Transforming civics and citizenship education
in the middle years of schooling:
an exploration of critical issues informing teachers'
theories of action.

Thesis submitted by

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The research presented and reported in this thesis was
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Robert Neville Jennings   Date

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ABSTRACT

In the past decade there has been a revival of interest in civics and citizenship education at the national and global level. While the revival of interest has influenced all levels of education, this study has a particular focus on civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling. It recognises that classroom teachers are "policy actors" who make individual meaning out of official policies on civics and citizenship education. On the other hand, it recognises that teachers are also autonomous agents who sometimes act independently of "official knowledge". The aim of the study is to identify critical issues informing teachers' theories of action as they seek to engage young adolescents in meaningful learning experiences. The study is based on the assumption that young adolescents between the ages of 10 and 14 have specific needs and characteristics that present unique challenges for teachers of civics and citizenship education.

The study uses a case study approach based on a selection of schools in Northern NSW and South Eastern Queensland. Participating teachers in an inner reference group conducted action research projects to investigate their theories of action in relation to civics and citizenship education. Data were also collected from an outer reference group of critical friends comprising teachers in other schools, teacher educators, consultants and trainee teachers sharing an interest in citizenship education. The study seeks to redress a perceived gap in the research literature about the knowledge, pedagogical skills and attitudes needed by teachers to make civics and citizenship education more meaningful for young adolescents.

The study is founded on a conceptual framework of "critical theory" (Habermas, 1972; Fay, 1987; Carr and Kemmis, 1993). Critical theory provides a

basis for understanding the critically reflective skills of teachers and also provides an epistemological base for the critical action research methodology used in the study (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000). A series of semi-structured interviews with participating teachers over periods of one to three years provides a primary source of data on how teachers approach civics and citizenship education and the critical issues that inform their theories of action. Data are also collected by means of direct observation, keeping of professional journals and content analysis of policy and syllabus documents.

   Analysis of the data reveals three sets of critical issues: the first resulting from teachers' self reflection; the second identifying teachers' response to "official knowledge"; and the third identifying opportunities for transformative action. An analytical model is used to portray the relationships between critical issues that influence teachers' theories of action when they engage young adolescents in civics and citizenship education. The analysis identifies the critical issues that teachers of young adolescents face as they move from a concern to reproduce society towards a concern to transform society through civics and citizenship education programs. The study contains critical reflections on the research process and on the process of providing education for democracy. A practical outcome of the study is a set of guidelines for professional development programs seeking to develop a critical pedagogy of civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling.

TRANSFORMING CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION
IN THE MIDDLE YEARS OF SCHOOLING: AN EXAMINATION OF
CRITICAL ISSUES INFORMING TEACHERS' THEORIES OF ACTION

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CHAPTER ONE - THE RESEARCH PROBLEM IN CONTEXT

Vignette

> The scene is a workers' club in a coastal town of NSW. A small group of teachers has come together for a one-day professional development workshop on citizenship education. Also attending are a teacher educator, a trainee teacher and a NSW Department of Education and Training consultant.
> Teacher Educator: Do you think there has been a renewed emphasis on civics and citizenship education since the release of the Civics Expert Group report "Whereas the People…"?
> Primary Teacher One: I haven't heard of the report.
> Secondary Teacher One: I'm more interested in citizenship education than civics. The move towards civics is just another imposition on teachers' heavy workloads and my Year 8 class can see no relevance for civics.
> Primary Teacher One: We've always taught about levels of government in the upper primary school. We've always taught some civics.
> Secondary Teacher Two: At my school, we teach civics and citizenship through History and Geography but it's difficult to do justice to them. The curriculum is so crowded.
> Consultant: What about Student Representative Councils? Can you use the SRCs to stimulate interest in civics and citizenship?
> Trainee teacher: I have seen SRCs operating in a few local schools but I don't know how effective they are.
> Secondary Teacher One: We've got an SRC but it's toothless. Our school pays lip-service to democratic decision-making. (Field notes, 15/10/99)

The challenge of engaging young adolescents in meaningful forms of civics and citizenship education is the driving force behind this study. As the foregoing vignette illustrates, educators confront a range of critical issues as they face the challenge of providing young people with the skills and knowledge necessary to become active and informed citizens. The intention of this study is to identify and critique the critical issues that influence teachers' theories of action as they work towards achieving this

task. These critical issues are particularly significant for teachers as "policy actors" striving to "make meaning" of official policy initiatives (Kennedy, Smith, Jiminez, Mayer and Mellor (2001). However, despite their key role, teachers' practical wisdom is often undervalued in the curriculum development process.

