills for daily life, including cross-cultural understanding and the education of both minority and majority groups about difference, discrimination and equality (Davies et al. 2005). In the context of the debate about citizenship for Gypsies, Travellers and Roma, it will be important to consider tensions which arise between Roma community mores and education systems, and grass-roots practices which reinvigorate the relationship of the communities to citizenship.

In the following discussion, drawing on both positive and negative examples from the UK and other European countries, we focus on access to education versus exclusion and segregation, within the framework of multicultural citizenship, while also reviewing debates about the emancipatory or assimilatory potential of education systems and cultural discontinuities between Gypsies, Travellers, Roma and schools. We consider the role of transnational analysis and action in challenging exclusion in education, and the role of community involvement in developing inclusion within the formal and informal curricula of schools, connecting with ideas of the politics of everyday life and the development of citizenship 'from below'. We also look beyond the school or college to arts, media and campaigning work among young people and in community groups, which resonate with ideas of radical democratic citizenship and the four values of inclusive citizenship summarized by Lister (2007).

Key Issues: Social, Economic, Political and Educational Exclusion

Prior to more detailed consideration of education, we summarize the social and political situation of Gypsies, Travellers and Roma in the UK and other European countries. There have been references to this during discussion of citizenship above, but some key points from the policy literature will be made, especially in relation to educational inequality.

There is a wide-ranging policy and research literature on social exclusion of Roma across Europe, frequently funded by European institutions as part of the effort to generate inclusive policies. Despite this, exclusion becomes more rather than less entrenched, as austerity and growing pressures of migration and its increased securitization not only further depress the situation of Roma, but also increase the incentive among the wider populace to scapegoat them for structural problems.

In 2011, the European Union issued a Communication encouraging the development of National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) in member states, including detailed policies and measures to promote 'integration'/inclusion, involving Roma communities in the development of strategies (Council of the European Union 2011). There has been considerable criticism of the lack of commitment and seriousness of the process of developing NRIS alongside evidence of continuing exclusion. A European Commission (2014) report documents the poor progress made in changing outcomes across member states. A series of reports in 2014, funded by the Decade for Roma Inclusion Secretariat[1] (DRIS), into the monitoring by civil society organizations of the NRIS of ten countries, and a 2012 survey by the European Commission's Fundamental Rights Agency (2012) of 11 (mostly different) countries provide a startling picture of deprivation and inequality experienced by Roma in the areas of education, employment, poverty, health and housing, with women faring worst of all across multiple inequalities (Kóczé 2009).

In addition to exclusion from meaningful citizenship rights, Roma in various countries are excluded even from formal citizenship (Dedic 2007; Parra 2011). For example, in Italy, where Roma migrants from the Balkan states have sought to settle, one report estimated there were 15,000 Roma children with no legal status and no rights to services. If their parents were registered as stateless, they would acquire Italian citizenship at birth, but this is an uncertain and extremely difficult procedure. Alternatively, if they had registered with their state of origin the children would have that country's citizenship – but some Roma never received this citizenship in Yugoslavia's break-up, others lack travel documents for claiming in person and others fear deportation if registering with a consulate in Italy (Rozzi 2013). When Czechoslovakia split in the 'Velvet Divorce', the implications for many Roma were less benign, when the Czech Republic, unlike Slovakia, required anyone not previously a citizen in Czech lands to make special application. Most Roma were refused even though they had been resident for decades because they could not prove two years of permanent residence (Guy 2001). The policy of 'jus sanguinis' linking citizenship to ethnic belonging was present in many former states, including those previously under communist regimes. Moreover, the non-citizenship of Roma links to centuries of outlawing and persecution. Statelessness also affects Roma in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Greece.

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[1] These reports can be accessed at: http//www.romadecade.org/civilsocietymonitoring

Concerning educational exclusion, measures have been taken in some states to facilitate access and support children in schools;[2] however, enormous problems remain within an overall political and social climate that is hostile to these groups.

> The situation of Roma and Travellers in the public education systems of all EU Member States is characterised by severe inequalities in the access to and benefits from education traced in overall poor enrolment, attendance and performance figures. (EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia 2006: 13)

Headline issues include access problems for mobile pupils in Western Europe, segregation in Eastern and Central Europe, failure of schools to provide a fruitful intercultural environment, bullying in schools, and resulting low attainment. Even where serious efforts are made to provide equality of access to schools and the curriculum, debates remain about whether, on the one hand, state education systems are assimilatory in relation to Gypsy, Traveller and Roma cultures or, on the other, whether these cultures create barriers to education in terms of traditional expectations related to family work patterns and, particularly, gender norms (Bhopal and Myers 2008).

Adequate data collection remains a problem throughout Europe, with regulations in many countries prohibiting ethnic data collection. While this may be viewed as avoiding negative labelling, in practice it serves to make systemic discrimination and disadvantage harder to monitor and address. There are numerous sensitivities arising from previous negative experiences and persecution but, in the UK, broadly, there is community buy-in for the necessity of ethnic monitoring, if within a framework of sensitive options for individuals' self-ascription (Ryder et al. 2014a).

In the UK, there have been some improvements in children's access to schools (from a low base), supported in the 1990s and early millennium years through specialist Traveller Education Support Services, the network of which has been progressively dismantled through cuts to budgets and a focus on mainstreaming services for minorities (Foster and Cemlyn 2012). However, for the 20 % of children whose families still have no secure legal site, and are therefore subject to frequent moves and eviction, access to education is unstable. Where a group of Gypsy or Traveller children do gain access to school, on occasion they experience the hostile action of other parents removing their offspring. Moreover, the current and previous government's policies of marketizing education through encouraging academies and free schools outside

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[2] See footnote 1.

local authority control have led to growing evidence of deviation from fair admissions policies, with Gypsies and Travellers failing to gain access (Ryder and Cemlyn 2014). For all Gypsy and Traveller children in school, there is a long-standing problem of being racially bullied. All these injustices undermine children's legal right to education (Cemlyn et al. 2009).

Central government has required ethnic monitoring in English and Welsh schools since 2003 of 'Gypsy/Roma' or 'Traveller of Irish Heritage' and, while these formulations obscure the separate identities of 'Gypsies' and 'Roma', they at least enabled a partial picture of educational exclusion to emerge. Unfortunately, this revealed how Gypsies and Travellers fared worse than any other group, as illustrated in the UK submission for the National Roma Integration Strategy:

> In 2011, just 25 % of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils achieved national expectations in English and mathematics at the end of their primary education, compared with 74 % of all pupils. At the end of secondary education, just 12 % of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils achieved five or more good GCSEs, including English and mathematics, compared with 58.2 % of all pupils. (DCLG 2012: 7)

More recently, 'Gypsy' and 'Irish Traveller' were included as ethnic categories in the UK census in 2011 for the first time, after a lengthy campaign (although 'Roma' was not). Analysis by the Office for National Statistics revealed Gypsy or Irish Travellers had the highest proportion with no qualifications for any ethnic group (60 %), almost three times higher than for England and Wales as a whole (23 %) (ONS 2014).

Roma in Italy, even if Italian citizens, are predominantly viewed as nomads and are housed in camps with poor facilities, which reinforces segregation from mainstream Italian society spatially and socially. Sigona (2005) traced the circularity of stereotyping and misrepresentation of cultural identity with policy. A culmination was the government's declaration in 2008 of a 'Nomad State of Emergency' to target Roma in camps, which was finally ruled illegal by Italy's highest court in 2013 (OSF 2015). This background contrasts with Italy's adoption of an intercultural policy in education in 1995 aiming to promote every child's right to education and uniqueness, to avoid segregation and to encourage intercultural understanding and dialogue. Armillei (2015) discusses the failure of this policy in general because of a lack of political will and resources for implementation, revealing itself as primarily rhetorical. This failure is acute in relation to Romani pupils, whose residence in camps distant from schools, the endemic prejudice they face and policies of limiting the

enrolment of any one minority ethnic group in one school fundamentally reduce their access to education.

While these Western European examples illustrate varying but severe discontinuities between overt policy expressions of equal access and actual practice in education systems, in some Central and Eastern European states a core issue is the formal segregation to which Roma children are subject. This frequently occurs through inappropriate placement in special schools, or in separate classes within mainstream schools, against a background of entrenched economic and spatial exclusion in ghettoes or outlying villages, hostile government attitudes and endemic prejudice. A study by the FBX Center for Health and Human Rights (FBX 2015) into anti-segregation strategies in Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania noted the following factors as underpinning segregation: manipulation of legal arguments by schools; Romani parents feeling powerless; non-Roma prejudice and exclusion; the limited impact of European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) decisions on Romani attitudes to rights claims; limited grass-roots recognition of the value of desegregation and contradictory actions among NGOs, including debates about the relative merits of mainstream schooling and specialist cultural schools – for example, the Gandhi residential school in Pecs, Hungary (O'Nions 2010).

Educational segregation of Roma is a longstanding issue in Hungary, with spatial exclusion, poverty and overt racism leading to the disproportionate placement of Roma in 'catch up' or special needs classes and institutions (Ryder et al. 2014b). A Civil Society Monitoring report noted that the 126-page Hungarian Roma Strategy pays little reference to school segregation or to the need to eliminate segregated schools, with the strongest sentence blandly stating 'The most fundamental remedy for the problem is, of course, inclusion, possible desegregation and ensuring the mitigation of institutional discrimination in the fields of education, employment, housing and health care' (Decade for Roma Inclusion Secretariat 2012: 194). Despite this declaration, a worrying recent development is that the Fidesz government has sought legislative change which will enable the continuance of educational segregation for Roma pupils.

Hungarian courts established, in two instances, that a Catholic school in Nyíregyháza segregated Roma children unlawfully and the practice should be stopped. However, the Hungarian Supreme Court reversed this decision. The Court ruled that the Church school's practice did not constitute unlawful separation because it offers religious education and the parents send their children to it in the full knowledge that they receive Catholic religious education. According to the Chance for Children Foundation, which campaigns

against segregation, the decision means that churches can use the freedom of religion to counter charges of segregation (Neuberger 2015). In 2014, the Hungarian Parliament amended the law on public education, extending the power of Zoltán Balog, the Minister of Human Resources, to allow for segregated education in certain schools. Independent MP Timea Szabó stated that Balog's idea of 'benevolent segregation' contravenes both the statutes of Hungary and the European Union (Politics.Hu 2014). The Chance for Children Foundation launched a vigorous protest about this action and appealed to the European Commission to initiate an infringement procedure (see below).

The Czech Republic acknowledged in 2007 that, in one area, Roma pupils 'were 27 times more likely to be educated in special schools for pupils with mental disabilities, but they contended that any discrimination could be objectively justified' (O'Nions 2010: 1). In that year, the ECtHR ruled that the Czech Republic had violated the European Convention on Human Rights, and that Roma pupils in special schools had been victims of indirect discrimination which was not objectively justified. Despite some cosmetic changes – for example, renaming all schools elementary schools – the situation for Roma pupils has changed little; hence, the European Commission initiated infringement proceedings in 2014 against the Czech Republic, in 2015 against Slovakia (Albert et al. 2015) and in 2016 against Hungary. In infringement proceedings, if a member state and the European Commission cannot negotiate a resolution, then the matter is heard in the European Court of Justice, which can lead to huge daily financial penalties for the member state. Thus, all eyes are focused on what may happen as a consequence of infringement proceedings in the Czech and Slovak Republics and Hungary.

Key Issues and Scenarios: Implications for Education for Citizenship

This section illustrates more positive and empowering examples to provide the basis for our concluding discussion. In the UK, at its best the partnership between Traveller Education Support Services (TESS) and schools modelled an approach to inclusive education which involved engagement with Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities, cultural respect, support and celebration, anti-racist work with schools and local communities, educational support to access a full curriculum and flexibility of curriculum (Wilkin et al. 2010). Pupils themselves would be actively involved, for example, in cultural exhibitions to

ensure realistic representations, rather than tokenism (Derrington and Kendall 2004). Increasingly, community members were employed as teachers or teaching assistants to enhance relationships, provide cultural knowledge and role models for pupils; across Europe, there has been employment of community mediators with similar functions. A key factor is the overall critical perspective of most TESS, which acted as a constant challenge to assimilatory policy and cultural stereotyping and which advocated for the communities, even though teachers often trod a risky and delicate line when Gypsies and Travellers might be in conflict with their local authority employers over sites. They also pushed at the parameters of official curricula to create links into culturally based modes of learning for young people (Foster and Cemlyn 2012). The existence of an active support network of TESS teachers is another key element in maintaining an alternative and empowering discourse concerning the education of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities.

The focus of these services shifted over time towards ensuring that schools took full responsibility for their pupils, to mitigate the tendency for schools to be over-reliant on the Traveller Education Support Services. Over time, also, the services often merged into a wider remit for work with minority ethnic groups more broadly, but the relationships, commitment and expertise built up over years amongst a relatively stable staff group across the country ensured a continuing focus on Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities. The services were widely recognized as embodying amongst the best practice in Europe and included working in partnership with teachers, schools and community members across the continent in exchange programmes. Given the mountain to climb to bring about equality in education, only the foothills have been reached (Foster and Norton 2012) and, sadly, the TESS network is much diminished, but the lessons remain.

Ryder et al. (2014b) provide an account of actively involving the Roma community in a programme to de-segregate schools in Vidin in Bulgaria through bussing children to schools outside the ghetto. Although bussing is not without critique, the Vidin example illustrates its potential to provide a socially just education and enhance dialogue, empowerment and citizenship. Inclusive community development was central to this process, with community leaders engaging parents and generating dialogue with the receiving school prior to instituting bussing. Parents' fears that children would be bullied, not be accepted by their peers or would find the work difficult, and fears of outsiders and professionals that Roma would be indifferent to education, the children would be withdrawn and would fail to achieve, were all proven unfounded. Albert et al. (2015) advocate the importance of strategies and actions to counter segregation at all levels: state, European Union, intergov-

ernmental organizations and non-state actors – including donors, researchers, NGOs and communities.

Detractors often blame Roma communities for failing to engage with education, and concern may be focused on girls who are kept out of school in order to avoid crossing the boundaries of cultural mores in relation to purity. This is not a simple topic; however, there is growing evidence that myths about attitudes are part of the mix, as shown in recent studies. For example, Kyuchukov (2011), in a survey of 720 Roma parents and children in Bulgaria, found that most Roma parents would allow their daughters to attend school, and Chirlesan and Chirlesan (2015), in a pilot of an interactive online course to support integration, found that Roma women in Romania were keen to improve their employment skills and integrate in society and the labour market.

Informal, adult and community education are essential aspects of a socially just education for inclusive participatory citizenship. Vidin is one example of community development, but there are multiple projects and campaigns (Ryder et al. 2014a) which enable community members to develop their own critical analysis of their situation and challenge hegemonic constructions and oppressive structures, reflecting Freire's (1972) notion of critical pedagogy. Cultural arts projects can be a key tool in community development and intercultural educational work.[3] Informal education through women's activism has demonstrated powerful gender dimensions in the UK and Europe. In the UK, women community activists without much initial formal education have campaigned for accommodation and other rights for families – for example, through gaining planning permission for caravan sites. In the process, through empathy, commitment and self-education, these women community activists have developed a cogent analysis of the power dynamics which oppress their communities and sometimes gone on to higher degrees which critically examine these issues (Cemlyn et al. 2014). Pioneering Roma women's groups across Europe have campaigned against internal community barriers as well as external racist oppression, and what 'these impressive local women activists lacked in material resources, they abundantly made up for in passion and lucid analysis' (Schultz 2012: 39). Pan-European activist networks support policy and practice impacts transnationally at local, national and European levels – for example, the European Roma and Travellers Forum combines local grass-roots knowledge and insights with collective analysis to engage with policy-makers, including the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers.

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[3] E.g. The Romani Cultural and Arts Company in Wales: http://romaniarts.co.uk/

Conclusion and Future Research

This chapter has reviewed multiple perspectives on citizenship for Gypsies, Travellers and Roma, and the extensive barriers they face to exercising full citizenship rights in Europe. Education is crucial for citizenship and social justice, but the structural injustices the communities face and the cultural prejudice and discrimination extend into the education system, in turn, reinforcing marginalization and loss of citizenship. Education needs to be considered in its neoliberal context, how this interacts with entrenched structural discrimination, with a focus on alliances to pressurize and shame policy-makers into constructive policies and dialogue.

We have also seen pointers within and outside education systems of alliances, partnerships and creativity which generate resistance to oppression, empowerment within communities and apertures towards a more truly equal citizenship. Gains are made, and some lost again, as political regimes change and neoliberal policies and austerity strengthen their grip on the population generally and Gypsies, Travellers and Roma, in particular. Even so, resistance is also growing and there are increasing opportunities for minority communities to build radical cross-community alliances.

A major lesson for future research and action is the need for co-production *with* Gypsies, Travellers and Roma, building on 'organic' strengths and perspectives, rather than prescriptions from above which are disconnected with the daily realities of lived experience and may pathologize, rather than energize, communities. Political will is needed but the findings from such research can support policy advocacy, encourage teachers who may be juggling competing demands and perspectives within education systems, and strengthen the discursive and analytical resources of community members challenging discrimination and segregation, in order to build a truly intercultural, equal and just education system that welcomes and learns from diversity.

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9

The Australian Reconciliation Process: A Case Study of Community Education

Andrew Gunstone

Introduction

The *Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Act* (CAR Act 1991) was unanimously passed in 1991 by the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. The CAR Act created a decade-long process that aimed to reconcile Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples by the centenary of Australian federation in 2001. The CAR Act also identified three broad goals for the reconciliation process: first, to educate the wider Australian community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues; second, to develop a national commitment to address Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage; and, third, to explore the appropriateness of creating a document of reconciliation, and, if considered appropriate, to provide advice on the content of such a document (CAR Act 1991). Further, the CAR Act implemented the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (CAR) to guide and develop the ten-year reconciliation process.

When the reconciliation process concluded in 2001, there were few successes (Gunstone 2005). Indigenous and non-Indigenous people had not been reconciled. The wider Australian community remained ignorant and racist towards Indigenous issues and reconciliation. Indigenous socio-economic conditions continued to be abysmal compared with those conditions in the wider community. While a document of reconciliation was created, it was a

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weak document with little recognition of Indigenous rights. There were, however, some isolated successes in the reconciliation decade, such as the reconciliation bridge walks and the development of a national 'People's Movement' for reconciliation. These successes generally occurred as a result of CAR efforts to educate the wider Australian community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues through the strategies of involving the community in reconciliation and in developing publications and resources on reconciliation.

While these strategies delivered some isolated successes, they also contributed to the overall failure of CAR's goal on education. The strategies failed to articulate a clear meaning of reconciliation and to recognize Indigenous rights. It has long been argued a genuine substantive reconciliation process in Australia means the addressing of several critical elements, including recognizing Indigenous rights, such as sovereignty, self-determination, land rights and cultural rights; developing constitutional recognition; addressing institutional and individual racism; acknowledging the past; alleviating Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage; and educating the wider community (Agius et al. 1999; Behrendt 2003; Clark 2000; Djerrkura 1999; Dodson 2000; Gunstone 2009; Maddison 2011; Pratt et al. 2001). However, CAR did not articulate a clear, specific meaning of reconciliation; neither did it genuinely address Indigenous rights, throughout the ten years of its community education programmes. Instead, CAR stated in its publications that 'reconciliation means many things to many people' (AAACE 1993a, 4) and used broad phrases such as 'working together' and 'improving relationships' (CAR 1994a: 2, 1995a: 2–3). This failure by CAR to state a specific meaning or to acknowledge Indigenous rights could have occurred due to its desire to have reconciliation appeal to as many in the wider community as possible, but it significantly contributed to the failure of the education goal (CAR 1994b; Gunstone 2009; Kelly 1993).

In this chapter, I explore the notions of 'citizenship education' and 'social justice' through an analysis of the Australian reconciliation process – in particular, the CAR education goal and the two strategies designed by CAR to achieve this goal: community involvement, and reconciliation publications and resources. I argue that the CAR goal of educating the wider Australian community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues is a broad form of citizenship education. The CAR goal is a transformative objective to educate the wider community to engage genuinely as citizens of a reconciled Australia. I also contend that the various elements of a substantive reconciliation process – particularly that of Indigenous rights, such as self-determination and cultural rights – are essential for social justice, with its emphasis on equity, inclusivity, decision-making capacity and fairness, to be achieved in Australia.

Finally, while this chapter focuses on reconciliation in Australia, the discussions also strongly connect with other national reconciliation processes. For instance, the importance of community involvement in peace and reconciliation projects has been widely recognized (Fitzduff 1999; Gastrow 1999; Phillips 2001). Interestingly, though, in contrast to Australia, broad community involvement in reconciliation has often not eventuated in other instances of national reconciliation processes. Tutu (1999), for example, stated that a major concern with reconciliation in South Africa was the failure of the project to engage significantly with many in the white community.

Community Involvement

One of CAR's main strategies to educate the wider Australian community was to encourage community involvement in reconciliation. Over the reconciliation decade, there were three key phases of this strategy. The first phase was the creation of the Australians for Reconciliation programme. The second phase was the 'Call to the Nation' during the 1997 Australian Reconciliation Convention. The third phase was the development of the 'People's Movement' for reconciliation following the Convention.

In December 1993, CAR established the Australians for Reconciliation programme. One of the key aims of this programme, under the theme 'Walking Together', was to encourage Australian local communities to become involved in local reconciliation projects. CAR argued that this involvement in reconciliation would assist in educating the wider Australian community on reconciliation (CAR 1994b).

The Walking Together programme encouraged Australian communities to engage with local reconciliation projects through processes such as the Study Circles (later called the Learning Circles), teaching kits which were distributed to over 2000 organizations throughout Australia (AAACE 1993a). The community reconciliation projects were often reported on in CAR publications, such as triennium reports, CAR's national magazine *Walking Together* and special publications. The CAR 1991–1994 Triennium Report, *Walking Together*: *the First Steps – Report of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation to Federal Parliament 1991–1994*, outlined a number of community reconciliation projects and encouraged other Australian communities to conduct their own projects (CAR 1994b). A CAR special publication, *Together we can't lose*: *A report to the Nation from the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation at the end of its first three years*, also reported on several community reconciliation projects and argued these illustrated 'Australians working together to make their

communities better, breaking the barriers between them' (CAR 1995b, 2). The CAR 1995–1997 Triennium Report, *Weaving the threads – progress towards reconciliation*: *Report to Parliament covering the second term of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation 1995–1997*, stated that community reconciliation projects were a substantial outcome for CAR and 'the AFR [Australians for Reconciliation] network is alive with activities including public meetings and guest speakers, awareness programs in schools and other institutions, support for newly-established reconciliation groups and study circles, and discussions at many levels' (CAR 1997a, 8).

While the many community reconciliation projects, proudly reported by CAR, illustrated the breadth of these projects throughout Australia and the level of community education on reconciliation developed by CAR, there were concerns with the majority of these projects. The projects predominantly focused on 'improving relationships' and 'working together' in regard to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and generally marginalized issues related to Indigenous rights, such as sovereignty and self-determination, and racism. The community reconciliation projects also generally failed to articulate a meaning of reconciliation and generally focused on the CAR goals of educating the wider community and fostering a national commitment to address Indigenous socio-economic issues, rather than on the CAR goal of considering the desirability of, and advising on, a document of reconciliation.

In the lead up to the Australian Reconciliation Convention that was held during May 1997 in Melbourne, CAR organized more than 100 meetings in local communities around Australia, which involved over 10,000 people, to explore ideas for community reconciliation projects (CAR 1997b). Although some of these ideas were useful, including organizing cultural festivals, writing community histories and creating cultural awareness programmes, almost none of the ideas addressed racism or Indigenous rights, including self-determination and sovereignty (CAR 1997a).

The engaging of local communities in the reconciliation process was a major theme at the 1997 Reconciliation Convention and was the subject of one of the four sessions at the Convention (CAR 1997b). There were six speakers in this session. The four non-Indigenous speakers failed to articulate a clear meaning for reconciliation and generally avoided discussion of Indigenous rights, while the two Indigenous speakers, Marcia Langton and Mandawuy Yunupingu, discussed reconciliation in a deeper manner with far more nuance (CAR 1997c). The session also contained 12 seminars, each concentrating on a specific area of the Australian community – such as local government, sport, education, the arts, youth and industry – and had guided discussions on the impact of community reconciliation on each of these areas. The participants

in each seminar discussed not only several CAR developed propositions but also their own ideas. In all the recorded discussions held across all 12 seminars, there was merely one reference to racism and no references whatsoever to the Indigenous rights of sovereignty and self-determination (CAR 1997b).

On 27 May 1997 – the 30th anniversary of the 1967 Constitutional Referendum, which enabled the Australian Commonwealth Government to pass legislation in Indigenous Affairs – the 1997 Australian Reconciliation Convention held a community reconciliation awards event. This significant event was designed both to recognize the many instances of Australian communities successfully involving themselves in the reconciliation process and to encourage more communities to join them (CAR 1997d). Sixty examples of community reconciliation projects were published by CAR in *Australian Reconciliation Convention – Book 5*: *Ideas for Action*, *Proceedings of the Australian Reconciliation Convention*. While many of these reconciliation projects involved successful Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships, addressed local community issues, and illustrated the importance to reconciliation of issues such as education, partnerships and symbolism, there was no reference whatsoever to sovereignty in any of the 60 reconciliation project summaries and one reference each to self-determination and to racism (CAR 1997d).

The one issue from the 1997 Australian Reconciliation Convention that made the most significant impact on CAR's community involvement programme was the 'Call to the Nation' speech from the CAR Chairperson, Patrick Dodson, delivered at the closing ceremony of the Convention. Dodson, considered to be the 'Father of Reconciliation', argued that reconciliation required a 'People's Movement', 'which obtains the commitment of Australians in all their diversity to make reconciliation a living reality in their communities, workplaces, institutions, organisations and in all expressions of our common citizenship' (CAR 1997a, 10). Dodson urged his 'fellow Australians' to join this 'People's Movement' for reconciliation and to strive towards achieving reconciliation by the end of the decade (CAR 1997a, 10). The 1800 participants at the Convention endorsed by acclamation the 'Call to the Nation'.

The 'Call to the Nation' speech and the focus on community reconciliation projects from the overall Australian Reconciliation Convention substantially galvanized support for CAR's programme to encourage local communities to engage in the reconciliation process. 'The people's movement for reconciliation emerged as a strong national force following the Australian Reconciliation Convention' (CAR 2000a, 60). There was a significant increase in local community reconciliation groups following the Reconciliation Convention, in a broad variety of places, such as churches, local governments, workplaces and schools. 'To the end

of October 1997, some 96 new reconciliation groups had been established by local communities throughout Australia' (CAR 1997a, 38). By the conclusion of the reconciliation process in 2000, Nettheim (2000, 63) reflected that there were 'hundreds of reconciliation groups operating at a community level throughout the country'. These groups were predominantly focused on improving relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in their local community.

The significant growth in the 'People's Movement' for reconciliation was aided by the support from many in the Australian community for other Indigenous issues, including native title and the stolen generations. A national organization, Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR), which still exists today, was formed following the Howard Liberal government's 1997 ten-point plan on native title, which aimed to restrict Indigenous native title rights. ANTaR campaigned against Howard's ten-point plan and educated the wider community about reconciliation and native title, through campaigns such as the 'Sea of Hands'; differently coloured, individually labelled, cardboard hands, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, were placed near key Australian locations, such as the Commonwealth parliament and Sydney Opera House. Another national organization, the National Sorry Day Committee, was also formed, which, along with other groups, developed a number of campaigns designed to commemorate the stolen generations, and to educate the wider community about the history of past Australian government's stolen generations policies and the impact of these policies on Indigenous peoples and communities. These campaigns – including encouraging the Australian community to sign 'Sorry Books', establishing an annual National Sorry Day, (the first was held on 26 May 1998) and creating the Journey of Healing – were strongly supported by the wider community (CAR 2000a; Nossal 2000).

While these associations contributed to the growth of the 'People's Movement' for reconciliation, they also caused further confusion among the wider community on the meaning of reconciliation. They focused on a diverse range of Indigenous issues and linked these issues to reconciliation. Their campaigns and publications largely failed to offer an actual definition of reconciliation. CAR and opinion polls asserted this confusion could reduce understanding, education and support for reconciliation in the wider community (CAR 1994b; Saulwick and Muller 2000).

The 'People's Movement' culminated at the final key event in the decade-long reconciliation process, 'Corroboree 2000', in Sydney from 27 to 28 May 2000. The first day saw the handing of CAR's final documents of reconciliation – the *Declaration towards Reconciliation* and the *Roadmap to Reconciliation*, and its four *National Strategies* – to Prime Minister Howard (CAR 2000b, c, d, e, f, g). The second day saw over 250,000 people walking for reconciliation across

the Sydney Harbour Bridge (CAR 2000a). Additionally, hundreds of thousands of other people from the wider community were also involved in similar walks for reconciliation in country towns, regional areas and capital cities throughout Australia (CAR 2000a). These extremely high numbers of participants in these reconciliation walks indicated a very strong level of support for reconciliation in the wider community (CAR 2000a; Gale 2001).

While the reconciliation walks illustrated that CAR's community engagement programme had contributed to a strong support for reconciliation, they did not, however, indicate that the programme had necessarily assisted the education goal. In fact, an analysis of comments made by the reconciliation walk participants indicated that many had a shallow understanding of reconciliation, focusing predominantly on issues such as 'equality' and 'assimilation', and largely neglecting issues such as racism and Indigenous rights. The participants argued they had marched because.

'Australia could be one again' […] 'now we can all be equal' [and] […] 'I am not a believer that they need a treaty or a sorry – what I believe would be a better way to go is to just be part of what we are. I don't consider Aborigines to be them I consider them to be us.' (cited SBS 2000; see also Gale 2001; Pratt et al. 2000)

The failure of CAR to clearly articulate a specific meaning of reconciliation was also made clear by the wide range of Indigenous Affairs areas stated on the placards, badges, flags and t-shirts carried by the reconciliation walk participants. Pratt et al. (2001, 143–144) stated:

Though a quarter of a million people 'walked for reconciliation' by crossing the bridge, there was no singular or prevailing meaning of what this reconciliation, that was being walked for, actually was. There were multiple understandings […] there was no clear consensus on what the bridge walk was about or on what it was designed to achieve, beyond a collection of good will gestures gathered under the banner of reconciliation.

Reconciliation Publications and Resources

Another of CAR's main strategies to educate the wider Australian community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues was to produce a broad range of publications and resources on reconciliation. 'Over the nine years, the Council produced a wide variety of public information resources aimed at enhancing public awareness of the Council's work and understanding

of key issues' (CAR 2000a, 23). CAR's publications and resources were developed and targeted at educating three broad groups: specific industries, such as unions, pastoral, mining and faith groups; Australian governments, particularly the local government sector; and the wider Australian community (CAR 2000a, 18). Some of the key publications that were produced by CAR for the specific industries groups included *Exploring for Common Ground*: *Aboriginal Reconciliation and the Australian Mining Industry* (CAR 1993a); *Faith and Reconciliation*: *Sharing a new future by healing relationships* (CAR 1996a); and *Service Clubs and Reconciliation*: *Building better communities* (CAR 1996b). Some of the important reconciliation publications that were developed for Australian local governments included *Local Government and Reconciliation*: *Representing all Australians* (CAR 1994c) and *Celebrating Community*: *Local Government Reconciliation Program* (ALGA 1995). In all these publications, Indigenous rights were generally not addressed and reconciliation was largely not defined, except occasionally in vague, non-specific terms. In this section of the chapter, I discuss the publications and resources that focused on educating the wider Australian community.

There were a significant number of resources and publications produced by CAR that were designed to assist in educating the wider community about reconciliation and Indigenous issues. Some of the main resources were the Study Circles kit, the quarterly *Walking Together* magazine, the eight Key Issues Papers, the eight Information Sheets, and the annual and triennial reports. There were also a wide range of other publications and resources developed by CAR, including videos, leaflets, newspaper and magazine information inserts, brochures, and radio and television advertisements (CAR 1994b; *The Australian* 1994). Gary Foley (2000: 30), an Indigenous academic and activist, condemned these publications and resources, stating they were 'propaganda' and arguing that, 'virtually none of these videos, newsletters, newspapers and other media productions were produced by indigenous people. Therefore CAR seems to have provided many employment opportunities for non-Indigenous writers, producers, printers, publishers, public relations people etc.'

In 1993, CAR developed the Study Circles teaching kit. The coordinators of this teaching kit, Bob Boughton and Deborah Durnan, stated the kits' 'ultimate goal … [was to] facilitate the process of 'perspective transformation'' (AAACE 1993b, 2). The kits were created by the Australian Association of Adult and Community Education (AAACE) and contained a self-directed, eight-week, education course that participants undertook, largely alongside others. Over 2000 kits were distributed throughout the wider Australian

community to community organizations, schools, churches, workplaces, local governments, trade unions and other interested groups (AAACE 1993a, 4). The kits provided 'a way for groups of people to discuss the vital issue of the way we in Australia relate to the country's indigenous peoples: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' (AAACE 1993a, 9). In addition to encouraging local community involvement in reconciliation, discussed above, the content of the kits incorporated discussions on Indigenous cultures, Indigenous histories, contemporary Indigenous issues, Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage and reconciliation (CAR 2000a, 62). However, the Study Circles kits either failed to address a range of Indigenous rights, such as sovereignty, or to give a clear definition of the meaning of reconciliation, simply stating 'reconciliation means many things to many people' and detailing a series of vague, and contradictory, definitions from several Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (AAACE 1993a, 4–10).

CAR also produced a quarterly magazine, *Walking Together*, throughout the ten-year reconciliation process. The magazine endeavoured to educate the wider community about reconciliation and Indigenous issues and 'served as Council's major vehicle of regular communication with schools, peak bodies, sectoral organizations, MPs, local governments, community organizations, reconciliation groups and interested individuals' (CAR 2000a, 23). Similar to the Study Circles kits, the *Walking Together* magazine had a considerable reach, with a peak circulation of 75,000 per issue and a total of 30 issues in the reconciliation decade (CAR 2000a, 23). The focus of the magazine was reflected in its title, generally reporting on 'positive' reconciliation stories about Indigenous and non-Indigenous people 'developing partnerships' and 'working together'. The *Walking Together* magazine almost never reported on stories concerning Indigenous rights, such as self-determination, sovereignty or a treaty. Even on the one occasion when the magazine specifically focused on Indigenous rights (CAR 1997e), examining the relationship of the High Court's *Wik* native title judgement (The Wik People 1996) and the reconciliation process, it did not genuinely or adequately address Indigenous rights. This issue contained four articles which were all written by non-Indigenous authors. These authors were all connected with the pastoral industry and were the President of the National Farmer's Federation, a former Executive Director of the National Farmer's Federation, the president of the Queensland National Party and a pastoralist. Two of the authors stridently condemned the High Court's *Wik* decision, which recognized that native title could, under certain circumstances, continue to exist on pastoral leases, and all four authors failed to give adequate acknowledgement of Indigenous rights.

Another of CAR's main educational resources comprised the eight Key Issue Papers on reconciliation. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) were commissioned by CAR to write a paper for each of CAR's Key Issues (CAR 1993b, v). The eight Key Issues developed by CAR were:

> Understanding Country: The importance of land and sea in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies; Improving relationships: Better relationships between indigenous Australians and the wider community; Valuing Cultures: Recognising indigenous cultures as a valued part of Australian heritage; Sharing Histories: A sense for all Australians of a shared ownership of their history; Addressing Disadvantage: A greater awareness of the causes of indigenous Australians' disadvantage; Responding to Custody Levels: A greater community response to addressing the underlying causes of the high levels of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in custody; Agreement on a document: Will the process of reconciliation be advanced by a document or documents of reconciliation?; Controlling Destinies: Greater opportunities for indigenous Australians to control their destinies. (CAR 1994b, 17–18)

The papers were written by Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors, were designed to educate the wider community on Indigenous issues and reconciliation, and were disseminated throughout Australia (CAR 1993b, v-3). These Key Issue Papers, though, rarely discussed Indigenous rights. The first four papers focused on the goal of education and educating the wider community about Indigenous peoples, shared histories and improving relationships; the next two concentrated on the socio-economic goal; the third on the document of reconciliation; and only the last paper, to a limited extent, looked at self-determination (Gunstone 2009). The *Agreement on a Document* paper, for instance, written by Frank Brennan, a non-Indigenous lawyer, discussed a variety of potential forms of a document of reconciliation, none of which addressed sovereignty (CAR 1993b, 51–54). Further, none of the Key Issue Papers significantly outlined any meanings of reconciliation.

CAR also developed another major educational resource in the form of Information Sheets. These one-page sheets were produced on all the eight Key Issues and also on two critical areas that occurred during the reconciliation decade: native title and the stolen generations. While the Information Sheets did not contain as much educational material as the Key Issues Papers, there were still similar concerns regarding the sheets. The sheets rarely mentioned Indigenous rights, with no references whatsoever in the sheets to sovereignty and only a few references to a limited notion of self-determination. For example, in the 'Controlling Destinies' Information Sheet, the Indigenous

right of self-determination was strongly trivialized by comparing it with the right of Parents Councils to exercise their 'self-determination' within schools (CAR 1998a). Further, none of the Information Sheets – not even the two Information Sheets that focused on native title and the stolen generations – genuinely engaged with political debates in Indigenous Affairs policy, such as the Howard Government's ten-point plan and legislative amendments regarding native title, and the failure of the Howard Government to apologize to the stolen generations and their families (CAR 1998b, c). Also, all but one of the Information Sheets failed to articulate any meanings of reconciliation. The exception, 'Building New Relationships', simply stated a vague meaning: 'reconciliation is really all about forging a new relationship between the wider community and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples – one that heals the wounds of the past and ensures a fair go for all Australians' (CAR 1998d, 1).

Another of CAR's major educational resources was the annual and triennial reports it produced throughout the reconciliation decade. CAR used these reports to detail the reconciliation outcomes and programmes for that period, to educate the wider community about reconciliation and Indigenous issues, and to publicize successful examples of local communities engaging in reconciliation activities. This last use was discussed in the previous section on community engagement. Here, I outline the educative content of the CAR annual and triennial reports. These reports contained significant content regarding CAR and reconciliation. The reports examined a number of areas, including the establishment of CAR; the history of CAR; CAR's vision, goals, strategies and functions; the 'People's Movement'; and the impact on reconciliation from key Indigenous Affairs areas, such as native title and the stolen generations (CAR 1992a, b, 1994b, 1997a, 1998e, 2000a). Despite this volume of information on CAR and reconciliation, the annual and triennium reports, like the other CAR educational resources, failed to adequately educate the wider community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues. As with the other education material, the reports largely did not provide a clear meaning of reconciliation and, instead, discussed reconciliation in vague terms, such as 'improving relationships' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and addressing Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage (CAR 1992a, 1997a). Also, the CAR annual and triennial reports did not genuinely address Indigenous rights, such as self-determination, land rights, a treaty and sovereignty.

Reconciliation information inserts were also developed by CAR and were included in a number of national newspapers and magazines with high circulations, including *The Australian*, multicultural newspapers, *Australian Women's Weekly*, *New Idea* and *TV Week* (CAR 1994b). These inserts were very useful in enabling education material on the reconciliation process and

Indigenous issues to reach a widespread audience. However, these inserts did not adequately define reconciliation; neither did they genuinely address a range of Indigenous rights, such as self-determination, land rights and a treaty. This, therefore, resulted in the inserts failing to appropriately educate the wider community on Indigenous issues and reconciliation.

Finally, there were several CAR resources, of a more promotional nature, that endeavoured to increase the awareness of reconciliation in the wider Australian community. These CAR promotional resources included videos, posters, stickers and badges (CAR 1997a, 2000a). Television advertisements, entitled 'Footprints', were another example of this promotional material. These advertisements ran for one minute each and attempted in this time to provide 'an insight into Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander cultures, history, people, achievements, organisations and perspectives' (CAR 1994b, 25). The brevity of these advertisements, though, would have significantly reduced their capacity to genuinely educate the wider community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the Australian reconciliation process at the end of 2000 saw the failure of the aim of the reconciliation process and all three of the reconciliation goals. Indigenous and non-Indigenous people had not been reconciled by the centenary of Australian federation. The wider Australian community had largely not been educated on reconciliation and Indigenous issues. A national commitment to address the appalling levels of Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage had failed to eventuate. A document of reconciliation had been developed, but it contained vague language, had no targets or commitments and, generally, ignored Indigenous rights.

Despite the overall failure of the CAR education goal, though, it was within this area that the few isolated successes of the reconciliation process were to be found. While the wider Australian community remained fundamentally ignorant of reconciliation and Indigenous issues, a significant 'People's Movement' for reconciliation did eventuate during the reconciliation decade. This movement, through the leadership of CAR and other national organizations, such as ANTaR and the National Sorry Day Committee, had several successes related to the goal of education, including an increased understanding among some in the wider community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues, the reconciliation walks, the Sea of Hands and the National Sorry Day.

These isolated successes – especially the increased understanding of reconciliation and Indigenous issues among some in the wider community, reconciliation walks and the 'People's Movement' – largely occurred due to the implementation of two CAR programmes: the encouraging of local community involvement in reconciliation, and the developing of a range of reconciliation publications and resources. However, as has been discussed in this chapter, these two programmes were substantially flawed and ultimately contributed to the overall failure of the CAR goal of education. The programmes generally failed to genuinely address a range of Indigenous rights, such as sovereignty, self-determination, native title, land rights and a treaty – a fundamental component of any substantive reconciliation process. The two programmes also failed to adequately define a specific meaning for reconciliation – instead, either ignoring defining reconciliation completely, or defining reconciliation in vague, often contradictory terms, such as 'walking together' or 'improving relationships'. Both these failures significantly reduced the capacity for CAR to address their key goal to educate the wider community on Indigenous issues and reconciliation.

In analyzing the Australian reconciliation process, and in exploring the concepts of 'citizenship education' and 'social justice' through examining the CAR education goal, there are three key areas of research that need to be further explored. There has been some research conducted, particularly during the reconciliation process, into the understandings that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have regarding the meanings of reconciliation (e.g. Sweeney 1996; Newspoll et al. 2000; Gunstone 2015). However, further research into this area is required both to increase our knowledge of what people understand by the term 'reconciliation' and to further develop approaches to better educate people on the broad range of areas that are encompassed by the term 'reconciliation'. Another important area for future research is the exploration of a range of strategies that could best encourage people to become genuinely involved with reconciliation projects. While one of the successes of the Australian reconciliation process was the 'People's Movement', the significant majority of the wider community was not involved in this movement and remained largely ignorant of reconciliation and Indigenous issues (Gunstone 2012; Pratt et al. 2001). This research would also be highly relevant for other national reconciliation projects, which have often struggled to fully engage their citizens in these projects. Finally, further research needs to be conducted into the most appropriate approaches with which to develop a genuine national reconciliation process that substantially engages with several critical elements. These elements, which include Indigenous rights, have long been argued to be essential to create a reconciliation process that

achieves a number of vital outcomes, including reconciling Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, educating the wider Australian community on reconciliation and Indigenous issues, and providing social justice for Indigenous peoples (Behrendt 2003; Clark 2000; Djerrkura 1999; Dodson 2000).

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10

Global Human Rights

Liam Gearon

Introduction

The elaboration of a global moral compass is no small task. Yet, the promulgation of universal human rights is this in essence; and, singularly, the most defining aspect of global governance in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A foundational landmark remains the United Nations' (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The Preamble of the UDHR thereby opens with a statement on 'the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family' as 'the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'. The Preamble is strongly conscious through recent memory of the genocidal barbarism of World War II when it speaks of the 'disregard and contempt for human rights' which 'have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind', and looks forward to 'the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people' (UNUDHR 1948).

Human rights *education*, often closely associated with education for citizenship – and, indeed, social justice – is about the promotion of such a global human rights culture through teaching and learning. This link between human rights, citizenship and education is powerfully present in the statement which

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precedes the first of the UDHR's 30 articles, that the newly formed General Assembly of the UN regards it as imperative that universal human rights are 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations' and 'to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, *shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance*' (UNUDHR 1948, emphasis added).

This chapter examines the multi-dimensional features of human rights within education for citizenship under three headings:

- Historical and philosophical antecedents;
- Political and legal implications;
- Curriculum and pedagogical developments.

A conclusion outlines some parameters for future research in strengthening provision for human rights in education for citizenship and social justice.

Historical and Philosophical Antecedents

The historical antecedents of human rights can be traced, politically, to classical conceptions of the citizen as a member of a society who can expect certain freedoms, as well the obligations placed on them in a civil context. It is for this reason that human rights talk today is so often linked to citizenship. Though terms such as 'democracy' and 'citizenship' were in common currency for Plato (*The Republic*) and Aristotle (*Politics*) the idea that *all* members of a society would have rights and freedoms would have seemed nonsensical. All members of such ancient societies were not de facto citizens. Plato, in Book IV of *The Republic*, for instance, famously places democratic governance below the other four types of polity he elaborates: aristocracy, monarchy, even oligarchy, democratic governance (Christiano 2006). The idea that Plato was an opponent of democracy as a form of government was notably elaborated by Popper (2002) in *The Open Society and Its Enemies* – Popper, here, contentiously went so far as to claim that Plato was an ancient precursor of (what, for Popper, was very contemporary) totalitarianism. (For a wide discussion of Plato's attitudes to democracy and a challenging of too simplistic a view of Plato as anti-democratic, see Sara Monoson's (2000) *Plato's Democratic Entanglements*).

What the Greeks would have found inherently obvious, however, was an integral link between the political and education: to achieve and to

preserve a political system is necessary both to engender and to maintain such through a process of formal schooling and education. This is why both Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics* are works of education and pedagogy as much as they are philosophies of governance. Education is a necessary part of any political system, whether aspiring to one or ensuring it lasts.

Political philosophers will tend to emphasize the emergence of such universality of rights as being congruent with the eighteenth-century contexts. Most commonly, the genealogy is developed as a broken line of historical tradition from classical Greece and Rome through to the political revolutions in America and France – their political aftermath and aspiration defined by the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789) and the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution (1791). In such historical accounts, some credence is given to English precedents such as the Magna Carta (1215) and the English Bill of Rights (1689); all of these documents are available in authoritative versions at Yale University's Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy (Avalon 2015). Amongst philosophers who framed such ideas are Locke (1986) in his *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (Van Dervort 2002) and Rousseau (1968) in *The Social Contract*, as well as the English polemicist Thomas Paine (1985, 1987) who (on both sides of the Atlantic) actively took up the revolutionary space between philosophical thought and political action.

Rousseau's *The Social Contract* (1762) directly guided the political thinking that drove these revolutions: citizenship; equality; human rights; democracy; and the right of a people to determine who rules them, including the right to revolution. Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* (1791) outlines a progressive evolutionary 'may be all comprehended under three heads. First, Superstition. Secondly, Power. Thirdly, the common interest of society and the common rights of man' (Paine 1985, 69). The last of these, 'the common rights of man,' is seen as an evolutionary development over political systems guided by either religion or tyranny. By this move, Paine integrally connects good governance – that is, to his mind, progressive governance – with the (human; for Paine largely civil and political) rights of all.

Such narratives tend to be:

 (i) Euro-centric, and
(ii) neglectful of theological contributions to human rights thinking, especially in notions of dignity, equality and natural law (Finnis 2011; Kateb 2011; Tierney 1997; Tuck 1979).

Thus, in regard to (i), alternative cultural histories can also be evidenced from antiquity – a fascinating and, in educational terms, too little explored dimension of rights in relation to ancient politics: from Babylonian, Egyptian and Sumerian cultures of the Ancient Near East through to the civilizations of China and India. One of the most useful sources for these histories and, importantly, their related literature – especially official documents, such as exist – is, as noted above, Yale University's Avalon Project, which carefully details sources from the ancient world to the present in rich textual detail (Avalon 2015). Indeed, as studies such as those by Heater (2004) demonstrate, understanding of the history of citizenship or human rights is critical to their educational promulgation (cf. Forest 2004). Without a sense of time and place, human rights and other moral or legal norms seem to have surfaced from nowhere and may appear as moral impositions, rather than the organic historical emergence of moral consensus.

On (ii), alternative versions give greater credence to religious histories and traditions (see Gearon 2015). For instance, the Judaeo-Christian tradition shows traces of the idea of human rights through the inalienable dignity of human beings being made in the image of God (Gearon 2015). Thus, numerous moral, philosophical and, indeed, political understandings of human rights were provided through traditions of 'natural law'. Religious proponents in the Christian West after the fall of Rome notably include figures such as Augustine and Aquinas. In his *Summa*, for example, Aquinas argues there are certain precepts which define the nature of the moral order. Ultimately, of course, such religious philosophers draw from the theological first principles – namely, the existence of a morally good Creator whose Creation is imbued with natural moral laws as much as physical ones. As with human rights in the modern sense, such a moral order provides human beings responsibilities as well as freedoms, characterizing, as does the UDHR, humans as creature with an inherent dignity – if here God-given dignity.

While the philosophical and the political contexts of the eighteenth century were largely bereft of such theological foundations some, such as Kant, offered a rational justification for human conscience which was based on reason. As Aquinas had argued that the moral order could be determined by rational processes – 'law is something pertaining to reason' – in the *Critique of Practical Reason*, Kant similarly presents a 'categorical imperative', a conscience of sorts which impels people to do good rather than evil. As Guyer (2006) notes, it is for such reasons that the Kantian framework of ethical theory has greatly determined the defining principles of modern human rights thought: there are certain things which human beings should not do to each other, and there

are certain freedoms which by the nature of human being itself, persons, irrespective of status or nationality, should enjoy (see Gearon 2015).

But it is the very question of foundations which, even since their political actuation in past revolutionary times, has dogged moral philosophers. The English utilitarian Jeremy Bentham claimed that 'right is the child of law'. In other words, rights are not innate and can only be determined by contingent political and social contexts. Human rights as natural rights are lambasted in his *Anarchical Fallacies*: *Being an Examination of the Declarations of Rights during the French Revolution*. Here, he famously states that 'Natural rights is [sic] simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense – nonsense upon stilts' (Van Dervort 1987; Bentham 1815; Bedau 2000).

Many philosophers consider that, in the absence of self-evident rational or theological principles, human rights need to be seen less as inherent in the nature of human beings than as products of law and democratic social consensus ever-dependent on the contingencies of political circumstance (Campbell 2006; Corradetti 2009; MacIntyre 1984, 1988; Rorty 1989; Rawls 2005a, b).

In modern times, however, human rights have come to take the form of political first principles, and the basis of their force in law is precisely that contingency of circumstance cannot over-ride the necessity of their protection. This cannot always be so, of course, for all rights, since some – again, by circumstance – will, by the choices of the moment, seem to have more force of necessity than others. Governments may argue – for example, in the use of their security and intelligence services – that the right to privacy is less pressing than an invasion of such which could help prevent the loss of life. If, in modern times, rights have been brought to the political foreground and deemed universal, contemporary international law is perennially characterized by the need to adjudicate on such priorities (see Ignatieff 2004); and, indeed, on whether a protected human right or associated freedom is infringed or not; and, if so, whether its curtailment is justifiable by circumstances in the light of laws which would otherwise see it protected (Waldron 1984; 1993).

If the extremes of twentieth-century totalitarianism (Arendt 2004; Popper 1946; Talmon 1961; Friedrich and Brzezinski 1967; Schapiro 1972; Isaac 2003; Roberts 2006; Power 2007) provided the worldwide moral impetus for the founding (human rights principles) of the UN era, today the main challenge to human rights universality is from those conflicts which arise from cultural and, especially, religious differences in relation to the largely secularly defined norms of universal human rights (Burleigh 2006, 2007; Casanova 1994; Davis et al. 2005; de Vries and Sullivan 2006; Fox and

Sandler 2006; Hanson 2006; Haynes 2006; Hoelzl and Ward 2006; James 2006; Juergensmeyer 2005; Runzo et al. 2004; Rushton 2004; Trigg 2007; cf. Dershowitz 2004; Ernst and Heilinger 2011).

Nickel (2014) identifies four foundational, broadly philosophical considerations in relation to human rights:

(1) *Human rights are rights*;
(2) *Human rights are plural*;
(3) *Human rights are universal*;
(4) *Human rights have high-priority*.

On (1), these rights in modern international law assert and make moves to establish basic freedoms; for example, the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) was, in 2000, underpinned by the Charter of Fundamental Freedoms of the European Union. Such rights and freedoms, however, also impose duties and responsibilities on those who claim entitlement to such rights. Though human rights always pertain to human beings then, they also imply some varying degree of individual and societal responsibilities towards collective maintenance in lived, community contexts. Human rights can be understood operationally, in the sense of how they are enacted and experienced (or should be), as an agreed moral norm based on the way modern societies have come to evolve. These human rights are protected by national law – for instance, through civil constitution – and by the binding statutes to which nation-states are subject under signed and ratified agreements, generally called 'covenants' or 'conventions'.

On (2), the plurality of human rights, a cursory glance through the departments of the United Nations shows a great diversity in the categories and types of rights – civil and political; social, cultural and economic; and, most recently, rights pertaining to groups of individuals, for instance, children (Jones and Walker 2011), women (Lockwood 2006), indigenous people (Anaya 2004). The validity of the status of each of these is contested, though the very plurality of human rights is self-evident.

On (3) – and as pertaining, in particular, to the UN era; that is, post-1945 – the aim of the global community has been to make human rights *universal* Claude and Weston 2006); this was most clearly evident in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). In the latter UDHR there were, and are, 30 articles; at the time of the Declaration being made, many were aspirations (on the historical origins of the UDHR and the high early ideals of the UN, see Glendon 2001; Mazower 2009; Moyn 2010; Morsink 1999). The universality of human rights – which can be read as conflicting

with cultural and, especially, religious norms – is perhaps the most contestable aspect of human rights today.

On (4), it is self-evident that human rights as a form of moral code have influenced international law more than any other ethical framework. Indeed, it is possible to argue that, while international treaties and agreements formed a pre-UN era code of behaviour of and between nations, only in the era of universal human rights has international law come to have the reach it presently has. To this extent, and for this reason, the emergence of a coherent and increasingly all-encompassing code of international law based on human rights, or held always in check by and against human rights, has made the promotion of human rights a matter of global priority amongst nations. This can be evidenced, for instance, by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which set largely economic, educational and health targets to be achieved by 2015 (Langford et al. 2013).

The successor to the MDGs is defined by the UN as the Post-2015 Development Agenda with 'sustainable development' at its heart (UN 2015d). The achievement of these not only depends on close national and inter-governmental collaborations, but also places obligations on private corporations – the whole process being a far cry from the more limited civil and political rights envisaged in the revolutionary contexts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and by philosophers who espoused and justified the political process with reasoned argument.

The major issues of such developments in human rights are as manifold as the questions they raise: on (1) what are the limits of freedom and the constraints of duty and responsibility on the claiming of rights?; on (2), plurality, is there any limit to the growing proliferation of human rights and does their very plurality weaken both their moral force and the likelihood of their realization?; on (3), the universality of human rights, is the disjuncture between the ideal and reality ever likely to be fully realized? what would a society of realized (UDHR envisaged) rights look like in political, social cultural and economic terms? (on the difference between the ideals and lived reality of human rights, see Donnelly 2012, 2013); on (4), if human rights are a legal and/or moral priority, what choices are to be made in establishing priorities between the protection of which freedoms and the prioritization of which rights (see, for example, Talbott 2005)?

Legal and Political Implications

Answering such questions and resolving the political implications begged by proposed solutions in the UN era has had significant legal-political implications – most evidently, the emergence of a system of international law which

aims to promote, protect and further advance human rights. If, in the eighteenth century, revolution was integrally associated with and the motivation for the creation of nation-states – pre-eminently America and France – governed by rights of citizens, in the twentieth century, war between nations forged a collective mindset to establish moves towards the universality of the principles of rights for citizens across all nations; that is, an acceptance of the *universality* of human rights (again, Donnelly 2012, 2013). Thus, the League of Nations was formed in the aftermath of World War I as a precursor to the United Nations, formed in the aftermath of World War II (Schlesinger 2003). The founding Charter of the United Nations thus underpins its mission as preventative of the 'scourge of war'. The Security Council of the UN was given its mandate in Article 24 of the UN Charter. Consisting initially of five permanent members – Britain, France, Russia, the United States and China – the Security Council has today ten additional elected members whose remit includes the capacity of intervention to prevent such international conflicts that had impelled its creation (Bailey 1994; Fassbender 2011). Given the contemporaneous emergence of the Cold War and the UN system and the capacity of each of the five permanent members of the Security Council to veto any such intervention to prevent war, conflicting foreign policies and ideologies rarely made for collective action or political-military consensus. Indeed, the Korean War, the Vietnam War and numerous other regional conflicts highlighted, in that era, a marked sense of a Security Council engaged in proxy wars with itself. Current-day Syria presents a case study in the continued conflict within a body designed to ameliorate. Even in the post-Cold War period, then, a failure of consensus has seen no end to the proliferation of war between nations (compare this with the initial post-Cold War optimism evident in Fukuyama 2006; and the predictive pessimism of Huntington's (2002) clash of civilization thesis; cf. UNAOC 2015): nor – here, 1990s Rwanda is often cited – the prevention of genocide within them. Today, not least in the advent post-9/11 of worldwide terrorism, the Security Council reflects a widening of concerns over global security; but the broadening of security concerns includes many issues which were beyond its founding conception – including issues, for example, prompted by environmental crisis, mass movement of populations, access to food and water, and conflict over diminishing natural resources (on environmental rights, see Hayward 2005; on the shifting issues and priorities of the UN in its seven-decade history, see Weiss and Daws 2008).

If the defining feature of World War II was the struggle of the Allied powers against the Axis alliance of totalitarianism and dictatorship, whose governance was defined by genocidal practices, we see this reflected in the priority given

by the new world order to the prevention of such. And the history and political theory around the origins of totalitarianism become an integral – and not to be neglected – aspect of understanding not only the origins of the UN, but also its founding morality; that is, human rights principles (thus, on the histories and theories of totalitarianism, again see Arendt 2004; Popper 1946; Talmon 1961; Friedrich and Brzezinski 1967; Schapiro 1972; Isaac 2003; Roberts 2006; Power 2007). Thus, the UN Convention against Genocide precedes on the 9th December 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on the 10th.

As World War II had its origins, in large measure, with the struggle against Nazism and Fascism on the continent of Europe, unsurprisingly Europe was the first continent to establish legal mechanisms to ensure the aspirations of the UDHR (in 1950) through the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms or the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) (Jacobs and White 2010; Janis et al. 2008).

The UN system established global commitments to promotion of rights – but little in the way of enforcement – through two, nevertheless, legally binding agreements of 1966: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. The international promotion and protection of human rights complements the legal protection of human rights at the national level. It was not, however, until the formation of the International Criminal Court that any legal mechanism formally existed for the prosecution of the most serious human rights' offenders; this occurred only in the aftermath of the Cold War, though its two major proponents – America and Russia – are not signatories (Brems 2009; Broomhall 2003; Buchanan 2010, 2013; McGoldrick et al. 2004; Schabas 2011).

The post-Cold War period, however, was initially envisaged as a time when ideals of democratic citizenship underpinned by human rights were in the ascendancy. Thus, just a few years after the symbolic Fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet Union, at the 1993 the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, the United Nations General Assembly established the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) as part of the UN Secretariat. The OHCHR coordinates the many human rights activities within the UN, working closely with treaty bodies, such as the Human Rights Committee, and other UN agencies, such as the Human Rights Council which consists of 47 elected members. One of the important present-day tasks undertaken by the Human Rights Council is its Universal Periodic Review. While important in terms of monitoring and reporting, its power to force implementation is limited. The creation of the International

Criminal Report is without doubt the most important attempt to establish a recognized body to try as criminal those individuals responsible for the grossest infringements of human rights, including genocide and crimes against humanity.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights was established in 2006 by the UN General Assembly. Today, the Human Rights Council discusses a staggering array of thematic human rights issues and situations (UN 2015a). The Human Rights Council is 'an inter-governmental body within the United Nations system responsible for strengthening the promotion and protection of human rights around the globe and for addressing situations of human rights violations and make recommendations on them' (UN 2015a). The Human Rights Council works with the UN 'Special Procedures' set-up, which includes specialists in specific human rights issues and the 'special rapporteurs' responsible for global insight of respective areas of thematic expertise (UN 2015c). There are presently over 40 thematic mandates in the UN system (UN 2015b; see Appendix at the end of this chapter).

A perusal of this extensive latter list (again, UN 2015 and the Appendix) shows how complex and integrated human rights have become in world governance and, pragmatically, how difficult it has become to implement through the political process. The moral imperative of human rights has not made for an easy path to either the fulfilment of legislative obligations or, indeed, recognition of what the fulfilment of these legislative human rights obligations would look like in social, political, economic or cultural terms. The realization of social justice, interpreted broadly as the fulfilment of the full spectrum of human rights for all citizens, can seem utopian. Scholars sceptical that the proliferation of human rights – civil and political; social, cultural and economic; as well as group rights of human solidarity – represents not moral progress but, rather, empty rhetoric (Wellman 1998; cf. Kymlicka 1989, 1995). For this reason, many scholars have argued that the sheer weight and proliferation of human rights objectives, and the complexity of obligations measured against the reality of their lived experience means a widening scepticism concerning the remit of international law and a growing pessimism about the utopian vision underpinning them (Posner 2014).

It was Europe which first provided a model of enforcement for states' human rights obligations through the European Court of Human Rights, based at Strasbourg, France. Post-Cold War, the Council of Europe strengthened its focus on human rights in the light of Communism's fall in Eastern Europe. Other regional models are the Organization of American States (OAS) (see Davidson 1997; Farer 1997) and the African Union (see Evans and Murray 2011).

As with the UDHR, the OAS human rights documents are derived in form from the eighteenth-century constitutions of France and America: the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the American Convention of Human Rights. Oversight for these is through the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. In the continent of Africa, the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights was established by the Organization of African Unity (1981) which, in 2000, became the African Union. Both the Inter-American and African systems stress, to a greater extent than the European or UN model, the importance of duties and responsibilities, as well as rights. Distinctively evident in the African Charter, in its title as well as content, is an emphasis on the rights of peoples, and a reflection of deep awareness of a colonial heritage – Article 20, for example, provides the rights of an oppressed people to fight for liberation. The closest equivalent to the European, African and American inter-state collaborations on human rights in Asia is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) which, in 2009, created an Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. Muslim-majority countries also emphasize human rights in governance: for example, the Arab League Arab Charter of Human Rights. Here, too, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), formally the Organization of the Islamic Conference, presents a more theologically oriented alterative to the secular foundations of human rights as understood in the UN system. Thus, the OIC instigated the Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission (IPHRC), 'an expert body with advisory capacity […] as the principal organ working independently in the area of human rights' (OIC 2015).

Unarguably, the most important move towards a focused system of accountability and enforcement in human rights was the formation of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Established by Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, its founding impetus was the punishment for as well as the prevention of crimes against humanity, including genocide, and came in the wake of failures earlier of the international community to prevent genocide in Rwanda or the 'ethnic cleansing' in the former Yugoslavia (on the origins of the term 'genocide' and the failures of the international community to prevent it, see Power 2007). Modelled on the court which tried representatives of the Nazi regime – the Nuremberg Tribunal – it combines the experiences of the post-conflict court of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (McGoldrick et al. 2004). Even with an enforcement mechanism for the gravest of human rights violation, the ICC remains to be ratified any country of the Middle East, except Jordan. It remains unsigned, too, by countries which

collectively represent a significant proportion of the world's population – all signatories to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights – including China, India, Russia and the United States of America.

The disjuncture between ideal and implementation was seen at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna as the critical issue for contemporary human rights. A quarter of a century after Vienna, the same disjuncture might be said to be as urgent as ever; and multifarious in unexpected way. Environmental concern over the effects human beings – and arguably, too, their rights – are having on the planet which they have dominated has effected arguably, too, the greatest of all challenges for the realization of universal human rights.

Here, the pragmatic issue is the manner in which all rights can be realized for all peoples, given the current world population and its forecast growth. At the foundation of the UN, the environment and world population were not a major priority: world population in 1948 was less than three billion. Today, it is seven billion, and heading for an estimated eight billion by 2024. Here, the scarcity of diminishing natural resources, competition over supplies of food and water, and the conflicts which arise over these, with projections over the effects of climate change, all make for an ever-evolving constellation of problems for the realization of universal human rights. Here, the scope of legislation may reach to controls over carbon emissions, de-forestation, the protection of animal and plant diversity, and, more widely, the consequences of industrialization on oceans, seas, rivers, the soil, the air and earth's atmosphere itself. However, international agreements, in limiting economic development and advancing human wellbeing – which form a cornerstone of the recent Millennium Development Goals, for instance, pose inevitable tensions between human rights objectives in relation to the non-human world. Indeed, this conundrum re-focuses human rights thinking, re-configuring human beings and their rights in stark contrast to the natural world of which, to many environmentalists, they are a problematic part.

Curriculum and Pedagogical Ramifications

The integral link between the historical-philosophical, the legal-political and the pedagogical is made explicit by John Dewey in his seminal 1916 work *Democracy and Education* (Dewey 1916); and Dewey is a good example, too, of a philosopher of politics and education who makes plain the wider, secular understanding of a tradition which spans the classical eras of Greece and Rome

to the eighteenth century to the present (again, Dershowitz 2004). Yet, just as only in modern times do we see the universality of citizens' human rights so, too, only in the modern era do we see included in those rights a right to education. Our current-day era of mass or universal education (at least, in theory) thus mirrors the emergence of (again, at least, theoretical) human rights universality.

If historical-philosophical antecedents are mirrored by legal-political challenges, the task of education for human rights in education for citizenship and social justice is all the more complex. This is part of the reason why human rights education – in addition to the right to education – is now regarded as a significant factor in the successful drive towards ever-increasing success in seeing the fulfilment of human rights as a lived reality and not just an ideal.

Here, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have, in recent decades, played a significant role in holding governments to account for infringements of their human rights obligations, as well as providing a critical role in raising public awareness of such (Korey 1998). Most human rights organizations began with specialist concerns – such as Amnesty International and the prevention of torture – but, as their organizations have evolved, they have taken on a wider remit for the protection of a greater range of human rights. Human Rights Watch is one of the world's leading NGOs in the monitoring and reporting on human rights violations. There remain numerous NGOs with specialist interests. Amongst these, those responsible for economic and developmental rights are also, today, amongst the most prominent – for example, Oxfam. Just as human rights in philosophical terms, it can be argued, were founded through principles of natural law – for instance, in Christian theological tradition, as well as the classical philosophers – many religiously oriented NGOs, such as CAFOD and Christian Aid, show an apparent convergence of moral ideals despite differences in philosophical, theological or ideological foundations. Medical charities that often work in conflict situations and war zones, such as the Red Cross, are mirrored directly by Islamic equivalents, such as the Red Crescent. These and all other NGOs also now allocate substantial resources to education in the broadest sense, incorporating both formal schooling and a more general public and/or political programmes of information and awareness-raising. Major disagreements can emerge between practical solutions to development issues. For example, if birth control is seen as a solution to economic and development problems caused by population growth, some NGOs' religious affiliations may prevent them from advocating the same solution to similar problems.

A current list of human rights issues identified by the United Nations itself provides an important reminder both of the complexity of social and political realities, as well as the daunting task of meaningful implementation – mirroring

the extensive list of rapporteurs and working groups (UN 2015b; and, again, the Appendix). This sheer range of concerns becomes a major task for education, but an interesting one; perusal of *this* list shows – in the range of political, social, cultural, economic and other issues – a potential or nascent cross-curricular and whole school curricula. Thus, in 2011 the General Assembly, without a vote, adopted the Human Rights Education and Training Resolution 66/137. In UN procedural terms, this 'marks the final adoption of this new instrument by the United Nations'. The resolution invited 'Governments, agencies and organizations of the United Nations system, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify their efforts to disseminate the Declaration and to promote universal respect and understanding thereof' (UN 2015b).

The opening statement of this Declaration's constituent articles reiterates those connections between politics and pedagogy made in the UDHR:

> *Reaffirming* the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations with regard to the promotion and encouragement of respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,
> *Reaffirming also* that every individual and every organ of society shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,
> *Reaffirming further* that everyone has the right to education, and that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society and promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace, security and the promotion of development and human rights.

From this Preamble, Article 1 states that:

1. Everyone has the right to know, seek and receive information about all human rights and fundamental freedoms and should have access to human rights education and training.
2. Human rights education and training is essential for the promotion of universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, in accordance with the principles of the universality, indivisibility and interdependence of human rights.
3. The effective enjoyment of all human rights, in particular the right to education and access to information, enables access to human rights education and training.

This Human rights education and training encompasses the following in Article 2:

(*a*) Education about human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection;
(*b*) Education through human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners;
(*c*) Education for human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others.

If citizenship is, at heart, concerned with systems, human rights are concerned with people. Given the historical origins of human rights, today, with notions of the rights of human solidarity, this focus on people can mean not just individuals, but also groups of people, collectives – for example, indigenous groups, but also 'women' and 'children', and so on. To this extent, then, there are treaties, declarations and conventions for indigenous peoples; for women; and for children (Alston and Goodman 2013; Alston 1999; Alston and Crawford 2000; Baker 1994).

Who owns human rights then, by this analysis? It is not governments or legal systems, politicians or international lawyers but people – and with particular responsibility for knowledge and understanding of them particular, teachers and educators. In this regard, non-government organizations play a special role: given the diverse range of specialisms in human rights, this same diversity is reflected in the particular concerns of NGOs. Governments and states, however, are critical actors in providing the educational systems – of paramount importance, here, is in the right to education – as well as specific curricular opportunities in school timetables for citizenship, or its equivalents such as civics. Indeed, citizenship education programmes are the major means whereby the explicit themes of human rights are delivered. This is evident from the research undertaken of the inclusion of citizenship and pupil/ student response to such worldwide. A number of studies are worth citing here. For example, in Europe, the European Wergeland Centre (EWC) provides a rich resource of online pedagogical materials. Focusing on education for intercultural understanding, human rights and democratic citizenship, an initiative between the Council of Europe hosted by Norway, the EWC is a good example of human rights being integrated within the broader frame of citizenship (see http://www.theewc.org/library/).

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 (http://

www.iea.nl/iccs_2016.html) is part of an ongoing global assessment of developments in and the reception of citizenship education, including education for human rights, in a range of contexts. The participating nations in the 2016 cycle are: Belgium (Flemish), Bulgaria, Chile, Chinese Taipei, Colombia, Croatia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, Germany (North Rhine-Westphalia), Hong Kong SAR, Italy, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Poland, Russian Federation, Slovenia and Sweden.

The UNESCO (2011) publication *Contemporary Issues in Human Rights Education* includes a strong focus on research and implementation, along with useful annexes dealing with various international programmes of implementation. These annexes include learning materials for human rights education that are of relevance to schools and universities, as well as human rights training for NGOs. One of the annexes is also my report on the 2008 meeting at UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, to mark the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Gearon 2011). The SAGE *Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy* (2008) edited by James Arthur, Ian Davies and Carole Hahn remains an important work of reference covering policy and practice with contributions from a range of leading thinkers and researchers in the field.

The field of human rights has a number of generic, multi-disciplinary journals, few of which however, provide serious coverage to education-specific issues: *Human Rights Quarterly*; *Human Rights Review*; *Human Rights Law Review*; *International Journal of Human Rights*; *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Studies*; *Harvard Law School Human Rights Journal*. In terms of particular human rights concerns – of which, as we have seen, there are many – see, for instance, the small sample range of interdisciplinary journals on human rights: *Journal of Human Rights and the Environment*; *Business and Human Rights Journal*; *Health and Human Rights Journal*; *Journal of Religion and Human Rights*; *Yale Human Rights and Development Journal*; or the *Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Rights*.

Given the disjuncture between cultural differences on human rights, of all of these cross- and inter-disciplinary themes, arguably – and though there is not always a divide – religion and human rights is high on the list of areas of potential challenge as to the notion of universality of human rights, especially in some areas of personal and social morality. For citizenship educators, it is, too, arguably all the more important since there seems to be a collective neglect of religion amongst many, perhaps indicative of a tacit preference for a secular reading of the history of both human rights and citizenship themselves (see Arthur et al. 2010). For a basic but authoritative overview (of religion

and human rights), see *Religion and Human Rights*: *An Introduction* edited by John Witte, Jr and M. Christian Green (2011); and for a cross-referencing of themes, see *Vocabulary for the Study of Religion* edited by Robert A. Segal and Kocku von Stuckrad (2015).

Of more direct relevance to human rights in education for citizenship, see the *Citizenship Teaching and Learning Journal*. Carole Hahn's (2010) 'Comparative civic education research: What we know and what we need to know' reviews and analyzes gaps in the integration of theory and practice in citizenship education and – though her focus is not directly on human rights – is a useful piece for reflecting on where the human rights components of education for citizenship presently fit (see also Kerr 2014). *Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School* (Gearon 2014), the revised third edition, provides not only a useful summary of current citizenship education research, but also expert analyses of and practical approaches for cross-curricular delivery of citizenship education potential – from subjects as diverse as English and Drama, History, Modern Foreign Languages, Religious Education, Mathematics and Science.

Conclusion

If citizenship and social justice refers to issues of equity and fairness in the distribution of resources within jurisdictions, including access to democratic decision-making processes from local through to global communities, then education for human rights inevitably plays a critical and pivotal role. Here, a legal obligation becomes a pedagogical imperative. Given the sheer diversity of human rights concerns, however, *the* major challenge for human rights in the context of education for citizenship is in the incorporation of a holistic and unified field which makes meaningful sense of pedagogical complexity in the light of the pressing political realities. In educational terms, the required research agenda is necessarily cross-curricular and inter-disciplinary: what are the specific contributions of particular subject areas to the implementation of human rights? How do these contributions interlock with each other? In the long and ancient tradition of connectedness between educational aims and political objectives, how can theoretical thinking about the curriculum be implemented in practical pedagogical terms to realize human rights objectives? The task is a daunting one and complex. It requires not only empirical research – the like of the large-scale IEA research – but also active cross-curricular contributions to theoretical frameworks from a range of political

as well as cross-culturally plural perspectives, from philosophers as well as subject experts across the curriculum.

Given that human rights are often contested in cultural and, especially, religious terms, any path to the realization of human rights through education can thus only be made meaningful through international collaborations, models for which already exist within the United Nations system itself (see, for example, UNESCO 2011). Only with such developments in thinking about curriculum aims and pedagogical processes can policy initiatives successfully respond to the far from abstract and often harsh realities of political need for the achievement, maintenance and preservation of basic standards of decency and dignity: human rights are arguably simply a way of defining what those standards of decency and human dignity are. Human rights education is not an add-on but, rather, an integral aspect of education for citizenship and social justice.

Appendix

UN human rights special rapporteurs and the equivalent targeting of specific themes include:

- Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent; Independent Expert on the enjoyment of human rights by persons with albinism
- Working Group on Arbitrary Detention
- Working Group on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises
- Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights
- Special Rapporteur on the rights of persons with disabilities
- Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances
- Special Rapporteur on the right to education
- Special Rapporteur on the issue of human rights obligations relating to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment
- Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions
- Special Rapporteur on the right to food
- Independent Expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights
- Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression

- Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association
- Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health
- Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context
- Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders
- Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers
- Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples
- Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons
- Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order
- Independent Expert on human rights and international solidarity
- Working Group on the use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination
- Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants
- Special Rapporteur on minority issues
- Independent Expert on the enjoyment of all human rights by older persons
- Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights
- Special Rapporteur on the right to privacy
- Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance
- Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief
- Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography
- Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences
- Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights while countering terrorism
- Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment
- Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children
- Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence
- Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights

- Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences
- Special Rapporteur on the implications for human rights of the environmentally sound management and disposal of hazardous substances and wastes
- Special Rapporteur on the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation
- Working Group on the issue of discrimination against women in law and in practice
  (UN 2015b)

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11

Postcolonial Insights for Engaging Difference in Educational Approaches to Social Justice and Citizenship

Sharon Stein and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti

Introduction

As growing numbers of schools and universities around the world are re-organized to align more closely with capitalist market logics and the pursuit of private profits rather than public goods, interest in social justice and citizenship studies has spread among education scholars and practitioners (e.g. Giroux 2002; North 2008; Nussbaum 2010). Determined to contest the onslaught of unwelcome education reforms and economic rationalization, there is also a growing sense of urgency around the need to organize a united front in support of programmes, pedagogies and curricula that emphasize the development of students' democratic practice and skills for critically informed political engagement. In this context, it is nonetheless essential to note that social justice and citizenship have multiple interpretations, and we should not assume that we all mean the same thing when we use these terms. The complexity involved is amplified when social justice and citizenship concerns shift from being framed as more local issues to a more global scale, as is increasingly the case in the current moment.

Failing to attend to the full range of diversity within these perspectives about social justice and citizenship in education can result in lost nuances and a failure to engage ethically with difference, particularly in ways that do

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not require consensus or commensurability. We suggest that engaging such difference would be an important element of any postcolonial approach to social justice and citizenship efforts in education, as we explore in the following chapter. We begin by offering a brief overview of the field of postcolonial studies by establishing a strategic distinction between Marxist and post-structuralist orientations, and also outline the critiques and limitations of the field, particularly as articulated by Indigenous, decolonial and ethnic studies scholars. In the second section of this chapter, we consider how the questions raised by postcolonial studies can push us to reflexively examine existing interpretations of social justice and citizenship in education, and to consider other imaginaries and forms of existence. We conclude by offering a strategic, situated social cartography to illustrate our argument.

Postcolonial Studies

Postcolonial studies is driven by the basic contention that, despite the formal political decolonization of much of the world, many elements of colonialism continue to contribute to the production of racial and cultural hierarchies, and highly uneven distributions of wealth and resources (Loomba 2007). Hence, within postcolonial studies, decolonization is understood to be 'an unfinished project' (Kapoor 2004: 630). The beginnings of postcolonial scholarship are often traced to anti-colonial scholars and activists from the post-World War II era, but the field itself is largely identified with academic discourse produced within the Global North beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Dirlik 1994; Nichols 2010; Sharpe 1995; Young 2001). Postcolonial studies first emerged within literary and cultural studies, but it has more recently been adapted to other fields, including sociology and education (e.g. Andreotti 2011a; Bhambra 2007; Blanco Ramírez 2014; Coloma 2013; Crossley and Tikly 2004; Go 2013).

Firmly committed to the need to link historical and ongoing injustices, postcolonial studies represents an effort to conceptualize and critique how and why even re-configured global relations (social, economic, political) reproduce colonial hierarchies and hegemonies. Thus, according to Hall (1996), postcolonial studies refuses 'the false and disabling distinction between colonization as a system of rule, of power and exploitation, and colonization as a system of knowledge and presentation' (p. 254). Postcolonial studies is not premised on a standard set of tenants, principles, or objects of inquiry (Gandhi 1998) but, rather, emphasizes a set of questions that persistently interrogate the ongoing effect of Western 'grand narratives'. Of particular concern is how the non-

West figures within these narratives as the deviant, under-developed 'Other' of the West – which, in turn, serves to under-gird the justification of the unequal distribution of material resources, and uneven valuation of certain kinds of knowledges and cultures.

At the same time that postcolonial studies scholars note the West's originary and ongoing (material and conceptual) dependence on its Others, they also assert that this dependence is continuously disavowed. These disavowals, in turn, generate aporias (or constitutive contradictions), which must be kept in place so as to assert the West's exceptionalism, benevolence, leadership and autonomous ingenuity (Andreotti 2007; Kapoor 2014). While postcolonial scholars identify these colonial narratives and disavowals within both popular and academic discourses (Gandhi 1998; Biccum 2010; Said 1978), others critique this more discursive emphasis for failing to adequately highlight anti-colonial resistance efforts and centre material social relations (Dirlik 1994). In fact, this signals a larger divide within the field – that between Marxist and post-structuralist approaches. It is important to consider how these two emphases offer different analyses and proposals while, at the same time, recognizing that this distinction is performative – that is, there is no unambiguous divide between the two and, in many cases, scholars draw on both depending on the context in which they are trying to intervene. Indeed, the generative, irresolvable tension between these two approaches serves as an important reminder of the need to attend simultaneously to both material and epistemic violences given that, as Gandhi (1998) notes, neither 'can exhaustively account for the meanings and consequences of the colonial encounter' (p. ix).

Post-Structuralist and Marxist Approaches

Post-structuralist approaches tend to emphasize a critique of the hegemony of Western epistemology and of Western representations of difference (the non-West) (Gandhi 1998), thereby highlighting the role of knowledge and culture in (re)producing colonial domination. This includes a deconstruction of Western humanism and its purportedly universal categories, which include citizenship and social justice (Chakrabarty 2000). However, in this approach, there is also an emphasis on provisionality, complicity and the danger of reproducing the patterns of power as they are being resisted (Kapoor 2004). Marxist approaches tend to emphasize the ways that colonial dominance continues to operate within the highly uneven global political economic organization and division of labour, and the repressive effects of the West's ongoing

global political hegemony (Young 2001). It emphasizes the need to build strategic coalitions that work in solidarity with and help to empower oppressed peoples so as to enact effective political resistance against persistent injustices (Dirlik 1994).

Scholars more oriented toward a post-structuralist approach may critique the Marxist approach for being too rationalist and relying on Western humanist values, while scholars partial to the Marxist approach may critique post-structuralist approaches for an inadequate critique of capitalism and insufficient commitment to political struggle (Nichols 2010). At the same time, Loomba notes (2007) that colonial powers assert and maintain their position by asserting both material *and* epistemic dominance. In fact, one of the most well-known figures of postcolonial studies, Gayatri Spivak, employs both approaches, declares her allegiance to neither, and offers critiques of both. In particular, Spivak (1988) critiques the ways that well-meaning Western (or Western-educated) intellectuals often fail to account for their own position, and celebrate 'the oppressed' in ways that actually re-subjugate them. Thus, even as efforts to centre colonial subjects may have liberating potential as disruptive counter-stories to the seamless narrative of progress and benevolence offered by Western history, Spivak suggests that such efforts can actually be surreptitious means of re-marginalization, as what they have to say could be unintelligible within Western logics, and thus it would be either silenced or distorted.

In short, the effects of colonialism are not easily dismantled, and efforts to overcome them may end up producing more of the same. Therefore, many postcolonial scholars wrestle with the following contradiction: while the continued use of supposedly universal humanist categories and concepts may contribute to the reproduction of colonial patterns and relationships, 'there is no easy way of dispensing with these universals' (Chakrabarty 2000: 5). Therefore, postcolonial scholarship (particularly in post-structuralist approaches) not only contextualizes present colonial conditions within their historical precedents and patterns, it also situates postcolonial (and anti-colonial) critique itself, including self-reflexively engaging the complicity of intellectuals in reproducing harm (Kapoor 2004; Roy 2006). As a result, one of postcolonial studies' most valuable gifts is its commitment to put itself, and many other foundational concepts, up for 'dispute and debate' (Loomba 2007: 173).

Critiques of Postcolonial Studies

In addition to an active internal debate within the field of postcolonial studies, it has also been the object of critique from other fields, including those

that share postcolonial studies' concerns about the continued relevance of colonialism, but which offer a different set of questions and propositions. For instance, Indigenous studies scholars emphasize that settler colonial states such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Israel cannot be accurately described as *postcolonial* (Byrd 2011), particularly if the 'post' is understood as a temporal indication that 'colonialism is now a matter of the past' (Shohat 1992: 105). Other Indigenous studies scholars point out that postcolonial studies has not engaged the experiences of Indigenous peoples in settler colonies (Tuhiwai Smith 1999), and that its analytics and concepts remain inadequate for theorizing the specificities of settler colonial contexts (Tuck and Yang 2012).

Decolonial critiques originating in Latin America conceptualize modernity as a provincial European project that projected itself abroad in order to access resources and assert its own vision for seamless global futures premised on linear progress and a singular notion of humanity. Modernity therefore requires ongoing violence towards Europe's Others in order to ensure its continued affluence and political dominance. Decolonial critiques are often positioned, at least in part, in response to the inadequacies they identify within postcolonial studies, particularly with regard to its suitability for studying the Latin American context. According to Grosfoguel (2007), postcolonial studies also overemphasizes the role of culture and does not adequately theorize political economic concerns, although this seems to capture only one (post-structural) strain of postcolonial studies – that is, a tension within the field itself. Mignolo (2011) suggests that while postcolonial and decolonial studies have different origins, they are both invested in unveiling the ongoing significance of colonial logics. However, Mignolo (2007) also asserts that 'the decolonial shift […] is a project of de-linking [from modernity] while postcolonial criticism and theory is a project of scholarly transformation within the academy' (p. 452). We have elsewhere suggested that decolonial critiques may have something to learn from postcolonial studies' commitment to engage its own presuppositions critically (Andreotti 2011b).

Regarding ethnic studies' engagement with postcolonial studies, Sharpe (1995) has pointed out that while often postcolonial studies is applied to the study of diaspora and other minority communities in the USA, it is inadequate to the task of addressing current articulations of racism within the West, and does not adequately address the complexities between different modes of racial and colonial oppression. On the whole, ethnic studies may be understood to place a stronger emphasis on race than postcolonial studies does, as the latter tends to reference the role of culture more than race (Silva 2007). More recent approaches to ethnic studies also seek to bridge conversa-

tions about ongoing Western imperialism abroad (a considerable emphasis in much postcolonial studies scholarship) with critiques of domestic racial/colonial violence (Reddy 2014).

Postcolonial Perspectives on Citizenship and Social Justice

As North (2008) indicates in her helpful effort to 'map the terrain' of social justice scholarship in education, the term social justice 'can and does encompass a wide range of educational objectives, procedures, and processes' (p. 1184). Similarly, Shultz (2007) notes, 'a brief scan of these views [on global citizenship] presents a tangle of often competing understandings and definitions' (p. 249). In this section, we therefore seek to contribute to ongoing discussions about these concepts by considering how postcolonial studies can pose important questions about existing approaches to social justice and citizenship in education. Our intent is not to then replace these approaches with 'better' alternatives but, rather, to examine the desires, investments, imaginaries and assumptions that underlie them. We also illustrate what might be offered by approaches that do not presume a single, prescriptive path forward and, instead, emphasize the need for scholars and practitioners to engage continually in self-reflexive critique about our own situated, partial perspectives (including recognition of the limits of our own understanding).

Social Justice and Education

According to Bell (1997), 'The goal of social justice education is full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure' (p. 11). Meanwhile, Rizvi and Lingard (2010) note that, while there can be no singular definition of justice, *in*justice does refer to tangible material harm that creates a moral demand for efforts to minimize that harm. Beyond those who explicitly emphasize or employ the concept of social justice in their work, many education scholars nonetheless operate from assumptions based in implicit conceptualizations of social justice. These assumptions often become more evident in moments of tension, transformation and change.

It is common in discussions about social justice in education to emphasize the distinction between equality and equity. Patton et al. (2010) suggest,

'Equality refers to the equal distribution of goods and services to different groups' (pp. 269–270), which erases the ways in which certain groups are systemically advantaged over others within the current system. In contrast, equity 'is about providing the right amount of resources that a certain group needs to live a full life, given the historical, material, and social marginalization they have experienced' (p. 270). The equality/equity distinction is a valuable one for educational scholars and practitioners, particularly given the ethical demand to attend to and address the serious, ongoing material harms that are affected within the highly uneven existing distribution of resources and opportunities.

While not minimizing the importance of demands for equity – in particular, the demand for material redistribution – insights from postcolonial studies might push us to ask what assumptions underlie a commitment to social justice qua equity. One such question might be: does a redistribution of resources (particularly within a bounded national context) indicate the continuation of the existing global capitalist system, only with future public revenues distributed more evenly? Would equity approaches also include a redistribution of accumulated wealth and, if so, would this wealth redistribution take place on a national or a global scale? To what extent is wealth redistribution possible within existing governance and economic structures of liberal capitalist democracies? Further, where and to whom would the exploitation and material deprivation (that are necessary for capitalism's continuation) be displaced and/or maintained?