This can be illustrated with respect to civics and citizenship education. Since the release of the influential report by the Civics Expert Group (1994), there has been a flurry of publishing activity in Australia leading to the progressive release of Discovering Democracy materials (Civics Education Group, 1999; 2000). Classroom teachers have often been pressured into using these kits without being aware of the consultation process that led to their publication. Consequently, many teachers and academics have wondered whose agenda is being served when curriculum materials show an emphasis on civics rather than citizenship (Reid, 1996). This immediately raises an issue of terminology.

Exploring the Key Terms and Issues

In this study, the term "critical" has a precise meaning that is derived from critical theory. The critical issues for teachers are those that provide them with a renewed understanding of how to make civics and citizenship education more engaging for young adolescents. They are issues that involve a heightened realization of the obstacles, contradictions and power relations that prevent them from using the strategies that teachers feel, intuitively, will suit the needs of young adolescents. Issues are not critical in

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the sense of being life-threatening or vital, although the latter may sometimes apply.

Throughout the thesis there is an exploration of the meanings behind the terms "citizen", "citizenship" and "civics" and "citizenship education". The definitions offered in this chapter thus represent a starting point to the discussion. Later sections deal with the origins of these terms and the meanings given to these terms by practising teachers. The issue of defining these key terms is also revisited in the final chapters of the thesis.

Central to this thesis is the meaning of the term "citizen". Speaking from an historical perspective Heater argues that:

> A citizen is a person furnished with knowledge of public affairs, instilled with attitudes of civic virtue and equipped with skills to participate in the political arena. The acquisition and enhancement of these attributes is in truth a lifelong undertaking; even so a firm foundation must be laid in schools to ensure their early and systematic learning (Heater, 1990, p. 336).

"Citizenship" is a term with a multiplicity of meanings. The NSW Board of Studies provides the following clarification:

> The term 'citizenship' has both a legal and a social meaning. In a legal sense, citizenship is that set of rights and responsibilities granted to people in recognition of their attachment to a particular country. In a social sense, citizenship refers to the participation of people in their community as they fulfil and debate their rights and responsibilities (NSW Board of Studies, 1998a, p. 86).

"Citizenship education" is a term that is equally difficult to define but the position of the Civics Expert Group (1994) is worth noting. In their view, citizenship education encompasses a whole range of educational

processes, formal and informal, that encourage and inform participation by citizens in community activities and public affairs. Citizenship education is viewed as a broader concept than civics education.

"Civics" or "civics education" has had a chequered history in the school curriculum. The Civics Expert Group (1994) defines civics as "an identifiable body of knowledge, skills and understandings relating to the organisation and working of society, including Australia's political and social heritage, democratic process, government, public administration and judicial system" (p. 6).

To some extent civics education can be viewed as a sub-set of, or a precursor to, citizenship education. In this study, the combined concept of civics and citizenship education (CCE) is used because it has gained acceptance in educational settings. However, it is recognised that there can be distinct differences in emphasis between civics education and citizenship education.

The "middle years of schooling" also has a multiplicity of meanings but for the purposes of this study it refers to the schooling of students between the ages of 10 and 14. This normally covers the upper primary and lower secondary levels of education. In some educational systems the needs of this age group are accommodated in separate institutions known as "Middle Schools".

Finally, "teachers' theories of action" are defined here as the bodies of knowledge, personal theories and accumulated wisdom that inform

teachers' professional actions. These theories can be either formal or informal in nature but they are nonetheless real in guiding the behaviour of classroom practitioners. They are constantly subject to critical reflection on the part of the teacher.