In addition to these material questions, postcolonial studies might also prompt us to consider whether most conceptualizations of equity adequately account for the epistemic violence that characterizes racial and colonial relations. According to Santos (2007), 'The struggle for global social justice must [...] be a struggle for global cognitive justice as well'. For Santos, current patterns of cognitive injustice are premised on the invalidation and erasure of non-Western knowledge systems. What happens, however, when commitments to epistemic justice conflict with commitments to economic justice? For instance, what if certain economic opportunities are only available to those who study a particular subject area premised on Western knowledge foundations? Who is the arbiter of whether a group of people is able to live a 'full life', and what if the fulfilment of one group's vision of a full life requires the enactment of harms that compromise others' lives (both human and non-human), while the act of violence itself is foreclosed? Finally, how can we account for heterogeneous needs and desires within a group?

Postcolonial studies can also offer important insights about efforts to expand commitments to social justice in education to a more global scale.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) note, 'In the past few decades […] policy thinking around the notion of social justice in most Western countries has revolved around three distinct philosophical traditions: liberal-humanism, market-individualism, and social democratic' (p. 157). Further, they note that, while these traditions all tended to appeal to the state to ensure 'greater equality of access, opportunities and outcomes' (p. 159), in the era of globalization the role of the state has shifted and therefore it is necessary to consider social justice at the global level. Thus, they argue that the three identified notions of social justice are 'no longer sufficient to capture the complexities of global interconnectivity and interdependence on the one hand and of contemporary identity politics on the other' (pp. 159–160). Both a critique of nationalism as well as a sense that the power and influence of the nation-state are waning have led others to suggest that educational justice cannot be limited by national borders (e.g. Brown and Tannock 2009; Enslin and Hedge 2008; Shahjahan and Kezar 2013).

Drawing on insights from postcolonial studies, we might consider the risk that educational efforts to globalize social justice concerns will presume that Western conceptualizations of justice are universal – for instance, by envisioning justice as a more equal global distribution of the benefits of the existing capitalist world system, and the expansion of access to universal Western knowledge. The result would be to repeat the very Euro-centrism that many globalizing efforts purportedly seek to disrupt. In fact, the very project of imagining 'the world' in the way that we know it today was a central objective and outcome of the European imperial project (Spivak 1990). In doing so, the West projected its interests and sought to make others align with them by inscribing hierarchical categories of existence across the planet, while asserting that it offered universal knowledge. For this reason, Jazeel (2011) cautioned that planetary imaginings 'necessarily bear the burden of European thought and history – the (self-denying) centre – that will continue to measure, recognize and arbitrate on difference through the very categorizations it has conjured into existence' (p. 85). Similar transference of Western categories can occur when citizenship is imagined on a global scale.

(Global) Citizenship and Education

Particularly as economic rationalization develops an increasingly strong hold within public education institutions, some worry that students are being well-groomed to be diligent employees and savvy consumers, but are not receiving the kind of civic education that will prepare them to be active and engaged

citizens (Giroux 2002; Nussbaum 2010; Torres 2002). For instance, Giroux (2002) argues that higher education should serve 'as a site that offers students the opportunity to involve themselves in the deepest problems of society, to acquire the knowledge, skills, and ethical vocabulary necessary for modes of critical dialogue and forms of broadened civic participation' (p. 451). Many agree about the value of education that supports the development of students' critical literacy around institutionalized political processes, procedures and governance structures, as well as more informal civic contexts. However, postcolonial studies might prompt us to ask questions about the positioning of citizenship as a categorical good.

For instance, what are the aporias that make possible uncritical celebrations of national citizenship (Loomba 2007; Spivak 2014; Young 2001)? What kinds of questions, critiques and potential futures are foreclosed in the demands issued around being a 'good' national citizen? How has education for citizenship historically been deployed as a means of colonial domination and forced assimilation, both domestically and abroad (Coloma 2013)? To what extent might stated commitments to horizontal citizenship mask existing hierarchical power relations? Further, what are the implications of the fact that the category of the 'citizen' always already presumes the assignment of differential value to those who are excluded from it (Alexander 2006)? If ultimately arbitrary (though, materially speaking, incredibly significant), national borders are policed so as to grant or deny access to certain rights and privileges of the citizen (Walia 2013), then what uneven geographies of social justice might educational interventions premised on the development of national citizenship reproduce? Further, even *within* national borders citizenship rights are differentially distributed, and sometimes altogether denied or otherwise inaccessible, particularly on the basis of race, gender, sexuality and financial resources (Thobani 2007). What does it mean to educate for 'citizenship' when nation-states such as the USA and Canada sanction the police murder of Black citizens and institutionalize different tiers of citizenry (Ramjewan and Gaztambide-Fernández 2015)?

To date, questions related to national citizenship have been present but peripheral topics of debate in postcolonial studies in relation to Global North contexts; it may be that these questions resonate more strongly in related fields of Indigenous, decolonial, and ethnic studies. However, notions of *global* citizenship (and cosmopolitanism) have been more central to debates in postcolonial studies, including within educational conversations (Andreotti 2011b; Andreotti and de Souza 2012; Jefferess 2008; Rizvi 2008). Postcolonial studies has been put to work in deepening analyses of colonialism and imperial-

ism as they manifest in social, cultural, economic and historical forces and flows that connect peoples, places, spaces and worldviews, and analyses of the difficulties of working for social and global justice in complex and dynamic systems. When these analyses are missing in global educational interventions, educational outcomes tend to reproduce unequal relationships between dominant and marginalized populations, simplistic rationalizations of inequality, and instrumental and ethno-centric imaginaries of interconnectedness, diversity and social responsibility.

Postcolonial studies is particularly useful for tracing the construction of a single story of economic and educational development equated with the capitalist market and Western knowledge, which reifies an enduring colonial division of the world between those who are perceived to be developed, civilized, global knowledge producers, aid/human rights dispensers and world leaders, and those who lack these universally desirable characteristics and gratefully receive them from the West (Andreotti 2011a; Heron 2007; Martin and Griffiths 2012; Spivak 2004). While the first group is perceived to have knowledge of universal value, the second is perceived to be 'behind' in a teleological and seamless story of human progress and development, precisely for lacking this knowledge and having only values, beliefs and traditions that are often perceived to be obstacles to their own development (Bryan 2013; Kothari 2006; Silva 2015).

Postcolonial theory has thus far been used to challenge the arrogance, exceptionalism, entitlement, celebrity activism and commitment to market expansionism prevalent in mainstream educational initiatives that aim to 'help' materially impoverished communities abroad (Biccum 2011; Bryan 2012; Martin and Pirbhai-Illich 2015; Nash 2008; Repo and Yrjölä 2011). It articulates how students in these initiatives are presented as righteous and benevolent dispensers of knowledge, skills and universal values, entitled to have their privilege and superiority affirmed and to use communities as a resource for personal actualization and accumulation of symbolic capital (Jefferess 2012). In these initiatives, which can include international service-learning or volunteer tourism, students enact charity and/or market solutions in ways that mask the systemic impact of capitalism and of their consumerist orientation, leaving root causes of problems and their systemic complicity in reproducing them unexamined while fulfilling the desire 'to transcend affluence without giving it up' (Jefferess 2012: 19). In this sense, postcolonial theory can raise important questions about the celebrated figures of the 'global citizen' or 'cosmopolitan', such as: who has access to this subjectivity – is it universally or differentially available depending on race, class, gender and national citizen-

ship? Whose voluntary mobility is facilitated by global regimes of security and flows of capital, and whose *in*voluntary mobility, immobility, or displacement is required for the continuation of resource extraction, labour exploitation, and the 'safety' of others?

Social Cartography and Directions for Future Research

We agree with North's (2008) suggestion that 'we ought to continue questioning, theorizing, and expanding our knowledge claims about, and actions for, social justice' (p. 1201), and citizenship. Hence, thus far in the chapter we have sought to indicate the kinds of questions that might be generated from a postcolonial reading of existing approaches to social justice and citizenship in education. At the same time, we recognize the need for immediate, strategic practices that seek to address both acute and accumulated harms in education. However, apart from these dual commitments both to keep the conversation open and ongoing, and to support context-specific interventions, we think it is also valuable for scholars and practitioners to develop (and continuously critique) shared vocabularies and metaphors that might enable us more readily to identify, situate and explore the limits of existing intellectual commitments and communities in our field (and various educational sub-fields). Such shared vocabularies can be useful given that, as indicated earlier, even when people do not indicate their particular perspective or set of assumptions about social justice or citizenship, often they are working off of unstated assumptions, or assumptions that they themselves do not even consciously recognize.

   To address this, we conclude by offering a 'performative' social cartography of approaches to social justice in education, not in order to reify distinctions between the various approaches but, rather, to facilitate new conversations and questions and to make visible a position we feel is often missing in social justice debates. In particular, we consider languages and strategies that are mobilized vis-à-vis our perceptions of and attachments to the project of modernity as a space of enunciation: whether modernity requires minor (soft) reform, major (radical) reform, or whether modernity is beyond reform and alternatives to it should be sought. We mapped the interface between soft and radical reform as involving a recognition of epistemological hegemony within modernity, whereas the interface between the radical reform and beyond reform spaces involves a recogni-

tion of ontological hegemony (we have mapped metaphysical hegemony in another cartography – see Andreotti et al. 2015). We associate each space with a typical driving question (see Fig. 11.1).

As the 'beyond reform' space is not often articulated in educational scholarship, we would like to offer an example from an initiative in India that articulates a 'Declaration of Decolonizing Education' that we would place in the beyond reform space in the cartography. We include this example in order to illustrate languages and strategies that are often missing in conversations about social justice within modern institutions, and to support further discussions. Manish Jain, a popular educator in India and founder of the Shikshantar Andolan Institute in Udaipur, India, issued a call in 2009 for anyone to participate in the collective construction of an un-authored declaration that would spell out in clear terms the problems of advancing the export of Western schooling on a global scale as a social justice project (as in projects such as UNESCO's 'Education for All') and the need for critiques and alternatives to be articulated. The initiative was framed as 'an ever deepening conversation on reclaiming, celebrating, co-creating and re-animating our diverse learning cultures and eco-systems' (Shikshantar 2009). The declara-
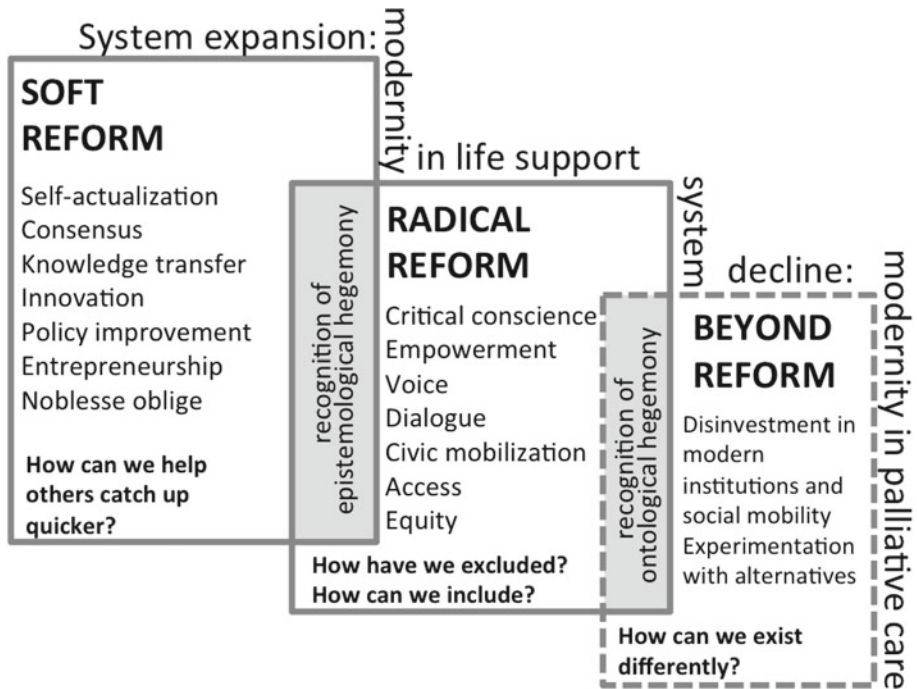
Fig. 11.1 Perceptions of modernity and social justice
Adapted from: Andreotti, Stein, Ahenakew and Hunt 2015

tion communicates grass-roots concerns that resonate with questions raised by postcolonial, Indigenous, and decolonial studies, described earlier in this chapter. Five of the principles of the Declaration of Decolonizing Education are reproduced below as an invitation for deeper reflections on our commitments to justice and citizenship in education:

- I can no longer accept a narrative of education that teaches me that my village grandmother was illiterate, primitive, backward, stupid, uneducated, underdeveloped, uncivilized and not capable of managing her own affairs.
- that my links to my land, local languages, seeds, rivers, trees, histories and herstories, body, inner voice, to the spirit world, and to my community are all barriers to modernization and development which must at best be destroyed if we are to progress, or at worst be condemned to a multicultural day festival in school.
- that physical work in the fields, in my home and in my community is drudgery and that the definition of happiness lies in drinking Coca Cola, eating at McDonalds, using Fair and Lovely face whitening creams and chatting on Facebook.
- that I have to compete against others in my community and against peoples from other countries to survive.
- that learning is a commodity (along with the air, water, land, food) and that knowledge is the property of individuals through copyrights and patents. (copyleft text shared by the Shikshantar Andolan movement: www.shikshantar.in)

Conclusion

In this chapter, we explored different conceptualizations of social justice and national and global citizenship drawing on questions raised within postcolonial studies. We have attempted to show that engaging with postcolonial studies can help us to situate existing analyses and conversations in educational study and practice within social and historical patterns beyond the immediate context, and to trace the assumptions and aporias that help constitute our own deeply held commitments to certain visions of educational justice. In the last section of the chapter, we presented a social cartography that synthetized different social justice orientations in relation to their perceptions of and attachments to the promises of modernity. We offered an example of an orientation that is often missing in social justice debates within Western institutions and scholarship that criticizes ideas of individualistic metropolitan consumerism disseminated through Western

schooling around the world as a project of social justice. We conclude by asking: what would it mean to take these concerns seriously in our educational work and scholarship?

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12

Global Justice and Educating for Globally Oriented Citizenship

Andrew Peterson

Introduction

Globalization – in both empirical and normative ways – raises significant issues for how we understand justice. Indeed, since the early 1990s there has been an exponential growth in research and policy literature that has explored different features of globalization and social justice, including international trade, human rights, development, human trafficking, conflict, the environment and natural resources. A concern common across this work has been to show that the impacts and benefits of globalization have not been, and continue not to be, experienced equally and/or in an equitable way. The economic gains made by the few have come at the expense of the many, who have been subjected to neoliberal financial and economic systems shaped by the interests of profit and consumption, rather than by wider principals of justice and human wellbeing. Consider the following:

> Globalization is getting more complex, and this change is getting more rapid.
>   The future will be more unpredictable […] The last 40 years have been extraordinary times. Life expectancy has gone up by 25 years. It took from the Stone Age to achieve that. Income has gone up for a majority of the world's population […] and illiteracy has gone down, from half to about a quarter of people on Earth […] But there is an underbelly. There are two Achilles' heels of globaliza-

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tion. There is the Achilles heel of growing inequality – those that are left out, those that feel angry, those that are not participating […] The second Achilles heel is complexity – a growing fragility, a growing brittleness. What happens in one place very quickly affects everything else. This is a systematic risk, systematic shock. We've seen it in the financial crisis. We've seen it in the pandemic flu. It will become virulent and it is something we have to build resilience against (Ian Goldin, Director of the 21st Century School, Oxford, UK: 2009).

As this extract alludes, and for a variety of reasons (many of which are explored in other chapters within this collection), globalization raises serious and pressing questions about the *ethical* nature of our relationship with others as well as how we might act in *ethical* ways to address globalization's discontents. Indeed, to conceive global justice fully, we must first understand the basis of one's ethical relationship to others living in the world. As Bhikhu Parekh (2003: 15) has suggested 'globally oriented citizenship calls for a global ethic'. This recognition is a crucial one, and it raises serious questions regarding the basis and nature of global obligations between humans: it with these questions that this chapter is concerned.

The aim of this chapter is to explore global justice in relation to ideas about global ethics, and to explore the implications for education for citizenship, particularly around Parekh's notion of globally oriented citizenship. The chapter starts from the assumptions, first, that the manifest effects of increased globalization raise serious questions about what, if anything, obligates one to others; and, second, that a global ethic requires a foundation which moves beyond empirical claims in order to provide a meaningful ethic for human bonds qua human beings. It is argued that to understand global justice must necessarily involve a conception of the moral relationship between people living beyond national boundaries and that, in order to be meaningful, such an ethic must include a basis for motivation. In exploring these questions, the focus will be on forms of cosmopolitan moral theory that place importance on the existence of universal human relations and obligations beyond any particular local or national connections, and which seek to locate motivational concern as *deriving from* these obligations. While elsewhere (Peterson 2012, Peterson forthcoming) I have raised concerns about certain forms of cosmopolitan moral theory, this focus is both necessary and worthwhile given its prominence in political and educational theory. The chapter comprises three sections. In the first, the conceptual basis of the chapter is established in reference to Nancy Fraser's (2005) three-dimensional understanding of global justice. It is argued that, to take Fraser's political-representational dimensions seriously, we must have an understanding of the ethical relationship between humans and that such an understanding has been typically (but not unproblematically) conceived

through cosmopolitan lenses. In the second section, some key issues regarding a particular form of political-representational justice – dialogical interaction – are explored. The third and final section identifies some implications of the discussion offered in the first two sections for education for citizenship and, in doing so, posits a particular way of conceiving the 'globally oriented citizen'.

Conceptual Underpinnings

Before progressing to our discussion of human relations and obligations, it is worth briefly defining how justice in a globalized world may be understood. Given our concern to identify not only the relations between peoples in the world, but also the motivation to act to prevent or remedy injustice, this preliminary task of conceptualizing justice is of some importance. To prevent *injustice* or to take action when one witnesses *injustice* requires an understanding of what comprises *justice*, if it is to be serious, appropriate, and in any sense effective. Here, and to allow more space to handle the substantive focus of this chapter, the intention is to provide only some preliminary comments regarding how global justice might be usefully framed.

   In her work on framing justice in a globalized world, the American critical theorist Nancy Fraser (2005: 75) identifies a 'three-dimensional' framework for exploring issues of global justice. First, global justice is necessarily concerned with *redistribution*. Second, while redistribution remains a key concern, global justice is increasingly framed around the principle of *recognition*; that is, social justice is not attained solely through some form of equitable allocation of resources, but also through recognizing the validity of different cultures. To these two key principles, Fraser adds a third – *representation* – which she defines in terms of 'parity of participation'. Pointing to the inter-relational nature of the framework, Fraser identifies two ways in which such parity may be prohibited:

 (i) *maldistribution* – the denial of necessary resources resulting from given economic structures; and
(ii) *misrecognition* – the denial of standing experienced by people on the basis of institutionalized hierarchies.

   Both serve to exclude certain cultural groups from political participation and representation, not least through preventing 'equal voice in public deliberations and fair representation in decision-making' (Fraser 2005: 75). I take Fraser's framing of social justice in a globalized world to be useful in focusing attention on economic, cultural and political forms of justice/injustice. That is, I see a key

aspect of global justice to be the question of how we might work towards a situation in which the interests of all are given access and weight in public deliberations and decision-making; in other words, that their interests obtain *political representation*. I engage with this question in more detail in the next section by considering one particular aspect of political representation; namely, dialogical interactions. First, in order to underpin the claims I would like to advance about political deliberation, it is necessary to say something about the prior question of why we are obligated to others in the world at all. In the rest of this section, therefore, I wish to concentrate on exploring the moral relationship between humans; that is, I wish to address why a person living in one part of the world is obligated to recognize and value the interests of others living elsewhere in the world at all?

This question lies at the heart of global ethics and global justice, and brings into sharp relief 'the various ways people ethically understand their relation to the world as a whole' (Dower 2014: 9). Debates regarding the moral relationships between human beings at the global level have been shaped largely by the acceptance or rejection of cosmopolitanism, approaches which typically include the acknowledgement of some notion of common humanity that 'translates ethically into an idea of *shared or common duties toward others* by virtue of this humanity' (Lu 2000: 245; for a more detailed discussion of the intrinsic worth of humans, see Pogge 2002; Parekh 2003; Caney 2005). Central to moral cosmopolitanism is the commitment to a shared humanity – or, as Held (2010: 69) puts it, to a single 'moral realm' – and that membership of this realm entails and confers certain important obligations on human beings qua human beings. Indeed, in her work Fraser adopts a broadly cosmopolitan position when she bases parity in political participation on the principle of the equal moral worth of human beings. In this sense, humans are required to look beyond their immediate and proximal relationships (families, local and national communities), striving to 'make all human beings part of our community of concern' (Nussbaum 1996: 9).

According to Pogge (2002: 169), the recognition of intrinsic human worth is characterized by three factors: *individualism* – it is human beings qua human beings that are the essential sphere of concern, rather than a particular collective; *universality* – recognition of human worth 'attaches to every human equally'; and, *generality* – the recognition of human worth is one which should be held by everyone. In focusing on the need to 'do justice' (Jones 2002), cosmopolitanism makes a shift from forms of *beneficence* which are morally praiseworthy (such as certain forms of charitable altruism) to stronger forms of *obligations*. This carries with it the associated principle that failure to act on such obligations is either morally regrettable or even wrong (Dobson 2006). Contra to certain forms of communitarianism which understand duties as

stemming from embeddedness in specific and proximal bounded communities, by invoking a concern and obligation for all humans, cosmopolitanism raises questions regarding our duties to those in more immediate proximity – our families, neighbourhoods, local and national communities, for example – vis-á-vis those elsewhere. The extent to which and the ways in which cosmopolitans have sought to reconcile global ties with more proximal bonds (such as families and neighbourhoods) is too complex to treat in depth here, but one useful approach is provided by Parekh (2003: 7) who distinguishes between *general* duties and *special* duties. The latter are those ties that result from particular, close and embedded relationships – whether to our families, social networks or national communities – that are shaped by particular norms and values, including some sense of shared history. The former are those we have to all humans by virtue of a common and shared humanity. These general duties recognize and respond to the intrinsic worth of humans as ends in themselves and, crucially for Parekh, 'cannot be overridden by our special duties to our community'. It is such general duties that are of interest here.

The ethic of mutual obligation central to cosmopolitanism includes two distinct, though related, duties acting on humans. The first – a negative duty which we might call the 'no-harm principle' – is the requirement that citizens be 'aware of, and accountable for, the consequences of actions, direct or indirect, intended or unintended, which may radically restrict or delimit the choices or others' (Held 2010: 70–71). The second – a positive duty which we might call the 'justice principle' – is that one should act when the humanity and dignity of others is threatened, even if this threat is not of one's own making and wherever in the world others may live. With regard to the latter, how we understand and interpret the 'justice principle' clearly matters a great deal. The distinction Linklater (1998: 206) makes between thin and thick conceptions of cosmopolitan citizenship is relevant here: 'thin conceptions of cosmopolitan citizenship revolve around compassion for the vulnerable but leave asymmetries of power and wealth intact; thick conceptions of cosmopolitan citizenship attempt to influence the structural conditions faced by vulnerable groups'. Here, political and ethical obligations to challenge and address injustice in the world are located in notions of 'complicity' (Andreotti 2006) or 'causal responsibility' (Dobson 2006). Such complicity or responsibility results from a range of factors, including the historical and contemporary implications of colonialism and the unequal impact of economic globalization (Parekh 2003). The work of Thomas Pogge (2005: 33; see also 1992), for instance, has been central in asserting the complicity, and resulting responsibility, of those in the Global North to the injustices faced by the Global South:

by shaping and enforcing the social conditions that foreseeably and avoidably cause the monumental suffering of global poverty, we are harming the global poor – or, to put it more descriptively, we are active participants in the largest, though not the gravest, crime against humanity ever committed.

The overtly strong form of cosmopolitanism advocated by Pogge may not be for the faint-hearted, given that it entails that for people living in Westernized nations even to be passive is to do harm to others and, as such, is to be complicit in perpetrating and maintaining global social injustices. For Pogge (2005: 37):

today's massive and severe poverty manifests a violation by the affluent of their negative duties: an immense crime in which we affluent citizens of the rich countries (as well as the political and economic 'elites' of most poor countries) are implicated.

Positions such as that taken by Pogge provide a particular prism for conceiving obligations for social justice – one in which simply enjoying the inequitable benefits of globalization is sufficient for placing significant obligations not only on action, but also the form that such action takes. To use a common example to illustrate: at both an individual and collective level, charity – as an expression of moral obligation – can be viewed as a further instantiation of economic, cultural and political hegemony and dominance (i.e. the Global North as saviour, the Global South as in need of saviour) and, as such, carries with it a danger of collapsing into what Hickling-Hudson (2011: 461) terms 'palliative charity'. Such positioning differs from less stringent accounts of the relationship between morally equal human beings which are more likely to understand charity as 'stating an important duty, and as [requiring] quite as much action – if not more – than appeals to justice (Dower, 1991: 274).

It is also important to note that the strong form of causal responsibility *as a supplement to* the general cosmopolitan commitment to shared humanity carries with it a crucial *motivational* capacity. That is, a person who appreciates complicity as the basis for their obligations to others in the world will be more likely to *act* on these simply by virtue of that appreciation. Thus, according to Linklater (2006: 3), the 'cosmopolitan emotions' necessary to engender action are 'most likely to develop when actors believe they are causally responsible for harming others and their physical environment'. Similarly, for Dobson (2006: 172), 'if I cause someone harm I am required as a matter of justice to rectify that harm. If, on the other hand, I bear no responsibility for the harm, justice requires nothing of me – and although beneficence might be desirable I can-

not be held to account […] for not exercising it'. In both of these examples, the way in which responsibility for injustice is positioned is crucial.

The prevalence of ethical cosmopolitanism within political science has been replicated within educational discourse, with a number of authors advocating cosmopolitanism as providing a meaningful ethic to shape educational ideas and practice (see, for example, Merry and de Ruyter 2011; Osler and Starkey 2003). This work has intertwined with interest in educating young people to be global citizens. Indeed, according to Nussbaum (1996: 11) 'world citizenship, rather than democratic or national citizenship, [should be] the focus of civic education'. Similarly, for Jeremy Waldron (2000, p. 23):

> The moral concern we should be teaching our children is equal concern for all humans in the world; and the identity we should encourage young people to recognize is an identity that involves 'recognizing humanity in the stranger and the other' and responding humanely to the human in every cultural form.

Some educators have sought to base cosmopolitan education on principles of causal responsibility. Two of the leading educational proponents of ethical cosmopolitanism, for example, have argued that a core characteristic of educating for cosmopolitan citizenship is to 'work to achieve peace, human rights and democracy within the local community and at a global level, by […] accepting *personal responsibility* and recognising the importance of civic commitment' (Osler and Starkey 2003: 246; emphasis added).

To this end, some form of 'global imagination' seems paramount, though how this is framed and understood educationally is important. Not least, and as Jeffrey Dill suggests, in the context of contested understandings of *global* citizenship education, it remains a further question how universal consciousness is framed and to what ends it is aimed. Dill (2013: 96) reports that across the schools in the United States 'the universal global citizen seems to take a highly particularized form', one which 'reflects a Western, liberal, rational, secular and consumerist account' (see also Schuenpflug 2011, for a similar account). Here, Dill draws on the work of John Boli (2005) to suggest that there is a kind of 'façade diversity'. For Dill, this façade serves to 'homogenize to a vision of the individual stripped of collective identities', resulting in a projection of dominant commitments onto others. In other words, students see others through their own, frequently uncritical, lens in ways which fail to appreciate the full picture, or which serve to promote particular or idealized interests without fully engaging with the other. In a similar vein, Pike (2008b: 225), suggests that we should be cognisant of 'the elitism that can easily suffuse the rhetoric of global citizenship education' given that 'for the countless

millions of people worldwide who daily struggle for survival and satisfaction of basic human rights, for recognition of their cultural identity, global citizenship is not even on the agenda' (cf. Pashby 2012). Likewise, Jefferess (2012: 33) cautions that, often, conceptions of the active global citizen 'figure this action as requiring an Other who needs to be known, understood and ultimately uplifted or saved'. The result of such a condition is that 'the ethical framework of global citizenship masks the material relationships that produce some as privileged and hence capable of being active global citizens, and some as in need of support, care, "aid"'. Here, the distinction between soft and critical global citizenship advocated by Andreotti (2006) provides an important frame for many educators who advocate cosmopolitanism. On the one hand, global consciousness may be framed around notions of suffering, helplessness, charity, paternalism and awareness-raising while, on the other, it may be framed around notions of injustice, complicity, taking responsibility and political participation. These points remind us that, even if we accept the cosmopolitan commitments that humans have an obligation to live their lives according to the principles of no-harm and justice, whether this be on the basis of common humanity and/or causal responsibility, the actions through which this obligation may be met need some elucidation. There is not scope here to detail the range of actions – large or small, individual or collective, local or global – that may be possible. Instead, I would like to explore a particular commitment expressed within cosmopolitan literature which, it seems to me, and not withstanding the concerns I have raised about certain aspects of cosmopolitanism/ cosmopolitan education elsewhere (Peterson 2012; Peterson forthcoming), provides a general framework to inform the specific actions which one might take as a 'cosmopolitan' citizen and which seems to be to be of central concern in working toward Fraser's third dimension of global justice; namely, the commitment to engage with others in dialogical interactions.

Representation through Dialogical Interactions

To bring others into 'our community of concern' necessarily requires that we engage with their interests and to share our own, moving from a position of distance to one of dialogical proximity. For cosmopolitans, engaging in dialogue is a key process through which one can come to know the other, recognizing their humanity through communication and dialogue aimed at making clear one's own interests and hearing those of others. In this way, and as Parekh (2003: 11) makes clear, 'our relations to human beings in other parts of the world are politically mediated'. In this important sense, engaging

in dialogical encounters with others is a central action through which we can start to understand and begin to fulfil our obligations with and to others.

To envisage forms of dialogue that transcend national borders raises immediate tensions regarding the possible commensurability of different outlooks, as well as the dangers of forms of homogenization which privilege Western, neoliberal perspectives. Moreover, it is likely to require participants to have their own positions challenged and critiqued. Parekh (2003: 16) offers the following consideration:

> we encounter unexpected forms of otherness, unfamiliar ways of life, apparently strange bodies of beliefs and practices. This frightens us, deprives us of our bearings […] We suppress the diversity and tensions in our own and other ways of life, homogenise their identities, and turn them into sharply different, mutually exclusive and even antagonistic entities. We then respond to this false and mutually reinforcing disjunction by either seeking to shape others in our own image or embracing a shallow relativism that rules out all meaningful contacts with them […] What we need instead is openness to the other, an appreciation of the immense range and variety of human existence, an imaginative grasp of what both distinguishes and unites human beings, and the willingness to enter into a non-hegemonic dialogue.

A central feature of recent work in global ethics has been to explore the basis and possibility of 'universal values applicable to all human beings', to be derived through such openness and non-hegemonic dialogue. Two questions are of particular importance with regard to this – one of intention and one of process. First, and with regard to intention, we need to be clear as to what is being claimed by 'consensus' on universal moral standards. On the one hand, this could focus on actual consent while, on the other, the constraint could be less stringent, requiring that the moral standards are conceivably agreeable to all. It is this latter formulation that has provided the typical frame through which the possibility of universal moral standards has been conceived. Building on Rawls' notion of overlapping consensus, Charles Taylor (1999: 124), for example, has advocated the notion of 'unforced consensus' on human rights, through which:

> different groups, countries, religious communities, and civilizations, although holding incompatible fundamental views on theology, metaphysics, human nature, and so on, would come to an agreement on certain norms that ought to govern human behavior. Each would have its own way of justifying this from out of its profound background conception. We would agree on the norms while disagreeing on why they were the right norms, and we would be content to live in this consensus, undisturbed by the differences of profound underlying belief.

In her work, Fraser (2005: 19) locates the democratic legitimacy of participatory parity in the extent to which they can 'command the assent of all'. In his analysis, Parekh (2005: 27) saliently suggests that diverse groups can *assent* to a shared global ethic based on differing intellectual sources, but *consent* to them as a result of inter-cultural discourse. Similarly, Dower (2010: 8) argues that unforced consensus 'is not merely something which is the product of agreements' given that 'agreements can after all be bad' but 'is endorsed by one's own ethical reasoning'. Though Parekh and Dower employ different terms, the intention is the same – the arrival at a set of global principles which are accessible and agreeable to all regardless of their particular justifications which may be informed from different perspectives. In this sense, inter-cultural dialogue aims not at a shared worldview but, rather, on shared standards – including those pertaining to justice – which are agreeable to those with varying cultural knowledges and beliefs.

Moving from the question of intention to process, Drydyk (2014: 22; emphasis in the original) advances two 'expectations' for the appropriate conduct of global ethics in this regard (i) '*global inclusivity*: discussions of global ethics must give due consideration to everyone's values and moral thinking', and (ii) '*global solidarity*: discussions of global ethics must show equal concern for everyone's well-being and agency'. In essence, these are regulatory principles for the sort of consensus aimed for by Taylor, Dower, and Parekh. Such principles are implicitly central to the foundation of the United Nations Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures (2013–2022) (Bokova 2015: 4), which 'embodies a commitment to explore new articulations between cultural diversity and universal values', and which has determined the following four areas:

1. Promoting mutual understanding and reciprocal knowledge of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity;
2. Building a pluralist framework for shared values;
3. Disseminating the principles and tools of intercultural dialogue through quality education and the media and;
4. Fostering dialogue for sustainable development and its ethical, social and cultural dimensions (UNESCO n.d.).

These goals are, of course, difficult to achieve in practice. Nevertheless, they provide a prism through which the goal of engendering greater representation of different voices in dialogical interactions can be framed and considered. Moreover, they raise particular issues and implications for how education for citizenship is conceived and enacted, and it is to these that the focus now turns.

Some Implications for Education for (Global) Citizenship

In the preceding sections, the focus has been largely on the moral relationships underpinning the obligations humans have to work for justice across national borders. This focus has been deliberate, as it is often questions of (in)justice which are at the core of the global dimensions of education for citizenship, as illustrated in the influential definition of the global citizen employed by Oxfam (2006: 3) as one who 'is outraged by social injustice' and who 'is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place' (cf. Parmenter 2011). This having been said, engagement with the global necessarily brings into question the requisite institutional frameworks that can promote the no-harm and justice principles, as well as supporting and enabling individuals and their collectivities to do the same in dialogical terms. The question of political entity is particularly relevant to global justice given its relationship to the heavily contested concept of 'global citizenship'. As Dower (2010: 4; emphasis in original) asks, 'what is needed for an adequate expression of individual global citizenship – what makes individuals global *citizens* as opposed to merely globally concerned moral agents?' These questions strike at the heart of the global dimensions of education for citizenship, particularly given the widespread and high-profile attention currently being placed on Global Citizenship Education (GCED). Writing in 2006, Mary Joy Pigozzi, then director of the Division for the Promotion of Quality Education at UNESCO, asserted that 'the need to attend to global citizenship education is essential' (2006: 1). More recently, the UN Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative provides a significant illustration of the importance attached to GCED, with the fostering of global citizenship featuring as one of the initiative's three priorities.

In the post-Millennium Development Goals context, GCED is central within the development the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Muscat Agreement (UNESCO, 2014) – proposed out of a UNESCO general conference in 2013 and adopted at a UNESCO Global Education for All meeting in 2014 – included GCED as a core component of attaining the overarching goal of ensuring 'equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030'. More specifically, one of the seven targets aimed at achieving this end is that 'by 2030, all learners acquire knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to establish sustainable and peaceful societies, including through global citizenship education and education for sustainable development' (UNESCO 2014: 3). This intention has been supported by the Brussels Proposal (CGE 2014), which developed out of a conference on Education for Global Citizenship, and is supported by a number of organizations, includ-

ing Oxfam International and UNESCO. The proposal supports the Muscat Agreement in advocating for the inclusion of GCED in the new sustainable development framework. In May 2015, the *Incheon Declaration*, developing out of the World Education Forum, further cemented the importance of GCED, including Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Human Rights Education (HRE), as part of the Towards 2030 vision for education.

To return to Dower's question, then, what sense does it make to talk about global *citizenship*, and what does this entail with regard to membership of a global political entity? A first response to this question might usefully involve taking seriously Pashby's (2011: 437) question with regard to education as to whether global citizenship requires an 'expanding, extending, re-conceiving or re-trenching [of] (national) citizenship?'. To answer such question is not a straightforward task, particularly given the strong criticisms of global citizenship offered by some communitarians that citizenship can only make sense in a given political community and within given territorial boundaries (see, for example, Miller 2011), or that view citizenship as a legal status based on birth or some process of naturalization – as, for example, in Michael Walzer's (1996: 125) contention 'I am not a citizen of the world […] No one has […] offered me citizenship, or described the naturalization process, or enlisted me in the world's institutional structures'. In what remains of this chapter, I wish to argue: (i) that there need not be a contradiction between national citizenship and global citizenship and that, indeed, the two are mutually connected in important ways which support individuals and collectivities in appreciating and responding to their global obligations in dialogical terms; and (ii) that this recognition is important for education for citizenship, particularly one which includes a focus on globally oriented citizenship.

The position I am seeking to take includes a number of steps. First, citizenship of the nation-state determines the necessary structures and attributes which make globally oriented citizenship possible and/or limit such an orientation. That is, insofar as one can have specific and general duties, it is nation-states (individually or collectively) that afford – or, indeed, limit – opportunities for the enlargements of one's concerns and actions from the specific to the general/global. Second, in this sense global citizenship within education can be understood as a 'pedagogical concept' (Pashby 2011) through which students can develop a global orientation alongside and as relational with their other connectivities. And, third, that this does not suggest an 'apolitical' concept of citizenship (Miller 2011: 2) if we accept that dialogic engagement with others outside of one's national boundaries (i) is political in itself, and (ii) occurs, *at least in part*, through the political structures and processes of the nation-state, including those *learned* in relation to national citizenship.

From this perspective, forms of international organization and cooperation provide an important example of the mechanism through which governments, agencies, communities and individuals can engage in forms of dialogue to pro-

mote justice and to challenge injustice. Approaching global engagement from an internationalist perspective draws together – rather than separates – one's special and general duties and, in doing so, asks the individual to imbue their democratic knowledge, skills and attributes with a global imagination. Contrary to those who suggest that locating global citizenship through the prism of national citizenship 'may not transform significantly the extant model of citizenship and therefore may serve to retrench rather than transform power inequalities' (Pashby 2011: 430), to be effective global engagement is likely to be developed and experienced *through*, rather than to, the exclusion of one's national/local/regional commitments. In other words, rather than being 'post-national', global citizenship only makes sense when conceived in relation to one's other loci of citizenship, including the national. It is, at least in part, the relationships and structures, as well as the skills and capacities, either provided or restricted by our special duties as national citizens, which makes it possible, challenging or impossible – depending on one's given circumstances – to meet our global obligations. For example, and as Amy Gutmann (1996: 71) has suggested:

> Democratic citizens have institutional means at their disposal that solitary individuals, or 'citizens of the world' only, do not. Some of those institutional means are international in scope (the United Nations being the most prominent example), but even those tend to depend on the cooperation of sovereign societies for effective action.

When those in Western democracies learn that they are, in part, "responsible" for the impact of neoliberal economic globalization (such as the over-consumption of resources and material inequalities), this cannot make sense outside the prism of the nation-state and cannot be challenged effectively independently of the nation-state. Importantly, the argument I am making here connects to some empirical findings which suggest that young people do not necessarily understand the global and the national in binary terms (Mitchell and Parker 2008; Myers and Zaman 2009; Parmenter 2011). Similarly, Parmenter (2011: 377) reports that 'students seemed to deal easily with being global alongside national (among other identities/citizenships), not viewing the two as dichotomous or in conflict'. Clearly, for these students the global makes sense *in relation with* other connectivities one possesses.

For various empirical and normative reasons, then, it would seem mistaken to view global citizenship in terms of operating either post-nation-state, or to the exclusion of the nation-state. Rather, the *citizenship* in global citizenship is better understood in terms of a practice that is motivated by a concern for others and an understanding of one's causal relations to others, and which is shaped by, and in turn shapes, a global imagination. For this reason, and following Parekh (2003: 12; emphasis in the original), there is good reason to prefer the

term 'globally *oriented* citizen' to global citizen per se. Parekh (2003) identifies three core elements of globally oriented citizenship: (i) examining and responding to the effects of policies developed and enacted by one's national community for the extent to which they respond to the principles of no-harm and justice; (ii) a concurrent examination and response to the policies and actions of other nations (and I would add to this transnational corporations and organizations); and, (iii) an enacted commitment to work towards just communities across the world to develop peace and harmony. If, as I would argue we should, we accept these three elements of a globally oriented citizenship, then a key role of education for citizenship is to support students to conceive their place in the world and their relationships to others; in other words, to bring students into relationship with others, at least in part through forms of dialogical encounter, and to provide them with the necessary virtues and attributes that will enable them to engage with others effectively. In this sense, education for citizenship has an important role to play in bridging the gap between the existence of obligations for relationships of humanity and justice, and the realization of these in terms of action. In making this claim, we should also be mindful that educating the globally oriented citizen is as much about *practice* as it is about *outcomes*, and requires that we consider forms of engagement and participation which are available and possible within educational and community settings as key to shaping GCED (Mannion et al. 2011). As Dower (2014: 14) suggests:

> it is reasonable to claim that the more people accept their own status as global citizens, the more they are likely to adopt and take seriously a global ethic. This is not just an empirical claim. One could argue that a global ethic needs embodiment of some kind. Just as an ethic at a societal level can be seen as embedded in the idea of belonging to a community, so a global ethic is made more real by the idea of membership of a global community in some sense – hence global citizenship (Dower 2014: 14).

For globally oriented citizenship to be cultivated, there is a need for schools and classrooms to become environments which place a high priority on intercultural dialogue (see, e.g., Rizvi 2008). To be meaningful and effective, intercultural dialogue requires inclusive pedagogies which 'privilege and work with students' identities and funds of knowledge in ways that avail the sense of the individual and collective political agency that is requisite to nurturing active citizenship' (Lingard and Keddie 2013: 429). Moreover, such pedagogies need to be based not only on engaging with different perspectives, but also bringing students into structured encounters and *informed dialogue* with others in order that their ideas are challenged, extended and conceived in a way that develops consent for a shared global ethics alongside the recognition that such consent may be drawn from rather different justifications. It is through such pedago-

gies that the education for citizenship can respond to Linklater's (1998: 23) suggestion that 'a just society is one which "recognises and allows participants to have a voice, to narrate from their own perspective"'. This is does not mean that such perspectives go unchallenged within schools and classrooms, but that the perspectives become richer and more reflexive through engagement with challenge and difference. This having been said, working towards such forms of intercultural dialogue is likely to be very challenging for schools and teachers. Research on GCED from one jurisdiction suggests that teachers may be 'reluctant to embed knowledge in a strong socio-political context, to develop critical student attitudes regarding social and political relations, and to promote collective action that aims for more equal social and political relations' (Veugelers 2011: 482). More research is needed to provide evidence regarding how teachers from a range of nations conceive this element of their work, and the extent to which such a vision is either realized or challenged in practice.

Conclusion and Future Research

The focus of this chapter has been on the nature of global justice and, specifically, on the moral basis of human relationships understood as necessary for representative global justice. It has been argued that understanding global justice necessarily involves conceptions of the moral relationship between people living beyond national boundaries and that, in order to be meaningful, such an ethic must include a basis for motivation. By focusing on cosmopolitan positions found in moral and political theory, it has considered the existence of universal human relations and obligations beyond any particular local or national connections, and which seek to locate motivational concern, as *deriving from* these obligations. A case has been made that dialogical interaction is central to political representation and recognition in global terms and that, to this end, there is some value in educating young people to be and become globally oriented in their outlook and interactions. In arguing in support of the globally *concerned* citizen, rather than the 'global citizen', David Miller (2011: 21) has suggested that 'we can have citizenship that incorporates global concern; besides factoring in the beliefs and interests of our compatriots when collective decisions have to be made, we can take account of the concerns of people outside of the political community'. A key aspect of such an approach is the role which dialogical interaction can, and must, play in working toward greater social justice. The position taken here has been that globally oriented citizenship is intimately intertwined with other forms of citizenship, whether local, regional or national) and that such forms of citizenship are mutually reinforcing.

Of course, to make such suggestions is one thing but to enact globally oriented citizenship in schools and classrooms is another. At present, and in

contrast to theoretical literature contesting what *could* or *should* happen in schools, we know very little about the existing educational experiences comprising the education for global citizenship encountered by young people. As indicated above, where empirical research does exist it evidences that the constructions of young people in the collective West tend to be framed around their own, often economically and politically liberal, perspectives. Our understandings of the connections between global justice and education for citizenship will develop a great deal through deeper empirical research which seeks to engage with school leaders, teachers and students across a range of countries and worldviews in order to explore their actual and existing perspectives, approaches and experiences. Such research can play an important part in bringing a range of different voices and worldviews to bear on education for citizenship, and the ways in which practice can and *currently does* work with notions of global justice.

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13

Key Issues in Critical Peace Education Theory and Pedagogical Praxis: Implications for Social Justice and Citizenship Education

Michalinos Zembylas and Zvi Bekerman

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the potential and needed interconnections among peace education, social justice education and citizenship education adopting a critical approach. This approach tries both to overcome certain theoretical foundational blind spots and to reject powerful educational compartmentalizing forces that deny life's complexities and present life as being easily dealt with through the separate components assumed to construct such complexity. We argue that critical peace education and its conceptual underpinnings have important common ground with social justice and critical citizenship education. To do so, we trace our own critical path, theorizing and researching peace education; a path which has directed us, first, to uncover the main foundational premises on which traditional work in peace education has evolved and, second, to re-conceptualize peace education based on a critical paradigm away from 'fideistic' perspectives, as Page

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names them, which appear to take for granted that it is important to believe in peace and peace education. Though such an approach may be understandable, it does not advance theorizing on peace education and its fundamental premises because it takes the 'goodness' of peace and the 'badness' of conflict for granted, rather than exploring their contextual meanings and implications (Gur-Ze'ev 2001). Our present work aligns with, and hopefully adds to, a growing body of scholarly output which, over the past few years, has emphasized the need for peace education as a field, a philosophy and a movement to become more critical (Bajaj 2008, 2015; Bekerman 2007; Brantmeier 2010; Christopher and Taylor 2011; Diaz-Soto 2005; Trifonas and Wright 2013; Zembylas and Bekerman 2013; Zembylas in press).

The remainder of the chapter is divided into three parts. First, we address the conceptual underpinnings of peace education, especially in relation to concepts of 'peace' and 'conflict'. Then, we identify some key issues in critical peace education theory and pedagogical praxis that may promote ideas of social justice and critical citizenship education. Finally, we discuss the implications of our analysis and conclude with some propositions for future research.

Conceptual Underpinnings

Our point of departure is an alarming argument about an identified gap in recent debates over peace education: the 'thin' theoretical coherence, or the failure of peace education to develop and expound systematically its philosophical premises (Bekerman and Zembylas 2012; Page 2008) – that is, the propositions and rationale on which peace education meanings and practices are grounded. In a provocative article 15 years ago, Gur-Ze'ev (2001) argued that 'many of the difficulties and shortcomings peace education practitioners face are not challenged because of this lack of conceptual work and reflection' (p. 315). He went on to say that this lack of theoretical coherence or philosophical elaboration is not always viewed as a bad thing for peace education, as 'at times philosophical work is understood as unnecessary, artificial, or even dangerous for this educational cause' (ibid.). Gur-Ze'ev developed a critique of peace education as a justification of the status quo – what he called 'hegemonic violence.' As he further explained: 'Many versions of peace education work within the framework of modernist technical reason, manifested through various positivist, pragmatic, and functionalist views of knowledge, which pay scant attention to the social and cultural context' (p. 316).

Bekerman (2007) critically considers some of the foundational historical and educational roots of peace education, focusing on Palestinian-Jewish

encounters in Israel. He points to the reified concepts of self and identity, the history of schooling and its practices, and the coming into being of the political organization of the nation-state which, though hidden from present theorizing, has a profound influence on the educational paradigms and strategies that guide peace education and its possible outcomes.

Although in recent years there has been important new work showing how peace education programmes differ between regions of relative tranquility and regions of conflict (Bar-Tal and Rosen 2009), or arguing for the need to develop peace education as 'critical' (Bajaj 2008, 2015; Brantmeier 2010; Christopher and Taylor 2011; Diaz-Soto 2005; Trifonas and Wright 2013; Zembylas and Bekerman 2013; Zembylas in press), or as a solid educational philosophy (Synott 2005), we believe that Gur-Ze'ev's fundamental argumentation still holds nowadays. That is, there is necessity significant need for peace educators to address in their work the direct political, sociological and historical consequences of their theoretical premises and, especially, the implications for social justice and citizenship education.

Many peace eduction programmes often set 'peace' as a universal goal; yet, peace is usually defined as being dependent on the absence of any 'conflict' (Hayden 2002). That is, conflict is set as something that needs to be 'resolved' through appropriate knowledge and skills, otherwise there is no peace. This striking duality bears remarkable similarities to paradigmatic dichotomies set by Western epistemology (male/female; good/evil; us/them) and, as such, seems only to be able to replicate a similar epistemology in peace education. Although there are numerous definitions of 'peace' and 'conflict' in various disciplines (see Davies 2004, for a brief discussion), we prefer a conceptualization of these concepts in a continuum, as entangled, and certainly within contexts that understand disputes with Others in a dynamic system, encompassing social and political processes for constructive dialogue.

In addition, more often than not, disputes with Others are understood in the realm of meaning and not in the realm of *power relations*; the latter falls victim to the former, and this is why power inequalities and social injustices are often ignored. We believe that when peace (education) is set in the ground as a universal utopia that aims to eliminate all forms of conflict, it stops its potential productivity, for it hides, by representing its values as universal and undisputed. This essentialist understanding of peace (education) not only rejects the multiple representations of truth and the various understandings of justice, but, most importantly, it also disregards the tight connections between conflict and social injustices. In short, such an essentialist understanding disregards the social arrangements which institutionalize inequality and injustice

and becomes, instead, another 'version of normalizing education' (Gur-Ze'ev 2001, p. 329).

Furthermore, many peace education versions around the world – especially conflict resolution approaches; psychologized interventions to resolve personal or social conflicts; and political documents, such as UNESCO's declarations (see Bekerman and Zembylas 2012; Ben Porath 2003; Gur-Ze'ev 2001, for detailed critiques) – have been founded on modernity's fundamental conceptions of natural law and the *nation-state*. It is worth recalling that, as a product of modernity, the nation-state has created a distinct social form, characterized by very specific forms of citizenship, territoriality and surveillance capabilities that monopolize effective control over social relations across different contexts (Foucault 1983a, b, 1984). The nation-state can be viewed, in other words, as a political socio-economic phenomenon that seeks to exercise its control over the populations comprising it by establishing a culture which is at once homogeneous (all members share the culture the state has canonized) and anonymous (all the members of the polity, irrespective of their personal sub-group affiliations, are called on to uphold this culture). More often than not, this conception of the nation-state remains unchallenged in peace education versions, as though the nation-state reality were monolithic.

We therefore argue that it is misleading to speak about 'peace education' as if it were a monolithic entity (Bajaj 2008; Gur-Ze'ev 2001) because the reality is that there is a variety of subjects or sub-fields amalgamated under the headline 'peace education' (Ben Porath 2003) – such as human rights; women's rights; environmental education; international and development education; conflict resolution and so on (e.g. see Harris 2004). These sub-fields have often developed in their own right; however, we believe they have common grounds with other education sub-fields such as social justice education and citizenship education.

Indeed, the implications of the manifestations of peace education mentioned are striking, especially in relation to issues of social justice and citizenship. First, there is a fundamental concern whether these particular manifestations of peace education pay attention to structures of inequality and injustice in its various forms (e.g. patriarchalism and militarism) and, if not, with which consequences. Our claim is that some of these manifestations formulate peace education as a 'technology' of conflict resolution, while they also constitute particular ways of organizing, exercising and legitimating certain forms of political power (see Rose 1999). The consequence is that asymmetrical power relationships and their (social, political, historical and economic) roots are not always taken into consideration and therefore create unequal forms of citizen-

ship that education – however one names it, be it 'peace education', 'social justice education' or 'citizenship education' – must seek to disrupt.

Second, the acknowledgment of the multiplicity, contingency and complexity of these efforts should be enough to prevent us from expecting a straightforward narrative or universal approach through which to understand the whats and hows of 'doing' peace education. We are not after recipes but, rather, after interrogating situated understandings of 'peace' and 'conflict' which, if left untouched, can only lead us into problematic claims about universality and objectivity. Peace educators, then, who want to promote criticality in the dual sense articulated at the beginning of this chapter, need to anchor 'the learning process in local meanings and realities [which] offers the best way of enabling student agency, democratic participation, and social action as a necessary outcome of the peace education endeavor' (Bajaj 2015, p. 155). But what is the common ground among critical peace education, social justice education and (critical) citizenship education?

Critical Peace Education: Its Entanglement with Social Justice Education and Critical Citizenship Education

Critical elaborations of peace education have been developed from a variety of political, theoretical and methodological positions involved in these debates (Bajaj 2015). Central to *critical peace education* projects is that they pay attention to issues of structural inequalities and aim at cultivating a sense of transformative agency to advance peace-building (Bajaj 2008; Bajaj and Brantmeier 2011; Brantmeier 2011; Trifonas and Wright 2013; Zembylas and Bekerman 2013). Bajaj (2008) discusses Diaz-Soto's (2005) approach to critical peace education as situated in consciousness-raising inspired by Freire. Bajaj and Brantmeier (2011) also argue that one of the most important features of critical peace education is its alignment with a counter-hegemonic paradigm for social change through education. The goal of critical peace education is to empower young people to engage in practices and activism that increase societal equity and justice, which, in turn, foster greater peace. As Bajaj and Brantmeier write: 'What we term critical peace education […] is that which approaches the particularistic, seeking to enhance transformative agency and participatory citizenship, and open to resonating in distinct ways with the diverse chords of peace that exist across fields and cultures' (2011: 222). Both Bajaj's (2008) analysis and Brantmeier's (2011) identification of

critical peace education as the cultivation of transformative agency highlight how injustice and conflict are linked. Hence, the transformation of unjust societal structures addresses conflict, just as the reduction of destructive forms of conflict fostered through critical peace education contributes to dismantling unjust structures and eliminating inequities.

We have entered the debates on critical peace education (see Bekerman et al. 2009; Zembylas and Bekerman 2013; Zembylas 2015) by arguing that peace education may often become part of the problem it tries to solve, if theoretical work is not used to interrogate the taken for granted assumptions about peace, conflict and peace education. For this purpose, we have put forward a proposition consisting of four elements aiming to reclaim criticality in peace education:

(1) re-instating the materiality of things and practices;
(2) re-ontologizing research and practice in peace education;
(3) becoming critical experts of design; and,
(4) engaging in critical cultural analysis (Zembylas and Bekerman 2013).

These four elements emphasize the idea of resisting rigid norms and standards for what peace education ought to be (see also Bajaj and Brantmeier 2011). Also, the entanglement of the micro and macro dimensions in this proposition is identified in Bajaj's (2015) recent overview of critical peace education in which she writes that 'Critical peace educators would further offer that structural analysis of how educational sites are situated in larger social contexts are necessary and must be ongoing' (p. 155).

Bajaj (2015), as well as Zembylas and Bekerman (2013), argues that contextualized forms of peace education need to be engaged in ongoing conversations with other fields and traditions of critical education – particularly social justice education and critical citizenship education. For this chapter, we understand 'social justice education' as the education which struggles to transform policies and enact pedagogies that improve the learning and life opportunities of typically under-served students (Cochran-Smith 2004; Irvine 2003; Ladson-Billings 1994) while equipping and empowering all students to work for a more socially just society themselves (Freire 1970; Kincheloe and Steinberg 1998; King 2005). Also, 'critical citizenship education' (DeJaeghere 2006; DeJaeghere and Tudball 2007; Johnson and Morris 2010) recognizes and validates the cultural identities of students and puts emphasis on challenging inequalities, developing cosmopolitan values, and taking action to create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies. The common ground of these three concepts, then, – that is, critical peace education,

social justice education and critical citizenship education – is that they are oriented towards enhancing transformative agency and participatory citizenship in resonance with the diverse manifestations of peace that exist across cultures. The following part of the chapter explores in depth two key issues that arise from the entanglement of these three concepts: one at the level of theory, and the other at the level of pedagogical practice. This part of the chapter provides an overview of how theory development offers a framing of critical peace education praxis that is oriented toward enhancing transformative agency and participatory citizenship.

Two Key Issues

Theoretical Premises

One fundamental theoretical premise that needs to be seriously re-considered is the idea that lack of peace, tolerance, social justice, equality and recognition is primarily a product of 'ignorance'. According to this premise, schooling in general – and educational reforms, in particular – should aim at transferring knowledge and skills to students and teachers. More analytically, this claim makes two *ideological* and *political* assumptions: first, it is assumed that peace, tolerance, social justice, equality and recognition can be forwarded through reforms in the educational system that focus on instilling the 'appropriate' knowledge to students; and, second, with proper training, teachers can foster the implementation of peace, tolerance, social justice, equality and recognition values for all. Both assumptions, however, fail to investigate and cultivate critical peace education praxis and transformative agency in ways relevant to the respective economic, political, historical and social contexts (Bajaj 2008, 2015).

The above assumptions and their implications rest on a second set of *cultural* assumptions that are equally important in terms of defining the aims and consequences of peace education. These assumptions refer to how peace, tolerance, social justice, equality and recognition values are culturally perceived in a particular setting. For example, in the case of the countries from which we come from (i.e. the Republic of Cyprus and the State of Israel), this second set of assumptions often presupposes that the very basic values of the Hellenic or Jewish civilizations deny racist perspectives while emphasizing justice, respect and recognition of 'otherness'. The same could be argued for the foundational values of the Western civilization; it is perceived that these

civilizations can mainly produce peace, tolerance, social justice, equality and recognition, and work only for the good. Given these assumptions, it is often considered that educational reform efforts need simply to achieve 'technical' changes – such as the restructuring of the curriculum, the reorganization of the time devoted to old and new school subjects, and the training of teachers. That is, these assumptions are taken for granted and are never interrogated – either in theory, or in how they are actually enacted.

In spite of efforts for educational change, however, it has become increasingly clear over the years that, save for a few exceptions, educational reform in general has failed to deliver the goods promised – letting us realize that what education is asked to correct has little to do with education and a great deal to do with the world in which schools exist, the very world they are asked to support. For better or for worse, present research supports this critique showing that educational reforms developed in the West since 1960 have achieved very little – if anything, at all since 1960 (Apple 1999; Berliner 2006; Hirschl and Steinmo 2003; Ravitch 2000, Sarason 1990; Tyack and Cuban 1995).

For this reason, it is vital to expose the consequences of the assumptions about peace education, educational reforms and schooling. Undoubtedly, education as a discipline has moved forward; at least within some constructivist traditions, the normative and the ideal have been left behind, and the activities and practices of education have taken central stage. Content might be still in focus but not as isolated subject matter, waiting for the right opportunity or the right conductor (i.e. a wonderful teacher and/or a perfect teacher-proof curriculum) to enter the innocent minds of young individuals. Instead, activity and practice is at stake and has become the centrepiece of serious research. The path towards this still new approach to education has not been easy and the politics of education – the elite's ongoing attempt to use education as a homogenizing tool for the creation of passive and obedient citizens – are always around to battle for particular knowledges and values. As if this were not bad enough by itself, it is even worse when discussing education *for* peace – we add to 'regular' education a 'qualification' (i.e. 'peace') yet, for the most part, we end up focusing on peace while ignoring education. Idealism and fideism are back with all their faults (Page 2008), as though education were too complex by itself to survive other added complexities such as peace, while retaining criticality at the same time.

We raise these challenges to existing perspectives/paradigms in peace education because we wish to interrogate the usual rhetoric that puts on schools and education the responsibility of finding solutions to societal problems which bring discomfort to modern societies. Peace is rhetorically constructed by nation-states as a necessary and worthy goal, as a solution to various sorts

of conflicts, and is assumed to be achievable through education and school-ing – educational reforms, in particular. It is exactly this rhetorical construc-tion (so consequential for the achievement of peace) that we worry about, and is why we draw attention to hegemonic power and social injustices in relation to conceptual underpinnings of peace and conflict, and the implications for social justice and citizenship education.

Besides theory, though, to enhance transformative agency and participatory citizenship, we also need to pay attention how to 'translate' these theoretical concerns into pedagogical practice. In the next key issue, we summarize three aspects of critical peace education based on our long-time research in conflict affected and divided societies in which we show how a critical pedagogical approach in peace education may be informed by aims to promote trans-formative agency and participatory citizenship (see Bekerman and Zembylas 2012; Zembylas 2013b, 2015).

Pedagogical Practice

The three aspects we discuss here (clearly, these are not the only ones) are: (1) the significance of pedagogies of discomfort in enhancing transformative agency and participatory citizenship; (2) the pedagogical principle of mutual vulnerability; and (3) the value of compassion and strategic empathy. Each of these three aspects – along with their strengths and limitations – is briefly discussed in terms of how they help navigate critical peace educators in ways that promote agency and solidarity.

The Significance of Pedagogies of Discomfort

In recent years, there has been increasing research that acknowledges how challenging students and teachers beyond their 'comfort zones' and pushing them to deconstruct the ways in which they have learned to see, feel and act constitutes a valuable pedagogic approach in social justice, citizenship and anti-racist education (e.g. see Boler 1999, 2004; Boler and Zembylas 2003; Zembylas and McGlynn 2012; Zembylas et al. 2012). In fact, it has been argued that, if a major purpose of teaching is to unsettle taken for granted views and emotions, then a 'pedagogy of discomfort' is not only unavoid-able, but may also be necessary (Berlak 2004). 'A pedagogy of discomfort begins', explains Boler, 'by inviting educators and students to engage in criti-cal inquiry regarding values and cherished beliefs, and to examine constructed self-images in relation to how one has learned to perceive others' (1999,

pp. 176–177). For example, individuals who belong to a hegemonic culture experience discomfort when having to confront their privileges in relation to educational and social inequities (see e.g. Leibowitz et al. 2010). Leibowitz and her colleagues, who write in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, demonstrate how a pedagogy of discomfort is valuable in uncovering and questioning the deeply embedded emotional dimensions that shape some individual and group privileges (e.g. those of White students) through daily habits and routines. By closely problematizing these emotional habits and routines and their attachments to structural injustices, it is shown that, in a context in which there have been and still are serious human rights violations, teachers and students can begin to identify the invisible ways in which they comply with dominant ideologies.

When examined through the lens of a theory that attempts to instil criticality, agency and solidarity in peace education, then, it becomes clearer how and why certain features of pedagogic discomfort can be helpful in identifying the complexity and situatedness of 'peace' and 'conflict', and their consequences. Students and teachers come into the classroom carrying their troubled knowledge about 'conquest and humiliation, struggle and survival, suffering and resilience, poverty and recovery, black and white' (Jansen 2009, p. 361). Unsettling this troubled knowledge demands emotional effort, careful listening to each other's traumatic experiences, and explicit discussion of the potential and the harm that troubled knowledge stimulates. The value of pedagogic discomfort thought cannot be overstated. This process should not be assumed to be always already transformative, and beyond question. In other words, there are no guarantees for change in the social and political status quo; a pedagogy of discomfort, especially in light of the challenges identified in this chapter, demands time and realistic decisions about what can and what cannot be achieved. Needless to say, not all students will respond in the same way or benefit from pedagogic discomfort in the same manner; some may adopt some sort of change, others may resist, and still others may experience distress (Kumashiro 2002). Therefore, the concern here is not simply about overcoming resistance or motivating students who express apathy or hostility; 'it is, rather, a pedagogical commitment to locate, interrogate, and engage troubled knowledge […] in ways that permit disruption of received authority' (Jansen 2009: 267).

The Pedagogical Principle of Mutual Vulnerability

The second aspect which enriches pedagogical efforts toward criticality, agency and solidarity in peace education concerns the pedagogical principle of 'mutual vulnerability' (e.g. see Keet et al. 2009; Zembylas 2013a). The notion of mutual

vulnerability is grounded in the idea that there is interdependence between human beings and that the recognition of all people as 'vulnerable' has important pedagogical consequences concerning the possibility of assuming critical responsibility towards one's own life and the lives of others in a community. The argument that is developed here is grounded theoretically in the work of Butler (2004) and, particularly, her essay 'Violence, Mourning, Politics'.

Butler (2004) presents a number of examples to show that 'each of us is constituted politically in part by virtue of the social vulnerability of our bodies […] Loss and vulnerability seem to follow from our being socially constituted bodies, attached to others, at risk of losing those attachments, exposed to others, at risk of violence by virtue of that exposure' (p. 20). This is evident, for instance, in the experience of losing someone to whom one is attached; thus, each one of us is mutually obliged to others because of this common vulnerability. The denial of such vulnerability unleashes violence against others, whereas its acknowledgment creates openings for an ethical encounter with others. Consequently, 'we might critically evaluate and oppose', Butler emphasizes, 'the conditions under which certain human lives are more vulnerable than others, and thus certain human lives are more grievable than others' (p. 30). Once we consider how hegemonic power relations determine 'who will be a grievable human' and what 'acts' are 'permissible' for 'public grieving' (p. 37), then we may begin to realize how a prohibition of grieving others' lives extends the aims of violence and conflict.

The notion of vulnerability has important pedagogical consequences for the entanglement of critical peace education, social justice education and critical citizenship education because the mutual experience of loss and mourning reveals the possibility of creating an alternative moral responsibility and sense of community in classrooms and schools (Vlieghe 2010). Butler's theorization of common vulnerability constitutes the point of departure for a renewed pedagogical politics of recognition in conflict affected societies. The notion of mutual vulnerability enriches critical peace education because it disrupts normative frames of community on the basis of rationality and self-advancement, and puts forward the notion of community on the basis of loss. This idea does not imply, however, an equalization of vulnerability but, rather, the recognition that there are different forms of vulnerabilities.

The Value of Compassion and Strategic Empathy

Finally, the third aspect we wish to share in this chapter concerns the value of compassion and strategic empathy in critical peace education praxis (e.g. Zembylas 2012, 2013a). In light of the discussion so far, it is evident that

troubled knowledge provokes strong emotional reactions in the classroom – reactions that could be quite discomforting for teachers and students alike. Teachers have to find ways to support the constructive handling of these reactions, as well as the discourses that overly focus on one's own traumatic experiences and ignore the other's sufferings. A constructive relationship with difficult knowledge, suggest Bonnell and Simon (2007), is based on the process of confronting and dismantling any taken for granted assumptions on encountering such unfamiliar knowledge. Importantly, then, teachers need to establish trust in the classroom, develop strong relationships and enact compassionate understanding in every possible manner. Critical peace education praxis requires the strategic use of those pedagogical resources to enable the formation of new affective alliances among members of conflict affected communities.

As noted earlier, attentiveness to mutual vulnerability is an important component of critical peace education praxis. Students are enabled to establish and maintain this attentiveness, when they begin to question and challenge arguments based on binaries such as us/them, perpetrators/victims, friends/enemies and good/evil – a stereotyping of groups considered to be *more* or *less* grievable (Butler 2004). Jansen (2009) highlights two pedagogical tactics that we find particularly useful in teaching students how to learn compassion by challenging these binaries: first, the acknowledgment of brokenness by all sides – that is, the idea that humans are prone to failure and incompleteness and, as such, we constantly seek a higher order of living which cannot be accomplished without being in communion with others. Second, a pedagogical reciprocity is also required – that is, everyone carrying the burden of troubled knowledge has to move towards each other. As Jansen puts it, in the context of post-apartheid South Africa: 'the white person has to move across the allegorical bridge toward the black person; the black person has to move in the direction of the white person. Critical theory demands the former; a postconflict pedagogy requires both' (2009, p. 268).

To promote the prospects of compassion in the classroom, we also argue that one of those pedagogical resources that will be needed is strategic empathy. Strategic empathy is, essentially, the use of empathetic emotions in both critical and strategic ways (Lindquist 2004); that is, it refers to the willingness of the critical pedagogue to make themself strategically sceptical (working sometimes against their own emotions) in order to empathize with the troubled knowledge students carry with them, even when this troubled knowledge is disturbing to other students or to the teacher. The use of strategic empathy can function as a valuable pedagogical tool that opens up affective spaces which might eventually disrupt the emotional roots of troubled knowledge –

an admittedly long and difficult task (Zembylas 2012). Undermining the emotional roots of troubled knowledge through strategic empathy ultimately aims at helping students integrate their troubled views into compassionate and socially just perspectives.

Implications

To further show the practical significance of our analysis in this chapter, we expand on the idea of teachers becoming *critical design experts* presented in our earlier work (Bekerman and Zembylas 2014). 'Critical design experts' are the teachers who become experts in their contexts and the ways these are interactionally engineered, given the social participants and the material and symbolical resources available to them; at the same time, teachers as critical design experts are able to critique the manifestations of nation-structures in everyday practices and design educational interventions that create cracks in these structures. Critical design experts understand very well how the macro-level design comes to be organized at the micro-level of everyday school activities. Given the daily pressures and the risky complexities of the system they inhabit, critical design experts exhibit a deep knowledge of the system and a profound understanding of the competences needed to survive in it, believing that sustained equilibrium – and not necessarily change – will move them forward without problems. In a sense, these types of 'expert' look for adaptive strategies to survive in the system, while trying to better their lot according to the system's rules.

Using the word 'critical', we clearly align with those traditions which seek human emancipation or, as traditional critical perspectives would have it, 'to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them' (Horkheimer 1982: 244). When transplanted into the educational arena, 'critical' perspectives encourage educators to pay attention to everyday details and their consequences, while being fully cognizant of the immense struggles to be faced to achieve the goal of social equity; to be committed to the notion that education – which is never neutral and always political – can and should be a transformative process (Freire and Macedo 1995; Torres 1998). More specifically in this case, 'critical' means being alert to the difficult, though possible, event that adaptation does not imply 'more of the same' (something which usually benefits the powerful) or taking sides too early; rather, it suggests small strategic steps towards change. We want to make clear that adopting this critical non-foundational stance should not be confused with assuming that social interactional constructs are not consequential in the world. Though theoreti-

cally and empirically 'wrong', foundational thought/discourse does work and is consequential in the social sphere. For instance, those categorized by foundational discourse as belonging to a certain identity/culture might suffer (or not) because of these categorizations.

What distinguishes our proposition for teachers as critical design experts from other versions of critical education that have been articulated before is our primary concern with the ontological consequences of normative epistemological premises – a concern that justifies the position not to rush and take one side, thus dislodging the participants from further critical involvement with troubled knowledges and experiences. We invoke this critical examination of the ontological aspects of normative epistemological premises because we want to emphasize the importance of paying attention to how things come to exist in the way they do within particular historical contexts. As noted earlier in the chapter, the problem of many assumptions made in current discussions over peace education is the perpetuation of a particular epistemology that divides the world and then takes those divisions for granted. These divisions are grounded in abstractions about the internal minds/identities of individuals and the external characteristics of cultures, traditionally viewed as static internal or external states of being/becoming, relatively stable across time and contexts. What we suggest, instead, is paying attention to the ontological position inherent in these epistemological premises, rather than taking these premises for granted.

An example will make our position clearer. Imagine a child belonging to one of the groups in conflict approaching a teacher and asking: what is a Jew or a Palestinian (implying and reflecting the popular Western essentialist perspective supported by epistemological assumptions)? Given present realities, the teacher may be inclined to provide some culturally descriptive and benevolent characteristics of the group in case, as suggested by naïve multicultural perspectives, or by the cultural assumption we referred to in our opening remarks. Though this response might seem appropriate for accommodating perspectives expected from a cross-cultural initiative, we believe that, in the long run, this response sustains the basis on which the conflict initially developed and thus may be unproductive. We believe a better answer to be a 'correction' of the normative epistemological primacy which, though potentially unknown to the child, substantiates his or her question. Thus, a more productive answer – one which a teacher as a 'critical design expert' would offer – might be that Jews or Palestinians are not a 'what' (inside) but a 'when' and/or a 'how' and/or a 'with whom' which becomes, through action/interaction in the world, and/or a complex set of circumstances and contextual events pointing at the 'dialogical-in-between' quality of being/identity. That is, the teacher,

as a critical design expert, would encourage his or her students to act as critical ontologists and epistemologists, to look at a social construction within its historicized context rather than taking an idea for granted and treating it as a normative epistemological position. The payoff of doing so has important advantages, because teaching and learning are no longer grounded in essentialist binary pairings – such as oppressor/oppressed, perpetrator/victim, and power/freedom – that perpetuate normative divisions. Rather, teachers as critical design experts promote the critical examination of how these constructs come to be what they are in the world, and explore what consequences these constructs have for peace education in conflict and post-conflict areas.

Overall, it seems particularly important that teachers, teacher educators and policy-makers in peace education settings begin to pay attention to the contextual specificities of the transaction between the macro-political level and the micro-individual manifestations of everyday conduct, recognizing the ways that everyday practices are politicized, pertaining to the distribution of material and symbolic resources. If this is so, then this process can be clearly conceived as the work of successful practices – the nation-state practices – that has particular consequences which need to be identified and critiqued.

Conclusion and Future Research

The main points which have been raised in this chapter and run contrary to the accepted theory and practice in peace education are that, first, the (at times) perceived failure – or dissatisfaction with the products – of peace education has little to do with the quality of individual teachers or students and much to do with the quality of the systems we (all) cooperatively construct and the structural injustices of those systems. Failing to understand this means confusing failure with what are adaptive moves to structural systemic circumstances in responding to various forms of conflict.

Second, Western positivist paradigmatic perspectives in the social sciences are responsible for the present educational perspectives which guide peace educational theory and practice. Change will only be available after these paradigmatic perspectives are abandoned. Changing this means revising essentialist perceptions of the individual, of identity/culture, and of the learning process. It means realizing that they, all, are interactional, contextualized and historicized processes, rather than isolated inside (individual), static and well-defined outside (culture), and specific-task oriented and measurable transmissions (education). Failing to recognize the historicity of these processes will easily lead us to psychologize 'conflict' and 'peace' as well as the peda-

gogical responses we provide in peace education, social justice and citizenship education.

Third, if the above points are correct, peace education, social justice and citizenship education would do well to look for educational solutions in the organization of present Western world politics, rather than in the limited parameters of their school settings or the solitude of their teachers' or students' minds. When looking inside schools, we should be looking at practices and not abstracted individual minds and their assumed values. This idea implies paying serious attention to children and allowing ourselves to be influenced by their (possible) different perspectives. It also means trying to be sufficiently critical of our own positions so as to try and prevent ourselves from inculcating them all to our children – realizing the responsibility we all carry in helping change the world.

As we emphasized throughout this chapter, we believe that peace education, social justice education and citizenship education are neither productive nor relevant, if they are considered as subject matter areas similar to the way mathematics or science were understood not too long ago. This is so because, first, peace/social justice/citizenship education is not a 'thing' (a reified knowledge which can be transmitted); second, peace/social justice/citizenship education is a set of activities in the world and not a set of abstract ideas in the head; and, third, if we overlook the previous two points, we fall into the same epistemological mistakes of the West which has idealized, conceptualized (as fixed) and psychologized that which is human and its education. The main difficulty is that being trained as we (teachers, students, academics, policy-makers and so on) have been in the West, we find it very difficult to deal with a 'thing' without giving it a 'proper categorical' name; we seem to fear that if we do not speak about, for example, 'peace education' as such, we will go unrecognized or be delegitimized.

What we argue, however, is the need to re-ontologize what has been epistemologized; that is, we emphasize the need to materialize abstractions (expressed through 'categories') and ask about their consequences in everyday life. This argument implies that the important things are not 'in the details' but 'the details themselves'. And, if this is true, in a way, we are trying to get researchers, teachers, teacher educators, policy-makers and students to read the details of the world; to try and understand how the world is built/constructed, instead of trying to find what stands 'inside', 'under' or 'behind' things in the world. We want all of us to become 'critical experts of design'; that is, able to recognize and critique how the world is designed and how it can be re-designed, if it is re-imagined. Exploring different forms of critical peace educational praxis (Bajaj 2015) is an important direction for future research that bridges social justice and citizenship education.

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14

The Place of Religion in Education for Citizenship and Social Justice

Alan Sears and Lindsay Herriot

Introduction

A student and his parents in Poland exercise the legal right to withdraw him from the compulsory Roman Catholic religious education (RE) programme, only to find that his high school transcript is issued with a blank where the grade should be for RE. They believe this unfairly reveals his religious preferences, and might stigmatize him in seeking employment or further educational opportunities. They would prefer that the section not appear on the transcript, or that an alternative be substituted, and turn to the courts for redress (Cumper 2011).

While Pakistan was originally conceived as 'a secular democratic state regardless of the civic identity of its citizens,' an aggressive programme of 'Islamization of the state' (Dean 2010: 68) in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in government institutions, including public schools, being mandated to inculcate Muslim teaching and values in all areas. Religious and other minorities in the country believe that both their faith and freedom are undermined in this system.

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High schools students in Alberta, Canada seek to form gay-straight alliances (GSAs) in their publicly funded, Roman Catholic high schools, but are told that these groups will not be allowed because they are inconsistent with the religious ethos of the schools (Cross 2013).[1] They and their supporters engage in a public advocacy campaign aimed at securing provincial legislation that protects student-initiated GSAs in all publicly funded schools.

Ultra-Orthodox Jewish (Haredi) parents in England and the United States believe that provisions in international human rights law permit them to choose alternatives to public schooling for their children in order to preserve their religion, language, and culture, and are therefore allowed to provide private education that ignores significant portions of some state educational requirements. These jurisdictions draw on the same international human rights instruments to argue that they have an obligation to provide education that, among other things, prepares students for a wide range of possible futures and teaches them to be engaged citizens, who are empathetic toward the diverse peoples and worldviews with which they share civic space (Lotem 2015).

Children in the United States and France grow up in societies where religion and religious issues are often front and centre in public policy discussions. France, for example, has debated the place of religious dress and symbols in public institutions, and deliberations about the teaching of evolution, creation, and intelligent design are ubiquitous in US public school systems. Both countries, however, either largely avoid comprehensive teaching about religion, or present it as an archaic phenomenon of history, thereby impoverishing the ability of young citizens fully to understand and participate in these important civic debates (Barendt 2011; Chélini-Pont 2011; Noddings 2008; Van den Kerchove 2011).

These vignettes from jurisdictions around the world illustrate several of the complex intersections between religion, citizenship and social justice that we will take up in more detail in this chapter, including:

- Individuals and groups often have different conceptions of important ideas such as good citizenship, religion, and social justice.
- Religion is a ubiquitous and persistent part of modern societies: in other words, it is everywhere and will be a key feature of social interaction into the future.

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[1] The website mygsa.ca describes a GSA as 'a student-run group that provides a safe place for any and all students to meet and learn about all different orientations, to support each other while working together to end homophobia, and to raise awareness and promote equality for all human beings. In addition to being a group dedicated to support, it also strives to educate the surrounding areas and the community on different gender and equality issues.'

- Religion and religious expression are not problems for democratic societies to solve or get past but, rather, important and complex elements of civic context that citizens need to understand in order to participate justly and effectively.
- Citizenship education and social justice are not simply curriculum subjects or cross-disciplinary curricular themes, but are embedded in the institutional structures of society, including schooling.
- Religious people, groups, and institutions are sometimes the victims of social injustice and discrimination, and sometimes the purveyors of those same things. Frequently, these contradictions are found in the very same individuals, groups and institutions.
- Human rights are complex and often exist in tension with each other. Therefore, the laws and institutions put in place to operationalize principles of human rights are often contested and fluid.
- Negotiating the complexities of the intersections between religion, citizenship, and social justice requires a high degree of religious literacy.

Before exploring these and other issues in more detail, we provide a brief overview of how we understand some of the key concepts discussed in the chapter.

Conceptual Underpinnings

Our approach to the central concepts dealt with in this chapter is rooted in social constructivism. Fundamental to this is the idea that knowledge is 'a cultural product' (Windschitl 2002: 141). In other words, ideas and concepts do not have inherent meanings apart from those created and negotiated by people in particular contexts. Concepts such as citizenship, religion, and social justice, then, are complex and fluid and may mean different things to different people. Sometimes those differences exist across time or contexts but, often, the same concept can be understood somewhat differently by people in the same time and place; that is, they are contested. We will limit our discussion here to three concepts central to our chapter: citizenship, religion, and social justice.

Citizenship is a quintessential example of what Gallie (1955–1956) called 'essentially contested concepts.' These are concepts 'the proper use of which inevitably involves endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users' (p. 169). In other words, people use the same word or concept to mean significantly different things and this is definitely true for citizenship.

Peterson (2011), for example, grounds contemporary discussions of citizenship and citizenship education in political philosophy, tracing three distinct traditions of citizenship: republican, liberal, and communitarian. All share common features, but frame the practice of good citizenship very differently. A widely cited framework for citizenship is that of Westheimer and Kahne (2004), who describe three kinds of citizens: 'personally responsible citizen,' 'participatory citizen,' and 'justice oriented citizen' (p. 240). Again, these frame the practice of democratic citizenship quite differently.

Lister argues that many contemporary conceptions of citizenship marginalize youth by regarding them as 'citizens in the making' (p. 709), rather than recognizing them as full citizens. Moosa-Mitha (2005) extends Lister's work by developing a feminist, anti-racist, non-classist theorization of children's citizenship that she calls difference-centred. According to Moosa-Mitha, citizenship should be based on 'the right to participate differently in the social institutions and culture of the society […] *Citizenship means, in this case, being included in one's greatest possible difference*' (p. 375, emphasis added). This means that, rather than expecting youth to perform an adult version of citizenship, they should instead be recognized as citizens who happen to be young, rather than being recognized *despite* their youth.

This is not a debate we can discuss in detail in this limited space, neither do we intend to propose a single conception for the field. We do point out that curricular policy in democratic jurisdictions around the world tends to favour conceptions of citizenship in line with the civic republican model described by Peterson and the justice oriented citizens proposed by Westheimer and Kahne. Many, rhetorically at least, recognize young people as full citizens, emphasizing the importance of student voice (Ontario Ministry of Education 2014); all emphasize preparing young citizens for both active civic engagement and the development of a sense of responsibility for contributing to social justice (Hughes and Sears 2008; Peterson 2011).

Religion is a complex idea understood and operationalized quite differently by people around the world. Patrick (2015) describes 'religion' as 'a modern western term used to classify reality according to "secular" and "religious" categories. The boundaries between the two categories are contested in countries around the world, resulting in different types of secularisms, various challenges to those secularisms and diverse models of state management of religion' (p. 313). We will have more to say later in the chapter about the distinction, or lack thereof, between religion and secularity. Due to this complexity, many scholars and policy-makers prefer terms such as 'spirituality or worldview' (p. 313). While recognizing the inherent tensions in language, we have chosen to use the term 'religion' throughout this chapter, as our use

of it usually refers to an affiliation with one of the major organized religious traditions such as Christianity, Buddhism, Islam or Hinduism, to name a few. We recognize this does not capture all of human religious expression, and that all of these traditions have diverse and often conflicting internal variations. We resist defining any of them because we agree with Jamal and Panjwamni (2011), who argue that 'the process of defining a religious tradition against objective criteria violates both the subjectivity of the experience which should underpin the right of freedom of religion (and its cognate freedom of religious expression) and also fails to understand that religious traditions cannot be essentialized without being misrepresented' (p. 70).

As with citizenship and religion, 'social justice' is a widely used and hotly contested term. Much of how it is understood or used depends on the ideology or worldview of the person or persons using it. A Marxist, for example, might emphasize economic justice, meaning an equal distribution of economic resources as the foundation for a wider social justice, while a liberal would argue that equality of opportunity, rather than outcome, is the basis of legitimate social justice.

Within one faith tradition, the Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church has a great deal to say about social justice, and roots the concept in the 'transcendent dignity' of human beings, who represent 'the ultimate end of society' (Interdicasterial Commission for the Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 521). Aboriginal Peoples in North America, however, reject this elevation of the human persons over other aspects of the natural order and see themselves in 'kinship with the other living creatures and life energies embodied in their land' (Battiste 2013, p. 121). For them, then, social justice must include the maintenance of a balanced and healthy relationship among all aspects of the created order.

A recent report from the Social Inclusion Monitor Group of the EU provides a social justice index for Europe that is calculated by measuring the performance of member states in six areas: poverty prevention, equitable education, labour market inclusion, social cohesion and non-discrimination, health, and intergenerational justice (Schraad-Tischler and Kroll 2014: 2). The authors recognize the complexity of defining and monitoring progress toward social justice.

> 'Social justice' is a central constitutive element of the legitimacy and stability of any political community. Yet defining what social justice means and how best to achieve it is often subject to considerable controversy. The conceptual boundaries of social justice are continually in flux because the idea is a result of culturally and historically dependent value systems. (Schraad-Tischler and Kroll 2014: 13)

As with citizenship and religion, our purpose here is not to propose a definitive definition of social justice, but to point out the shifting and contested nature of the concept. Virtually all jurisdictions make education for social justice a key component of citizenship education, and it is important for educators, parents, and students of those systems both to be able to assess the approaches to social justice advocated in their jurisdiction, and to participate in the shaping and reshaping of those approaches.

Pervasive and Persistent: Religion in Contemporary Democracies

In a lecture given at Munich University in 1918, Max Weber (1989) argued 'the fate of our times is characterized by rationalisation and intellectualisation and, above all, by the "disenchantment of the world"' (p. 29). He was describing the phenomenon some have characterized as the 'Secularisation Thesis, the idea that the rise of modernity necessitates the decline of religion' (Bottum 2010: 63). Arthur et al. (2010) argue that this has profound consequences for institutional religion, religious citizens and the general practice of citizenship in many Western countries. They write:

> One result of this secularisation is that little attention is given in modern educational discourses to religion and its role in shaping meanings of civic duty and citizenship. In part this is due to the fact that many of the organisations that seek to promote a discourse between politics and religion are secular bodies that present issues of religious identity and faith in the language of community, equality, diversity, and values. This language does not fully recognise the significance of faith and belief for the intersection of religious beliefs and political action. Such organisations also fail to take seriously the re-emergence of religion as a potent force in politics; modern notions of citizenship, whether liberal, communitarian, or civic republican, are almost wholly founded on secular constructs. There is an assumption that the rise of secular citizenship requires the erosion of the authority of institutional religion. These observations minimize the importance of religion in the political context denying religion a legitimate role. (Arthur et al. 2010: 2)

This secularization finds its most explicit manifestation in policy in countries such as France that postulate a 'secular' public square and that relegate religion and religious expression to the realm of the private and pay little, if any, attention to it in public education. In France, this approach began with the efforts at 'de-clericalization' (Van den Kerchove 2011: 252) in the nine-

teenth century, and today is articulated in a policy framework called laïcité. As Van den Kerchove (2012) shows, this policy finds its most aggressive expression in public schooling. 'In France schools have been the forum par excellence for French laïcité, ever since its first implementation in the nineteenth century' (p. 252). One of us has critiqued this approach extensively elsewhere (Arthur et al. 2010), so here we will only briefly address some of the main arguments against it: it falsely assumes that democracy is inherently secular; it mistakenly claims that secularism is neutral; and it marginalizes religious citizens.