The Social, Political and Pedagogical Context of the Study

As young adolescents make the transition from childhood to adulthood, they need to develop the skills, attitudes and knowledge that will transform them into active and informed citizens. Teachers have a vital role to play in this process. Whilst ensuring that students are exposed to meaningful experiences in civics and citizenship education, their teachers face a host of social, political and pedagogical issues. Some of these contextual issues are related to political pressures in the educational community that have led to the publication of new curriculum materials. In New South Wales these pressures have led to the development of basic skills tests in civics and citizenship education (Print and Gray, 2002). Such developments show that teachers do not operate within a social and political vacuum.

It is increasingly evident that teachers and students require a sound background knowledge of civics and citizenship. However, knowledge alone is insufficient. This study is based on an assumption that too little emphasis has been placed on the centrality of teachers' pedagogies (Mellor, 1996a). The development of such pedagogies takes place in a social and political climate that is constantly in a state of flux. This constantly

changing climate provides a background against which the research problem for this study has been formulated.

Of particular importance in the current political climate is the fluid and slippery nature of the term "citizenship". As indicated earlier, citizenship is a term that has many meanings within the broader society. This has become evident in the past decade as Australian society has grappled with refugee crises, engaged in immigration debates and agonized over issues concerning Indigenous land rights. The popular view of citizenship has also been highlighted by the ready response of volunteers to a succession of natural and human disasters.

Teachers need to address community concerns about a perceived deficit in students' civic knowledge. Even when educators agree that students lack knowledge of government structures (Civics Expert Group, 1994; Print, 1995), there is little agreement about the types of knowledge that are most appropriate for young adolescents. There is also increasing awareness that knowledge is not the only requirement for young adolescents (Carlson, Holm, Krook and Whiteman,1997; Ochoa-Becker,1999). Skills and attitudes are equally important in the development as informed and active citizens.

Young adolescents and their teachers are influenced by civic megatrends such as globalisation of the economy, the changing status of women and the impact of communications technology (Kennedy, 1997). These megatrends are tempered by civic realities such as violence, drug-taking and homelessness in the students' local communities. All of these

civic megatrends and civic realities have relevance for citizenship education as they invite political responses in the community and directly affect the lives of young adolescents.

Social education in general, and citizenship education in particular, assumes a new sense of urgency as communities respond to the emergence of a "new world order" (Alouf, 1993). The complexity of this "new world order" demands new skills of today's youth.

> Social educators in the 21st Century must redefine the nature and purpose of social education to respond to the demands of the new world order by defining an effective citizen as a reflective inquirer, a critical thinker and decision-maker willing to tackle long range problems threatening global survival (Alouf, 1993, p. 39).

In the Australian context there are particular social and political realities that impact on civics and citizenship education. These include: multiculturalism, the recognition of ethnic and cultural diversity; reconciliation, the recognition of the special case of Indigenous peoples; and republicanism, the recognition of constitutional self-sufficiency (Macintyre, 1995).

Teachers and their students bring to civics and citizenship education programs an awareness of the post-modern world. There is a need to appreciate the impact of disorganised capital and the nature of post-industrial production; the role of consumption in linking the citizen to the market; the demands of the information society; increasing globalisation, the role of the media in developing a sense of national identity; concerns for

the environment; a sense of place and the sense of national identity; and development of a personal identity, and an understanding of democracy and the New Politics (Gilbert, 1997).

Of particular relevance to Australians is the need to develop an appreciation of Asian as well as European conceptions of citizenship. The Western tradition has produced two different conceptions of citizenship. Day, Goodman, Hindess, Macintyre & Marr (1993) argue that, on the one hand, there is a view of the individual as a rational autonomous agent. On the other hand, there is the communitarian conception of the individual as a product of social conditions who is beholden to the community. Added to that are the varied definitions of citizenship held by citizens in the neighbouring Asian region (Gilligan, 1998) and the challenges to the notions of citizenship in diverse societies (Kymlicka and Norman (1999). Teachers face the task of deciding which notions of citizenship are most significant for young adolescents.

Increasing corporatism in modern economies presents a threat to individual citizens' rights. Civics and citizenship education programs have the potential to enable future citizens to work through their governments to gain more effective control over corporatism (Saul, 1997). Given that many young people will one day be part of large corporations, it is conceivable that civics and citizenship education can indirectly influence the role of such organisations as corporate citizens.

Democratic and critical education gives students the tools to struggle

against the hegemony of intellectual elites who have traditionally defined what is described as "official knowledge" (Apple, 2000). There are expectations that today's students will be prepared to engage in current political debates such as those relating to reconciliation, sustainable development and immigration. These expectations assume that teachers and students are well prepared to deal with such issues in the classroom.

There is also an expectation in the community that students of civics and citizenship will develop a sense of "civic consciousness". Adolescents may well be involved in creating what Cox (1995) envisions as a truly "civil society". This presumes that society has reached a consensus on what is meant by a civil society. Students need to understand how citizens position themselves within a society and have opportunities to explore the nature of their relationship with other citizens, the economy and the state. There is certainly room for teachers to reflect on the vital role they play in sowing the seeds of a civil society.

When issues such as the republican debate emerge, the Australian community relies on contributions from articulate and informed citizens. The development of articulate citizens can be related to the notion of "civic virtue" (Ferres and Meredyth, 2001). In a pluralist, multi-ethnic society there is a need for articulate citizens who have a practical awareness of the social, economic and governmental contexts in which they operate. The development of articulate citizens requires educators to be clear about the nature of civic virtues, the nature of a "common culture" in a multi-ethnic

state and the nature of resourceful citizenship (Ferres and Meredyth, 2001).

Teachers of civics and citizenship are expected to raise with students the issue of what constitutes "good citizenship" (Dynneson, 1992). The individual teacher's notion of what constitutes a "good citizen" helps to determine their choice of pedagogy. However, community attitudes towards citizenship also have an influence. Community groups are concerned about the ways in which public and private organisations act as corporate citizens. Of particular relevance here are environmental ethics. While it is incumbent on teachers to raise such issues as corporate citizenship, it is evident that some teachers will be "role – models" in environmental and others forms of civic action. Personal involvement by teachers in community action can directly influence teachers' pedagogies.

Within the political sphere, there are many forms of liberalism that influence approaches to civics and citizenship (Feinberg, 1995; Galston, 1995). Communities need to determine what forms of liberalism they can tolerate. Conceptions of liberalism determine the extent to which society and school systems accommodate cultural diversity. It is relevant for teachers and students to ask how inclusive a society can be. An individual's sense of citizenship may be bound up with their responses to multiculturalism, feminism and Indigenous issues, including land rights and reconciliation. It is relevant in citizenship education to see how society deals with issues such as racism, sexism or homophobia. It is also relevant to examine what extent to which citizenship education provides a vehicle

for establishment of a new civility in which difference is utilised as a productive resource (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997).

Reflecting views in the community at large, citizenship education has a multi-dimensional nature. Teachers need to take into account the personal, social, spatial and temporal dimensions of citizenship as outlined by Cogan and Derricott (1998) in the Citizenship Education Policy Study. The social dimension of citizenship may indeed include a political dimension. In doing so, teachers are expected to provide a balance between citizenship studies at a local, national and global level.

Given concerns about literacy levels in the community at large, teachers may also be expected to link citizenship education with literacy education (Cope and Kalantzis, 1995). It is argued that young adolescents cannot take full advantage of their citizenship rights if their literacy levels are inadequate for them to participate in society on an equitable level. In recent times, there has been a focus on development of multi-literacies (Education Queensland, 2000), recognizing the importance of utilising new technologies in the learning process. Using these new skills, young adolescents can expand their knowledge of government and more effectively address issues of social injustice with respect to women, Indigenous peoples, ethnic groups, the disadvantaged and the handicapped.

As institutions preparing students for citizenship, schools need to model democracy (Apple and Beane, 1999). When such opportunities are

afforded at the school level, young adolescents can directly experience democratic processes and develop skills in social participation. Schools can become sites for political debate over issues such as monarchism and republicanism. However, some parents are concerned about the influence of teachers' own political beliefs when such issues are raised. Thus, teachers can receive ambiguous messages from the community about their expected role in citizenship education.