The late Professor Bernard Crick was the intellectual force behind the national curriculum in citizenship implemented in England in 2001. Speaking at a conference in 2006, he made explicit his views on the relationship between democratic citizenship and religion. 'Citizenship is secular,' he said, 'on historical and philosophical grounds' (quoted in Arthur et al. 2010: 2). But this is simply not true. The classical Athenians, who Crick himself acknowledges as the founders of democratic citizenship, were thoroughly religious, and knew no separation between the sacred and the secular. As Samons (2004) points out, 'in Athens religious and military activities enjoyed a much higher degree of participation than voting in the assembly' (p. 169). He also asserts 'there was no identifiable "secular" realm (in the modern sense) in this society' (p. 70).

The type of democratic citizenship inherited from the Greeks, then, was born in a thoroughly religious context and, as Elshtain (2008) points out, ideas foundational to modern conceptions of democracy and citizenship – such as limited government and human rights – were significantly shaped by the scholarship of Christian thinkers such as St Augustine, St Thomas, Martin Luther and John Calvin. That is not to mention the many historical examples of civic icons who were largely motivated by their faith. People such as William Wilberforce, Mahatma Gandhi, Desmond Tutu, Sojourner Truth, Dorothy Day and Helen Prejean, to name a few (for a fuller discussion of this, see Arthur et al. 2010, chap. 5). Our claim is not that citizenship is inherently religious, but it is certainly not, contrary to Crick, historically or philosophically inherently secular either.

The claim – overtly made in France and more subtly made elsewhere – that secularity is neutral is also problematic. Secularity, as religion, sets out a comprehensive worldview that includes ideas about how to live the good life as individuals, and how to shape our collective or civic life. These ideas are not shared by all, and, in fact, often marginalize people who believe differently. Canadian journalist Lois Sweet (1997) spent a year studying private religious schooling in Canada expecting to find hotbeds of narrowness and xenophobia.

Instead, she generally found well-functioning educational institutions largely established by parents and religious communities who had felt excluded in the public system. For the most part, these people did not expect their own faith to be taught in a confessional way in schools, but they did want faith and religion taken seriously as an aspect of historical and contemporary human experience. Instead, they found a system that demeaned religion and religious people – not overtly, but by neglect. Writing more recently, Ahmed (2013) makes a similar point about the schools in one Canadian province:

> For young Muslims growing up in a complex Western society such as Ontario, it is not at all clear that the public schools can provide and entirely adequate learning environment, especially as they do not seem to have any built-in ways to help young people from widely diverse backgrounds to find their cultural and religious ways, and build appropriately diverse identities. (p. 162)

This same inattention to topics and ideas related to religion and religious people exists in the name of neutrality in school systems in France and some parts of the United States (Nash 2005; Noddings 1993, 2008; Van den Kerchove 2011).

Heinrich de Wall (2011) contrasts Germany's response to religion in public schooling with that of France. He argues that the exclusion of religion by states in the name of secularity is not neutral, but biased. He writes, 'Since the State has taken considerable responsibility in the field of education and has a virtual monopoly on schools it would be a statement against religion if it were totally kept out of this sphere' (p. 176). He agrees the state must treat religions equally, and cannot favour one over the other, 'but,' he argues, it 'is allowed to accommodate religious people and religious communities who wish to manifest their religious beliefs in public […] State religious neutrality in the German sense does not, therefore, entail keeping religion out of the public sphere' (p. 176). He calls the German approach 'positive neutrality' and contrasts it with the French idea of laïcité, which, he argues, 'leads to a denigration of religion which is incompatible with state neutrality' (p. 176).

We believe that social justice demands that school systems be non-sectarian, rather than secular. In other words, the system should not privilege the particular worldview premises of any position, religious or secular, but allow for the full participation of citizens from a range of perspectives, and a critical examination of those perspectives both historically and in contemporary society. Noddings (2008) argues for just that sort of education in the USA, where public schools have a long history of avoiding teaching about religion in the

name of neutrality. She rejects teaching that treats religious and other world-view positions delicately, avoiding 'the critical discussions of beliefs' (p. 370) and events; but she also disparages some contemporary polemics against religion arguing they are 'disrespectful and unpersuasive' (p. 377). The title of one of her books sets out her objective well, *Educating for Intelligent Belief or Unbelief* (Noddings 1993).

Finally, the idea that democracy and democratic citizenship are inherently secular discriminates against religious citizens by requiring of them what is not required of others: that they leave their fundamental beliefs at the door when they enter public institutions and policy debates. It also infantilizes other citizens by assuming they will be duped by slick religious claims and arguments. We agree with Neuhaus (1993), who contends, 'In a democracy that is free and robust, an opinion is no more disqualified for being "religious" than being atheistic, or psychoanalytic, or Marxist, or just plain dumb' (p. 102).

Contrary to Weber's predictions, religion has not disappeared from Western societies. In fact, some would argue it is resurgent (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2009). We opened this chapter with several vignettes outlining civic issues involving religion or religious people in jurisdictions around the world. These are just few of the many we could have chosen. Virtually every contemporary democratic society is wrestling with important public policy issues that deal with questions of how to balance the rights of religious groups and individuals with those of other members of the polity. Whether or not these particular issues have staying power is irrelevant; there will be others.

These issues are indicative of the ongoing civic conversation about how it is we live together with significant individual and collective differences. Questions about the reasonable accommodation of religious minorities, the rights of individuals to freedom of conscience, including being free from religion, and the tensions between these two, permeate political and social discourse in democracies around the world. Effective citizenship requires people who understand the subtle differences between and among individuals and groups, and are able to contend intelligently and respectfully with difficult questions such as those inherent in the issues described above. Diversity education has often been more about diminishing, covering up, or managing difference than about learning to engage constructively in tussling with the very real issues it raises (Peck et al. 2010). It is critical that we turn away from the idea that diversity generally – and religious diversity, in particular – is a problem to be solved. It is, rather, a persistent and pervasive part of our civic context, and engaged citizens need to be prepared for productive wrestling with the issues it raises.

Cutting Both Ways: The Complex Interaction among Education, Religion and Social Justice

As Lotem (2015) points out, international human rights law calls for states to provide education that is both acceptable and adaptable. In terms of the first, 'International human rights instruments underline the acceptability feature of the right to education by two interrelated sets of requirements. One set emphasizes the development of the children's personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities […] The second set of requirements underlining the acceptability feature of the right to education focuses on education for human rights and tolerance' (p. 3). In other words, acceptable education helps students to reach their full potential as individuals, and to be understanding and respectful of others and their rights.

Adaptable education is focused on, among other things, 'the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values' (p. 3). It 'is intertwined with the right of parents to provide direction to their children in the exercise of children's rights, to choose alternative educational frameworks or institutions rather than public schools for their children, and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children' (p. 3).

The principles of acceptability and adaptability of education are designed to ensure that education systems are socially just, that they give children the opportunity to flourish as autonomous individuals and citizens at the same time as they accommodate the rights of minority communities to perpetuate themselves. As Lotem (2015) points out, however, these goals are sometimes in tension with one another. He studied educational policy and practice in four countries (Belgium, England, Israel and the United States) vis-à-vis Haredi (ultra-Orthodox Jewish) schools. Haredi schools normally have a curriculum for boys focused almost exclusively on religious study. Haredi education is chosen by parents, is provided by the cultural community and is focused on inducting boys and young men into that community. It therefore meets many of the criteria for adaptable education as set out in human rights law.

Haredi education, however, largely ignores many subjects normally associated with full personal development, and does not often include teaching for cross-cultural understanding or human rights. In Lotem's view, it clearly falls short of many of the principles of acceptable education as set out in human rights law. Haredi schools are, simultaneously, institutions that ensure a socially just society by respecting minority rights, and institutions that potentially threaten a just society by forcing a constricting conformity on young people that threatens both their autonomy and ability to participate empathetically with others in shaping the common good.

The same sort of tension is seen in regard to Roman Catholic education in Canada. In 2005, the province of Québec passed a law removing the right of parents to choose from among Roman Catholic and Protestant religious instruction or non-sectarian moral education for their children. These choices were replaced by a single compulsory ethics and religion course to be taught from a secular and relativist perspective. A Jesuit-run school applied for an exception, arguing their world religions course taught from a Roman Catholic perspective was a reasonable alternative to the new requirement.

The provincial government turned down the request for an exemption, so the school went to court. The judge sided with the school, finding the province's position inconsistent with the values of a tolerant, multicultural society and describing it as having 'a totalitarian quality essentially equivalent to the order given to Galileo by the Inquisition to renounce Copernican cosmology' (quoted in Hamilton 2010). A later Supreme Court of Canada ruling in the case was less scathing but, nevertheless, found the denial of the exemption a violation of the religious rights of the school.

In that case, a Roman Catholic school was found to be the victim of religious discrimination on the part of the state but, at the same time, there is also a substantive body of research documenting how publicly funded Catholic schools perpetuate injustice against LGBTQ staff and students (Bayly 2007; Maher 2012; Neary 2013; Stewart et al. 2015; Taylor et al. 2012). The deleterious effects of Catholic schooling's unyielding 'don't ask, don't tell' approach to sexual and gender diversity have been well-documented in a number of jurisdictions, with reports of staff fearing termination if they are outed and having their careers sabotaged (Ferfolja 2005; Ferfolja and Hopkins 2013), to students suffering from a range of traumas including isolation; social, physical and sexual abuse; serious mental health struggles; and, at its most extreme, higher rates of self-harm, suicidal ideation, and suicide completion (Taylor et al. 2012).

In Canada, this discrimination has recently come to the forefront when a number of provinces mandated that all public schools – Catholic and secular alike – support student initiated gay-straight alliances (GSAs). Emerging empirical evidence has demonstrated that these school-based clubs are correlated with enhanced wellbeing for all youth (Goodenow et al. 2006; Konishi et al. 2013; Taylor et al. 2012). In British Columbia, for example, queer *and* straight students whose school has had a GSA for at least three years reported statistically significantly lower rates of suicidal ideation and binge drinking (Saewyc et al. 2014).

Despite the clubs' numerous documented benefits to students and school climate, including providing a vehicle for active civic engagement, Catholic

school boards in Canada have, nonetheless, opposed the clubs based on their alleged incompatibility with Catholic doctrine. Citing their constitutionally protected right to religious freedom, Catholic school boards still rely on the Pastoral Guidelines to Assist Students of Same-Sex Orientation (PGASO) policy paper when interacting with queer students and their families (Martino 2014). Mandatory in Ontario Catholic schools, the PGASO describes 'homosexual acts' as 'intrinsically disordered,' and counsels referring students to a reparative 12-step programme called 'Courage' (Callaghan 2014). Although the provinces of Ontario and Alberta have recently enacted legislation protecting GSAs in Catholic schools, media reports indicate that Catholic schools in those jurisdictions are simply ignoring the law by not allowing them to secure a meeting place, or to advertise themselves within the school (see Cross 2013). The Council of Catholic School Superintendents of Alberta further undermined the spirit of the protective legislation by passing a policy requiring school staff to notify parents that their children are GSA members, thereby possibly outing them (Mertz 2015).

Some success has, nonetheless, been documented. In one Ontario school, a GSA-type caucus was able to form in one Ontario school under the umbrella of a broader anti-bullying club (which itself was initially intended to be a GSA), so long as they did not use 'gay' in the club name. To support LGBT students *and* align with Catholic doctrine, they launched a Kindness Matters campaign, and were also able to hold an Anti-Homophobia Day in conjunction with other schools across the country (Liboro et al. 2015). Key adult stakeholders within that school board 'felt that being Catholic and finding a way to successfully support the marginalized LGBT youth in their schools should not be mutually exclusive' (p. 173).

As with the situation concerning the Haredi schools described above, the cases of state interference with Catholic education and Church opposition to GSAs highlight not only how religious people and institutions can be both victims and perpetrators of injustice within public education, but also how human rights and conceptions of social justice often exist in tension with one another. While section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees equal benefit under the law without discrimination based on religion, this same section also prevents discrimination based on sex and sexual orientation (Government of Canada 1982).[2] How then, to resolve the conflict when one group uses their protected rights to infringe on the protected rights

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[2] While sexual orientation is not explicitly listed in the Charter, it has been 'read-in' as a result of *Vriend* v. *Alberta* (1998), and is now explicitly stated in all provincial human rights codes. Recent attempts to add gender identity as protected from discrimination have passed in the House of Commons, but died in the Senate.

of another? That brings us to the question of the connections between citizenship, social justice, and religious education.

Litigating or 'Wrestling Together?' Public Policy by Legal Fiat or Civic Judgement

The complex and thorny issues raised above are hardly new. Writing about the Canadian context, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada argues that freedom of religion has been a fundamental principle of Canadian law since well before the country gained its independence from Britain (McLaughlin 2004). She argues that, because both religion and the rule of law make absolute claims on citizens, sometimes those claims conflict with one another, and often it is the courts have to sort out these conflicts. 'For Canada, religious liberty under the law is not an issue that emerged as the state matured; rather, it is an issue that has been at play since the country's inception, has been a topic of judicial consideration, and has since been entrenched in our fundamental laws' (p. 16). She goes on to point out that the normative commitments of the rule of law and religion sometimes find themselves in conflict, as illustrated by the cases above, and she calls this 'a dialectic of normative commitments' (p. 21).

European democracies have seen their share of legal battles around issues related to religion and religious freedoms as well, and education is one domain where this has been most evident. As Zucca (2011) points out, 'In the past 20 years since the first foulard [headscarf] case in 1989, courts in all European States have been flooded with cases about the place of religion in primary and secondary schools' (p. 41).

The important collection *Law, Religious Freedoms and Education in Europe* (Hunter-Henin 2011) has a number of chapters illustrating the problems with courts being the arbiters in public policy disputes involving religion. Sandberg (2011), for example, raises two problems with judges deciding between and among claims involving religion. The first is that judges are often put in the position of deciding about the rightness (theologically) or the sincerity of religious beliefs, tasks for which they are ill-equipped. 'The second reason for the unease is the continuing pervasiveness of the notion that the social decline of religion and its retreat from the public sphere was inevitable. The secularization thesis remains deeply ingrained. Judges and tribunal chairs seem to be operating under the presumption that religion does not affect all aspects of a believer's life' (p. 343).

Another problem facing European courts is the diversity of socio-political-religious contexts across the continent. Rulings from appeals courts at the EU level impose the same obligations on countries with very different histories and contemporary approaches to public policy. For example, Hill (2011) argues, 'I think it is inconceivable that the UK government would ever impose a statutory prohibition on the wearing of religious headscarves or other faith-based dress. The social and constitutional context could not be more different from the model of laïcité in France where a legal ban is less controversial' (p. 308). These contextual differences mean that court judgements often have very different impacts across the countries of the EU.

It seems to us that most of the issues that arise across the intersections of citizenship, religion, and social justice might be better addressed as matters for public deliberation, rather than ligation. These are issues such as the wearing of religious dress or symbols in public institutions, the provision of various kinds of religious education or instruction, the appropriate policies for immigration and the integration of minority groups, ensuring the rights of religious and other communities and individuals, and the role of the state in regulating the curriculum and policies of private religious schools. Instead of turning to courts as a first resort, citizens should be equipped to wrestle with and settle these issues in their own contexts. Of course, courts and other tribunals are sometimes essential in ensuring that human rights are respected and actualized, especially in cases where students' safety and wellbeing is in jeopardy, but it does seem to us that wrestling together as citizens with these complex questions will, ultimately, be more productive in addressing issues with particular sensitivity to the contexts in which they arise.

This requires a significant degree of religious literacy on the part of citizens. Religion should be a vital component of citizenship education for several reasons. First, it is impossible to understand the contemporary world or societies within it without knowledge of religion and religious ideas. It is curious that even countries that largely exclude the study of religion in contemporary society have no problem with schools examining religion as an animating and shaping influence in historical societies – particularly the ancient. No teacher would dream of teaching about Ancient Egypt, for example, without consideration of the Pyramids and other essentially religious symbols and ideas. Neither would a study of Greece or Rome be considered complete without an examination of the role of religion in political and social life (Sears and Christou 2011).

Just as it is impossible to understand historic societies without attention to religion and religious influences, it is impossible to comprehend contemporary societies or the world without the same. It is not feasible in the lim-

ited space here to give comprehensive examples of the influence of religion on institutional, social and political life in modern democracies, so a couple of examples will have to do. Schooling around the world has been and is bound up with religion. In Canada, for example, three provinces have publicly funded Roman Catholic school systems and a number of others provide at least partial public funding to private religious schools. 'The role of religion in schooling has been a flashpoint for debate and conflict from the earliest moments of Canadian history' (McDonough et al. 2013: 2). In Europe, as well, religion intersects with schooling in a number of ways. These:

> range from the policy of *laïcité* in France, where traditionally religion has been confined to the private sphere, to suspicion of any treatment of religion in schools in some post-Soviet countries, such as Estonia, to aiming to teach about religious diversity impartially in public education, as in Norway or England and Wales, to the public funding of schools teaching the beliefs and values of different specific religions and philosophies, as in the Netherlands, to the favouring of a particular religion or religious denomination in public education, as in Spain. (Jackson 2011: xix)

Similarly, in much of the world, religious organizations and institutions began many other public institutions in the human services sector – such as hospitals and social service agencies. Many of these organizations retain direct influence and, even where they do not, original religious structures and underlying values still shape current policy and practice. In order to effectively understand, work in and influence these important public institutions, citizens need to appreciate the role religion and religious ideas have played and are playing in shaping them.

Religion plays a dominant role in the public policy and international activities of many nations and civil society organizations around the world. It is impossible to be an effective global citizen without some understanding of how religious ideas and worldviews form the context for citizenship in these places. As Noddings (2008) points out, 'We simply excise a substantial part of our own history when we omit discussion of religion' (p. 370).

Equally important as understanding how religion has shaped society, is the understanding of how it animates the lives and civic involvements of citizens. There is a pervasive belief that religion is almost always a negative force in public life; in the words of the late Christopher Hitchens (2007), it 'poisons everything.' And while there are all kinds of examples of poisonous engagement on the part of religious people and institutions, the generalization is far too broad. Many key actors, in extending rights and positively shaping

democracy, have been driven by religious convictions. The anti-slave trading British M.P. William Wilberforce is one example, as is Canadian women's rights campaigner Nellie McClung. That is not to mention more contemporary figures such as Mahatma Gandhi in India, Martin Luther King Jr in the United States, Desmond Tutu in South Africa and the Dali Lama from Tibet – all fundamentally motivated to civic action by their faith. Following in this tradition, one contemporary Canadian Muslim argues that precisely by maintaining their faith and speaking and acting from that position Muslims can 'become gifts and questions to [their] fellow citizens […] they [can] positively challenge their fellow citizens' (Ahmed 2013: 151).

There is not space here to articulate in detail how attention to religion should be addressed in citizenship education but, in concluding this chapter, we draw on two scholars to begin to set out a basic framework. First, Cumper (2011) examines the practice of religious education in Europe where attention to religion and/or religious instruction shows up in some form in most nations. He categorizes approaches and points out a number of distinctions between religious education (RE) and religious instruction (RI).

> First, RI is usually synonymous with an education based on a particular faith whereas RE typically encompasses the study of a wider range of beliefs. Secondly, the teacher in RI is normally expected to adhere to a particular religious tradition or lifestyle in contrast to RE where the teacher's own religious beliefs (or lack thereof) are largely irrelevant. Thirdly, the term 'instruction' implies that the primary purpose of RI is one of directing students how to do something (for example, how to live a Christian life) and this gives it a much narrower focus than RE wherein students are typically encouraged to examine, critically, a range of values and opinions. Finally, the essentially prescriptive nature of RI is in marked contrast to the more liberal educational goals of RE where such matters as creativity and personal reflection are actively encouraged. (p. 220)

We argue that RE is the approach consistent with democratic citizenship education but, as described here, does not go quite far enough.

American scholar Nel Noddings (1993, 2008) has a range of work dealing with the teaching of religion that, we think, pushes Crumper's analysis a little further. One of Noddings' concerns is that RE, despite its claim to balance, often treats religion and religious claims with kid gloves for fear of giving offence. It is reduced to providing bland and simplistic overviews of religious beliefs and positions without critical examination of them. 'These courses,' she writes, 'often concentrate on famous leaders, ritual practice, significant dates, costumes and celebrations. They avoid the critical discussions of beliefs and refer to religious wars and persecutions with delicacy, often treating them as anomalies' (Noddings 2008: 370). For her, this is inadequate attention to religion for civic purposes. 'To be an

intelligent believer [or unbeliever] one needs to know the weak points as well as the strong points of a religion, the insights and the nonsense, the political and the spiritual' (Noddings 1993: 39).

Religion, religious citizens, and religiously infused public policy issues are integral parts of the civic context in democracies around the world. They make civic life both more diverse and much more complex, and they are not going away. If, as assumed by civic education policy and curricula around the world, a key role of citizens is to deliberate and act together in building a just society committed to fostering the common good, they must be knowledgeable about and effective in engaging with all three. Good citizenship does not require adherence to religion, but it does require informed and empathetic engagement with it.

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Part II

Country Case Studies

15

The Australian Case of Education for Citizenship and Social Justice

John Smyth

Introduction: How Are 'Citizenship' and 'Social Justice' Being Interpreted in Australia?

This chapter on the Australian case argues that what has come to pass as citizenship has been the result of the playing out of political forces over some considerable period of time, and the chapter is framed by a noticeably bifurcated view of citizenship. First, it is explained how Australia has become a leading celebrant of the neoliberal view of schooling and the consequences of this for citizenship. Second, this is followed by discussion of how this particular ideological inflection has, in the Australian case, acted powerfully to inform what amounts to a 'passive' view of citizenship in schools. Third, there is discussion of how this 'economic' view has become deeply insinuated in schooling. Finally, the chapter concludes by arguing that these views need not have been an inevitable outcome in the Australian case, and that a more 'active' view of citizenship linked to matters of social justice has been promulgated, but officially ignored.

When it comes to education for citizenship, Australia lives in something of an alternative or parallel universe: there is a fiction – then there is the reality! First, the Australian fiction! The official position as it relates to 'citizenship education'

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(a markedly different notion to 'education *for* citizenship') for children in schools in Australia from Foundation Year to Year 10 is contained in the 'civics and citizenship' component of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority framework (ACARA 2013). The formal rationale is worded as follows:

> The Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship provides opportunities to develop students' knowledge and understanding of Australia's representative democracy and the key institutions, processes, and roles people play in Australia's political and legal systems. Emphasis is placed on Australia's federal system of government, derived from the Westminster system, and the liberal democratic values that underpin it such as freedom, equality and the rule of law. The curriculum explores how the people, as citizens, choose their governments; how the system safeguards democracy by vesting people with civic rights and responsibilities; how laws and the legal system protect people's rights; and how individuals and groups can influence civic life. (ACARA 2013 from their website)

It is clear from this 'rationale' that what is promulgated here is a curriculum *about* something – and the 'something' is circumscribed and has quite tightly defined limitations. It is also has a markedly passive ring of detachment about the manner of its execution – in other words, it is about understanding a particular version of history, rather than challenging it. The focus is quite explicitly on 'Australia's federal system of government', its genesis in the 'Westminster system', 'how […] people […] choose their governments', how 'laws and the legal system protect people's rights and responsibilities' – all couched with just the right amount of rhetorical reference to 'democratic values […] freedom […] equality and the rule of law'.

At one level, this kind of rationale is carefully crafted to come across as a motherhood statement – it is stating the obvious, it is seemingly unobjectionable, it has a ring of credulity to it and is something with which there can be reasonably widespread agreement. What is clearly missing in any of this is the crucial preposition *for*, as in 'education for citizenship' – this is not a mere matter of semantics, either.

What, then, of the Australian reality? As I will explain shortly in some detail, there are some major marked silences in the detached Australian curriculum 'about' what it means to be a citizen – and those silences reside in how the Australian schooling system is constructing young people in particular ways – ways that concentrate on making them into 'consumers', rather than active and critical 'citizens'.

It needs to be said that the promulgation of this limited Western parliamentary view of citizenship has occurred alongside an expunging of any refer-

ence or commitment to the idea of a more just or egalitarian world, and how that might be achieved educationally in Australia. While Australia had a very brief period in the 1980s when social justice was explicitly part of the schooling agenda in some states, that period has gone, as has any reference to it.

Perhaps my somewhat jaundiced view of the contemporary parallel universe in Australia in relation to citizenship education needs to be read against a less cynical view, but one that nevertheless still asks the socially critical question 'In whose interests?' Reid and Gill (2010), in their historical account of citizenship and civics education in Australia, leave us in no doubt that the central defining purpose of citizenship education since the commencement of formal schooling in Australia, has been for 'political purposes'. In working through what they see as the uneasy settlement of the 'tension between the […] role [of schools] in establishing conditions for capital accumulation and for democratic practice' (Reid and Gill 2010: 25), they show how in Australia the pendulum has swung heavily in the direction of a focus on the former through 'democratic processes and the concept of "citizenship" [that have been] narrowed and diluted' (p. 23).

Reid and Gill (2010) point particularly to the decade-long approach ushered in by the Howard conservative government in 1996, in which civics education was used 'as an important plank in the government's approach to democratic processes and […] understandings of citizenship' (p. 25). The central defining motif here was the concept of 'individual choice' which was used to introduce the market imperative to schools, along with 'a narrow, competitive and individualistic view of the world' (p. 26). To be clear here, there was never a golden era in Australia of citizenship for the common good, but the new and virulent version has made it even more difficult for progressive elements 'to promote educational outcomes that foster a sense of the common good, reciprocity and respect for difference' (Reid and Gill 2010: 26). What followed was a 'dumbing down' of the curriculum, 'in the name of "rigour" and "standards"', and the 'dismantling' (Reid and Gill 2010: 27) in 2003 of any remaining elements of inclusiveness, through a National Framework of Values (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations 2011). The essence of this 'dumbing down', as Reid and Gill (2010) put it, was that education in Australia was portrayed as being in 'crisis' due, it was argued, to a move over several decades towards progressive innovations – a focus on social justice, various forms of school-based curriculum development, and a programme known as the Disadvantaged Schools Program (see Connell et al. 1991), and, in the move to the political right, these moves had to be arrested and 'dismantled' (Reid and Gill 2010: 27). The mechanism for doing this was the so-called 'return to basics', with a focus on instrumental

forms of literacy and numeracy, and its attendant forms of testing and curriculum narrowing. Schools and school systems that refused to display a 'values poster in the school foyer', have a 'fully functioning flagpole', implement a competitive system of grading students, or comply with a national system of benchmark testing of students – would be penalized by 'losing funds' (Reid and Gill 2010, p. 27). There could be little doubt left as to what was meant by being a 'good citizen'.

As Reid and Gill (2010) go on to indicate, there are three broad 'modalities' through which citizenship and associated matters of social justice, might be regarded as being played out in Australia:

(1) 'the structure of schooling';
(2) 'the culture and processes of schools'; and
(3) 'formal representations of civics and citizenship in the curriculum' (p. 22).

I will, in some measure, unpick the first two of these here. But, first, I need to do a little ground-clearing.

Where Is this Chapter Coming From?

For this to be an ethical piece of writing on the topic, I must declare my interests at the outset. Studying a topic such as education for citizenship is not an innocent or neutral activity – how understandings are presented, the way they are positioned, what is included, and what is excluded; these are all 'political' decisions. 'Coming clean' on these matters, especially in a controversial area such as education for citizenship, is not especially common, and many people claim to be 'non-political' by hiding behind a mask of alleged neutrality – when, of course, there is no such thing, only people who are unprepared to own up to their partisan nature.

The core distinction I am making here is between a 'passive' and an 'active' view of what it means to be a citizen. With the former, the focus is on informing young people as to how matters such as the 'extant' functioning of government, political parties, the judiciary, the legal system and the like operate. The latter is much more about creating the forms of thinking that enable young people to 'problematize' social and political institutions, to ask difficult questions and to act in concert with others to bring about new, different and a more socially just set of arrangements and alternatives. These two approaches are radically and qualitatively different.

Heilman ([2011](#)) captured the distinction I am making when she referred to a focus on 'policy and politics' – which is to say, knowledge about the politics of the 'public sphere', how social and political institutions work, and the 'legitimate process' that enables the creation of 'good lives and a good society' (p. 113). The kind of knowledge imparted to young people is of a kind in which 'Democratic society is presented as real and realized, and […] [as] citizens [they] have to live up to what our democracies have become' (Heilman 2011: 114).

The alternative proffered by Heilman ([2011](#)) draws on the notion of 'citizenship education for the political-personal' (p. 114) – which is to say, 'it undoes the boundaries' (p. 114) between what is seen as static, or hermetically sealing off the public sphere from 'our political-personal imaginations' (p. 114) and where the exercise of these might take us individually and collectively. Heilman ([2011](#)) calls this 'active critical citizenship' (p. 114), in which the focus is on educating young people as future citizens with a commitment to 'change and improve society', rather than to accept it as it is by accommodating to it.

To make her point about the marked differences here, Heilman ([2011](#)) invokes Westheimer and Kahane ([2004](#)), who depict three kinds of citizens: (i) the 'personally responsible citizen' who follows and 'obeys [the] laws', 'contributes to good causes', 'volunteers'; (ii) the 'participatory citizen' who 'joins community or social groups [and] helps organize programs to help others'; and (iii) the 'justice-oriented citizen' who asks questions about how things came to be the way they are, what problems are created as a result, and how to work to 'actively alleviate them' (p. 114). In the domain of citizenship education, Heilman ([2011](#)) concludes that 'We mostly educate students to be "good" but not great, and to be responsible, but not heroic citizens, and to join in or follow rather than to lead' (p. 114). This schema provides a nice way in which to segue into unpicking the Australian case but, first, we need a little more background.

What Has to Be Worked Against: What Is the Problem?

Zyngier ([2012](#)) located the Australian 'problem' – or at least one important fragment of it – very succinctly, when he said:

> Australia has the most competitive education system in the world – parents with a reasonably high level of disposable income can exercise wide choice […] [With the result] […] Australia probably has the largest non-government school sector

in the world […] [with] market share […] [being distributed] 63 % government, 21 % Catholic and 16 % independent. (p. 2)

In other words, Australia is rapidly approaching the point of having almost half of its students in non-government schools – a figure that is way out of kilter with other developed countries that have a negligible private school sector. This is occurring despite evidence to the contrary that primary school children who attend private and Catholic schools in Australia perform no better than those in public (government) schools, when allowances are made for backgrounds (see Nghiem et al. 2015; Cobbold 2014). As Nghiem et al. (2015) note, their research confirms what Elder and Jepsen (2014) found in the USA and Gibbons and Silva (2011) revealed in the UK, that the benefits of 'attending private schools are no different to those from attending public schools' (p. 55). Neither is there any demonstrated evidence that private schooling provides any better likelihood of success at university than attending public schools – indeed, the reverse seems to be the case (see Preston 2014). Something is going on here, and it has to do with how the identity of young people is being constructed in Australia.

But there is another aspect that further perverts and distorts this already grossly distorted arrangement, as Zyngier (2012) points out:

there's something else Australia is doing that is unique. We subsidise a fee-charging, autonomously-run independent school sector with public funds. This is not found anywhere else across the OECD countries. (p. 2)

With the Australian educational playing field so grotesquely tilted in favour of the 'best' education being available only to those with the capacity to buy it, the government school system is at very pronounced risk of becoming a residualized 'ghetto' for those unable to exercise their preferences in a marketized system. The cruelty in all of this, as Connell (1993) put it, is that in Australia, the best advice to 'a poor child keen to get ahead, is to choose richer parents' (p. 22). As if this situation were not bad enough, it is further compounded by an officially promulgated policy regime that, since the mid-1970s, has been committed to making government schools exist in a market situation that will supposedly make them more efficient and improve their performance to match that of private schools.

The reason for unpacking this background to the Australian context is that the kind of young people being produced by schools is heavily predicated on and influenced by the wider ideology that is working on schools. Schools in

Australia are being given the unequivocal message that what is prized the most in all of their dealings is that they act like and emulate businesses.

If we take a broad view of the way Australian public education is being conceived, then students are considered to be 'customers', parents and employers are 'clients', and schools are the 'providers' in a context where the allocation and distribution of resources are dictated by 'market forces'. What is being brought into existence is a set of constructions about what is valued and deemed to be important. It follows that there is a high level of measurement and calibration in which schooling is viewed very much in meritocratic terms, where rewards are seen to be commensurate with and flow as a result of individual efforts. The aggregate or cumulative outcomes of schooling, reside in the results of national testing – referred to in Australia as the National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) – for all students annually at years 3, 5, 7 and 9, and these are the proximal indicators of a school's success used to construct league tables, displayed on a national website (Myschool) which parents use to make comparisons between schools when choosing where to send their children.

Reputations are fiercely promoted and defended in order to secure 'market share' in terms of enrolled students because this is not only an indication of being educationally successful in out-competing rival schools, it is also the basis on which government funds are allocated. Schools work assiduously to tout their business, with marketing strategies that amount to image and impression management designed to portray themselves in the best possible light. The casualties of this approach are the students whose achievements – even their persona – are seen as not enhancing the school's reputation but, rather, as damaging it. In Bauman's (2011) terms, they are made 'collateral damage' and are eased out, dropped out, or otherwise encouraged to leave school or move on to another one.

This is all part of a much more general problem in Australia, where the population has been bludgeoned by politicians, of whatever political persuasion, into believing that across a whole range of domains, 'private' is superior to 'public' – even where there is no evidence supporting that, or the available evidence even points to the contrary. Fear has long been the preferred weapon for achieving this herd mentality (see Lawrence 2006). What this ideological manoeuvring has produced is an unquestioning imperative in the minds of the populace that people have to position themselves as supposedly rational selves – as an 'entrepreneur-of-the-self' (Rose 2000: 142), able to search out and obtain 'the best deal' – in other words, act like a 'consumer' rather than a 'citizen'. Not everyone subscribes to the pervasiveness of neoliberalism

in Australia and its unsettling effects, as I do (see for example, Weller and O'Neill 2014), but this is not the place to take that on.

Rather, the point I want to make here is that, when it comes to education, Australia has bought into the neoliberal notion of privatization, individualization, competition, choice, devolution of responsibility, the user-pays ideology, and self-management like no other country (for alternative responses, see Scott 2014). As Hattam and Smyth (2015) have argued, we need to be careful not to 'reify neoliberalism' (p. 271) but, nevertheless, there is still a certain set of 'logics' (p. 271) operating to shape educational policy, and these need to be interrogated in terms of the kind of subjectivities they are producing in Australian schools. Here. I want to step out, somewhat, by asking what this neoliberal logic means for education for citizenship and social justice.

Is Australia a Leader or Follower of Ideas that Subordinate Notions of Active Citizenship?

In her cross-national comparisons of the education 'culture wars', Lather (2010) concludes that Australia has been pursuing the 'neoliberal weapon' as a market regulatory strategy, 'for quite some time now' (p. 40) and with a well-developed 'neoliberal toolkit' (p. 39). Long-time observer and sociological analyst of Australian education, Raewyn Connell (2013) has described the process and the presence of the market ideology in Australian education as 'the neoliberal cascade' (p. 99). Despite having its beginnings in Australia in the de-regulation of manufacturing in the 1970s, coming to its full-blown form in the 1980s in Australia, Connell (2013) says we have yet to 'fully assimilate […] the profound consequences of the neoliberal turn for the basic project of education' (p. 99), in a context where there had been a long history of 'public agencies […] [operating] on a principle of citizen rights, or through personal relationships in communities and families, […] now [being] met by companies selling services in a market' (p. 100):

> Many public assets have been privatized […] [and the] neoliberals have had astonishing success in creating markets for things whose commodification was once almost unimaginable: drinking water, body parts and social welfare among them. (p. 100)

The neoliberal cascade swept through education, bringing in its wake the 'sway of market logic' (Connell 2013: 102):

Increasingly, education has been defined as an industry, and educational institutions have been forced to conduct themselves more and more like profit-seeking firms. […] [P]olicy changes all move in the same direction – increasing the grip of the market logic on schools, universities and technical education. (p. 102)

The classic exemplar here is the Victorian Kennett government which, in the early 1990s, led the world (Smyth 1993) with its *Schools of the Future* programme, in which the effect was 'to define each school as a firm competing with all others for students, marks and money, in markets where parents as consumers are expected to exercise "choice" between different firms/schools' (Connell 2013: 103).

What gets expunged and damaged, Connell (2013) says, in the rush to narrow education to a form of 'human capital' to satisfy the insatiable appetite of profit-makers, are the crucial relational notions of 'trust' (p. 105), 'respect' (p. 104) 'nurture', 'care' (p. 104), and 'reciprocity' (p. 104) – all fundamental aspects of the public as distinct from the private good. What gets lost is any sense that education might be a 'normative' process of 'citizenship' where 'trust is sustained' (Connell 2013: 105). Connell's very sobering point is that education, by its very nature, involves 'the development of capacity for practice' where there is a 'strong requirement [placed] on educational relationships', or 'encounters' (Connell 2013: 105) which are diverse rather than diminutive in nature:

Educational encounter is always multiple, in terms of the numbers and diversity of people involved and the number of structures shaping educational relationships: not only class structures, but also gender structures, ethnic and race relations, connections with region and land, generational relations and more. (p. 105)

Against this, Connell (2013) says, that 'to create a market you have to restrict service […] [which is to say] to *ration* education' (p. 105). What this means is 'commodify[ing] access' through being required to pay, or some proxy of the market like competitive testing, so that there are 'winners' and 'losers' (p. 105). The winners are clearly those who have the resources with which to play the market, and the losers are the ones who are what Bauman (2007) referred to as 'flawed consumers' (p. 25).

Under these conditions, in which the 'neoliberal juggernaut continues to reshape education in starkly diverse settings', in Australia it is 'fast becoming the only story in town' (Doherty 2014: 1). Doherty (2014) argues that Australia has embraced the ideas of 'market mechanisms of individualised

choice' (p. 1) so enthusiastically and unproblematically that the 'neoliberal logics and management techniques have become naturalised as common sense […] [and have shrunken the] policy imaginary' (p. 1). The effect is that there is little 'discursive space to imagine how things might and should be otherwise' (Doherty 2014: 1). The distortions reach deep and wide:

> Consumer choice is then supported and encouraged by systemic investments in regimes to measure and report on quality and productivity, so teachers, schools, colleges, universities and national systems can be rendered comparable and accountable. (Doherty 2014: 1)

The ultimate perversity in all of this is that the much touted notions of 'choice' become forms of coercion with 'heavy-handed government interventions [being used] to encourage free market behaviours [that] reconfigure […] constituent subjectivities and relationships' (Doherty 2014: 1). As Doherty (2014) describes it, the endpoint of the juggernaut is that:

> The state can abrogate responsibility to ensure or deliver quality, but instead, passes to the citizen/consumer a responsibility to demand and reward it. (p. 1)

The Relationship Between Citizenship and Social Justice in Australia

Blum and Ullman (2012) argue that the neoliberal project, as it is conceived, is impacting the practices of education in a range of ways. According to them, while 'people worldwide are being forced to negotiate their identities for survival' (Blum and Ullman 2012: 367), in the case of education, 'academic capitalism' is entering 'classrooms at all levels, redefining everything from the interaction between teachers and students, to the existence of academic disciplines' (p. 367).

What is being constructed in the Australian context of the neoliberal school is a singular learning identity that conveys a particular message to students through the way schools are being organized. The message is unambiguous: 'people succeed both as individuals and as groups, through the status ascribed to them through their race, gender or class', with the result that success is defined in terms of 'a combination of achievement and ascription, [marking] success [as being] about both "who you know and where you are from" as well as "pulling yourself up by the bootstraps"' (Blum and Ullman 2012, p. 368). While

not talking about an Australian context, Bialostok and Kamberelis's (2012) study of a fourth grade classroom in Colorado, USA, nicely illustrates how children are provided 'with opportunities to make choices, to become conscious of their decisions, and to reflect upon their actions and decisions' (p. 432). These 'empowerment' discourses were having the effect, in this instance, of 'steer[ing] students towards subjectivities of active, self-managing and enterprising individuals who were willing to take personal responsibility and risks within a lifestyle of choice' (p. 432) – precisely the kind of skills required of the global citizen living in the rapidly changing, restructuring world economy.

Greatest value is therefore being attached to the capacity of students to do economic work, and this press also operates through the increasing managerialization of teachers' work, and the 'strengthening of control through data and information systems [that] makes the individual [teacher] accountable and responsible' (Robinson 2015: 468). This intensified control from the centre is occurring despite the rhetoric of devolution, and due to an overall loss of ability by teachers to exercise professional judgement.

What is being promulgated through the neoliberal view of young people is what Smith et al. (2005) call 'a waged-employment view of citizenship' (p. 428) – which is a view of 'citizenship narrowly [conceived] in terms of economic independence gained through waged employment' (p. 428). Missing here, is any wider social view of 'active citizenship' (Smith et al. 2005: 426) embedded in a broad and inclusive view of young people, what they 'care' about, and have 'feelings' for, and, as a consequence, how they see their 'role and position in society' (p. 430). As Smith et al. (2005) indicate, this view of citizenship is not one 'suddenly achieved in an immutable form at a certain age' (p. 440); rather, it is 'continuously shaped in response to practice and experience' (p. 440) – 'a contingent, lifelong project, seamless throughout the life-course' (p. 441). This approach of regarding young people as 'real' citizens, is not only 'multi-dimensional, fluid and dynamic' (Smith et al.: 441), but it is also constitutive of 'constructive social participation' (p. 441).

Need this Be So? The Australian Case of 'Policy Deafness' and the Need for the *Socially Just School*

Clearly, the Australian case is one in which the citizen is being quintessentially constructed in educational terms, as a 'consumer'. The effect is that educational inequality that was already deeply etched into the Australian psyche

and had been taken for granted inter-generationally has become even more sharply defined and exacerbated. It is a case that is desperately calling out for an alternative, and that requires the creation of a different kind of space.

Apposite to the Australian case, Lawy and Biesta (2006) point to the kind of distortion that flows from a:

> focus upon individual agency and [a] failure to consider the structural constraints of the market and the possibility that the state may work in the interest of one class or group of elites rather than function as a neutral referee […]. (p. 36)

As they go on to say:

> Rather than addressing fundamental questions about the contemporary relevance of a concept […] a key concern of politicians and educational policymakers…in the last two decades, has been to fabricate policies that best inclines young people towards a set of values and attitudes that are commensurate with a view of citizenship forged in a different era. (p. 36)

While there has been some 'rhetorical [turning away] from the neo-liberal idea of the consumer citizen…' to… "third way" approach[es] with a social and communitarian attitude' (p. 36) – for example, et etc, in the Australian case of the Victorian Neighbourhood Renewal programme (Office of Housing 2002; Harrison 2015) –as Lawy and Biesta (2006) note, and as it manifestly applies to the Australian context, the discourse of the 'dominant theme' has remained very much intact (p. 36).

The official policy discourse in the Australian context, as we saw earlier from the work of Reid and Gill (2010), has been very much along the lines of what Lawy and Biesta (2006) refer to as 'citizenship-as-achievement' – a view in which 'young people should act and behave in a particular way in order to achieve their citizenship status' (p. 37). The overt emphasis in this 'achievement' view, is on 'duties of citizenship' rather than 'rights', which 'represents only a narrow interpretation of the idea of citizenship' (Lawy and Biesta 2006: 37).

A more 'robust' view, according to Lawy and Biesta (2006) is 'citizenship-as-practice', which is a more 'inclusive and relational concept' that shifts 'the emphasis in the discourse away from questions of efficiency and "good" practice, towards […] a […] set of relational questions and concerns', that make it more 'democratic, and potentially empowering in its outcomes' (p. 37).

What is being overturned here is the benign view that 'as long as citizens supported the nation state in times of crisis, showed respect for the law, and exercised their democratic right to vote in elections' (Lawy and Biesta 2006:

38), then that is where citizenship ends. But the challenge to this 1950s view of citizenship in Australia, reinvigorated with the election of the Howard Liberal Conservative coalition government in 1996, as in Thatcher's Britain, came from the unexpected quarter of the New Right through its insistence that citizens 'should take responsibility for their own actions' (Lawy and Biesta 2006: 38), and not be so reliant on the state. In its most recent form, this has been given expression in the contemporary Australian context of fiscal austerity and the alleged need for budgetary repair, in the call by the then federal treasurer for Australians to become a nation of 'lifters not leaners' (Hockey 2014).

A quite different view of 'active' citizenship that myself and colleagues have been researching and publishing about in the Australian context has coalesced around the concept of the *socially just school* (Smyth et al. 2014), which had its genesis in our work in the 1990s and that has progressed since then (see Smyth 1994, 2004, 2012, 2013). The hallmark 'active' (and 'activist') philosophical dispositions of the socially just school are:

- a primary commitment to educationally engage young people – which is to say, connect to their lives, classes and racial backgrounds, their familial and neighbourhood location, and where young people themselves want to head aspirationally with their education;
- to regard all young people as being morally entitled to an educationally rewarding and satisfying experience of school – not only those whose backgrounds happen to fit with the values of schools;
- to treat young people and the backgrounds they come from as being 'at promise' and as having strengths of one kind or another, rather than being 'at risk', 'deficits' or 'bundles of pathologies' that have to be remedied or 'fixed';
- actively listening to young people, their lives, aspirations, cultures and communities, and constructing learning experiences that are embedded in and based around young lives (Smyth et al. 2014: 3).

While I concur with Lawy and Biesta (2006) that active citizenship 'cannot be simply learned *in* school or any other institution' (p. 43 my emphasis), I would argue that active citizenship that promotes the idea of social justice can be learned *through* the way schools choose to structure the educational lives of young people, the way they treat them as citizens, the respect they accord to their familial, cultural, racial, class, sexualized and gendered backgrounds, and the kind of opportunity structures schools construct for young people. In other words, citizenship resides in 'the conditions of young people's lives,
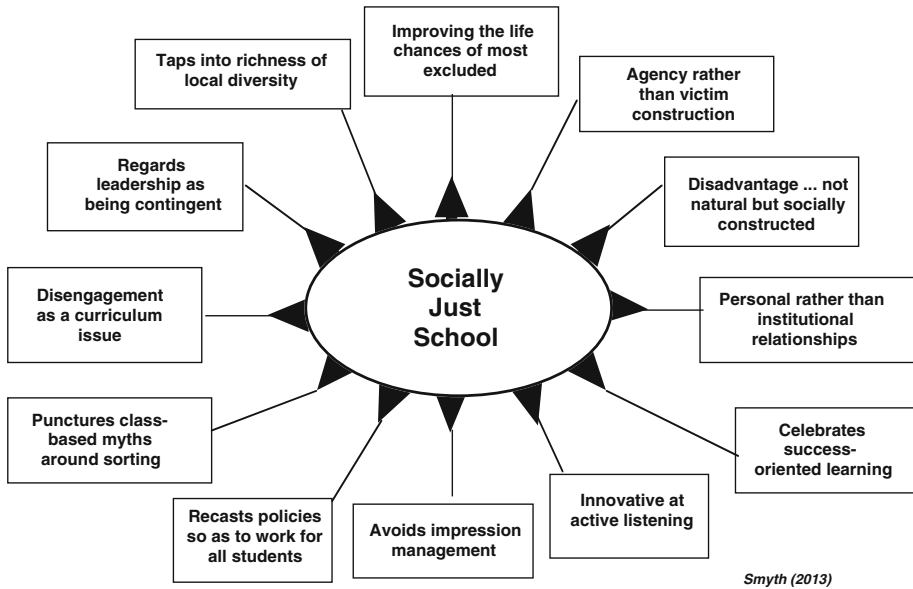
Fig. 15.1   Source Smyth et al. (2014, p. 10)

and […] the processes through which they learn the value(s) of democratic citizenship' (Lawy and Biesta 2006, p. 44).

I want to provide something more about these 'conditions', as they are envisaged in the *socially just school*. For reasons of brevity here, I can best summarize the key features of the *socially just school* diagrammatically in terms of the constellation of twelve ideas that constitute its framework, and comment very briefly on each (Fig. 15.1).

Improving the Life Chances of the Most Excluded This is, in many ways, the most central feature; it pushes back into the meritocratic neoliberal notion that success is largely a product of individual application and effort. The school, instead, in this case, regards it as a crucial imperative of its mission, to enlarge the map of possibilities so that the young people who present with the greatest barriers to success, are able to surmount them.

Agency Rather than Victim Construction Young people in this kind of school are regarded as bringing strengths and positive attributes with them to school, and it is the responsibility and the function of the school to recognize those strengths and use them as starting points from which to enlarge and deepen educational experiences. In other words, past his-

tories of alleged deficiencies and deficits are not used to stigmatize or stereotype young people as 'failures' or 'uneducable' – that is considered to be far too individualist, as well as being a defeatist position for the school.

Disadvantage…Is Not Natural but is Socially Constructed   The position adopted in this condition argues that the words 'put at' need to precede any use of the word 'disadvantage' – that is, 'put at a disadvantage'. This emphasis shifts the attribution of blame from individuals as being totally responsible for their predicament to a focus, instead, on the social forces that make it possible for some people to succeed, while others do not have access to the necessary resources for learning to occur. Again, the challenge here is for the school, and the system of which it is a part, to provide the resources necessary for *all* students to learn.

Personal Rather than Institutional Relationships   When schools relate to students in ways that treat them as belonging to certain categories or groups, rather than for who they are as unique human beings, then the point of connection to learning is lost. The *socially just school* knows its students, their families, backgrounds, neighbourhoods and communities, and it uses this knowledge to build enduring educative relationships.

Celebrates Success-Oriented Learning   Failure at school is a taught and learned process. The *socially just school* turns this notion on its head by starting from the position that all children are capable of learning, and that what is needed are the skills to be able to recognize and celebrate success, rather than punish the absence of success.

Innovative at Active Listening   The *socially just school* 'listens', in the sense of being attentive to the lives of all of the members of the school and its community, and conveys this concern in its actions and the way it involves people in constructing their futures.

Avoids Impression Management   The *socially just school* is 'authentic' in the view it presents of itself. It does not have to engage in portraying elaborate synthetic or artificial views of who it is in order to capture 'market share'. Because it has a mature view of what it exists for, it distances itself from image making for purposes of self-aggrandizement or a short-term grab for resources.

Recasts Policies So as to Work for All Students The *socially just school* is not 'compliant' in the sense of acting as if its survival depends upon conforming to somebody else's view of what they ought to be or how they should act. Instead, it asks the question of externally initiated and generated policies: 'how will this benefit *our* students?' To that extent, it is not cowed by systems imperatives and external interests but, rather, courageously adapts them to fit the philosophy they hold of the school.

Punctures Class-Based Myths Around Sorting Schools have long been institutions that sort and sift students in terms of life chances. This is mostly done under the individualist mask of terms such as 'effort', 'motivation' and 'application', but the result invariably reflects the advantaging that students bring with them to school. The *socially just school* disavows or punctures the myth that schools need to maintain boundaries such as 'academic' and 'vocational', which in reality are deeply held codes based around social class, and, instead, promulgates the view that all students be provided with the opportunities to succeed at the highest level.

Disengagement as a Curriculum Issue The conventional view is that when students disengage or misbehave in school, then behaviour management policies need to be invoked to punish them so as to make them conform. The *socially just school* regards student disengagement as being a response to an irrelevant curriculum or uninspiring pedagogy – and it is these that have to be 'fixed', rather than recalcitrant students.

Regards Leadership as Being Contingent The notion that leadership is static and hierarchical, and inheres in high office, is anathema to the *socially just school*. Rather, this school believes that leadership is highly dependent on the particular circumstances and who within the school has the skill set necessary to provide the required vision and direction. Thus envisaged, leadership can be exercised by teachers, parents, students, members of the community and, sometimes, even by principals – it can literally come from anywhere!

Taps into Richness of Local Diversity In some ways this condition brings us full circle, by reiterating that the *socially just school* regards its primary purpose as seeking out diversity and understanding differences, rather than imposing uniformity or standardization. It is this capacity to see richness as an asset that gives the *socially just school* its defining attribute of being inclusive. Quintessentially, as I have argued, the archetype of the *socially just school* is but one exemplar concerned with issues of equity and fairness in the distribution

of resources, including access to democratic decision-making processes, and an understanding that what the school already possesses is a crucial part of being socially just.

Closing Remarks

In this chapter, I have canvassed the fiction and the reality that is being/ has been promulgated around the notion of education *about* citizenship in Australia. What I have highlighted is the tightly circumscribed official view that focuses on systems of government, how laws are made and enacted, and the rights and responsibilities that ensue. This is what we might term a 'thin' view – it is highly instrumental and technical, and purports to be apolitical. Against this 'passive' view of citizenship, I then described a much more 'active', even activist, view which I envisaged as being opposed to the neo-liberal consumerist school being constructed in Australia around policy regimes that are making the competitive marketplace the dominant educational motif. I argued that while this 'thicker' version of citizenship *for* social justice struggles to gain legitimacy and be heard in Australia against the dominant view, it does exist in the archetype of the *socially just school*. I sketched out in some detail the attributes of how such a disposition towards citizenship *for* social justice might be envisaged, and it has existed at various historical moments to varying degrees in some actual Australian schools. The more salient point is that, like all democratic and socially critical educational alternatives, this version is never complete or final, but is always in the process of 'becoming'.

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16

Citizenship Education and Social Participation in an Unequal Society: The Case of Brazil

Ulisses F. Araujo

Introduction

Learning to be a citizen is, among other things, learning to act with respect, solidarity, responsibility, justice and non-violence; learning to use dialogue in many different situations; and committing to what happens in the collective life of the community and the country (Araujo 2015). Such skills require students to assume ethical principles that are exercised in a formative process where two factors are essential:

- that the principles are expressed in real situations, in which students can have experiences and live with their practice;
- that there is a development of the individual's capacity for autonomy – that is, the capacity of students to analyze and choose values for themselves, consciously and freely.

Students and teachers play an active role in this process. The construction of democratic values must come from meaningful questions from the ethical point of view and provide conditions for students to develop their capacity for dialogue, become aware of their feelings and emotions – and those of others, and develop the autonomous capacity to make decisions in conflicting situ-

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ations from an ethical/moral point of view (Puig 2000; Sastre and Moreno 2002; Araujo et al. 2007).

In this perspective, we understand that such characteristics are essential for the construction of moral personalities who possess ethical virtues and contribute actively in the struggles for social justice, using human rights as a reference.

In this chapter, we will open a discussion of these principles and how we have worked since 1992 on their implementation in the complex, multicultural and unequal Brazilian society, in the most diverse conditions, while having education for citizenship and social participation as a support axis by means of school forums.

The Brazilian Social Justice Context: An Overview

Brazil is a republic federation, ranking fifth in land area and fifth among the world's most populated countries. It has approximately 204 million inhabitants, the majority – 86 % – in urban areas (Brazil 2015), and is a young democracy having had 25 years of free elections after the last military dictatorship (1964–1986).

Brazilian cultural diversity has a considerable impact in our society. The country's culture is very rich and complex, with characteristics of miscegenation and diversity, due to being a huge melting pot of races with its roots, including native Amerindians, descendants of African slaves and the offspring of European and Asian immigrants. In terms of religion, around 75 % of Brazilians declare themselves Roman Catholic and, of the other 25 %, some declare either that they have no religious affiliation (7 %), or that they are affiliated to Protestant denominations or Afro-Brazilian and Asiatic religions.

Brazil has been improving its economic and social indicators (Brazil's GDP is the seventh in the 2014 World Bank ranking), and experienced a decade of economic and social progress from 2003–2013 in which over 26 million people were lifted out of poverty and inequality was reduced significantly (World Bank 2015). The Gini Coefficient, which measures the inequality of the distribution of wealth (UNDP 2008), had fallen 6 % in 2013. But, Brazil still has high rates of poverty and inequality. According to the World Bank, in 2007 the richest 10 % of the population accounted for 43.2 % of Brazil's income. According to the United Nations Development Programme, the Human Development Index (HDI) for Brazil in 2013 was 0.744, which gives the country a rank of 79th out of 187 countries; by contrast, it ranks 9th out of 126 among the most unequal nations, in accordance with the Gini

Index. For this UN index, the closer to 100 a country is the more unequal it is. Brazil's Index is 52.7 while that of Denmark is 27, Uganda 45, Mexico 48 and Uruguay 41.

As we have pointed out previously (Araujo and Arantes 2009), violence, corruption and social exclusion are major concerns for Brazilian society. Brazil has in place all the national action plans and social educational policies suggested by the World Health Organization to prevent violence. These include provisions such as incentives for high-risk youth to complete schooling, housing polices to de-concentrate poverty, plans to prevent youth violence, laws to regulate civilian access to firearms, and so on. But, in spite of all these policies, a study by the Brazilian Ministry of Justice on violent deaths (homicides, suicides and traffic accidents) found a rate of 49.1 per 100,000 inhabitants, which ranks Brazil as the 8th most violent country in the world. As regards violent deaths among young people (15–24 years old), the country comes 4th, with 79.6 per 100,000 inhabitants (Brazil 2008: 110), preceded by three other Latin-American countries: El Salvador, Colombia and Venezuela.

The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) developed by the organization Transparency International, ranks Brazil in 69th place out of 175 countries in its 2014 report (Transparency International 2014: 4). Recent corruption scandals involving the Brazilian Petroleum State Company (PETROBRAS) – in which investigations suggest that something around US$10 billion have been diverted from PETROBRAS to bribes since 2004 – are changing the whole country's perception about how to face what is being called 'corruption epidemics' and this situation is leading to improve the social control of the State.

In an atlas of social exclusion, Brazilian economists Pochman and Amorim (2003) – using the UN's HDI and adding data on violence, inequality, youth schooling and employment in Brazil – found that 21 % of the Brazilian population live in a situation of social exclusion and only 200 cities (out of over 5000) have a good quality of life.

In terms of education, according to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2014), Brazil's public education expenditure rose from 3.5 % of GDP in 2000 to 6.1 % in 2011, the sharpest rise of all OECD and G20 partner countries with available data for that period. Public expenditure on education represented 6.1 % of GDP, which is again above the OECD average (5.6 %), as well as above that of other Latin American countries such as Chile (4.5 %), Mexico (5.2 %), Colombia (4.5 %) and, even, the UK (5.9). Again, due to complex reasons, the increase in expenditure has not resulted in a substantial improvement in terms of education quality. The 2013 National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) (Brazil 2013) from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) shows

that the school enrolment of the population aged 5–14 years reached 98 %. But little more than half of Brazilian youth continues in high school up to the age of 19, and 71 % continue in middle school education up to the age of 16. In high school, only 295 % of the students are taking the standard school year courses for their age. Another aspect of Brazilian reality is that 8.5 % of the country's population over the age of 15 is illiterate.

These socio-economic categories represent real challenges for Brazilian society and the government and civil society are impelled to establish a socio-political agenda to deal with the situation. Themes such as ethics, human rights, social inclusion, and peaceful and democratic co-existence – understood as the reverse side of the social problems mentioned – have been placed at the centre of social and educational concerns. Since the mid-2000s, such themes have had a growing presence in national debates, inspiring initiatives of moral and citizenship education, supported by government policies and implemented in public and private schools, aimed at the construction of a society based on democracy, justice and social solidarity. Some examples of public policies that address this issue are the inclusion of ethics as a cross-curricular theme in the National Curriculum Parameters approved by the Brazilian Congress in 1996; the launching of the Ethics and Citizenship Program by the Ministry of Education in 2004; and the creation of the National Plan for Human Rights Education in 2007, to foster human rights principles from kindergarten through to higher education.

The reality described above, together with considerably more data that we were not able to bring to this chapter, shows that Brazil is improving in terms of social and economic development, but still has a complex and long way to go to achieve social justice. Education, at all levels, has an important role in the construction of social equity; this is a consensus in our country.

Democracy and Citizenship Education to Develop Social Justice

The starting point for discussing the role of education in the struggle for social justice requires understanding the relationships between the role of the school in contemporary society and the construction of citizenship.

In its traditional sense, citizenship expresses a set of rights and duties that allows citizens the right to participate in political and public life, to be able to vote and be elected, actively to participate in making laws and exercising public functions. However, citizenship, in the sense that we currently understand it, presupposes more than just the fulfilment of political and social needs to

ensure basic material resources to provide a decent life for people. To configure and enable real participation in the political and public life of society, it is necessary for every human being to develop the physical, psychological, cognitive, ideological and cultural conditions indispensable for achieving a dignified and healthy life.

On those grounds, we can understand that education for citizenship, as an essential element to democracy, presupposes the training and instruction of people, aimed at their achieving the capacity for motivated and competent participation in the political and public life of society. At the same time, we understand that this training should aim at the development of skills for dealing with diversity and the conflict of ideas, with the influences of culture, and with the feelings and emotions present in the relationship of the subject with themselves and the world around them. Therefore, such an educational model understands that the school can act in the sense of promoting the ethical, political and psychological training of its members.

Therefore, it is argued that the school, as a public institution created by societies for educating future generations, should also be concerned with the construction of citizenship, as we currently understand it. If current citizenship assumptions seek to ensure a decent life and participation in the political and public life for all human beings, and not just a small proportion of the population, schooling must be democratic, inclusive and of high quality, and it must promote – in theory and in practice – the minimum conditions for these objectives to be achieved in society. Education for citizenship and for life in a democratic society requires work aimed at the construction of moral personalities; the construction of autonomous citizens, who consciously and virtuously, seek happiness and personal and collective good (Puig 2000; Araujo et al. 2007). This means acting intentionally to contribute to future generations so that each individual may grow by incorporating – in the central core of his personality and in the centre of his identity – autonomous rationality based on equality, equity, justice, self-respect and respect for nature (in its global sense) and all other human beings.

However, in general, children and teenagers go to school to learn sciences, language, mathematics, history, physics, geography, arts – and only that. Although the goal of an ethical and moral training is written as a mission of most schools, we do not see concrete actions in most current school practices (at least, in Brazil) and in curricula consistent with these principles.

Educational proposals consistent with these principles must create educational environments where students can have daily contact with ethical values and instruments that facilitate inter-personal relations guided by values linked to democracy, citizenship and human rights. In this way, we

depart from a model of education in values based solely on religious, moral or ethical education classes, and we understand that the construction of moral values occurs every moment, inside and outside the school. If the school and society provide constant and significant opportunities to live with ethical issues, we will have a greater likelihood that such values will be constructed by individuals.

This model of creating a school ethical environment, or climate, assumes the active role of the student, who participates in the classes in an intense and reflective manner. It presupposes students who build their intelligence, identity and values through the dialogue established with peers, teachers, family and culture, in the everyday reality of the world in which they live. Therefore, in this model, students are authors of the knowledge and protagonists of their own lives, and not mere reproducers of what society decides they should learn. Essentially, this is an educational proposal that promotes intellectual adventure and, accordingly, the constructivist conception is the most appropriate to achieve these objectives.

Constructivism as an adventure of knowledge presupposes giving voice to students, promotes dialogue, incites their curiosity, leads them to question everyday life and scientific knowledge and, above all, provides them with the conditions to find the answers to their own questions, both from the individual and the collective point of view (Araujo et al. 2007). Specifically, constructivism – by recognizing the active and authorial role of students in the construction and constitution of their identities, knowledge and values – places students at the centre of the educational process.

One way of working in schools to achieve the goals discussed here is through educational proposals based on the resolution of conflicts and everyday problems, with school learning and social participation as a central objective (Puig 2000; Sastre and Moreno 2002; Araujo et al. 2007). Educational and social democracy, protagonism and social participation, moral and ethical values, the understanding of how conflict resolution strategies can contribute to the ethical and mental training of people, and the transformation of interpersonal relationships in schools are the raw material of school forums and school democracy.

So, the perspective adopted in this chapter aims to empower the school community to fight for social justice as a way to foster an active citizenship. Bringing human rights, equity and themes related to injustice as a core subject of the school curriculum and cross-curricular projects – through the mobilization of students, staff, families and school partners in different types of school forums – is a way to develop moral personalities that will help to change societal values and contribute to the development of a more just society. This

is the focus of the procedures that will be described in this chapter to demonstrate how different types of school forum can contribute to school learning and social participation, with the aim of constructing social justice and active citizenship.

School Forums and Their Implications for Education and Citizenship

Most progressive education movements worldwide adopt, in one way or another, democratic student participation processes for making school decisions at different levels. My reference for works in Brazil from this perspective, since 1996, has been the Spanish author Josep Puig and the Grup de Ricerca de Educació Moral (GREM) research group at the University of Barcelona, which has extensive experience in these types of educational activities in schools in Catalonia, with an approach based on real situations in the everyday lives of students.

What are school forums? According to Puig (2000), school forums are the institutional moment of speech and dialogue; the moment when the collective comes together to reflect, become aware of itself and transform all that its members consider appropriate. It is an organized moment for students and teachers to talk about the issues they deem relevant to the improvement of school work and life.

In addition to being a space for the constant preparation and re-working of the rules governing school co-existence, forums provide time for dialogue, negotiation and the implementation of solutions to everyday conflicts. In this way, they contribute to building psycho-moral capabilities that are essential to the process of constructing values and ethical attitudes through learning social participation.

The model for the forums is that of participatory democracy, which intends to bring to the collective space reflection on everyday facts, encouraging the protagonism of people and the co-participation of the group in the search for solutions to the topics addressed, respecting and normalizing the differences inherent to the values, beliefs and desires of all of the members who participate in them. Thus, the goal is not always to achieve consensus and agreement but, rather, to explain the differences, defend often opposing positions and ideas and, nevertheless, enable people to live together in the same collective space.

Among other things, this way of working out conflicts is intended to recognize and articulate the principles of equality and fairness in inter-personal

relations in the spaces of human co-existence, which brings us to the construction of democracy and justice.

Introducing the work with forums in a school is a complex process which requires political and personal will of considerable scale, because of the changes it causes in all ambits of daily school life, particularly with regard to the multiple instances of power relations established in educational institutions. Therefore, those involved in this process should be aware of its possible meanings and consequences, attentive to the movements that occur in the context of inter-personal relationships, and firm in their principles and goals.

In this sense, a sound base of theoretical knowledge about the assumptions of school forums, conflict resolution and knowledge of methodological aspects that help in building fair and democratic practices can help those comprising the school community to be involved in this experience. This is important because there is no single way to operationalize school forums. Conversely, since the 1920's, many experiences have been developed all over the world, which means that this proposal is not a novelty that engenders expectations of revolutionizing educational paths.

For those interested in learning about different ways of working forums in schools, it is worth reading the works of A.S. Neil about the Summerhill School, which was created by Neil in England during the 1920s and is still functioning to this day. It is also worth reading the books of Célestin Freinet and knowing about the experience of numerous Freinetian schools around the world, or the reports on the Escola da Ponte in Portugal and the principles of democratic education defended by the Brazilian Paulo Freire.

What we have shown is that the work with forums fits into the perspective of life of those who struggle to build more just, democratic and happy societies; who therefore run counter to powerful social, personal, ideological and cultural interests, which are defended by authoritarian systems of power in social and inter-personal relationships. Thus, the 'novelty' of what we will present in this chapter is more in the way we saw the construction of a practice of forums that was consistent with the reality of the Brazilian educational system than the principles it assumes.

Understanding the daily needs of the democratization of school relations – and the role of forums in educational work –the forums were organised into four distinct levels, referred to in the plural as 'school forums': class forums, forum of the school, teacher forums and school forums of ethics and citizenship.

For the latter, Brazilian schools have considerable experience in using this pedagogical and communitarian tool to promote active morality. It was a central element of the Ethics and Citizenship Program, which was a moral education programme developed by the Brazilian government to promote

education in ethics and citizenship in Brazilian elementary, middle and high schools. The Program was implemented by the Ministry of Education in over 2000 schools throughout the country between 2003 and 2009 (Brazil 2004, 2007; Araújo and Arantes 2009). As a special consultant of the Ministry of Education for this programme, and being responsible for creating textbooks and the teacher's training to set up the Program, the author of this chapter has closely followed several schools in the implementation of the School Forum of Ethics and Citizenship – many of these schools being in vulnerable communities – and thus can attest to its potential for creating moral awareness in youth (Araujo 2012, 2015; Araújo and Arantes 2009).

Next, we will briefly examine the principles of the different types of forums.

Class Forums

Class forums deal with topics involving the specific space of each classroom. They involve a teacher and all of the students of a class. Their goal is to rule and regulate co-existence and inter-personal relationships within each class; with weekly meetings lasting one hour, they act as a space for dialogue in resolving everyday conflicts.

Depending on the school grade of the class forum, there are nuances that must be considered. In the early years of elementary school, in which there is generally the figure of the multi-purpose teacher, the teacher assumes the role of coordinator and sets the time at which the forums should occur during the week.

In the second phase of elementary school and in high school, the process is slightly more complicated because the timetable is multi-faceted, with the presence of specialist teachers of various disciplines. The first thing to determine is when and where the meetings will occur; for example, that every Wednesday at 8 a.m. there will be forums in class X. In the experiences developed in Brazil so far, two models arise for the organization of these forums:

(a) A class teacher assumes the role of coordinator, receiving the specific remuneration for that hour of class, and works as a link between the class and the other teachers; and
(b) In schools that have some type of educational counselling service, the counsellor assumes the role of coordinator of the forums. In these schools, this work enables redirecting the function of educational counselling, which is no longer the space in which to solve discipline problems and now has a more educational role in the school.

In all cases, forums can count on the occasional presence of other professionals of the school, who, by including a theme or having a topic of interest quoted on the agenda, can participate in it.

Forum of the School

The responsibility of the forum of the school is to rule and regulate interpersonal relationships and co-existence in the context of collective spaces. With the participation of representatives of all segments of the school community, this forum intends to discuss issues relating to schedules (arrival, departure and recess), physical space (cleaning, organization), nutrition, and inter-personal relationships. Its agenda must include those matters that go beyond the scope of each specific class.

Representatives of the several segments (e.g. two students from each class, four teachers and four employees) are chosen following a rotating system so that, over time, all members will be able participate in the collective decision-making process during an academic year. The forum of the school should be held monthly and should be coordinated by a member of the school administration.

Because it is not a good idea to have forums with a very high number of participants, and because of the schedule commitments of professionals working in schools, my suggestion is that the forum of the school should be conducted for each shift (morning, afternoon and evening).

Teacher Forums

The responsibility of the teacher forums is to rule and regulate topics related to co-existence between teachers, and between them and the administration, with the political-pedagogical intentions of the institution and matters involving the functional and administrative life of the school. These forums involve the entire teaching staff, the school administration and, where possible, a representative of the Board of Education or the supporting institution.

School Forums of Ethics and Citizenship

The essential role of this type of forum is to articulate the various segments of the school community who are willing to work in the development of mobilizing action around the themes of citizenship in school life.

Its composition is as open as possible because of the very characteristics of a forum. As a minimum basis of organization, however, we suggest that it includes representatives of teachers, students, employees and families of the community. According to the circumstances of the school, community leaders and other representatives, such as local traders and residents, may be invited.

If it is not possible to begin this work involving the entire school, the forum may occur in a simpler way, depending on the circumstances of smaller schools or in the event that few professionals are interested in the implementation of the forum. Thus, a small group of teachers and students can come together and start developing projects and activities involving the external community, thus beginning the work of achieving the accession of other colleagues and other segments of the school community over the course of time.

Among the possible duties of the group of teachers and/or students who lead the establishment of the forum of ethics and citizenship, based on personal experience implementing this practice throughout the Brazil and systematized in a recent book (Araujo 2015), the following principles and norms by which to develop school forums are highlighted:

- Definition of its general policy of operation, organization and mobilization of the various segments of the school community;
- Preparation of the material resources for the development of actions;
- Formulation of a local schedule for the development of actions.

In addition, the forum should create conditions that allow for quality actions and the involvement of the largest possible number of teachers and students in their development. In this sense:

- it can act together with the school administration to ensure the space and time required for the development of projects involving school and community;
- it should seek to ensure resources that allow the purchase of bibliographical and video-graphic materials, and payment of subscriptions to newspapers and magazines;
- it should interact with education experts/researchers who can contribute to the better development of the planned actions;
- it should articulate partnerships with other agencies and governmental and non-governmental institutions (NGOs) that may support the activities of the project and the creation of proposals that promote its enrichment.

As in any democratic organization, one of the basic prerequisites for the proper functioning of the forum is the systematization of its rules. Essential to the smooth progress of this project is the establishment of clear and transparent standards and rules that will regulate the operation of the School Forum of Ethics and Citizenship in every school, which should be built democratically through dialogue and cooperation.

As a suggestion, we present below some aspects that we believe could be observed in each school community for the proper functioning of the meetings and activities of the forum:

- The establishment of a fixed calendar of meetings for the entire school year; our suggestion is that they should take place on a monthly basis;
- The choice of a coordinator for the forum or a management committee that will be responsible for organizing meetings and communication with the secretariat of the Ethics and Citizenship Program;
- The early establishment of the meeting agendas, which will be built on the suggestions of any of the members, and the wide dissemination of those agendas for regular participants and other community members who may perhaps be interested in participating;
- The recording of all meetings in minutes, even simple ones, is essential to ensure the history and accurate recall of the meetings, and to record the decisions taken and the established rules;
- Openness to dialogue and to the ongoing discussion of the rules of co-existence and participation in the meetings;
- Constant maintenance of reviews on the development of projects and meetings of the forum;
- Guaranteeing the right of free expression, maintaining the principles of respect between people, and encouraging the in-person and oral participation of the students.

The forum's main goal is to define transversal ethical themes that will be developed in the classroom and in the neighbourhood through cross-curricular projects. Although the teachers are not obliged to participate, it is a culmination of a discussion process that mobilizes the school agents in the months leading up to the definition of a general theme that will mobilize the school and the surrounding community in the months ahead.

In the Forum of Ethics and Citizenship meeting, which can last for two or three hours, someone would initially present general ideas about specific community issues in the locale. This would be followed by debates aimed at narrowing down the theme to fit the school's and the community's needs, and

set up some guidelines for the next term's cross-curricular projects. Each participating teacher, or the collective responsible for each class/grade, would be responsible for creating the specific projects inspired by the forum's decision and for the development of those projects during the next term.

As an example, topics may refer to environmental issues in the neighbourhood, situations of prejudice and discrimination, unemployment, improvement of public spaces, volunteer work, and so on. They are the basis for the development of actions and projects that, inter-related, have a twofold direction: to the 'inside' and to 'outside' the school.

Regarding 'outside' the school, there are the actions that promote the relationship between the school and the learning spaces of its surroundings. Thus, from the interdisciplinary and cross-curricular projects initiated in the classroom, the school may approach the external community, using its facilities and space as a source of learning. In experiments in which we participate, the development of trails, maps and itineraries is promoted, in which teachers and students are encouraged to take the school 'outside' its walls, with actions in squares, streets, public facilities, streams, and so on. By incorporating in such actions the people living in the environment – such as family members, professionals working in public facilities and traders and workers in the neighbourhood – a significant step can be taken towards the construction of ethical environments that go beyond the school and involve the community of its close surroundings. For example, with paper, pen, mobile phones, a camcorder, a digital camera and a voice recorder, teachers and students organize 'tours' through the streets in the school area, questioning, observing and recording the local reality. These observations, however, are not free but are guided by the studies and contents of ethics and citizenship being worked on in the projects in the classroom and that, in turn, were defined by the School Forum of Ethics and Citizenship.

Regarding 'inside' the school, guided by the project pedagogy and incorporating principles of cross-curricular and inter-disciplinarity, and promoting systematic reflections on what has been questioned, observed and recorded in the spaces external to the school, matters related to the surroundings are incorporated into lessons of specific disciplines and into other moments of a transdisciplinary nature. In this conception, the specific disciplines come to be seen as tools for the study and understanding of issues related to community life and interests.

Thus, if the forum chooses neighbourhood environmental issues as its semester theme in a degraded area in an urban city, a variety of topics can be explored in the communities participating in the project. Examples of environmental issues to study could be the lack of a sewage system in the neigh-

bourhood's homes; the regular floods that affect the district; air pollution; and soil and water contamination due to former and existing chemical industries in the urban area. Reflecting and acting through cross-curricular projects related to these topics, which clearly have ethical components because of their aim of improving peoples' lives and community life and well-being, might foster the development of ethical and environmental awareness in the school and community participants.

Principles Guiding the School Forums

A rule inherent to any type of forum is that people should be able to 'see' and 'hear' one another while discussion takes place: we should never think of organizing a forum in which people speak to the back of their colleagues' heads. Therefore, the first point to be considered in running a forum is the physical layout of the seats in the classroom or elsewhere; these should be arranged in a circle or semicircle, to allow everyone to talk face-to-face.

The forum begins, then, with the responsible team presenting and explaining the definitive agenda of that day. This can be done with a slide show, by writing on the blackboard, or with separate boards to be displayed to the attendees. This is the moment when the criteria of hierarchy and grouping of the topics on the agenda are explained and the opportunity is offered for everyone who suggested topics to manifest and feel represented in the proposed organization. After coming to an agreement, the coordinator begins the forum with the discussion of the first subject.

Dialoguing About the Topic

The first step is approaching and clarifying the topic. It begins with the coordinator asking whether the person who placed a particular topic on the agenda would like to reveal themself. This is important because people are not required to give their opinion in public, or to expose themselves in front of the group. Only after the author of the proposal has been revealed or remains silent, does the coordinator of the forum open the discussion to the other participants.

This requires that the participation in a meeting is not a free moment, in which everyone talks about whatever they want and for as long as they feel necessary. Part of learning citizenship is learning how to speak at the right time, without repeating what others have already said and in a respectful manner towards other participants. The coordinator plays the role of ensuring that these objectives are achieved and respected.

This can be conducted by establishing various regulation mechanisms prior to the first forums, so that a functional regulation of the space is built to assist in the direction of the event, making it more efficient and democratic. For example, the length of time for the discussion of each item on the agenda can be defined – which should be flexible, depending on the complexity of the topic; the way in which the turn to speak is organized (on the blackboard, on paper, and so on); and creating criteria so that the dialogue is not focused only on those more extrovert or talkative people, inhibiting the participation of the shyer ones, or those who have difficulty with public speaking. This is another important function of the coordinator.

This last point, incidentally, is of paramount importance. While the ideal is to ensure the right of people to express themselves only when they want, this right cannot be an excuse for some never to expose themselves in front of colleagues. It is necessary to create mechanisms (that are not authoritarian) to encourage the participation of shyer individuals and for them to learn to argue their views in public. For example, the coordinator may, in at least one topic on the agenda, make a round in which he asks individually whether each person would like to speak on the topic. If any participant says that they prefer not make comment, the wish must be respected, moving to the next person; but the shy individual will realize that the space to speak is guaranteed and that they will not be overwhelmed by the speech of the more extrovert participants.

This first moment of the forum, therefore, is of dialogue, speaking and listening to colleagues. That is where the differences appear, the values that each one has built for themselves in their life story emerge but, above all, when there is a confrontation of views and ideas. Such confrontation, in this organized and systematized collective space, can be worked on in a democratic manner, avoiding the violent ways in which they are generally dealt with daily in schools. Hence, it is important to organize the direction of the forum, so that the discussion is coordinated in an organized and respectful manner, ensuring the space for dissent and possible consensus.

Constructing Rules of Co-existence

The agenda of the forums arise from the routine conflicts that mark the daily life of the classroom, of the school and the relationships between its professionals. Such conflicts are expressed in topics that, through words and dialogue, are democratically discussed by the interested persons.

We understand that one of the primary functions of the forums consists of the construction of rules and regulations governing co-existence and inter-

personal relationships to allow the differences of values and opinions to be manifested democratically and non-violently in school spaces.

In a democratic school that adopts school forums as an action tool, the rules governing co-existence and inter-personal relations are no longer defined solely by the constituted authorities. They are constructed collectively, through the dialogue about everyday conflicts, and have the explicit function of regulating school operations.

From an operational point of view, once the discussion of each topic on the agenda is finished, when appropriate, the group must collectively construct the rule that will govern the situations inherent to the topic. Thus, the coordinator of the forum opens the space for the participants to suggest rules for the involved collective and is responsible for the appropriate wording of the rule.

A rule cannot be too specific and deal with isolated cases; otherwise, before long, we would have a plethora of existing rules which no one would remember, which would cause more confusion than regulation. Rules should have a clear statement, yet be comprehensive, so that one rule of co-existence can be invoked on several different topics. This will mean that, after a few meetings, it is not necessary to go through this second stage in all subjects, or with all the necessary procedures. There will already be rules constructed on similar topics and that should only be reapplied, remembered or reconstructed and improved by the group. Thus, it becomes easier to comply with the objective of keeping the forum within the time scheduled in the school timetable, and the group will realize the dynamic role of collective construction and reconstruction of the rules over time.

Finally, after the proposition of the rules by the participants of the forum and its collective writing, for the differences in the group's views to be incorporated in its wording, each new rule or change of an existing one should be put to a vote, ensuring its adoption by a majority of the members.

Conflict Resolution and Suggestions to Comply with the Decisions

The third moment is dedicated to the very people affected by the topics under discussion – as in the case of aggressive behaviour, organization of space, or actions of colleagues or people from the community who cause them harm – to engage in seeking non-punitive and non-violent solutions. The group itself, at that time, creates and develops options that often act to curtail inappropriate behaviour, or seek constructive ways to make people aware of the importance of certain attitudes in the public space.

Therefore, after constructing the rules, the forum coordinator asks people to submit proposals for a solution, so that the problem does not happen again, or to help the group and colleagues be aware of the consequences and to comply with the agreed rules, and so on. The procedure in this case is similar to the previous ones in which people have a right to present themselves freely, and solutions are voted on and approved by the majority.

Ending the Forum

A final procedure should be guaranteed before ending the forum: the organization of the actions to be taken to implement the decisions. Thus, whether a committee will be assembled to perform a certain study, or whether a group will produce posters or begin working on the topics covered in the classroom, the entire procedure must be agreed on collectively and properly recorded in the minutes.

Final Remarks

Training a competent ethical individual to fight for social justice, act in society and participate in political and public life does not occur only by working on rights and duties, as proposed by many authors dealing with this subject. Education in values, as is currently said, cannot be limited to the educational work of building rules, studying rights and duties, and thinking about what is right and what is wrong for people to do.

Within broader concepts, for the person actually to practice citizenship, they must have certain competencies that go beyond knowledge and compliance with laws and rules of social institutions. We must aim at the formation and construction of what we call *moral personalities* and people who seek happiness and personal and collective *good* through virtues, not haphazardly. The array of such ideas is central to Aristotelian ethics, understood as the *virtuous pursuit of happiness*, *of the good*. These individuals must construct their moral character and ethical excellence from certain values and ethical virtues desired by the culture in which they live. This principle brings a new way of conceiving moral training and education in school.

The work with the various types of forums in the everyday settings of the school is part of this perspective of ethical training of future generations, which aims at the construction of democracy in our society.

Teachers must understand that, in daily encounters with others and their differences, when an impasse arises, dialogical ways must be sought because, otherwise, there will be violence and its various forms of manifestation. It is hoped that this report encourages many education professionals to embrace the cause of democracy and to realize that they can act proactively in the sense of transforming authoritarian values that are culturally entrenched in the minds of the members of our society into democratic values.

More importantly, teachers, researchers and school managers should deepen their understanding of how school forums can foster the struggle for social justice. Critical observation, reflection and research projects that study the forums practice, its application, and the possible results and impact in the surrounding community, might lead to an improvement of this ethical-pedagogical method. So, it would be valuable for studies to be undertaken about how to incorporate the forums discussions into the curriculum; about how to make NGOs and other social and community institutions participate in a school's ethical efforts; and, mainly, how to increase the involvement of teachers and staff in the daily organization and development of the various forums.

These, and many other themes, are open windows of research that deserve more attention and care from educators in the academy and in the school. Assuming that, today, schools have a central role in coming generations' development as moral, just and active citizens, educators cannot skimp on their responsibility.

It is hoped that those who believe in the utopia of a more just and less unequal and authoritarian world find inspiration in these pages to continue in the pursuit of social justice through education.

There are several paths open in the educational spaces that converge in that direction, and the perspective of working forums in schools having everyday conflicts and themes of social injustice as a reference is one of them. The invitation is for those audacious educators who keep alive in their practice eagerness for change and the construction of ethics in human relations: may the dialogue and the democratic values present in school forums be their tools.

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17

Multiculturalism and Its Contradictions: Education for Citizenship and Social Justice in Canada

Abigail B. Bakan

Introduction: Multiculturalism and Its Contradictions

Canada is identified as a nation that has prided itself on inclusive practices, associated with state policy and legislation described as 'multiculturalism'. However, the promise of inclusive citizenship stands in contradiction to reality, where diverse communities experience entrenched patterns of systemic discrimination. This unique contradiction points to specific challenges in advancing education for social justice. While structural exclusions and oppressions of marginalized populations are perpetuated, they are often also denied in dominant policies and rhetoric. At the same time, this contradiction also offers openings and opportunities for resistance and effective transformation.

The context in which these contested notions of citizenship and power emerge is significant. Canada is a federal state, where the federal government shares power according to specific terms with elected provincial parliaments or assemblies. The central parliamentary government in the nation's capital city, Ottawa, resides in the province of Ontario, and manages the overarching affairs of citizenship according to designated powers. Subject to this central authority, other governing powers specific to certain regions rest with Canada's provinces and territories (Franks 1987; Tully 1995). Provinces have

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specific regulatory authorities regarding education, employment, health care, language and residence.

Multiculturalism is recognized at the federal level, where policies were developed over the 1970s. The official Canadian Multiculturalism Act was passed into law in 1988. The Act has been subject to several amendments that affirm the approach, the most recent in 2014 (Canada 1988). The passage of the Multiculturalism Act followed the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution in 1982, which included a Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Canada 1982). The Multiculturalism Act notes in the preamble that the Canadian state recognizes diversity among its citizens – specifically regarding race, ethnic or national origin; religion and colour – and indicates a commitment to preserving and enhancing this multicultural heritage. The Multiculturalism Act also commits the state to working to achieve 'equality of all Canadians', in every aspect of citizenship, including the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions (Canada 1988: preamble, 2).

The language presented by the Canadian state, both domestically and on the world stage, is bold in its assurance of inclusiveness and equity, noting that multiculturalism is 'fundamental' and 'encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding, and discourages ghettoization, hatred, discrimination and violence' (Canada 2015). The promise of full recognition of diverse peoples from all countries of origin and of all cultures, races and ethnicities has contributed to encouraging migration to Canada. Millions of Canada's citizens have left their homes of origin and all that is familiar to them to seek permanent residence in Canada. Canada has one of the highest rates of immigration in the world, measured in terms of both overall and net migration (United Nations 2013: 5, 13). Moreover, Canada also has one of the highest rates of naturalization of any country in the world, with over 80 % of those who immigrate successfully obtaining Canadian citizenship (Picot and Hou 2011a: 171). In terms of formal educational success, second-generation immigrants to Canada measure highly compared with international indicators (Picot and Hou 2011b). These numbers, however, belie experiences of systemic bias evidenced in the formal education system. This contradictory pattern, where the promise of inclusion for diverse communities is halted by powerful barriers to equity in education, is characteristic from primary through to university levels, producing a 'Janus-faced feature' that demands attention from the perspective of social justice (Cunningham 2007: 153).

The federal political system of Canada is dominated by two major parties – the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party. From 2006 to 2015, Stephen Harper was the Prime Minister of Canada, and the leader of the ruling Conservative Party. In October 2015, Justin Trudeau, leader of the

Liberal Party, was elected as Prime Minister of Canada and a new administration came to office. Other federal parties include the social democratic New Democratic Party, the Quebec-based Bloc Québécois, and the environmentally focused Green Party. While the Conservatives have been closely associated with conservative political positions, the Liberal Party has been less consistent ideologically. On many issues historically, and in the current period on significant questions, the two parties share many assumptions. For example Bill C-51, the Conservative government's anti-terror legislation, which has been challenged for laying the ground for gross violations of civil liberties, was supported by the Liberal Party (Watters 2015).