The delivery of civics and citizenship programs often reflects the influence of powerful subject associations amongst the teaching profession. This influence can determine whether civics and citizenship education is taught within the confines of specific subjects or across the whole curriculum. The influence of subject associations can be quite marked amongst secondary school teachers. History, Geography and Social Science teachers' associations are politically significant bodies in the field of curriculum development.

Government policy and the pronouncements of statutory boards can also influence the types of programs that schools offer, the types of resources that are used and the degree to which civics and citizenship education are part of the mandated core. In the past decade the Australian Federal government has committed substantial funds to the development of curriculum materials and conduct of professional development courses through the Discovering Democracy program (Singleton, 2002).

Within contemporary society there are also unique pressures relating to

the peculiar needs of students in the 10-14 years age group. There has been

a growth in recent years of purpose-built middle schools and programs that

follow the agreed principles of middle schooling in upper primary and

lower secondary settings. Related to this point is the issue raised by

Kennedy (2000) regarding the delivery of civics education to a "techno

generation". There is growing evidence that young adolescents have

specific needs with respect to civics and citizenship education:

> Whether it is techno music, rave parties, drug taking or early experimentation with sex – young people come under a great deal of pressure to conform to peer expectations and emerging fads. While much of the pressure comes from peers, there is also the mass media sending constant messages about what is new and desirable. Civics education cannot neglect these realities of life for young people, even though they may not be realities for those designing civics education programs (Kennedy, 2000, p. 4).

Not only do the above-mentioned societal pressures have an individual

impact, they also work together to further complicate the teacher's role.

However when these pressures are handled successfully, civics and

citizenship education can have a significant impact on young adolescents.

As Kennedy points out:

> The challenge of civics and citizenship education is to somehow meld together civic knowledge, civic megatrends and civic realities in a way that will meet young people where they are. Disembodied facts, unrelated to everyday life and real needs will not solve any of our current problems and will not connect young people to a future that should be full of hope and promise. To be successful, civics education must speak to young people: to use Macintyre's (1995, p. 16) sentence 'we must connect young Australians with the substance of their citizenship' – and the same can be said for all young people irrespective of their national location (Kennedy, 1997, p. 3).

Given the social, political and pedagogical pressures outlined above, it is obvious that civics and citizenship education cannot be separated from the social realities of the world in which teachers work. Teachers of young adolescents are constantly reminded of the societal impacts that influence their own attitudes and those of their students as they raise issues of importance in the community. They operate within classrooms, schools and communities fraught with complexities, contradictions and unequal power relations.

Scope, Significance and Limitations of the Topic

This thesis is organised around a specific set of concepts. These include: citizenship, citizenship and civics education, the middle years of schooling, case studies and action research, critical theory, democratic education, teachers' theories of action and teachers' professional development needs in the fields of civics and citizenship education.

Central to the whole study is the concept of citizenship and the theories that surround citizenship. The citizenship concept is closely connected to notions of civil society, the development of national, global and personal identity, cultural pluralism and the politics of recognition. The changing nature of the citizenship concept itself is a critical issue in this study.

Developing out of the discussion on citizenship are the connected fields of citizenship education and civics. In this study, the major focus is on the broader concept of citizenship education but it is difficult to separate this from civics education. While the primary focus of the study is on

citizenship education and the teaching of civics within Australia, there is recognition of the impact of ever-increasing global trends and developments in civic and citizenship education in other countries.

Any discussion of citizenship education and civics naturally leads to an examination of schools themselves as democratic institutions. Many school systems do not allow students the freedom to be actively engaged in decision-making. They teach about democracy but do not practice it. Other school systems and individual schools have established exemplary programs that invite active participation by students and are clearly based on democratic principles. Both groups of schools are of relevance in this context.

In this study there is deliberate emphasis placed on the middle years of schooling. This level of schooling is seen to present teachers with particular challenges in terms of pedagogy. The middle years of schooling are defined as those years in the upper primary grades and lower secondary grades where students are between 10 and 14 years of age. The students in these years may be defined as either young adolescents or pre-adolescents. The study is not restricted to schools that are specifically designated as middle schools. The emphasis is on the transition period when students end their primary education and move on to secondary schools.