However, the decline of Stephen Harper's longstanding domination of Canadian politics in 2015 was welcomed by masses of marginalized populations in Canada as a moment of significant change. For example, Justin Trudeau's initial governmental team, the cabinet, includes unprecedented representation of women, indigenous and visible minority members (Keehn 2015; MacCharles et al. 2015). Notably, the 30-member cabinet fulfils a promise to meet gender parity, with half of the positions filled by female parliamentarians (Leblanc et al. 2015). The new government also has forwarded a commitment to maintaining the rights of same-sex couples, as amendment to previous legislation was only reluctantly recognized under the previous Conservative government following extensive battles in the courts (Smith 2008; Jackson 2015).

Regardless of the recent election outcome, however, the patterns of discrimination in Canadian citizenship practices remain deeply entrenched, based on class, ability, gender, language and ethnicity, among other factors (Razack 1998; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005; Titchkosky 2003; Little 1998; Malhotra and Rowe 2014). The focus of this chapter is specifically on the exclusionary impact of racism in Canada, grounded in a political economy of exploitation and colonialism (Bakan and Dua 2014; Dei et al. 2000; Dei and Kempf 2013; Galabuzi 2006; Bannerji 2014; Thobani 2007; Razack et al. 2010). The indigenous population of Canada is particularly impacted (Monture-Angus 1995; Canada RCAP 1996), as is the significant black population (McKittrick 2006; McKittrick and Woods 2007; Walker 2010), and, most notably in the years since 11 September 2001 (9/11), those ascribed to be associated with the Muslim faith or of Arab origin (Abu-Laban and Dhamoon 2009).

This contradictory context regarding social justice is based both in long-established historical realities and in contemporary developments. The official context of formal inclusion associated with multiculturalism serves to mask continuing and deepening exclusionary barriers to equal citizenship for marginalized sectors of Canadian society. Historic contextual factors include formal colonialism, racial slavery and the genocidal residential schooling of

indigenous children. The contemporary context continues to enforce patterns of racism and colonialism, even in an age of redress and a political climate of recognition (Coulthard 2014). The contemporary period can be traced to Canada's policies during World War II, through to the period of the 'war on terror' following 9/11 and related policies, many of which were brought in by the former federal Conservative government of Stephen Harper. The latter is most notable in significant changes to the Canadian Citizenship Act. These contextual factors are described in the sections below, followed by a consideration of education for citizenship and social justice in Canada.

Historical Issues Relating to Social Justice

The specific historical context of Canada's claim to multiculturalism is significant. Multicultural policy followed from debates about the nation's linkages to European empire and colonialism. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was commissioned in 1963, under the Liberal government of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, in response to a rise of French-Canadian nationalist sentiment in the province of Quebec (Gagnon 2004). Among the Commission's key recommendations was that Canada adopt both French and English as official languages; this recommendation was accepted and made into law under the administration of federal Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau (father of Justin Trudeau) in 1971. Second in size only to Ontario, and constituting about one third of the Canadian population, Quebec is the only one of ten provinces where French is the first language for 80 % of the population. While recognizing the significance of Canada's historically excluded and oppressed Francophone population, the Commission's report came under heavy criticism for its Eurocentric focus only on those of English and French descent as foundational to the Canadian nation. Multiculturalism emerged as a counter-point to 'biculturalism', largely because 'non-British, non-French, and non-Aboriginal Canadians – especially those of Ukrainian origin – challenged the symbolism of a bicultural and bilingual Canada' (Abu-Laban 2007: 140). As multiculturalism advanced as a dominant governmental initiative, and as a public narrative of Canadian nation-building, its limitations – absenting indigenous languages, absenting Canada's black population and privileging colonial settlement – have become the subject of substantive critique, in scholarship, policy and social movement activism (Stasiulis 1988; Tully 1995; Day 2000; Mackey 2002; Galabuzi 2006; Abu-Laban 2007; Thobani 2007; Kernerman 2005; Dhamoon 2009; Haque 2012; Coulthard 2014).

The Canadian state's close association with British imperial policy is well-documented and widely recognized, originating from a federation of colonial territories in North America. Indeed, Canada is, to this day, a constitutional monarchy. The connections to the British Crown are symbolically central to national cultural signifiers including anthems, currency, cultural practices and holidays, citizenship law and the structure of parliamentary governance. This fact of Canada's foundational history is not subject to contention. However, the details of the colonial experience and the implications of this association and its continued impact on contemporary issues of social justice and citizenship are subjects of ongoing debates, influencing social, economic, cultural and political spheres.

Canada was established as a white settler state, officially founded in 1867, where British subjects were privileged to be eligible for the legal status of citizens (Abele and Stasiulis 1989; Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995; Thobani 2007). The process of settlement included centuries of conflict among European empires. This included competition over North America with France, whose prisoners were among those exiled to colonial North America in territories considered barely habitable, and where the Catholic Church was a primary actor (see Gagnon 2004). The indigenous peoples of the land of Turtle Island (North America, before contact) encountered these European strangers variously over the period from first encounters, with some sections of French settlers interacting with indigenous peoples, emerging into the population of Canada's Métis (Lawrence 2004; Lischke and McNab 2007). However, current historical studies demonstrate that violent European colonial dispossession, theft and occupation of indigenous peoples' land, suppression of language and culture and the denial of rights were foundational to the Canadian state project (Tully 1995; Mackey 2002; Green 2001; Alfred 2011; Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2014).

The context of Canada's history regarding European colonialism, white settlement and severe oppression of the indigenous population is shared with its neighbour to the south, the United States (USA). The 13 colonies that rebelled against the Kingdom of Britain in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) were not joined by the colonies that were to form Canada, despite rebel invasions in the regions of Quebec and Nova Scotia (Ryerson 1975, 1983). Particularly relevant to the historical context regarding social justice in Canada, the United States incorporated plantation slavery in its core political economy until the end of the American Civil War (1861–1865). The federal Dominion of Canada was formed through the confederation of several North American British colonies in 1867, just two years after the US Civil War. Three British colonies (the United Province of Canada, New Brunswick

and Nova Scotia) became the first four provinces of Canada (Ontario and Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia), later to be joined by others to constitute the federated state of Canada today.

While Canada and the USA are commonly compared, significant in the history of social justice is the racialized enslavement of black African agriculturalists, who were captured in their millions and abused in conditions of forced labour. A common national narrative in Canada is that only in the USA was slavery instituted, while Canada was a place of freedom. The construction of national historical memory is a central feature of modern nation-making (Hobsbawm 1992). The notion that Canada has a history of freedom from slavery is consistent with this type of constructed historical memory, one that fits well with the advancement of contemporary multiculturalism.

The historical record, however, runs contrary to the dominant narrative. The colonial territory that is now Canada was, in fact, formally committed to slavery until 1834, when abolition in the British colonial empire was decreed, and enforcement of slave freedom was limited (Winks 1997; Walker 2010). What is true is that escaped slaves from the rebellious states to the south were not commonly returned to their owners (Clarke 2006). As Afua Cooper aptly summarizes:

> In the story of North American slavery, we associate Canada with 'freedom' or 'refuge,' because during the nineteenth century, especially between 1830 and 1860, the period known as the Underground Railroad era, thousands of American runaway slaves escaped to and found refuge in the British territories to the north. Therefore, the image of Canada as 'freedom's land' has lodged itself in the national psyche and become part of our national identity. (Cooper 2006)

But failing to return humans fleeing unspeakable abuse who were legally treated as 'property' was not motivated by a commitment to abolition or anti-racism but, rather, to a kind of *realpolitik* in the face of capitalist competition for territory (Bakan 2008). In fact, Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, was a firm supporter of the US South, which was committed to plantation slavery, in the Civil War. A lawyer by profession, MacDonald was the hired advocate for the Copperhead conspirators – an organization which advocated for the victory of the US South by committing vigilante acts of arson and raids on northern cities (Ryerson 1983: 334–335; Bakan 2008: 18–19).

Canada's racist practices towards longstanding black residents – many of whom emigrated originally to Canada from the United States as slaves of British loyalists – as well as towards more recent immigrants from the Caribbean, Africa and other regions, is well-documented (Tennyson 1990;

Winks 1997; Henry and Tator 2002; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005; Cooper 2006; Galabuzi 2006; McKittrick 2006; Walker 2010). Anti-black racism was, and is, consistent with colonial patterns of dispossession and occupation, and the historic commitment to 'civilization' as an explicitly European, white settler project.

Canada's original indigenous population, was, and continues to be, similarly a victim of racism and violence. The system of forced residential schooling for indigenous children has, after considerable denial, finally been acknowledged in an extensive report by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) (TRC 2015). This Commission was mandated to acknowledge the experiences of Canada's indigenous peoples' of the residential school system, and to consider its impacts and consequences. The Commission was further mandated to conduct public hearings, and to prepare recommendations towards reconciliation. Following decades of active organizing among survivors of the residential schools, in 2008 then Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper formally apologized to the survivors of this abusive system. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission report concluded, however, that this 'promise of reconciliation' had 'faded' through inaction (TRC 2015: 8).

The Commission sought to uncover a truth that had been denied, despite considerable historical evidence (Milloy 1999). The Commission travelled across Canada for a six-year period, hearing from over 6000 witnesses, most survivors of the abuses of the residential school system. Now adults, these witnesses 'had been taken from their families as children, forcibly if necessary, and placed for much of their childhoods in residential schools' (TRC 2015: v). The report stated clearly that:

> Children were abused, physically and sexually, and they died in the schools in numbers that would not have been tolerated in any school system anywhere in the country, or in the world. (TRC 2015: v–vi)

The main finding of the TRC was that the residential school system was consistent with the central goals of Canada's policy towards indigenous, or Aboriginal, peoples, and this was a policy best described as 'cultural genocide' (TRC 2015: 1). The schools, as the report noted, were not about education as we commonly understand its meaning. Instead, they were 'created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families' in order to weaken their relationships, and 'to indoctrinate children into a new culture – the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society' (TRC 2015: v). The schools were in place for over a century. They were already established by churches in Canada prior to the country's origin in 1867, and were supported

through the 1870s by the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries as the settlement project moved across the west and north of the continent. In 1883, the policy of the residential schools was formally endorsed and advanced with federal government support. As the TRC summarized:

> Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches were the major denominations involved in the administration of the residential school system. The government's partnership with the churches remained in place until 1969, and, although most of the schools had closed by the 1980s, the last federally supported residential schools remained in operation until the late 1990s. For children, life in these schools was lonely and alien. Buildings were poorly located, poorly built, and poorly maintained. The staff was limited in numbers, often poorly trained, and not adequately supervised. Many schools were poorly heated and poorly ventilated, and the diet was meager and of poor quality. Discipline was harsh, and daily life was highly regimented. Aboriginal languages and cultures were denigrated and suppressed. (TRC 2015: 3)

Canada's inclusive multiculturalism stands in an uncomfortable relationship with a long-denied history of violence and discrimination against the original inhabitants of Turtle Island (North America). This legacy is indicated sharply in the history of the residential school system, where there was institutionalized abuse of indigenous children. At the same time, the publication of the TRC report, based on an officially recognized federal commission, and its recommendations to advance policies of reconciliation, also point to the complexities of the Canadian context and suggest opportunities for transformation. Indeed, this arm's length commission is explicit in identifying the complicity of the government in the residential schools:

> These measures were part of a coherent policy to eliminate Aboriginal people as distinct peoples and to assimilate them into the Canadian mainstream against their will. Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott outlined the goals of that policy in 1920, when he told a parliamentary committee that 'our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic.' These goals were reiterated in 1969 in the federal government's Statement on Indian Policy (more often referred to as the 'White Paper'), which sought to end Indian status and terminate the Treaties that the federal government had negotiated with First Nations. The Canadian government pursued this policy of cultural genocide because it wished to divest itself of its legal and financial obligations to Aboriginal people and gain control over their land and resources. If every Aboriginal person had been 'absorbed into the body politic,' there would be no reserves, no Treaties, and no Aboriginal rights. (TRC 2015: 3)

The legacy of a close state identity with colonial Britain and European white settler traditions casts a long and continuing shadow (Razack 2015). This pattern includes racialization of long-standing residents of Canada, and of certain Canadian citizens who do not fit the constructed European norm – notably, visible minorities. While Canada is a country of immigrants, the policies of the federal state regarding immigration have been generally highly selective. Criteria for acceptance of applications to immigrate have been variously associated with labour market needs or security, where overt or implied racial and cultural stereotypes have been enlisted (Johnson and Enomoto 2007).

For example, Canada's original extensive railroad system, built by the Canadian Pacific Railway through the early 1880s, depended on tens of thousands of labourers from China who worked in dangerous conditions without legal rights. Fearing that these workers, almost all male, would immigrate to Canada permanently, a prohibitive head tax was levied by the federal government, through the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885. Decades later, the Act was superseded by the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, also known as the Chinese Exclusion Act (Fernando 2011). This act was repealed in 1948. Only in 2006, however, after decades of organizing and demanding redress, was a formal apology and some compensation extended by Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Prime Minister's Office's 2006).

While the case of the Chinese head tax is one example, the practice of formal state restrictions of unwanted immigrants is widespread. It has affected numerous communities in Canada and internationally. Taking another example, in May of 1914, a ship arrived on Canada's western shore, in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia, with 376 Sikh, Hindu and Muslim passengers from the Punjab, India. The *Komagatu Maru* was not allowed to disembark, despite a concerted legal challenge raised by Vancouver's South Asian community. After being docked with its passengers in the harbour for two months, the ship was forced to return to India. Immigration from India was virtually frozen for the next 25 years (Miki 2005: 22).

Immigration controls have often tightened in times of crisis, on claimed grounds of protection of limited employment opportunities. But what has also increased is discrimination against those considered to 'look like' immigrants, regardless of legal citizenship status. During World War II, when Canadian soldiers actively joined the Allied powers, Japanese Canadians were treated as enemies at home. Between 1941 and 1943, a series of federal orders-in-council denied equal rights to Japanese Canadians. These rulings required the registration, fingerprinting, forced movement to designated 'protected' areas, confiscation of property and the deportation of Japanese Canadians. These

actions were ostensibly on grounds of security, on the unfounded assumption that sympathy with Japan and the Axis powers could be assumed by racial profiling. Significantly, no charges were laid, but trials or hearings were held (Canadian Japanese Internment Camps 2011). Neither was this experience of racial profiling, however, invented when security threats were asserted. There is a long earlier history of provincial and federal legal restrictions of Asian Canadians, including the 1897 British Columbia Elections Act which denied the franchise to citizens of 'Asiatic' origin (Fernando 2011).

In 1988, after decades of organizing to demand an apology and compensation, the National Association of Japanese Canadians saw the federal government, under the administration of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, sign the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement. This agreement was signed in the aftermath of the 1982 Constitution Act, which included the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Charter was explicitly noted in the redress agreement, which was understood to afford minority communities the right to protection against the recurrence of discriminatory treatment (Miki 2005: 317–318; CRRF 2015).

The wartime history of Canada holds other examples of such contradictions in terms of social justice and citizenship. The public claim to be committed to protecting democracy from Hitler's Nazis during World War II was not matched by compassion for victims of anti-Jewish racism, or anti-Semitism, at home. In fact, the Canadian government's policy towards the plights of Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi Holocaust was summarized in the statement of Frederick Charles Blair, the director of the Immigration Branch of the wartime government of Liberal Party Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, as 'None is too many' (Abella and Troper 1983).

Over the course of the post-war years, Canada's immigration policy was amended to meet the demands of a growing labour market. But still, this was not universal, as some sectors, such as foreign in-home domestic care workers, saw working conditions in Canada decline as other migration options for women workers from countries in the global South tightened (Bakan and Stasiulis 1997; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). This brings us to consider the contemporary context.

Contemporary Context

This contradictory legacy of promised inclusion, combined with practices of systemic exclusion, has shaped the contemporary context regarding social justice and citizenship in Canada. The contradictions of Canadian citizenship

policies and practices run deep, rooted not only in governmental policies, but also in structural conditions. The Canadian economy as a whole has greatly benefited from the labour of millions of new immigrants, while changes in Canada's political economy have affected the contemporary context (Kellogg 2015). The 1960s saw a period of reform in immigration policy, with high demand for foreign labour, particularly skilled labour. Considered on a world scale, Canada is a nation where there is a relatively 'high level of mutual identification and acceptance among immigrants and native-born Canadians' (Kymlicka 2010: 7). Immigrants who come to Canada are more likely to become legal citizens than in other Western countries (Bloemraad 2006), and those who are naturalized are more likely to participate in elections and in political party activities (Howe 2007).

Yet, these indicators belie other trends in immigration, including restrictive policies in other states globally, and unequal conditions among immigrants to Canada based on class, gender and race (Galabuzi 2006; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). Though certain categories of immigration, particularly those geared to family unification, opened opportunities to communities from countries of the global South that had historically been unwelcome to reside permanently in the country, this was not universal. The contrast between promise and practice is revealed starkly in Canada's refugee policy, exemplified by the experience of families fleeing from the conflicts in Syria in 2015.

A photograph of a Syrian child, three-year old Aylan Kurdi, laying lifeless on a beach in Turkey, made international headlines in September 2015 (Barnard and Shoumali 2015). The child's father, Abdullah Kurdi, was hoping to move to Canada where his sister, Tima, lived in Coquitlam, British Columbia. Though no official application was made, Tima Kurdi brought awareness of her brother's family plight directly to the attention of then Immigration Minister, Chris Alexander, to no avail (Canadian Press 2015). Canada's increasingly restrictive policies regarding refugees have been the subject of intense public criticism, not least in light of the crisis faced by the flight of thousands such as the Kurdi family seeking asylum from unliveable conditions of civil war, violence and repression. Notably, the October 2015 federal election saw the defeat of Chris Alexander at the polls (Gull 2015), and the newly elected Liberal government has promised to welcome Syrian families seeking asylum to Canada.

Canada's immigration and citizenship policies have, however, generally tightened in the twenty-first century. Issues regarding immigration and citizenship have been influenced by public debates on security. The Canadian government readily allied itself with the United States and other Western powers following the 9/11 attack on the Pentagon and the World Trade Centre.

However, policy amendments tended to rely on racial and cultural stereo-types, rather than protection of Canadian civil and human rights (Thobani 2002). A significant example is the case of Maher Arar, a dual Canadian and Syrian citizen, who, while travelling in 2002, was detained by US authorities on suspicion of being a member of Al Qa'ida, the terrorist organization associated with the 9/11 attacks. The details of Arar's experience are significant. His story struck a chord with many immigrant and Canadian Muslim families in Canada, who expected to be welcomed and recognized as part of the multicultural state (Dhamoon and Abu-Laban 2009). Arar had immigrated to Canada from his native Syria at the age of 17, where he received a post-secondary education and, by the age of 32, was established as a highly skilled telecommunications engineer. He was married and the father of two children. On 26 September 2002, Arar was travelling on a Canadian passport, returning to his home in Canada by way of New York, following a family holiday in Tunisia. He was detained in the Kennedy Airport in New York by US officials and held in solitary confinement until 2 October 2002. Despite the interventions of his family and a US-based lawyer, US Immigration and Naturalization Services officials advanced accusations that Arar was a member of Al Qa'ida. On the basis of these unfounded accusations, he was deported and remained in prison and tortured in Syria until 5 October 2003 (Abu-Laban and Nath 2007).

Only following a concerted campaign led by his wife, Monia Mazigh, and other supporters, was Arar released and returned to his home in Ottawa, Canada. Public support to investigate the case and clear Arar's name continued, resulting in several formal investigations. These included an inquiry through the Commission for Public Complaints against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP); an inquiry of the Security Intelligence Review Committee regarding the role of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS); and a public inquiry specifically commissioned to investigate the facts surrounding the Arar case (Canada 2006; Abu-Laban and Nath 2007). As a result of the findings of the latter, and most substantive, commission, Arar was cleared of all wrongdoing. In 2007, then Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued an official apology for this act of extraordinary rendition to another state, as well as a C$10.5 million financial compensation in recognition of the damage caused to Arar and his family.

Security claims have continued to be adopted to justify a series of restrictions, rendering more difficult the transition for immigrants to full legal citizenship status. Between 2008 and 2012, federal government changes to the Citizenship Act have included requirements of more documentation to demonstrate consecutive years of residence; changes in the citizenship guide and testing measures; and increasing scrutiny aimed at addressing fraud, including

the threat of removal of citizenship status previously awarded. Moreover, prospective citizens have been required to remove facial coverings, such as veils, when reciting the citizenship oath (Alboim and Cohl 2012: 1–2).

Also, significant sectors of Canadian society who have long resided within the nation's borders have fallen outside the spectrum of promised inclusion. Indigenous peoples who reside in the vast areas of Canada's northern region, historically considered wasteland, have lived in conditions of extreme poverty and faced ongoing discrimination in education, health care, social services and the criminal justice system (Canada RCAP 1996). Over recent decades, indigenous peoples demanding self-determination and recognition have faced new challenges (Coulthard 2014). Canada's north has gained greater attention, now recognized to be rich in scarce resources with potential for expansive corporate development and profit. Indigenous lands, some legally designated as reserve territory while others are legally contested, have become coveted areas for economic investment. Such investments are contentious on many grounds, including indigenous rights to self-determination, as well as serious environmental implications. Many regions have become the sites of clashes between Canadian state and corporate interests on one side, and indigenous communities and non-indigenous community allies on the other (see White 2006; Ladner 2005).

Many issues regarding indigenous peoples in Canada have remained unaddressed and unrecognized for decades. For example, a campaign to seek justice for the victimization of indigenous women, who have gone missing or been found murdered in their hundreds, has been met with minimal state and media attention (Razack et al. 2010; Amnesty International Canada 2015). Within days of the election on 19 October 2015, however, Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau finally announced a commitment to advance a 'national public inquiry to bring justice for the victim, healing for the families, and to put an end to this tragedy' (CBC 2015). Negotiations continue and formal territorial recognition has, in some cases, been extended. In light of this pattern of reluctant, partial and limited accommodation to long-standing demands for indigenous rights, forwarded in the language of recognition, a new form of colonial politics has become the subject of considerable analysis and challenge (Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2014).

Implications for Education for Citizenship

These historical and contemporary contexts regarding social justice suggest important implications for education for citizenship. Canada's terrain is diverse and complex, often defying comparison with other Western nations.

Canada is most often compared with the United States, given the two countries' expansive shared border and common federalist structure, and significant interest in civic education (Peterson 2011: 27). However, Canada's commitment to multiculturalism and bilingualism, and its recognized sustained relationship to colonialism as a constitutional monarchy, indicate unique elements, with important implications for citizenship education.

Canada's national project has been strongly aligned with the achievements of British colonialism. At the same time, the country's growth has been centrally dependent on immigration, largely from nations in the global South, to fuel its expanding labour force and population. An historic reliance on an assimilationist conception of citizenship was expressed largely through the education system (Heath 2002). Loyalist notions of Christianity, patriarchy and state authority were carried by educational theorists such as Egerton Ryerson (1803–1882), after whom a major Canadian university is named (see Pearson 1988; Doucet 2007). Indeed, Ryerson's commitment to public education for children of Canadian settlers was coincident with his advocacy for residential schools for indigenous children, understood as two sides of the colonial project (Ryerson 2010). Schools have therefore been sites of contention, particularly since the 1960s and 1970s, with teachers, students, parents and scholars leading movements for increased access and equality for diverse communities, and for redress and measures to mitigate acknowledged patterns of discrimination (Banks 2004). In keeping with the contradictory dynamic of demands followed by apology, Ryerson University today notes on its webpage:

> While Egerton Ryerson did not implement or oversee Indian Residential Schools, his ideas were used by others to create their blueprint. It is important to acknowledge this connection and in so doing emphasize the university's ongoing and proactive commitment to respectful relationships with Aboriginal communities, both within and outside Ryerson University, and to continuing to build and maintain a campus environment that welcomes and respects Aboriginal people. (Ryerson 2010)

In this context, formal citizenship education has expanded in Canada in a number of provinces. While ideals of social justice, diversity and inclusion are more common in educational curricula, these goals are compromised by an emphasis on a singular, uniform Canadian national identity (Pashby 2014), one which continues to perpetuate systemic discrimination (James 2007; Mujawamariya 2007; Dei and al. 1997). Scholars of social justice in Canada have forwarded innovative theorizations to address these con-

tradictory trends, positing the concept, for example, of negotiated citizenship (Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). Citizenship is understood to be more than legal status alone, existing 'on a spectrum, involving a pool of rights that are variously offered, denied, or challenged, as well as a set of obligations that are unequally demanded' (Stasiulis and Bakan 2005: 2). Viewed in this way, citizens and non-citizens are understood continually to challenge various restrictions and barriers, while also collectively negotiating to advance rights and freedoms.

Within education broadly defined to embrace experiential learning beyond the school classroom, there are also contested ideas. Many residents of Canada embrace notions of diversity, and constitutional rights and freedoms, as serious claims, and challenge the realities of inequality. Expectations have risen among diverse communities of Canadian citizens for demonstrable enforcement of promised rights, including for indigenous peoples, Black and racialized minorities. The adoption of formal multiculturalism policy in the 1970s and the expansion of constitutional rights in the 1980s are notable markers in terms of their impact in inspiring social movements to call for accountability. The contradictions between policy and reality, once exposed, have generated significant resistance, with mixed outcomes. Social movement activism in demand of formal state apologies has been successful in achieving gestures of redress for some communities, including Chinese and Japanese Canadians, and for Aboriginal survivors of residential schools.

Apologies and ongoing discrimination, however, continue at the same time, consistent with the contradictory promise of multiculturalism. Those who are long-standing Canadian citizens continue to experience patterns of demonstrated racial profiling, in the courts and criminal justice system as well as in education (Wortley 2004; Razack 1998). The findings of the African-Canadian Legal Clinic conclude 'systemic, anti-Black racism is manifested in the ideologies, structures, policies and practices within the education system, from elementary through secondary and tertiary levels of education, across the country' (African Canadian Legal Clinic n.d.). Moved by a commitment to a more uniform delivery of rights and equitable practices, many stand in solidarity with continuing social movements for Aboriginal, immigrant, Black and minority rights (Bakan and Kobayashi 2007). This is witnessed by the growth of such movements as Idle No More (Lukacs 2014) and Black Lives Matter Toronto (Herhalt 2015). Social justice education that effectively enhances citizenship rights in Canada builds on and advances such continued advocacy, both within and beyond the classroom, and among multiple constituencies including students, teachers, parents, activists and scholars.

Conclusion and Future Research

Canada is the chosen home of millions of people from around the world, while it also remains the place of residence to indigenous peoples from time immemorial. For those born in other nations, obtaining legal citizenship in Canada requires meeting a series of complex requirements, ultimately including an affirmation, or swearing in, of an oath of loyalty. This oath calls for a promise to 'bear true allegiance' to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 'Queen of Canada', as well as to her heirs and successors, and to observe the laws of the land. The oath, along with various other rights and responsibilities of citizenship, is described in *Discover Canada*, the study guide for those seeking citizenship published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Canada 2012). While the content of this text emphasizes multiculturalism, gender equity – including same-sex marriage and women's rights – and diversity, the commitment to the Queen as the sovereign personified reveals the contradictory character of Canadian citizenship.

These embedded contradictory tendencies can appear irrational. Yet, it is precisely the tension they present that offers potential political space for social movement advocacy for citizenship rights and social justice education. This complex spectrum demands continued study and research, and a central commitment to the theory and practice of social justice education.

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18

Social Justice and Education for Citizenship in England

Andrew Peterson and Ian Davies

Introduction

Social immobility remains an entrenched and persistent issue in England, where levels of social mobility are 'significantly less' than in nations such as Canada or Australia (Carnegie Corporation of New York/The Sutton Trust 2012: 3). Recent political discourse has placed social justice at the heart of educational policy in England. Successive governments since 1997 – whether Labour, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, or Conservative – have sought to justify much of their educational aspirations and policies in terms of the furthering of social justice. Indeed, the rhetoric of social justice has become a key basis for a range of educational policies, many of them informed by a neo-liberal, quasi-marketized approach to the provision of state education. Notable policy examples – a number of which are informed by a neoliberalizing trend in educational policy – include the establishment and subsequent proliferation of Academy schools and Free Schools (forms of state schools which are directly funded by government and independent of local authorities); the development of a traditional, academic national curriculum; the teaching of synthetic phonics; a focus on teacher effectiveness; and a commitment to raising aspira-

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tions (Gove 2013a; Morgan 2015a). In her speech to the 2015 Conservative Party conference, the Secretary of State for Education Nicky Morgan (2015b) cited social justice as underpinning everything they had done in education and claimed that social justice was part of a 'core Conservative philosophy which says the fact that you happen to be a woman, to be gay, to be from an ethnic minority, should never be a barrier to you achieving your all'.

In this chapter, we aim to explore key aspects of social justice in English education and explore their implications for education for citizenship. In the first section, we highlight and discuss some central historical issues concerning social justice and education in England. In the second section, we turn our focus to pressing contemporary issues concerning social justice. In the third section, we explore the implications of our analysis for education for citizenship. In the conclusion, we summarize our key arguments before identifying several areas for further research in this area. Underpinning our analysis are the recognitions that: (i) despite endless policy debate and initiatives, the 'relationships between opportunity, achievement and social class have remained stubbornly entrenched and have been reproduced by policy' (Ball 2013: 4); and that (ii) these impact in significant ways on educating for democratic citizenship.

Before proceeding to the analysis, it is necessary to make certain points about our framework and intention. First, it is not possible within the confines of this chapter to provide a full analysis of the various demographics that permit different experiences of, and claims for, social justice. Throughout our analysis, we focus primarily on poverty and disadvantage, but we also touch on a number of other relational factors, including gender, race and ethnicity. While we would not wish to underplay any of these significant factors in relation to social justice, there is insufficient scope to cover each in any real detail within this chapter. In addition, we concur with Reay's (2012: 588) contention that 'existing inequalities of gender, "race", sexualities and disability are inextricably intermeshed with inequalities of class and consequently will never be fully addressed until social class is recognized as a fundamental division in British education that requires urgent, far-reaching action'. Second, our focus is on England, a country which forms part of the United Kingdom. Unlike other constituent parts of the United Kingdom, England does not have its own legislative parliament or assembly outside of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, where educational policies affecting England are made (at the time of writing recent legislation has been introduced through which Members of Parliament representing English constituencies will be able to vote to veto legislation only affecting England). At times, we draw on reports

and statistics relevant solely to England, while at others these are relevant to all of the United Kingdom.

Third, in this chapter, we conceive social justice in broad terms and, following Fraser (2005), understand it as referring to the distribution of, and access to, resources; the recognition of cultural value and standing; and democratic participation and representation. Fourth, while significant issues concerning social justice exist in relation to the division between private schooling and state schooling, we focus on interests on inequalities within the state sector. Fifth, and finally, there are obvious and clear connections between social (in) justice in wider society and education. For reasons of space, our focus is predominantly on the latter.

Historical Issues

Historically, notions of social justice and education for citizenship have been prominent in the English education system. The development, provision and expansion of a compulsory state education system in the late 1800s and the first half of the twentieth century were, at least in part, premised on: (i) providing free education to all; and (ii) producing good citizens. In the mid-1900s, debates about social justice and education in England – particularly at a policy level – frequently focused on the structuring of the schooling system. The years between the end of World War II and the 1970s witnessed divisions, at times bitter, about the respective merits and demerits of selective and comprehensive schooling systems. In 1944, the Butler Act established a tri-partite system of state education (grammar schools, secondary modern schools and technical colleges) based on selection through intelligence tests at the age of 11 (known commonly as the 11+ examination), with the aim:

> to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide a means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are. (Board of Education 1943)

The intention here was for schooling to be matched to the individual capacities and needs of children, determined through a child's performance in an intelligence test at the age of 11 and determining the nature of the secondary schooling the child received. For those children who attended grammar schools (around 20 % of children in state schooling; Connelly et al. 2014), in

which a traditional academic curriculum was taught, a clear pathway to higher education existed. The main intention for those attending secondary modern schools and secondary technical schools was entry into employment or some form of work-based training/apprenticeship. Clearly, a core intention behind the reforms was to 'greatly increase the amount of social mobility in Britain' (Glass 1954: 22; see also Heath and Clifford 1990). In practice, however, the tri-partite system lacked parity of esteem, with children from working-class families disproportionately attending secondary modern schools and secondary technical schools, and those from middle-class families disproportionately attending grammar schools (Crook et al. 1999; Ball 2008).

From the 1950s onwards, there was a growing movement in England – particularly among those on the political left – in favour of the establishment of comprehensive schooling. In 1965, the then Labour government made provision for the establishment of comprehensive schools throughout England, though owing to various factors – including the refusal of some Local Educational Authorities to comply and the election of a Conservative government which ended compulsory comprehensivization – a full, nationwide system of comprehensive schooling did not materialize (this means that some areas of England still have selective state schooling) (Ball 2013). Supporters of comprehensive schooling pointed to the democratic basis of schools drawing their intake from a wider and more diverse population of pupils than would be the case in a selective system. According to McPherson and Willms (1987: 512), for example, the move to comprehensive schooling was rooted in a belief that 'the association of [educational] attainment with social class should fall'.

While there is some debate about the precise impact of changes to the schooling system on reducing social inequalities, most commentators are agreed that its effect was not significant in this regard (though, of course, this is typically measured in relation to measures such as qualifications, entry into higher education, job role and earning power rather than more qualitative measures, such as social cohesion). While Ball (2013: 8) has suggested that the 1944 Education Act 'brought about a very modest loosening of the relationship between social class and educational opportunity', drawing on data from four nationally representative sample surveys conducted in 1949, 1972, 1983 and 1987, Heath and Clifford (1990) found that trends evidencing upward class mobility in the post-World War II period owed more to the changing nature of employment and industry (e.g. the increase in professional roles and the decline in manual, unskilled jobs) than to real improvements in educational equality. Moreover, they also claimed that there is little evidence to suggest that the move to com-

prehensive schooling significantly increased upward social mobility (for detailed analysis, see e.g. Kerckhoff et al. 1996 or Coe et al. 2008). Heath and Clifford (1990: 15) concluded:

> While there was some indication of a narrowing of relative class differences in the period covered by the 1949 study, neither the 1972 nor the 1983 and 1987 studies suggest that this narrowing of class differences continued through the later periods. Neither the meritocratic reforms of the 1944 Act nor comprehensive reorganization can, in this respect at least, be said to have succeeded.

From the 1970s onwards, the focus on structural causes of educational inequalities was augmented by a range of writers who sought to recognize the importance of identities. A key theme across this literature was the extent to which certain groups and identities were under-recognized, under-privileged, and even excluded within and through the English education system. In regard to Fraser's tri-partite understanding of social justice, while school structures and the distribution of educational resource remained important, issues of social justice in education increasingly also concentrated on the lack of recognition and representation afforded to the identity, values and knowledges of particular groups, including the working class (Willis 1977), girls (McRobbie 1991) and those of Black and minority ethnic heritages (Gilroy 1987; Hall 1992). Much of this work sought to explore the ways in which economic, political, cultural and social inequalities were produced and reproduced through the education system, and did so through engaging with the experiences, relationships and understandings of young people themselves (see e.g. Willis 1977).

A notable theme of this work on social justice and education between the 1970s and early 1990s was its inter-relationship with cultural studies and the use of cultural theories to critique government policies and practices, including those relating to education. Cultural theories then (and still today) brought inter-disciplinary perspectives to educational discourse, problematizing narrow, static and essentialized representations of social categories, such as 'race', class and gender. According to Paul Willis (1979: 185–186) the foci of cultural studies is 'not artifice and manners, the preserve of Sunday best, rainy afternoons and concert halls. It is the very material of our daily lives, the bricks and mortar of our most commonplace understandings'. Drawing on a range of perspectives (including, Marxism, feminism, post-structuralism, post-colonialism and critical race theory), the bringing to bear of cultural studies on questions of education justice and inequalities manifested in an exploration of practices in relation

to power. This work typically focused on the constructed responses of given groups to the workings, maintenance and challenging of power relationships. In doing so, educational research on social justice in England in the latter quarter of the twentieth century sought increasingly to interrogate and explain agent and group identities, aspirations and responses in relation to structural inequalities. Two central contributions of this cultural turn in thinking about social justice and educational disadvantage were: (i) to reconnect educational inequalities and power differences with those existing and operating in wider society; and (ii) to recognize and promote marginalized identities in ways which appreciated their complexities and which avoided narrow, often stereotypical representations.

Alongside this critical work, there was some recognition at policy level that particular groups were being unfairly marginalized and excluded from education. For example, in the 1980s a number of official reports evidenced differential levels of educational attainment between particular (often highly oversimplified) categories of pupils (Modood and May 2001). In the early 1980s, a national Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups published two reports into educational disadvantage. The Committee's interim report, known commonly as the Rampton Report (DES 1981), concluded that 'West Indian' children fared worse in education in comparison with children falling into the categories 'White', 'Asian' and 'all other leavers'. Significantly, the report cited a range of factors as disadvantaging students from Black and minority ethnic communities, including teacher racism, negative stereotyping, cultural bias, the lack of a multicultural curriculum, and the absence of effective multicultural education professional development for teachers. The Committee's further report, known commonly as the Swann Report, delineated different categories of pupils in a more nuanced manner, finding that 'West Indian children, on average, [were] underachieving at school', that 'Asian children' evidenced 'on average, a pattern of achievement which resembles that of White children', and that, 'there is some evidence of variation between different sub-groups' with 'Bangladeshis in particular are seriously underachieving' (DES 1985). Significantly, the Swann report also spoke of a 'pervasive climate of racism' (DES 1985), while rejecting any basis for the idea that differentiated educational attainment had any connection to levels of IQ. Instead, the reasons for differences were reported as being largely 'the result of racial prejudice and discrimination on the part of society at large, bearing on ethnic minority homes and families, and hence, *indirectly*, on children' and 'due in large measure to prejudice and discrimination bearing *directly* on children, within the educational system, as well as outside it' (DES 1985; emphasis in original).

In this section, we have provided a brief overview of key historical issues concerning social justice and education in England. We have suggested that, while in the immediate post-war period issues of social justice in education were largely focused on the structuring of the school system, in the last quarter of that century structural concerns were supplemented – and, indeed, refined – by a range of studies drawing on cultural theory which developed critical approaches focused on power and cultural politics. As we move to explore contemporary issues of social justice and education in the next section, it is significant to note that, while they have witnessed important changes in nature, educational inequalities in England have persisted – if not even widened – over since the early 1990s.

Contemporary Issues

Surveying the recent literature on education and social justice in England, it is notable that, in spite of differences in political outlook, there is widespread agreement that social immobility and entrenched educational disadvantage remains in England. Consider, for example, the following statements drawn from recent educational discourse:

– 'More children from one public school – Westminster – make it to the top universities than the entire population of poor boys and girls on free school meals. This waste of talent, this squandering of human potential, this grotesque failure to give all our fellow citizens an equal chance is a reproach to our conscience. It can't be allowed to continue' (Gove 2010)
– 'Only 26 % per cent of white British boys eligible for FSM [free school meals] achieved five A* to C grades at GCSE including English and mathematics, compared to 36 per cent of all pupils on FSM, 63 per cent of all other pupils, and, for example, 40 per cent of black boys on FSM' (The Centre for Social Justice 2013: 14);
– 'The ablest 15 year-olds from privileged backgrounds are two and a half years ahead of the most able children from disadvantaged families in terms of reading skills' (Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission 2015: 5);
– 'At school boys perform significantly worse than girls. In 2014, boys' GCSE results were 10 percentage points worse than girls' with 52 per cent of boys achieving five good GCSEs compared with 62 per cent of girls. The best results were achieved by Chinese girls (79 per cent) and the worst by black Caribbean boys (39 per cent). In the world of work, the educational attain-

ment gap between boys and girls is reversed, with men getting paid more than women, especially after the age of 30' (Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission 2015: 5);

– In the United Kingdom there are 'stark school readiness gaps among 4 and 5 year olds. Children from then poorest fifth of homes' are 19 months 'behind children from the richest homes in vocabulary tests'. 'Education gaps between poorer children and their richer peers widen in the UK […] as children age […] this widening occurs at age 11, at the start of secondary school. In England students from the highest social class groups are three times as likely to enter university than those from the lowest social class groups' (Carnegie Corporation of New York/The Sutton Trust 2012: 3);

– 'While educational attainment by children from disadvantaged families has improved over the last two decades, the gap between them and their more fortunate peers has improved only marginally' (Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission 2015: 5).

– 'London and its commuter belt is pulling away from the rest of the country. Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds who live in these areas are far more likely to achieve good outcomes in school and have more opportunities to do well as adults than those in the rest of the country. Coastal areas and industrial towns are becoming real social mobility cold spots. Places like Doncaster, Mansfield, Stoke, Blackpool and Great Yarmouth are performing badly on both educational measures and adulthood outcomes, giving young people from less advantaged backgrounds limited opportunities to get on' (Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission 2016).

Policy discussions and responses to this shared concern remain, of course, contested. As indicated in the introduction, national UK governments since the mid-1990s have sought to respond to social and educational inequalities through neoliberal approaches which marketize educational provision under the mantras of choice and competition. In order to highlight the nature of, and the tensions involved with this neoliberal approach, in this section, we consider three points of analysis – *school structures*, *aspirations*, and *teaching and pedagogies*.

School Structures

A core policy intervention aimed at addressing social inequalities in education has been the movement towards, and proliferation of, semi-autono-

mous, directly funded state schools through the establishment of *academies* and *free-schools*. Originally introduced by the Labour government in the early 2000s to replace 'failing' state schools in disadvantaged areas, the academies programme has been heavily extended under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition (2010–2015) and Conservative (2015–) governments since 2010. Academies are state schools which receive their funding directly from central government and, as such, are independent of local authority control. Some academies have been compelled to enter such status on the basis of a school's 'under-performance', while others have converted to academy status by choice and on the basis of their 'outstanding' or 'good' performance. In the period between May 2010 and March 2015, for example, the number of academy schools grew from 200 (around 6 % of state schools) to over 4500 (around 60 % of state schools) (Parliament 2016). Free schools are legally academies, but are schools which are new to the schooling system (rather than having replaced or been converted from an existing school). The first 23 free schools opened in September 2011; by September 2014 there were 241 free schools in existence (Parliament 2016). Both academies and free schools are granted particular flexibilities to increase their autonomy, including what they teach within the National Curriculum, employment practices and the structuring of the school calendar.

While the extension of the academies and free schools programmes was grounded in the rhetoric of challenging social disadvantage, the evidence regarding their effects remains mixed. Machin and Silva (2013), for example, have reported that academies have not impacted positively on the educational outcomes of low-attaining pupils. A recent report by the House of Commons Education Committee (2015: 23) made clear that there was no evidence so far to make 'firm conclusions on whether academies are a positive force for change'. For the Committee, it is 'too early to judge whether academies raise standards overall or for disadvantaged children'. The report suggested, however, that 'what is clear is that the picture is highly variable across the country'.

Within this context significant concern has been expressed about the extent to which state schooling in England, as in other nations, can be said to have become segregated (Burgess et al. 2007; Allen et al. 2010). The process of segregation is two-way, with affluent parents able to use their cultural capital to maximize their choice of school and some schools using various enrolment strategies to affect the background of children within their intake (Furlong and Cartmel 2009; Coldron et al. 2008; West et al. 2009).

Through these quasi-market conditions parents with higher socio-economic status become:

> fearful, alert and strategic […] [and] within the social field of education the middle class have enough capitals in the right currency, to ensure a high probability of success for their children. Their tactical deployment of these capitals more often than not enables them to gain access to and monopolize advantageous educational sites and trajectories. (Ball 2003: 168).

In addition to segregation between schools, there is evidence to suggest that segregation within schools through 'endemic setting and streaming' occurs, resulting in 'white middle-class children in socially mixed schools' being 'mostly educated separately in top sets away from their black and white working-class peers' (Reay 2012: 591).

Aspirations

Another key trend within educational discourse on social mobility in England over recent years has been the focus on aspirations – whether that be the need for and value of high aspirations, or the problem and need to challenge low aspirations (see St. Clair et al. 2013, for a succinct overview of key government policies since the late 1990s). This focus on aspirations has, though, taken a particular frame, one which emphasizes and prioritizes neoliberal aspirations (Stahl 2015). Importantly, celebrating high aspirations and challenging low aspirations have been seen by policy-makers as crucial in raising the educational engagement and attainment of low socio-economic status pupils. Central to this discourse has been a prioritizing of market-led values, such as success in high status qualifications, entry into higher education and earning power. In 2010, the Prime Minister, David Cameron, and Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg, asserted that:

> In far too many communities there is a deeply embedded culture of low aspiration that is strongly tied to long term unemployment. The Coalition's Work Programme and welfare reforms will help tackle these issues. But schools do have a crucial role to play. (DfE 2010: 4)

A key tension has been the extent to which the focus on aspirations at a policy level has been shaped around 'blaming teachers for low expectations' and 'parents for lack of aspiration' (Ball 2013: 5). Research suggests, however, that the issue is not that parents and students necessarily have *low* aspirations. It may be the case that aspirations simply differ in nature from parents and students

with higher socio-economic status and/or that, even where aspirations are the same, parents and students with lower socio-economic status often lack the cultural and political capital to realize their aspirations. On this recognition, a number of writers have recently looked to explore the extent to which young people have agency and ownership in defining their own aspirations (see, for example, Sarojini Hart 2012; Stahl 2015).

A report from the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission entitled *Cracking the Code*: *How Schools Can Improve Social Mobility* (2014: 33), placed significant emphasis on aspirations, but highlighted an important issue concerning aspirations, namely that while:

> survey evidence shows that young people from disadvantaged backgrounds start out with high aspirations indistinguishable from those from better off backgrounds […] over time expectations shrink – particularly if children start to do badly at school, they have no role models or the practical steps needed to translate ambition into achievement are unfamiliar.

It is interesting to note that the report adopts an economic lens for conceptualizing aspirations, paying scant attention to aspirations connected to citizenship and democratic participation. The report thus makes clear that social mobility is an 'economic goal because young people's skills and qualifications shape employment, taxes, innovation and growth' (SM&CPC 2014: 4). While it is accepted that social mobility is related to social justice, in its only reference to citizenship the report again adopts an economic lens, suggesting that 'the economic security that comes from a good job is a critical enabler of schools' other citizenship and wellbeing objectives' (SM&CPC 2014: 4).

Pedagogies

Teaching – and teacher effectiveness – have been viewed as central to social mobility/immobility. The white paper produced by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government focused on *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE 2010: 9), and asserted that '*All* the evidence from different education systems around the world shows that the most important factor in determining how well children do is the quality of teachers and teaching'. Similarly, according to the conservative-leaning Centre for Social Justice (2013: 17), the most 'important school-based factor affecting outcomes is the quality of teaching. This is especially important for disadvantaged children, with the most to gain from attending excellent schools. Yet, too often, teaching is substandard and

leadership is weak'. For some, over recent years teachers and teaching have suffered from a 'constant flow of derision', with blaming teachers for 'low' educational standards becoming a 'political blood sport' (Ball 2013: 33).

Successive governments have commented on, or directly intervened, in not just what is taught, but how it is taught – often criticizing the quality of teaching and teachers in state schools as they have done so. Significant interventions during New Labour's time in office included the establishment of the national teaching strategies for core curriculum subjects (Lupton and Hempel-Jorgensen 2012). While they have used the rhetoric of giving teachers greater autonomy over teaching methods, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat and Conservative governments since 2010 have also intervened regarding pedagogy. Castigating methods used in the teaching of history that seek to make historical knowledge relevant, the then Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove (2013b), claimed that what had been missing from debates about the teaching of history in English schools 'is an appreciation of how history is being taught in many of our schools'. Focusing on resources set out in *Primary History*, the practitioner journal of the Historical Association, Gove (2013b) spoke of 'proper history teaching […] being crushed under the weight of play-based pedagogy which infantilises children, teachers and our culture', claiming that 'there is precious little attention given to what has actually gone wrong in too many of our classrooms'. More directly, both Gove and his replacement as Secretary of State for Education, Nicky Morgan, have committed to and supported the teaching of synthetic phonics in early literacy development.

As Lupton and Hempel-Jorgensen (2012: 601) point out, however, across these policies there has been no 'attention to what socially just pedagogies might look like, nor to the organisational conditions in which they might thrive'. This neglect is potentially significant if – as we would – it is accepted that a 'socially just education system must involve an equitable approach to pedagogical practice'. Considering pedagogy in relation to teaching and teacher effectiveness seems to us to be important if we are to avoid narrow conceptions of teaching which prioritize particular academic outcomes at the expense of, or to the exclusion of, wider democratic purposes. Moreover, putting in place democratic pedagogies which open up possibilities for critical exploration of how knowledge is produced seems important if deficit models of particular children and social groups are to be challenged and replaced by more positive relationships (Reay 2006).

According to Lusted (1986: 2–3; emphasis in the original) the concept of pedagogy 'draws attention to the *process* through which knowledge is produced'. In doing so, pedagogy is concerned with '[H]ow one teaches […]

but, through the prism of pedagogy, [this] becomes inseparable from what is being taught and, crucially, how one learns'. As Lingard (2007: 247) argues, 'it is through pedagogies that education gets done'. Building from the work of Newman et al. (1996), which identified the concept of 'authentic pedagogy', significant studies in different nations have variously sought to identify particular forms of pedagogy that enhance pupil engagement and learning. Such studies include those concerned with 'transformative pedagogies' (Hart et al. 2004), 'productive pedagogies' (Hayes et al. 2006), 'turnaround pedagogies' (Comber and Kamler 2004), 'pedagogies for justice' (Hattam and Zipin 2009) and 'creative pedagogies' (Jeffrey and Woods 2009).

We would suggest that if schools are to become more equitable, then there needs to be greater attention given to the ways in which particular pedagogies can promote or restrict inclusivity and democratic principles in a way which combines teacher expertise and knowledge with students' interest and knowledges. We return to democratic pedagogies in relation to education for citizenship in the next section, but conclude here with the suggestion that, without democratic pedagogies, the following situation outlined by Robinson and Aronica (2015; unpaginated) will persist:

> Our school systems are now a matrix of organisational rituals and intellectual habits that do not adequately reflect the great variety of talents of the students who attend them. Because they conflict with these systems too many students think they are the problem, that they are not intelligent or must have difficulties in learning.

In such a context, pedagogies which connect meaningfully with pupils' life-worlds and experiences have the potential to disrupt the positioning of certain pupils as being 'the problem', and support 'well-educated teachers who know the research literature, but mediate it through a careful reading of the demands and specificities of their students, classes, locale and place and space of nation and globe' (Lingard and Mills 2007: 237; see also Perry and Francis 2010; Reay 2012).

Implications for Education for Citizenship

Questions of social justice connect in important ways to education for citizenship, including how it is justified, framed and experienced. In England, such connections have at times been under-recognized in important ways. It is notable, for example, that the Final Report of the Advisory on Citizenship –

Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools (known commonly as the Crick Report; QCA 1998) – which led to the statutory introduction of citizenship education for 11–16 years olds in state schools from 2002 – made no explicit reference to social justice. Adopting what might be conceived as a deficit model to young people's political participation (the Report made reference to increasing social, moral and political apathy in its justifications for the new subject), a range of commentators critiqued the lack of attention paid to social inequalities based on 'race', culture, class and gender (Osler 2000; Gillborn 2006; Leighton 2004; Faulks 2006; Kivisto and Faist 2007). This critique was significant in identifying that neither the Crick Report, nor the citizenship curriculum itself, recognized fully the need for pupils to explore significant political and cultural processes that bring about and maintain social inequalities which, in turn, affect the ways in which citizenship is experienced and, in some cases, restricted. Moreover, and as Faulks (2006: 62) suggests, such 'structural inequalities are […] powerful barriers to creating a common citizenship that transcends ethnic, religious and gender differences'. Indeed, it was only after a national review of educating for citizenship and diversity following the London 7/7 bombings (DfES 2007) that greater recognition of cultural diversity was included within the citizenship curriculum.

In this final section, and in light of the analysis provided in the preceding two sections, we consider two particular issues – *how we conceive the political* and *democratic pedagogies* – which we would argue are crucial in connecting education for citizenship and social justice. Recognizing that both are rendered problematic in the current policy context, we also seek to offer some positive comments regarding how both might be approached in useful ways.

Conceiving the Political

A key criticism of the Crick Report and the framing of the citizenship curriculum when it was introduced into schools in 2002 was the extent to which it 'adopted a statist perspective' thereby neglecting 'structural disadvantages associated with class, "race", disability and gender, which account in part from the alienation of young people from mainstream politics' (Faulks 2006). While we would not wish to diminish the importance of more traditional forms of political participation, such as voting, numerous studies conducted over the last 15 years have signified a shift towards young people's engagement 'in a multiplicity of political activities beyond the traditional' (Pattie et al. 2004: 266). Indeed, there is some very positive evidence of participation among young people in England over the last 15 years (see e.g. Whiteley 2005; Haste 2005; Davies et al. 2006; Benton et al. 2008; Pye et al. 2009).

Clearly, however, there are some important variations in young people's activities – based on a range of factors. In their study into the civic engagement of young people living in areas of socio-economic disadvantage, Mason et al. (2010: 12) report that, when asked, young people viewed 'school [as] an important site where [they] can be civically engaged [...] yet more than half of respondents did not report volunteering or helping others at school'. Furthermore, studies by Arthur et al. (2009); Mason et al. (2010) and Keating et al. (2010) all point to the fact that, while a significant minority of young people between the ages of 14 and 16 are engaged in some form of community involvement, for many this is not a feature of their education or wider lives. These findings suggest not that young people are not interested or involved in political and social action, but that such activity is not always connected to by schools. Reflecting on the evidence collected in a large-scale longitudinal study of citizenship education in England, Keating et al. (2010: 56) report 'that many schools struggle to facilitate participation outside of school and to forge links with local communities'.

In light of this, there are reasons to be concerned about the recent narrowing of the curriculum for citizenship education. While the revised citizenship curriculum taught between 2008 and 2013 paid greater attention to different forms of participation, the most recent iteration of the citizenship curriculum introduced by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government in 2013 represents a de-politicizing of the curriculum in favour of a more socially conservative approach. The National Curriculum for citizenship in England from 2014 has four key aims for pupils aged 11–16. They are to:

> acquire a sound knowledge and understanding of how the United Kingdom is governed, its political system, and how citizens participate actively in the democratic system of government;
> develop a sound knowledge and understanding of the rule of law in society and how laws are shaped and enforced;
> develop an interest in and commitment to volunteering that will continue until adulthood;
> be equipped with the financial skills necessary to manage monetary matters on a daily basis as well as to plan for future financial needs. (Department for Education 2013)

Compared with the previous version of the citizenship curriculum, this revised version (which academies and free schools are not compelled to teach at all), is not underpinned by a clear conceptual framework, makes less explicit reference to identity and diversity, and focuses on individual volunteering rather than collective forms of political and democratic participation.

Democratic Pedagogies

In the previous section, we suggested that pedagogies for social justice were an often neglected, though needed, part of teaching. As we envisage them, democratic pedagogies start from where young people have been and are currently at, which use these as a basis for engaging young people, and which do not presuppose unjust limitations on what young people might become. As Ball (2013: 26) reminds us, the 'education of democratic citizens requires critical and political literacies'. We would argue strongly that democratic pedagogies – pedagogies which are 'culturally responsive' (Hahn 2015) and which start from young people's existing knowledge and activities – are central to effective education for citizenship. In line with Reay (2012: 592), we suggest that the following position from Ayres (1998: xvii) provides a useful framework for developing pupils 'social and political awareness':

> Teaching for social justice demands a dialectical stance: one eye firmly fixed on the students – What are they? What are their hopes, dreams and aspirations? Their passions and commitments? What skills, abilities, and capacities does each one bring to the classroom? – and the other eye looking unblinkingly at the concentric circles of context – historical flow, cultural surround, economic reality. Teaching for social justice is teaching that arouses students, engages them in a quest to identify obstacles to their full humanity, to their freedom, and then to drive, to move against those obstacles.

Drawing on Ayres' position, we would argue that democratic pedagogies include a number of core features, and that these features are of particular importance in the context of increasingly neoliberalizing and individualizing educational contexts within which collective endeavour and diverse cultural knowledges are often underplayed. There needs to be an awareness of the complexities associated with the characterization of powerful knowledge that should be available to all. Such features include:

– co-constructing curriculum with young people and (where possible and appropriate) members of the wider communities within which schools work;
– valuing multiple identities, and including multiple perspectives within the curriculum and wider activities of the school;
– working with difference and building curricular that connects with the lifeworlds of young people;
– developing dialogical approaches, through which young people can engage critically with different perspectives, including recognizing that their own views may be fallible.

Creating democratic pedagogies that value and draw from a range of cultural positions to work against obstacles to social justice appear particularly important if we consider research from England (see e.g. Keating et al. 2009) which suggests not only that teachers often lack confidence in teaching education for citizenship, but also that this can translate into the avoidance of politically sensitive and/or controversial issues within the curriculum and classroom. To conclude, we would suggest that, as schools and teachers construct their pedagogies for education for citizenship, the following questions are at the forefront of their thinking 'why, for whom, and to what end?' (Lingard et al. 1998: p. xiv).

Conclusion

The struggle to achieve social justice through and in education in England has been taking place for at least well over century. The very different approaches to achieving a greater degree of social justice is currently – in 2016 – characterized within what is widely regarded as a neoliberal stance which, while maintaining and increasing the power of the state, also allows, within a specified framework, for greater autonomy of individual schools. The general factors that impact on social justice such as the National Curriculum, synthetic phonics, teacher effectiveness and aspiration are significant for understanding why and how the attempts to achieve greater levels of social justice are still ongoing. When we consider the more specific matter of citizenship education, in England, we are witnessing the revival of what seems to be civics. There is now a greater emphasis on civic knowledge (of how the country is governed and how the legal system works) on volunteering and on critical thinking applied principally to personal financial management. We suggest that two conclusions may be drawn from these developments, both of which provide useful prompts for further research. First, while we believe in the power of the education system to work against social injustice, the schooling system in England has not convincingly displayed a capacity to compensate for society. Second, although improving students' level of knowledge and emphasizing their individual dispositions, we remain sceptical about a form of citizenship education that lacks a conceptual base and avoids criticality. Within our positive commitment to education generally, and to the work of schools in particular, the current situation in England does not persuade us that the struggle for social justice is moving in the right direction – either in general terms or, more specifically, in relation to education for citizenship.

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19

Education for Citizenship at School in France: Trajectory, Tensions and Contradictions

Ibrahima Diallo, Mohamed Embarki, and Kaouthar Ben Abdallah

Introduction

In 2015, Paris experienced its worst attacks since World War II. On 7 January, the Kouachi brothers stormed the offices of the satirical French magazine *Charlie Hebdo* and killed 12 people, including two policemen. The following day, Amedy Coulibaly, shot and killed a municipal policewoman and four hostages at Vincennes. All three attackers – who claimed links with radical Islamic groups – are French-born Muslims. Similarly, on 13 November 2015, three coordinated attacks in Paris and the northern suburbs killed more than 130 people. Among the 12 (suspected) attackers – who also claimed links with Islamic radical groups – seven are French-born Muslims.

These attacks in Paris, proceeded by others elsewhere in France (e.g. *Affaire Merah* in 2012),[1] brought to the forefront the contentious debate about the integration of French-Muslim populations in France. For many

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[1] Named after Mohamed Merah, a young French Muslim of Algerian heritage, who shot and killed seven people in March 2012 in a series of gun attacks in Toulouse and Mantauban in France.

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people in France, and elsewhere, violent attacks perpetrated by young French are symptomatic of the 'crisis of integration' in France (Dominique 2009; Brouard and Tiberj 2008; Nair 1996); for others, this 'crisis of integration' is indicative of widespread socio-economic inequalities, marginalization, and stigmatization suffered by the minorities in France, including French-Muslim minorities (Angélil and Siress 2012; Body-Gendrot 2008; Hargreaves 2015; Romanet 2006). The controversy, which at the start focused on Islam and the integration of French-Muslims, took a new turn the day after the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings. It focused on education for citizenship at school after Muslim students did not respect the implementation of the nation-wide minute of silence called for by the French government to pay tribute to the *Charlie Hebdo* victims: these students rejected, questioned, opposed, ridiculed or even disrupted the minute of silence in their schools. This situation caused an outrage in the media and among people generally because around 200 cases of incidents related to the minute of silence were recorded by the Ministry of National Education (Collas 2015). The outrage deepened when students were also reported to their school authorities (and to the police) for chanting such slogans as '*je suis Amedy Coulibaly*' (I am Amedy Coulibaly), '*je suis Ben Laden*' (I am Ben Laden), '*je ne suis pas Charlie*' (I am not Charlie) or simply for blaming the victims of the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings or condoning the attackers (Battaglia and Floc'h 2015; Berretta 2015; Leconte 2015).

One of the main reasons for this post-*Charlie Hebdo* outrage was that these incidents took place at school, which is considered as the most sacred place for the implementation of French republican values and the bastion of *laïcité* (French secularism) Therefore, these incidents not only raised questions about the crisis in education, especially education challenges in the French *banlieues*,[2] but also re-focused the debate on French schools and education for citizenship in France. In an article published in *Le Monde* on 13 January 2015 entitled '*School questioned over citizenship*', Benoit Floc'h (with Adrien de Tricornot) asked the following question: 'Is school fulfilling correctly its role as a melting-pot of citizens?' (Floc'h 2015). Similarly, Merckx (2015), in an article '*After the shootings, the challenges of the schools*' published on 22 January 2015, argued that French 'schools are faced with unusual challenges'. More broadly, but in the same line of questioning, FranceTV asked the question:

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[2] These challenges in *banlieues* are captured by popular movies such as *La Haine* by Mathieu Kassovitz (1995); *Entre Les Murs* by Laurent Cantet (2008) and *Les Roses Noires* by Helene Milano (2011), to name but a few.

'*Is a deep fracture sweeping across France?*'.[3] Even though these authors did not provide answers, their questions are testimonies of the depth of the crisis and served as the backdrop for the debate on education for citizenship at school.

Manuel Valls, the French Prime Minister, in a compelling TV address, warned: 'I don't want youngsters showing the V victory sign after what happened' (Floc'h 2015). Subsequently, the government initiated a range of measures at school: one of the first initiatives was to launch a national consultation to legislate compulsory 'moral and civic teaching' [*enseignement moral et civique*] at all levels of the education system (Floc'h 2015). The French government went further than that, re-emphasizing moral and civic teaching. On 22 January 2015, Najat Vallaud-Belkacem, the French Minister for National Education and Tertiary Education, outlined sweeping education measures called '*La Grande Mobilisation de l'école pour les valeurs de la République*' (The Great Mobilization of schools for Republican values).[4] The *Grande Mobilisation* seeks 'to make the republican value values alive' [*pour faire vivre les valeurs de la République*].[5] In short, it is 'a series of eleven major measures to replace *laïcité* at the centre of schools programmes, to develop citizenship and fight inequalities' (Rescan 2015).

Even though school alone is not to be blamed for the social unrest and violence in France, the French school, which is at the heart of education for citizenship, must be at the forefront of education for citizenship. This view is summarized by Laurent Escure, the general secretary of one of the largest teachers' unions in France in the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting, 'in any ways school is not responsible for the events. But is responsible for the construction of citizenship' (quoted by Floc'h 2015). However, in recent times, school has become the place where education for citizenship has shown its limitations; in particular, tensions and contradictions in implementing *laïcité* – the backbone of education for citizenship – at school.

This chapter is about education for citizenship in France, and the tensions and contradictions in implementing *laïcité* at school. It is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the French conception of education for citizenship. This is followed by a summary of the crucial role of school in forming republican values in education for citizenship. The third section provides an overview of the trajectory of education for citizenship in France, with a focus on *laïcité*. The final section discusses the tensions and contradictions in implementing *laïcité* at school in terms of social justice and equality.

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[3] http://www.francetvinfo.fr/faits-divers/attaque-au-siege-de-charlie-hebdo/minute-de-silence-pour-charlie-hebdo-la-difficile-tache-des-profs-dans-certains-colleges_792855.html (accessed 12 Jan 2016).

[4] Henceforth, we use *Grande Mobilisation.*

[5] Speech delivered by the Minister of National Education Najat Vallaud-Belkacem on 22 January 2015.

Education for Citizenship: The French Conception

The notion of 'citizen' in the French context has several meanings depending on the contexts and players. For the purpose of this chapter, we focus our discussion on citizenship at school. It is important to stress that, in France, education is associated with citizenship and republican values.

Citizenship means 'belonging to an autonomous political community, with rights and obligations' (Schnapper 2000). However, the concept has been interpreted differently in the political history of France when applied to the individual, to nationality, to religious beliefs, to social inequality, and to historical and community traditions. In the context of education, especially in recent times, education for citizenship at school must ensure national unity, be at the service of the promotion of all society's talents and forge individuals with a critical mind. It means putting in place a civic education that focuses on the values, knowledge, practices and behaviours that seek to encourage effective and constructive participation in social and professional life, to exercise one's liberty while being aware of those of others and to reject violence. For this to happen, 'students must learn to establish the difference between universal principals (Human rights), the rules of law (the law) and good social practices (civility). It means also to develop the feeling of belong to one's country, to the European Union, due respect to diversity of choices on each and their personal options' (MEN[6] 2012).

The main objectives are to learn the rules of civility and the principles of behaviour that conform to *morale* (morality). French conceptions of education for citizenship imply also putting in place common rules of civility and politeness – such as greeting one's teachers at the beginning and end of the day, to answer questions that are asked, to thank the person who helps, or not to interrupt someone who is expressing themselves. In addition, particular attention is given to the basic morals of these rules of behaviour, including respecting people and someone else's property, the obligation to conform to rules put in place by adults or, again, to be respectful in one's language with children. In France, the phrase 'education to citizenship' or 'education for citizenship' are generally used interchangeably in common discourse to mean – and sometimes to nuance – the same things but with many dimensions, including civic education, education for tolerance, education for development and solidarity, and education for integration.

According to Rogers (1992), the French Revolution led to both the nation-state and the modern institution and ideology of national citizenship in

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[6] MEN: Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale (Ministry of National Education).

France (p. 35). Not only did the French Revolution put an end to the privileges of the bourgeoisie in the Kingdom of France and introduce the notion of citizens, but it also prepared the ground for a new type of citizen that emerged from the Revolution:

> The Revolution created a class of persons enjoying common right, bound by common obligations, formally equal before the law. It substituted a common law for privilege (etymologically private law). *citoyens* for *privilégiés*. (Rogers 1992: 39)

The concept of citizen (*citoyen*, in French) that emerged from the French Revolution drew significantly from the concepts of citizenship in the ancient world (e.g. Rome, Athens and Sparta) (Rogers 1992: 39). However, the eighteenth-century French intellectuals such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, Diderot and d'Alambert, to name but a few, significantly contributed to shaping and influencing the modern concept of citizenship in France (Hammersley 2015: 469). For example, Diderot, in his *Encyclopédie* article '*citoyen*' defined a citizen in terms of rights and freedom:

> A citizen is someone who is a member of a free society with many families, who shares in the rights of this society, *and* who benefits from these freedoms […] Someone who has been divested of these rights and freedoms has stopped being a citizen. One accords the title to women, young children, and servants, only as family members of a citizen […] but they are not truly *citizens*. (Hammersley 2015: 469, cited from Diderot)

In other words, as argued by Gwynne (1993: 93), the aim of the Republicans was to create '*l'homme nouveau*' (the new man). According to Gwynne, 'the top priority for the political and cultural elite of the French Revolution was the creation of 'l'homme nouveau', a new Adam (Eve would follow him) rehoused in a secularized, rationalized Garden of Eden' (1993: 930). With the Republicans controlling power in France, they endeavoured to implement the ideas of freedom and equality of all citizens before the law proclaimed in the Declaration of Human Rights and of the Citizen proclaimed in 1789. The shift from subject *sujet* (citizen) to *citoyen* (citizen) after the Revolution and the Declaration of Human Rights had profound social, political, ideological and legal implications in France. The French school was the place for the transmission and the strengthening of the post-Revolution values of freedom, equality and fraternity. In parallel with these values, *laïcité* was introduced into school to ensure that it remains a 'neutral space'; that is, a place where religion is completely written off.

Education for citizenship in France started after the French Revolution of 1789, as school was the battleground for ideological control on which the Republicans and the clergy fought. Since then, school has been central in education for citizenship based on republican ideals. Therefore, it was no surprise, in the aftermath of the January 2015 shootings, that school, once more, became the battleground of education for citizenship; in particular, the call for the re-establishment of moral and civic teaching resurfaced against the backdrop of a serious economic crisis, deepening social unrest and rising religious intolerance. For the French government, re-establishing moral and civic teaching was important for two reasons; first, for political reasons, to show that the government was in control in the context of intense political crisis; second, for symbolic and ideological reasons, because the government wants to be seen as a government for political unity and social inclusion. As argued by Parasote and Randt, 'ostensibly, *Éducation civique* curricula are designed to integrate children from all backgrounds into the Republic as "good citizens […]"' (2008: 1).

The path of education for citizenship in school has been long, tumultuous and complex. To better capture its route since the Revolution, education for citizenship has been summarized into three main periods.[7] The first period covers the time between the French Revolution and the end of World War II. This phase is referred to as the education for citizenship in the post-Revolution era. It highlights the introduction of *instruction civique* (civic instruction) in school curricula and *laïcité* at school, as well as the instilling of patriotism in students. The second period falls between the end of World War II and 7 January 2015 – the date of the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings. During this period, education for citizenship focused on developing citizenship for the *vivre ensemble* – which is education to foster acceptance, social cohesion and tolerance. The final period began on 7 January 2015. It is referred to as education for citizenship in the post-*Charlie Hebdo* era and focuses on the *Grande Mobilisation*.

Education for Citizenship in Post-Revolution Era

Following the Revolution, it took many decades to put in place a stable government with solid institutions in France. However, at the outset, the Republicans emphasized the urgency for the state to take control of public

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[7] We are aware of the arbitrariness of the division. We have adopted this division into three periods to simplify and summarize a long and complex history, as the focus of the article is on the major ideas and debates that have shaped and influenced education for citizenship at school.

education and to provide education based on *morale civile* (civil morality). They advocated that the onus was on the French state to provide public education to all primary school children in order to consolidate republican ideals.

The responsibility of the state for public education, which was central to the republican argument, took shape and grew. In addition to emphasizing the state's responsibility to provide *instruction publique* (public instruction) for social justice, freedom and liberty, the Republicans urged that there be a primary education based on '*morale républicaine*' (republican morality) – rather than '*morale religieuse*' (religious morality).

Following the state control of public education and the teaching of republican morality at school, the status quo remained in place so far as *instruction publique* (public instruction) was concerned. In 1881, Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction, introduced policies for the French education system that brought about a sea change. In 1881, Ferry made primary education free and, from 1882, education became mandatory (for those between the ages of 6 and 13) and *laïque*[8] (Soulé 2012; Audigier and Loeffel 2010). Ferry made another seminal contribution in education for citizenship: he introduced *instruction morale et civique* (moral and civic instruction) in primary school.

Ferry introduced concepts that have, from that point on, shaped both the education system and education for citizenship – in particular, *laïque* education and civic instruction; in order to protect public education from religious intrusion, Ferry legislated that public education must be *laïque* (secular education). The other major landmark decision by Ferry was to introduce civic instruction in primary school curricula. Civic instruction can be said to be the first stepping stone of education for citizenship and was an important feature in school curricula. Civic instruction grew in status and subsequently became a school subject. According to Buisson:

> Well understood, civic teaching [*instruction civique*] has a double aim: instruction and education; teach about the country, and teach the love of the *patrie*; in other words, on the one hand a brief study of the institutions that govern us, preceded by notions required on the organisation of the society in general; on the other hand, the awakening and the development of the sentiment of gratitude, of attachment and of devotion to the *patrie* to child. (Buisson 1887: 398)

In addition to these major changes, Jules Ferry supported the teaching of the Constitution, the Declaration of Human Rights and of the Citizens, and republican morality as the core of civic instruction at primary school. Since

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[8] Legislation of 22 March 1882 made education '*obligatoire et laïque*' (mandatory and *laïque*).

then, civic instruction has been an important feature of public education in France, as highlighted by Prost: 'the State in France, has always considered primary education as the place for *éducation civique et politique* (civic and political education)' (1968: 42).

In 1923, another important change took place concerning education for citizenship. Civic instruction, which was taught only at primary school, was expanded to the secondary level and attached to morality classes: it became civic and moral instruction. The introduction and focus on morality are important, in the sense that morality seeks to 'teach a child what they must know so that they fully play their role as citizen; it is completing their moral education' (Marchand 1992: 16). A range of new topics was included in this new subject of civic and moral instruction. For example, organization of the judicial system, public powers, rights and obligations of citizens, and so forth. The teaching of civic and moral instruction changed in 1938 to become *intitiation pratique à la vie civique* (practical initiation to civic life). This new subject includes practical and hands-on activities for students – such as participating in their village cooperatives, reading and writing birth/death certificates, practical study of public services (justice of peace, tribunal, and so on), taxation systems, and the political and administrative organization of the country, among others (Marchand 1992: 16). According to Marchand (1992), topics of international scope were also included; for example, international life and *Société des Nations*. However, in 1941 a further development took place: practical initiation to civic life was replaced with '*education morale et patriotrique*' (moral and patriotic education) at both elementary and middle-school levels. Towards the end of World War II, another significant change took place: *instruction morale, civique et sociale* (moral, civic, and social instruction) was implemented and an additional hour's schooling was added to the timetable from October 1945. This was significant because, following the Nazi occupation and to resolve its impact on French society, patriotism was re-introduced as a fundamental part of education for citizenship (Marchand 1992; Parasote and Randt 2008).

From the battle with the clergy to control public education and the introduction of civic instruction and moral and patriotic education at the end of World War II, the republican elite had persistently fought to create a space for education for citizenship in school curricula, especially at the primary level, and to spread and strengthen republican values. They successfully controlled the French education system, putting in place and implementing policies to make public education free, mandatory and *laïque*. Subsequently, they introduced civic instruction in the school curricula at primary school level. However, keeping out religious teaching from French school (by the *laïcisa-*

tion of the school) and introducing civic instruction and patriotism as part of education for citizenship did not address all the issues that needed to be resolved.

Education for Citizenship for the 'Vivre Ensemble'

The end of World War II marked the beginning of the second period of education for citizenship. Education in moral and patriotic education and in moral, civic and social instruction were abandoned shortly after World War II. In the disastrous circumstances following World War II, civic instruction made a strong return in school curricula in an effort to boost the shaken morale of the country. Two new distinct subjects were introduced; each taught for one hour fortnightly from October 1948: moral instruction and civic instruction. Their aims are summarized in the civic instruction syllabus[9]:

> This instruction remains moral, because the solution to all human, social, economic and political problems necessarily involves moral and legal principles of action. It is civic in the sense that it seeks to awaken the future citizens' inquisitiveness needed to understand their environment, and act on it in the most intelligent, the most voluntary and the most usefully way possible. (Cited in Marchand 1992: 25)

In the second period of the development of education for citizenship, following World War II such topics as liberty and freedom were introduced at the *Seconde* level, economy in *Première* and international communication in *Terminale*.[10] From 1948, civic instruction became an autonomous subject in both levels of secondary education in France. Despite the resurgence of civic instruction and its focus on moral and ethical principles, and, to some extent, on patriotism, civic instruction became an autonomous subject in school curricula with a focus on moral and civic instruction for citizenship (Soulé 2012; Marchand 1992; Benoit 1985). However, once again, civic instruction disappeared entirely from school between 1960 and 1980 as a result of postcolonial anxiety (the wars of independence in Indochina and Algeria) and mounting intolerance, as well as the legacy of the socio-political uprising that took place in 1968 (Parasote and Randt 2008: 4). Therefore 'both the moralizing and the militant nature of education civic went out of style and it was removed from the

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[9] *Bulletin officiel de l'Éducation Nationale* (Official Bulletin of National Education) 20 May 1948.

[10] In the Francophone education system, *Seconde* is equivalent to Year 11, *Première* to Year 12, and *Terminale* is the last year before university.

school curricula' (Parasote and Randt 2008, p. 4). The economic and industrial reconstruction of France after World War II opened the doors to significant waves of migration from North and sub-Saharan Africa. The post-war influx from France's former colonies and protectorates changed the demographics of France. Subsequently, this immigration not only impacted the ethnic and religious make-up of France, but also influenced education for citizenship at school.

In 1985, civic education was re-introduced in primary schools following a series of political and social tensions. Young French, mostly living in *banlieues*, regularly clashed with the French police. They denounced frequent police harassment, systemic racism, structural socio-economic marginalization and discrimination (Brouard and Tiberj 2008; Nair 1996). This tense political and social situation, fuelled by the economic crisis that began in 1970s and deepened in the 1980s, sparked socio-political unrest and nation-wide controversy and debate on Islam, citizenship, and the integration of migrants and French from a Muslim background into French society. For the French government, one of the ways to address the crisis was to re-introduce *l'éducation à la citoyenneté* (education for citizenship) at school. It was believed that the decline of civic instruction together with the absence of education for citizenship in school curricula were the causes of the tensions in French society (Marchand 1992; Nicolet 1985). According to Soulé (2012), it was in this context that Jean-Pierre Chevénement, Minister of National Education under the presidency of Mitterrand, insisted on teaching *La Marseillaise* (the French national anthem) to schoolchildren.

The socio-economic context did not improve; the social and political tension did not dissipate. In fact, it was amplified as violent expression increased and structural unemployment, especially for French of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds (see de Wenden 2006; Dujardin and Goffette-Nagot 2005), and systemic racism and discrimination remain deep-seated in French society (see Ware 2015; Fraser 2003). As a consequence, the socio-economic discontent and the political tension, known as *fracture sociale*, deepened and polarized French society. In 1991, civic instruction was vigorously re-introduced in parallel with education for citizenship within the policy framework of the '*vivre ensemble*' (to live together) that started in 1995. *Vivre ensemble* was meant to facilitate and encourage integration and citizenship by fostering tolerance, acceptance and respect for cultural, racial and religious differences in France. Education for citizenship became an integral part of school curricula at kindergarten and primary school levels. It aimed at 'a successful socialisation of the child and for children at primary level. Not only the students must accept the rules of living together, but they must be able to explain them and make sense of them' (Galichet 2005: 5).

At *collège* (junior high school) level, education for citizenship and civic instruction became two different subjects and were taught separately. According to Galichet, education for citizenship is the responsibility of the entire teaching team, as each subject is expected to integrate notions of civic education (2005: 6). The timetable at *college* level, for example, includes an annual 10 hours of *l'heure de vie en classe* (literally, hour of life in class), which seeks to manage and solve classroom issues; for example, conflicts between students and teachers, challenges with academic work, adjustment at school, and so on. Another weekly two-hour course called *Itinéraires de découvertes* (IDD) (Itinerary of discovery), which focuses on transversal topics, is taught by teachers from at least two disciplinary subjects. IDD includes practical activities, such as conducting and presenting research, developing judgement skills and a critical mind (Galichet 2005).

Civic instruction at *collège* level remained attached to history and geography classes and was allocated 30 minutes of the weekly three-hour history and geography class. In addition to focusing on the Declaration of Human Rights and of the Citizen, civic instruction at collège level teaches the International Convention of Human Rights; education regarding the environment; citizenship in the French republic, in Europe and the world; citizenship and democracy (6 to 8 hours weekly), political and social citizenship; and fighting against discrimination, among other topics related to the formation of citizenship (Galichet 2005).

However, an important change took place in the French *lycée* (senior high school). Since 2002, education for citizenship has been taught at *lycée* level under the name of *Éducation Civique, Juridique et Sociale* (Civic, Legal and Social Education) (ECJS) (Soulé 2012). It is taught for 12 hours annually and covers such notions as civility, the Declaration of Human Rights and of the Citizen, political and civil rights, security, ethics, integration, and nationality, to name a few. According to Saint-Martin (2013: 152), the purpose of ECJS is 'to train in the founding principles of French citizenship as well as national and European defence'.

Despite focusing education for citizenship largely on *vivre ensemble* (living together), the social and political unrest shows no sign of abating. In fact, it took a new turn when Islamic radical ideas infiltrated certain marginalized neighbourhoods and radicalized disfranchised French from Muslim backgrounds. In 2008, while Nicolas Sarkozy was president, the socio-political unrest persisted and the economic crisis did not improve. Sarkozy re-introduced the morality aspect in civic instruction at primary school level amid persistent political and social unrest, and national debate and controversy on Islam and *laïcité* in France: it became known as civic and moral instruction (Soulé 2012; Galichet 2005).

The education for citizenship described above took place in a particular context. The marginalization of French and migrants of diverse backgrounds led to violent social unrest and political protests for greater religious, cultural and racial acceptance; for equality and social justice. The response of the French government included measures to reinvigorate civic education and education for citizenship at school, instead of addressing the root causes of the unrest and the political tension. In 2015, the tension escalated and reached unparalleled proportions with the January 2015 shootings followed by the November 2015 shootings – both in Paris. The January 2015 shootings prompted the French government to initiate a set of education for citizenship at school.

Post-*Charlie Hebdo* Education for Citizenship

This section relates to the education for citizenship launched by the French government following the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings in 2015 and is known as *la Grande Mobilisation*. It marks an important period in the history of education for citizenship because of the large scale of measures undertaken by the French government. The *Grande Mobilisation* of French schools is built on four major axes. The first axis is 'to place *laïcité* and the transmission of republican values at the heart of the mobilisation of school'; the second is to 'develop citizenship and the culture of engagement with all the partners of the school'. The third axis is to 'fight inequalities and create conditions for a social mix in order to reinforce the feeling of being part of the republic'. The fourth and last axis is to 'bring together tertiary education and research'.[11] As it can be noticed, three of the four axes refer to education for citizenship. In total, the *Grande Mobilisation* contains 11 measures; of these 9 measures address education for citizenship. Only the first axis is summarized below.

In the first axis, there are three measures on education for citizenship. The first measure highlights reinvigorating the teaching of republican values, in particular the teaching of *laïcité* to students. However, the main challenge in many schools, especially those with a substantial number of Muslim students, is the place of religion in the school curriculum and the teaching of religion. The government committed to supporting the measure by initially providing training for 1000 teachers in order to help them to address issues with the

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[11] http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid85644/onze-mesures-pour-un-grande-mobilisation-de-l-ecole-pour-les-valeurs-de-la-republique.html

students on citizenship, *laïcité* and the fight against prejudice. On the issue of placing *laïcité* at the centre of French curricula, the government expected that the 1000 trained teachers would train a further 300,000 teachers on *laïcité*. The face-to-face training is supported by online and hard copy self-teaching materials made available to school authorities.[12]

The second measure seeks to reinforce the authority of teachers and republican values. The French government released a document emphasizing that 'the rules of civility and politeness must be learnt and respected at school'. It means that the *réglement intérieur* (rules of procedures) and the '*charte de la laïcité* (Charter of *laïcité*) will be presented and explained to students. Another important measure is the celebration of the *journée de la laïcité* (day to celebrate *laïcité*) in all schools every year on 9 December (Galichet 2005).

As for the third measure, it emphasizes the introduction of '*un nouveau parcours éducatif*' (a new educational path) at all levels for students from elementary to *Terminale* in mainstream as well as vocational schools. One of the aims is to provide 300 hours of moral and civic teaching before university education because 'it prepares one to exercise one's citizenship and raises awareness on individual and collective responsibility'. In short, moral and civic teaching must prepare the students to understand, first, the principle of discipline; second, the principle of the co-existence of liberties; and, third, the community of citizens. It also includes students involved in the preparations for the *Journée défense et citoyenneté* (day of defence and citizenship) in schools (Galichet 2005).

The *Grande Mobilisation* not only reinvigorates education for citizenship, but expands it to the entire education system – both mainstream and vocational schools – with a whole suite of measures involving students, parents and the wider community (e.g. '*citizen réserve*'). For example, two noteworthy measures in this regard are to 'develop "children's councils" as early as primary education', as part of the *parcours citoyen* (citizenship path), and the generalization of the *malette parents* (kit for parents) (Galichet 2005).

Tensions and Contradictions Over *Laïcité*

This section discusses the tensions and contradictions of education for citizenship over the central issue of *laïcité* at school. Since the late 1980s, school has become also the site where *laïcité* is tested, contested and challenged.

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[12] http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid85644/onze-mesures-pour-un-grande-mobilisation-de-l-ecole-pour-les-valeurs-de-la-republique.html

Laïcité and the Headscarf

School has become a space for tensions and contradictions for which it was not fully prepared to deal with adequately. One of the main tensions is about the wearing of the headscarf at school. For example, in 1989 an incident took place in Creil (a small town of 30,000 people in the department of Oise, in the Piardie region north of Paris). Three students were excluded from their school, College Gabriel-Havez, because they refused to remove their headscarves (*hijabs*). These scarves had been part of daily life without there being any controversy; however, it suddenly became an 'Islamic headscarf' with very negative connotations – such as a symbol of Islamic threat, failure of integration, and other negative stereotypes. Two of the girls banned from the school are French with migrant background. However, because of the irrational controversy in the media, the headscarf became associated with all migrants from North Africa of Muslim heritage. The controversy, amplified by the media, divided the society in terms of 'for' or 'against' the *hijab* but, more broadly, it divided the country in two camps over *laïcité* at school: on the one hand, those who fight against all forms of discrimination (racial, ethnic, religious, cultural) and those who see this decision as a blatant contradiction of the public mission of school, which must welcome all students and guide them to citizenship. Banning the headscarves from school would seem to be a contradiction, as school is supposed to embody the republican values it has been advocating since the Revolution. In other words, those who hold this view use republican values to contest and challenge this *laïque* vision that justifies banning the headscarf from school.

On the other hand, there are people (included politicians and intellectuals) who described the wearing of the *hijab* as an anomaly, as a sign of refusal and aggression towards French society. For them, allowing girls wearing the headscarf in the sacred space of the *laïque* school would constitute a serious threat to *laïcité* and undermine its republican values. To the supporters of this view, this would mean opening a floodgate to *communautarisme*[13] and the influence of religion on education and the mind of the children! From a simple incident in Creil, the wearing of the *hijab* at school brought to the fore the debate on one of the founding principles of republican education: *laïcité* at school. However, the crucial question is what is meant by *laïcité*, as both camps put forward the same republican values to justify their argument.

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[13] *Communautarisme* roughly means the grouping of people or affiliations based on common identity considerations such language, culture, religions, and the like. In France, these are generally perceived to be divisive and a threat to Republican values.

Laïcité on the Religious Signs

Subsequently, the debate over *laïcité* at school continued and tensions on the banning of the veil persisted with family and community getting increasingly involved with a series of lawsuit and litigation in the French highest courts. At school, Muslim students continued to defy the banning of the headscarf and the principle of *laicité* remain contested. In 2003, President Jacques Chirac commissioned Bernard Stasi to report on the issue. The report published by Stasi led to the March 2004 law which banned 'the wearing of symbols or attire which ostentatiously show religious affiliation of schools' from schools, *collèges* and public *lycées* but allows 'discreet' religious symbols. For many students of Muslim background, this law continues to target the Muslim headscarf and therefore an infringement to their freedom of religion. The tensions around this issue are exacerbated by the feeling of bias these Muslims students regarding another aspect in the implementation of the principle of *laicité* to all at school. While the academic calendar recognizes systematically five public holidays for Christian celebrations, but does not officially recognize any in the Muslim calendar.

Laïcité and the Teaching of Religions

Because of the violent past and the conflict between the clergy and the Republicans for the control of education after the Revolution, talking about religion, especially at school, is a complex and highly sensitive topic. This is so to such an extent that this kind of *modus vivendi* almost became a national taboo. However, in 1982 respected voices (e.g. the Association of teachers of history and geography; Alain Decaux, a prolific historian and member of the French Academy) (see Carpentier 2004: 80) broke the silence and advocated the teaching of religion at school. French society suddenly found that its strict and deep-rooted *laïcité* at school had resulted in a 'lack of religious culture for the youngsters' [*une inculture religieuse des jeunes*] (Carpentier 2004). Following debates, colloquia and research papers, Jack Lang, at that time Minister for National Education, commissioned Regis Debray, a well-known philosopher, to report on the teaching of religion at school. In his report, released in 2002, Debray acknowledged the lack of religious culture for the young and he called for a shift from a '*laïcité d'incompréhension*' (*laïcité* of not understanding) to a '*laïcité d'intelligence* (*laïcité* of intelligence). He indicated that the 'time has now come to shift from a *laïcité* of not understanding (the religious, by construction, we don't care) to a *laïcité* of intelligence (it is our

duty to understand)' (Debray 2002: 22). To calm the *laïcité* hardliners and satisfy the supporters of the teaching of religions at school, he came up with the middle-ground idea of teaching '*l'enseignement du fait religieux dans l'école laïque*' (teaching of religious matters as a fact in the *laïque* school). Simply put, it means the teaching of religion as a historical event or fact. Even though the teaching of religious matters as a fact is currently under way at school as part of the *Grande Mobilisation* rolled out in 2015, there are still dissonant voices from some quarters of French society who are concerned with the visibility of Islam in the public sphere. Sallenave (2015), a writer and member of the French Academy, wrote in *Le Monde* to argue that religions do not have a place in schools in France. According to her, a *laïque* school is 'a school that is equidistant to all religions' (Sallenave 2015). On the other hand, there are supporters of '*l'enseignement du fait religieux*', who see this measure as a significant step forwards and a testimony of the dynamism of *laïcité* (Pillon 2003).

Beyond this controversy and the French government's 'Copernican revolution' in introducing the teaching of religious fact at school, this situation highlights the tension and contradiction of education for citizenship at school on the equidistant implementation of *laïcité* for all in France. In particular, this relates to the ways in which to reconcile *laicité* with the teaching of religious fact when students reject evolution theories, resist studying authors considered as 'atheists' or 'sinners', or refuse on religious grounds to wear appropriate clothes for gym classes at school (Galichet 2005: 11).

Conclusion

This chapter does not claim to have been comprehensive in its examination of education for citizenship at school in France. It has focused on the tensions and contradictions in implementing *laicité* at school in relation to the issue of the headscarf, religious symbols at school and the teaching of religions. It did not, for example, analyze the interface between language, culture and identity, and *laïcité* at school and in education for citizenship for integration, which could be the focus of future studies. In this chapter we have, however, discussed that, since the French Revolution, school has been a battleground: first, between the Republicans and the clergy and, second, more recently, between the supporters of *laïcité* and the Republican values in relation to French from a Muslim background. After the Revolution, the state controlled public education, and imposed free and mandatory public education. Subsequently, under Jules Ferry, civic instruction was introduced in the curricula and school became *laïque*. These revolutionary policies sig-

nalled the start of a long and turbulent path for education for citizenship at school. Education for citizenship started as civic instruction and was taught at primary level in history classes. Gradually, it was expanded to other levels (e.g. *collège* and *lycée*) and, subsequently, it became an autonomous school subject. Until the end of World War II, education for citizenship focused on civic instruction and patriotism. However, in the 1980s education for citizenship took a significant turn, given the new demographic composition of France. French-Muslims, mostly from former French colonies and protectorates, challenged *laicité* for greater religious equality, cultural and racial equity, and social justice. The French government introduced new education for citizenship to address the challenges at school; for example, education for the '*vivre ensemble*' and the *Grande Mobilisation*. In March 2004, the French government voted in legislation to ban the wearing of ostentatious religious garb and symbols at school (but one that allows 'discreet' symbols); the government also introduced the teaching of religion as a fact at school. Despite these gestures, the core issue remains: French-Muslims continue to challenge *laicité* at school as they feel discriminated against by these laws and that their religion being targeted against the backdrop of high unemployment, discrimination and racism. *Laicité*, as it is implemented and as it stands in a multicultural and plural France, will continue to raise concerns at school and beyond in French society. *Laicité* is increasingly being perceived as France's twenty-first-century oppressive doctrine; one that seeks to eradicate any signs of ethnic, social and cultural plurality in the public domain and deprive the minorities of access, as highlighted by Ware (2015: 187) 'ethnic minorities are treated as permanent *étrangers* ("strangers") unworthy of acceptance by the majority population. The problem is not that North and sub-Saharan Africans refuse to integrate into French society – the reality is France won't allow them to do so'.

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20

Hong Kong: Social Justice and Education for Justice-Oriented Citizens in a Politicized Era

Shun-Wing Ng and Gail Yuen

Introduction: Social Justice and Education for Citizenship

Education for citizenship aims at preparing our young people to become participation-oriented members of local, regional, national and global communities. This is achieved by equipping them with the understanding, attitudes and values related to citizenship regarding the importance of democracy, liberty, social justice, human rights and the rule of law; and the dispositions and skills of critical thinking and problem solving (Leung et al. 2014). In this regard, one of the goals of citizenship education relates to the promotion of social justice values such as becoming socially and politically responsible and aware of oppression and structural inequalities due to race, gender, disability, poverty, human rights, or sexual orientation (Torres-Harding et al. 2014). Social justice is defined as issues of equity and fairness in the distribution of resources within jurisdictions, including access to democratic decision-making. According to Zajda et al. (2006), social justice is an attempt to answer the following question: How can we contribute to the creation of a more equitable, respectful and just society for everyone? In Hong Kong, when sovereignty was returned to the People's Republic of China (PRC), it became a vital task to nurture students to be justice-oriented citizens through the citizenship education curriculum in schools in a politicized era.

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This chapter begins with an introduction of the political context of Hong Kong before and after its handover from Britain to the PRC, followed by highlighting some issues of social justice in Hong Kong and some incidents with regard to social justice concerns recently arose in the pursuit of social and political justice by the general public. It then analyzes the impeding factors for promoting justice-oriented citizenship in the citizenship education curriculum with a chronological review of the education policy documents issued by the Hong Kong Education Bureau. The chapter concludes by specifying the importance of nurturing justice-oriented citizens as a matter of immediate urgency for holistic personal development, especially in the rapidly changing social and political context of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong: A Depoliticized City in the Colonial Era

Education is inseparable from and is shaped by its social, cultural and political context (Ng 2009). Because of its transformative function in the process of nurturing students, it helps convey to or indoctrinate students with the dominant ideology of the government with the aim of maintaining societal order. In the United States, for instance, the curriculum and instruction in the subject of Social Studies was criticized as contributing to the development of undemocratic, or even anti-democratic, attitudes among adolescents in the 1960s (Patrick 2002). Patrick (1967) argues that deficiencies of textbook content at that time included avoidance of social and political problems, inattention to skills of critical thinking and inquiry, and unrealistic portrayal of political and civic life. Teachers seemed to discourage critical inquiry about social justice issues and concerns. Hong Kong has also undergone a similar situation to that described above (Leung and Ng 2004; Yuen and Byram 2007).

Hong Kong had been a British colony for 155 years when its sovereignty was returned to Communist China on 1 July 1997. During the period of British rule, a positive, empowering and active mode of citizenship towards social justice and political participation was denied to Hong Kong citizens (Ghai 2001). Education for citizenship had never been substantially and successfully implemented during the period of colonization in which people were socialized to be apolitical and anational because the British government successfully indoctrinated a subject political culture (Tsang 1994) in students. Being a subject means one is under the power of government; being a citizen

means one is member of the state or government (Hazareesingh 2014). At that time, the people of Hong Kong were treated as 'subjects' rather than 'citizens' (Ng 2010). They lacked identification with either the United Kingdom or China as they were alienated from the political arena; were unable to discuss government policies and political affairs, or to exercise their civil rights; and were weak in civic knowledge and showing less interest and concern for China than local affairs (Bray 1992; Law 2004). In fact, it is the nature of a colonial government to carry out alien education policy that could make students unfamiliar with their indigenous culture (Kelly and Altback 1978). People living in Hong Kong were 'residents' but not 'citizens' (Chan 1996). Citizenship education in the school curriculum aimed to alienate students as much as possible from their national identity and the concept of the nation-state (Tsang 1994). Moreover, the colonial government did not allow teachers to select any type of social and political issues for discussion among students in the classroom so that they could maintain and perpetuate the system of de-politicization that was advantageous to the stability and prosperity of the community.

Hong Kong was returned to the PRC on 1 July 1997 with reference to the Sino-British Agreement signed in 1984. Since Hong Kong's capitalist system contrasted sharply with the socialist system upheld by the Communist Party in Mainland China, the reunification was achieved under the principle of One Country, Two Systems, which allowed Hong Kong to retain its capitalist economic system and the existing way of living and culture with a high degree of autonomy. Hong Kong is to become a Special Administrative Region (SAR) with a government formed by local inhabitants (Leung et al. 2014). Apart from military defence and foreign diplomacy, Hong Kong is to be allowed to practice self-rule with reference to the statements stipulated in the Basic Law of the Hong Kong SAR of the PRC.

Voices for Social Justice and Democratic Participation After the Return of Sovereignty

After the sovereignty of Hong Kong was taken over by the PRC, shaped by the political development and policies of China, citizenship education directed by the SAR government has continuously been employed as a means to minimize young people's desire for civic and political participation (Ng 2014). Hong Kong's population is not encouraged to participate actively in social and political activities. Lo (2001) argued that the citizens of Hong Kong in

the pre-1982 stage were apolitical; they simply wanted to hold a passport, enjoy certain civil liberties and live a peaceful life. Since the signing of the Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong in 1984 and the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the scenario of political engagement in struggling for social justice and participating in social movement has improved, but has still been envisaged as limited. Fairbrother (2005) reveals that the de-politicizing of citizenship education in the post-1997 Hong Kong SAR has created a remarkably similar situation to that put in place by the colonial government, which rendered relatively strong civil and social but weak political rights to the people of Hong Kong. Lee (2003) pointed out that students 'have a tendency to avoid activist politics' (p. 605). The intention of developing students with the ideology of participatory democracy and active citizenship has been minimized, while patriotic and national education has been identified as a priority in curriculum reform since 2001 (Fairbrother 2008). However, this minimal participatory citizen fits the expectation of both the SAR government and the central government of the PRC as manifested by the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong Mr Tung Chee Hwa, who once portrayed Hong Kong as a harmonious apolitical capitalist utopia for making money bound together by Chinese Confucian values. This, indeed, corresponded with the official view of the Chinese government with regard to envisaging Hong Kong as an apolitical, commercial Chinese city (Vickers and Kan 2003).

Although the 1997 Civic Education Guidelines were embedded with many political elements – such as democratic values, social justice concerns, civic participation, and human rights and responsibilities – in its contents (Leung and Ng 2004), the study conducted by Ng (2000) revealed that many teachers avoided teaching political dimensions but, rather, selected cultural aspects in the social studies or citizenship education curriculum. As a result, many students in Hong Kong are remaining politically apathetic. To fine-tune the disequilibrium in the implementation of education for citizenship and social justice, critical thinking and the community of practice were identified as key learning strategies in Curriculum Reform in Hong Kong from 2001 to 2011.

In fact, the process of negotiating between the Hong Kong citizenry and the SAR government has been ongoing since 1997 in Hong Kong. In spite of the de-politicization approach to citizenship education, Hong Kong is a vibrant civil society, where dissenting voices are heard and participation is encouraged (Leung et al. 2011). Although the study conducted by Kennedy et al. (2008) indicated that students in Hong Kong seemed not to tend to involve themselves in political petitions or protests, it is interesting that a few groups comprising students from secondary and tertiary education sectors have taken initiatives to participate in the mass demonstrations on 1 July each

year since 2003 – the day celebrating the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China. Driven by social conscience with regard to striving for social justice and democratic participatory engagement in this political era in Hong Kong, thousands of young people have taken part in petitions and demonstrations in the streets. Their active attitudes toward striving for social justice and access to democratic decision-making within a representative government appeared to take many people by surprise. Since then, there have been many student bodies participating in demonstrations on 1 July, in the annual candlelight vigil on 4 June in memory of the victims of the Tiananmen Square Incident, or at the critical time when governmental initiatives were considered to be political indoctrination – such as the incident of non-implementation of the new curriculum of national education in 2013. The Occupy Central with Love and Peace movement in October 2014, a non-violent occupation protest for universal suffrage from the Beijing Authority, is a further political incident that drew the general public's attention, and involved the participation of tens of thousands of secondary and tertiary students. It was a political action implemented with a belief in civic disobedience or non-violent resistance that took place in the financial district and at the central government office in the early weeks of October.

In these political incidents, some youth and student groups have played a key political role in appealing to thousands of young people to participate in moments of struggle for universal suffrage from the PRC. These youth groups are particular examples of politically active citizens who are already well-equipped with the social justice-oriented mindset of civic participation of a civil society in such a de-politicized environment.

Issues of Social Justice in Hong Kong

Since 2000, social justice concerns have received renewed attention in the international community, especially triggered by the global Jasmine Revolution. Social justice has also become one of the values that takes a prominent place in Hong Kong society. According to the Basic Law, Hong Kong's people are affirmed to be endowed with freedom of speech and human rights. Following the return of sovereignty to the PRC, the commitment to 14 international conventions on human rights remains unchanged (Leung 2008). It is noticeable that the general public and political parties, in addition to struggling for universal suffrage in various ways, have also increasingly been more vocal in expressing social justice concerns. However, researchers show a downward trend in expressing progressively fewer views on social justice. According to

a survey conducted by the Chinese University of Hong Kong (2012), they noted that the term 'social justice' had been adopted in 400 newspapers over the previous decade. However, people seem unsatisfied with the status of social justice. The SAR government has always been depicted as an oppressor of social justice in the newspaper. People tended to consider that any unresolved social issues were mistakes or faults of the government. Thus, the inefficacy in addressing social issues has been envisaged as opposing and oppressing social justice. In addition, the privileged class has increasingly been taking the blame for oppressing social justice. The survey (Chinese University of Hong Kong 2012) also indicated three most socially unjust areas: (1) wealth gap, (2) housing issues and (3) political system and three most socially just areas: (1) anti-corruption ethics, (2) freedom and (3) education system.

Indeed, most people in Hong Kong appreciate and value the current status of anti-corruption ethics. Regarding the socially just area of anti-corruption ethics, Hong Kong has been relatively free of rampant bribery or corruption when compared with their neighbouring Asian countries. This is an aspect of procedural justice of which Hong Kong people are proud and that is of great importance to them. However, there are several areas of social justice which have drawn public attention in recent years. In the following, we would like to highlight four areas of social justice concerns in Hong Kong which have led to hundreds and thousands of people protesting in the street, or participating in a petition in the hope of fighting against social injustice in the era ruled by the SAR government: human rights, the wealth gap, housing issues and democratic participation.

(a) Human rights

Human rights in Hong Kong occasionally falls under the spotlight of the international community because of its cosmopolitan status and its commitment to 14 international conventions on human rights (Leung 2008). Generally speaking, Hong Kong is perceived to enjoy a high degree of civil liberties. When Hong Kong's sovereignty was returned to the PRC in 1997, the human rights of the general public were safeguarded under the Sino-British Joint Declaration signed between the PRC and the British government in 1984. Under Annex I (Section XIII) of the Declaration, it is stated that:

> The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government shall protect the rights and freedoms of inhabitants and other persons in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region according to law. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government shall maintain the rights and freedoms as provided for by

the laws previously in force in Hong Kong, including freedom of the person, of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, to form and join trade unions, of correspondence, of travel, of movement, of strike, of demonstration, of choice of occupation, of academic research, of belief, inviolability of the home, the freedom to marry and the rights to raise a family freely.

Despite some core issues – such as the neutrality of the police and freedom of assembly, which is restricted by the Public Order Ordinance – the SAR government generally respects the human rights of Hong Kong's citizens. The world city status is occasionally adopted as a yardstick by commentators to assess whether the PRC has kept its end of the bargain of the One Country, Two Systems principle granted to the Hong Kong SAR government by its current mini-institution, the Basic Law, under the Sino-British Joint Declaration.

However, the police have been occasionally accused of using heavy-handed tactics towards protestors, and questions are asked regarding the extensive powers of the police. In addition, there are comments regarding lack of protection for labour rights and homosexuals. Ranked by the Cato Institute, a think tank headquartered in Washington, DC, Hong Kong is the most free location in the world (Gwartney et al. 2015). However, Hong Kong tops the list mainly due to its economic position – but not with regard to personal freedom (*EJ Insight* 2015). In the Cato Institute Report, the think tank expects a decline in Hong Kong's freedom ratings due to intensifying interference from Beijing, if data concerning several incidents that have occurred in recent years are taken into consideration. Such incidents include the pro-democratic protests in the movement of Occupy Central with Love and Peace, characterized by Yellow Umbrellas in October 2014; the threat of academic freedom with regard to appointment of the Deputy Head of the University of Hong Kong in August 2015 (*South China Morning Post* 2015); and threats to press freedom since the street protest of the Umbrella Movement (*The New York Times* 2015).

(b) Wealth gap

Despite Hong Kong today enjoying a very high level of economic development, with per capita GDP of HK$311,479 as at 2014 (Census and Statistics Department 2015), poverty is a serious concern, one which has continued to worsen in recent years. Since 2005, Hong Kong's gross domestic product has grown by about 50 %, but median household income has risen by only about 10 %. The Gini coefficient of Hong Kong – a measure in which zero means

perfect income equality and 1.0 means one fat cat takes home everything – was at 0.537 in 2013, which exceeded the benchmark for a harmonious society at 0.4. CNN (2014) criticized by saying that 'Hong Kong's growing wealth gap fuels protests' while *The South China Morning Post* (2014), a popular newspaper in Hong Kong, also warned that the 'Wealth gap will break Hong Kong if we don't change the economic order'.

Poverty issues in Hong Kong are multi-faceted. It is hard to say that Hong Kong's poor are facing absolute poverty similar to those in developing countries, but relative poverty in urban area plagues different under-privileged groups in society, including the elderly, the working poor, new migrants and ethnic minorities. The implementation of a minimum wage has helped to narrow the income gap; however, it is typical that a wage rise for civil servants only sees the gap between the rich and the poor widen again; those in the high-income group could receive a 5.96 % rise; those on low incomes were offered only 3.8 % in 2014. The poverty gap increases social disharmony and conflict. There seems to be a general negative sentiment towards the rich, especially land owners and property developers (Newsline 2013; Kong 2013). In addition, there is an increasing polarization and stigmatization of immigrants from Mainland China in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong's high Gini coefficient – already comparable to some developing economies in Africa, Asia and South America – remains high. It is because of the comparatively wide gap between the rich and poor that many youth organizations and non-government organizations (NGOs) have mobilized the general public in demonstrations and petitions.

(c) Housing issues

Hong Kong is a gorgeous city: shining skyscrapers, deep blue waters and towering green mountains. But behind all that rumbles a growing frustration with income inequality and very high real estate prices due to the lack of land and the way the SAR government has allocated land resources. Hong Kong, an international financial centre, has become one of the most densely populated cities in the world. Lacking sufficient space for development, the city has resorted to large scale construction of high-rise apartments and business centres. Population increase and development in Hong Kong has led to widespread overcrowding in residential areas (Hui 2011). As a result, the price of housing in Hong Kong is extremely high, leading to severe inadequacies in low-income residences. The lower income groups depend a great deal on the provision of low-cost housing by the SAR government. In fact, the housing needs of the general public have not been addressed fully. This is an issue of distributive justice while insufficient

public housing provides some low-income groups with no assistance. Those in the low-income groups cannot afford to buy private properties and are forced to live in so-called 'cage homes', cubicle apartments, roof-top houses and tiny sub-divided and partitioned units. These homes and living spaces are usually less than 9.3 square metres (100 square feet) in size, but cage homes tend to be just 1.9 square metres (20 square feet). Sub-dividing a flat refers to the act of dividing a traditional apartment intended for a single family into two or more individual dwellings to accommodate additional families (Buildings Department 2013). About 80,000 people were living in inadequate housing in 2010 (Society for Community Organization 2010). Residents living in these dwellings include the working poor, the unemployed, new immigrants, people suffering from mental illness, ex-offenders and other marginalized and socially excluded groups. These residents face multiple housing related problems, including poor ventilation, small living spaces, stressful relationships with their neighbours and, despite the poor quality of the accommodation, unaffordable rents.

To resolve the housing problem, the SAR government has made strong efforts to find available land on which to develop residential areas. However, the policy of land use proposed by the SAR government has sometimes led to social justice concerns. The North East New Territories Development Plan is a controversial proposal put forward by the government to demolish a series of villages in the countryside for new development areas. This plan, they claim, will provide much needed housing for Hong Kong's growing population. For social justice reasons, many NGOs and youth bodies have raised many objections to this plan which will be at the cost of displaced villagers and displaced elderly people, and will destroy Hong Kong's farmland (*Hofan's Journal* 2014). Most importantly, they have also accused the Government of enhancing Real Estate Hegemony by transferring benefits to major property developers, since 60 % of the land will be used for private housing – most of which is designed as low-density luxury apartments. Eventually, the anti-North East New Territories Development Plan protesters stormed into the Legislative Council on 6 June 2014 but the Finance Committee of the Council approved the request funding proposal of the Plan on 27 June 2014.

(d) Democratic participation: Universal suffrage

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, education for citizenship aims at equipping young people with the understanding, attitudes and values related to citizenship regarding the importance of democracy, liberty, social justice, human rights and the rule of law. Social justice is defined by issues of equity and fairness in the distribution of resources within jurisdictions,

including access to democratic decision-making. Thus, Hong Kong people have fought to establish a representative government through an internationally recognized universal suffrage system as specified in the Basic Law. In fact, democratic development in Hong Kong has been a major topic since the transfer of sovereignty to the PRC in 1997. The One Country, Two Systems principle allows the SAR government to administer all areas of government except foreign relations and (military) defence separately from the national Chinese government. Many Hong Kong citizens became concerned about democratic development when the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong, Tung Chee-hwa, appeared to have mishandled this issue. Other democracy related issues involving human rights and universal suffrage have now become the new focal point of social justice in recent years. To struggle for universal suffrage, the 2014 Hong Kong protests in Hong Kong, involving mass civil disobedience, began in September 2014. Also known as the Umbrella Revolution, Umbrella Movement or Occupation Movement, the protests began after the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC) came to a decision with regard to proposed reforms to the Hong Kong electoral system. However, the decision was widely seen to be highly restrictive, and tantamount to Communist Party control over which candidates would be allowed to present themselves to the Hong Kong electorate. At this point, students led a strike against the NPCSC's decision, and the Hong Kong Federation of Students and Scholarism started protesting outside the government headquarters. Later, the Occupy Central with Love and Peace movement announced that they would begin their civil disobedience campaign immediately. Demonstrations began outside the Hong Kong government headquarters, and members of what would eventually be called the Umbrella Movement occupied several major city intersections. The movement delivers a message that Hong Kong people no longer have faith in conventional ways of protesting when struggling for social justice regarding the democratic political system of Hong Kong.

Education for Justice-Oriented Citizens

Citizenship education in Hong Kong can play a key role in equipping students with social justice values and educating them to become 'justice-oriented citizens' in the context of social injustice with regard to the widening gap between the rich and poor, insufficient provision of public housing, heightened threats against human rights and democratic participation, and real estate hegemony, as discussed above. Justice-oriented citizens, as proposed by Westheimer and

Kahne (2004), are critically conscious of the need to address structural injustice by adopting political mobilization to achieve systematic change so as to challenge and address injustice. They may confront the boundary of law and convention through civil disobedience, if necessary. In recent years, progressively more young people in Hong Kong who were born after 1980 (often referred to as 'post-1980s') have participated actively in social and political demonstrations against injustice concerning human rights, the wealth gap, housing issues and democratic participation. However, it does not mean the present citizenship education curriculum and the classroom pedagogies necessarily facilitate the nurturing of justice-oriented students. On the contrary, both the existing curriculum and the teaching methods adopted by teachers in general aim to nurture politically inactive and docile citizens that will uphold the status quo (Leung 2008; Ng 2014). Westheimer and Kahne (2004) define this type of citizen as 'personally responsible citizens' who acts responsibly, work and pay taxes, obey laws and volunteer to lend a hand, upholding virtues such as honesty, integrity, self-discipline, responsibility and obedience. The personally responsible citizens were anticipated by governments both in colonial times and during the era after the PRC took over Hong Kong in 1997. Thus, the citizenship education curricula reflect the vision of nurturing 'good citizens' and a 'good society', which is envisaged as the dominant value in the policy document regarding citizenship education in Hong Kong (Leung 2008; Ng 2000; Ng et al. 2000). In fact, in 1997 the SAR government attempted to revise the citizenship education curriculum with a vision to nurturing young people to go beyond the character of personally responsible citizens. They are the 'participatory citizens'. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) conceptualize participatory citizens as active members of the community who help to organize community action to care for those in need; those who know how government works; how to adopt appropriate strategies to accomplish collective tasks; and who value trust, solidarity, active participation and community collaboration. Personally responsible citizens differ from participatory citizens in that the former concentrate on individual and personal development, providing services and tending to be apolitical while the latter put focus on participation and collegiality, which would be more political. As criticized by Leung et al. (2014), both types of citizen are trained to be obedient, to not be critical and to tend to avoid controversial issues. Hence, both tend to be politically conservative, with the latter being more liberal.

Typologies of conceptions of citizen can help conceptualize the orientation of citizenship education (Banks 2008). In the following, to afford readers a complete picture of the chronological development of citizenship education in Hong Kong, the typology of three conceptions of citizen by Westheimer

and Kahne ([2004](#)) is employed for discussion, since the notion of justice-oriented citizens is of vital significance, given the recent struggles against various forms of social and structural injustice in Hong Kong.

Phase I: Depoliticization by the State by Nurturing 'Personally Responsible Citizens' (Prior to 1984)

Civics as a school subject was first introduced into Hong Kong's vernacular in schools in 1925 with a mission to vanguard against different sorts of political riots. In 1950, a revised version of Civics was offered to all schools and became an examined subject. Morris and Morris ([2002](#)) argue that the emphasis was on the duties and commitments of a citizen to the status quo. Morris et al. ([1997](#)) criticizes the de-politicized content of Civics aimed at countering communist propaganda. Civics was replaced by Economic and Public Affairs (EPA) in 1965. Much emphasis was put on the description that Hong Kong as a colony of the United Kingdom and good citizens should be civic minded. Morris and Morris comment that the new subject was essentially descriptive, stressed the duties of a citizen and was laudatory of the government's role. Political issues and matters concerning China were avoided in the curriculum. In 1971, Section 98 of the Education Regulation stated clearly that students were forbidden to take part in any political activities, and schools were not permitted to organize any political programmes. It further enforced the policy of de-politicization. The PRC became a member of the United Nations in 1972 and demanded the deletion of Hong Kong and Macau from the lists of colonies in the United Nations. The statement 'Hong Kong is a colony' no longer appeared in the syllabus of EPA. In this phase, the de-politicization of education could be considered as a form of conservative-oriented politicization because possible political resistance to the colonial regime could be minimized (Leung et al. [2014](#)). The objective of citizenship education was to nurture students to be personally responsible citizens.

Phase II: Politicization by the Intended Curriculum: Nurturing 'Participatory Citizens' (1984–1997)

In 1981, a proposal on the reform of district administration was brought to the public; the intention to adopt a representative democratic system in 1984 also drew people's attention to the fact that there would be a drastic change in political education. Moreover, the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984

affirmed that Hong Kong would become an SAR of the PRC under the banner of One Country, Two Systems. It was a turning point from the period of de-politicization and centralization to the era of politicization and decentralization in the history of development of the citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong. The impending transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty from Britain to China really told people that they were going to acquire a new identity as citizens of the PRC. To prepare people for their impending role as citizens of the SAR, the government changed its attitude towards accepting sensitive issues – such as political participation and the study of the PRC – as components of the formal curriculum (Morris et al. 1997). In short, the list of humanities subjects was revised to meet the requirement of a citizen in the coming era of de-colonization. In addition to the amendment of the syllabus, new subjects were added to help students to explore critical social, moral and political issues. Government and Public Administration (GPA) was introduced as a subject in upper secondary schools (S4 and S5) and Liberal Studies was introduced for the sixth form. However, these subjects – being affected by the process of politicization – have been unpopular subjects having low priority among students (Lai 1998; Morris et al. 1997). Therefore, in 1985 and 1996 the colonial government published two sets of guidelines on civic education.

The 1985 Civic Education Guidelines

The colonial government published the first set of *Guidelines on Civic Education in School* in 1985 in response to the public demand for change to the social and political environment. The *Guidelines* (1985) suggested that schools could implement citizenship education through a formal curriculum, or an informal curriculum, or a hidden curriculum as a universal approach across all schools (Education Department 1985: 4–5). This document also outlined in details about the knowledge, skills and attitudes to be inculcated and gave recommendations to teachers on how to achieve them. However, the *Guidelines* received considerable criticism from educators, educational groups, pressures groups and politicians regarding the lack of the concept of democracy (Fok 1997). Leung and Lau (1993) find that the document belonged to a 'social control' type of citizenship education with a conservative ideology. Many of them even criticized the *Guidelines* as a de-politicized form of political education. Leung (1995) regarded this as trivialization of citizenship education.

Several political incidents occurred during this period that impacted on the development of citizenship education in Hong Kong, especially leading to the re-evaluation of the *Guidelines*. One key turning point was the Tiananmen Square Incident on 4 June 1989 in Beijing. In response to the suppression, more than one million people of Hong Kong took to the streets to condemn the violence. Many teachers discussed this political issue among themselves and with their students. The Education Ordinance and Education Regulations forbidding political events in school were all violated (Wong 1990). In 1990, the colonial government repealed the Ordinance to permit teachers to talk with students about any political issues but it had to be ensured that opinions and information disseminated to students in the classroom were unbiased. On the other hand, the Basic Law of the Hong Kong SAR region of the PRC was announced. The closer 1997 came, the more Hong Kong became politicized (Lee 1996). In 1995, the government passed a bill that lowered the voting age from 21 to 18, meaning that quite a number of senior students in secondary schools would be included as potential voters. All these political incidents put great demand on citizenship education in schools. In March 1995, perhaps with some impetus from the critique of the Preliminary Working Committee, a shadow government prior to the handover picked up by the PRC, the colonial government set up an ad hoc working group to review the *Guidelines*. The revised set of *Guidelines on Civic Education in School* (*1996*) was published in July 1996.

The 1996 Civic Education Guidelines

The *Guidelines* (*1996*) cover five contexts which include Hong Kong Families, Neighbouring Community – Hong Kong Districts, Regional Community – Hong Kong Society, National Community – China, and International Community (Education Department 1996: 10–23). The primary objectives of the *Guidelines* are to help students develop civic values, civic attitudes, civic beliefs and civic competence towards democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life. The foci of the *Guidelines* are embedded in the following aims (pp. 5–6):

(a) To enable students to understand how the individual, as a citizen, relates to the family, the neighbouring community, the regional community, the national community and the world.
(b) To help students understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life.

(c) To develop in students critical thinking dispositions and problem-solving skills that would allow them to analyze social and political issues objectively and to arrive at a rational appraisal of these issues.

In comparing the two *Guidelines*, it can be concluded that, at least at the curriculum document level, citizenship education in Hong Kong has made a big step forward, in terms of responding to the social and political challenges accompanying the return of sovereignty to China. The *Guidelines* (*1985*) are more inclined to the type of citizenship education characterized by nurturing personally responsible citizens, whereas the *Guidelines* (*1996*) are more inclined to a mix of citizenship education charged with the mission of preparing critical thinking, responsible, participating, multi-dimensional citizens and serving the function of instilling the sense of national identity, loyalty to the nation state and patriotism. In sum, in the second phase, citizenship education has moved from a de-politicized scenario to a politicized scenario with a disruption to nationalistic education. However, the use of 'critical' in the 1996 *Guidelines* referred only to 'skills', which was not matched with the introduction of critical perspectives and pedagogies that Burbules and Berk (1999) considered as essential features of justice-oriented citizenship education programmes. Therefore, the conception of citizenship in the *1996 Guidelines* was an eclecticism of personally responsible citizens and participatory citizens – but not justice-oriented citizens.

Phase III: De-politicization of Citizenship Education Through Affirmation of Nationalistic Education (1997–2008)

Several years after the handover in 1997, the SAR government issued a few education documents that contain guiding principles for moral and civic education, with particular emphasis on the cultivation of national identity due to insufficient attention having been given to national education in the previous two *Guidelines*. In 2000, an education reform policy document, *Learning to Learn*: *The Way Forward in Curriculum Development* (Curriculum Development Council 2000) was published. Obviously, citizenship education has been de-politicized once more by being replaced with 'moral and civic education'. Citizenship education is integrated with sex education, religious education, ethics and healthy living – the political conception of citizenship is minimized. Five paramount values including national identity (with an emphasis on cultural identity), a positive spirit, perseverance, respect for

others, and commitment to society and nation are proposed in the document, while values such as human rights and democracy are marginalized and are only found in the Appendix. In 2008, two more values – 'care and concern' and 'integrity' – were added to the list of paramount values (Education Bureau 2008). Cultural national education, with emphasis on the achievements of the PRC, became one of the aims of promoting national education in which the notion of national identity and patriotism is included in an apolitical sense (Leung and Ng 2004; Leung and Ngai 2011; Tse 2010). The emphasis on de-politicizing orientation and strong support for uncritical cultural patriotic education may result in developing passive citizens who are uncritical and de-politicized patriots (Vickers and Kan 2003; Leung 2011), with essences similar to the notion of personal responsible citizens, as highlighted in Phase I.

Phase IV: Further De-politicization of Citizenship Education by Implementing 'Moral and National Education' (2009 and Onwards)

In 2009, a new mandatory subject – Liberal Studies, perceived as a watershed for citizenship education – was introduced to all senior secondary students (ages 15–18) in the recent education reform (Leung et al. 2014). The intention is to enable students to understand the contemporary world and its pluralistic nature by helping them make connections between different disciplines, examining issues from a variety of perspectives and constructing personal knowledge of immediate relevance to themselves in today's world (Curriculum Development Council 2007). As criticized by Leung (2008), however, the overall approach of Liberal Studies is rather 'action poor' because of less focus on cultivating transforming agents. Liberal Studies, as a subject, cannot nurture our young people to be justice-oriented citizens.

In 2011, in order to further promote national education as directed by the PRC, the SAR government launched a new initiative to reshape the framework of moral and civic education. A draft of *Moral and National Education Curriculum Guide* (Primary 1 to Secondary 6) (Curriculum Development Council 2011) was released for consultation. There were five domains for education in the proposed curriculum: personal, family, social, national and global. It is clear from the document that the national domain is the key domain. During the consultation period, strong concerns emerged related to political indoctrination. The consultative document was seriously criticized for replacing citizenship education with national education and putting less

emphasis on universal values such as human rights, democracy and justice (Leung and Tang 2011). Moreover, the document is also envisaged as enhancing de-politicization due to an avoidance of discussion on PRC political issues. Tsang (2011) described the curriculum as being sentimentally oriented to an excessive degree, which may lead to bias. In this regard, the aims of citizenship education at this stage are going back to square one, where personally responsible citizens are the ones to be nurtured in Hong Kong society. After consultation, the finalized version of the document was published on 1 April 2012. All primary and secondary schools were requested to implement the curriculum after three years of preparation. In fact, the swing back towards the more liberal approach was caused by the strong criticisms expressed by civil society during the consultation period – but in vain. Ultimately, large scale protests and demonstrations against implementing the new curriculum took place from July to September 2012. These involved many students, teachers, NGOs and professionals from all walks of life. As a result of the protests and demonstrations, the SAR government was forced to shelve the mandatory official curriculum guidelines on national education. The anti-curriculum movement was actually led by an emerging youth organization called Scholarism, which is composed of students that are mainly from secondary schools and tertiary institutions who have actually demonstrated explicitly regarding the quality of justice-oriented citizens.

Implications for Further Research and Education for Social Justice Education

Given the specific political context in Hong Kong, young people play a key role in advancing civil society where the acquisition of true democracy and universal suffrage are the main agenda for the future development of Hong Kong. Education for citizenship is a transformation or socialization process by which young people learn the prevailing social norms and values of their culture, and act for social justice towards creating a more equitable, respectful and just society.

Citizenship education in Hong Kong has long been criticized by educators and researchers for being de-politicization, both before and after the return of its sovereignty to China. As a means of social control, the citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong has, so far, aimed at nurturing young people to be personally responsible citizens – upholding virtues such as honesty, integrity, self-discipline, responsibility and obedience. However, due to the PRC's

refusal to implement the universal suffrage system, Hong Kong is becoming more political day-by-day. , Many young people have taken the initiative to participate in many action-oriented movements to convey a quest for a just and equitable society, protesting about issues of social injustice regarding the wealth gap, insufficient provision of housing, human rights and democratic participation Though they have not been inspired by the citizenship education curriculum in pursuit of justice-oriented citizenship, thousands of young people in Hong Kong have been involved in the Umbrella Movement, the Anti-North East New Territories Development Plan Movement, the Anti-Moral and National Curriculum Movement, and the candlelight vigil in memory of the victims of the Tiananmen Square Incident on 4 June every year. Students unintentionally construct and reconstruct their civic identity by means of social actions. Some young participants may be inspired and encouraged by their citizenship education teachers to discuss, and reflect on their thoughts and experiences. It is through this process that the students gradually develop within themselves a passion for civic consciousness and civic responsibility. The notion of civic consciousness and civic identity is certainly believed to be a key element to transforming a person into an active and participatory citizen (Ng 2014). The majority of people participating in the movements have excellent civic competence and courage despite the fact that they have not formally received any justice-oriented citizenship education while at school. How they have become socially and politically active, and how they have been equipped with the essence of a justice-oriented citizen can be important item on the agenda for future research into political socialization.

The pressing social justice issues and the democratization process in Hong Kong in the twenty-first century demand a well-informed citizenry that can handle controversies with the appropriate attitude and skills. The SAR government should consider aiming at nurturing justice-oriented citizens in the citizenship education curriculum so as to prepare young people to make sense out of their experiences in the context of globalization, politicization and the increasing wealth gap. In school, perhaps the socializing agent – the teacher (Ng 2014), and the teaching methods – such as outdoor experiential education (Warren et al. 2014), critical incident analysis and social justice pedagogies (Lemley 2014) adopted in the citizenship education classroom – are of relevance to the process of nurturing students to be justice-oriented citizens. Torres-Harding et al. (2014) and Goodman (2000) reiterate that a successful social justice lesson requires teachers to help students be aware of inequalities so that they may take an interest in addressing injustice. However, it is possible that students may choose not to confront these social inequalities. Torres-Harding et al. (2014) specify that awareness of social injustice must

be accompanied by action. While awareness of societal inequalities does not guarantee action, knowledge around existing societal inequalities is a necessary step towards engaging in social justice. Classroom discussions, issue-based learning through service activities, the presentation of theories, and critical reflection and discussion around the topic of social justice and social action could help to promote awareness of and actions for social justice issues.

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Education for Democracy, Citizenship and Social Justice: The Case of Iceland

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Introduction

As an exploration of social justice and democracy in education, Iceland presents an interesting case: it is one of the smallest nations in Europe, totalling only around 330,000 people, and has a unique history of democratic tendencies with a colonial twist. It was first inhabited in the ninth century, mainly by people of Nordic and Celtic origins. Boasting one of the earliest parliaments in the Western world, Iceland later came under the influence of the pietists to develop a practically universally literate nation. Iceland's ethnic uniformity has had both positive and negative effects on the development of social justice and democratic values. A social democratic republic which received independence from Denmark in 1944, after over 700 years of colonial rule, Iceland saw both public and political development as an argument for universal education centred on the need to have an informed and literate public. During the latter half of the twentieth century, the social and economic landscape changed rapidly, with modernization and significant economic development leaving a mark on the contemporary socio-political and educational landscape.

This chapter explores these changes, beginning with a discussion of the historical context of both the country and the educational system, with a view to the developing concepts of democracy. It moves on to look at the recent increase in demographic diversity, which has presented challenges to an

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educational system traditionally viewed as mono-lingual and mono-cultural and as having important ties to the historical uniqueness of the people. The chapter then discusses the development of inclusive education, followed by a discussion of gender in a socio-economic and educational framework, as well as a view to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer (LGBTQ) perspectives within the education system. We conclude the chapter with a discussion of areas of research that need to be further developed, as well as a view to the future of Icelandic education in the light of continued globalization.

Historical Issues Relating to Education, Democracy and Social Justice

People migrated to Iceland in the latter half of the ninth century and, in 930, formed a parliament with legislative and judicial functions, although this had no executive power; neither was there a king or a religious leader. In the year 1000, Icelanders agreed to change the official religion from the Old Norse pagan religion (Ice. *ásatrú*) to Christianity. In 1550, the Protestant Reformation took place in Iceland. Currently, Iceland has a Lutheran state Church, to which around 75 % of the population belongs. The official language is Icelandic – a unique language which has changed little for over a 1000 years and Icelanders can still read texts written in the early days of Icelandic settlement.

The thirteenth century was a time of civil war which ended in 1262 with the people of Iceland agreeing to be subjects of the Norwegian monarchy. Norway later became part of Denmark but, when it regained full independence, Iceland remained a colony of Denmark, as did Greenland and the Faroe Islands. In 1874, Denmark granted Iceland a new constitution (to celebrate the 1000 anniversary of settlement in Iceland) and, in 1904, Iceland gained home rule – being granted its own Minister for Internal Affairs. In 1918, Iceland gained sovereignty, though remaining part of the Danish monarchy until 1944. The University of Copenhagen was the most important higher education institution for Iceland well into the twentieth century. When the University of Iceland was founded in 1911, all the professors had been educated at the University of Copenhagen (Hálfdanarson 2011: 76).

For much of the twentieth century, Icelandic educational policy aimed at developing public schools as key institutions in a democratic society. The first comprehensive law for public education was passed in 1907 and made school attendance free and obligatory for children aged 10–14. At the beginning of

the twentieth century, Iceland was among the poorest countries in Europe, sparsely populated and with an extremely poor infrastructure. However, as in the other Nordic countries, literacy had been almost universal since the eighteenth century (Guttormsson 1990).

The 1907 law was based on very progressive ideology (Finnbogason 1903/1994) and preparatory work which had included visits by Finnbogason to some of the more progressive schools in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Pind 2006). The 1907 law was prepared based on reports of the visits made by Guðmundur Finnbogason, who had recently completed a Master's degree in philosophy and psychology at the University of Copenhagen in 1901, and would later complete a doctoral degree from the same university in philosophy and psychology. During the first decades of the twentieth century, there was no school system to speak of in Iceland; only a few towns or villages had established schools at a time where the majority of the population lived in rural areas where peripatetic teachers, most of whom had little or no formal training, travelled the countryside and taught groups of children, usually in private homes (Garðarsdóttir and Guttormsson 2014). In 1903–1904, around 60 % of the student population attended school for no more than two months per year (Garðarsdóttir 1997).

During the early part of the twentieth century, Icelandic politics centred on the relationship with Denmark and on issues concerning independence, rather than democracy. The Icelandic word for democracy, *lýðræði*, first appeared in print in 1906 and its first substantial use was in an Icelandic language paper published in Winnipeg in Canada in 1919 (Jónsson 2014: 103). In the last decade of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, many Icelanders emigrated to Canada and a thriving Icelandic community was formed. This community became a melting pot for cultural, religious and political ideas which then travelled back to Iceland and influenced the developing democratic ideology.

In 1929–1930, a law for secondary education was passed, but it was not until 1946 that a comprehensive revision of the legal framework surrounding education occurred (Act regarding the education system and compulsory education 22/1946). The new law aimed at establishing a centralized educational system that was more comprehensive and unified, but also more open and fair to students who came from disadvantaged backgrounds:

> The educational act of 1946 signalled the will of the legislative power to establish a state-run, centralized and unified education system which guaranteed the economic prosperity of the country and the cultural independence of the nation. (Björnsson 2008: 40)

Unlike previous educational acts, the 1946 legislation was justified, in part, by a reference to democracy. A booklet published by the Ministry of Education in 1946 stated that the educational system aimed at generating 'equality, freedom and fraternity in a more comprehensive sense than our nation has previously experienced' (Matthíasdóttir 2011: 294). However, even if the legislation in 1946 was justified, in part, with reference to democracy, the law itself did not mention democracy or democratic citizenship; it had little to say about democracy and human rights, and did not challenge conventional educational practices or teacher authority. Reference to such matters had to wait until 1974. The earlier law was characterized by obvious and important democratic ideas, such as schools being open to everyone, the school system forming a unified whole, access to education being equal, and education being important for the economic and cultural independence of the country. The centrality of the last point in relation to the educational act from 1946 was predicated on the fact that Iceland had gained full independence from Denmark only two years earlier. It is also evident in the discussion leading up to the new law that politicians saw the educational system as fundamental to the newly found independence of the nation which required an educated public capable of running and administering a modern state. It was implicit in the arguments for the educational reform that educated citizens would be good citizens.

The next general national educational reform occurred with the Compulsory School Act in 1974 (63/1974). Among the primary aims of this law was the fostering of democratic citizenship, both through specific subjects and through general practices within the system. This was indicated in the second paragraph of the law, where the main purpose of schooling was described as preparing students for participation in an ever-changing democracy. The Act also demanded that work in schools should be democratic and that all children, including those with disabilities, should have access to suitable education in their local school. Moreover, the Act required schools to abandon tracking and streaming students according to reading ability, which had been standard practice in many of the bigger schools in Reykjavík. As elsewhere, tracking and streaming was later criticized on the grounds that such classification was largely according to economic or social status and that those who were considered disadvantaged would end up with poor teachers, be victims of bullying and be stigmatized as stupid or incapable of learning (Marinósson and Bjarnason (in press)). However, the criticism was not based on any local research but, rather, was influenced by discussion, for instance, in Denmark, Italy and the USA.

Ingólfur Á. Jóhannesson describes the development in the 1970s as a systemic modernization based on democratic principles:

If we look at late twentieth-century educational history in Iceland from this perspective, we see that the reform efforts of the 1970s and 1980s were aimed at modernizing the Icelandic education system, with an emphasis on primary education (6 to 16 years). The reform was based on child-centred, humanistic, and egalitarian views which I will call the democratic principle. These views are apparent in cooperative learning methods, integration of subject matter, evaluation as process rather than product, and many other 'progressive' views in education. (Jóhannesson 2006: 105)

The reforms related to the education act from 1974 were cut short in the winter of 1983–1984. The primary criticism of the reform was that traditional conceptions of Icelandic history and identity were abandoned in favour of something with little grounding in traditional Icelandic values. The reformers, conversely, pointed out that history teaching had been based on the glorification of heroic masculine identity which could not stand up to scrutiny and, moreover, was completely disconnected from the everyday reality of children and adolescents (Edelstein 1988/2013). Regardless of perspective, all agreed that education played a central role in constructing identity, and maintaining social cohesion and commitment to democratic values. However, the reformed curriculum and the new teaching material was charged with undermining *Icelandic* identity and values (Guttormsson 2013).

Although changes in the 1980s and 1990s were opposed to the democratic principles of the 1970s, those principles were hardly explicitly challenged in public or political discourse. The fierce debate in 1983–1984 was not for or against democratic citizenship education as such. In hindsight, one might characterize the conflict as being between two conceptions of citizenship education, a deliberative conception argued for by the reformers and a republican conception insisted on by those averse to change (Habermas 1998, 1994). The reformers emphasized liberal and cosmopolitan values of human rights and global awareness, constructivist conceptions of personal and political identity, and the importance of dialogue and engagement with contemporary social issues. In contrast, those who called for a more republican conception of democratic education emphasized traditional values as the basis of personal and political identity, and social cohesion. The debate never reached a conclusion as the reform work was simply put on hold when the Minister of Education (from the right-wing Independence Party) discontinued the matter.

Before the end of the 1980s, educational legislation was prepared by means of broad cooperation and did not follow party lines. Since then, however, disputes over education have increasingly been of a partisan nature. In 1988 a coalition government was formed by the Progressive Party, Social Democratic Party and People's Alliance, with the Minister of Education coming from the far-left People's Alliance. In 1989, a new national curriculum was published which marked a return to many of the progressive and democratic ideals from 1974. This was followed by a framework for action in 1991 (Ministry of Education Science and Culture 1990; Óskarsdóttir et al. 1989). However, this framework for action was not implemented after the right-wing Independence Party took over the Ministry of Education in 1991.

A further significant change in the educational landscape in 1991 was the law on early childhood education in which child care centres (for children aged 2 to 6) were redefined as playschools and the professional staff were titled 'playschool teachers' (Ice. *leikskólakennari*) rather than 'guardians' (Ice. *fóstra*), as had been the case previously (Dýrfjörð 2011; Jónasson 2005). It is worth mentioning that professional staff at the playschools had rejected the suggestion that those institutions should be called 'preschools' and the staff 'preschool teachers' since they did not think of themselves as preparing children for compulsory school; rather, they saw the playschools as educational institutions in their own right with their own play-based pedagogy (Dýrfjörð 2011: 383; Einarsdóttir 2008: 283). Three years later, in 1994, playschools were defined as the first stage of the official educational system. It is worth mentioning that, although playschools are not part of the compulsory school system, around 80 % of children aged 3 to 5 attended playschool in 2000, the majority for eight hours each day (Jónasson 2005); in 2014, this figure is between 93 % and 97 % (Samband íslenskra sveitarfélaga 2015: fig. 7). This reflects the perception, among professionals and public alike, that playschools serve an important role in the lives of children. This is emphasized by Jóhanna Einarsdóttir:

> Social welfare and educational policies in the Nordic countries and, even more, the extent to which these policies are realized in everyday practice, exemplify the strong Nordic conviction that the society is responsible for ensuring that all citizens, including children, enjoy a high quality of life and an equal standard of living […] Although it is neither compulsory nor completely free of charge, early childhood education is regarded as society's responsibility and is, by law, the first level of schooling in Iceland. (Einarsdóttir 2008: 283)

The next significant change in the legal framework occurred with a new education act in 1995, followed by a new curriculum in 1999. Responsibility for elementary schools was shifted from the state to the municipalities by the act of compulsory schools in 1995 (66/1995) and new national curriculum. The new curriculum was based on a comprehensive requirement for learning outcomes and stipulated increased emphasis on standardized testing, diagnoses of learning difficulties, and increased emphasis on accountability, thereby following the Western trend of decentralizing education systems (Ministry of Education Science and Culture 2004). The earlier debates regarding the teaching of history and social studies, and concerning social and political identity from the 1980s, were replaced in the 1990s by a debate concerning inclusive education, where the conflict was, rather, between communitarian views, on the one hand (inspired in part by the Salamanca statement in 1994), and individualistic and technical views, on the other.

During the 1990s, not least because of the Salamanca Statement and local as well as international emphasis on inclusion, discourse on education became focused on what one might refer to as 'democratic concerns'. At the same time, the underlying notion of democracy changed from a deliberative/republican conception to a liberal conception in the Habermasian sense (1998):

> According to the 'liberal' view [of democracy], this [democratic] process accomplishes the task of programming the state in the interest of society, where the state is conceived as an apparatus of public administration, and society is conceived as a system of market-structured interactions of private person and their labour. (Habermas 1998: 239)

The debate over the teaching of history and social studies in the 1980s revealed a tension between conceptions of the political identity determined by prevailing political will (the republican conception) and, in contrast, political identity as growing out of educational activities (a deliberative conception). During the discursive shifts in the 1990s, a liberal conception of political identity took over. Democracy in education was cast in terms of individual preferences as the ultimate unit of analysis; democracy itself was thought of as a means for advancing such preferences and its basic function was considered to regulate a free competition of individual opinions and preferences. This is particularly evident in the national curriculum from 2004 (which is almost identical to that issued in 1999) in which democracy in education was given the following interpretation:

> School working practices should be characterised by the values of democratic co-operation, Christian ethics and tolerance. The principal values of democratic co-operation are: the equal worth of all people, respect for individuals and solidarity. The principal values of Christian ethics, which the school should instil and be guided by, are: responsibility, concern for others and a desire for conciliation. Tolerance is linked to democracy and Christian ethics and is based on the same premises. Everyone should have the right to independent opinions and the opportunity to express them and win support for them, provided that this is done fairly and respecting the right of others to do the same. (Ministry of Education Science and Culture 2004: 19)

These discursive changes show a clear departure from the concerns over equality that had been among the main objectives of educational change from the beginning of the twentieth century and up until the 1980s at least. Thus, Jóhannesson writes:

> The conjuncture of the vision of inclusion, the technological approach to defining differences, and the market-oriented approach in financing education (e.g., management by results) creates a silence about equality in other terms, such as gender, residence, class, and culture. (Jóhannesson 2006: 114)

The changes that Jóhannesson observes are part of an ideological shift that has taken place since the 1990s, reflecting that education is increasingly thought of as any other market commodity. Education, both at the early stages (Dýrfjörð and Magnúsdóttir 2016) and at the upper secondary and university levels, is presented as investment and the students are considered to increase their own market value by obtaining education.

The national curriculum of 1999, which abandoned many of the democratic principles from the 1970, also introduced life skills education (Ice. *lífsleikni*), which included a clear component of citizenship and human rights education. With this curriculum, life skills education was introduced as a subject both in compulsory schools and in upper secondary schools, and as an underlying ideology for playschools. The general aim of life skills education was ethics, character education and emotional learning (Kristjánsdóttir et al. 2004; Kristjánsson 2001). The focus was more on personal development and avoidance of risk behaviour, rather than on social engagement and democracy. Osler and Starkey define citizenship education as having two components: structural/political, on the one hand, and cultural/personal, on the other (Osler and Starkey 2000). They then note that 'the former is clearly the field of Citizenship while the latter is also the concern of Personal, Social and Health Education' (Osler and Starkey 2000: 3). As citizenship education,

life skills education was weighted more heavily on the cultural/personal component, while the democratic education of the 1970s related more strongly to the structural/political component.

Although educational development in Iceland, both ideologically and in practice, has been influenced greatly by trends in Europe and North America, there is a noticeable lacuna in Icelandic educational discourse on human rights. The national curriculum from 2006 mentions democracy 15 times in the general section, while human rights receive no mention (Jónsson 2011: 106). Human rights are presented as a minor issue to be dealt with mainly in two subjects: social studies and life skills education. This is peculiar, since human rights discourse has been prominent in education in Europe and North America for a long time, and has been a central issue of concern for the Council of Europe since 2005 or so (Brett et al. 2009). It was, first, with new national curricula for pre-school, compulsory and secondary education in 2011 that human rights were placed alongside and in relation to democracy. The curricula stipulated six fundamental pillars of education: (i) democracy and human rights, (ii) sustainability, (iii) equality, (iv) literacy, (v) creativity and (vi) wellbeing and welfare. In addition to introducing human rights as a basic concern in education in general, the curricula from 2011 shifted the focus back onto the democratic principles from the individualistic and market oriented language and criteria that had been dominant since the 1990s. This shift has not been rescinded, although language related to the fundamental pillars with its focus on democracy and social justice has been silenced by the latest White Paper from the Ministry of Education on literacy competence and drop-out reduction from upper secondary schools (Dýrfjörð and Magnúsdóttir 2016).

Contemporary Educational Issues Relating to Social Justice

According to data from the PISA examinations, there is less variation in educational outcomes between schools in Iceland than in most OECD countries. Given this good standing, one may be inclined to think that the goals of equal access and equity in general that were so pronounced during the first half of the twentieth century were reached by the end of it. However, after the financial crash in 2008, poverty among children doubled and variation within schools widened rapidly and is more prevalent in Iceland than in other Nordic countries. According to UNICEF, Iceland has witnessed one of the largest increases in child poverty (rising 20 % from 2008 to 2012). Even though chil-

dren who are severely deprived are few compared to other countries (2.6 %) the numbers for severely deprived children are four times higher than they were in 2008 (UNICEF 2014).

Accessibility to quality education for students with disabilities continues to be a cause of concern (Sigurðardóttir et al. 2014). Although the general picture seems rather positive in Iceland, demographic changes since the 1990s have generated new causes for concern regarding migrant populations (first- and second-generation), which increased from around 2 % in the mid-1990s to around 10 % in 2008, and continue to increase. The largest immigrant population comes from Poland (around 45 %) followed by people from Lithuania (7 %) and Germany (4 %) (Books et al. 2010; Statistics Iceland 2015).

Multicultural Education, Immigration, and Linguistic and Religious Diversity

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Icelanders numbered around only 80,000; the number had increased to around 125,000 when Iceland became independent in 1944 and, in 1968, it had reached 200,000 inhabitants. Until the late twentieth century, the population of Iceland was ethnically, racially and religiously homogeneous with very few immigrants. This has set Icelandic history apart from the history of many other Western countries where racial discourse is firmly entrenched and racial segregation has been a long-standing issue (cf. Chap. 17 on Canada in this volume). As a result of this uniqueness, multiculturalism emerged as a political and educational issue only towards the end of the twentieth century, similar to Finland. Reykjavík, the capital of Iceland, first issued a special multicultural policy in 2001 (Reykjavík City 2006). The word for multiculturalism (Ice. *fjölmenning*) does not occur in the general section of the National Curriculum from 1999 (Ministry of Education Science and Culture 1999).

Educational laws prior to 1998 and the national curriculum did not explicitly address the needs reflected by an increasingly multicultural population in Iceland (Loftsdóttir 2009; Ragnarsdóttir et al. 2007). The national curriculum of 1989 focused on equality and access, as noted in the section above, but did not have clearly articulated provisions for migrant or non-native Icelandic students. Research conducted on policy and curriculum in four municipalities for multicultural and sustainability education found that multicultural issues were more frequently addressed in the literature and in policy documents (Jóhannesson 2007), but that discussion seemed superficial and to shy away from politically sensitive issues such as ethnic diversity.

However, current educational laws in Iceland do not stipulate a focus on diversity (Ragnarsdóttir and Blöndal 2014) although, as noted earlier, a focus on diversity – ethnic, linguistic and religious – is included in the national curriculum from 2011, which stipulates that all children regardless of origin, language, gender, religion or ability, have an equal right to education that is effective and suited to their needs (Ministry of Education Science and Culture 2011b). These rights are further explored in the fundamental pillars which focus on equality, democracy and human rights, and wellbeing and welfare published in 2011.

Recent research has explored educational provision in schools across Iceland which serve populations which are more diverse than they were 20 years ago (Tran 2015; Pálsdóttir et al. 2014; Ragnarsdóttir and Schmidt 2014). Data indicate that, while significant strides have been made in educational provision for new migrants to Iceland, there are still certain areas which need attention. Since the economic boom in the mid-1990s, the number of children in the education system who speak another language at home or are of a different ethnic origin is between 3 % and 7 %, depending on the school level (Jónsson and Arnardóttir 2012).

The school level which has most successfully addressed multicultural educational needs is the playschool which, for many children and parents, is their first contact with the Icelandic education system (Ragnarsdóttir and Blöndal 2014). There are many pre-schools which operate with an explicit multicultural framework (Ragnarsdóttir and Schmidt 2014), although extensive evaluation of its success has not been conducted. This school level also has the highest representation of non-Icelandic speaking staff working with children. This change has occurred in the past 20 years through concerted effort on the part of the schools themselves, as well as the municipalities. However, this is perhaps due to the low wages offered and because it is one of the few areas where non-Icelandic speaking but educated staff can find employment.

At the compulsory school level, Reykjavík, which has the highest concentration of migrant residents, had two schools specially designated as reception schools for migrant students (Ragnarsdóttir et al. 2007); a similar pattern can be seen in other municipalities around the country. At the same time, school level responses to immigrant and migrant students have varied from developing special reception classrooms for the new student populations to having students in mainstream classrooms removed for special pull-out classes, often part of the special education departments, to a mixture of the two (Ragnarsdóttir et al. 2007). As is indicated in research in other countries, none of these interventions have been seen as uniquely successful in integrating new populations (Malsbary 2014).

However, one of the perhaps unforeseen consequences of having schools that are known to work with immigrant students and where multicultural education is highly valued is a de facto segregation of students (Guðmundsson et al. 2013; Halldórsdóttir in press). In this case, migrant parents and students seek out schools where they know the faculty and school culture are amenable to diversity, while traditional Icelandic families may seek out schools with less diverse populations. Closely associated with this de facto segregation is geographic segregation, which has occurred in certain areas around Reykjavík due to rising housing costs and class and social make-up of certain residential areas (Halldórsdóttir in press). This implies a possible barrier to equal access, which is articulated in the national curriculum, as student bodies in '(im)migrant' schools can comprise up to 60 % of non-Icelandic speaking students, which limits genuine integration into Icelandic society and can be interpreted as a social justice concern.

In the case of the compulsory school, the number of non-Icelandic speakers working with students in the classroom is significantly lower, although accurate numbers are hard to find as data regarding this is not kept and regulations set by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (MoESC) regarding licencing make obtaining a teaching certificate complicated. Often, teachers with education certifications from their home country or country of origin are required either to take courses to satisfy the legal requirements, or opt to find work in a different sector. Teaching in compulsory schools requires fluency in Icelandic and thus often limits non-Icelandic speakers to assistant and support roles (Ragnarsdóttir and Hansen 2014). It is not uncommon to find foreign licenced educators working in playschools, rather than at the educational level for which they were initially licenced.

When examining the secondary school level in Iceland, a clearer picture of access to quality education or lack thereof appears. National policy states that all students are entitled to attend secondary schools, but research on immigrant participation at this level indicates that the number of students dropping out exceeds the national average (Gollifer and Tran 2012; Tran 2015) and is one of the highest figures in the OECD (2013a). Recent research on immigrant experiences in secondary schools indicates that language provisions for non-Icelandic speakers are limited and, once these credits are completed, there is often no other officially funded support for students. Students report that individual teachers are supportive and often go out of their way to help students and urge them to success (Tran 2015). Yet, immigrant students continue to be under-represented in secondary education (Thorsteinsdóttir 2013; Garðarsdóttir and Hauksson 2011).

Since social justice is a systemic concern and not simply a local or individual concern, a few of the more salient focal points of concern regarding

Iceland in the multicultural educational context will be discussed here. While current compulsory national curriculum provides equal right *to* education, there is a further issue of rights which need to be addressed; namely, rights *in* education and *through* education (Verhellen 2000). The Education Act from 2008 (91/2008) places emphasis on 'upholding traditional Icelandic linguistic, cultural and Christian values'. This emphasis is not articulated in the current pre-school or secondary school curriculum but was, however, present in previous versions of the national curriculum at these school levels (Loftsdóttir 2009). This focus on the specific values and traditions related exclusively to Iceland implies a devaluation of other cultural, linguistic and religious traditions. At the same time, various changes have occurred in the wording of the national curriculum: there has been a shift from 'tolerance' (Ice. *umburðalyndi*) to 'respect' (Ice. *virðing*) with regard to student inclusion (Loftsdóttir 2009). Research on teaching materials found that textbooks were more focused on presenting a multicultural environment than the curriculum or the policy implied (Ragnarsdóttir and Loftsdóttir 2010).

Since compulsory education is in the hands of the various municipalities, and as each school is required to set its own curriculum, foci vary on such issues as sustainability, democracy and equity, with reference to the national curriculum and the six fundamental pillars (Jóhannesson 2007). In 2014, the city of Reykjavík developed and enacted a new multicultural education plan, which stipulates that the city will hire two traveling language teachers. Beyond an articulated respect for students' home languages, schools are not required to provide instruction in students' native or home languages; this is most often done outside school time and at the weekends. This service is not monitored by the MoESC, but is coordinated by private individuals who have created a non-profit organization to support parents, students and teachers who want to support native language learning in a more formalized context (Móðurmál 2015). Not all the instructors in this organization have formal training, but the organization provides training and hosts annual seminars to support native language teachers. Furthermore, provision of language classes during school hours precludes students from lack of provision in extra-curricular activities. Research shows that extra-curricular activities encourage host culture language learning as well as developing intercultural friendships, which decreases racial and ethnic tensions and misunderstanding (Pálsdóttir et al. 2014).

Currently, in teacher education programmes at the School of Education, University of Iceland and at the University of Akureyri students are not required to take courses that explicitly discuss or instruct in multicultural, inclusive teaching and learning. Lack of such education has been a growing

concern both to faculty and to teachers, who are faced with the reality of having students of differing ability and various origins in their classrooms (Nieto and Bode 2011; Ragnarsdóttir 2012). Furthermore, research has shown that students do better in diverse learning environments (Ladson-Billings 2009); however, as recent research indicates, the number of teachers who are not of the ethnic majority in schools is not significant (Lassen 2007), and the number of non-Icelandic students in the licensure programs is limited, although clear data is difficult to find. This is further constricted by a focus on speaking 'good Icelandic' – which is an undefined level of skill, and which has been used as an exclusionary tactic (Ragnarsdóttir and Blöndal 2014). In other areas of tertiary education, migrant student representation in universities is difficult to determine as identifying data on such students is not collected. However, it can be concluded by the limited matriculation into secondary schools that they are under-represented in the tertiary education system.

Disability, Special and Inclusive Education

Under the Education Act of 1974, inclusive education became a form of legal obligation, although the phrase 'inclusive education' was not coined until 20 years later with the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO 1994). However, institutional structures were not ready to accommodate the change and segregated schools continued to operate. An ordinance (270/1977) on special education was enacted in 1977 and revised in 1990, when a categorical system of provisions was replaced with a system intended to meet special educational needs within the school district of the local schools of children requiring this support (Marinósson and Bjarnason 2014: 278; Sigurðardóttir et al. 2014; Reglugerð um sérkennslu 389/1990). Bjarnason and Marinósson describe this development in the following way:

> Special education in Iceland has generally developed from categorization and segregation towards individualization and inclusion. However, the development is more complicated as categorization does not always have a corollary in segregation and individualization is not always the result of inclusion. In fact, the processes can work totally independently of each other and run parallel in time. (Marinósson and Bjarnason 2014: 279)

Since the mid-1970s, Iceland has succeeded in constructing an integrated school system where only 0.5 % of the student population attend special schools and another 0.8 % attend special classes (Marinósson and Bjarnason

2014; Sigurðardóttir et al. 2014). There remain, however, questions concerning whether this indicates successful inclusion (where all students have full access to suitable quality education and are full participants in the school community), or whether this is only a superficial sign of integration (with possible categorization within the mainstream school and perhaps lack of appropriate educational opportunities despite access to the school itself). Marinósson and Bjarnason elaborate on this point:

> Earlier research in Iceland and elsewhere indicate, however, a number of factors that stand in the way of equal access to education for disabled people, such as badly co-ordinated official policy, lack of collaboration between service systems, lack of information, devaluation of students with disability, attitudes that regard diversity in the student group as a problem, lack of financial support, narrow definition of curriculum for disabled students, inflexible teaching methods and segregation of support from other types of school work […] These are some of the challenges that still face Iceland and impact on the quality of education for special needs. (Marinósson and Bjarnason 2014: 280)

The problems or factors that Marinósson and Bjarnason highlight here may well be a sign of an under-developed system, although some elements are rather ideological or attitudinal – such as 'attitudes that regard diversity in the student group as a problem' and 'narrow definition of curriculum for disabled students' – and some may be caused by conflicting and competing policy discourses where the 'terrors of performativity' (Ball 2003) and the market values of education trump the professional ones (Magnúsdóttir in press). These factors cannot be explained by the under-developed nature of the system but are, rather, a direct consequence of policy change that took place during the 1990s and in the twenty-first century, when many of the democratic principles from the 1970s were abandoned or silenced in favour of more technical, managerial and market oriented ideology as discussed previously. Ingólfur Á. Jóhannesson describes the situation:

> The technological views of the late 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century have become discursively connected to market themes, for instance, competition, individualism, budget reform to use money more efficiently, the student as consumer (of, for instance, special educational needs), private enterprise in education […] This new discursive tendency is also characterized by talking about education as consensus-building and emphasizing that matters are technological (including the belief that it is easy to change schools or to medically diagnose special educational needs). There is more emphasis on management, for instance, in the increased role of the principal […] In addition to the

1970s belief in defining goals and objectives, the technological view now is also characterized by beliefs in self-evaluation and efficiency in education. (Jóhannesson 2006: 105)

Educational policy in Iceland during the 1990s was, thus, a mixture of principles pertaining to inclusive education deriving from recent history (the emphasis on democracy from 1974 was still there) and the Salamanca Statement and certain other international currents, on the one hand, and principles that were more individualistic, market-oriented, managerial and technological which emphasized competition and outcome-based evaluation, on the other (Jóhannesson 2006; Dýrfjörð and Magnúsdóttir 2016; Jónsson 2011).

This tension between democratic principles and market and managerial principles has continued to prevail in the second decade of the twenty-first century. In 2013, a new government was formed, with the Ministry of Education being headed by the libertarian Independence Party. Although the curricula from 2011 are still in place, their emphasis on democracy, human rights and equality have taken second place to efficiency, competitiveness and other market and managerial principles. This silencing of the democratic principles is, partly at least, in line with a general trend, as Marinósson and Bjarnason note in their chapter on special education in Iceland:

In the last few decades, the major change in Icelandic education policy has been away from state control of education towards local responsibility; away from curriculum guided by content towards one assuming that teaching is guided by objectives; from bureaucratic control of schools towards their self-evaluation and accountability; from a social pedagogy towards an individual, competitive one; from annual budgets to contractual management of schools; from a social to a technical conception of change and development; and from a central administration towards the devolution of responsibility for administration and finances monitored through performance indicators. (Marinósson and Bjarnason 2014: 299)

They further observe that this development conceals certain complexities and contradictions – such as between the policy on inclusion, on the one hand, and a policy of competition and accountability, on the other.

Gender and Sexuality

In the early twentieth century, girls in compulsory schools in Reykjavík had, on average, higher grades in reading exams; they were well-behaved and manageable students in terms of keeping their focus on their studies (Garðarsdóttir

1997, 2009). This gender gap in achievement and behaviour was not per-ceived as a threat to masculine domination in society, as very few girls matric-ulated into higher education. Women gained access to universities in 1911, but the majority of those who sought further education attended segregated women's secondary schools to prepare them to become good housewives and mothers (Matthíasdóttir 2004). It was after 1960, and especially in the 1970s, that women's educational attainment changed quite rapidly. This was when the modular system and a comprehensive upper-secondary school level (ages 16–20) was implemented (Ingólfsson 2014). In 1984, women represented half of the student body at the University of Iceland (Statistics Iceland n.d.) and, in 2011, women represented just over 62 % of university students as a whole (Statistics Iceland 2012, p. 8).

It was not until 2004 that girls' 'overachievement' became a significant issue in Iceland, when Iceland was the only nation in which girls outper-formed boys in all areas of mathematics (Björnsson et al. 2004).[1] This fuelled the 'boy turn' in Iceland (Jóhannesson et al. 2009; Magnúsdóttir and Einarsdóttir 2005), in which other salient 'facts' in terms of gender issues were marginalized. Icelandic girls evidenced greater anxiety and lower self-esteem regarding mathematics compared with boys (Björnsson et al. 2004), and com-prised only 17 % of mathematics and physics students at the tertiary level (Einarsdóttir and Magnúsdóttir 2005).[2] In Iceland, the gender gap was closely connected to social class and residence; with the rapid increase in the number of immigrants, it has been intimately connected to ethnicity (Garðarsdóttir and Hauksson 2011). What was consistent with foregoing results was that girls had, on average, higher educational aspirations and a more positive atti-tude towards school (Björnsson et al. 2004).

Due to a strong feminist movement in Iceland, the debate about boys opened up possibilities of tackling issues related to masculinity, femininity and sexuality in a feminist and pro-feminist context. Scholars and teachers were able to utilize the attention and space for exploring gender issues in schools – fighting against misogynist, heteronormative culture and elements present in Icelandic hegemonic masculinity that, in many ways, distracts from academic achievement (Jóhannesson et al. 2009). However, the boys agenda is still alive and well in Iceland in policies and occasional discussion in the

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[1] The first signs of this discourse appeared in 1997, at a conference on boys' issues in 1997 and a special male-only course for teacher candidates at the Iceland University of Education (Jóhannesson et al. 2009).

[2] In spite of considerable achievements in mathematics by 15-year-old girls in 2003, according to statis-tics, women in Iceland are still in minority of mathematics students at the University of Iceland, account-ing for 28 % of bachelor students in mathematics and two out of nine students in the Masters/PhD programme.

media which centres on the feminization of schools – for example, about the alleged detrimental effects of female teachers on boys' achievement from 2013 as a response to PISA 2012 comment on the gender gap:

> It is a fact that majority of teachers are women but it should not matter. However, there are possibilities it is an element in the achievement gap. It is impossible to bypass it as a part of the reason.[3]

Between 2008 and 2012, student–teacher ratios in pre-school, compulsory and upper-secondary school increased together with an increased workload related to more paperwork for teachers and principals (neo-managerialism) (Dýrfjörð and Magnúsdóttir 2016; Lárusdóttir 2014). In 2012, the annual teachers' salary was below the OECD average despite the fact that all teachers are required to have a Master's degree (Ragnarsdóttir and Jóhannesson 2014). As a result, the female dominated employment sectors, such as education and health, are experiencing more intensive workloads while contending with fewer resources.

What is extraordinary about youth culture in Iceland is extensive part-time work along with the school commitments (Einarsdóttir 2014). Nearly half of the participants in Einarsdóttir's research undertook term-time jobs while attending school. One third of the term-time workers were classified as high-intensity workers, meaning that they worked more than 12 hours per week. These types of commitment are unusual in other secondary and upper-secondary education systems, except for young people who are poor and working-class and who have few other choices. In some respects, it is emancipatory for young people to be financially more independent than is common for their European and North American counterparts. Students consider it is important to become knowledgeable about 'real life' and are much more active in public life at a young age. This has been possible as upper-secondary schooling has been quite flexible and it has been easy to drop-in and to drop-out. However, this focus on 'real life' experiences can have a detrimental effect on schooling achievement and drop-out rates. Recent responses to that have been twofold: first, one year has been cut from the four-year academic preparatory period for university education, resulting in longer school days, shorter winter and summer breaks and, thus, fewer possibilities of working while schooling. Second, the current Minister decided to eliminate access to stu-

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[3] From a newspaper interview with the current Minister of Education, Science and Culture in Iceland (Pétursson (2013): *PISA niðurstöður vondar fréttir fyrir grunnskólana og þjóðina* [The PISA results are bad news for the compulsory schools and the nation]. Available at: http://www.visir.is/pisa-nidurstodur-vondar-frettir-fyrir-grunnskolana-og-thjodina/article/2013131209720

dents older than 25 to upper-secondary schools, which are free of charge; instead, these adult students are directed to adult education agencies, which are not free of charge.

The discourse in recent state policy documents are marked by the issue regarding boys, with its strong focus on competitiveness, where the understanding of social justice is reduced to achievement in reading and school retention (Ministry of Education 2014; Pétursson 2013). However, there are many other competing discourses on masculinity and femininity, sexuality and transgender that subvert this narrow and dualistic view. As Francis and Mills (2012) have pointed out, the reproduction of social inequality via schooling is a problem for many students that is difficult to trace to a single identity factor with students or teachers.

Neoliberal ideas have not only transformed the operation of schools and welfare agencies, but have also created a new form of selfhood, which encourages people to see themselves as individualized, disconnected and active subjects responsible for enhancing their own wellbeing (Brown 2006). There are examples that current gender ideologies tend to legitimize traditional attitudes and to constrain choices and identity construction. Here are some examples of how power, masculinity and heterosexuality are interwoven.

Institutionalized heterosexism prevails in the structure and culture of the upper-secondary schools according to a recent qualitative study, despite the fact that gay rights are quite strong in Iceland. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans (LGBT) youth reported experiencing institutionalized heterosexism daily in their dealings with faculty and fellow students (Kjaran and Jóhannesson 2013). Post-structural studies on power relations in urban Icelandic playschools (Thórðardóttir 2015) and secondary classrooms (Magnúsdóttir 2005, 2006) revealed that middle-class boys gained the highest social status in terms of popularity and respect for 'expert' knowledge through their middle-class cultural consumption. In the playschools, girls' knowledge seemed to be moulded by stereotyped ideas of relationships and femininity, while boys' knowledge appeared to be based more on ideas of heroism and masculinity. In the secondary schools, boys' academic performance did not affect this status as long as they reached requirements, but even the high-achieving middle-class girls seemed to have difficulties in receiving this 'genius' status among peers, in spite of excellent academic achievement.

Egalitarian attitudes towards the division of household labour have declined among 15–16-year-old youths from previous generations (Bjarnason and Hjalmsdottir 2008). However, young women and adolescents reporting same-sex attraction hold more egalitarian attitudes. A family history of distant immigration, traditional families and economic affluence was associated with less egalitarian attitudes. Recent research measuring traditional attitudes

among upper-secondary students (Bjarnadóttir and Guðbjörnsdóttir 2011), shows that there are many more barriers to boys crossing gender boundaries. It seems to be easier for girls to cross the boundaries and be agents in masculine activities. Magnúsdóttir (2015) found in a qualitative analysis of video committees in upper-secondary schools – which, in a technological age, are one of the more powerful committees in school social life – that video committees consist mainly of boys (91 %). Boys play all the main roles in the tapes and the few girls that appear play marginal roles as sexual objects. These examples offer a broad perspective of gender and sexual relations that is far more complicated than statistics on academic performance reveal.

Concurrently, there are examples of resistance to homophobic and mysoginist structural and cultural forces in the social media – especially towards the objectification of breasts (#free the nipple), sexual stereotypes and systematic online movements against sexual violence.[4] This resistance can be traced to the opening up of gender studies as a course of choice in upper-secondary schools, and students have gained the drive and knowledge to construct feminist student societies within schools. Despite a strong feminist movement in Iceland and important milestones reached in the political sector,[5] there has been reluctance within the compulsory education system to implement a gendered curriculum (Guðbjörnsdóttir 2003). This is despite the fact that progressive ideas are entrenched in laws and regulations (Einarsdóttir and Jóhannesson 2011), and the recent curriculum and handbooks for teachers from the MoESC (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture 2011a; Magnúsdóttir et al. 2010; Dýrfjörð et al. 2013). However, there are examples of experiments for tackling gender equality issues such as those undertaken by Hjallastefnan and also temporary projects within schools (jafnrettiiskolum.is, faduja.is). Yet, no gender studies are compulsory within the teacher education department at the University of Iceland (Guðbjörnsdóttir and Lárusdóttir 2012).

Implications for Education for Citizenship

Several factors indicate the urgency of conducting more research into democracy, citizenship and social justice in education in Iceland. Most obvious are the demographic changes that have occurred in Iceland since the early 1990s, with immigrant population growing from around 2–3 % to around

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[4] Unfortunately, we are unable to reference any research on this matter as none currently exists.

[5] As an example of this, in 1980 Iceland voted for the first female president in the world, Vigdís Finnbogadóttir; our first female and homosexual prime minister, Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir, took that position in 2009.

10 %. Not only is it imperative to attend to the diversifying population, these changes also call for a change in the very conception of citizenship within the Icelandic educational system, requiring a more pluralistic understanding, as well as elements of global citizenship (Dower 2003). A response in this direction in higher education was the establishment of a BA and MA programme taught in English at the School of Education, University of Iceland in 2008, (International Studies in Education, ISE). As Sue Books et al. note:

> The ISE university program was designed in part to bring the growing population of immigrant students into higher education, to prepare them for work in the field of education, and to serve them better than before. Icelandic universities, both public and private, traditionally have not met the needs of newcomers despite a national culture that regards education and social inclusion as rights. (Books et al. 2010: 126)

The ISE programme has been successful, but, in the eight years that it has operated, the professors responsible for the programme have had to defend it against budget cuts (especially after the 2008 economic crash). They have continued to insist on the importance of the ISE programme for (non-native) *Icelandic* students as well as for Icelandic students who have had significant international experience, and that it should not only be viewed as a means to support international exchange students or meet international commitments.

Democracy in education has been a considerable topic of research since the 1970s in Iceland, but human rights education is not a well-developed research field and there has been little research on citizenship education and sociology of education. This imbalance is perhaps best exemplified by a recent comprehensive study on educational practices in elementary education, where democracy or democratic cooperation has several entries in the index, but citizenship (Ice. *borgaravitund*) and human rights (Ice. *mannréttindi*) do not occur at all (Óskarsdóttir 2014). Comprehensive international studies on citizenship, such as the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) did not include Iceland. The only major study on citizenship attitudes among young Icelanders was carried out by Sigrún Aðalbjarnardóttir (2011). A study from 1999 on historical awareness included some reference to democracy, equality, peace and environmental issues (Aðalbjarnardóttir 2011: 18) and Aðalbjarnardóttir's book *Virðing og umhyggja* [*Respect and care*] from 2007 discusses citizenship to some length (2007: pt V). In research from 2011, Aðalbjarnardóttir surveyed students aged 11 (n = 372), 14 (n = 509) and 18 (n = 533) from three different geographical areas of Iceland (Aðalbjarnardóttir 2011: 22). Some interesting factors emerged from this study; for example,

girls aged 14 had a better understanding of democracy than boys, but at 18 this difference was not detected. More importantly, however, and perhaps indicative of the merits of Nordic ideals of equality, was the fact that an understanding of democracy, the importance of democratic participation, views abou thet rights of immigrants and women was independent of socio-economic status or composition of a student's family. However, the parental level of education was positively correlated to an understanding of democracy, views on opportunities and the rights of immigrants and women, and also to the belief in themselves in young people related to their ability to influence their own life and the lives of others (Aðalbjarnardóttir 2011: 136–137).

Conclusion and Future Research

It is clear that, in educational matters, Iceland has come a long way in a relatively short time, from a non-existent school system at the beginning of the twentieth century towards one of the most inclusive systems at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, education in Iceland still faces difficult challenges regarding inclusion, whether it is for students with disabilities, learning difficulties or immigrant students. Intertwined with these are issues of citizenship, democracy and local (social) justice. But there are also new challenges which must be addressed, such as those of global citizenship, sustainability and global justice.

The ideological changes towards managerialism, liberalism or neoliberalism must also be addressed. It is evident that, in the Nordic countries, educational opportunities have been more equal than in most other countries around the globe, resulting in less economic inequality and greater social mobility, as Wilkinson and Pickett observe in the book *The spirit level: Why greater equality makes societies stronger* (2009). This (relative) equality is now threatened by increased privatization in education, from early childhood education (age 2 to 6) (Dýrfjörð and Magnúsdóttir 2016) and through compulsory education, secondary education and universities (Lundahl et al. 2013; Skúlason 2008; Magnúsdóttir 2013).

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22

One Size Fits All? An Exploration of the Teaching of Civics in Israel from the Perspective of Social Justice

Aviv Cohen

In *Democracy and Education*, Dewey (1916) explained that:

> The scheme of a curriculum must take account of the adaptation of studies to the needs of the existing community life; it must select with the intention of improving the life we live in common so that the future shall be better than the past. (p. 191)

This approach to curriculum reflects the main impetus of this review – the will to examine issues of social justice in relation to the teaching of civics in Israel today, while taking into account the social and political contexts in which this educational process takes place. The relative youth of Israeli democracy, which was established in 1948, and the dramatic political and social context in which the state exists, offer a potential for invigorating studies. Indeed, the Israeli context has been the centre of several studies related to civic education, particularly in regard to social justice. This chapter will argue that, whereas civics is generally presented as a standardized subject that uniformly promotes equality and justice, since it is taught

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identically throughout the different branches that comprise the Israeli educational system, this presumption does not enable a true civic discussion reflecting the diversity within Israeli society. In the name of equality, the civics curriculum maintains an unjust reality, rather than enabling social mobility and change.

In order to establish this claim, this review will be composed of the following sections: (1) Introduction – highlighting the topic of citizenship in Israel; (2) Historical Issues – relating to issues of social justice as part of the development of the Israeli educational system; (3) Contemporary Issues – examining social justice as part of the current Israeli civics curriculum; (4) Implications for Education for Citizenship – offering a review of the academic studies in the field; and (5) Conclusions.

Introduction

Citizenship may be defined as 'rights and mutual obligations binding state agents and a category of persons defined exclusively by their legal attachment to the same state' (Tilly 1997: 198). This relationship between a citizen's rights and obligations is what has stood at the heart of the debates regarding citizenship in Israel ever since the Jewish-democratic state was founded in 1948. As Shachar (1998) explains, 'citizenship means drawing borders' (p. 233), mainly between those who are members of the political entity and those who are not. In Israel, citizenship status is defined foremost by the state Law of Return ('Israel law of return' 1950), which determines that 'every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh* (immigrant to Israel)'. The Israeli Citizenship Law ('Israel nationality law' 1952) defines cases in which non-Jews can acquire Israeli citizenship: by residence, birth or naturalization. Shachar (1998) points to the fact that, in a comparative lens, these Israeli citizenship laws are not more restrictive than the immigration laws of other countries. Nevertheless, the fact that one particular ethnic group has unrestricted and unquestionable access to citizenship influences the basic perception of Israeli citizenship.

Ultimately, the discourse regarding citizenship in Israel may be portrayed as an ongoing debate regarding the inclusion of all citizens of the state and a questioning of the will of these citizens to contribute to this state. The marginalization of Israeli-Palestinian[1] citizens – who are exempt from manda-

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[1] The term Israeli-Palestinian refers to Palestinian citizens of Israel and not to Palestinians of the Palestinian Authority. I acknowledge the fact that the term Israeli-Arabs is also used in the discourse but

tory military service, for example – reflects the continuing problems of this equation between rights and obligations. In addition, ongoing armed conflicts with its neighbouring Arab countries; continuing mass immigrations, such as those from the former countries of the USSR; as well as worldwide phenomena, such as globalization all inflame this debate and turn citizenship in Israel into a highly contested field (Avnon 2006).

Based on the study of such debates, Ben-Porat and Turner (2008) identify three main issues that characterize citizenship in Israel today, forging connections between citizenship and issues of social justice: (1) a tension between the multicultural secular state and the political aspirations of religious groups, namely ultra-orthodox Jews, who do not acknowledge the existence of the state in this secular form; (2) the contradiction between the ideal of equal citizenship of the democratic state and the exclusionary status of Israel's Jewish citizens; and (3) the demand of inclusion by different minorities as they relate to their obligations to the state.

Shafir and Peled (2002) offer a comprehensive approach to examining Israeli history through the lens of such citizenship debates. They come to the conclusion that the commonly accepted binary between the Jewish and democratic aspects of citizenship in Israel is unsatisfactory, and offer a more critical view that challenges years of academic research, such as the functionalistic view presented in the works of Horowitz and Lissak (1978). They identify three competing modes of citizenship that, in their view, have dominated the discourse over the years. These include: (1) a republican mode of citizenship that was emphasized in relation to the Zionist movement and to the founding of the state; (2) an ethno-national mode that has defined Israel as a Jewish state; and (3) a liberal mode of citizenship that has enabled the existence of a democratic system while supplying formal rights to the non-Jewish citizens of the state.

Reaching beyond this theoretical debate, a good way of measuring the pulse of citizenship in Israel in this regard is offered by the Israel Democracy Institute, which publishes the annual Israeli Democracy Index. The results of an analysis of the 2011 index (Hermann et al. 2011) show that a majority of the Jewish population wished to retain the definition of Israel as both a Jewish and democratic state. When asked to define these components, the majority associated democracy in terms of freedom, whereas the Jewish component was defined in the nationalistic sense.

This reality of a contested field of citizenship, both theoretically and empirically, poses challenges for those who educate towards citizenship, particularly

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have intentionally chosen this terminology, respecting the choice of most Palestinian scholars who also use this term.

in regard to questions of social justice. It is this very connection between the debates regarding citizenship in Israel and the questions of how to educate towards democratic citizenship and social justice that stands at the heart of this chapter.

Historical Issues

The Israeli Educational System

The arrival of the first major migration of Jews from Europe to Palestine (known as the first *Aliya*) in the 1880s was driven by a strong ideological component that was manifest in the new educational institutions that were founded at the time (Elboim-Dror 1986). Israel's Ministry of Education was founded in March 1948, while the War of Independence between the Jewish and Arab populations was still continuing fiercely. At this time, the education system was still under the influence of the British mandate that had ruled the area since 1917. Thus, the majority of the Jewish schools were affiliated with political parties and belonged to one of three educational tracks that functioned parallel to one another: (1) the general track, affiliated with the centralist General Zionists party; (2) the leftist labour track, affiliated with the *Histadrut*-General Federation of Labor; and (3) the religious *Mizrachi* track, affiliated with the religious Zionist parties. Each track held a different educational goal and was autonomous in developing curriculum and hiring teachers (Zameret 1997).

One of the first laws passed in the Knesset, the newly established Israeli parliament, was the Free Compulsory Education Law (1949), which stated that free education would be supplied to all children aged 5 to 13. This law recognized the three educational tracks and defined a fourth: that of the ultra-orthodox Jews. In addition, the law recognized the Israeli-Palestinian education system, promising state funding for all. Israel's second government passed the State Education Law (1953), which sketched the structure of the Israeli educational system in a manner that continues to exist until today. The law determined that: (1) education in the state of Israel would be supplied by the state itself; (2) the educational processes would be framed based on nationwide curriculum standards to be issued by the Minister of Education; (3) all schools would be obligated to follow a minimum core curriculum; and (4) parents would have the right to add items to the curriculum, based on their beliefs and understandings, as long as these extensions did not interfere with the teaching of the minimum core curriculum (Yonai 2008). The main

reform that this law enacted was the division of the state educational system into three tracks: (1) the state track that includes Jewish secular schools, as well as the sub-division of the Israeli-Palestinian schools (Christian, Druze and Islamic) in which the language of instruction is Arabic; (2) the state religious track that includes the religious Zionist schools; and (3) the ultra-orthodox track that remains an autonomous system to this day (Zameret 1997). In regard to questions of education in a diverse society, it is interesting to point out that section 2 (8) of the State Education Law (1953) determines that the goal of education is to 'supply equal opportunities to each child, to enable them to develop by their own and to create an environment that respects and supports diversity'.

The 1950s and 1960s presented ongoing challenges for the educational system, as it was in charge of assimilating large numbers of Jewish immigrants who arrived in Israel, mainly from the post-Holocaust European countries, as well as from North African and Middle Eastern countries. Despite the common religious identity of these immigrants, there was a deep ideological rift, specifically regarding views of the new state of Israel. Whereas some saw the establishment of Israel as the starting point for a new religious messianic period, others viewed the state as a centre for secular Jewish culture (Eisenstadt 1967). It is important to note that a majority of these countries of origin were not democratic and, thus, these immigrants had not been exposed to a strong democratic culture. In addition, as mentioned, this educational system was also placed in the challenging position of managing schools for the Israeli-Palestinian minority.

Continuing complaints were voiced regarding the different treatment of Ashkenazi European Jews and that of Sephardic Middle Eastern and North African Jews, resulting in significant disparities in access to opportunities and resources. In 1968, the Israeli parliament adopted the findings of a Knesset sub-committee dedicated to raising the achievement levels of Israeli students, while dealing with such gaps. This decision led to the reformation of the education system, introducing the creation of comprehensive junior high schools that aspired to achieve social integration, and the establishment of a curriculum division in the Ministry of Education, in charge of re-writing national standards and subject curricula (Dror 1999).

These reforms of the 1970s were seen as a remedy to growing discrepancies between students from different social and cultural backgrounds. Ideologically, these reforms refuted the earlier philosophy that stressed the importance of equality within all educational tracks. With these new reforms, the educational system expressed its understanding of the importance in recognizing the differences between the various cultures (Ackerman et al. 1985).

The general elections of 1977, won by the neoliberal right-wing *Likud* party, brought an end the hegemony of the left-wing labour *Mapai* party that had ruled the state since its founding. These dramatic results, which influenced different social and political aspects of life in Israel, changed many attitudes towards education as well. The main ideological change was the adoption of a free market management culture within the educational system. Since the 1980s, and continuing to today, several organizational reforms reflect this ideology: massive budget cuts that have brought a decrease in actual teaching hours and special programmes; a shift from emphasizing educational goals related to issues of social inclusion to goals aimed at improving each student's own personal development and academic achievements; a change in the definition of students with special needs from students from certain cultural backgrounds to students with lower achievement scores; an increase in the ability of parents and others to invest private funds in schools and special programmes, and the privatization of some educational programmes (Barandes 1996).

Today, more than one million students study in the Israeli pre-K–12 educational system. This increase in the number of students is dramatic when considering the fact that, in the 1948–1949 school year, there were only 130,000 students, an increase of 87 % over a period of 64 years. Today, 95 % of Israeli children at elementary and junior high school ages attend school, and about two thirds of them continue their study in high schools. In 2007, the Knesset expanded the Free Compulsory Education Law to include the 12th grade in order to deal with a 33 % drop-out rate (Yonai 2008).

Based on data obtained from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics regarding the year 2011 ('Schools, classes and students in secondary education' 2012), the current Israeli educational system is portrayed as follows: there are 1749 high schools in Israel, 1394 of them are Jewish schools and 355 of them Arab schools. In total, there were 630,626 high school students who were part of the system in this school year. The division of Jewish students into the three tracks broke down to: 60.5 % studying in the state track, 16.7 % in the state religious track and 22.8 % in the autonomous ultra-orthodox track.

The Bagrut Matriculation Exam

An important element that had considerable influence on the development of the Israeli educational system is the existence of a nation-wide high-stake matriculation exam, known in Hebrew as the *Bagrut*. Due to Israel's centralized educational system, the grades on the required subjects for the Bagrut are

important factors in determining Jewish student placement in the mandatory military service and acceptance to an institution of higher education. The importance of these tests in students' lives is also substantiated by the fact that Bagrut holders earn 25 % higher wages in their adult lives (Angrist and Lavy 2009).

The historical roots of the Bagrut exam can be traced to the period of the British mandate of Palestine, in which the British enabled an independent matriculation process that included exams in mandatory subject matters (Syrquin 1998). With the establishment of the state of Israel, the new Ministry of Education redefined the mandatory subjects, but the overall scheme of the certification process remained the same. In the 1970s, the Ministry of Education initiated a reform to this process, with the results remaining partially in place until today. Based on this reform, the various subjects were divided into units of study, known in Hebrew as *yechidot*, each to be taught in once a week for an hour over three years of high school (10th–12th grades). In order to receive the matriculation certification, each student is required to complete a minimum number of units of study. Of these units, some were defined as mandatory subjects; these included: Bible Studies, Hebrew, History, English, Mathematics and Civics (Ben Peretz 1999).

The Civics Curriculum

Until the 1970s, the Israeli educational system adopted a wide approach to civic education, claiming that the civics related topics and issues should be taught across the curriculum, utilizing numerous subjects such as history and geography, as well as extra-curricular activities such as memorial ceremonies and field trips. Following the large scale reformation of the Israeli school system in the beginning of the 1970s (Yariv-Mashal 2004), civics was first presented as an independent subject in 1976. The first civics curriculum standards focused on the transmission of knowledge regarding the procedural aspects of Israel's political institutions.

The 1980s and 1990s were a time of great political and social fragility in Israel (Sprinzak 1999). It was in this national atmosphere that, in 1989, the Minister of Education appointed a committee whose goal was to re-evaluate the civics curriculum based on the judicial, social and political challenges that the country was facing at the time. This new curriculum differed from the previous one in two main aspects: first, this new curriculum was unified and aimed towards all students from all of the different tracks of the Israeli educational system; second, the emphasis shifted from the memorization of

facts about the Israeli political institutions to the understanding of democratic values and development of normative civic behaviour (Israeli Ministry of Education 1994).

In 1995, an additional committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education, in an attempt to 'develop a general plan to instill citizenship in the educational system as a common basis of values and behaviors aimed at all citizens of the state' (Kremnitzer 1995). The final report of this committee was unique, in the sense that the plan for civic education was presented in a wide inclusive lens. For example, in its conclusions the committee touched on widespread educational issues such as school culture and atmosphere. In fact, this report barely touched on curriculum itself but, rather, stressed the importance of forging connections between the civics curriculum and other school issues.

In 2001, the new civics curriculum was approved as the official civics curriculum of the state of Israel to be used by all of the schools in the state. An important factor to be considered regarding the implementation of this new curriculum was the fact that the allotted hours dedicated to the civics lessons remained the same as in the years of the old curriculum, despite the expansion of the topics taught. Only in 2008 did the Israeli government approve an expansion of the allotted hours for civics lessons in both junior high and high schools. Until the time of this expansion, civics was taught three times a week in hour-long lessons over the course of one year (usually the in 11th or 12th grade). This expansion led to the official requirement that civics be taught three times a week in hour-long lessons over the course of two or three years of high school (three hours per week in the 11th and 12th grades, or two hours per week in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades). In addition to the expansion of the allotted teaching hours, the Ministry of Education decided to add a mandatory participation element to the curriculum, known as the Implementation Task. As part of this hands-on task, students are required to identify a civic problem, research its origins and offer a plan of action in order to bring it to a resolution.

Contemporary Issues

Based on this historical overview, I will now expand on the different components of the current national civics curriculum standards as they appear in the official publication by the Ministry of Education (Israeli Ministry of Education 1994), highlighting the connections to issues of social justice as they appear in this document.

Population As mentioned, this curriculum is significant due to the provision that it be taught in all tracks of the Israeli educational system. These include the Jewish secular, Jewish religious and Israeli-Palestinian schools. The idea behind this decision is to create a unified conception of citizenship to be shared by all groups in Israeli society, while respecting the cultural differences between these groups.

Content The mandatory topic to be taught is defined as 'the government and politics of the state of Israel' and it is broken down into three sub-topics:

(1) an exploration of the democratic and Jewish values that stand at the foundations of the state of Israel – it is noted that the tensions between these two sets of values should be considered; in addition, it is also recommended that the students examine the ways in which these two sets of values play out in concrete examples;

(2) a survey of the different components and main characteristics of the Israeli government and political system; and

(3) a guided discussion of different issues that are prominent in Israeli political debate, such as cultural minorities, the relation between state and religious institutions, and socio-economic policies.

Educational Principles Several pedagogical principles are offered to assist the teaching of these topics, including:

- presentation of different opinions and several points of view, thus emphasizing the values of tolerance and respect toward other opinions;
- presentation of different social and political forces that shape the political system, thus presenting the system as being dynamic;
- the comparison of Israeli democracy to other democracies across the globe;
- the development of higher level thinking skills, such as analysis, application and evaluation, thus promoting students who are independent learners;
- the incorporation of current events both as a source of knowledge and as a unit that is to be analyzed based on critical thinking skills;
- the incorporation of both primary and secondary source documents;
- and the incorporation of statistical data while understanding the limits of this method.

Goals Based on these general principles, the following educational goals were defined:

- Cognitive goals – the transmission of knowledge regarding the political, social and economic systems. The students will know about the Israeli political system, will learn facts about Israeli society, will study key terms from the fields of social sciences and political thought, and will be exposed to a range of opinions regarding different issues and topics. The emphasis will be put on students' ability to evaluate different social and political issues from multiple perspectives.
- Value-based goals – the students should internalize the values of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Therefore, they should develop their civic identity in addition to their national identity, respect human rights and civil rights, be willing to fulfil their duties as citizens while demanding their rights and participate in public issues.

Additional education goals are defined as:

- Disposition goals – the students will be able to implement the ideas and values that were taught when evaluating different problems and issues related to the Israeli political system. Therefore. they will be expected to use critical thinking skills, reach conclusions based on facts, identify connections between different social phenomena, understand the difference between an opinion and an argument, develop complex opinions and be tolerant toward different opinions.

Subjects Based on these goals, the writers offer a list of subjects to be taught, explaining that 'the execution of these curriculum goals will lead to a political education process that will promote good intelligent citizens that are involved in the public life of the Jewish-democratic state' (Israeli Ministry of Education 1994, p. 11). This list includes the following topics:

- The Israeli Declaration of Independence;
- Israel as a Jewish state – different opinions, the relationships between the state of Israel and the Diaspora Jews;
- Israel as a democratic state – the concepts of liberty, equality, rule of the people, limitations of government, rule of law, majority-minority relations, political culture, defensive democracy and state-religion relations;
- Israeli politics and government – constitutional foundations, citizenship, human rights and civil rights, mass media, the parliamentary system,

elections, political parties, the separation of powers, the branches of government, the role of the president, democratic supervision, the local government, religious institutions and the peace process between Israel and its neighbours.

Implications for Education for Citizenship

The topic of teaching civics in Israel stood at the heart of numerous academic studies throughout the years, reflecting the implications of this educational process in regard to the social reality. These studies concentrated on different aspects, such as the historical development of the field, empirical studies, diversity issues, opinion surveys and policy papers.

Historical Studies

Tesler (2005) conducted a historical study following the development of the field of the teaching of civics in Israel. Her main argument is that, throughout the years, a clear and coherent educational plan was never developed due to the high degrees of social and political tension connected to this subject. This reality led to the current situation in which each social group teaches this subject in the way it sees fit, emphasizing the knowledge, values and dispositions in which each group believes. Tesler warns that this reality leads to a dangerous situation in which no clear civic education plan is implemented nation-wide. Another historical study (Ben Ari and Mor 2005) concentrated on the Bagrut exams, tracing changes over the years. Particularly, the authors illuminate the shifts between active and passive modes of citizenship as they are reflected in these exams.

Empirical Studies

A large scale quantitative study (Perliger et al. 2006) showed that civic classes had only minor effects on students' democratic attitudes and that civics classes have reduced the tendency of students to become politically involved. Ichilov (1999) reached a similar conclusion in her study of the teaching of civics in Israel as part of the Civic Education Study of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). This study found a trend of inconsistency and incoherence in the civics curriculum and in the instruction materials, mainly between active and passive dimensions of citizenship, as well

as between particularistic and universal dimensions. Ichilov (1999) explains that 'these two sets of orientations may often be inconsistent and even in conflict with one another' (p. 385), which led her to reach the conclusion that 'the formal curriculum seems to offer unsystematic and sporadic treatment of citizenship education' (p. 390). Following these findings, in a subsequent book Ichilov (2004) argues that such educational attempts to bridge social rifts within Israeli society by creating a universal civic identity have all failed, coming to the conclusion that 'given the scale of the rifts within Israeli society, it seems unlikely that existing attempts at bridging gaps will be effective' (p. 125). Thus, she questions the very ability of the civics curriculum to deal with the ongoing citizenship debates and solve social issues that characterize Israel today.

Pinson (2007) also examines the civics curriculum in relation to the larger social and political context. She presents a critical approach to the teaching of civics in Israel while 'question[ing] the democratic nature of the state of Israel and its ability to maintain its democratic character while defining itself as a Jewish state' (Pinson 2007: 352). In this way, Pinson wishes to move away from the traditional studies of civic education that put emphasis on knowledge, skills and dispositions. Pinson clearly explains the inherent tension that exists between the definitions of Israel as both a Jewish and democratic state, stating that:

On the one hand Israel, being a democratic state, has committed itself to provide equal individual democratic rights to all its citizens, regardless of their nationality or religion. At the same time, its definition as a Jewish state means that membership in the Israeli civic collective is determined first and foremost in terms of membership in a national-ethnic group, rather than according to universal civil criteria. (Pinson 2007: 357)

In her research, Pinson (2007) examined the ongoing tension between these inclusionary and exclusionary natures of civic education, and the difficulties the educational system faces promoting democracy in such a reality. She surveyed the official textbook published by the Ministry of Education and conducted interviews with 13 officials in the Ministry. Her main argument is that, whereas the textbook adopts a pluralistic approach while displaying multiple conceptions of citizenship, it makes sure to explain which approaches are legitimate and which are not, thus painting several points of view as illegitimate and thus excluding them from the actual discourse. Pinson explains that, in this manner, the official discourse being taught in the civics lessons, in fact, 'reinforces the definition of Israel as an ethno-national

state' (p. 369), thus not enabling a true democratic discourse including all members of society.

Diversity Studies

Given the diversity of Israeli society as mentioned above, and the questions of citizenship that this reality raises, another area of research within the large field of civic education is that of diversity studies, relating to the experiences of different social and cultural minority groups within Israeli society. In their study, Ichilov et al. (2005) compared conceptions of democratic citizenship between the Jewish and non-Jewish youth. They examined the following criteria: the level of trust in political institutions, the feeling that the elected representatives are accountable to the citizens, and the sense of self-political efficacy. The results of this study showed that youth from the Israeli-Palestinian minority suffered from a low degree of trust in all three aspects of their citizenship in Israel. This finding is not surprising, considering the general debate of citizenship of this particular minority group.

In this regard, Agbaria (2010) offers a critical view of the official Israeli civic curriculum. He comes to the conclusion that, even when presented as inclusive, the nation-wide civics curriculum and textbooks limit Israeli-Palestinian students' mode of citizenship to a thin view that emphasizes mainly procedural individual rights, while not recognizing the thick substantive approach to citizenship that includes cultural group rights as well. Thus, he argues that the curriculum reinforces the place of the Israeli-Palestinian students as second rate citizens, inferior to the Jewish citizens. One good example that establishes this claim is the fact that, whereas students from this group are required to study topics surrounding the Jewish elements of the state, elements regarding Palestinian culture are limited to folklore and traditions alone. He positions this reality as part of the current wave of neoliberal ideology that praises achievement, excellence and meritocracy, not leaving space for any discussion regarding civil or national identities, thus resulting in the de-politicization of the Israeli-Palestinian schools, while 'rob[ing] the Arab school of its social, community and political functions' (p. 228).

Another dominant minority group in Israeli society is that of immigrants from former USSR countries. In her study, Eisikovits (2005) concentrated on this group, pointing to the fact that issues of social justice are not limited to the Israeli-Palestinian debate. She found that non-democratic notions of citizenship, which were rooted in young people's experiences in non-democratic migrant countries, still had influence in their new democratic home country,

thus causing conflict with their civic education experiences. Thus, she relates to an additional challenge of citizenship in Israel, regarding the ability to instil common democratic values and practices among populations from diverse origins.

Numerous additional examples of studies relating to the connections between the diversity that characterizes Israeli society and the importance of civic education as a means to promote social justice are presented in a book edited by Avnon (2013a). The chapters include a study of Israeli-Palestinian schools (Agbaria and Jabareen 2013) and Jewish-Religious schools (Hellinger 2013; Saragossi 2013), as well as a questioning of the unified civics curriculum in relation to the social groups that compose Israeli society (Tamir 2013). Based on these studies, in the opening chapter Avnon (2013b) asks whether enough has been done to create a true civic language in Israel, one that will include all sects of society despite the rifts between them.

Opinion Surveys

An additional field in which numerous studies have been conducted over the years is that of large scale opinion surveys. Such studies offer a snapshot of the civic reality in Israel, questioning the ways in which the civic education process relates to these ongoing debates. A good example is the Israeli Democracy Index. The 2004 Index (Arian et al. 2004) was dedicated to the opinions of young people aged between 15 and 18 regarding Israeli democracy. This survey included questions relating to the following issues: internalization of democratic values, feelings toward the Israeli state and society, patterns of political participation and the influence of school civics lessons. The results showed a clear tendency of young Israelis to non-democratic values and behaviours. In a similar study, also dedicated to youth perspectives on democracy, Ichilov et al. (1989) found that students had difficulties applying democratic principles when engaging in social controversies.

Another such large scale survey (Ben Sira 1990) included 1840 participants from 24 different high schools from several geographic areas around the country. This survey found that, although the students did respect the procedural aspects of Israeli democracy, such as the voting process, they showed less respect for other substantive aspects of democracy, such as tolerance towards citizens that do not share the same political views. In addition, this survey showed that, if Israeli students were forced to choose between democratic values and other competing values, such as Israel's military strength, the majority would choose the latter. Regarding the topic of civic education, this survey

concluded that most students felt that their political education was framed by their families and not by the civics lessons they studied at school.

Policy Papers

In previous research, Ichilov (1988) offered an overview of the studies regarding the teaching of civics in Israel conducted up to the time of writing. Based on this survey, she concluded that a clear and coherent conception of the role of the teaching of civics is absent from the educational system, thus maintaining the reality of mixed messages.

Criticism of a different sort directed at the civics curriculum was presented in a paper entitled 'The Teaching of Civics in Israel: A One-Way Indoctrination' (Geiger 2009). The author surveyed the civics textbooks, professional development programmes and exams issued by the Ministry of Education over the previous ten years. Based on this evaluation, he came to the conclusion that the teaching of civics ignores the nationalistic aspect of the state of Israel and what he sees as the basic fact that Israel is, and should continue to be, a Jewish state. As a result, he offered to shelve the popular textbooks and replace them with a new civics curriculum and textbooks. This paper (Geiger 2009) is illuminating in the sense that it presents a critical stance regarding the civics curriculum that is rooted in the nationalistic approach, representing the views of the Jewish-Religious minority group.

To summarize, reviewing the research conducted in this field in Israel, it becomes clear that a true gap exists between the potential of the civics subject and the way it is actually taught. Whereas it seems that the scholars mentioned above agree that the teaching of civics may be seen as a true remedy to the social issues and political conflicts that dominate the Israeli context, numerous factors seem to interfere with this goal. As demonstrated, both political and social reasons, on the one hand, as well as policy-based and pedagogical considerations, on the other, all create a reality in which the teaching of civics does not fulfil its true potential in mitigating such social rifts and promoting a true civic atmosphere of equality and inclusion.

Conclusion

Following Dewey's notion, presented in the opening quote, claiming that the study of educational issues must take into consideration the contextual factors in which educational processes take place, this review wished to situate

the topic of civic education in Israel within a larger social and political debate. Considering the characteristics of Israeli society and the ongoing citizenship debates, as well as the historical development of the Israeli educational system, the process of civic education and the teaching of civics in Israel may be seen in light of its potential role in promoting social justice. However, reviewing the current civics curriculum, as well as the educational implications as reflected in academic studies, it becomes clear that this potential is scarcely fulfilled.

Whereas education for social justice may be seen as the process in which issues of equity and fairness are raised and discussed, the enactment of the civics curriculum in Israel in fact reinforces social inequalities, largely because it overlooks issues of diversity and group rights. In this manner, the original potential of this subject is undermined and the very essence of the teaching of civics as a means to promote social justice is absent. The nation-wide curriculum standards and the Bagrut exam create a reality in which important elements of the civic debate in Israel are overlooked.

In particular, it seems as though the teaching of civics in Israel today fails to relate three important contextual factors that compose the very essence of such an educational endeavour: the schools, the teachers and the students. Since the curriculum is taught identically, there is no place to address contextual factors that influence school policies and environment. The best example is that of the Israeli-Palestinian schools, which are required to teach the civics content from a procedural approach, ignoring substantive topics such as minority groups' rights. The civics curriculum also overlooks the teachers and does not provide them the flexibility to create much needed connections between the topics being taught and the students' lives. The fact that the curriculum does not include elective topics, for example, ignores the teachers' role in framing the curriculum while stressing the relevance to the different social groups to which the students and teachers are affiliated. And, finally, the civics curriculum does not take into account the potential interactions between the content being taught and the students' reactions to such content, which might help enable full student engagement. The fact that the curriculum barely touches on the need for multiple pedagogical practices, for example, ignores the needs of students' multiple learning styles. In other words, the fact that the civics curriculum is 'colour blind' in an attempt to create a one-size-fits-all approach to citizenship in Israel results in learning experiences that, in many cases, are irrelevant to the actual political and social debates that occur outside the classroom.

Due to this finding, it is clear that additional research is called for. I advocate for more empirical studies concentrating on research into what actually

goes on behind closed classroom doors. Such future studies should question the ways in which this curriculum is perceived by teachers and students, and offer thick descriptions of the ways in which civics is taught across the different branches of the Israeli educational system. For example, it would be interesting to see how such identical topics that compose the curriculum are actually taught in a cross-case study comparing Jewish-Secular, Jewish-Religious and Israeli-Palestinian classrooms. An additional line of study that is absent from the current debate relates to the pedagogical methods employed by civics teachers in order to enhance educational experiences. For example, it would be interesting to learn how Israeli civics teachers implement the use of discussing controversial issues as part of their civics lessons as a means to promote tolerance to alternative points of view.

Such future studies will help frame the debate regarding the teaching of civics in Israel as part of the larger civic debate that, as mentioned, continues to be challenged and contested on a daily basis. Thus, I hope that this review may be seen as a starting point to a more comprehensive discussion about the ways in which the teaching of civics in Israel may act as a true educational means of promoting social justice in Israel – and worldwide.

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23

México: Educating Citizens for Social Justice in a Highly Unequal Country

Leonel Pérez-Expósito

Introduction

In 2015, *Forbes* magazine included 16 Mexicans in its billionaires list. Carlos Slim, one of these billionaires, had ranked second in 2014, after having topped the list from 2010 to 2013. He lives in a country of approximately 112 million people (INEGI 2014), of which 55.3 million (46.2 %) are poor. The population includes 11.4 million (9.5 %) in extreme poverty, according to the National Council of Evaluation (CONEVAL). This Council is officially responsible for measuring poverty in Mexico. Its methodology contains the controversial category *vulnerable*, which designates those who are susceptible to being in poverty; in 2014, 40 million people (35.7 %) fell into this category. Only 24.6 million (20.5 %) were considered *not poor* and *not vulnerable* (CONEVAL 2015). Among them – evidently – are the richest 10 % of the population, which holds 64.4 % of the total national wealth (Global Wealth Report 2014, in Esquivel 2015).

In Mexico, economic inequality is not only a barrier to economic prosperity and wellbeing, but also to the political legitimacy of a rather young

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democratic state. It enables the privileged to influence governmental decisions according to their own interests. Since the political system is responsible for the regulation of the Mexican economy, political inequality reinforces economic disparities by maintaining or expanding opportunities for those who are already in an advantaged position. Once a country finds itself caught in this vicious circle, democracy loses value among its citizens. It is no longer a credible political path for wellbeing. According to *Latinobarómetro 2015*, in Mexico only 19 % of the population are satisfied with the way in which democracy functions, which places the nation in last position compared with other Latin American countries included in the survey.

What should be the role of education in such a scenario? The answer depends on how we envision the solution to the cyclical relation between economic and political inequality. For some, the goal is to enhance the economic value of education. Highly unequal countries need to increase educational attainment and improve performance, in order to prepare highly skilled workers for a knowledge-based economy. Equipped with so-called 'twenty-first-century skills', these tertiary education graduates will attract 'good jobs' and improve their earnings (Carnevale et al. 2015).

The growth in the earnings and levels of education in the population will provide *new* important resources for political participation (Verba and Nie 1987; Verba et al. 1993) to those previously excluded. In this reasoning, Mexican schools should focus on maximizing the economic value of education in order to be a factor of economic and political equality.

Without minimizing the intrinsic and instrumental value of education, opponents of this perspective claim that higher levels of educational attainment and a better alignment with the demands of the labour market are not the solution for countries with high inequality. This is, rather, a problem of regulation. As such, it must be resolved through labour, taxation, trade and social security policies, which prioritize redistribution and equality over stimulus for profit to those who already hold an enormous amount of wealth (Atkinson 2015; Reich 2010; Stiglitz 2013). But how to advance these policies when the beneficiaries of economic inequality dominate the political arena?

In this chapter, I argue that, precisely because regulation for the just distribution of wealth is tied to decisions in the formal political domain, education can be a factor of equality – not by focusing on its economic value but, rather, by enhancing its political value. In a system in which a few privileged members are strongly influential in the political arena, the possibility of advancing redistributive policies supposes a citizen who compensates such inequality with effective political actions. Redistribution is

not likely to be promoted by those who take advantage of inequality but, instead, by citizens who –despite the lack of economic resources – feel capable of making a change in the political realm (self-efficacious), and are able successfully to influence the decisions from which redistributive policies may result (politically effective). As I will show, this is far from being the case in Mexico. Developing a politically efficacious and effective citizenry is a challenge for Mexican schools, through which education can reduce political inequality and contribute to breaking the vicious circle between political inequality and economic disparities. How could citizenship education contribute to this end? I will address this question by examining the gap between current citizenship education in Mexico's secondary schools and the citizens we actually need. To frame this analysis, the first section of the chapter offers an overview of the extent of economic and political inequality in Mexico, as the setting in which students live and develop as citizens. I present an overall historical perspective of this context of social injustice and a description of its current dynamics.

The chapter continues with a critique of the view that education can be an equalizer, given its economic value. Having discussed the limitations of this approach in relation to the case of Mexico, I advance three main proposals for a citizenship education committed to social justice in a context of high inequality: (1) teaching and learning about inequality, (2) recognizing and developing students' politicity, and (3) educating for effectiveness in political participation.

Inequality: A Hallmark of Mexico's History

Mexico has had deep inequalities since its origins. None of its revolutions, reforms and social transformations has been able to eradicate them. Rather, economic and political inequalities have evolved throughout Mexican history (Woldenberg 2011). The obscene concentration of wealth during 300 years of Spanish colonization, based on indigenous genocide and the subjugation of the surviving native population, barely changed following Mexican independence in 1821 (Tello 2010).

During the first 55 years of national autonomy, some of the political and legal transformations oriented to structuring the newly born Mexican state targeted inequality. Even so, the concentration of wealth and land continued in the hands of the relatively new ruling class (Tello 2010). Despite the economic growth during the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (1876–1910), economic inequality endured. Concentration of land was such that it became one of the

central demands of the Mexican revolution (1910–1921). From 1821 to 1876, a military and/or intellectual elite concentrated political power, but during the so-called 'Porfiriato', this concentration was personalized in the president.

After the revolution in 1921, the hope of land redistribution and democratization of political power seemed to vanish. As Tello (2010) points out, both the independence and the Mexican revolution were 'initiated by those who aim social justice, and ended by those who seek to secure and perpetuate a system of privilege' (p. 69). It was in 1934, with President Cárdenas, that some of the revolutionary demands became tangible. A radical change in social and economic policies – which included land redistribution and the expropriation of oil in 1938 – and the establishment of different organizations to channel peasants' and workers' demands were successful in reducing inequality. However, *cardenism* was also a way of integrating broad sectors of workers and peasants into the growing state apparatus. It prepared the road to a very effective corporatist mechanism of control, manipulation and discipline, which was crucial for the concentration of political power in one political party government: the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) (Meyer 1992), which held the Mexican presidency from 1929 to 2000.

From 1940 to the 1970s, Mexico went through a period of economic growth, political stability and implementation of policies for long-term economic and social development. These circumstances created a scenario in which all social classes were able to improve their situation, but with no significant reduction of inequality (Tello 2010). In the political arena, 'stability' meant no effective political pluralism and the concentration of power in the president. Authoritarianism became evident in the military repression of the student movement in 1968. Even so, this movement was essential for a slow, painful, contradictory, diverse and sometimes hopeful process of democratization.

Although the revolution ended in 1921 and there were regular elections, there was no real electoral competition: Mexican political order was based on a hegemonic party. There is no agreement about when of the Mexican transition to democracy began, but it certainly started at some point between 1977 (Becerra et al. 2000) and 1982 (Loaeza 2010). During this period, a minimum framework for electoral competition was introduced in the constitution and the economic model that had prevailed for more than 30 years collapsed. Soon, the democratization of the national political arena overlapped with the implementation of economic neoliberal reforms (Guillén Romo 1997) and the beginning of a period of steady rising inequality. From 1984 to 1996, the Gini coefficient – the most commonly used measure of inequality among individuals or households within an economy – increased progressively from

0.452 to 0.547, on a scale in which 0 expresses perfect equality and 1 maximal inequality. From 1996, income inequality in Mexico decreased to a Gini value of 0.475 in 2010 (Lustig et al. 2013). Despite this trend, inequality in Mexico is currently higher than it was in 1984.

The country has now the formal characteristics of a democratic system (Becerra et al. 2000; Loaeza 2010), which has promoted the empowerment of diverse stakeholders in the national political arena, as well as alternation across federal, state and local governments. However, as Loaeza (2010) argues, the constitutional political powers in Mexico are now much more vulnerable to the influence of private organizations (legal and illegal) and the individual interests of the privileged.

The Vicious Circle of Economic and Political Inequality in Contemporary Mexico

In Mexico, income inequality is usually measured using data from the National Survey of Household Income and Expenditures (ENIGH). However, according to Esquivel (2015) this dataset does not accurately represent the allocation of income within the richest 10 %. Because changes in this fraction have a significant impact on overall distribution (Alvaredo and Piketty 2010; Atkinson 2007), the author presents the results of an ongoing study (Campos et al. 2015) in which the income of the richest 10 % is estimated, based not only on data from the ENIGH, but also from the national accounts. The results show that the percentage of the national income shared by the top 10 % is considerable higher than the figure estimated using the ENIGH alone. More importantly, from 1992 to 2012, the proportion of income within the richest 10 % increased by more than 7 %, while the results based on data from the ENIGH commonly present a decrease of a similar magnitude in the same period.

This analysis aligns better with two facts: (a) the increase in the number of billionaires in Mexico and the rise in their fortunes since the mid-1990s, and (b) the growth in gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in the last two decades and the stagnation in poverty rates. Esquivel (2015) presents the findings from the Wealth Insight report 2013, which shows that the number of billionaires in Mexico rose 32 % between 2007 and 2012, whereas there was an average reduction of 0.3 % worldwide in the same period. From 1996 to 2014, the average fortune of each of the 16 Mexicans included in the *Forbes* billionaires list grew from US$1,200 to US$8,900 million (Esquivel 2015: 16–17): conversely, poverty rates in 1996 and 2014 remained approximately equal (p. 28).

Considering this contrast and the fact that the GDP per capita grew about 1 % on average per year over the same period, it is evident who captures the benefits of economic growth in the country. The richest 1 % in Mexico concentrates 43 % of the total national wealth (WealthInsight 2013), and their income represents 21.3 % of the total national income in Mexico (Campos et al. 2014a).

How does this economic inequality relate to significant disparities in the Mexican political domain? To answer this question, we should consider the impact of economic inequality on two important dimensions: (a) the incidence of political participation, and (b) the influence of such actions. Unfortunately, in the case of Mexico there is a lack of research focusing specifically on these relations. Nevertheless, there are broader studies from which some inferences may be drawn.

Unlike other countries, such as the USA (e.g. APSA-TaskForce 2004), in Mexico the level of household income is not a significant predictor of incidence in electoral participation; neither does it make a statistically significant difference in non-electoral forms of participation such as *participation in protests*, *signing petitions or documents as a sign of protest*, *campaigning*, *reading and sharing political information through social media*, *talking to other people about political issues*, among others (INE 2014).

The consequences of inequality relate mostly to disparities in political influence. According to a study from the National Electoral Institute (INE) based on survey data, respondents' external political efficacy – the 'beliefs about the responsiveness of government authorities and institutions to citizen demands' (Niemi et al. 1991, p. 1408) – has a *negative* effect on electoral participation. It 'suggests that the citizen votes independently of the specific effect of its vote, or the effect of his participation in the government' (INE 2014). In short, people vote without expecting a change.

Conversely, one of the strongest direct predictors for non-electoral participation is, precisely, political efficacy (INE 2014). However, the proportion of citizens involved in any of these actions ranges from 2 to 12 %, except for the activity *talking to other people about political issues* with 39 %. Strikingly, among them, half or more (depending on the specific action) considered that they did not succeed at all. This was true for all actions, except participation in electoral campaigns (INE 2014). Achieving participants' goals in political actions relates to the effectiveness of citizens' participation. It affects not only external political efficacy, but also its internal dimension (Madsen 1987) – the 'beliefs about one's own competence to understand, and to participate effectively in politics' (Niemi et al. 1991, p. 1407). Thus, while a sense of political efficacy seems necessary to participate in non-electoral activities, for many, this experience might negatively affect that appreciation, making them less likely to participate again.

In contrast, the wealthy sustain their privilege through extraordinary political influence. The four richest Mexicans, whose wealth represents 9 % of the national GDP, substantially increased their wealth from activities in economic sectors that the Mexican government privatized, granted and/or regulated in the early 1990s (Esquivel 2015). The main companies involved are largely considered monopolies in their respective markets, with extraordinary returns for the investors and negative effects for the majority. In 2012, for instance, the OECD concluded that Carlos Slim's monopoly in telecommunications between 2005 and 2009 signified a welfare loss for the country 'estimated at USD 129.2 billion […] or 1.8 % GDP per annum' (OECD 2012).

According to Esquivel (2015), the capacity of political influence among the privileged is particularly noticeable in the taxation policy: 54 % of Mexico's revenue is raised from consumption tax, rather than income tax levied on individuals and companies. The average level of consumption tax in OECD countries is 32 % (OECD). In terms of inequality, consumption taxes are regressive insofar as poor households pay a higher percentage of their income than that paid by households that are better off. A further point for consideration is that, in Mexico, the dividends tax rate (30 %) is significantly lower than the OECD average (42 %), in addition to which capital gains tax was not established in Mexico until 2014 – but with significant exceptions (Esquivel 2015).

The Mexican citizenry seems to be aware about the relation between economic inequality and disparities in political influence. In the National Survey of Political Culture 2012 (ENCUP 2012), participants were asked to respond to questions regarding the influence of different actors in Mexican political life using a 3-point scale: *very much*, *a little*, *not at all*. Figure 23.1 summarizes the results. According to participants' views, the most influential actors from civil society are the big companies. Of the respondents, 63.4 % said that these big companies influence the national political life *very much*, whereas 45.6 % and 41.5 % said the same for *citizens* and *citizens' organizations*, respectively.

To sum up, in Mexico economic inequality is not only a product of market forces, but also the result of political decisions that have favoured the wealthy. As they become wealthier, their capacity to influence politics and the policies that will enable them to acquire more benefits also increases. In contrast, only a small number of citizens are involved in political participation beyond voting, and many of them believe that such actions have not been successful. It reduces the chances of further participation – which, in turn, widens disparities in political influence. This is the vicious circle of political and economic inequality.
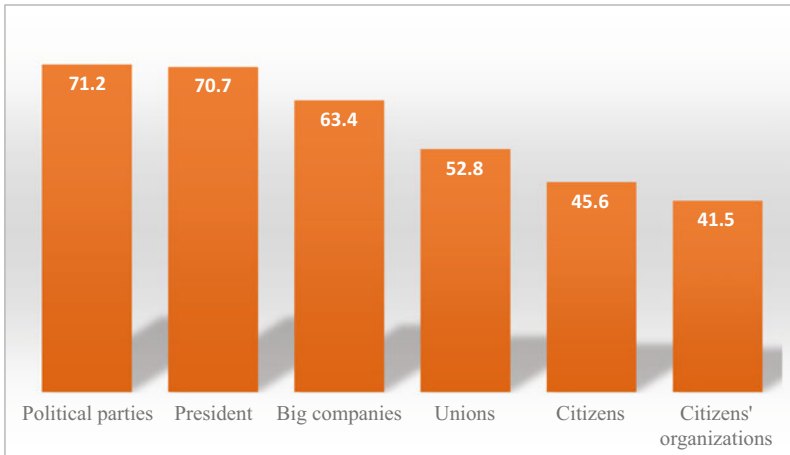
Fig. 23.1 How much influence does each of the following stakeholders have in national political life? Percent of responses *Very much* (Source: Own elaboration with data from ENCUP 2012)

Educating Citizens in a Highly Unequal Country: Challenges for Citizenship Education

What can education do to break the cyclical relation between economic and political inequality in Mexico? Usually, responses to this question are based on the economic value of education. According to Levin (2012), studies in this area tend to focus on the impact of cognitive skills measured by tests scores and educational attainment. With this emphasis, the economic value of education relates to its positive effects on employment, productivity and earnings, as well as to the private and public returns of educational investment (OECD 2014b). However, in Mexico this positive relation is not as clear as it is in other countries. According to the OECD (2014c), in 2012 the unemployment rate was 1 % higher among adults with tertiary education than for those with secondary and upper-secondary education. The National Association of Universities and Higher Education Institutions (ANUIES) points out that unemployment among adults with tertiary education increased to an annual rate of 15 %, on average, between 2000 and 2009. This figure is 5 % higher than the average annual rate of all unemployed people (Hernández Laos et al. 2010).

During the 1990s, the earnings of those with tertiary education in Mexico increased 1 %, but, from 2000 to 2009, there was a decrease of 19 % among graduate workers, and 21 % among adults with a postgraduate degree at Master's

level (Hernández Laos et al. 2010). An increase in under-employment partially explains this decay in earnings among professionals. Between 2000 and 2009, the percentage of adults with tertiary education who worked in occupations that demand lower levels of formal training rose by 9 %. Thus, by 2009 the total proportion of adults in this situation reached 40 % (Hernández Laos et al. 2010).

The (Lack of) Impact of Education in Reducing Inequality

The case of Mexico suggests that the economic value of education depends on the relation between education and broader economic, political and cultural factors affecting the same outcomes. Education alone cannot achieve the necessary changes (Levin and Kelley 1994). However, even in countries such as the United States, where education has patently shown its positive effects in the economy (OECD 2014a), there is no clarity in regard to its impact on reducing income inequality, at least since 2000 (Bivens et al. 2014).

A population that offers a more highly and better educated workforce does not always translate into a more equal distribution of income in that population. Even worse, education can play a role in widening inequality. In Mexico, education accounted for the rise of income inequality from 1984 to 1996, but not for its decline from 1996 to 2010. Between 1984 and 1994, educational attainment among the labour force rose 1.3 years, on average, and the 'share of workers with secondary or higher education by half' (Legovini et al. 2005, p. 278). Such progress, however, was unequally distributed: 'there was a larger proportional increase in years of schooling in the middle of the distribution than at the bottom or the top' (p. 298). Additionally, the returns on that education were not equally distributed across different levels of schooling. Marginal rates of return were 'higher for higher levels of education': 'Someone with little education gains less from an additional year of schooling than does someone who is more educated' (Legovini et al. 2005: 298–299).

Those were the years of progressive neoliberal reforms and steadily rising inequality. Thus, Legovini et al. (2005) show how transformations in the distribution and returns of education engendered a 'large, unequivocal increase in inequality' (p. 298). Together, these changes 'account for 41 percent of the change in earnings inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient and about a third of the change in other inequality measures' (p. 301).

From 1996 to 2010, the growth in educational attainment continued and became more equally distributed (Campos et al. 2014b). The composition of the Mexican workforce changed. There was a consistent increase in the proportion of highly skilled workers (those with tertiary education), a rise in

the percentage of workers with upper secondary education, and a significant reduction of those with a low level of secondary education or less (Esquivel et al. 2010). However, having a more educated workforce did not seem to attract what Carnevale et al. (2015) call 'good jobs'. Rather, as mentioned before, these highly skilled workers saw a decrease in their wages, while there was a rise in low-skilled workers' wages of '20 percent […] and in some cases even close to 30 percent' (Esquivel et al. 2010, p. 192) from 1996 to 2006.

The decline of income inequality in Mexico from 1996 to 2010 is better explained by the reduction in the supply of low-skilled workers, a decrease in the earnings of those with upper secondary and tertiary education, and by an increase in non-labour income via remittances and government transfers to people in poverty (Campos et al.2014b; Esquivel et al. 2010; Lustig et al. 2013). From 1982 to 2010, there is no evidence of the equalizing effects of education in Mexico.

Does this mean that education has no role to play in reducing inequality? Certainly, the effects of education are very limited, if not negative, when we mainly focus on its economic value. The previous analysis also suggests that it might be a factor of economic equality if policy actions take place in other domains. Renowned scholars in the study of inequality tend to agree regarding the need to advance redistributive policies in taxation, labour, social security and trade (Atkinson 2015; Reich 2010; Stiglitz 2013). However, this more promising path faces a political arena in which those who benefit from income inequality are highly influential. Additionally, I have shown the lack of political effectiveness in Mexican citizens involved in political participation, which is likely to have a negative effect in their political efficacy. In order to advance redistributive policies, it seems necessary not only to increase the number of citizens involved in non-electoral forms of political participation, but also to strengthen the effectiveness of their actions within an unequal political arena. To this end, education – specifically, citizenship education– should play a role. In the following, I examine the gap between current citizenship education in Mexico and the citizens demanded by the extant scenario of inequality, and put forward three main proposals for a citizenship education committed to social justice in this context: (1) teaching and learning about inequality, (2) recognizing and developing students' politicity, and (3) education for effectiveness in political participation. While citizenship education in Mexico takes place through the years of basic education, my analysis focuses particularly on secondary schools.[1]

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[1] Basic education in Mexico includes pre-school (3 years), primary education (6 years, ages 6 to 12 years) and secondary school (3 years, ages 12 to 15 years).

Citizenship Education in Mexico: What We Have…

Citizenship education in Mexico is one of the three formative axes in the curriculum of Civic and Ethical Formation (CEF) for basic education. The central purposes of CEF are that students:

1. Recognize themselves as subjects with dignity and rights, able to make decisions and commitments that ensure the enjoyment and care of its person, both in its quality of personal life and collective welfare, towards the construction of their life project.
2. Understand that human rights and democracy are the frame of reference to make autonomous decisions that enrich coexistence, and to question actions that violate the right of people and affect their natural and social environment.
3. Recognize that the characteristics of democracy in a state of law allow them to regulate their relations with the authority, persons and groups, while actively participate socially and politically in actions that ensure democratic, intercultural, solidarity-based, and fairer ways of life. (SEP 2011)

These three principal goals summarize the dominant discourse in the curriculum, and represent the culmination of a significant change in the orientation of CEF, which began in 1999 on its formal introduction in secondary education. Prior to the changes in 1999, we can trace civic and ethical/moral education in independent Mexico back to the first half of the nineteenth century. From that period to its most recent reform in 2011, we can see changes in the official content of CEF[2] as a slow transition from a combination of Catholic morality and civic indoctrination[3] to secularism; from authoritarianism to a commitment to democracy; from ideology to a procedural value education; from nationalism to a balance between localism, nationalism and cosmopolitanism; from cultural homogeneity and male domination to the acknowledgement of cultural diversity and gender equity; and, in the case of secondary education, from adult-centrism to an adolescent-centred orientation.[4]

Changes in the orientation of CEF correspond to discursive and practical transformations in the broader national political life. For example, in

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[2] I use this term acknowledging that it has been the formal name of the subject only since 1999.

[3] See Roldán (2012) and Latapí (2003).

[4] See Latapí (2003), Levinson (2004) and Pérez Expósito (2013), for historical overviews of Civic and Moral Education in Mexico.

1999 – just one year before the first election of a president from a political party other than the official PRI, which governed the country from 1929 to 2000 – Civic and Ethical Formation (CEF) was introduced as a subject in all grades of secondary education.[5] CEF represented a major change in the history of civic and moral education in Mexico (Latapí 2003; Levinson 2004). Compared with previous reforms in 1974 and 1992, the programme introduced an innovative perspective, which combined a radical redesign of the curricular content with a significant change in the pedagogical orientation. On the one hand, the scope of the programme ranged from reflection on students' identity and young persons' issues (sexuality, health, addictions and future plans), to participation in society, as well as the study of rights, law and government within a democratic polity. On the other hand, the reform could be taken as a critique of previous approaches to civic and ethical education based on prescription and indoctrination. The case is argued for a teaching style that would lead to the development of practical skills, through which students would relate the subject's themes to their interests and daily lives. This pedagogical approach would also promote the practice of democratic values, attitudes, and forms of collective and collaborative participation (SEP 2001).

The 1999 programme affirmed some tendencies from previous proposals, such as secularism and commitment with democracy, a procedural value education under the idea of *values for living together*, and a balance between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. But this curriculum introduced new elements to be used in successive reforms, particularly a pedagogical approach centred on adolescence and adolescents, and a discursive inclusion of gender equity (Levinson 2004).

In 2006, a further substantial review of the curriculum for secondary education took place. CEF would have 4 hours per week in the second and third grades. The reform maintained some of the principles, purposes and orientation from the previous programme, but established significant changes. Now, the pedagogical approach would be based on the development of eight civic *competences*, which seek to integrate abstract knowledge, skills and attitudes, according to the way they should be jointly displayed in specific 'real' practices (SEP 2006). These competences were defined as (1) self-knowledge and self-care; (2) self-regulation and the responsible exercise of freedom; (3) respect for, and appreciation of diversity; (4) a sense of belonging to

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[5] This *new* subject replaced *civics* and *educational orientation*, a course that was centred more on vocational, psychological and moral orientation, and was envisaged to serve as a guide for the process of students' identity formation.

the nation and humanity; (5) management and resolution of conflicts; (6) social and political participation; (7) adherence to legality and a sense of justice; and (8) an understanding and appreciation for democracy. According to the programme, the civic competences are classified in three formative axes (personal, ethical and citizenship formation), and have to be developed across three dimensions: a specific curricular content to be worked in the classroom, cross-curricular content with other subjects, and the school environment (SEP 2007).

The most recent reform, in 2011, was based strongly on the previous programme. The curriculum keeps the eight civic competences and the three formative axes, but adds the dimension of students' daily life to the three already established. The programme emphasizes the importance of the relation between school, family and community, especially for practising those competences with a stronger social character. The new programme slightly modifies the definition of some competences, topics and learning outcomes, but retains the organization of the content as in the 2006 programme.

The programmes of 2006 and 2011 ratify previous advances in CEF, some of which originated at the end of nineteenth century and between 1910 and 1946 (Latapí 2003; Meneses Morales 1986). Also, both programmes support more recent innovations, like secularization; commitment with democracy; a procedural value education; a balance between nationalism, cosmopolitanism and universal principles; an approach centred on adolescence and adolescents; and gender equity. In addition, the current curriculum incorporates an emphasis on the local scale, a commitment with cultural diversity, and the acknowledgement of Mexico as a multicultural nation with more than 15 million indigenous people from 62 ethnic groups (CDI 2012).

The recent transformations in the curriculum of CEF coincide with changes in other countries in the way that citizenship education is conceptualized.[6] Notably, the demands on CEF have grown. The wide scope of the programme's content shows how this subject has to comply with a growing politically correct discourse about citizenship, which includes a rhetorical commitment to democracy, cultural diversity, inclusion, gender equity, adolescents' rights, social and political participation, and so on. However, the problem of economic inequality and its relevant implications for democracy remain unnoticed. More importantly, the current curriculum does not consider the specifics of preparing citizens for such an unequal scenario.

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[6] See, for instance, Great Britain (1998)

Rather, there is a strong emphasis on an ideal and formal representation of democracy, the national political system, and social and political participation (Pérez Expósito 2013, 2015a).

As with any educational programme, the presence of an ideal model for which to aim is logical as a horizon of development. However, without an understanding of (a) the real context in which students have to exercise their citizenship, and (b) the necessary knowledge, skills and dispositions for an effective and efficacious political performance in such conditions, the ideal loses its pedagogical potential. The risk is that students mostly learn a pristine rhetoric of democratic citizenship that is invisible in practice, without developing the knowledge, skills and dispositions to participate successfully in the current unequal political arena.

In my own research with secondary school students in Mexico City, I found that there co-exists in pupils' understanding of political participation an idealistic representation of it and a more realistic one. They are aware of the discrepancy between how political participation in a democracy should be, and how it actually occurs. They have also learnt a discourse about inclusion, rights and the value of participation. However, they found themselves largely excluded from participation and therefore politically inactive – both in the family, in school and in broader communities (Pérez Expósito 2013, 2015a, b).

The CEF programme seems to be oriented to reinforce the idealistic representation of participation in a democratic polity. In contrast, it dismisses an analysis of the inequalities within the Mexican political system and the power asymmetries in political participation. More importantly, it does not prepare students for active participation in such complex and unequal scenario; rather, they are taught to become citizens of an ideal political community.

Whereas the explicit conception of political participation in the programme is intended for students' adulthood (Pérez Expósito 2015a), it encourages adolescents' participation in different contexts, including in their schools. Clearly, the programme does not see these experiences as political, but they are an opportunity for developing certain skills and dispositions that are relevant for political participation in *real* arenas. Schools are micro-political spaces (Ball 1987) through which students can experience how to participate effectively in a context of asymmetrical distribution of power and resources, dissensus and conflicting interests. However, this participation, though desirable, is not grounded on a regulatory framework that provides real opportunities to student involvement in the school. On the contrary, the legal framework for secondary schools significantly restricts student participation and confines

them to a passive role (Pérez Expósito 2014a; Sandoval 2000). This tension between what the programme promotes and what the regulatory framework allows results in very limited student participation in school (Pérez Expósito 2015a, b).

Thus, we have a programme of citizenship education that prioritizes a formal and idealistic view of democracy and political participation. Although students recognize the ideal, they are also aware of the gap between this ideal and how political participation actually takes place in their communities, including in broader national political life. Yet, it is unlikely students will find relevant knowledge in their education for a better understanding of the *real* political arenas that affect their lives and communities. There is a lack of opportunity for student participation in school through which students could develop important skills and dispositions that would enable them to be competent in such complex and unequal political scenarios. The result is predictable. In my own research with third grade students from two contrasting municipalities of Mexico City, the students reported rare experiences of participation in the family, the school and broader communities – the lack of participation in broader, like the national political arena, communities being the most unusual (Pérez Expósito 2013, 2015a).

…And the Citizens We Need

In the extant scenario of economic and political inequality, current citizenship education in Mexico looks innocuous. If reducing inequality demands significant changes in the orientation of public policies and laws, we need citizens capable of exerting effective influence on those decisions. Within a context of high inequality, powerful interests in a privileged position already influence the political spaces in which decisions are made; therefore, becoming effective represents a considerable challenge. What would be the necessary changes in citizenship education to confront this scenario?

Teaching and Learning About Inequality

First, it seems reasonable to acknowledge the problem in the CEF program. It is important to balance its current emphasis on understanding the virtues of democracy with an analysis of how economic inequality is threatening democratic states – and, particularly, the Mexican political system. What is inequality? What is the extent of economic inequality in Mexico? Why are we such an unequal country and how did we reach this point? To what extent is inequality

ethically wrong, and why? What are the negative effects of inequality? How does economic inequality relate to political inequality? How does economic and political inequality affect us? What can be done to reduce inequality? All these questions present an opportunity to engage students in informed discussions through which they can enhance their knowledge about the real arenas for political participation in Mexico.

Recognizing and Developing Students' Politicity

Knowledge about inequality is important, but seems insufficient for the education of the politically active students we need. Different contemporary programmes of citizenship education have emphasized categories such as civic engagement, citizenship participation or community involvement, while restricting political participation regarding the futures of children and adolescents (Pérez Expósito 2014b, 2015a). This approach is rooted on an understanding of the political as the domain of politics and government. Such a realm – across its different levels (local, state, federal) and constitutive powers (executive, legislative and judicial) – is precisely the area that needs to be targeted by citizens' actions in order to influence public policies and laws with a redistributive impact. But, how can we prepare students for political participation when they are mostly excluded from the political arena? How may we educate active political citizens within programmes that tend to depoliticize the idea of citizenship?[7] How can we promote political action among students, when they are seen as depoliticized agents?[8] Such questions point to the need for broader conceptions of the political that are inclusive of children and adolescents, which certain authors have advanced since the 1970s (Crick and Heater 1977; Pérez Expósito 2014b). From these standpoints, we can start thinking about students' politicity. I define this as an evolving capacity to act resulting from their equal condition as human beings, which is oriented to the enactment of such an entitlement (equality) and the neutralization of the power relations within which they are immersed (emancipation). As the neutralization of power relations is a utopic vision, these actions can be seen as forms of *compensation*. They are oriented to balancing such asymmetrical relationships and usually appear as actions of resistance, reciprocity, legitimation and persuasion (Pérez Expósito 2014b).

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[7] See Biesta (2011); Frazer (2007); Kahne and Westheimer (2006); Pérez Expósito (2014b, 2015a); Straume (2015), for a deeper analysis of the de-politicization of citizenship education.
[8] See Pérez Expósito (2014b, 2015a).

Similar to the way in which children's rights are conceived in Article 5 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, I see students' politicity as an evolving capacity that develops during the course of life. Since early childhood, we experience *power over* relations (Lukes 2005) and we all have the potential to develop the capacity to compensate for such asymmetrical power arrangements during childhood and adolescence. While different forms of *power over* children are necessary to protect them, they will acquire, through a culturally differentiated development process, 'enhanced competencies, [therefore] there is a reduced need for direction and a greater capacity to take responsibility for decisions affecting their lives' (Lansdown 2005, p. ix). As autonomy evolves, and the abilities of communication, analysis and moral reasoning develop, children and adolescents are more capable: (a) of understanding their position in a complex network of power relations, and its consequences in their current situation and contexts of practice; and (b) of undertaking actions of resistance, persuasion, reciprocity or legitimation.

The approach to students' politicity as an evolving capacity offers at least two advantages: (1) it can make political participation inclusive of children and adolescents, insofar as it displaces *the political* from a particular arena and understands it as a type of action that students can perform; and (2) politicity becomes an object of pedagogical action. As with many other capacities, adult guidance in school can aid in the development of politicity.

Learning to be Politically Effective

It is very difficult to educate students to become politically active, if they do not participate in their daily contexts. To develop students' politicity requires its enactment. As part of the process of de-politicization of citizenship education, some programmes in different countries – Mexico included – emphasize participation in altruistic or service activities, through which students seem to learn 'a great deal about how to serve but little about affecting political change' (Walker 2000). As Kahne and Westheimer (2006) argue, these activities are commonly seen as an opportunity to boost students' sense of political efficacy but, throughout such experiences, pupils rarely face the obstacles of asymmetrical power relations or the complexities of the political arena. Conversely, when students do face them, it is harder for them to be successful. Also, when students do not achieve the goal of their political actions, this is likely to have a negative impact on their sense of internal political efficacy, which undermines their commitment to further actions (Kahne and Westheimer 2006). However, these students tend to develop a growing

attention to, and knowledge about, the political realm and the network of power relations affecting their own interests (Kahne and Westheimer 2006). This, in turn, provides new insights for enhancing effectiveness in further political actions.

The Mexican context of political and economic inequality seems to demand not only a politically efficacious citizenry, but also a citizen who is politically effective in a context of asymmetrical power relations. Schools offer different instances in which students find themselves within such power asymmetries. To what extent can students participate in these situations? To what extent does student participation succeed in compensating for such asymmetries? These questions point to the need to enhance effective student participation in schools, not only in the altruistic sense, but also through activities and projects in which students can develop their policity.

While the problems affecting students in school seemed to be contained within the school, many of these problems connect to political decisions made beyond the school, including in the governmental arena. Research shows how teachers or principals collaborate with students in identifying this connection and advancing their influence beyond the school (Mitra 2007; Serriere et al. 2010; Westheimer 2015). This transcontextual participation involving the governmental arena seems essential for the development of the knowledge, skills and dispositions required for the effective political actions that are necessary for advancing redistributive policies.

The citizenship education needed to develop effectiveness in students' political participation is not based on instruction of a predefined abstract content; rather, it is focused on knowledge, skills and dispositions to develop students' politicity through participatory projects. This work begins with students' interests with regard to the problems they experience in school or other communities. Once a problem has been identified, students are encouraged to investigate the situation. What causes the problem? Is it connected to a broader network of power relations beyond the school? This is a point of critical analysis: pupils can also discover how other people may be affected by the same problem, or by certain vectors of the network of power relations. Pupils may become sympathetic or critical about others' practices of political participation. It constitutes a learning process that is fundamental for deciding the subsequent course of action and its practical implementation. During those decisions, teachers collaborate with students in devising participatory actions and assessing their potential effectiveness. They can evaluate alternative scenarios in order to increase the probability of success. After the planned activity takes place, students in the classroom may undertake a reflexive assessment of the project, its effectiveness and impact on adolescents' sense of political efficacy.

Examples of this type of work in citizenship education can be found in Westheimer (2015) – specifically, in what he calls programmes that aim to educate justice-oriented citizens. In these still rare initiatives, students link the personal with the political, and learn 'how to address structural issues of inequity and injustice and bring about social change' (p. 57) through critical analysis and collective action. .

To sum up, current citizenship education in Mexico seems innocuous in relation to the challenge of educating a politically effective citizen committed with advancing redistributive policies. The extant scenario of economic and political inequality demands a citizen who critically understands and assesses inequality, who thinks about themself as a political agent, and is able to organize collective political actions that are successful at achieving their goals. To this end, I have proposed an approach to citizenship education that: (a) includes the analysis of inequality in the curriculum, (b) aims at developing students' politicity, and (c) teaches how to carrying out effective political actions.

Conclusions and Further Research

This chapter has argued for a citizenship education in Mexico committed to social justice. Having shown the extent of economic inequality in the country and its cyclical relationship with political inequality, I presented a critique of the idea of seeing education as an equalizer, given its economic value. Considering that redistributive policies beyond education are more likely to cause matters to revert to a balance of inequality, it would appear to be a matter of urgency to enhance the political significance of citizenship education. The reduction of inequality in Mexico is not only about having a better-educated workforce, but also about enhancing the political competence of its citizens. Mexico needs to educate citizens that are capable of influencing the political arena in which redistributive policies are made, despite the prevailing inequalities in this domain. After examining certain limitations of current citizenship education in Mexico, I have advanced three main proposals for achieving this end: (1) teaching and learning about inequality, (2) recognizing and developing students' politicity, and (3) educating for effectiveness in political participation.

There are three areas in which more research seems necessary. First, empirical investigations are required into the impact of economic inequality on political effectiveness and efficacy among the Mexican population. Second, theoretical and empirical research are needed regarding how

the proposals advanced in this chapter can be integrated in the current dynamics of Mexico's secondary schools, and their impact on young people's political effectiveness and sense of efficacy. Finally, studies are required into the consequences of citizenship education, and the extent to which it relates to a greater capacity for influencing redistributive policies in different political arenas (national, state and local). This knowledge would give us a better understanding of the equalizing role that education could play in Mexico – not only by enhancing its economic value, but also by revitalizing its political meaning.

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24

The Political Rhetoric and Everyday Realities of Citizenship in New Zealand Society and Schools

Martin Thrupp

Introduction

In matters of social justice and citizenship, the case of New Zealand is both promising and disappointing. On the one hand, New Zealand has a history of being a relatively egalitarian society and has taken important political, legislative and economic steps under the Treaty of Waitangi to redress the colonization of its indigenous people, the Maori. There has also been a progressive approach by recent New Zealand governments to more general matters of ethnic and sexual discrimination. On the other hand, there is still much to be done to translate legislation into addressing everyday injustices within New Zealand culture. Neoliberal politics since the 1980s have led to increased socio-economic disparities within New Zealand society. 'Trickle up' policies are allowing great wealth for some but making life tough for many New Zealanders and disproportionately impacting on Maori, undoing potential gains under the Treaty. It should also be acknowledged that New Zealand's geographic isolation and relatively brief human history has meant that it has barely had to grapple with some social justice concerns affecting other countries: refugees, travellers and religious persecution, to name a few.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, education for social justice and citizenship within New Zealand schools (and other educational institutions) has tended to mirror the same contradictions between political rhetoric and everyday reality.

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Within schools there are both aspects of the formal New Zealand curriculum and many specific interventions that are clearly relevant to citizenship. But much of this 'citizenship education' is not very focused on social justice. Moreover, research has long indicated that the extent to which the formal curriculum becomes enacted with a social justice orientation often falls far short of aspiration. New Zealand teachers tend to be sensitive to the often conservative cultural politics of the communities they serve and are also under considerable workload pressures that cut across their good intentions. A further problem is that education for citizenship and social justice is becoming marginalized by the standards agenda and a fixation on data in New Zealand schools. Overall, such considerations and distractions make the promotion of citizenship and social justice through education much more tenuous than policy suggests.

Historical Issues Relating to Social Justice

The colonization of Maori is the most obvious injustice in New Zealand's short human history. Maori are thought to have settled in Aotearoa (New Zealand) in about 1300AD, having come from Polynesia; by the time of James Cook's circumnavigation of the country in 1769 numbered around 110,000. The effects of the subsequent mainly British colonization – including disease, war, land confiscation, loss of resources and discrimination – saw the Maori population plunge to 42,113 by 1896 (King 2003). Although the Maori population then recovered somewhat (today, those who identify as Maori comprise about 600,000 – 15 % of the New Zealand population), colonization has had far-reaching implications. Maori have been significantly over-represented in poor social, economic and educational indicators since the nineteenth century despite numerous reports and social interventions. Indeed, although there have been some attempts to address past wrongs under the Treaty of Waitangi and other promising developments, as will be discussed below, on most measures the gap between Pakeha (Europeans) and Maori has widened since the mid-2000's. A recent study of 21 indicators including measures of health, standard of living, knowledge and skills, employment, cultural identity; and social connectedness found that:

> The majority of the indicators […] suggest worsening outcomes for Māori and Pacific people in the form of increasing gaps in indicators when compared to the European population. Moreover, some of the indicators that produce improving

outcomes still retain large gaps between the European population and Māori or Pacific people. (Marriot and Sim 2014: 23)

The quote above also raises social justice issues facing people from small Pacific island nations as non-indigenous minorities in New Zealand. From the late 1950s, people moved to New Zealand from Pacific nations such as Tonga and Western Samoa as economic migrants on work permits, finding plentiful work, mainly in factories. But, in the 1970s, with New Zealand unemployment rising, such workers were often no longer welcome and there were infamous 'dawn raids' to round up 'overstayers'. Greater legal rights for Pacific families to be New Zealand citizens were subsequently secured but the socio-economic position of those New Zealanders with Pacific backgrounds is generally precarious (Marriot and Sim 2014). There have also been racist policies and incidents mainly involving Chinese and Indian citizens. In the past, these ethnic groups were small and marginalized but, today, the proportion of the New Zealand population from Asian backgrounds is over 12 % and growing.

There were also significant social class inequalities within the European settler society, although these were not as obvious as in many other countries. A self-concious egalitarianism developed in New Zealand in reaction to the nineteenth-century Britain most of the early colonists left behind. As Eldred-Grigg (1990: 79) noted, 'the [nineteenth-century] boast of New Zealanders, and the boast of Americans, Australians, and Argentinians was that people were more free to rise in the new world than in the old'. Even by the 1990s, it was noted that 'New Zealand has often been seen as a classless society in contrast to Britain which has been regarded as the epitome of a class society' (Lauder and Hughes 1990: 43) while Easton (1996: 61) suggested 'class is not a subject that New Zealanders talk easily about'. While New Zealand's supposed egalitarianism was partly a myth, New Zealand life had features that allowed class differences to be relatively muted. These included low population pressure, small settlements and few areas of urban deprivation. There was little 'old money' and the labour market also acted to blur class distinctions. For instance, farmers were a major occupational group that varied widely in their resources and class backgrounds. The post-war period was a time of widespread prosperity based on agricultural exports and, even by the 1980s, New Zealand was still one of the most equal countries outside of Scandinavia as shown by OECD Gini coefficient data (Rashbrooke 2013, endnote 16: 249). But, in the 1970s, New Zealand became shut out of European export markets and, from the 1980s, neoliberal ideas began to dominate New Zealand politics and policy-making (Kelsey 1997). New Zealand society became remade

in a less equal way and in the subsequent decades inequalities of spending and wealth have become much more apparent.

Contemporary Issues Relating to Social Justice

Since the 1980's, Maori rights and aspirations under the Treaty of Waitangi have tended to dominate debate about social justice in New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed between the (then) British Crown and Maori in 1840 and, although its exact interpretation remains contested, clearly did guarantee Maori important rights of future citizenship and self-determination. After Maori struggles to have the Treaty of Waitangi honoured, the period since the 1980's have seen significant redress. In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was set up to hear historic grievances and, since that time, there have been numerous settlements between the New Zealand government and various iwi (Maori tribes), while other cases are continuing. Settlements generally involved an apology from the Crown, the return of crown-owned land where feasible as well as a financial settlement (Office of Treaty Settlements 2015). An example is that when the Crown reached a NZ$170 million settlement in 1995 for the land confiscated from the Waikato-Tainui iwi, it expressed 'profound regret and apologise[d] unreservedly for the loss of lives because of the hostilities arising from its invasion and at the devastation of property and social life which resulted' (Her Majesty the Queen in Right of New Zealand and Waikato 1995: 6). The author's university, the University of Waikato, is on land given back to Waikato-Tainui as part of this settlement. Despite problems with some of its investments, by 2014 Waikato-Tainui had assets worth NZ$1.1 billion. Yet, to keep such positive outcomes of the Treaty settlements in perspective, the land confiscated from Tainui was worth approximately NZ$12 billion at the time of settlement (Her Majesty the Queen in Right of New Zealand and Waikato 1995: 5). Also, while perspectives that seek to view Maori as another disadvantaged group without the special claim on distributive justice provided by the Treaty get little take-up in New Zealand (Sharp 1990), the reality is that many Maori are in low socio-economic positions disproportionately burdened by recent neoliberal policies, as will be discussed shortly.

Along with the concern for Maori, there are numerous policies and bodies set up to deal with discrimination affecting other groups. New Zealand has a Human Rights Commission, an Office of Ethnic Affairs, a Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, an Office for Disability Issues and a Ministry of Women's Affairs. The difficulty with all of these well-intentioned developments is that their

influence only has a limited reach into New Zealand culture. A recent analysis has emphasized how national news coverage still 'repeats and reinforces negative themes about Maori that date from the earliest days of colonisation' (Te Ropu Whariki 2014). New Zealand society is still only slowly moving away from the European dominance of previous decades and the revitalization of Maori and Pacific languages is a gradual and tenuous process. There is a similar pattern with inequalities of gender, sexuality and disability. The policy environment may be progressive – for instance, same-sex marriage was legalized in 2013 – but social conservatism, discrimination, violence and abuse are a continuing reality for too many New Zealanders. In particular, New Zealand has one of the worst records amongst OECD countries for violence against women and children ('NZ worst for domestic violence – UN report' 2011). The difficulties of shifting this culture has been illustrated by debate over what is commonly known as the 'anti-smacking bill', a 2007 amendment to the Crimes Act which removed the legal defence of 'reasonable force' for parents accused of assaulting their children. A citizens initiated referendum in 2009 found 87 % of the public supported 'a smack as part of good parent correction' on a voter turnout of 56 %. Nearly a decade after it was passed, the anti-smacking legislation is still being opposed, especially by conservative Christian groups (McCoskrie 2015).

As mentioned earlier, growing socio-economic inequalities are an important backdrop to attempts to address social injustice in New Zealand. The programme of neoliberal reform that started in New Zealand in the 1980s resulted in social inequality growing at the fastest rate of all OECD countries from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. As in other countries, social benefits were cut sharply and managerial developments in the labour market led to greater income disparities and more work insecurity. New Zealand fell in the Gini coefficient rankings from being one of the most equal countries in the early 1980s to now being around 23rd out of 34, next to Australia (Rashbrooke 2013: 23). There was a small improvement (a decline in the Gini coefficient) during the Labour-led governments of 1999–2008 because of tax credits for low income workers. Subsequently, '[y]ear-on-year income inequality figures have been volatile […] with the GFC [global financial crisis] shock impacting on investment returns, employment and wages over the five years from 2008–09 [and] […] no conclusive evidence of any sustained rise or fall in income inequality using the Gini measure since the mid 1990s' (Perry 2015: 75). It is expected that a 2016 analysis of data will give 'reasonable evidence' of whether the situation is getting better or worse (ibid.)

A key feature of New Zealand society in recent years has been a sharp increase in wealth for about 10 % of the population (Rashbrooke 2015). In

part, this is due to the way executive and managerial salaries have become detached from other incomes and an upper tax bracket of only 33 % above NZ$70,000, reduced from 38 % in 2010. Increases in wealth are also due to a run-away housing market, particularly in and around Auckland, New Zealand's largest and most international city. Auckland now has 59 suburbs with average house prices over NZ$1 million (Wade 2015) and New Zealand has no capital gains tax. Rapidly rising house prices are therefore leading to huge increases in personal wealth for those that own houses in the relevant areas but, meanwhile, the poor struggle to get into accommodation and to afford anything much else once accommodation has been paid for.

Nowadays, there is some concern about such inequality, but also much public acceptance of it. The Equality Network, an umbrella group for various organizations concerned with poverty and inequality in New Zealand society, recently issued an invitation to attend a day seminar on the theme 'Talking So That People Will Listen' (Equality Network 2015). As the theme was explained, 'we've convinced a growing number of people that income inequality is one of New Zealand's biggest problems. But if we're going to turn that concern into the momentum for real change, we're going to have to persuade a whole lot more people'. The plans involve 'a draft communications resource that will draw on the latest research about framing, political communication, and what works and what doesn't when it comes to changing people's minds'. It seems telling that, after several decades of neoliberal politics, most Kiwis now have to be persuaded to care about social inequality – or, rather, to care enough to make a difference.

Implications for Education for Citizenship

In New Zealand, education for citizenship tends to be referred to as 'citizenship education' even though citizenship has never been treated as a distinct subject or strand in the school curriculum. Carol Mutch, who has written extensively on citizenship education in New Zealand, argues that it has remained 'a constant presence' in the New Zealand education system even if 'the vehicle through which it has been taught has changed over the years' (Mutch 2013: 51). The vehicles for citizen education has variously included 'moral education', the social sciences – especially 'social studies' (which is now taught up to the end of Year 13, the final year of secondary schooling), 'environmental education', 'health and physical education' and Maori education in several different forms. Citizenship education has also been apparent around numerous specific interventions and projects; for instance, the

Electoral Commission puts out resources for schools, especially prior to every General Election. At the time of writing, New Zealand is choosing whether or not to have a new flag and school resources have been developed to support this (Flag Consideration Project 2015).

Yet, by tracing the history of New Zealand citizenship education from colonial times, Mutch (2013) has also illustrated how it has always been coloured by the politics of the era under discussion. For instance, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century New Zealand schools had strong colonizing themes in relation to Maori. A Native Schools primary school system attended by many Maori was set up in 1867. This emphasized English as the medium for instruction and, as assimilatory attitudes hardened, children were punished for speaking the Maori language at school. After World War II, the emphasis was on patriotism and a 1950s syllabus for social studies emphasized 'the love of one's country and a willingness to serve it' (Mutch 2013: 54, discussing Department of Education 1954). More recently, neoliberal times have seen economic themes such as 'enterprise' being more heavily valued in the New Zealand school curriculum. Since 2007, New Zealand children have been taught 'key competencies', including 'managing self', which is described as being 'associated with self-motivation, a "can-do" attitude, and with students seeing themselves as capable learners':

> It is integral to self-assessment. Students who manage themselves are enterprising, resourceful, reliable, and resilient. They establish personal goals, make plans, manage projects, and set high standards. They have strategies for meeting challenges. They know when to lead, when to follow, and when and how to act independently. (Ministry of Education 2007: 12)

These various features of the New Zealand situation raise critical concerns about the enactment of education for citizenship and social justice. First, it is apparent that the citizenship education curriculum as expressed in various policy documents and resources provided to schools has often not been so much about social justice but, rather, about other requirements of the state for its citizens, including maintaining the existing social order along with its inequalities. A good example would be 'Taha Maori', which was an approach to teaching the Maori language and culture that became popular in New Zealand schools in the 1980s leading up to the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. But this approach soon became critiqued as offering only a very token approach to Maori education, and one that was benefiting Pakeha (European) children and young people more than Maori (Smith 1986).

Second, as illustrated by the 'key competencies' mentioned above, education for citizenship and social justice has usually been marginalized by other aspects of the curriculum. This is particularly true in recent years, as New Zealand schools have become increasingly focused on numeracy and literacy in response to an increasingly instrumental neoliberal view of education, and more specifically, in response to various assessment requirements. Since 2010, New Zealand primary schools have been required to introduce National Standards in reading, writing and mathematics. Initial research has indicated that this policy directive is leading to curriculum narrowing towards these areas. Moreover, even where areas such as social studies and environmental education are still being taught, they are increasingly becoming treated as a vehicle for reading and writing, rather than focusing so much on the substantive concerns being discussed (Thrupp and White 2013). The concern of policy-makers, school leaders and teachers is increasingly the 'acceleration' of primary school achievement, rather than longer-term benefits of education such as citizenship and social justice.

At secondary level, there is the National Certificate of Educational Attainment (NCEA). This involves students gaining credits both in curriculum areas that are traditional within the New Zealand school system and in newer alternative programmes. Here, there would seem to be plenty of scope for assessment of issues related to social justice and citizenship. However, there is a problem of depth of learning because this assessment encourages an instrumental, acquisition approach to learning and qualifications, rather than emphasizing the benefit of a coherent overall course of study. There has been recent discussion in New Zealand of NCEA 'credit farming' where:

> standards are offered by teachers, not because they are the most valuable to the student, but because they most easily deliver credits. Students themselves seek out courses which are perceived to deliver the most credits for the least effort, but these may not be the courses that will most benefit them in the medium and long term. (PPTA 2015: 7)

Part of the problem caused by both National Standards and the NCEA is intensification of workloads for New Zealand teachers and school leaders. They may have some advantages over more conventional national testing approaches but they are also both extremely 'busy' student evaluation systems involving repeated assessment and moderation. They are also located within an increasingly data-driven system where the government collects 'Public Achievement Information' and sets 'Better Public Service' targets. In this respect, New Zealand provides just another variation on the performativ-

ity theme seen in many other education systems with high-stakes approaches to assessment (Alexander 2009; Nichols and Berliner 2007; Stobart 2008). The Better Public Service targets (e.g. 85 % of 18-year-olds achieving NCEA Level 2 or an equivalent qualification) have repercussions on schools and on their priorities, pushing aside social justice – except in the narrow sense of improved individual achievement for more students.

Third, and related to the same neoliberal emphasis already noted, New Zealand schools have been unusually 'self-managing' since the 1990s, each school essentially operating as an individual business unit. This is a further workload issue, as it creates numerous managerial demands to be met as the schools are 'steered from a distance' by government through numerous forms of accountability. At the same time, in such a devolved system it is often difficult for government genuinely to advance policy, including curriculum policy, that would be related to citizenship education. As long as the government has been dealing individually with nearly 2500 New Zealand schools, it has been difficult to create networks and cultures that support change (Wylie 2012). Since 2014, there has been a policy of creating local clusters of schools – the so-called 'Investing in Educational Success' policy – but whether this represents any improvement remains to be seen.

Fourth, and also related, is the growing privatization of New Zealand education. Despite the self-managing, market orientation of New Zealand schools, privatization of schooling is still largely embryonic at school level in New Zealand compared with other countries such as the USA or England. For instance, there are only a handful of New Zealand charter schools or schools being built through Public Private Partnerships. Nevertheless, debates over privatization tend to be a big distraction by channelling the way that education for social justice and citizenship is considered. As noted above, the goals become seen mainly in terms of improved student achievement. It is assumed this will lead to greater life-chances for more students, rather than looking more deeply at the nature and causes of inequality and discrimination. Meanwhile, the early childhood sector is much more for-profit than the school sector. By 2014, 55 % of teacher-led early childhood education, 65 % of education and care, and 82 % of home-based services were privately owned. The concern has to be that private companies motivated by profit will often not prioritize citizenship and social justice, despite apparent expressions of concern.

Of particular relevance to citizenship education is growing evidence of schools contracting out some elements of curriculum. For instance, in the Health and Physical Education (HPE) area, Powell (2015) points to the ways New Zealand primary teachers and principals are encour-

aged to choose from an ever-increasing range of curricula and programmes provided by corporations (e.g. McDonald's, Honda, Macleans) and industry groups (e.g. United Fresh New Zealand Inc.), as well as charities and other 'not-for-profit' organizations, such as gaming machines ('pokies') gambling trusts. Powell undertook qualitative research in three Auckland primary schools and provides numerous examples of teachers justifying the marketing of products and services to schools. But there is little evidence of private companies prioritizing citizenship and social justice in the way they deliver their contracted-out curriculum.

Fifth, even when the formal curriculum could include socially challenging dimensions, New Zealand teachers will often take conservative views that do not promote social justice. This has long been recognized; for instance, in the 1980s Judith Simons illustrated deficit views of Maori even amongst well-meaning teachers (Simons 1984). But it has probably become more of a problem in recent years as schools respond to the current governance arrangements and political climate surrounding schooling in New Zealand. To start with, schools are in competition for students and this makes school staff reluctant to take stances or undertake activities that might jeopardize the reputation of their schools. Another problem is that New Zealand's 'self-managing' schools are responsible to locally elected boards of trustees that are often conservative in outlook. As in many other countries, the media coverage of teachers and teaching in New Zealand is also increasingly derisive or salacious. Right-wing blogs have become notorious for attacking teachers and principals (e.g. 'Whaleoil'). The main lesson for teachers here is the importance of staying out of the news and there is an increasing trend towards senior staff getting media training. These pressures combine to make teachers risk averse when it comes to social justice matters that could be controversial. For instance, even the same-sex marriage that has been legalized by the state will not be easily discussed within many schools, especially primary schools in rural areas. Similarly, Maori–Pakeha relations will often need to be dealt with carefully at the local level, regardless of any education policy imperatives.

Lastly, New Zealand schools are highly segregated in a way that undoubtedly creates a powerful hidden curriculum that works against citizenship and social justice. The issue is not so much one of catering for religious or ethnic diversity, which has been done quite well in this small country. Most (96 %) New Zealand schools are state (public) schools but, of these, around 11 % are state integrated schools – former private schools that have been allowed to become state schools, while retaining their special religious or other character. Today, the state integrated schools are mostly Catholic schools but they also include other kinds of denominational and non-denominational Christian

schools, Islamic schools, Montessori and Waldorf (Steiner). Maori immersion education has also been catered for through a parallel system of Kura Kaupapa Maori schools that have their own Maori-medium curriculum. However, since the 1990s the overall school system has been characterized by class and ethnic segregation – as a result of both residential segregation and processes of parental choice – with a context of marketized policies. This creates a school system that is highly polarized in terms of school student intakes and resources, despite some compensatory funding (Gordon 2015). This school segregation both reflects and reinforces the wider inequalities noted earlier, and is a powerful impediment to creating a more cohesive society.

Conclusion and Future Research

The view of education for citizenship and social justice in New Zealand that I have taken here is that not enough is being done, despite the policy rhetoric and despite a considerable amount of lip service within schools. In McLaughlin's (1992) terms, this is to emphasize a 'minimal citizenship' perspective, rather than one of 'maximal citizenship', on New Zealand education. Yet, this assessment is perhaps too bleak and may serve to reinforce the growing sense of crisis in New Zealand education that often seems to open up space for privatization. Other contributions to this collection will have illustrated that New Zealand is not alone in facing challenges and, perhaps, has fewer problems than many countries.

There are, however, ways to be more optimistic. Mutch (2013) has pointed out how well New Zealanders recently responded to an earthquake that struck one of its major cities, Christchurch, and the surrounding region. She suggests this demonstrated social justice-oriented citizenship, at least in a time of crisis. A recent development has been the expectation to take 'personal social action' as part of assessment in senior Social Studies. Although the guidelines are very broad, this involves students actively doing something around some local or wider social issue. Whether schools are allowing or encouraging students to undertake 'personal social action' and whether this involves genuinely challenging projects or more token activities is currently being researched. A Teaching and Learning Research Initiative project – 'Creating active citizens? Interpreting, implementing and assessing "personal social action" in NCEA social studies' – is being undertaken by Bronwyn Wood and colleagues at Victoria University, Wellington. The findings may provide new insights into the problems and possibilities for education for social justice and citizenship in the New Zealand context.

Finally, concerned New Zealanders continue to push for greater social justice in New Zealand through its education system and citizenship education. For instance, a recent (August 2015) workshop run by the New Zealand Political Science association brought together academics, school teachers, other educators and organizations working on related issues of civics, citizenship and political literacy in order to think about how best to support citizenship within the New Zealand curriculum. There is no silver bullet to address the problems highlighted in this chapter, but many people are working to make a difference.

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Education for Citizenship Education and Social Justice in Northern Ireland

Tony Gallagher and Gavin Duffy

Introduction

Citizenship education is often focused on the symbols and rituals that, in a Durkheimian manner, provide bonds of connection within a national community (Durkheim and Lukes 2013). How might this operate in a divided society, one in which the fault lines of politics, nationality and religion overdetermine one another? This is the challenge facing Northern Ireland, an area which carried an historical burden of conflict and division, including a recent period when political violence scarred the landscape for over a quarter of a century. Almost the same time period has now elapsed since the paramilitary ceasefires in 1994, but old divisions die hard and, although new shared political institutions have emerged, and have successfully navigated two electoral cycles, politics still has a strongly confessional/national character. When we add to this mix the fact that Northern Ireland has always operated with denominationally separate schools, then the challenge of formulating and implementing a citizenship education programme becomes even more marked. This chapter examines this experience, beginning with an outline of the historical and educational background to highlight some of the challenges that were being faced. The chapter then examines the genesis and development of the citizenship education programme, before providing an outline of its structure and form. The final part of the chapter reviews evidence on the

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impact of citizenship education in Northern Ireland, and a number of critical perspectives on this and related educational measures.

Historical Context and Background

Northern Ireland is a place where national, political and religious identity are closely linked and always contentious. Britain has exerted control over some part of Ireland since the twelfth century, but it was not consolidated until the seventeenth century, at which point mainly Scottish settlers were 'planted' in the north east area of the island. Almost a century later, the Glorious Revolution in England confirmed the Protestant monarchy and Ireland provided the location for a series of battles, many of which continue to be commemorated in Northern Ireland today by the Protestant Orange Order. At the end of the eighteenth century, and inspired by the American and French Revolutions, the United Irishmen launched a rebellion to separate Ireland from Britain: the rebellion not only failed, but provoked the 1801 Act of Union which dissolved the Irish parliament. Perhaps more important, the rebellion took distinct forms across the island: Presbyterian radicals led the rebellion in the northern part of the island but, in large parts of the south, large armies of Catholic peasants, led by priests, massacred Protestants. The arrest, execution or expulsion into exile of the radical leaders was one of the reasons why the politics of Ireland took on an increasingly denominational character from this point on. As the nineteenth century progressed and the franchise was extended, the link between denomination and politics strengthened as the Catholic majority on the island increasingly asserted itself and sought the restoration of an Irish parliament and home rule.

The Protestant minority on the island was largely concentrated in the north east, the only area of the island to benefit significantly from the industrial revolution. While Irish nationalists came to represent the Catholic majority, the Protestant community consolidated around support for the Union between Britain and Ireland and supported unionist politicians: in their eyes, Protestantism and Britishness were intertwined, but the importance of the global economic market provided by the British Empire was another important, and very practical, reason why Northern Protestants saw little to attract them in an independent Ireland, where economic considerations would inevitably be dominated by rural interests.

The increasingly diverse paths being taken by the two main communities in Ireland came to a head after the passage of the 1912 Home Rule Bill by the Westminster parliament. Implementation of the Bill was delayed as a conse-

quence of World War I and all other considerations were swept aside by the Dublin Rising in 1916. This attempt to seize power failed, but it sparked off a war of independence which eventually led to the establishment of two parliaments, one in Dublin and one in Belfast, each of which was given the authority to determine the future of each part of the island (Daly 2001). The Dublin parliament opted for independence as the Irish Free State, later named the Irish Republic. The Belfast parliament opted to stay in the United Kingdom and, from 1922 onwards, operated as an autonomous region within the UK. The Irish Free State had an overwhelming Catholic majority, but Northern Ireland was left with a Protestant majority and a significant Catholic minority. This fact came to dominate politics in Northern Ireland: the Catholic minority identified as Irish and continually claimed to suffer discrimination from the Protestant and unionist dominated parliament; the Protestant majority worked to consolidate its hold on power and seemed always to see Catholics as an 'enemy within' seeking to dismantle the jurisdiction and demolish the border between north and south.

At various points, the unionist-nationalist tension broke out in violence, but never so seriously as in the late 1960s. A Northern Ireland Civil Rights campaign in the 1960s mimicked the US campaign and sought to challenge discrimination in employment and public services, but it faced an uncompromising state (Rose 1976). Civil disorder and riots broke out, followed closely by the involvement of Irish Republican paramilitaries, the decision by the British government to send in the Army to shore up the police and the establishment of Protestant paramilitary groups. In a short few years, the national/political/religious struggle had turned violent; progress, or the lack of it, was measured in the body count; and 'normal' politics was abandoned. The Northern Ireland parliament was suspended in 1972. In 1973, an Assembly was elected and agreed power-sharing arrangements between unionist and nationalist political parties, but it faced opposition from militant unionists and collapsed in 1974. In 1975, a Constitutional Convention was elected and tasked with the idea of bringing forward consensus proposals on new political arrangements. It failed. In 1982, a further Assembly was elected, but nationalist representatives declined to participate and it did not last (Darby 1997). In 1996, a Northern Ireland Forum was elected as part of the process leading to the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) in 1998. In 1998, a new Assembly was elected on the basis of the GFA, but failed to establish new shared political arrangements until 2000. A series of suspensions followed until 2002, when the Assembly went into longer-term suspension, despite another election in 2003. Further political talks agreed a way forward, and another Assembly election, in 2007. This time, the Assembly continued to function and oper-

ated successfully through another election in 2011. A further crisis in 2014 was averted by talks and agreement in 2015 which allowed the next Assembly election in May 2016 to proceed.

Political representation in the Northern Ireland Assembly is dominated by political parties with a largely confessional base: the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) and Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) draw most of their support from Protestants; the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and Sinn Fein (SF) draw most of their support from Catholics; only the Alliance Party (AP) seeks and draws support from across the communities, and of these 'Big Five' parties, it is the one with the lowest level of support. There is also a miscellany of independents and smaller parties represented in the Assembly, but it is the 'Big Five' which hold most seats and, under the GFA, have the right to ministerial seats in the Northern Ireland Executive. Traditionally, the DUP and SF have always been the more militant parties in unionism and nationalism, respectively. In 1998, the UUP and SDLP were the two largest parties and led the Executive but, by 2007, the DUP and SF had become the largest parties, a pattern that was strengthened in the 2011 and 2016 Northern Ireland Assembly elections. After the 2016 Assembly election the three smaller parties decided not to take their ministerial posts and established an official Opposition.

One further area of context is necessary: a National School system was established in Ireland in the 1830s, with the avowed aim of teaching children of all denominations together. This lofty ambition was never realized as the Churches consolidated their control over schooling (Akenson 1970). The Catholic Church continued to dominate schooling in the Irish Free State and Irish Republic but, in Northern Ireland, the first Minister of Education in 1922 tried to shift the orientation of schooling away from the Churches and towards local authorities, on the English model. This ambition also largely failed: the Catholic Church refused to give over control of its schools to the local authorities, while the Protestant Churches only did so when they had won concessions from the government that largely restored their influence over the schools (Akenson 1973). It was not until 1981 that the first religiously integrated school was opened, and the integrated sector now accounts for only 7 per cent of all pupils. The GFA included a clause urging support for further developments in integrated education, but it also included support for the even smaller sector of Irish-medium schools, where all teaching is delivered through the Irish language.

In such a context, where identity is so heavily infused by different religious and national elements – and appears to be fed by a mixture of historical myth, symbolism and anger – how is it possible to teach citizenship in a way which rises above partisan interests and discourses?

Education, the Conflict in Northern Ireland and the Development of Citizenship Education

Right from the start of the political violence in the late 1960s people looked to the schools in Northern Ireland to do something. On the one hand, some asked whether the system of separate Protestant and Catholic schools simply served to reinforce difference and division (Heskins 1980); on the other hand, many educators attempted a variety of interventions to try and provide young people with some concepts, language or practice to navigate their way through an increasingly distressing reality. Some tried to break down the institutional barriers between young people through contact initiatives or, as noted above, the establishment of new religiously integrated schools (Gallagher 2004). At another time, there was a more marked focus on the role of schools on labour market opportunity and equality, leading to equal funding for Catholic schools (Gallagher et al. 1994) while, currently, the main structural focus is on shared education and the establishment of collaborative links between Protestant and Catholic schools (Duffy and Gallagher 2014). Back in the early 1970s, the initial intervention focused on the curriculum and the teaching of history and religion. By the 1980s, new programmes to promote mutual understanding and greater tolerance of cultural differences had emerged (Richardson and Gallagher 2010). These had followed education reforms in England and Wales which established a statutory curriculum, including a citizenship theme – a notable absence in the Northern Ireland curriculum (Whitty et al. 1994).

By the time of the GFA and the peace process, the statutory curriculum in Northern Ireland had come to be seen as over-loaded and in need of serious review. In line also with the rapidly changing political context, and the recognition that previous education interventions to address division and reconciliation had had limited success (Gallagher 2004), there was growing interest in the development of a citizenship programme for schools, allied with a recognition that this might involve some radical re-thinking of how schools operated (Lister 1998; Horgan and Rodgers 2000). The GFA had included a commitment to promoting a culture of tolerance through education and, in order to advance this agenda, the Department of Education established two working groups. The first of these recommended more effective guidance for schools wishing to adopt integrated status and encouraged local authorities to carry out community audits to better gauge support for integrated education. In addition, it recommended support for all schools wishing to meet the challenges of pluralism in society and recognized that this was a mission to

which all schools could, and should, contribute (Department of Education 1998). The second working group focused on measures aimed at promoting better community relations and identified limitations with the then current approaches within the curriculum (Department of Education 1999).

The idea of teaching citizenship in Northern Ireland linked into the theme of the second working party report. Smith (2003) suggested that the main challenge lay in the lack of consensus on national identity and suggested that a concept of citizenship based on rights and responsibilities could provide a more productive basis for development. The Social, Civic and Political Education project was established by the Citizenship Foundation, the Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA) and the University of Ulster in order to pilot a citizenship curriculum (see also Arlow 2001, 2004; Watling and Arlow 2002).

The pilot work suggested that an enquiry-based approach was more appropriate than one which was primarily knowledge-based and transmissional, and it identified four themes each of which focused on the processes of citizenship: (1) diversity and inclusion, (2) equality and justice, (3) human rights and social responsibilities, and (4) democracy and active participation. The themes would be explored through case studies and resource materials, focusing on different levels from the local, national, European to the global. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) also produced educational materials and schools were encouraged to work with them.

Smith (2003) identified a number of possible problems: the Northern Ireland curriculum was largely content-based and subject-dominated, so the proposed approach ran counter to the prevailing norm in schools. There was also a pedagogical challenge as the statutory curriculum had changed the nature of teaching towards a focus on delivery, rather than the development of new methods for addressing difficult or controversial issues, although Watling and Arlow (2002) felt this could be addressed if the curriculum was 'explored collaboratively rather than taught didactically' (Watling and Arlow 2002: 170). In a nod to the ongoing political process, Smith (2003) also suggested there was a wider societal challenge to be faced, depending on whether Northern Ireland was going to work towards a shared future, or opt for one in which difference was consolidated and managed: each of these implied differences in people's sense of belonging and, hence, would influence concepts and understanding of citizenship.

The evaluation of the pilot found that teachers and pupils were strongly motivated and positive about the project. Teachers valued being given a role in the development of the project and the way it challenged some of the more traditional and narrow forms of classroom practice, and they welcomed the

support from the project team, and the role of NGOs. Arising from this, Watling and Arlow (2002) made four recommendations: (1) since the curriculum was already crowded, this work needed unambiguous support from the leadership of schools in order to work; (2) while flexibility was valued, the teachers wanted clarity on materials, resources and teaching priorities; (3) any training provided must be of high quality; (4) and an externally validated award should be available. Wylie (2004) argued that an effective citizenship programme would always be constrained by the system of separate denominational schools, but suggested that proposals for collaborative collegiates arising from the review of the selective system of secondary education in Northern Ireland (Burns 2001; Gallagher 2005) might provide a supportive context, a possibility that was probably strengthened by the development of shared education (Ben-Porath 2011; Gallagher 2011; Duffy and Gallagher 2014). Arlow (2001) was very positive about the potential for citizenship education, especially after the limitations of previous curriculum approaches, and described the new programme as a potentially 'defining moment in the education system's response to the conflict' (p. 43). However, probably as a consequence of the suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly in 2002 and limited political progress, Arlow (2004) was a little more circumspect. The debate over academic selection had become a unionist/nationalist debate, with the former opposing a move away from selection and the latter favouring it; this dispute had begun to sour debates on education policy more generally. The revised Northern Ireland curriculum had originally been targeted for implementation in 2001 but, by the time Arlow (2004) had written his paper, the deadline had shifted to 2005. In fact, it was not until 2007 that legislation for the new curriculum was passed – suggesting that Gallagher's (2005) words of caution about modest expectations had been prescient.

Before then, funding for a major development programme had been put in place by the Department of Education, with resources made available so that all schools had teachers trained to deliver the new citizenship programme. Five full-time officers were appointed to the local authorities to supervize the training and to support the teachers, and high-quality materials were produced.

The Citizenship Education Programme

In primary school, pupils (aged 4–11 years) follow the 'Living. Learning. Together' programme. One of the strands of this programmes is 'Mutual Understanding in the Local and Wider Community', which covers a range of issues over the seven years of primary education including, for example,

'belonging and cooperating', 'getting along with others' and 'valuing self and others'.

At post-primary school, pupils (aged 11–15 years) follow the 'Learning for Life and Work Programme', which contains four themes: 'Education for Employability', Home Economics', Personal Development' and 'Local and Global Citizenship' (LGC). Pupils aged 15–16 years can opt to take a recognized qualification (GCSE) in Learning for Life and Work, where pupils follow the themes identified above, except for Home Economics. LGC can be provided as a discrete subject (which is strongly recommended), in a cross-curricular manner, on a whole-school basis, or through extra-curricular activities and community links. In the curriculum guidance material, the four main themes are described as follows (all sourced from CCEA Key Stage 4 guidance material):

Diversity and inclusion:

- Investigation of the concepts of diversity and inclusion provides opportunities for young people to consider the range and extent of diversity in societies locally and globally and to identify the challenges and opportunities which diversity and inclusion present.
- Investigating diversity in a local and global citizenship context is about encouraging young people to see the breadth of diversity in their own community and the challenges and opportunities that this may bring. Such an investigation would involve appropriate exploration of issues like gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, political beliefs etc., which would be in local, national and global contexts.

Equality and social justice:

- Investigation of the concepts of equality and justice provides opportunities for young people to understand that inequality and injustice exist; that they have an impact on individuals, groups and society; and that individuals, governments and society have responsibilities to promote equality and justice.
- Investigating Equality and Social Justice in a local and global citizenship context is about allowing young people opportunities to examine how inequalities can arise in society and how some people can experience inequality or discrimination on the basis of their group identity e.g. section 75 groups – racial group, disability, religious beliefs, gender etc. Furthermore investigating how some people are excluded from playing a full part in society as a result of their material circumstances will help young people

engage with a range of social justice issues like homelessness, poverty and refugees.

Democracy and active participation:

- Investigation of the concepts of democracy and active participation provides opportunities for young people to understand how to participate in, and to influence democratic processes and to be aware of some key democratic institutions and their role in promoting inclusion, justice and democracy.
- It is very important to highlight that in addressing this theme, teachers should move from teaching about democracy to living out democracy; this implies that once young people have learned about the characteristics of democracy and the institutions of democracy, they should be engaged in processes that lets [sic] them live out these principles.
- The investigation of democratic processes help [sic] young people to see how they can narrow the gap between the world as it is and their ideal world. It is important that young people have a sense of the possibility of change and an understanding of their potential role in bringing about change using democratic means.

Human rights and social responsibility:

- Human Rights and Social Responsibility is the core theme of local and global citizenship. Young people should be provided with opportunities to understand that a globally accepted values-base exists, within the various human rights international charters, which outline [sic] the rights and responsibilities of individuals and groups in democratic societies.
- Rights and values will clash in any society. Young people should consider how to handle these conflicts through democratic processes. It then becomes important to consider how, in a diverse society which aspires to be just and equitable, individuals and groups can influence the decision making process.

CCEA guidance material goes on to highlight that the learning associated with LGC should take account of issues of social and political concern, issues related to identity and expressions of cultural identity, relevant human rights principles and aspects of the law, and the role of the media. Its goal is to enable young people to participate positively and effectively in society, to influence democratic processes, and to make informed and responsible choices as citizens. In addition, the guidance suggests that it should help young people

understand the role of individuals, society and government in working for a more inclusive, just and democratic society. Progression across the curriculum is illustrated in Fig. 25.1.

For pupils in the last two years of compulsory education (aged 15–16 years), it was expected that they should be enabled to:

- respond to the specific challenges and opportunities which diversity and inclusion present in Northern Ireland and the wider world;
- identify and exercise their rights and social responsibilities in relation to local, national and global issues;
- develop their understanding of the role of society and government in safeguarding individual and collective rights in order to promote equality and to ensure that everyone is treated fairly;
- develop their understanding how to participate in a range of democratic processes;
- develop awareness of key democratic institutions and their role in promoting inclusion, justice and democracy;
- develop awareness of the role of non-governmental organizations.

Each of these 'statements of requirement' was further exemplified in greater detail in the curriculum guidance material. Assessment of these requirements

Key stage and area of learning	Foundation stage (personal development and mutual understanding)	Key Stage 1 (personal development and mutual understanding)	Key Stage 2 (personal development and mutual understanding)	Key Stage 3 (learning for life and work)	Key Stage 4 (learning for life and work)
Local and Global Citizenship strand	Strand 2 "Mutual Understanding in the Local and Wider Community" • Relationships in School • and the Community	Strand 2 "Mutual Understanding in the Local and Wider Community" • Relationships at school • Relationships in the Community	Strand 2 "Mutual Understanding in the Local and Wider Community" • Relationships in the Community • Relationships in the wider world	Strand 2 "Local and Global Citizenship"	Strand 2 "Local and Global Citizenship"
Providing experiences to explore …	Mutual Understanding in the Local & Wider Community • Their individual responsibilities for self and others; • how to respond appropriately in conflict situations; • similarities and differences; • learning to live as a member of a community.	Mutual Understanding in the Local and Wider Community • individual responsibility and respect, honesty and fairness; • constructive approaches to conflict; • similarities and differences between people; • cultural heritage; • exploring themselves as developing members of a community.	Personal Development: Mutual understanding in the Local and Global Community • rights and responsibilities; • causes of conflict and appropriate responses; • celebrating cultural difference and diversity; • playing an active part in the life of the community	Learning for Life and Work: Strand 2 "Local and Global Citizenship". Diversity and Inclusion; Equality and Social Justice; Democracy and Participation; Human Rights and Social Responsibility	Learning for Life and Work: Strand 2 "Local and Global Citizenship". Diversity and Inclusion; Equality and Social Justice; Democracy and Participation; Human Rights and Social Responsibility

Fig. 25.1 Progression in local and global citizenship (Source: CCEA)

can be carried out through self-assessment, portfolios and journals, and assessment for learning methods. In addition, pupils take a GCSE public examination at the end of Key Stage 4 on Learning for Life and Work. After each examination cycle, a report on the patterns of responses is issued. The report for January 2015 indicated that a majority of pupils were able to answer almost all of the questions, but only about half were able to explain fully the role of a statutory body (in this case, the Police Ombudsman's Office) and there appeared to be some confusion among pupils between laws and rights.

The Implementation of Citizenship Education in Northern Ireland and Critical Reflections

Perhaps not surprisingly, the new citizenship programme was subject to critical comment for a variety of reasons. A number of commentators pointed to lacunae in its focus: Gallagher (2007) suggested that it over-played sectarian divisions and under-played racism in Northern Ireland. Deiana (2013) highlighted the fact that the GFA had contained ' promises of inclusion and equality […] [but] the new institutional framework and subsequent policy decisions, have retained gendered exclusions and perpetuate gendered stereotypes' (p. 400). Deiana went on to argue that the GFA had 'institutionalised ethnonationalism as a dominant political discourse' (p. 409) to the extent that politics came to be dominated by ethnic bloc interests and the issue of gender equality had receded as a political priority, despite the active role of women's groups in community politics and the role of the Women's Coalition in the peace talks. Restoring this focus might lead to a 'more inclusive notion of citizenship' (p. 410).

Another critical theme focused on various tensions that were identified in the programme. McKeever and O'Rawe (2007) felt that the rights dimension of citizenship needed to be strengthened, precisely because the programme was being introduced in a divided society that was newly emerging from political violence. The tension between particularistic identities and a common identity was also highlighted by Neins and Chastenay (2008), who suggested that the challenge of achieving a more peaceful social climate though citizenship education would require a greater balance between the 'preservation of cultural identity and allegiance to a shared vision' (p. 535). Niens and McIlrath (2010) identified a potential tension between the principles of democracy which would be embedded in a programme of citizenship education and the fact that schools themselves were not democratic institutions. The citizenship

education programmes differed in each part of the UK and, commenting on this, Kisby and Sloam (2012) suggested that the relative closeness of the devolved Assemblies made it more likely that locally elected politicians would play an active role in schools in promoting a positive approach to politics, as compared with the greater distance of Westminster MPs from 'the people'. By contrast, Hays (2010) felt that, despite the unsteady first few years of the Northern Ireland Assembly, and the limited positive example of effective politics it provided, locally elected councils should seek to generate superordinate goals which could act as a positive catalyst for citizenship education in schools.

Some of the research highlighted above has commented on the pilot programme for citizenship education in Northern Ireland and on the implementation of the programme as it was rolled out across the school system. A number of further papers have evaluated aspects of citizenship education. Niens and Reilly (2012) focused on the notion of global citizenship as a universalizing framework and whether this would help young people in Northern Ireland transcend particularistic identities. They talked with students about the concept and found that they liked it and were able to engage with the issues in an open way. However, Niens and Reilly (2012) also found few connections being made between, or little critical reflection on, global citizenship and local identities. More worrying, their evidence suggested that Protestant and Catholic schools in Northern Ireland appeared to address the concept of global citizenship in different ways, opening up the possibility that this could generate parallel discourses on the issue.

McMurray and Niens (2012) explored whether the participatory model for teaching citizenship – and, more particularly, the encouragement to work with NGOs and local communities outside the schools – may help to build 'bridging social capital' and encourage connections between divided communities. They collected data using school surveys, focus groups and interviews with students and educators. They found that schools often had pre-existing links with local community organizations and NGOs, and continued to use these as part of their work on citizenship education. However, the existing networks differed between the denominational school sectors and they found little evidence that new networks that cut across the wider societal divide were being established. Their conclusion was that the implementation of participatory citizenship education may therefore be reinforcing existing intra-community connections, or 'bonding social capital', rather than forging new inter-community connections. O'Connor (2012) also explored connections with groups outside schools – this time, an educational initiative, the Spirit of Enniskillen, which was run by young people and which provided support

for active learning techniques. The paper was primarily an evaluation of the Spirit of Enniskillen initiative, and was positive, but it also concluded that the platform provided by citizenship education provided a strong basis for collaboration between the formal and non-formal education sectors.

Niens et al. (2013) focused on the experiences of teachers and their understanding of citizenship education following participation in a special training programme; they were also interested in the way the teachers engaged with controversial and difficult issues. Their analysis identified a gap in the citizenship curriculum, in that it did not provide a focus on the tension between notions of 'Britishness' and 'Irishness', and the relationship between these identities and the contested nature of the Northern Ireland polity. According to Niens et al. (2013), the avoidance of any consideration of this contested 'national' context meant that this issue is 'not only "trivialised" but represents a conglomeration of the immediate, local environment (school) and a wider, global context (environmental impact that reaches beyond national boundaries)' (p. 133).

Having identified this lacuna in the curriculum, Niens et al. (2013) went on to explore teachers' engagement with controversial issues. The teachers offered mixed views on the extent to which they dealt directly with difficult issues such as sectarianism: most agreed that this was one of the most challenging aspects of teaching citizenship in Northern Ireland, but most also said they felt confident in doing so. There were some who said that the issue never arose in their classroom, which Niens et al. (2013) suggested may represent 'an underestimation of underlying sectarian attitudes among pupils as well as a tendency not to address such topics unless it is seen as a behavioural issue disrupting relationships within the school' (p. 134). There were others who avoided the issue through a more general focus on poverty or homelessness. While most saw sectarianism and racism to be linked, most also felt the latter to be an easier topic to address within classrooms. The overall conclusion of the paper is that the constraints identified could limit the potential for citizenship education in addressing social division and conflict, and providing the basis for engaging pupils in the pursuit of positive peace.

A more focused critique was provided by McEvoy et al. (2006), who dismissed most of the education work that had been done over a 30-year period in schools to promote reconciliation and suggested it had been side-lined as part of the peace process. They critiqued the concept of reconciliation as it was articulated through what they describe as the 'community relations' paradigm: this paradigm, it is claimed, was promoted by the British government and liberal sections of unionism; was primarily concerned with enlisting Catholics in an assimilationist agenda; sought to undercut political support for militant

Irish Republicanism; attempted to side-line community activists in favour of elected politicians; avoided a focus on equality and rights; and claimed to address social division while remaining uncritical of the legitimacy of the state (McEvoy et al. 2006: 85). Furthermore, they argued that theoretical and policy frameworks were developed in order to cast the conflict as an internal one between two communities with intolerance and individual prejudice as the root issues, as opposed to inequality. The paper goes on to dismiss integrated education, contact initiatives and previous curriculum initiatives as failed elements of the 'community relations paradigm' and suggests that citizenship education, with human rights at its core, could form the basis of an alternative paradigm, a theme further developed by McCully and Emerson (2014).

By contrast, McEvoy et al. (2006) laud the role of 'ex-combatants'[1] who, they suggest, did most of the 'heavy lifting' during the peace process and were more responsible for promoting positive change and conflict transformation than any of those operating within the 'community relations paradigm'. 'They have the credibility to engage in such real reconciliation work in the working class areas in which it is most needed' (McEvoy et al. 2006: 99) because of a number of key characteristics: their work is not based on false representations of friendship but, rather, on an acknowledgement of the need to respect the rights of the other; it is not about the creation of a diluted and neutral middle-ground, but of the engagement between those confident in their own identities; it is focused on solving real problems, such as parading, rather than 'ill-focused explorations of prejudice reduction' (McEvoy et al. 2006: 99); and it is based on the need to have strong mechanisms for state accountability.

The power of this critique lies in its clarity, but this is only possible because it essentializes what is, in reality, a much more complex mix of initiatives, people, motives and achievements. It ignores work within the 'community relations paradigm' which provided empirical evidence on inequality in labour market and educational outcomes, and which led to significant policy change; it attributes a singularity of motive to a vast array of different groups, over many years; or, alternatively, implies that many were hapless dupes of a political project which they either ignored or misunderstood, or with which they complied. In seeming to require any practical action to engage with the question of the legitimacy of the Northern Ireland polity, the analysis also seemed to ignore the fact that prejudice and discrimination did act as very real problems in day-to-day life: just because some people sought to challenge prejudice did not mean that they assumed this was the only problem in Northern Ireland, and not all the

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[1] The nomenclature here is complex: a wide variety of terms is used – including 'ex-combatants', 'ex-political prisoners', 'terrorists', or 'paramilitaries', all of which potentially carry pejorative overtones.

academic frameworks used to understand the dynamics of prejudice cast it as an individualistic or irrational phenomenon, devoid of political implications. It is also the case that the consociational arrangements in the political institutions arising from the GFA have arguably done more to promote the notion of 'two communities' as the key dynamic of relationships in Northern Ireland (Taylor 2006; McGlynn et al. 2014). Inter alia, we know that issues such as parading, poverty and economic inactivity, or educational underachievement, are far from being solved, and most proposals that have emerged to address the legacy of the past have failed to achieve political consensus.

Despite the weaknesses in the McEvoy et al. (2006) analysis, two useful elements did emerge from it: first, the focus on rights as a core element of citizenship education could have provided a set of universalist principles to cast light on contentious issues, or at least provided young people with a sense that there were principles available to aid judgement that did not 'belong to' any particular community, although McEvoy (2007) expressed concern that the citizenship programme had been weakened in this respect in its final stages of development. Second, it provided the impetus for a challenging education initiative in which young people were given access to the views of former political prisoners in order to broaden their understanding of the reasons behind the violent conflict in Northern Ireland. Emerson (2012) provides an outline of the genesis and implementation of this project, Prison to Peace, which was based on the principle that:

> the narratives of those who have been involved directly as both combatants in conflict and latterly as agents of change in their communities provide unique opportunities for young people to reflect on these issues. (Emerson 2012: 279)

The project involved former prisoners from Protestant/Loyalist and Republican paramilitaries engaging with young people to help them better understand the complexities of conflict and the intricacies of transition. Emerson (2012) suggested that the citizenship curriculum makes it too easy to avoid difficult and controversial areas, something which is much harder to avoid in the Prison to Peace initiative. She went on to suggest that, without the opportunity to engage with these difficult issues, young people may grow up to integrate their partial understanding with partial, community accounts and, in this way, perpetuate myths about the historical antecedents of the conflict. More controversially, Emerson (2012) suggests that the initiative will promote the:

> capacity for 'political generosity' [which] is in essence the ability to legitimise the cultural and political identity of those with opposing views, primarily on the basis of their right to hold them. (Emerson 2012: 290)

Just how far this sense of 'political generosity' is supposed to extend is unclear, and Edwards and McGrattan (2011) cast this initiative as one of a number which have the effect of 'valorising terroristic narratives over the very real effect of violence on victims' (p. 365). However, the evaluation of the initiative reported by Emerson et al. (2014: 4) makes clear that its aims were to:

- prevent young people from becoming involved in violence through presenting the realities of the conflict and the prison experience from the point of view of those who had been directly involved in the conflict;
- demonstrate to young people alternative ways of dealing with conflict which do not necessarily require individuals to give up their political aspirations or cultural identity;
- present young people with alternative perspectives on the conflict through a comprehensive and complex picture of the political ex-prisoner experience;
- and provide young people with an opportunity to engage directly with those who were involved in the conflict in panel discussions with ex-prisoners.

Clearly, therefore, the initiative did not aim to encourage sympathy, or even empathy, for decisions to take up violence but, rather, the ex-prisoners sought to encourage young people to follow political paths that would not take them down the road they themselves had followed. The evaluation found that young people who had participated in the initiative knew more about the conflict, processes of transitional and conflict transformation; demonstrated more support for using non-violent means to deal with conflict; and demonstrated less blatant and subtle prejudice, in comparison with young people who had not participated in the initiative. In addition, the initiative seemed to have increased young people's likelihood of being engaged politically, as measured by such indicators as talking to others more about politics, showing more interest in participating in school related activities, or seeking more information related to politics.

An apparent gap in the evidence discussed above lies in the notion of justice. In the curriculum specification, the only reference to justice is in relation to 'key democratic institutions and their role in promoting inclusion, justice and democracy' (CCEA 2012: 8). In part, the gap in the literature may arise because the concept of justice can be seen to operate in at least three different spheres: 'justice' as a legal concept based on the identification of responsibility and allocation of punishment; 'social justice' with a focus on equality and inclusion; or 'transitional justice' with a focus on the processes which will aid

a move from conflict to stability. Within the curriculum, the link between justice and equality may serve to emphasize the 'social justice' dimension of the concept, which can also be seen in the focus on such issues as poverty, homelessness and refugees. Of the papers considered above, only Emerson (2012) engages with the concept of justice, but this is mainly to steer the notion away from a legal focus on retribution towards an approach which emphasizes transitional justice. Emerson (2012) suggests that:

> while historically transitional justice has viewed itself as primarily a 'victim centred discourse' increasingly the framework has been broadened to encompass an understanding that the fate of ex-combatants and ex-prisoners is at least as important in securing the durability of long-term peace. (Emerson 2012: 278)

This is so, she suggests, because the cooperation of 'ex-combatants' is necessary in order to pursue certain transitional goals, such as disarmament, locating bodies of the disappeared, truth recovery and the reintegration of 'ex-combatants' into society.

The challenge is that a focus on the 'social justice' dimension may encourage avoidance of some of the difficult issues facing a society emerging from violent conflict, while a focus on 'transitional justice' may lead to the de facto setting aside of the 'justice' dimension of identifying responsibility (whatever decisions may be considered around the administration of punishment, or its mitigation through a process of forgiveness). An emphasis on the 'legal' aspect of justice may be a particular problem in Northern Ireland because of the approximately 3700 people who died as a consequence of the political violence; it is possible that those responsible for the deaths may have been held to account in less than half of all cases. Even identifying the number of 'unsolved murders' is challenging: as part of the peace process, the police established a Historical Enquiries Unit (HEU) to investigate unsolved murders. When the HEU was launched in 2005, it was suggested that 1800 cases fell within its remit, but this seemed to have excluded all cases where someone had been killed by a member of the security forces. Following lobbying by NGOs and others, the number to be investigated increased to 3268 using the criterion that they would look at cases that were unresolved from the families' perspective. The Unit was significantly downsized in 2014 (for more detailed accounts on these issues, see Lundy 2009 and Amnesty International 2013). The main point from this is that when 'truth' and 'responsibility' appear to be so limited, even thread-bare, then articulating a robust sense of 'justice' may be very difficult, at a societal level, never mind in the school curriculum. For this reason, the 'justice' dimension of the citizenship curriculum in Northern

Ireland may be under-developed and the various tensions explored above left unresolved.

Returning to the more formal evaluation of the implementation of the curriculum, there is limited inspection evidence on the impact of citizenship education in Northern Ireland, but the most recent report from the Education and Training Inspectorate on the implementation of the revised Northern Ireland Curriculum overall suggests that between 2012 and 2014, 'one-quarter of the PDMU [personal development and mutual understanding] lessons in primary schools and one third of citizenship and PD [personal development] lessons in post-primary schools were not effective' (ETI 2015: 10).

Using evidence of direct engagement in electoral politics is probably not the most appropriate criterion on which to judge the impact of citizenship education, although it is not an entirely irrelevant criterion. Given that caveat, evidence from the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (http://www.ark. ac.uk/nilt/ – last accessed 1 January 2016) suggests that young people are least likely to vote or hold much interest in party politics, in comparison with older cohorts. In the 2002 survey, only 39 % of 18–24-year-olds said they had voted in the 2001 general election, in comparison with 60 % or more for all other age groups. In the 2010 survey, only 23 % of 18–24-year-olds said they had voted; 46 % of 25–34-year-olds said they had voted, as did more than half of all the other age groups. In the 1998 survey, respondents were asked how much interest they had generally in what is going on in politics: less than one quarter of 18–24-year-olds said they were interested a great deal or quite a lot, in comparison with between one third and two fifths of all other age categories. In the 2009 survey, respondents were asked how interested they were personally in politics: only 19 % of 18–24-year-olds said they were fairly or very interested, in comparison with between one quarter and two fifths of all other age groups. Young people in Northern Ireland may engage in politics through participation in campaigns and NGOs, but there is little evidence that the period in which citizenship education has been a required part of the curriculum of schools has been marked by a growing interest among the young in formal politics.

Conclusion

We noted above that Arlow (2001) identified the citizenship education programme in Northern Ireland as a potential turning point in the response of the education system to the conflict. The delineation of the curriculum required careful navigation between a range of competing political and conceptual tensions, and inevitably there were commentators who highlighted

weaknesses and gaps in the programme as it eventually emerged. Citizenship education in more politically stable countries often focuses on the symbols and rituals of citizenship, such as the national flag, national anthem, political institutions, office of the president or monarch, or the wider statutory framework through which entitlements are delivered or responsibilities managed. Since many of these features are contested in Northern Ireland, an important feature of the citizenship curriculum was the attempt to focus on the processes of citizenship in order to provide young people with the concepts, language and ideas that might allow them to participate in constructing what it meant to be a citizen in Northern Ireland in the twenty-first century: in other words, its focus was not in teaching them about what it was, but in helping them to be part of the process of making what it might be. Whether this lofty ideal has been realiszd in practice might seem in doubt: despite an extensive and well-resourced training programme to build capacity in the schools to deliver the curriculum, there was limited follow-up work to build networks among citizenship education teachers and it is unclear just what status the subject has within schools. Certainly, the evidence from the Education and Training Inspectorate would suggest that there are significant problems, while the evidence on the engagement and interest of young people in formal politics is not encouraging. Nevertheless, the curriculum which emerged was imaginative and creative, and it spawned some equally imaginative, if controversial, initiatives. But it is possible that a divided society will never escape the shackles of the past unless it is prepared to engage with the difficult issues which contributed to political violence, and if we cannot address these issues seriously within education, then it is hard to know where they can be addressed.

As a final note, three ideas may be worthy of further work and consideration in trying to find ways of improving the delivery of citizenship education in Northern Ireland:

- First, a number of commentators have pointed to the challenge of denominational schools in delivering effective citizenship education in Northern Ireland. The development of the 'shared education' approach since 2006 – in which schools work in collaborative networks, and students and teachers move between schools – provides a different context in the relationships between schools in local areas, and its impact on the delivery of citizenship education may be worthy of deeper consideration (Duffy and Gallagher 2014).
- Second, if we follow the lead provided by the Prison to Peace project, which created opportunities for young people to engage with ex-political prisoners with very different backgrounds and political outlooks, perhaps there should be more effort put into engaging politicians with young people in

schools, preferably in a similar manner, as part of an explicit process of trying to build trust and participation in formal political activity.

- Third, most of the challenges of delivering effective citizenship education in Northern Ireland derive from the fact that it is a divided society that is struggling to emerge from an extended period of political violence. It is not the only example of a society facing this type of challenge in these types of circumstances, so more comparative engagement on the lessons learned in different jurisdictions could be valuable.

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26

Social Justice and Citizenship in Scottish Education

Sheila Riddell

Introduction

Across Europe, for more than a decade, there has been a growing focus – at least, at the level of policy rhetoric – on securing social inclusion for the most disadvantaged people across all policy fields (Room 1995; Riddell 2012). One of the central aims of the EU2020 Education and Training Strategy is to improve equity, social cohesion and active citizenship. Benchmarks have been set in order to ensure that education acts as a vehicle for social inclusion, rather than as a means of reproducing social and economic inequality (CEC 2010).[1] During the 1990s, in Scotland and the rest of the UK, following the election of a Labour Government at Westminster in 1997 and the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, social justice re-entered policy discourse. While social justice continues to be a major theme across all areas of social policy in Scotland, the concept has featured less prominently in the political discourse of the UK Conservative government, elected in May 2015. The chapter, first, reviews some of the key principles underpinning

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[1] For example, by 2020, across all EU member states, the aim is to reduce the proportion of early school leavers to 10 % of the 18–24-year-old population and to ensure that at least 40 % of adults in the 30–35-year-old population have a tertiary level qualification. While Scotland and the rest of the UK have already met the latter target, Eurostat data for 2013, based on the Labour Force Survey, indicate that about 12 % of 18–24-year-olds across the UK are classified as early school leavers.

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understandings of social justice and citizenship, building on earlier analysis (Goodlad and Riddell 2005). It then provides a historical overview of the development of commitment to social justice and citizenship within Scottish educational policy discourse. This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which the processes and outcomes of Scottish education reflect the principles of social justice and active citizenship. Examples are drawn from different fields of education policy and practice, including higher education, additional support needs and citizenship education.

Conceptualizing Social Justice

Theoretical debates about the concept of social justice have a long history, influenced by Rawls' *A Theory of Social Justice*, published in 1971. Drawing on Rawls' ideas, Miller (1999) suggested that social justice should be understood in terms of the underpinning rationale of 'how the good and bad things in life should be distributed among the members of a human society' (Miller 1999: 1). More recent thinking on this topic has been influenced by Fraser's tri-partite conceptualization of social justice in terms of (re)distribution, recognition and participation (Fraser 2005). Within the field of education, this suggests the need to examine: (i) the fairness of resource allocation and outcomes, (ii) the acknowledgement of and responsiveness to student diversity, and (iii) students' involvement in decision-making and democratic processes within school and society.

The Claims of Justice and Injustice

Fundamental to debates about what is required to secure social justice (Gray 2000) is what the source of injustice is seen to be. As noted above, three sources are frequently invoked: inequalities of income, wealth and access to positional goods such as educational qualifications; the socially constructed differences between groups; and the differential rights accorded to members of different social groups to participate in democratic processes. These are discussed in more detail below.

Redistributive Claims

Gross inequalities exist in the distributions of material resources and social goods such as education and health in Scotland and the rest of the UK

(Hills et al. 2010). These structural inequalities between groups have been seen as the source of social injustice for many years (Harvey 1992). A key feature is that such inequalities carry over to other spheres, so that poverty can be implicated in poor educational outcomes (Sosu and Ellis 2014). This effect of inequalities in preventing people from living together on equal terms is a common feature of writing on social justice (Smith 1994; Walzer 1983). The politics of class and the welfare state have provided the means to advance claims based on such inequalities. Historically, inequalities of capital or money have been given particular attention; but other inequalities of education, employment, health or locality, for example, can also feature in claims for attention.

Cultural Claims

There is a growing recognition in public policy of the claims for social justice emerging from the politics of recognition (Young 1990; Kymlicka 1995; Fraser 2001; Honneth 2003). This sort of claim asserts that some kinds of injustice are *cultural* in origin, rather than simply material. Injustice exists when cultural norms serve to oppress certain groups within society. For example, such groups' norms, values or practices may not be recognized or valued, or dominant norms may deny the equal status of some people. In schools, for example, homophobic, sexist or racist bullying, or the marginalization of certain groups on the grounds of social class or disability, signals lack of cultural recognition and respect.

Participatory Claims

Writers such as Phillips (1995) have drawn attention to the way in which inclusion in political representation influences both the nature of decision-making and policy priorities. For example, it is evident that in countries such as Norway and Sweden, with relatively high levels of female political representation, greater emphasis is placed on collectivist approaches to social care and child care, since these are issues which have a particularly strong impact on the lives of women (Green and Janmaat 2011). Social justice claims based on participation underline the importance of representation by different social groups in key institutions of society and in local, national and international levels of governance. School-based forms of participatory democracy such as school councils may be seen as playing a key role in shaping children's sense of representational fairness.

Of course, as Fraser (2001) and Phillips (1997) have argued, these types of social justice are not insulated from one another and, in the discussion of particular areas of Scottish education which follows, an attempt is made to explore their inter-connections.

The Values Underpinning Social Justice

Conceptions of social justice are based on values, including those that dictate how goods and burdens should be distributed. The value most commonly associated with justice as fairness is *equality* in one form or another (Kymlicka 1992). However, political philosophers and social policy commentators argue that other values co-exist in the conceptions of fairness commonly found in contemporary developed liberal societies and welfare states (Miller 1999). As well as *equality* (in a variety of forms), it is said that *desert* or *merit*, and *need* are also held as appropriate in some distributional processes and these underpinning values are now considered.

Equality

The most frequently invoked principle of social justice is equality (Kymlicka 1992), of which three types are commonly distinguished: equality of procedure, equality of outcome and equality of status (Miller 1999). Equality of procedure is favoured by those who consider that the application of identical procedural rules and methods is sufficient to secure social justice (e.g. Nozick 1974). The equality of citizenship rights may be seen as applying here. However, it can be seen that such equality is often subverted in practice by unequal resources and by cultural differences that prevent people from attaining what is their due. In other words, procedural fairness may produce unfair outcomes.

Equality of outcome (Sen 1992) may be seen as a more appropriate goal in seeking to overcome the barriers imposed by an unequal society on the educational experiences of different groups of pupils, including those from poorer backgrounds. A key question is, therefore, what level of resources would constitute social justice for children and young people living in deprived neighbourhoods (Rawls 1971; Miller 1999)?

Equality of status is seen by some commentators as the key type of equality. Children and young people who leave school with few or no qualifications clearly do not have an equal place in the social, economic and political pro-

cesses of society, and are likely to join the growing ranks of the demonized working class (Jones 2011; Tomlinson 2013). Such equality of status could be seen as the only criterion of social justice, but that would be in danger of neglecting material inequalities, which often go hand-in-hand with status inequalities (Fraser 2001; Standing 2014).

Desert or Merit

According to this distributional principle, a just distribution of goods and burdens is one in which everyone gets what he or she deserves – rather than what he or she needs, for example – on the basis of their qualifications or accomplishments. This principle may be promoted in education as a means of deciding which students should be awarded a place at a prestigious university. Yet, questions frequently arise as to whether merit can always drive decisions, or whether other factors such as disability, ethnicity, class, religion or gender should be taken into account. Anti-discrimination legislation tends to prohibit *unfair* discrimination only and does not prohibit selection on the grounds of merit – for example, using examination grades as a passport to university. This means that many young people from socially disadvantaged backgrounds are denied access to particular schools and universities because they have not enjoyed the economic, social and cultural benefits which have allowed their peers from socially advantaged backgrounds to flourish. Bradshaw (2011), for example, has demonstrated that, even at pre-school level, children from socially advantaged backgrounds achieve higher scores than other children, and that these differences in child's cognitive attainment increase through the various stages of the education system.

Need

Need exists where people lack the support and resources to be able to participate in society's institutions. Need has been used as a key distributional principle in the welfare state since its beginning, translated into normative judgements about what resources should be devoted to mitigate which needs. Rectifying need can require *unequal* treatment – for example, to prevent impairment becoming a barrier, disabled children are classified as having additional support needs, which (in theory, at least) should result in the allocation of additional resources. By the same token, students from under-

represented groups might receive greater support at university to help them succeed. The challenge of finding the resources to meet the commitments implied by normative need makes this a contested issue in education and wider welfare debates, since many interest groups vie for limited resources. Normative need is often distinguished from subjective need or *want*, a concept more applicable to markets.

Tensions may be evident when the delivery of services is ostensibly based on an assessment of need, but some other value drives resource allocation decisions. For example, questions may be raised in the field of additional support needs about investing extra resources in children who are deemed unlikely to make a major economic contribution, signalling a clash between need and economy (Tomlinson 2013). The cost of including children with special needs in mainstream schools and of implementing anti-discrimination legislation is also likely to provoke controversy in this field (Pijl 2016; Riddell and Weedon 2016).

In summary, three 'social justice' values are commonly used to justify distributional processes and decisions: different types of equality; need; and desert/merit. A key question is whether, and in what circumstances, educators should focus on each of these values and, indeed, whether each set of values is mutually exclusive. For example, prioritizing the needs or resource requirements of disabled children and young people by making reasonable adjustments might be seen as unfair to others (e.g. Riddell and Weedon (2006) have discussed debates in higher education on what counts as a reasonable adjustment for students with a diagnosis of dyslexia). Furthermore, while such prioritization might be done in the interests of fairness, singling out particular groups for special treatment might have the perverse effect of stigmatizing them by underlining their difference rather than their sameness.

In the following section, we consider the relationship between social justice and citizenship, before examining the way in which particular aspects of Scottish education either contribute to or detract from the goal of creating a fairer and more equal society.

Devolution, Social Justice and Citizenship in Scotland

Much writing on citizenship draws on T.H. Marshall's lecture on citizenship and social class (Marshall 1950), which identified the following three components of citizenship: civil rights, initially developed in the eighteenth

century; political rights, which developed in the nineteenth century; and social citizenship rights, which developed in the twentieth century. Marshall's ideas continue to be widely referenced, including his recognition that civil, political and social rights may mitigate, but not eradicate, inequalities in status and wealth. Following political devolution in the late 1990s, there has been marked divergence in some aspects of public policy across the four nations of the UK, prompting a renewed interest in the relationship between territorial differences in social entitlements, a key component of citizenship rights.

Since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, and particularly during the run-up to the referendum on independence in September 2014, the Scottish government emphasized the superiority of social entitlements north of the border, pointing to universal benefits in the form of free prescriptions, personal care and university tuition. The White Paper on Scottish independence (Scottish Government 2013) highlighted education as a prime example of Scotland's commitment to social justice, equality and citizenship. Social class differences in educational attainment were acknowledged, but these were seen as a symptom of poverty attributable to UK economic policy, which an independent Scotland would be able to eradicate. Higher education, by way of contrast, was seen as a beacon of Scotland's distinctive approach to social policy, predicated on 'the ability to pay rather than the ability to learn'. This, it was argued, guaranteed fair access to higher education for all citizens, in contrast with the 'marketized' system in England, where, it was argued, access to higher education depended on family background and resources. The promise in the White Paper was that independence would lead to the creation of a 'more prosperous, resilient and fairer Scotland' (Scottish Government 2013: 6), in which social class differences in education would be eradicated. In the following sections, we consider the extent to which specific areas of Scottish education reflect broadly defined principles of social justice. We also explore the types of social justice and underpinning values which are reflected in specific aspects of Scottish education, drawing on the conceptual framework outlined above.

The Distribution of Educational Resources in Scotland

Much can be learnt about policy choices from the way in which financial resources are allocated across different sectors. A presentation to the Scottish government's Commission on Widening Access to Higher Education by Lucy Hunter Blackburn in September 2015 drew attention to the relatively gen-

erous level of funding allocated to higher education compared with other sectors (Hunter Blackburn 2015). While £1 billion was allocated to higher education teaching, college and pre-schools sectors received much less generous funding (£0.3 billion and £0.45 billion, respectively). A report on school education published by Audit Scotland in 2014 noted that, in 2012/2013, £3.8 billion was spent on Scottish primary and secondary schools, 68 % of which was on staff costs. According to Audit Scotland, councils' spending on education fell by 5 % in real terms between 2010/2011 and 2012/2013 as a result of employing fewer staff. Over this timescale, university funding was maintained in real terms. It would appear that, at a time of public sector austerity, the Scottish government was protecting the funding of universities catering for a relatively privileged group of students (Riddell et al. 2015), while sacrificing services aimed at less advantaged groups (Fig. 26.1).

School Processes and Outcomes in Scotland

Despite the commitment to social justice expressed in high-level policy documents in Scotland (Riddell 2009), since 2007 there has been a dearth of practical strategies focusing on improving the educational attainment of poorer children. Rather, school improvement initiatives have aimed at general per-
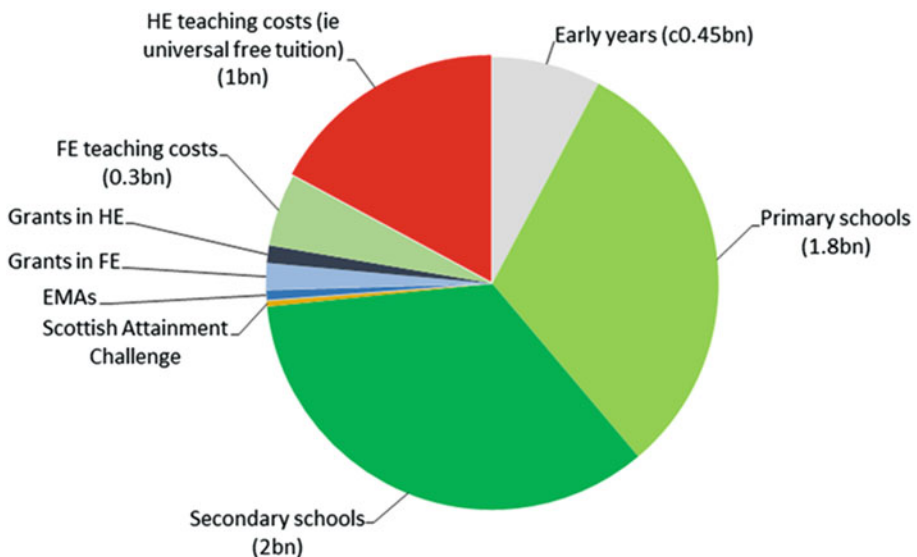
Fig. 26.1 Scottish government funding for different educational sectors in Scotland, 2012–2013 (Source: Hunter Blackburn 2015)

formance improvements, focusing on sameness rather than difference. Sosu and Ellis (2014) noted that key policy documents relating to the curriculum and assessment often failed to mention the need for anti-poverty strategies in school, and Scottish local authorities distributed only 5 % of their budget allocation in relation to social deprivation – with, overall, no clear link between deprivation and expenditure per pupil. It is therefore unsurprising that Scottish children from more privileged backgrounds have significantly higher levels of attainment than those from more deprived areas. As shown by Fig. 26.2, young people from the most socially advantaged neighbourhoods are twice as likely to obtain at least one subject at SQF 6 (Scottish Higher) compared with those from the most deprived neighbourhoods.

Educational qualifications are a major determinant of young people's post-school trajectories and future life chances, as well as influencing their social status at a time when those with few qualifications may be accorded little social respect. As demonstrated by Wyness (2013), despite Scotland's ostensible commitment to the provision of collective and egalitarian services, which are frequently contrasted with 'marketized' services in England, there are strong similarities, rather than differences, in the hierarchy of attainment across the four nations (see Table 26.1).

Having provided a broad overview of distribution of educational resources and outcomes in Scottish education, we will now examine particular areas of in greater depth, starting with higher education.

Higher Education and Social Justice in Scotland

As discussed above, in the White Paper on Scottish independence, higher education was singled out as the area of education which most clearly illus-
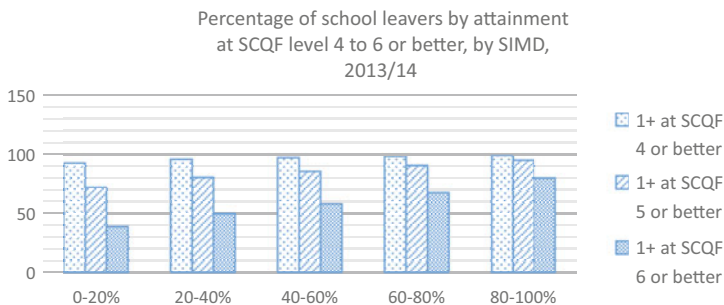
Fig. 26.2 Attainment by Scottish index of multiple deprivation, 2013–2014 (Source: Scottish Government 2015)

Table 26.1 Indicators of educational attainment in the home nations

Measure	Source	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
Five or more GCSEs A*-C or equivalent	GCSE exams or equivalent, 2010/11	80.5	67.3	78.8	75.3
A*-C GCSE in Maths or equivalent	GCSE exams or equivalent, 2006/07	54.6	50.0	48.3	54.7
A*-C GCSE in English or equivalent	GCSE exams or equivalent, 2006/07	60.2	58.9	69.8	62.9
Percentage of 17–18-year-olds at school or in further and higher education	Labour Force Survey	72		60	
Percentage of 17–24-year-olds with no qualifications	Labour Force Survey, 2009	7.0	7.8	7.4	12.7
Percentage of 18-year olds with two or more A-levels or equivalent	A-level results, 2011/12; Higher results 2011/12	51.8	27.1	36.8	50.2

Source: Wyness 2013

trated Scotland's commitment to social justice. However, when we look at the social characteristics of which students gain a place in universities of particular types, and draw some cross-UK comparisons, the Scottish system appears to reproduce, rather than undermine, existing social inequalities. As with the rest of the UK and most other European countries, since the 1990s Scotland has had a mass higher education system, with an increase in the proportion of university students from disadvantaged backgrounds. However, there are still marked differences in participation by different social groups, clearly illustrated in the school background of university entrants. In Scotland, 55 % of independent school entrants attended an ancient university, compared with 25 % of state school entrants. By way of contrast, in England about 43 % of university entrants from the independent school sector attend a Russell Group university, compared with about 22 % of state school entrants. In both countries, state school students are much more likely to attend a post-1992 institution than those from independent schools. Similar social differentiation is evident when measures of social class based on parental occupation are used (Figs 26.3 and 26.4).

Higher Education Institutions attended by student background: young Scottish-domiciled students entering HEIs in Scotland (Source: HESA record 2012/13)

■ Ancient ▨ Other pre-92 ▨ Post-92 □ Other HEI
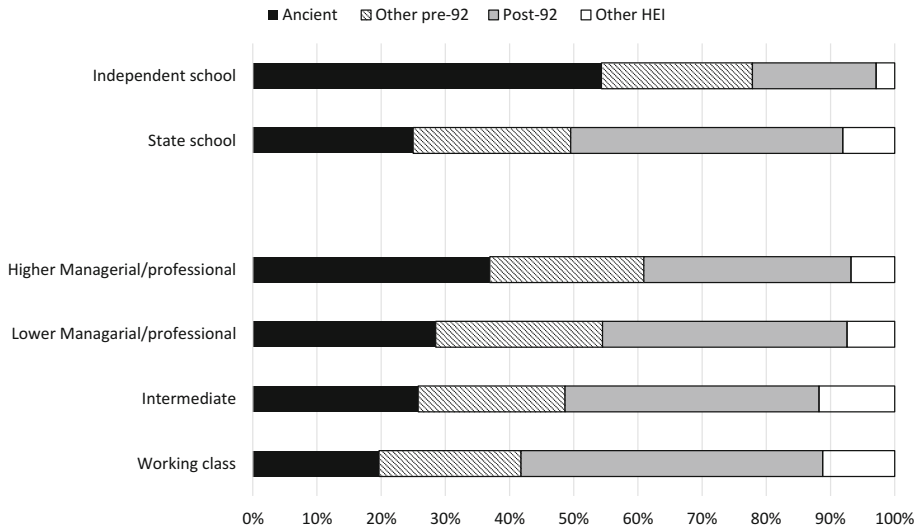
Fig. 26.3   University attended by student background: Scotland

Higher Education Institution attended by student background: young English-domiciled students entering HEIs in England (Source: HESA Student record 2012/13)

■ Russell Group ▨ Other Pre-1992 ▨ Post-1992 □ Other HEI
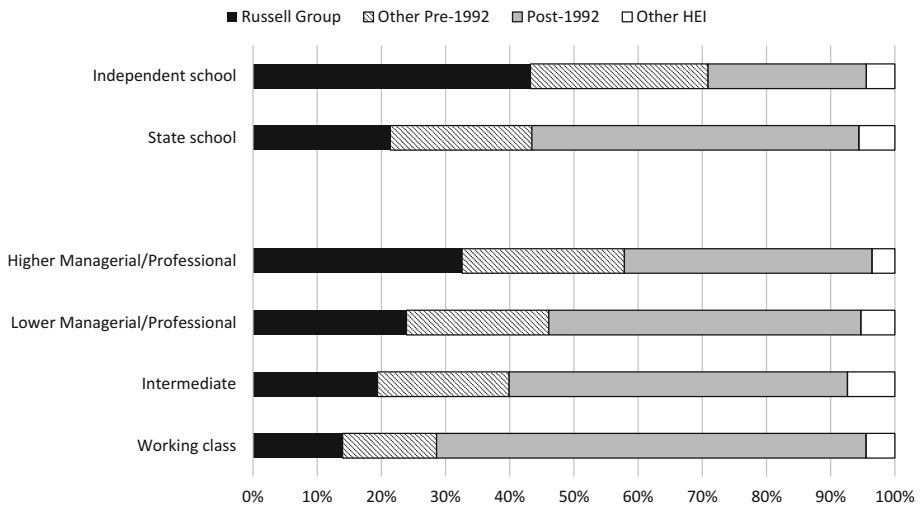
Fig. 26.4   University attended by student background: England

Scottish domiciled entrants from deprived areas to higher education in the UK by institution type 2008-9 to 2012-3
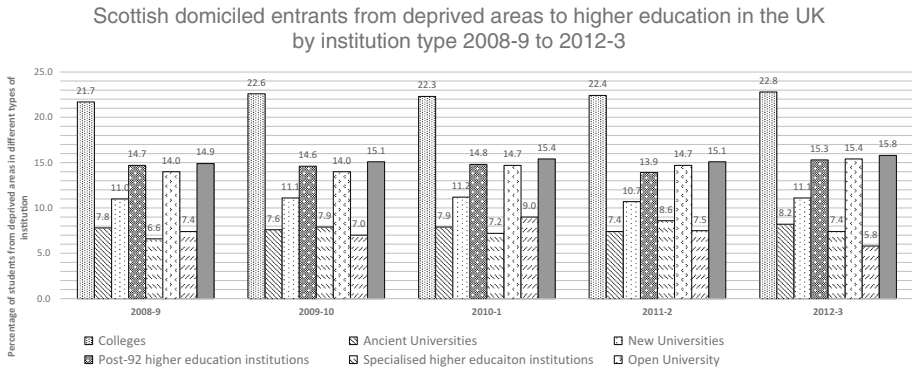
Fig. 26.5 Students from the most deprived backgrounds as a percentage of all students in different types of institution, 2008–2009 to 2012–2013 (Sources: Higher Education Statistics Agency and Scottish Funding Council)

Figure 26.5 shows that there has been little change over recent years with regard to the representation of students from the top 20 % of the most deprived postcodes studying in different types of higher education institution. In 2012/2013, students from deprived areas made up only 8.2 % of the student body in ancient universities, compared with 7.8 % in 2008–2009. By way of contrast, students from deprived areas were over-represented on higher education courses (Higher National Certificates and Higher National Diplomas) in Scottish colleges, making up 22.8 % of participants on these programmes. Of the four UK nations, Scotland continues to have the lowest proportion of university entrants from working class backgrounds as measured by parental occupation (National Statistics Socio-Economic Categories, NS-SEC). Research on widening access to higher education in Scotland suggests that there has been a focus on recruitment, rather than retention, and that existing initiatives have resulted in only marginal improvements in higher education participation by those from the least advantaged backgrounds (Riddell et al. 2013). School attainment continues to be the most important factor contributing to differential rates of higher education by social class and, as discussed above, resources in Scottish schools have not been targeted on pupils from poorer neighbourhoods (e.g. as has been the case in England in relation to the pupil premium).

Slower progress was made on regulating university access in Scotland compared with England. The Office for Fair Access in England was established under the terms of the Higher Education Act 2004, whereas statutory underpinning of a regulatory framework in Scotland was not put in place until 2013 under the terms of the Post-16 Education (Scotland) Act. Gallacher and Raffe (2012) argue that this was because of the belief in Scotland that the lack

of tuition fees would automatically lead to fairer access. However, the much higher participation rates of students from socially advantaged backgrounds, particularly in the most selective institutions, suggests that the greatest beneficiaries of the free tuition policy have been the most affluent. Indeed, Hunter Blackburn's analysis (2015) shows that students from the economically advantaged families in Scotland leave university with less debt than any other group in the UK, since they do not incur tuition fees if studying in Scotland and are likely to receive help with maintenance costs from their parents. In other parts of the UK, students from all social backgrounds are likely to take out loans to cover tuition fees (albeit assisted by government support in Wales and Northern Ireland), but the poorest students are likely to receive relatively generous grants and bursaries to offset living costs. Hunter Blackburn argues that, although overall levels of student debt are lower in Scotland compared with other parts of the UK, Scotland has the least redistributive system of the four nations (Hunter Blackburn 2015).

Higher education is the area of where the over-riding principle influencing resource distribution is the assessed merit both of individuals and of institutions. As has been shown, those from the most advantaged backgrounds receive the lion's share of university places, and are particularly over-represented in higher status institutions which, in turn, receive higher levels of state and private funding (Riddell et al. 2015). This illustrates the point made by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) that treating all students the same is likely to cement, rather than undermine, underlying social inequalities.

In the following section, we consider the lessons that may be learnt from the field of additional support needs in relation to the realization of social justice principles and values in Scottish education.

Additional Support Needs and Social Justice in Scotland

Additional support needs is a field of education where, as its name suggests, resources are supposedly distributed on the basis of need rather than merit. As illustrated in Fig. 26.6, there is a strong association between social deprivation and some types of additional support need. For example, around 5 % of children in the least deprived areas are identified as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties, compared with more than one quarter of those in the most deprived areas. Children for whom English is an additional language, who are likely to be recent arrivals in the country, also tend to live in the most deprived neighbourhoods. By way of contrast, dyslexia, hearing impairment and visual impairment appear to be identified more evenly across the social spectrum.

Qualitative research with parents of children identified as having additional support needs illustrates the social processes underlying the diagnostic processes (Riddell and Weedon 2016). For example, parents are likely to accept a diagnosis of visual or hearing impairment, since normative criteria are invoked which are regarded as non-blaming of either the parent or child. Parents may actively seek a diagnosis of dyslexia, since this may be used to explain literacy difficulties or to request reasonable adjustments in school and university assessments. By way of contrast, the label of social emotional and behavioural difficulties is applied by professionals to pupils, and is rejected by parents as stigmatizing. In general, categories regarded as socially stigmatizing are applied to children from deprived backgrounds, whereas those which are seen as non-stigmatizing are applied more evenly across the social spectrum, as shown by Fig. 26.6.

There has been a marked increase in the proportion of children identified as having additional support needs in Scottish schools, from 5 % of the pupil population in 2005 to 20 % in 2015. The reasons for this are complicated and are linked to the broader definition of additional support needs in the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004, which meant that greater emphasis was placed on counting children with social dif-
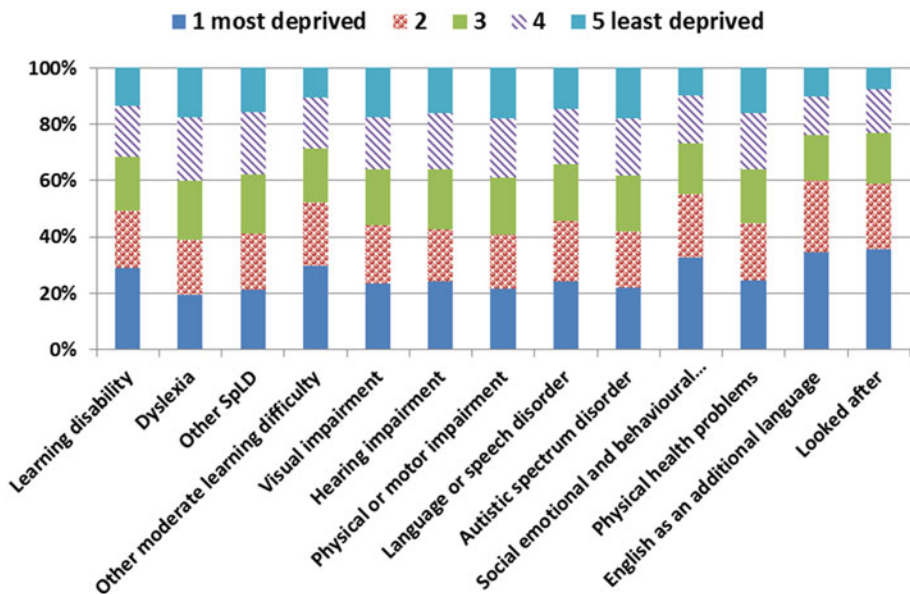
Fig. 26.6 Reason for support by Scottish index of multiple deprivation (SIMD) 2009 quintiles, as proportion of those with the same additional support needs (ASN), 2011 (Source: Data supplied by the Scottish Government in 2012)

ficulties, as well as those with disabilities and learning difficulties. Figure 26.7 shows that between 2008 and 2013, the proportion of children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties almost trebled, making this the largest category. As noted, this category is strongly associated with social deprivation and is non-normative, being based on professional judgement, rather than fixed criteria. Children identified as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties are more likely to be excluded from school, and there is a well-documented link between exclusion from school and progression into the criminal justice system McAra and McVie (2013).

Qualitative research suggests that there is no necessary link between the identification of additional support needs and the allocation of additional
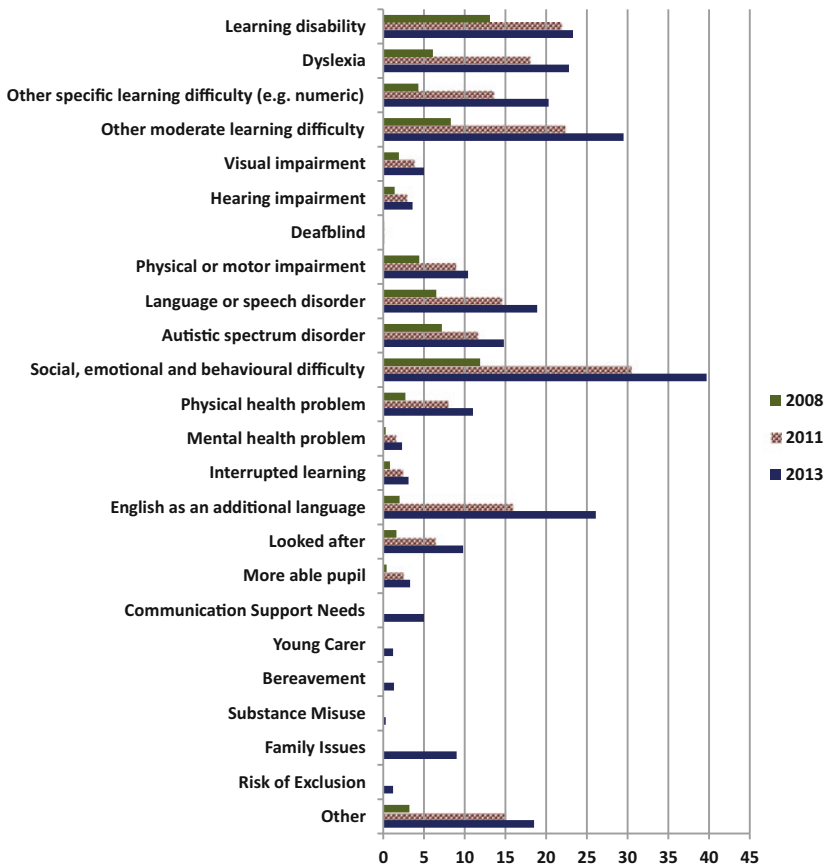
Fig. 26.7 Reason for support for pupils with additional support needs, 2008, 2011 and 2013, rate per 1000 pupils (Source: Scottish Government, 2009, 2011 and 2013. Note: Pupils with more than one reason for support appear in each row)

resources (Riddell and Weedon 2016) and, as a result, statutory support plans are seen by parents as in important means of holding local authorities to account. Instituted in the early 1980s, Records of Need were statutory documents providing a clear statement of the child's difficulties and the measures to be taken by the education authority to meet those needs. Under the terms of the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004, Records of Need were replaced by Co-ordinated Support Plans. The legislation also put in place formal arrangements to resolve disputes between parents and local authorities. If a parent believed that the local authority was failing to meet a child's needs as specified in a statutory support plan, a reference might be made to the Additional Support Needs Tribunals for Scotland, set up as a quasi-legal body. The Scottish government claimed that there would be no reduction in the proportion of children issued with a statutory report plan, although our analysis showed that, whereas 2 % of the child population had a Record of Needs in 2005, only 0.5 % of the population had a Co-ordinated Support Plan in 2013. Counter-intuitively, while children living in poorer parts of Scotland are twice as likely to have additional support needs identified (see Fig. 26.6), children with additional support needs in the most affluent areas are twice as likely to receive a Co-ordinated Support Plan (see Fig. 26.8).
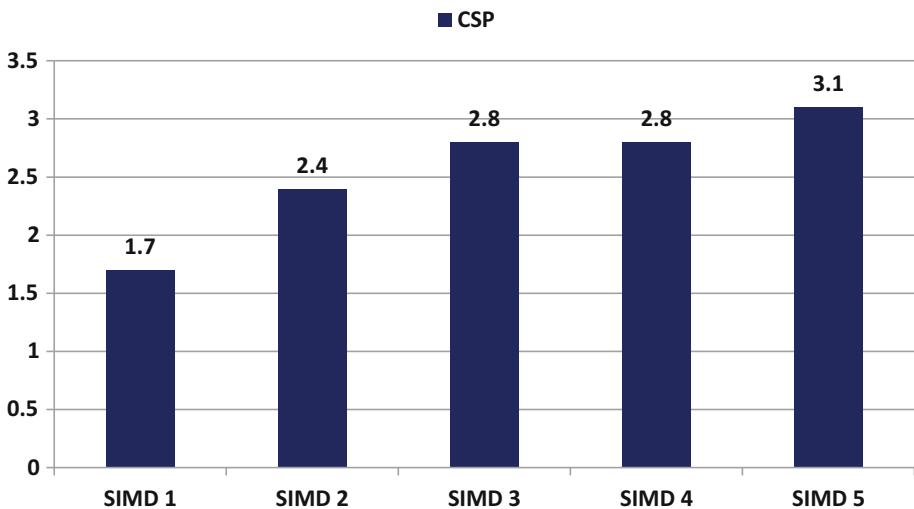
Fig. 26.8 Percentage of pupils with co-ordinated support plans in each Scottish index of multiple deprivation (SIMD) quintile, as a percentage of all pupils with additional support needs in that quintile, 2013 (Source: Scottish Government, 2014)

As is the case in relation to higher education, those from the most afflu-
ent backgrounds appear to be privileged in the field of additional support
needs, since statutory support plans are likely to be used as a means of ensur-
ing that extra resources are delivered. By way of contrast, those from poorer
backgrounds have socially stigmatizing labels attached, are more likely to
be excluded from school, and do not have access to the social and cultural
resources needed to secure legal protection in the form of a statutory support
plan. They therefore suffer in terms of both recognition and distribution.

Before summarizing and discussing the wider implications of this analy-
sis, consideration is given to approaches to citizenship in Scottish education,
which is not only closely linked with representational forms of social justice,
but also reflects dimensions of social justice associated with distribution and
recognition.

Schools, Citizenship and Social Justice in Scotland

Biesta (2013) notes that politicians and policy-makers have increasingly rec-
ognized the need to promote citizenship in schools, partly to enhance the
democratic process and partly for pragmatic reasons linked to the promotion
of social stability and cohesion. There are many similarities in approaches to
citizenship education in different countries, but also some important differ-
ences, particularly across the UK (Andrews and Mycock 2007). In England,
following the publication of the Crick Report, a decision was made to teach
citizenship as a discrete subject within the national curriculum (McLaughlin
2000). By way of contrast, in Scotland citizenship education is seen as some-
thing which should permeate the entire curriculum. The Scottish Curriculum
for Excellence lists 'responsible citizenship' as one of the four capacities that
should be developed by all children and young people during their time in
school. Following the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, a
working group was set up to focus on education for citizenship. A number of
policy papers were subsequently published, culminating in a 'portrait' of citi-
zenship education practices in Scotland produced by the Inspectorate (HMIE
2006).

Biesta (2008, 2013) has analyzed the discourses embedded in discussion of
citizenship education in Scotland and concludes that much writing depicts
citizenship as an individual responsibility and capacity or skill, exempli-
fied by 'respect and care for people and a sense of social and environmental
responsibility' (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2002: 11). The idea of active
citizenship features strongly in government documents, understood as help-

ing others and acting responsibly. Biesta notes a weaker counter-narrative, acknowledging that 'whilst all individuals share the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, regardless of status, knowledge or skill, it is clear that citizenship may be exercised with different degrees of effectiveness' (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2002: 9). For example, personal and social circumstances, including poverty and other forms of disadvantage, may constrain opportunities for civic involvement. Little attention is paid to the political dimensions of citizenship, including the way in which unfairness associated with the distribution of social and economic goods is likely to lead to lack of respect and recognition which, in turn, mitigates against the possibility of civic engagement. Similarly, the importance of political action is not recognized as a central aspect of citizenship.

Pupil councils are one of the central means by which children and young people have the opportunity to learn about the principles of representational justice through direct experience of the democratic process. However, as noted by Deuchar and Maitles (2008), many pupil councils tend to focus discussion on lockers, dinners and uniform. Across the UK and the USA, studies of pupil councils suggest that only a minority of pupils are involved in their operation, and the voices of socially marginalized pupils are unlikely to be heard. In this sense, pupil councils may illustrate existing social injustices, rather than provide a new model of political engagement (Biesta 2011; Westheimer and Kahne 2004).

Across Scotland and the rest of the UK, despite the teaching of citizenship education in schools, concerns have been raised about the disengagement of young people with the political process. Analysis by the British Election Survey shows that younger people are less likely to vote compared with older age groups, and this is reflected in policy choices made by elected representatives, which tend to reflect the needs and interests of older people who exert a strong influence on election outcomes. For the first time in the UK, in the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence, the franchise was extended to young people aged 16 and 17, providing an opportunity to investigate their involvement in the political process. During 2013, Eichorn and colleagues conducted a survey of the political attitudes of young Scots aged 14–17 (Eichorn and Frommholz 2014) (http://www.politischepartizipation.de/images/downloads/2014.03.04_ScottishReferendum_Key%20Insights_vf.pdf).

The survey found that a majority of young people reported that they were interested in the outcome of the referendum and believed that their views had been influenced by a range of actors, including parents, friends and schools. They were able to distinguish between different types of information and drew on a range of sources. During the run up to the referendum, fears were

expressed that pupils might be unduly influenced by schools, leading some local authorities to prohibit discussion of the referendum. Eichorn and colleagues argued that there was a need for wider political discussion in school, noting that pupils studying Modern Studies had greater opportunities to develop political understanding, despite the fact that citizenship is intended to be embedded across the curriculum. The extension of the vote to 16- and 17-year-olds was judged to be a success, and, as part of the devolution of further powers to Scotland, legislation will be enacted enabling young people to vote in future local and Scottish elections.

Young people's representation in the political process in Scotland has clearly been greatly enhanced by the extension of the franchise. At the same time, research on pupil councils in schools suggests that pupil involvement in the running of schools is often seen as tokenistic, and young people from disadvantaged backgrounds may be marginalized. Education policy documents suggest that citizenship is conceptualized in individualized terms, with the emphasis on the importance of behaving well and supporting others. Understanding of citizenship as political engagement is downplayed, which is reflected in many schools' reluctance to help pupils engage in political debates during the referendum (Biesta 2013).

In the following section, we summarize the argument so far with regard to the types of social justice and underpinning values embedded in Scottish education, before taking a broader look at challenges for social policy.

Summary: Social Justice in Scottish Education

This chapter began by discussing three key dimensions of social justice, relating to (re)distribution, recognition and representation. These aspects of social justice are underpinned by different values – equality, desert or merit, and need – which may sometimes conflict with each other. Social justice has formed part of the bedrock of Scottish policy discourse since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, but the precise meaning of the concept in particular contexts has often been opaque. In the three areas of education (higher education, additional support needs and citizenship education), it is evident from the discussion above that resources tend to be skewed towards more socially advantaged groups. For example, higher education is much better funded than college-level education, and those from socially advantaged backgrounds are concentrated in high-tariff institutions. In the field of additional support needs, while far more children from poorer backgrounds are identified as needing extra resources in order to benefit from education, statutory support plans are disproportionately allocated to those in the most

affluent areas. Within the broad arena of citizenship education, pupils from poorer backgrounds are less likely to have their voices heard in pupil councils. This has knock-on effects in terms of recognition, most obviously in the field of additional support needs where children from poorer backgrounds are far more likely to be categorized as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties – a stigmatized label which is associated with cultural marginalization and school exclusion. Across all three areas, it is possible to discern the inter-connections between distribution, recognition and representation, so that those who command the lion's share of resources are treated with greatest respect, and are most likely to have their voices heard. By the same token, those from poorer backgrounds are often accorded little respect in the classroom and have little say in school organization.

Different values pertain in specific fields – for example, access to the most prestigious higher education institutions is ostensibly decided on the basis of merit, which is strongly associated with social class background. For those identified as having learning difficulties, the language of need is used, but this does not appear to correspond to Scottish government and local authority resource allocation priorities. Where the language of equality is invoked, this tends to be understood in terms of equality of processes and procedures, irrespective of the tendency of this approach to intensify existing social and economic inequalities. A stronger form of equality involves examination of outcomes (Phillips 2004) but, since the election of the SNP minority administration to the Scottish Parliament in 1997, this form of equality has received little attention.

However, change may be afoot. In the post-referendum period, the Scottish government has indicated its determination to address the issue of social inequalities in school attainment and participation in higher education in Scotland. One of the principal aims of the Education (Scotland) Bill 2015 is to place a duty on Scottish local authorities to narrow the attainment gap, whereby children living in the poorest neighbourhoods only do half as well as those living in the richest areas. The Scottish government intends to reintroduce national testing on the grounds that this will contribute to the reduction of inequality in educational outcomes. A widening access commission is addressing the problems of social differences in university participation. At both school and university levels, the government's stated aim is to sever the link between social background, participation and attainment. This is clearly a very bold commitment, and, as argued in the final section, progress in this area is only likely to be achieved if it is underpinned by a deeper understanding of the nature and conceptualization of social justice.

Challenges for Education and Wider Social Policy

In order to achieve social justice in education, it is essential to develop an analysis of what is driving inequality in the first place, and the values underpinning policy interventions. In other words, how the problem of inequality is framed or addressed depends on the conceptualization of social justice adopted. Fraser argues that it is not necessary to choose between the three approaches – cultural, distributional and representational – and that social justice today requires all three (Fraser 2001, 2005). If we focus, first, on distribution and its underpinning values, it is evident that procedural justice (i.e. treating everyone the same) is not sufficient and that equality of outcomes and status must given attention. The uncritical application of meritocratic values is also problematic. For example, in order to avoid the reproduction of existing social inequalities, university admissions processes must be informed by the recognition of need as well as merit.

Participation as equals in social life is essential to securing social justice for young people marginalized by structural inequalities, as well as those oppressed by 'misrecognition'. Young people from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, as well as those categorized as having additional support needs, can often fall into both categories; however, considering them separately enables us to see that different remedies may be required for different sources of injustice. If cultural and representational approaches are adopted, the task of policy-makers is to seek to ensure that key institutions such as schools reconcile the development of positive social identities with efforts to treat everyone with equal respect. This requires a challenge to the negative representations of young people from deprived backgrounds in society, as well as ensuring respect for the common humanity of all. Fair representation of all groups in participatory bodies such as schools councils is of great importance, but may be challenging – particularly in relation to groups such as children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties who have experienced particular stigmatization. If, however, the challenge for public policy is considered with reference to the effect of the material and other inequalities in society, then the emphasis is likely to be more on redistribution. In Scotland and the rest of the UK, there is little sign that this is being tackled effectively, with growing levels of inequality contributing to unequal educational outcomes and rates of university participation.

It must be acknowledged that, implicit or explicit in Scottish public policy, is recognition of the cultural, distributional and representational

approaches to social justice. Policy seeks to reduce poverty and recognize difference. It seeks to rectify the disadvantages created by unequal access to education and prevent disadvantage in this sphere from affecting life chances adversely. Efforts have been made to improve representation of young people, not least by promoting the voting rights of those aged 16 and 17. Further, equality, need and merit are promoted in public policy as appropriate values to adopt within distributional processes. However, we have seen that, despite some substantial advances, many challenges remain. Different groups of children and young people suffer from inequalities arising from the way that disadvantage in one sphere carries over to another. The principles of merit, need and equality are frequently subverted or abandoned in favour of other, unjust principles, or in deference to budgetary constraints. Powerlessness has not been tackled effectively, and the voices of children and young people are not often heard in society's major institutions.

Conclusions

Using examples from different fields of Scottish education, this chapter argued that social justice provides a basis for understanding that certain people are not receiving what is due to them, with consequences for their ability to participate in society as active citizens. However, social justice remains a disputed concept, and one which, by its nature, cannot be defined in a simple manner. Key distinctions in conceptions of social justice as fairness concern the emphasis to be placed on material inequalities and other types of inequalities. Many challenges for public policy therefore remain and, in Scotland, the terrain has become increasingly complicated in light of the competing claims of territorial and social justice. Indeed, Mooney and Scott (2012) argue that the ongoing debate on independence may have deflected attention away from growing inequalities in Scottish society which need to be tackled irrespective of constitutional arrangements. Rectifying material inequalities and meeting the calls for recognition and participation are increasingly relevant today. However, the idea of social justice requires continuing discussion, since there is a need for continuing effort to understand the nature of what a socially just society would be and how it would provide education in a way which promoted the rights of all of its citizens.

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South Africa: The Struggle for Social Justice and Citizenship in South African Education

Crain Soudien

Introduction

If citizenship is the status of a human being in which that person – however they may wish to be identified in gender terms – is accorded full and unqualified membership of a polity, has unfettered access to all the rights that are available in that polity and is able to exercise all the social obligations entrusted to a citizen of that polity, then South Africa presents itself as an enormously important case study (see (Bellamy and Kennedy-Macfoy 2014). The country brings together social difference in many of the known ways through which human beings claim humanness. There is in the country abundant evidence of deep primordiality, invoked regularly in complex ways that take in tradition, gender, culture, ethnicity and religion; there is a wide and inventive culture of alternativeness in gender, class and language; and there is, as there are in many parts of the world, a fascination and, indeed, a demonstration of hypermodernity manifested in all the public and private density of everyday life. Obduracy in all its forms sits side-by-side, often in common habitations, with complete anti-normativity. As this chapter is being written, university students have opened up a new facet of the struggle for justice and recognition in the post-apartheid polity. This new phase of struggle wears many guises. Its most challenging,

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in a country that despite its diversity remains deeply patriarchal, is the demand for recognition of the queer, black body (see Editorial Collective, Postamble 2015).

This chapter will not explore the theoretical issues thrown up by the current conjuncture in South Africa and the opportunity it presents of understanding how the boundaries of ontology and epistemology may be pushed. It is sufficient to say that the country brings together these opportunities in importantly creative ways. What the chapter will do is focus on the major political developments that have taken place in South Africa's modern history to see how the education system is positioned in relation to, and has responded to the demands and requirements of, citizenship and social justice.

The approach taken in the chapter is to set up the narrative for understanding how the country has come to the present situation in which education for social justice and citizenship has become, once again, a critical area of contestation. The chapter does this through a relatively detailed explanation of the legacy conditions with which the post-apartheid government, which came into power in 1994, has to contend. It makes the argument that South Africa is an important global social laboratory in the current era. It attempts to locate the place of education in this laboratory, and to understand how it has been and remains significant for building the dignity of all people. Important questions in working through the significance of this place relate to:

 (i) the role of education in the making of privilege and disadvantage;
 (ii) its place in the processes currently under way in the country in dismantling privilege and redressing disadvantage; and
(iii) its role in constructing a new society.

In what follows, the chapter examines the centrality accorded to education in the country's pre-democratic history. It shows how powerfully education was used to entrench privilege in terms of 'race' and class. The chapter then looks at how the post-apartheid state moved to address this legacy, and focuses on the difficulties and contradictions spawned by the complex suite of factors that comes together in this period. It uses this analysis to describe the limitations of the country's attempts to institutionalize a discourse of citizenship. In the last section of the chapter, a brief engagement with future possibilities for the use of education is undertaken.

Education and Social Justice Viewed Historically

The nature of South Africa's *present* is unambiguously the product of its tumultuous past. The country finds itself, in the current era, beset by many difficulties and challenges. These challenges and difficulties have their foundations in the ways in which the country struggled with the demands for inclusion and pressures to exclude. Education was, and remains, a central tool in that struggle.

While education has a more than 350 year-long history in South Africa, as with many countries in the world, it only became a public matter in 1839. This development is an important one in terms of social justice and citizenship. As we shall see in the explanation provided, while this development comes to expand the provision of services to young people, it is encumbered by the ambiguities of colonialism. The system that evolves is defined by discrimination and exclusion.

In 1839, the government of the Cape Colony appointed its first Superintendent-General for education. Critical about this period was that the nascent country of South Africa, best exemplified in its southern Cape Colony, was decidedly ambivalent about questions of citizenship. Propertied people of colour, as was the case for their white counterparts, had access to the franchise. These rights were not available to the same degree in the other colonies. But when education became a public matter – and this is important for understanding the passage of the history of education – it was provided in the Cape on an explicitly non-discriminatory basis (Kies 1939: 22). The first Secretary-General of Education, James Rose-Innes, carried out this intention assiduously. In his first formal report, he repeated his own commitment to this openness: 'It is his Excellency's express desire that the schools of this establishment become not only accessible, but available to all classes, without distinction. And in the attainment of an object so essential to the improvement and elevation of the humbler classes of the community, and so vitally important to the interest of education in this colony […]' (Cape of Good Hope Report 1854: 32–33). Powerfully, he explained: '(i)t is of moment that adequate provision be made for the educational wants of this densely populated settlement, on a basis distasteful to none, of whatever race or colour. And it will be my duty, as available means occur, however limited, to bring the matter under the consideration of the Government' (ibid: 5).

Significantly, this approach did not come to prevail. By the 1890s, it had not only been subverted but declared inappropriate. Central in this process were the large figures of imperialism in southern Africa – people such as Cecil

John Rhodes and the new layer of officialdom installed by the Cape Colony government. They saw the purpose of education in very different terms to those of Rose-Innes. They believed, on the one hand, that it had to put in place the elite stratum which was required to supervize and shepherd the direction which the new society should take. On the other hand, they believed that it also had to assist in the provision of a disciplined and compliant labour force to sustain productivity and output in the emerging economy. On both these counts, Rhodes played a leading role in instituting the new conditions of hegemony.

While Rhodes' role can be overstated in the design and implementation of the new educational arrangements that were taking shape, his statements on what needed to be done are indicative of dominant thinking at the time. In terms of elite formation, Rhodes saw the importance of building the university in South Africa. He said that the role of a university was to build the new nation: it had to nurture in young *men* the idea of being 'tied to (one) another by the strongest feeling that can be created […] (t)hese young men would go forth into all parts of the country, prepared to make the future of the country, and in their hands this great question of Union could safely be left' (Kidd 1910: 42). Who were these young men? They were the sons of European settlers.

But Rhodes also understood how necessary the supply of a cheap labour source was for the economy. As No Sizwe (1979: 34) argued, 'the discovery and exploitation of diamonds and later gold [meant] that there was a giant leap in demand for labour'. The white working class grew rapidly during this time. Ready-made as they came from the poorer segments of European society, they were not sufficiently flexible to work at the level of wages which were required to work the abundant but expensively deep seams of gold satisfactorily. For this, the new South African economy required a cheap and docile working class. It was against these requirements that 'race' came to be used to shape the kind of working class that was required in South Africa. To resolve this problem, the 'native', Rhodes would say, 'had to be taught the dignity of labour', and so he instituted the 'Native' reserve system; this pushed African people off the land, herded them into reserves and demanded from them the payment of a labour tax. The reserves enabled them to maintain a small subsistence capacity, but not enough income to pay their taxes. For that, they had to join the labour pool. Pivotal in this process was education. People of colour could not be afforded the opportunities which were being made available to white people. They had to be directed towards the labour market.

In the years that followed, important legislative interventions were made which secured the propagation of the white elite and the stabilization of a

cheap black labour force. These interventions began to assume strong educational forms. The education of white children was made a state responsibility and that of black children largely devolved to missionaries. In the Cape, the Cape School Boards Act was passed in 1905; this made education compulsory only for children who were classified as white. The education of all other children depended on a combination of some state and mostly missionary resources. Provision for children of colour remained limited until the 1950s, when Bantu Education was introduced. In this period, the number of children classified as African who received education would expand slowly.

Despite the incremental growth in African education after 1905, between the periods 1930 and 1945 significantly under 10 % of the population would have access to education (Table 27.1).

As educationally constitutive as the access to education provided by the colonial state was, so too was the question of the kind of curriculum that people of colour – and particularly African people – were to receive. The approach that was adopted to the curriculum, one which evolved out of a great deal of public debate (see Christie and Collins 1975) and in which many missionary institutions were complicit, was to find ways in which 'native' identity could be managed (see Tabata 1979; Soudien and Nekhwevha 2002). While parents of white children were allowed, in terms of the School Boards Act (see Behr 1988: 89) to withdraw their children from religious instruction, teaching of the catechism and training African people for work in the farms and in the factories remained high on the agenda of the missionary schools. It is important to make clear that these developments did not proceed in straight lines. While the catechism was to occupy a prominent place in the Church schools, the curriculum everywhere in the region for African children was broadened to include reading and writing to reasonably high levels of proficiency. The colonial authorities were suspicious of what the missionary curriculum was attempting. They disapproved of the missionaries' attempts, in their campaigns, to save the souls of the Africans, and to teach them to read and write (Booth 2004: 27).

Table 27.1 Enrolments of African students 1930–1945

Year	Number	% of African population
1930	284,250	4.9
1935	351,908	5.5
1940	464,024	6.6
1945	587,586	7.7

Source: Horrell 1968: 23

Disagree, though, as the colonial and missionary authorities did on religious education, they were at one about containing and eventually delegitimizing the autonomy of African identity. Neither thought anything of African culture. What African people needed, it was agreed, was to give up their 'barbarous' ways and to adopt the manners and the languages of the Europeans. Practical learning or industrial training was what Africans needed. The case for this was clearly put in the report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education in 1936 (Rose and Tunmer 1975: 233) which concluded that:

> the two social orders, for which education is preparing black and white, are not identical and will for a long time to come remain essentially different.
>
> It is not that the aim is the same and that only the methods to be used are different. The ends themselves are different in the two cases. The education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education for a black child for a subordinate society. There are for the white child no limits, in or out of school. For the black child there *are* [emphasis in the original] limits which affect him chiefly out of school. It is no use shutting our eyes to that fact and ostrichlike positing aims for Native education which the very circumstances of South Africa make impossible to realise.

South Africa, as it developed after 1950 and up to the end of the 1990s, was profoundly shaped by the apartheid government's preoccupation with race. The provision of education was critical for the fulfilment of the apartheid government's racial ideology. After the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948, education was used for creating apartheid. The significance of this period for understanding social justice and citizenship is the degree to which social difference was made to congeal around 'race'. In terms of the ideology of apartheid – which sought to balkanize South Africa strictly into a single and united white 'race', 11 separate African nations, and 'coloureds' and 'indians', each with their own *lebensraum* – 'race' was inscribed onto and into people's physical bodies and the material landscape. Laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Race Classification Act and the Immorality Act sorted people physically and fixed them geographically in parts of the country which they were required to come to think of as their natural homelands.

The role of education in this process was central. It was used to teach identity. The key justification for this came from the findings of the Commission on Native Education (1949–1951) under the leadership of W.W. Eiselen. The purpose of the Commission had been 'the formulation of the principles and aims of education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and

present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration' (U.G. No 53/51: 7). The Commission ultimately prevaricated when it came down to deciding whether African people were innately inferior to people classified as white, but it determined that African culture, from which African people took their values, limited the capacity for African children to perform on a level with white children (Soudien 2005). It was out of this that Bantu Education was born, which effectively condemned African people to the status of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' (Mhlongo 2013: 2).

The immediate product of the Eiselen Commission was the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This Act effectively brought the education of African people, on a massified basis, under state control. In terms of the Bantu Education Act, all African schools had to register with the government. Mission schools were restricted. As Christie and Collins (1982: 66) say, 'whereas, in 1953 there were over 5000 state-aided mission schools, by 1965 there were 509 out of a total of 7222 black schools'. The Act gave the Minister of Education wide powers. In a notorious speech to Parliament in 1954, the Minister of Native Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd, one of the main architects of the apartheid system, would say:

> It is the policy of my department that education would have its roots entirely in the Native areas and the Native environment and the Native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects.
>
> There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour […]. Until now he has been misled by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. (Ibid.)

These developments had the effect of multiplying the numbers of African children attending school dramatically. Where there were 747,026 children in schools in 1950, in 10 years, bu 1960, those numbers had doubled to 1,500,008 children. Massification brought two issues. In the first place, as Verwoerd had made clear in the speech quoted above, the schools were not designed as sites for the advancement of human beings. They were unable to provide either the pressure or the rewards for young people to stay and succeed. Of the 350, 640 children who started the first grade of school in 1950, only 439 were able to reach the equivalent of grade 12. By 1960, the situation had improved marginally. The number of children entering the system was 665,655, but only 835 were able to complete the full cycle. In 1960,

Table 27.2 Per Capita on education in South African Rands

Year	Blacks	Whites	Black/white expenditure ratio
1945	7.78	76.58	1/9.84
1953	17.08	127.84	1/7.48
1960	12.46	144.57	1/11.60

Adapted from: Christie and Collins 1982: 74

the majority had dropped out at the equivalent of the sixth grade with only 97,437 remaining (all data has been taken from Christie and Collins 1982: 71–72). Behind these developments were badly provisioned facilities staffed with badly qualified teachers who were badly paid. The schools were debased versions of what was made available to white children. Per capita expenditure for the periods 1945 and 1960 were as presented in Table 27.2).

In addition to creating a separate African school system, the apartheid government went one step further and created 11 new education authorities for the homelands, each under its own ethnic authority. It also created separate departments of education for people classified as Coloured and those classified as Indian. By the time apartheid came to an end, there would be 17 supposedly autonomous racially defined sub-systems of education, each with its own extensive infrastructure and regulatory apparatus.

The basic morphology of this system would persist into the 1970s and the 1980s, and would provide the fuel for the anger that erupted in 1976 when the apartheid government went a step too far by trying to make Afrikaans not only a compulsory subject, but also the medium of instruction in African schools. It was in response to this that the Soweto Uprising of 1976 took place which, in part, along with the growth of a new militancy in the workers' movement, led to the collapse of apartheid and the coming into power of a new democratic government in 1994. The tragic casualty of the uprising was the culture of schooling. In the process of mobilizing young people, the struggle introduced into the schooling system cultures and habits which effectively brought the disciplined practice of learning to an end.

Contemporary Issues Relating to Social Justice

When the new African National Congress government came into power in 1994, the education system was profoundly disfigured. Education, in the technical sense, flourished for the privileged and largely white schooling community but floundered in the schools of the poor and the largely black communities.

On assuming power in 1994, the new government undertook a serious campaign of reforming the schooling system. Four explicitly anti-apartheid interventions were made – all of them aimed at effecting social justice (see Bloch 2005).

The first act the new government undertook to signal its break with apartheid was the establishment of a single national education department in place of the 17 that had previously existed. On the basis of a number of signature white papers and ministerial committees of enquiry which advised the government on issues of governance, it promulgated the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996 (Republic of South Africa 1996b). The most significant feature of the SASA was the establishment of a structure for every school called the School Governing Body (SGB) which placed in the hands of parents the power to appoint teachers, determine the level of school fees to be paid and the school's language policy. Some of these powers, it needs to be noted, were reduced but they were intended to democratize decision-making for the system (see Soudien 2005).

The second explicitly anti-apartheid move was to 'right-size' the teacher corps, an intervention aimed at redressing the imbalances in teacher–pupil ratios inherited from the segregated past. This measure attempted to establish class size norms for the system and to provide for the re-deployment of teachers from schools where the ratio was deemed to be too low to schools where this figure was considered to be high. The third such measure was to make education compulsory for all children up to Grade 9.

These interventions in their symbolic and structural intent were significant. They effectively placed everybody in the system, teachers and learners, under a single legal citizenship framework. The system, moreover, was configured to acknowledge the actual income differentials between communities and, and in terms of the provision of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996), made available both material and financial support, on an affirmative action basis, to schools which needed these.

The government also embarked on a strategy of modernizing the educational system. The most important innovation was the introduction of a new curriculum called Curriculum 2005, which was established on an outcomes-based approach to learning (Jansen 1999). In keeping with international trends, the purpose of this innovation was, essentially, to foreground learning and to place much more responsibility for learning in the learner themselves. This approach has been revised substantially twice. In 2002, it was revised to become the Revised National Curricular Statements (RNCS) and again, in 2012, to what has been called the National Curriculum Statements. Supporting this innovation, the government put in place a quality assurance

mechanism for appraising teacher development, the South African Council for Educators – a statutory body for the regulation of the profession and the development of the educator corps.

Underpinning and putting these innovations within a larger framework was the establishment of a qualifications framework under the jurisdiction of a body called the South African Qualifications Authority. The overarching objective of the framework was to introduce the principle of vertical and horizontal portability of qualifications (and skills) into the general educational system with the objective of opening up and democratizing learning pathways for the country's socially and educationally diverse population.

Supporting all of these innovations – those that were aimed at addressing the apartheid past and also those that sought to move the system into a new modern space – were commitments on the part of the state to expand its spending on education. As Bloch (2005: 9) points out 'Within the fiscal landscape […] there has been a massive emphasis and priority on the education budget with some 6 % of GDP and approximately 21 % of the national budget being allocated (to education) at its height.' A sum of approximately R65 billion (US$6 billion) was allocated to education in 2003. In 2015, three times that sum was allocated for a three-year term. The budget allocated R640 billion to basic education alone and R195 billion to post-school education and training (see Nene 2015).

These developments, compared with the situation during apartheid, have been deeply impressive. The country has met its Millennium Development Goal of primary school enrolment. In 2011, 99.0 % of children aged 7–13 were attending primary schooling. Universal access has been achieved (Statistics South Africa 2013: 42). There has also been a significant improvement in learners' results at the country's Grade 12 level, in its Senior Certificate examination. Pass rates stood at 58 % in 1994 and 47.4 % in 1997; by 2003 they had improved to 73.3 % (Bloch 2005: 9). In 2014, they stood at 75.8 %, having reached a high of 78.2 % in 2013 (SAinfo Reporter 2015). These developments have also contributed greatly to the larger democratization project. Measures such as the SASA have been embraced and appropriated by the South African community. In the repeated three-year cycle of school governing body elections, virtually every single school in the country has been able successfully to elect its complement of parent representatives, drawing in over 250,000 volunteer parents in approximately 27,000 public schools in the country (see DoE 2004).

But the challenge of turning the apartheid apparatus around has been great. In what follows, the chapter looks at serious difficulties which have come to characterize the present. While challenges have arisen in firming

up administrative capacity in the system – challenges of corruption and the persistent difficulty of racism, and sexual and other human abuses – the most challenging issues in the system are those of securing justice in terms of opportunities to learn (see Godden 2005), racism (Vally and Dalambo 1999) and infrastructural shortages (Fiske and Ladd 2004). This injustice is evident in the development of what has effectively become, in the post-apartheid era, a two-class system – that of a small rich and no longer only white elite system, and a poor and largely black system. Performance in the former is strong and it may be said that learning is flourishing. In the poor system, progress has stalled.

The findings of different benchmarking learner competency tests in the country have all consistently shown exceedingly low levels of competence across the nation for both mathematics and reading. The general assessment is that learners in poorer schools remain considerably disadvantaged. Results of an analysis carried out by a group of economists came to the conclusion that the gap in learner competency between rich and largely white learners and black and largely poor learners at the terminal grade 12 level was at least two years (Heaton et al. 2012: 20). The 2001 national Grade 3 systemic assessment (which appeared in 2003) reported an average score of 30 % for numeracy and 54 % for literacy (DoE 2003: 24). The Third International Mathematics and Science Study Repeat (TIMSS-R) placed Grade 8 South African learners at 44 %, below the mean scores of all participating countries. South African pupils, on top of this, were placed last among the 39 countries. South Africa attained a mean score of 275 out of a possible total of 800 marks (Howie 2001: 18). The best performing learners performed at the level of the mean of pupils in leading countries in the list, such as Singapore; fewer than 0.5 % of South Africa's pupils featured in the international top 10 % benchmark (Howie 2001: 19). In the Monitoring Learner Assessment (MLA) study for Grade 4 students, South African learners attained an average numeracy score of 30 %, placing it last among the 12 participating African countries (Taylor et al. 2003: 19–27). Between 1995 and 2002, the study showed that no improvement had occurred in learners' attainment in mathematics and science in Grade 8. It was decided, in 2002, that the Grade 8 tests were too difficult for the Grade 8s and so they were given to the Grade 9s. As Spaull says (2013: 4), 'Comparing the performance of the Grade 9 pupils between 2002 and 2011 showed that there was a noticeable improvement in maths and science performance amounting to approximately one and a half grades of learning.' He cautioned, however, against celebrating this achievement because the 'post-improvement level of performance […] is really low […] the average South African Grade Nine child perform[s] between two and three grade

levels lower than the average Grade Eight child from other middle-income countries' (ibid.).

The essential features of these scores were repeated in the Southern African Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality (SACMEQ) II evaluation. Aimed at the Grade 6 level, these results showed that, relative to the pre-determined mean of 500 points as a benchmark for the project, South African learners scored below this value for both mathematics (486.2) and reading (492.4) (Moloi and Strauss 2005: 65). The study found that the modal competence level for reading for Grade 6 learners in South Africa essentially stood at Level 3 (basic reading). This was only achieved by 19.1 % of the learners in the study (Moloi and Strauss 2005: 67). Furthermore, only 26 % of the learners could read above a Level 4 standard (independent reading). In mathematics, the modal level of attainment for Grade 6 learners was Level 2 (emergent numeracy), which was attained by 44.4 % of the learners; '(i)n addition, there were 7.8 percent of the learners who achieved only Level 1 (Beginning Numeracy). Altogether this left less than 50 percent of the learners reaching competence levels higher than Emergent Numeracy' (Moloi and Strauss 2005: 68–69). In SACMEQ III (Hungi 2011), South African pupils ranked 10th out of the 14 systems in the region, below significantly poorer countries such as Tanzania, Kenya and Swaziland. The study found that 27 % of South African Grade 6 learners were illiterate. They could not read a short and simple text, and were not able to extract any meaning from it (Spaull 2013: 4).

Other studies show that children in privileged schools do much better. The Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) benchmarked tests conducted in the country's independent (i.e. private) schools show how privilege works (Independent Examination Board Report 2013). The results from these tests make it clear that the country's privileged children – in contrast to their disadvantaged counterparts – perform extremely well in the key subjects of mathematics and English. These ACER tests, which are administered through the Independent Examinations Board of South Africa, show that the learners in these schools are operating above international averages.

Explanations for these developments are to be found in the complex 'race'–class nexus that the country has inherited from apartheid. Reading performance in terms of socio-economic status, it is clear that even as children progress in socio-economic terms, the disadvantages they carry in terms of affordances such as cultural capital continue to dog them.

In terms of social class, Soudien and Sayed (2003) suggested that, when the apartheid system began breaking down, previously excluded African, coloured and Indian children began to move in significant numbers into schools perceived to be better than those they would have been expected

to attend: African children into formerly Indian and coloured schools, and black (African, coloured and Indian) children as a whole into formerly white schools. Naidoo's (1996) work suggests that the process of integration followed distinct socio-economic paths in KwaZulu-Natal in both the former Natal Education Department (previously white) and the former House of Delegates (previously Indian) schools. Fiske and Ladd (2004) also write extensively of the class factors which drove these developments, such as the high costs of transport of township children into the wealthier suburbs.

What this has signalled is the distinct limiting of the poor to the advantages available in the new system. The Department of Education's response to this has been to create 'no-fee' schools for the poorest communities. To make up for the fees that they would have collected, the Department has subsidized these schools significantly (DoE 2003). These adjustments, however, have produced new contradictions. With the departure of wealthier families from the poor schools and the evacuation of cultural, capital and other resources from them, the schools have collapsed. They have lost important capacities that better off families would have shared with them. In the Western Cape, where principals have battled to keep criminality out of their schools (*Cape Argus* 2005), it has been emphasized how strong the impact of poverty in the community has been on these schools. In many of these schools, it continues to be the case that for every 100 children who began Grade 1, only 52 make it to Grade 12. There is a large drop-out rate in poorer rural communities (Nelson Mandela Foundation 2005). These anomalies, relative to some official statistics that suggest full enrolment in the system, suggest that children are, in fact, dropping out of the system. There have been distinct improvements in enrolments at the Grade 10 level in the period under review, but decidedly less so at the Grade 12 level (Taylor 2012).

Spaull has usefully described these developments in terms of learning opportunities in the following way (UNISA 2012, see also DBE 2013c):

> South Africa still faces the reality of two different education systems, a dysfunctional schooling system (75 %) and a functional schooling system (25 %), which are miles apart in their respective performance. Despite the high spending and many interventions which were made by the government over the past twenty years the system remains virtually unchanged. Our government spends 20 % of total government expenditure on education, of which 78 % goes to teacher salaries. Yet, the education system continues to propagate, rather than mitigate, inequality. If you are born into a family which is poor, your prospects for social mobility are very slim. Education is the main driver of social mobility but the system continues to reproduce inequality because there are so few good schools, which are also geographically and financially inaccessible to the poor.

South Africa is the most unequal country in the world – wealth distribution, in particular. Despite multiple policy interventions – including affirmative action and broad-based black economic empowerment, and high levels of investment in Education – have not fundamentally changed the pre-1994 economy to one that produces social justice, as envisaged in the Constitution.

Implications for Education for Citizenship

What the analysis developed in this chapter suggests is that, while all South Africans now have access to the rights of citizenship, their ability to be able to realize the benefits of those rights remains differentially distributed. The poor continue to experience significant levels of discrimination and marginalization. The most important area where their poor learning attainment reflects is in the world of work. Employment opportunities are conditioned by levels of education.

It is clear from data on enrolment, as explained, that government intervention has succeeded in achieving relatively high levels of educational access for all South Africa's youth. However, 21 years after democracy, only 600,000 blacks have achieved graduate degrees, and the matriculation rate (school leaving certificate) remains below 50 %. It currently stands at 44 %. This means that only around 2 out of every 5 children who start school in year 1 will eventually sit the school leaving examination, and only 1 in 10 who start school achieve an education that allows them to study further. This low rate of output is further cause for concern when race is taken into account. Between 1994 and 2014, in the white population there was an increase from 42.2 % to 61.5 % in skilled jobs, with a much slower increase of 15.1–17.9 % in the black population (Stats SA Youth Employment, Unemployment, Skills and Economic Growth 2015).

The work of Leibbrandt et al. (n.d.) is important in showing the connection between education and employment (Table 27.3)

The significance of this table is the increase in unemployment at every level of education. This reflects the downturn in economic conditions for the period and its impact on everybody. What it demonstrates unambiguously, nonetheless, are the high rates of return to education. Graduates are most easily able to enter the skilled employment market where income benefits are derived along with access to constitutive freedoms. Increases in semi-skilled and unskilled employment account for some narrowing of the employment gap but do not, in themselves, reduce poverty. The global phenomenon of the working poor is acutely obvious in South Africa, where incomes for skilled labour outweigh wages in the semi-skilled and unskilled markets, which are devalued and often seen as burdens on the economy.

Table 27.3 Unemployment rates by education

Year	No Educ	Primary	Secondary incomplete	Grade 12	Tertiary
1993	10.5	17.0	16.2	12.7	2.0
1997	18.3	25.6	24.2	21.5	6.3
2001	20.2	28.9	36.4	30.4	11.1
2005	17.1	26.4	33.3	28.0	7.7
2008	16.9	20.7	30.2	25.0	12.5
% Change 1997–2008	−7.8	−19.1	25.1	16.7	97.3

Compiled by: Leibbrandt et al. n.d.: 12.
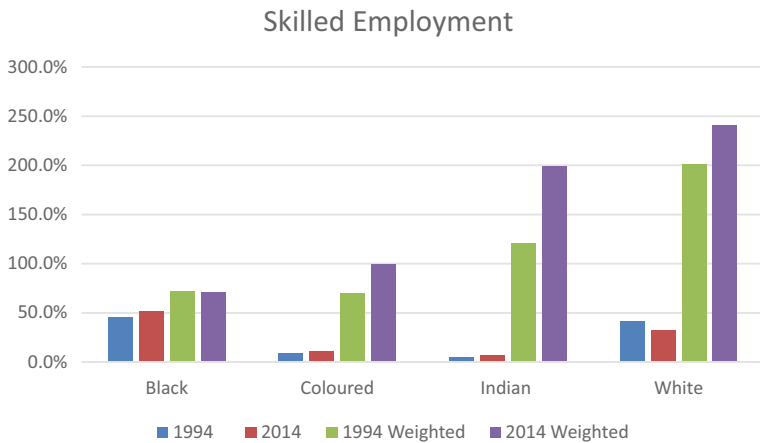
Fig. 27.1   Employment level by race for the period 1994–2014 (Source: Recomposed from Statistics SA 2015: 19–23)

Compounding the complexity of this picture is what happens when employment levels are looked at in racial terms (see Figure 27.1).

In unweighted scores taking absolute numbers, the proportion of white skilled workers in employment dropped from a high of 41.2 % to 31.7 % in 2014 of all skilled employment. In the same period, black skilled employment rose from 45.5 % to 51.1 %, indicating the success of economic redress and improvements in the Education sector's ability to produce skilled black employees. However, when one factors the demographic weight of the different population groups into the equation using a benchmark to understand inequality, a different picture emerges. Black skilled employment, corrected to the demographic weight of the total skilled force, has declined since 1994, while white skilled employment has grown and remains the highest. Indians also became highly represented in skilled employment. This means the skilled jobs held in

the black population, the group meant to benefit from policy interventions, declined over that period, while whites actually gained and are in a better position than in 1994. This analysis makes clear how unequal the country remains and why the claim of equal citizenship for all South Africans is so problematic.

While this data is unable to sustain the definitive claim of a causal relationship between educational levels and employment, the correlations are sufficiently high to make the argument that low levels of educational attainment in the black community are material in terms of employment opportunities. Again, the data does not allow one to explain categorically why people who are classified white are better off and actually improving relative to their black counterparts, but it does raise questions about the complex sets of factors that are play in producing outcomes such as these. One hypothesis is that the inter-generational transmission of education from parents to children in these different social groupings remains significant. In terms of this, it could be suggested that a high inter-generational persistence of educational attainment between generations is a barrier to equal opportunities in the labour market and beyond (see Black and Devereux 2010). In South Africa, these barriers hold a historically significant determinant in the form of race.

Conclusion and Future Research: Understanding the Solutions

That South Africa is a better place than it was during the period of apartheid is indisputable. The formal structures, policies and regulations for according all its people access to the citizenship that had been denied them for so long are all now in place. What is decidedly clear, however, is that it is one thing having progressive laws and quite another to make them work. Theoretically enfranchised as South Africans now are, the majority have yet to see the benefits of this enfranchisement. In these terms, social justice is some way off. Using the definition with which this contribution began, while the new democracy has made substantial efforts to recognize South Africans in their diverse identities, it has not yet been able to accord them unfettered access to all the rights that are available in that polity. The primary right which many South Africans are being denied is that of quality education. Without this basic right, they have been unable to improve the quality of their lives in the new South Africa.

Building on Lewin's work with the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) (2007), which conducted extensive classroom-based studies of the learning and teaching experience in South Africa, CREATE suggested here that what is needed to understand better why quality is so difficult to achieve in the South African context, beyond the

powerful standards for good education such as well-qualified and motivated teachers, is clarity with respect to the following:

1. What the school process is all about

   The point about this is that school is not working for many young people. The question is what the access experience, by itself, amounts to. Equality of the educational experience has been, understandably, at the top of the world policy agenda for the last 20 years or more. As the discussion has become more complex, it has become clear, however, that is not equality alone that matters. What also matters is the *kind* of equality that marks the education that is being made available to learners and students. In bringing the discussion of the kind of equality into perspective, the issue of quality has become central. The 2005 Global Monitoring Report, to emphasize the point, says '(t)he quantity of children who participate is by definition a secondary consideration: merely filling spaces called 'schools' with children would not address quantitative objectives if no real education occurred […] In that sense, it could be judged unfortunate that the quantitative aspects of education have become the main focus of attention in recent years for policy makers (and quantitatively inclined social scientists)' (UNESCO 2005: 29). Critical, it argues, is the concern of quality. The question of how one builds quality for the majority of South Africa's learners is a major question for future research.

2. What kind of knowledge a learner needs

   Related to the above concern is the question of what young South Africans ought to have access to in their classes. Lewin (2007), in the CREATE project, demonstrated what he described as concave rates of return graphs for increased investment in education. The project saw little benefits for additional years of school attendance until the pupils reached a level of scarcity, or until they crossed over to effective schools. Both Lam (1999) and Keswell and Poswell (2002), also, among others, have shown that returns to education prior to Grade 12 are very low and that strongly increasing returns accrue with the completion of matriculation and for each year thereafter (see also Taylor 2011 on Low Quality Education as a poverty trap). The point being brought to light here, and which requires further investigation, is why what young people learn is so inconsequential so deep into their educational experience? Is there a core or foundation they require that can be put in place earlier?

3. Micro-level affordances

   The third question which bears investigation relates to what one might describe as cultural capital. Clearly, what micro-level affordances people bring to the educational experience is crucial. Lewin (2007) introduces the

affordance of household income, which has an impact on how far the educational access in a family can go as a critical issue. Inequality of household assets creates social instability. But the point also speaks to the decisions families make in relation to issues such as their consumption choices and how the affordances in their homes are distributed. At issue here are the obvious issues of gender but, given that gender is not as great an issue in the South African context for learner achievement as it might be elsewhere, the issues relate to a range of other factors such as nutrition, school choice, family recreation and so on. These affect persistence and resilience. But they also relate to decisions families and communities make about language choice, school choice. A question that is current in the South African setting relates to the persistence of poor learning outcomes in communities that are relatively economically stable. Students in Quintile 4 income schools perform more like their counterparts in Quintile 1, the poorest, than students in Quintile 5, the most wealthy.

4. Macro-level Conditions

Any number of factors at the macro-level are critical, either singly or in combination. Factors of significance could include broad socio-political conditions as Lewin (2007: 9) explains, such as conflict and civil unrest, economic mismanagement and macro-economic failure, lack of a sustained political will. But they could be directly related to, as is the case in the South African situation, the basic functionality of the schooling system. Central in this is the quality of the teaching corps; the policy environment in which teaching and learning takes place – such as, for example, a stable curriculum, an understanding of the conditions for pedagogical innovation; the role of public and private institutions in the redistribution of power.

Engaging with these issues is critical for making better sense of how the theoretical rights which South Africans have can be translated into real achievements.

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28

Citizenship Education Versus Reality: The Facts in Spain

Concepción Naval and Elena Arbués

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, liberal countries took the development of education to be one of the basic forms of progress. Through modern systems of education, they attempted to respond to the needs of the industrial revolution, lower the levels of illiteracy and create a strong national feeling. Thus, obligatory schooling became one of the basic tools with which to achieve this objective. The education of the citizens that the new state required, citizens who would be capable of participating in political life, was one of the main aims of modern education systems (Puelles 2004).

But it was after World War II that education systems worldwide grew dramatically. In Spain, the education system has undergone multiple historical changes since the middle of the 20th century, due to intense ideological debate. The citizenship education which is proposed and is currently being debated has its roots in the Spanish Constitution (1978) and, the way it is carried out has been explained in detail, successively, in the legislation which govern the Spanish currently system, in accordance with the different political changes. This chapter will analyze how the political evolution and the social changes that affect issues related to social justice have offered various explanations

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which help to understand the different educational proposals regarding citizenship education. It will also shed light on future developments in the areas of educational practice and research.

Historical and Contemporary Issues Relating to Social Justice

The concept of social justice is Spain´s cause célèbre and its definition is debatable at both the national and international levels. To a certain extent, it matches Aristotle's concept of 'distributive justice', while the idea of 'commutative justice' fits with the classical idea of justice in modern societies. However, social justice is frequently defined by basing it on specific cases of social injustice. Among the subjects included in social justice, we find social equality, equal opportunity, the welfare state, the issue of poverty, the distribution of assets, and labour and union rights, among others.

Historically, the concept of social justice is linked to the conflict in Spain which, in the nineteenth century was called 'the social issue'; that is, the growing uneasiness and complaints of workers, which gained in importance worldwide after the emergence of capitalism. The expression 'social justice' has to do with the early years of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church regarding the labour conflicts which spread after the establishingt of mechanization and the industrial society. Social justice is, then, a limit which must be placed on the distribution of the riches of within a society so that everyone receives what is due to them, such distribution of assets matching the norms of the common good. In fact, the appearance in the early decades of the twentieth century of social constitutionalism, the welfare state and labour law are matters which were promptly linked with social justice. A democratic transition is inconceivable without social justice; neither is it possible to drive processes for the expansion of social justice without recognizing the pre-eminence of the common good over private interests. In the modern world, there has been an inordinate growth of inequality; this not only refers to the number of poor people, but also to the quality of the poverty, and is expressed in structures that foster great human degradation (Concha 2003).

On occasion, the basic understanding of 'social policy' situates it as a struggle against poverty and, indeed, this is a fundamental piece of social justice – but it is not merely this. That is to say, if social policy is reduced to the struggle against poverty, social policy is not only far from resolving that problem, but

also far from attending to the population in an integrated way and far from fulfilling its task. Reality is obviously remote from these maxims, which have been considered worldwide in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Let us now look at some issues that relate to Spain.

Twentieth Century: Historical Issues

Here, we do not intend to tackle the 'social question' in Spain but, rather, the probable historic conditions that brought it about (cf. Matos and Raya 2012). This implies examining the transformations, advances and setbacks which led to the constitution of the modern social state. The construction of the state is a response to the political and social challenges posed by the new capitalist production model. This model was inspired by the Industrial Revolution in Britain and other continental European countries, although it took some time to appear in the Iberian Peninsula; when it did so – particularly after the mid-nineteenth century – it had its own historical logic, which was similar in essence but different phenomenologically.

It is worthwhile analyzing the present-day so-called 'post-industrial' societies from the perspective of the practice of welfare. These focus on the concept of the 'welfare regime', which Esping-Andersen defines as 'the combined and interdependent way in which welfare is produced and allocated between state, market and family' (Esping-Andersen 2000: 52). Esping-Andersen's perspective and his proposal of three ideal types of welfare regime (liberal, conservative and social democratic) in developed countries has provoked widespread international controversy concerning their use for the understanding of the different national realities.

Regarding Spain and the other Mediterranean countries in Europe, there has been much argument. Thus, for example, Moreno and Sarasa (1992), Rhodes (1997) and Ferrera (1995) hold that, although Esping-Andersen places Spain among the so-called 'corporatist-conservative welfare regimes', the truth is that a fourth regime should be included: the 'Mediterranean welfare regime', which is shared by Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. This fourth regime is characterized by: (a) different needs and lifestyles, (b) family microsolidarity, and (c) a conjunction between universalism and selectivity (in welfare policies) (Esping-Andersen 2000).

When dealing with the consolidation of the period of Modernity in Spain, recent historical research shows a new image of this European country. Historiography has frequently maintained the exceptionality of the 'Spanish case' in the history of modern (capitalist) European societies – as can be seen,

for example, in the British author Gerald Brenan's work *The Spanish Labyrinth* (1943). Later research has played down this exceptionality, given that well into the nineteenth century industrial capitalism erupted into the economic structure of Spain. Thus, in *Hoy no es ayer* (*Today Is Not Yesterday*) – a work by the historian Santos Juliá which assesses the evolution of Spain in the twentieth century and its form of government from a social and political perspective – referring to the economic structure, the author comments: 'after all is said and done, the evolution of the Spanish economy has not been so peculiar, and we can even speak of the "economic modernisation of Spain" for the period between 1830 and 1930' (Juliá 2009: 47). When it comes to politics and culture, the Spanish experience is: 'fully European and its normality must be emphasised in contrast with any pretension regarding supposed radically specific or totally unique elements' (García Delgado 1996: 29).

The nascent capitalism of Spain complicated the existing secular poverty. The 'social question' resulted in the organization of social security for the salaried labour market, just as it did in the other European countries. However, it also affected the benevolent funds which had been set up during the bourgeois-liberal revolutions of the early nineteenth century (*Ley General de Beneficencia* 1822 [General Law on Benevolent Funds]) and, to a certain extent, modified their organization and functions. These benevolent funds were a protection system, a mixture of public and private initiatives, with an important ecclesiastical charity component (Esping-Andersen 2000).

To complete these short notes on the subject, we should analyze the 'welfare regime' of modern Spain. Among other challenges, this demands in-depth investigation into its historical development, for which we do not have space. The nature of the welfare state in Spain is characterized by its emergence in contexts marked by late capitalist modernization and, in the twentieth century in the Ford-Keynes period, by the political dictatorship of General Franco after the Civil War (1936–1939).

In order to understand the present, it is indispensable to return to the recent past, to Francoism (1939–1975). Reference should also be made to the political transition to democracy (1975) with the resulting constitutionalization of social rights beginning in 1978, and the ensuing social reforms based on the territorial configuration of the so-called 'Spanish Autonomous Communities'. These led to the establishment of a universalized and decentralized structure of welfare services, beginning in the 1980s (see Esping-Andersen 2000). Education is one of the social rights; it is the key to progress in the welfare state and reduces social inequalities. We shall now look at the legislative evolution of the recent past to explore how education for citizenship has been considered within it.

Recent Evolution in Education for Citizenship in Spain

In the second half of the twentieth century, important transformations in all areas occurred in Spain – economic and social, as well as in the political area. Regarding the development of educational policy, there have been several historic milestones:

- The 1945 *Ley de Enseñanza Primaria* [Law on Primary Teaching], which was in force for approximately 20 years;
- The so-called 'technocratic' period, beginning in the 1960s, which brought about universal access to teaching;
- The 1970 *Ley General de Educación*[1] [General Law on Education], in which the state assumed its responsibility for education;
- The promulgation of the 1978 Constitution, which gave all Spaniards the right to education in conditions of equality and freedom;
- The LODE[2] in 1985, which developed the educational principles contained in the Constitution; and
- The LOGSE[3] in 1990, which gave legal shape to the in-depth educational reform proposed at that time.

The year 2002 saw the proclamation of the LOCE,[4] although it was never applied. It was in 2006, with the LOE[5], that the state placed civic education on the syllabus, with a specific timetable and contents. In 2013, with the LOMCE,[6] civic education again became a cross-curricular subject.

The 1978 Constitution is the basis for the development of all subsequent legislation. It is a framework which allows for different political and ideological options. Although this plurality must be recognized as positive, it does not mean that, on occasion, there have not been difficulties in interpreting the constitutional principles. This interpretation has been very problematical because the whole Constitution is imbued with political ideology which is susceptible to very different assessments and concrete projections, and frequently

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[1] Ley 14/1970, de 4 de agosto, General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa (BOE de 6 de agosto de 1970).

[2] 8/1985, de 3 de julio, reguladora del Derecho a la Educación (BOE n° 159, de 4 de julio de 1985; corrección de errores en BOE n° 251, de 19 de octubre).

[3] 1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (BOE n° 238, de 4 de octubre de 1990).

[4] 10/2002, de 23 de diciembre, de Calidad de la Educación (BOE n° 307, de 24 de diciembre de 2002).

[5] 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación (BOE n° 106, de 4 de mayo de 2006).

[6] Ley Orgánica 8/2013, de 9 de diciembre, para la mejora de la calidad educativa (BOE n° 295, de 10 de diciembre de 2013).

the Constitution does not respond to an unambiguous, homogenous, coherent formula, as it is not based on a single ideology (Martínez Blanco 1982). This fact may, perhaps, explain the five educational reforms undertaken in 25 years of democracy and has, undoubtedly, not offered stability to the Spanish education system. In the legislation, we see the two positions adopted by the main political parties on the subject of education. In spite of the constitutional consensus, the truth is that both right- and left-wing governments, when in power, launch different education policies which may be clearly at variance. One might think that the pact on education established in Article 27 of the Constitution is broad, general or sufficiently ambiguous for each party to make an impact on certain aspects rather than others, while respecting what is essential in the Constitution. However, the consensus achieved in writing the Constitution now seems deficient for some.

Of the five laws, three were proclaimed during terms in government of the socialist party: the LODE (1985), LOGSE (1990) and LOE (2006); and two under the conservative *Partido Popular*: the LOCE (2002, although it was never applied) and the LOMCE (2013). Although democratic alternation seems to complicate legislative continuity, the 1978 Constitution achieved a certain consensus between two educational options. Despite the efforts to come to an agreement, the two positions adopted while dealing with the subject of education have surfaced repeatedly in later legislation and continue to do so. One posture is based on the principle of equality; the other, on the principle of freedom.

Although the movement in favour of civic education is part of a worldwide trend towards democratic citizenship, the area of community care policy is what we must consider (Ruiz 2001; Naval et al. 2002; Ibáñez Martín 2006). The European Union considers that the systems of education must ensure that the school community will promote the learning of democratic values and participation, in order to prepare people for active citizenship (European Commission 2005a).

The European Commission points out that, as educational centres provide one of the main spaces for socialization, it is necessary to analyze how the education policy of each country promotes responsible citizenship through its system of education. In order to achieve social cohesion in Europe and a common European identity, students at educational centres should receive specific information on the significance of citizenship, on the types of rights and obligations it involves, and on the behaviour of a good citizen (European Commission 2005b).

In Spain, the LOE (2006) reflected these European directives. In accordance with this international line, it takes education to be the most suitable means

by which to guarantee the exercise of democratic citizenship (Preamble, para. 1) and makes a clear commitment to the objectives proposed by the European Union (Preamble, para. 21). Regarding the syllabus, the LOE proposals, for both primary and secondary education, specify the introduction of a subject on the syllabus in order to 'offer all students a space for reflection, analysis and study on the fundamental characteristics and the workings of a democratic regime, of the principles and rights established in the Spanish Constitution, and in the international treaties and declarations of human rights, together with the common values that lie at the root of democratic citizenship in a global context' (Preamble, para. 48).

As regards the earlier legislation, it can be said that the aim of the LODE (1985) was to promote good citizens and the active commitment of the whole education community. These objectives are in consonance with what is prescribed by the Constitution (Art. 27.2 and 27.7). Thus, it expressly recognizes academic freedom; declares the right to gathering in the learning centre for the parent-teacher association and the pupils; and creates the school council for the learning centre and for the state as means of participation. In order to inspire active citizens, it proposes that students should learn the proper use of the democratic system through its exercise in the school itself (Gimeno and Carbonell 2004).

In the LOGSE (1990), as a further degree of participation, the syllabus was presented as open and flexible. In specifying the syllabus, it aspired to grant an important role in the centres of education and independence to the teacher. But, in reality, the royal decrees on minimum teaching and the decrees of the individual autonomous communities are prescribed norms that, in practice, tend to seal and unify the syllabus (Bolívar and Rodríguez 2002; Gimeno and Carbonell 2004). The LOGSE also opted for the comprehensive school as a means of promoting social cohesion.

Among the principles of these two laws and the LOCE (2002) are the furtherance of participation and the collaboration of every education sector. But it was the LOE (2006) which, moreover, proposed training for the exercise of citizenship and for active participation in economic, social and cultural life. One of the innovations of the law is its concern for education for citizenship. Thus, it poses objectives and introduces new subjects to be taught in some areas: the area of *education for citizenship* and *human rights* in one school year in the third cycle of primary education and in one of the first three years of obligatory secondary education; in the fourth year of obligatory secondary education all students must study *ethics-civic education*; and for the baccalaureate, one of the obligatory subjects is *philosophy and citizenship*.

There are five particular points that bring together the intellectual and ideological approaches that inspire the LOE and its proposals for citizenship education (Trillo 2005; Ruano 2008)

(1) Centralism, despite the decentralizing process of our education system. Above all, centralism can be seen in the unifying reality of the syllabus and the weakening of parents' freedom to choose a centre of education.

(2) Although preferential attention is paid to the social dimension, the LOE does not appear to take the moral dimension of education sufficiently into account. However, in the social education which is proposed, there is an intention to transmit secular moral values which will be the basis for life in common.

(3) The social values which, in the LOE, give weight to social harmony are: tolerance, freedom, participation, cooperation, solidarity, mutual respect, the rejection of discrimination, social responsibility, democratic citizenship, justice and the true equality of men and women.

(4) The LOE intends to dedicate special attention to the equality of men and women on the subject of Education for Citizenship.

(5) Regarding legislative aims, the LOE proposes the fulfilment of 14 objectives. This may perhaps be excessive; however, the fact that preparation for the exercise of citizenship is included among them is a positive point.

As regards the LOMCE (2013), education for democratic citizenship is considered as essential for the promotion of a free, tolerant and just society which will contribute to defending the values and principles of freedom, pluralism, human rights and the rule of law, which are the foundations of democracy. This Organic Law considers preparation for active citizenship and the acquisition of social and civic competences to be essential, as is stated in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning. It deals with this need in a cross-curricular way, as it incorporates civic and constitutional education into all subjects during basic education (Preamble, XIV).

Between the Constitution (1978) and the LOMCE (2013), we can see how the social dimension of education and the encouragement of co-existence, which the General Law on Education emphasized among its aims (Art. 1), has become more specific and has subsequently appeared in the successive educational reforms. Undoubtedly, the social and political circumstances of Spain have changed – a fact which has also brought about a change in how the social dimension of education is specified in the legislation. As an evaluation of the evolution of these reforms, we can conclude that there has been a progressive increase in the consideration given to the social dimension of education. The LOE (2006) is the law that takes into account the guidelines

given by the Council of Europe on this point. In line with the Council's recommendations, the LOE opts to introduce education for citizenship as a subject on the syllabus, as is done in other countries in our area. Currently, the LOMCE (2013) contemplates dealing with this dimension of education in a cross-curricular way.

21st Century: Contemporary Issues

It may be of interest for our objective to take a look at some contemporary issues relating to social justice, and focus on the social developments of the twenty-first century. To do so, we will deal with three points: the effects of the economic crisis, particularly among the young; certain social phenomena; and the impact of the Internet and information and communication technologies on these issues. Finally, we will offer our reflections on the potential of these social realities with reference to the teaching of education for citizenship and the development of research in this field.

Effects of the Economic Crisis on Young People

The economic crisis has had serious consequences, especially for the young. In January 2013, the youth unemployment rate in the European Union stood at 23.6 % – double the corresponding rate for adults (EU Commission 2013). This reality is partly due to the greater vulnerability of young people because of their lack of professional experience. The reasons for this vary; the lack of experience may be due to inappropriate preparation, to restricted access to social or economic resources, to their precarious labour conditions, and so on.

But, undoubtedly, the most worrying fact is the 7.5 million young people who do not study, and so have no specific preparation which would give them access to the labour market. This figure represents 12.9 % of European young people. These are young men and women who have dropped out of their studies prematurely; many have not even finished secondary education and, in some cases, they come from disadvantaged environments. This youth inactivity has negative repercussions for the future; for example, regarding lack of income, social service benefits which must be paid, future levels of unemployment, support for pensions or guarantees for the welfare state, among others (EU Commission 2012).

Spain has also undergone, and continues to undergo – perhaps more radically than in other countries in the Western world – the grave consequences of

the economic crisis in terms of an increase in unemployment of the youngest population group. This phenomenon is quite common in the countries of southern Europe and also in Ireland.

We must draw attention to the following data for Spain according to the *Informe Juventud en España* [Report on Spanish Youth] published by the Instituto de la Juventud (Injuve 2012):

– The drop in the independence of young people during the years of the crisis, with the logical result of economic dependence on parents. Spain is the European country in which most young people continue living with their parents (63.2 %).
– Unemployment and precarious labour conditions have increased significantly amongst young people. During the third quarter of 2012, the unemployment rate in Spain for people under the age of 25 stood at 54.1 %, compared with 23 % for the European Union. At present, according to the Survey on Active Population (EPA, first term 2015) carried out by the National Institute for Employment, among young people aged between 25 and 29, there are 880,800 unemployed; that is, 35.92 % of the active population; of those aged 30 to 34, 895,900 are unemployed; that is 27.63 %.
– The increase in the percentage of young people at secondary school or university, which has contributed to a decrease in the education drop-out rate. In the specific case of Spain, we have gone from 52.7 % of young people who had finished secondary education in 1992 to 61.7 % in 2011. However, Spain is among the countries with the lowest number of young people finishing secondary education compared with other countries, such as Finland (85.4 %) or Sweden (88.7 %). These data may be a sign of some weaknesses in the secondary education system in Spain in comparison with other countries where the drop-out rate is lower.
– The crisis has generated a strong wave of educated people migrating out of Spain. This has increased since 2005.

But how have young Spaniards reacted to this crisis situation and its consequences? In the *Informe Juventud en España* report we also find the following effects of the crisis on Spanish youth, and can see a certain impact in their subjective perceptions:

– The level of satisfaction with life in general has dropped.
– Their scale of values prioritizes more individual references or references to their private milieu.

- They are aware of a situation with clear social inequalities, especially regarding economic conditions.
- Most young people are disinterested in formal politics. Almost half admit to having participated recently in authorized demonstrations.
- Although the majority trusts the democratic system, there has been a rise in those opinions that justify other types of political systems.
- Their free-time activities mainly involve spending time in each others' company. The virtual world is a growth area and they are almost always connected to technologies for social relations.

This situation has led the different European institutions and leaders to take steps, both economic and educational, in the search for political coordination in the Euro-zone with the aim of strengthening social cohesion. The economic policies adopted are intended to correct the structural weaknesses of the European economy; it is hoped they will reduce unemployment, reform the financial markets or regulate the bad banks, for example. Among these steps is the Europe 2020 strategy, which each country must adapt to its particular situation. The objectives proposed referred to the following issues: access to funding for investigation and innovation which will generate growth and employment; improvement of the results of the education systems; a speed-up of the roll-out of high-speed Internet connections and a digital single market for households and firms; modernization of labour markets and promotion of people's abilities and, finally, combating poverty and social exclusion (EU Commission 2010).

This is a quandary causing disquiet due to its repercussions on the future of our youth. Several authors have warned of its consequences and the dangers to which they are exposed: insecurity and social exclusion (Williamson 2014); dissatisfaction with democracy (Campos and Martín 2015); the feeling of discontent towards the EU, which endangers European integration (Simsa 2015); the rise of fascism as a means of punishing the political system for its tough austerity policies (Koronaiou et al. 2015), or their receptiveness to radical and populist political agendas (Pilkington and Pollock 2015). We shall now discuss how these social phenomena have developed in Spain.

Social Phenomena

Within this framework we can see the levels of political abstention, the protests, the feelings of outrage, the racist movements and the anti-system radicals who have appeared among young people in Europe. Jover et al. (2014) elaborate on these subjective effects. They place particular emphasis on the 15 M movement – a reference to the public demonstrations on 15 May 2011,

first in Madrid and later in other capital cities such as London and New York. These were a symbol of citizen outrage and protest against government policies designed to tackle the economic crisis. To a certain extent, these movements live on in our society; they have even formed political parties such as *Podemos*, [We can] which arose from the aftermath of the Indignados movement against inequality and corruption in 2011. It is a left-wing populist party. On 25 May 2014, *Podemos* entered candidates for the 2014 European Parliament election, garnering with 7.98 % of the national vote and thus won 5 seats out of 54).

Etzioni (2014: 3) states that 'given their reactions, there is empirical support for the concern that austerity can lead to high levels of alienation'. He is, in fact, referring mostly to unemployed young people in the USA, but it is very likely that this diagnosis is valid for the current situation in Spain.

Back in 2006, Friedman remarked that growth correlates strongly with greater tolerance towards both immigrants and people of different ethnicities and religions, greater levels of charitable support being given to help the disadvantaged, and the fostering of democratic values and institutions. This statement might make us wonder whether, in times of economic crisis, reactions may simply be the opposite; to some extent, this is what is happening in Spain. We seem to be heading for a future that is quite undemocratic, with a major population group that has intolerant attitudes and behaviours, at both social and political levels. To slow down this trend and promote democratic attitudes and mindsets, special attention must be paid to training in the social and civic dimensions; that is, to educate in social and civic competence.

It is not irrelevant that, in the European area since the 1990s, university education has, ever more frequently, been referred to as 'higher education'. This is not mere coincidence; it responds to a special internationally felt sensibility that refers, in the university also, to the need to focus on the whole person, at every educational level and, therefore, to attend to the many and varied dimensions of human life and society.

Some authors have referred to this worldwide phenomenon as: the 'rise of civic-mindedness' (Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Kymlicka 2001). This awareness can be found in the area of sociology and psychology; it can also be found in the field of education (Callan 1997; Pearce and Hallgarten 2000; Sober and Wilson 1999; Putnam et al. 2003; Naval 2006). We must not forget that social networks have played an important role in the range and spread of these protests and social movements. In the information society, technology is presented as a means to open the doors to citizen

participation and, as such, it should be considered from the perspective of civic education.

The Information Society

Contemporary society is characterized by the phenomena of globalization and access to information, as well as by the impact of technologyl; these are phenomena which are very noteworthy in the area of education. Nowadays, it is common to find authors who affirm that media education is vital for citizenship in general, in a society where the mass media are a fundamental social institution (Guo-Ming 2007) and can play an important role in the development of critical thinking (Kubey 2003; Livingstone 2004). Thus, it may be said that media education is education for participation insofar as it prepares citizens, to some extent, to take part by fostering a critical sense in our present-day media-saturated society (Buckingham 2007; Thoman and Jolls 2004). We stress this context in particular because we believe that, in a modern society, processes of media literacy can favour social participation and the promotion of social and civic competence (Guo-Ming 2007; Buckingham 2007; Gonzálvez 2012). Additionally, in digital areas young people develop their experience of citizenship; a greater level of access to technology and digital literacy better prepares young people, with the result that they find employment more quickly (Consejo Económico y Social España 2011; Injuve 2012).

There have been many recent studies describing the increase in the use of social networks in general and, in particular, on their use by young people (e.g. Bringue y Sádaba 2009; Ofcom 2010, 2014; Smith et al. 2009, Sylvester and McGlynn 2009, Taylor and Keeter 2010). Other studies show the positive impact of these technologies have on democratic participation, especially when used in the defence of worthwhile causes; their potential for investigation and supporting the formation of one's own opinion on national or international issues; the bearing these technologies have on the promotion of associationism; and how there is a true sentiment or social influence which moves youngsters to continue participating online (UNESCO 2005; Kotilainen 2009; Lara y Naval 2012).

These studies help us to recognize the enormous potential these media have in fostering a community's feeling of belonging and socializing. Although there are no conclusive data, the research suggests that these technologies have a considerable influence on the development of civic commitment (cf. Boulianne 2009, Jenkins et al. 2009; Smith 2013).

Final Reflections: Implications for Education for Citizenship and Future Research

The three social issues mentioned further reflections and opportunities as to how civic education and the research lines in this field should be carried out. We believe that, in order to increase the civic participation which is so lacking in our democratic societies, together with the social commitment and cooperation which imply greater consolidation than participation, proper development of sociability is needed at different levels of maturity (Naval 2009).

We have referred to the negative consequences the economic crisis has had on the work prospects for young people, among other things. In view of this situation, the systems of education in some European countries, to a greater or lesser extent, have been restructured to adapt education to the requirements of the labour market. Whatever the case, there is evidence that the formal schooling of young Europeans at different educational levels has increased in the past three decades. The data appeared to confirm that the economic crisis has had a positive effect on the reduction of the school drop-out rate, as many young people facing the shortage of job prospects have decided to return to or stay in education (Injuve 2012). There is no doubt that this is an opportunity to offer young people at every level of education not only the preparation needed for work, but also the intellectual, emotional and attitudinal grounding they need to deal with and participate in life in society. Only the internalization of knowledge, attitudes and values can result in tolerant, supportive and respectful behaviour with positive social results.

Education professionals and researchers wonder how to tackle the outrage that is shown by the public. How can this social discontent among young people – and the more mature – be overcome in the social and political situation in which we find ourselves? There are many possible answers at many levels, including the political, social, economic, local, global, family and educational. Here, we will focus on some general educational-social principles which can successfully be put into practice in higher education, although they do imply running certain risks. We suggest three procedures for action and for future research which may respond to these questions (cf. Etzioni 2014):

1. First, promotion of reciprocation (the contentment of mutuality). That is to say, an attempt to base human relations on the reciprocity implied in giving and receiving in one and the same act. 'Several researchers have concluded that human relationships and connections of all kinds contribute more to happiness than anything else' (Bok 2010). Along the same lines,

we must point out that there is evidence that 'adults who feel socially isolated are also characterized by higher levels of anxiety, negative mood, dejection, hostility, fear of negative evaluation, and perceived stress, and by lower levels of optimism, happiness, and life satisfaction' (Cacioppo and Hawkley 2003).

2. A second suggestion in response to this crisis is the promotion of Community Involvement. A study carried out over 10 years ago in 49 countries concluded that membership in organizations has a significant positive correlation with happiness (Helliwell 2003). Bock went further when he stated that 'some researchers have found that merely attending monthly club meetings or volunteering once a month is associated with a change in well-being equivalent to a doubling of income' (Bok 2010: 20). Moreover, it is common that those who dedicate more time to volunteer or community services are more content with their lives (Bok 2010, p. 22). In fact, something similar to what occurs to those who are most committed to varied social participation should occur to those who are involved in politics, in political participation, although this is not always so. Research has found that adolescents who have greater commitment to contributing to society or pursuing some meaningful end have positive experiences of greater depth and intensity than their less politically engaged peers (Magen 1996, Etzioni 2014). This fostering of social participation to which we have referred brings to mind Putnam's notion of social capital (1995), although many authors are critical of this perspective (Bourdieu 1986).

3. Finally, a third procedure to be explored would be the encouragement of transcendental pursuits (spiritual and intellectual). That is to say, avoiding education with merely utilitarian or pragmatist ends by searching for personal fulfilment. Education should endeavour to encourage human beings who are capable of living a fuller life.

These three elements may contribute to sustainability and the achievement of greater levels of social justice. 'History has shown that people can find a meaningful and rich life without consumerism, referencing not a life of poverty, but one which caps consumption allowing the surplus resources to shift to other pursuits, […] that are neither labour nor capital intensive – that is environmentally friendly, sustainable, and supportive of social justice' (Etzioni 2014, p. 17).

We appreciate that trying to develop good citizens, with well-rooted personal and social virtues and enough initiative to become involved in the needs of their social surroundings, is an extremely ambitious task which is affected by other factors apart from education. In the information society,

characterized by globalization, we must not ignore the potential of information and communication technologies in this field. The concept of media citizenship, which has been present since the 1980s in the world of communications, has emerged compellingly in the world of education. The technical media and access to information are two vital realities in a democratic society and can contribute to strengthening media citizenship. This demands the promotion of media education by tackling the social aspect of the use of these technologies, as, undoubtedly, communication technology favours the civic participation of young people (Gonzálvez 2011) – or, at least, offers them the opportunity to do so. We could say that the key to civic participation lies in each individual and therefore in their education for social participation, which demands a set of organizational conditions which translate into projects or initiatives which favour it.

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29

Citizenship Education and the Colonial Contract: The Elusive Search for Social Justice in US Education

Zeus Leonardo and Maliheh M. Vafai

Introduction

In this chapter, we engage with definitions of citizenship and civics education within the US context. Starting with reflections on the conditions of 'coloniality', we interrogate the role of a colonial state apparatus that takes on the task of educating the 'citizens' whose humanity is under constant scrutiny. We then expand on what we conceptualize as two phases of the Americanization movement presented by models of language and civic education as vehicles for socio-economic and political socialization. Socialization is different from education insofar as the first is a normative and usually nation-building project of creating 'specimens' of the category 'human', whereas the second is the openness to particular iterations of the human that appear before us (Biesta 2010). Against the backdrop of industrialization, its demand for human labour, and the racial dynamics of the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, we consider the formative developments in education during the progressive period that targeted the creation of a citizen/worker subject with certain 'desirable' qualities. We then contrast this trend with the current US trajectory within neoliberal capitalism and its concomitant civics education that attends to a new process of subject-making. In short, neoliberal Americanization is not just a new philosophy or economic policy but, rather, the invention of a new human under the regime of market fundamentalism (Harvey 2005).

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Its panacea is evident in its belief in a market solution and dismantling state intervention for all aspects of social life, including education. Our analysis of the second phase of Americanization is grounded in the facts surrounding the emergence of an intensified form of capitalism that builds on past patterns of group marginalization in search of restoring class power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. This would have been enough but neoliberalism partners with laissez-faire racism (Bobo and Smith 1998; Leonardo and Tran 2013) to create a formidable *raceclass* architecture that requires an equally integrated theory that takes into account race and class relations (see Leonardo 2012).

Compared with many countries around the world, the USA is a young nation with a unique history. This rather short but complex history is characterized by the establishment of a Euro-American settler society in the early seventeenth century[1] that declared independence from Europe a century later and subsequently went on to become the centre of the world's economy (Fredrickson 1997; Janeiwski 1995). Perhaps it is due to this swift transformation from a small colonial project to a powerful nation-state that many either avoid considering its origin as a settler colony, or, as Razack (2002) states, 'deny the European conquest and colonization through the fantasy that North America was peacefully settled and not colonized' (p. 2). In a moment of historical amnesia, the USA is regarded as an exception to the rule. However, the fact is that establishing North American societies, particularly with regard to the USA, took place through territorial occupation, dispossession and elimination of indigenous people, as well as the continuing legitimation of settler sovereignty by force. All these patterns fit existing criteria defining the very concept of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006; Veracini 2011). Although the suggestion that the USA still functions under colonial rules is under contention, the issue is far from settled.

In what follows, we present the challenges to social justice and citizenship education in the USA by recalling its constitutive state of colonialism, a process that premises citizenship with colonial understandings of the 'human'. We ground our analysis in the history of colonialism and the continuing 'coloniality' that structure students' experiences with schooling (Quijano 2000; Grosfoguel 2007; Maldonado-Torres 2007; Mignolo 2003; Lugones 2007; Villenas 2010). In other words, *settler education* dominates – in some cases, over-determines – the figure of the citizen in a context where the colonizer and colonized (Memmi 1965) are in a state of perpetual war over the constitution of what it means to be human in a colonial context. So, whereas the colonized

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[1] Based on the facts of the Jamestown settlement, often called 'the first permanent English settlement' (see nationalhumanitiescenter.org).

subject may establish or achieve a modicum of rights, his humanity remains in question (see Mills 1997). To Mills, whereas some people are humans, others are reduced to humanoids. In other words, although it goes without saying that colonized people are *homo sapiens*; this is different from being human.

The Colonial Contract and Citizenship in the Colonial State

From the Enlightenment and on, the human was a Western, humanist invention wherein only Europeans were considered properly human, often invoking definitions of the human even as they attempt to eliminate whole populations or societies of people (see Mills 1997). According to Levinas and reminiscent of Heidegger, it seems humanism was not humane enough (Biesta 2010: 292). A radical separation ensued with the invention of the human, which is parasitic on the non- or sub-human other. Therefore, an education appropriate to his or her social standing becomes the injury befitting this wretched condition (Fanon 2005, 2008; cf. Tuck and Yang 2012; Macedo 2000). In the case of Native Americans, the ironic cruelties are all too obvious; they face exile on their own land and territory, targeted by boarding schools that aimed to excise the Indian while retaining the human. In another ironic twist, many White Americans pronounce themselves 'natives' of states such as California after several generations of settlement (see Pérez Huber 2009). Colonial education becomes the cultural justification for materializing the human to the detriment of already existing people who must now be brought in line with a newfound humanitas (see Osamu 2006).

For those who were forced and whose descendants (e.g. African-Americans) are racially marked, citizenship status is conditional and heavily regulated. Although African-Americans fought and gained the right to vote, although they are considered legal or bureaucratic citizens, their racial standing prevents their entitlement to full rights, as in the rash of police and would-be police (e.g. Florida's George Zimmerman) shootings. Although young Black men are more likely statistically to be targets of violence perpetrated by other men of colour, the publicizing of police shootings of young Black men in the USA implicates the racialized nation state (Bonilla-Silva 2005) whose repressive state apparatuses (Althusser 1971) take on a racial form (see Leonardo 2010a). Put another way: Black men and, in some cases, Black women become disposable within the purview of a sanctioned state violence when lethal force is conceived as sufficient and necessary in order to control them. Althusser's description of the interpellation process – exemplified in the police officer's

hailing of a citizen in the middle of the street – takes on a literal meaning for Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, the former professional tennis player James Blake, and countless young Blacks – in some cases fatal. For Blacks, turning around to the hail is not only the moment of subjectification where they are recognized as citizens by the racialized nation state, it is also the moment of de-subjectification. This instance emphasizes the double process of citizen creation: becoming a citizen subject and suffering subjection by virtue of becoming a subject of the racialized state. Several other issues related to these shooting events are worth discussing.

In the lives of some young Black men, the police motto of 'protecting its citizens' does not apply. As mentioned, although Black-on-Black crime is more likely to claim the lives of Black youth, itself a product of racialized processes, it is important to analyze the role of the state in sanctioning violence against a portion of its population as forms of social control. When a state-badged police visits excessive force on Black youth – who, while not always innocent, suffer incommensurate punishment for their transgressions – it confirms the suspicion that the US government does not protect Black interests. That is, although Blacks may be recognized as citizens on the most commonsensical level, *they cannot depend on their citizen's rights being protected*. Just as Blacks use the law to assert their full rights as citizens, history suggests that their legal right to vote, reasonable expectations for due process, and equal protection under the law may be revoked or subverted at the whims of Whiteness.

What Weber (1978) once called the state's monopoly over the use of legitimate force must be revised as the logical conclusion of arming the White state against its Black population – here, conceived as sub-persons and therefore deserving of a sub-education. It is not difficult to see that a racial system that considers Blacks as eradicable also constructs them as uneducable (Leonardo 2013, 2015). We must conclude that all the ambitious curricula that value the promotion of global citizenship do not apply to Black students whose membership in national citizenship has not been ratified (see Banks 2004). For them, Althusser's (1971) assertion that schools function through ideology first and repression second must be modified. In fact, Black students may experience public schools (what Althusser calls an 'ideological state apparatus', or ISA) as places of repression. More in line with Althusser's description of repressive state apparatuses (RSAs) (e.g. the military or police), schools discipline and punish (Foucault's phrase) the Black body into submission. From higher rates of suspension and other disciplinary actions, Black children (and here we must remind ourselves that they are, indeed, children) suffer harsh consequences for similar behaviours committed by their White counterparts. Whereas White children's actions are re-routed through roman-

tic notions of childhood, Black children's transgressions are criminalized and adultified, imputed with conscious intent and malice. From Ann Ferguson (2001) to Ferguson, Missouri, Black children are considered either endangered or dangerous, confirmed by Michael Brown's death. This tragic event kicked off the Black Lives Matter movement, a performative that should go without saying but whose annunciation becomes a form of defiance to assert what it means to matter in a society that considers one's existence – let alone one's citizenship – immaterial (see Butler's interview with Yancy (Yancy and Butler 2015)). It is ultimately unclear whether schools function as an ISA or RSA for Black children – or, at least, it is discomfiting to be unable to tell if ideology or repression is primarily responsible for their educational plight.

And still, for others who enter the US borders more or less voluntarily, a colonial structure awaits them as subjects who assume their place within the colonial differential. In some cases, as with Mexicans who are accused of illegally traversing the border, the US border instead crossed Mexico and public schooling on American soil represents the continuation – this time in the cultural realm (see Valenzuela 1999) – of the structural injury suffered through both war (i.e. take-over) and peace (i.e. treaties). In all, the coloniality of being, as Maldonado-Torres (2007) might call it, becomes the daily condition even in the absence of official colonial policy. In this situation, Mexican students may achieve legal citizenship (always tenuous) while being withheld cultural citizenship (Rosaldo 1997). In the *Hernandez* v. *Texas* case of 1954, a Mexican-American accused of murder complained that an all-White jury convicted him, therefore violating his rights to be tried by a jury of his peers. The judge reminded Hernandez that Mexicans in the USA were legally White and, thus, an all-White jury did not violate his citizen rights (see Martinez 1997). At the caprice of Whiteness without impunity and with the protection of the law, citizenship may be used against non-Whites when it serves Whites. In education, this Janus-faced citizenship is made clear by assaults on Ethnic Studies in K-12 and higher education in states such as Arizona, despite evidence of Mexican student increase in achievement at schools that promote their history.

Education as a Colonial State Apparatus

Cabrera et al. (2014) document the demise of Mexican-American Studies (MAS) schools in Tucson, Arizona. By many standard measures of attainment, Mexican or Chicano students are succeeding in experimental schools that teach alternative content, foster Critically Compassionate Intellectualism, and are guided

by a Freirean pedagogy of racial uplift. Although the authors do not ultimately form a causal argument between a change in curriculum and the transformative change experienced by the students, it seems illogical to dismantle schools that promote success for a group about which mainstream US culture complains; it shows a lack of interest by the USA in its own education. Adding insult to injury, MAS is discredited (and, here again, the racialized nation state is implicated) by official state administration claiming its schools are exclusionary, particularist and against universal (read: post-racial) national interests. Although it is too early to tell what Arizona's example bodes for the future and since several cities in large, influential states, including California, have responded by instituting Ethnic Studies requirements in high schools, it is reasonable to add another layer to the debate around citizenship to include 'intellectual citizenship'.

Here, we use 'intellectuals' in the Gramscian sense (Gramsci 1971) which puts less premium on people's vocation and more on their social function. Gramsci's re-articulation of the intellectual has been fruitful in re-imagining the role of intellectuals by transcending traditional notions formerly attached to philosophers and similar functionaries in society. To Gramsci, all people are potentially intellectuals, insofar as they understand the centrality of a philosophy of praxis in forging of a new hegemony. In Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) interpretation of Gramsci's work, hegemony becomes a necessary condition insofar as there is no social formation without some form of hegemony that makes sociality intelligible through common sense. If this is correct, a society that understands itself as beyond hegemony is, then, the most hegemonic of all mindsets (see also Williams 1977). Hegemony is sedimented at the level of the unconscious and misrecognizes itself as such.

In Cabrera et al.'s (2014) findings, the MAS in Arizona cultivates in students a sensibility for intellectual work that exceeds school work. To Gramsci's insights on the intellectual, they add the role of the citizen who is not reduced to a documented subject but, rather, is someone who functions as part of a citizenship bloc to expose the limitations of bureaucratic citizenship as a form of paper trail. Although the struggles of undocumented people to be included in the bureaucratic state should not be minimized, neither should attaining citizenship rights be conflated with national belonging as there are many ways to marginalize Latinos, documented or undocumented. In fact, this forging of an educated, rather than socialized, citizenry is considered threatening within a nativist ideology, giving rise to violence in the name of protecting the state, such as militarizing the border between the USA and Mexico (see Biesta, on the difference between schooling's education function vs. its socialization function, 2010). As intellectual citizens, students in MAS expose the true nature of the colonial state by exposing the propensity of the educational

apparatus to eradicate minority culture through education: in short, *cultural eraducation* (Leonardo 2010b).

In light of the case in Arizona, it is reasonable to ask whether or not the colonial state is interested in educating Mexican and Latino youth. As the movie series *Chicano* – particularly Part IV – points out, Mexican-Americans have long been victims of a US educational system that caters to the bottom line of reproducing the division of labour. From the struggles to establish strong forms of bilingualism (Bartolome and Macedo 2001), to respecting Mexican culture in schools (Valenzuela 1999), to cultivating Latino family involvement (Moll and Gonzalez 2004), it is more accurate to claim that schools are 'succeeding' rather than 'failing' in their design when it comes to educating Latino, particularly Mexican, children. That is, when the pattern of school failure is relatively clear, it is reasonable to surmise that schools are, in fact, succeeding in their disregard for Latinos.

Although administrative colonialism, by and large, has been dismantled globally, citizenship education cannot underestimate the culturo-structural condition that remains in place even after the fall of official colonialism. That is, the centuries of social and psychological damage that colonialism visited on the colonized are not undone by virtue of the colonizers' divestment in the colonies. In fact, their departure – absent of investment in the colonies, ravaged as they are by colonial rule – exacerbates the material dispossession experienced by the colonized who, in large measure, must now go it alone as part of their national liberation. De-colonization may be preferable to administrative colonialism but, absent of other structural conditions, including appropriate resources devoted to education, a de-colonized state hardly presents itself as a thriving condition. In a developed Western nation such as the USA, where the colonizer stayed, other complexifying features admittedly present themselves in the education of 'citizens' whose humanity is either under scrutiny or erasure. These qualified citizens face pressures to assimilate into 'American' or Euro-White culture, or suffer cultural extermination. Either process involves violence.

The Americanization Project 2.1: 100 Percent Americanism and the Myth of American Exceptionalism

It is worthwhile remembering that, since the inception of the common school during the middle of the nineteenth century, education has served the function of assimilation. As a wave of new immigrants from Southern and Eastern

Europe stepped onto US soil, assimilating those who were not high-status and influential White Americans of English Protestant ancestry (informally identified as non-WASPs) (see Collins 1979) into American culture was the ideological process that complemented their entrance into relations of production, or the material process. In other words, US schools are sorting mechanisms as much as they are the 'great equalizer' (see Spring 1991; Oakes 2005). The Americanization movement during the early decades of the 1900s provides an historical example of a US attempt to incorporate eastern and southern Europeans into an American citizenship controlled by White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPS). Part of this process is the ability of White ethnics to ascend into Whiteness (see Roediger 2006). In this, schools were a powerful mechanism through which to assimilate previously 'off-White' Whites, recruiting curriculum setting and struggles as a formidable battleground in order to win the consent of questionable but redeemable immigrant White subjects (see Apple 2004).

Through what Gramsci (1971) understands as a war of position, schools become an ideological mechanism whereby hegemony is won without much bloodshed as part of the earthworks of civil institutions that constitute the citizen. We also argue below that, as we turn the corner into the twenty-first century, a second Americanization movement is under way, this time targeting a mostly non-White student population. When compared with the Slavs, Irish and Italians of the first Americanization campaign, Latinos, Asians and Africans in the new millennium arrive with a different US contact and racial contract in place.

Settler societies, such as the USA, are places where the dominant group is made up of diverse immigrants from sending countries, who have come to settle in the host country for the purpose of improving their political, economic and social status. Although not known as a de-colonial critic, Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory (Ogbu and Simons 1998) makes a useful distinction between the majority/minority immigrants on the basis of power relationships between groups, rather than their assignation through numerical representation. Based on Ogbu's ethnographies, the theory distinguishes between voluntary and involuntary immigration and explains that, in the USA, there are often two kinds of minorities: those who have come to settle for the same reason as the dominant group (e.g. other European, Asian, or Latino immigrants) and those who have been incorporated into society against their will. This latter group includes the population who have been conquered, colonized or enslaved (e.g. American-Indians, early Mexican-Americans in the southwest or African slaves and their descendants). In the course of US history, minorities often have been ascribed identities not only through phe-

notype, but also due to other factors that mark them as different – such as nation, ethnicity, religion, and so forth. Such identity construction processes have clearly shaped and been shaped by past power relations, laying the foundations for the current racial, political and socio-economic landscape that is structured by inequalities among social groups.

Within the dynamic of power relations and linked to the ongoing politics of immigrant incorporation into American citizenship, the notion of social control takes centre stage. This is true of both cycles of the Americanization movement we address in this chapter. One prominent aspect of the assimilation ideology represented in the mission of language and civic education efforts and propounded by early Americanizers was its paradoxical master narrative. On one hand, it operated under a general faith in the natural, inevitable melting of many people into one (Crevecoeur 1782); a belief that the US represents a nation of immigrants and offers shelter as well as democracy and freedom. Emma Lazarus' famous saying, "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" (cited in Higham 2008: 23), elegantly captured the asylum theory and the dream of an American refuge that struck real fire. This process gives some the licence to declare American exceptionalism, or the special character of the USA as a uniquely free nation based on democratic ideals and personal liberty for all its citizens.

On the other hand, the assimilation ideology sought to push the immigrant towards conformity to a specific, and perhaps fictive, norm that contradicted the very ideals of democracy and freedom (Gerstle 1997). Hartmann (1948) used the advent of World War I to mark a distinction between Americanization as a 'positive programme' of education to meet the 'problem' of immigration (before the War) and a 'negative', fearful and coercive focus on Americanization initiatives (during and after the War). But most scholarly works about this period in the history of the USA have described these two opposite strands as overlapping within the Americanization phenomenon: a liberal democratic movement driven by Progressives emphasizing cohesion and integration. In addition, a nativist drive insisted on an impervious demand for 'one-mindedness' and '100 percent Americanism' (Curti 1946; Hartmann 1948; Higham 2008; Barrett 1992; Gerstle 1997). For instance, Higham (2008, first published in 1955) depicts the two opposing attitudes driven by love, on one hand, and fear, on the other; one by a humanitarian faith in adaptation, change and preaching the doctrine of immigrant gifts, the other by rejection and opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e. un-American) connections. He states that 'within the crusade for Americanization the struggle between nativistic and democratic instincts persisted' (Higham 2008: 235).

Specific to the US case is also the feature that its settler colonialism was a process driven by capitalist impulses with all the wealth disparities and violence that it produced. US economic performance took place alongside a continuum starting with land expropriation and plantation developments that provided raw material and paved the way for industrial capitalism, the waged labour system, and, later, global capitalism (see Beckert 2014, for a global perspective of the expansion of trade dominated by slave labour). Pursuant to the industrial developments in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuriesy and the demand for labour to maintain and advance the existing infrastructure, new immigrants were needed and encouraged to join the previous group of newcomers. As such, between 1880 and 1920, the US experienced a cresting wave of immigration as more than 20 million settlers – mostly from Central, Eastern and Southern Europe – entered the land (Hartmann 1948; Higham 2008). As with their predecessors, this group sought American citizenship and, along with it, their share of economic opportunities. But as Goldman (1977) describes, 'many of the older settlers feeling crowded and cornered, had little welcome for any newcomers, and every prejudice in the American collection was roused by immigrants who were predominantly impoverished and unskilled, short and dark in appearance, Catholic or Jewish in religion' (p. 29).

Likewise, Higham (2008) follows the movement of American nativism during this period. Defined as 'intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., un-American) connections' (Higham 2008: 4), the first phase of Americanization becomes a policy for creating the ideal citizen. Higham's tightly knit narrative relates the distinct ebbs and flows of the 'public opinion' to a range of phenomena including political pressures, social organization and economic changes of the time. The study contains vivid descriptions of developments and circumstances that aroused nativist sentiments. For instance, it exposes the fact that Slavic coal miners' sporadic but increasing involvement in labour unrest fed into the public impression of them simply as 'foreigners par excellence: uncivilized, unruly and dangerous […] [who] fill up with liquor and can't be reasoned with' (Higham 2008: 89). At one point, after a deadly walkout that involved a group of Polish and Hungarian strikers, the *New York Tribune* reports the following:

> The sheriff, a former mine foreman, explained that the crowd consisted of 'infuriated foreigners […] like wild beasts.' Other mine foremen agreed that if the strikers had been American-born no blood would have flowed. (Cited in Higham 2008: 90)

Rooted in similar conditions, hatred flared against other groups in rather similar ways. Most of it consisted of general anti-foreign attitudes refracted through specific national stereotypes. Consequently, as members of specific communities, these immigrants came to be known as 'greedy Jews', 'blood thirsty Italians', 'furious Huns', and so forth.

Faced with industrialization and alarmed at the breakdown in the once accepted economic order at the turn of the twentieth century Americans were also growing fearful of a breakdown in the established 'moral' order and the prospect that the newcomers were unable to assimilate fully into American culture and citizenship. Such attitudes represented significant tensions that gave rise to major developments in the progressive era. Against the landscape of cultural discrimination marked by a dualistic confidence in the fluid character of ethnic groups and a dire need for human labour during industrialization, early twentieth-century Americans relied on common schools to forge ethnic unity (Apple 2004). Special night school classes in English and civics for foreigners were part of this project. In fact, seen in this light and based on the tendencies of this period, *all* schooling was education for citizenship. This meant that the educational leaders of the time had the dual goal of: (1) integrating masses of new workers – many of whom were immigrants – into the waged labour system (Korman 1965; Bowles and Gintis 2011; Apple 2004); and (2) assimilating the new immigrants to the ways of surviving in the new industrial society and to the established WASP standards set by a dominant group of northern European settlers (Tyack 1993; McClymer 1991; Carlson 1975). This group determined what constituted American identity and citizenship.

The end goal of citizenship education was to exert social control through a process of subject-making that teaches the immigrant how to conform to existing rules in order to achieve American identity. As social control is, in itself, not necessarily objectionable (Apple 2004), the key lies in the goals of certain forms of control practised in schools. For instance, Americanization classes, sponsored by the YMCA, were initially held at factory sites. Korman (1965) documents that, after 1900, more systematic safety, health and welfare programmes were introduced by companies such as Illinois Steel, Allis-Chalmers and International Harvester. Methods and materials for such programmes were often specifically designed to cope with the many languages and the alleged cultural and mental limitations of semi-skilled and unskilled workers from Eastern and Southern Europe (Meyer 1980; Gonzalez 1991; Barrett 1992). Thus, 'classes concerned themselves primarily with only one sphere of the immigrant's surrounding: factory life' (Korman 1967, p. 404).

But beyond the specific factory concepts and skills, the Americanizers had the goal of instilling the ways, norms and dispositions that facilitated

workers' adaptation to the American way of life. Carlson (1970, 1975) chronicles a very negative and coercive attitude that took hold among the Americanizers, including those in charge of curriculum design for English learners. One such case was inspired by John Commons, a political economist who, in 1907, emphasized the need to educate the immigrant and who distinguished between 'amalgamation (creation of a common racial stock) and assimilation (a union of minds and wills enabling common life and action)' (1970; 447). Commons' thinking soon began to find expression at the actional level. By 1912, the goal of national 'one-mindedness' replaced the original social service motivation behind the YMCA's Americanization programmes: 'The association's 1912 handbook warned that "America seems to be the melting pot for all nations of the world but unless it really succeeds in melting, fusing and creating a more or less harmonized constituency – Christian American nation – the chaotic mixture may destroy the melting pot"' (cited in Carlson 1970: 457). The following excerpt from the handbook is worth quoting at length:

> YMCA complained that the New Immigration was replacing the 'wholesome, earnest, faithful citizens and nation builders' from England, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia with 'masses of suspicious, clannish people from southern and southeastern Europe' who had 'foreignized' the centers of congested American cities. (30). It warned that 'unless we can assimilate, develop, train and make good citizens out of them, they are certain to make ignorant, suspicious and un-Americanized citizens out of us. Unless we Americanize them, they will foreignize us (p. 31)'. And the YMCA assisted in the effort to assimilate or homogenize the immigrant into American society by providing classes in in English and citizenship. (Carlson 1970: 176)

Most notable in this passage is a commonsensical understanding of the need for foreigners to leave behind their cultural traditions in order to embrace a vague American identity. It denotes a clear absence of a well-defined implication of the ideology of 'Americanism', which confirms Hartmann's (1948) claim that a lack of definition underscored a common cultural identity shared by reformers and their audience, whereby the values of Americanism were taken for granted as self-evident norms.

A critical point here is that 'self-evident' in this instance was a quality that rendered the values 'unmarked', putting in motion a process of 'othering' whereby foreigners' identities were constructed and marked by their differences. The result was a 'devaluing' of immigrants' values, and the construction of their individual and collective identities, which, once essentialized, became ossified in collective thought. In 1955, Higham eloquently explained

that 'Nativism as a habit of mind illuminates darkly some of the large contours of the American past: it has mirrored our anxieties and marked out the bounds of our tolerance' (p. xi). In the epilogue to the new edition of his book, while acknowledging a change in American society on issues of race, national identity and nativism, Higham pointed to the continuities and observed that 'an acrid odor of the 1920s is again in the air. It rises from vast fortunes accumulating […]; from a grasping individualism […]; from a growing demand for immigration restriction; and a deadlock in race relations' (p. 332). This insight also finds its more recent expression in Samuel Huntington's (2006) observation claiming that 'culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post-Cold War world' (p. 20). It is worth noting, however, that, alongside these developments, the notions of a meritocracy and the ideology of American exceptionalism show their continuing relevance to contemporary American debates over the nation's values, traditions and political practice.

The Americanization Project 2.2: When American Exceptionalism Meets Global Neoliberalism

To return to the earlier point about 'social control', one needs to recognize a fundamental shift in the social, political and economic organizations of the twenty-first century around the globe. In the USA, the prevailing view today is of a world with a global knowledge-based economy where countries such as India, Korea and China are able to join the supply chain for services and manufacturing and, hence, compete for the jobs of the twenty-first century (Champy 2005; Friedman 2007; Goldin and Katz 2008; Cowen 2013). While human capital perspectives continue to frame the dominant discourses of assimilation to the 'mainstream norm', this norm is being redefined to fit the model of a flexible, rational and responsible citizenry that takes control of its own education and workforce training (Lambeir 2005; Olssen 2006). Neoliberal capitalism, also known as 'financial capitalism' (Peet 2011) is broadly defined by a strong faith in perfectly efficient markets, perfectly rational actors, privatization and deregulation (Harvey 2005); it appears that the need for the exertion of power 'from above' to control masses of citizen workers has turned into a demand for promoting an individualized sense of control 'from within' (Olssen 2006; Lemke 2001). This tilt in the mode of control is necessary to facilitate transition from a Fordist economic discipline of the earlier periods to the post-Fordist era of global capitalist development.

Neoliberalism's reach into other corners of the globe established it as a mode of discourse and cultural logic (Harvey 2005; Evans and Sewell 2013). Read (2009) observes that 'neoliberalism' is 'as much a transformation *in* ideology as it is *of* ideology' (p. 26; emphasis in original). Drawing on Foucault, Read (2009) argues that a critical examination of neoliberalism must address the transformation of its discursive deployment as a new understanding of human nature and social existence, rather than solely a new political paradigm. This transformation *of* ideology is salient in the language and civic education of new immigrants of colour, many of whom are presumed to fill the future service sector labour force demands in the current economic landscape (Wright and Dwyer 2003; Suarez-Orozco and Sattin 2007).

Foucault characterizes neoliberalism as a new mode of 'governmentality', a manner or a mentality in which people are governed and yet govern themselves.[2] 'Entrepreneurs of themselves' is the operative phrase he uses to describe his formulations. He also speaks of the penetration of the logic of the economic efficiency[3] into the realm of the personal life through an emphasis on themes such as self-improvement, entrepreneurship and flexibility. It is this aspect of neoliberal ideology and its intersection with the discourses of lifelong learning, life skills (read: consumer economics) and civic education, and personhood that defines the second phase of Americanization. Giroux and Searles Giroux (2004) and Giroux (2010) are relevant in this regard when they assert that 'faith in social amelioration and a sustainable future appears to be in short supply as neoliberal capitalism performs the dual task of using education to train workers for service sector jobs and produce lifelong consumers' (2004: 22).

Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' is useful in our discussion of what it means to be a good citizen as it provides a powerful analytical instrument for understanding developments connected to education, specifically as it relates to the new iterations of the discourse of lifelong learning, what Lambeir (2005) describes as 'permanent education' becoming a new kind of technology for control. According to Lambeir (2005), 'learning now is the constant striving for extra competencies, and the efficient management of the acquired ones' (p. 349). Olssen (2006) builds on Lambeir's argument, to conclude that:

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[2] In developing the concept, Foucault was inspired by Max Weber's work. As Lemke (2001) explains, 'Weber was important for having shifted Marx's problem of the contradictory logic of Capitalism onto a level where he discussed it as the irrational rationality of the capitalist society' (p. 192).

[3] By itself, economic efficiency is not a concept or value particular to neoliberal thinking. But placing it on par with humanistic and social values is.

ultimately lifelong learning shifts responsibility from the system to the individual whereby individuals are responsible for self-emancipation and self-creation. It is the discourse of autonomous and independent individuals who are responsible for updating their skills in order to achieve their place in society. (p. 225)

Lifelong learning, in this sense, becomes an overarching policy strategy for the development of citizenship, social cohesion, employment and individual fulfilment. Olssen (2006) thus contends that Foucault's conception of governmentality 'provides a means of understanding how educational and economic practices mutually condition and adapt to each other' (p. 214).

Foucault aimed to understand the nature of governmental rationalities linked to specific technologies in terms of how collective power was exercised over individuals. Foucault (1982) writes:

'How', not in the sense of 'How does it manifest itself?' but 'By what means is it exercised?' and 'What happens when individuals exert (as they say) power over others?' (p. 217)

This is what he meant by government, which refers to a form of activity aimed to guide and shape individual or group conduct. But the nature of the key word 'conduct' pertains to power relations and, thus, issues of control. It pertains to directing others' conduct either through coercion, which at times could mean by strict means, and/or by 'a way of behaving within a more or less open field of possibilities' (Foucault 1982: 220–221). Hence, he writes, 'the exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome' (Foucault 1982: 221). And this is what makes the issue of power 'less a confrontation between two adversaries […] than a question of government' (Foucault 1982: 221). Therefore 'governmentality' comes to mean 'structures of power by which conduct is organized and by which governance is aligned with the self-organizing capacities of individual subjects' (Olssen 2006: 216).

For Foucault, questions of power are also always connected to questions of knowledge. In fact, he uses the two terms together (i.e. power/knowledge) to delineate a historical, discursive process through which power is rationalized by individuals and the collective. He describes taxonomies and practices of classification that develop over decades and centuries. According to him, it is over time, space and through different historical modalities that certain formations of power/knowledge come to be taken for granted as 'regimes of truth' (see also Gur-Ze'ev 1998). One of these historically situated formations is neoliberal rationality in contemporary times and its relevance to a style of

language and civic education as one model of governing individuals in their relation to the collective. The development of self-managerial skills and cultivation of dispositions in line with them are, indeed, slow discursive processes that take place at the micro-level of everyday socialization, but they build on the immigrant language learners' optimism and faith in a meritocracy – what Lopez (2015) has labelled more recently as 'enduring narratives of immigration' (p. 101). Drawing on Ullman's (2012) study of Mexican migrants, Lopez (2015) maintains that:

> Neoliberalism has reworked the notions of the American Dream through its emphasis on monetary success, personal responsibility, entrepreneurship, and flexibility. The Neoliberal American Dream is not concerned with questions of cultural assimilation, social integration, or civic participation, as the public sphere and collective action are not part of the neoliberal equation for personal success and accumulation of wealth. (p. 108)

It seems reasonable to argue that in, the absence of substantive and critical interrogation of barriers to achievement, the resulting long-term effect of the neoliberal approach to civics education entails an illusory sense of personal power and individual responsibility that can ultimately limit one's ability to question the role of larger structural constraints, let alone participate in collective activities to confront them. Of course, this can become a crisis for democracy and social justice in a general sense (Giroux 2014) as the notion of 'personal success' defined by the accumulation of wealth becomes the singular concern for the calculating entrepreneurs of the self.

While fulfilling the labour need for the employers, the neoliberal trend constrains the individual's long-standing ambitions by the lure of shorter-term solutions. Lipman (2011) and others have asserted that neoliberalism 'redefines democracy as choice in the marketplace and freedom as personal freedom to consume' (p. 10). To update Marx's original formulation of *homo economicus*, we have evidence for the transformation of *homo consumerus*. In the final analysis, immigrant learners are encouraged to think along the lines of efficiency models and the neoliberal cost/benefit paradigm (Lemke 2001) that normatively constructs and interpellates them as entrepreneurial actors with a strong sense of freedom and the responsibility that comes with it. Under such circumstances, celebrated notions of promoting students' 'critical thinking' and 'problem solving' skills simply become tools in the hands of the powerful few who dictate the curricula to impose further the banking or transmission theory of school knowledge and provide a sorting device to reproduce inequalities (Freire 1993; Aronowitz 1998). What is missing is

imagining new ways of posing questions and solving the problems critically. Through what Giroux (2013) calls a 'politics of disimagination', new iterations of civics education assure that the students' point of reference remains fixed on market solutions for social problems and the cost/benefit framework that the neoliberal economic rationality dictates. In Giroux's words, under such circumstances:

> [not] only have the points of reference that provided a sense of certainty and collective hope in the past largely evaporated, but the only referents available are increasingly supplied by a hyper-market-driven society, megacorporations and a corrupt financial service industry. The commanding economic and cultural institutions of American society have taken on what David Theo Goldberg calls a 'militarizing social logic.' Market discipline now regulates all aspects of social life, and the regressive economic rationality that drives it sacrifices the public good, public values and social responsibility to a tawdry consumerist dream. (para.1)

Thus, it comes as no surprise that the very choice of school knowledge and the act of designing classroom environments, though they may not be done consciously, are based on both ideological and economic presuppositions that provide commonsense rules for students, as well as educators' thoughts and actions. The goal becomes the creation of citizens with 'market identities', for whom education is a mechanism of 'learning to earn' and therefore, 'learning to consume' – in turn, perpetuating the very condition of the hyper-market-driven society.

In the USA, citizenship education with an eye to social justice faces difficult challenges that are structured by the past as it casts its gaze towards the future. From the continuities between discrete Americanization campaigns of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, schools have functioned as an apparatus of assimilation towards an idealized vision of the human. Currently, we are experiencing a radical transformation of this human through market fundamentalism, at once a racialized and financialized figure. However, this process is only possible by omitting certain discontinuities and contradictions in history, which critical educators, as intellectual citizens, may seize for purposes other than stratification and intensification of social suffering. In this move, the task of the citizen in the deliberate construction of the public sphere moves from the private to the collective. Education replaces socialization as the official mode of schools, with humanization eclipsing processes of de-humanization not as an inevitable march of history but its realization through praxis.

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