If the primary focus of this study had been on students' learning and their knowledge of the political system, a case could be made for collecting data from imminent school leavers who are about to enter the political

world as young adults. However, this study has a focus on teachers'

theories of action in the middle years of schooling. The study is based on

the assumption that the teachers of young adolescents face particular

challenges as they engage students in civics and citizenship education.

The study is primarily informed by theoretical inputs emanating from

the Frankfurt School and more contemporary theorists such as Habermas

(1975), Fay (1987), Carr and Kemmis (1983), Smyth (1987) and Kemmis and

McTaggart (2000). Through the lens of critical theory, it is possible to

expose contradictions, obstacles, underlying assumptions and power

relations that impact on the ability of teachers to draw fully upon their

intuition and practical wisdom when engaged in citizenship education.

The general aim of the study is to elucidate the critical issues that

influence teachers' theories of action when delivering civics and citizenship

education programs in the middle years of schooling. A secondary

intention is to show how those critical issues may inform the development

of an exemplary professional development program in civics and

citizenship education.

In terms of limitations, the study does not attempt to cover citizenship

education across the gamut of K-12 schooling. It has a focus on the middle

years only. The study mainly concerns citizenship education but also

includes civics education. The case studies are set in Eastern Australia but

the study does recognise the national and global dimensions of citizenship

education. While the number of case studies is limited to five, the

methodology enables a wide range of issues to be explored at each site.

The Research Question / Problem

The main question driving the study may thus be expressed in the following terms:

> What are the critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action as they engage students in civics and citizenship education during the middle years of schooling?

The foregoing discussion outlining the context of the study suggests that the critical issues for teachers may fall within the general categories of the socio-political and the pedagogical. It seems obvious, however, that other critical issues will fall within the categories of the personal and the practical. It is also apparent that the definitional question of separating civics and citizenship education could well be an issue.

Of particular interest are the critical issues that arise as teachers adopt a transformative stance in changing structures and practices to make schools and classrooms more democratic. There is interest in critical issues that arise as teachers address the specific needs of young adolescents and directly address the challenge of incorporating curriculum perspectives in civics and citizenship education programs.

A contributing question related to the application of critical theory further informs the study. This contributing question can be stated as follows:

> What obstacles, contradictions and power relations prevent teachers from employing the strategies that they know, intuitively, will be appropriate for students in the middle years?

Finally there is a secondary question, that draws upon the findings of the major research question and contributing question and subsequently provides a practical outcome for the study.

> How can the critical issues identified in this study be used to inform the development of an exemplary professional development program for teachers of civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling?

The latter question arose directly from a challenge issued by Reid (1996) who expressed a concern about centrally designed curriculum and professionally development programs:

> participants in an educational endeavour at the local level are best placed to determine what should be taught and how. Far from constructing teachers as lacking expertise, this approach seeks to create local school communities which collaboratively use and build upon the rich fund of knowledge and experience that reside there (Reid, 1996, p.15).

Justification for the Study

Despite a lack of knowledge about the significance of specific reports, as indicated in the opening vignette, there is widespread evidence of the growing importance of citizenship and civics education within Australia and overseas. The Discovering Democracy program that gained initial impetus from the report of the Civics Expert Group (1994) has been funded generously by the Federal Government. State governments and statutory authorities at the state level have supported this thrust by including civics and citizenship education in specific curriculum documents and by promoting citizenship as a cross curriculum perspective (NSW Board of Studies, 1998a; 1998b).

In the journals of many professional associations such as The Australian College of Education, The Australian Curriculum Studies Association and the Social Education Association of Australia, the discourse of citizenship has been subjected to close analysis and deconstruction. Citizenship education has featured in numerous journal articles and in the theme statements of national and international conferences over the past eight years.

A similar pattern is found in education systems outside Australia. In almost every Western nation and throughout Asia, Africa and South America, educationists have realised the importance of civics and citizenship education in the school curriculum. A cursory study of local and overseas developments shows how the meaning of citizenship can vary greatly from culture to culture. Although some would argue that globalisation presents a threat to the very notion of citizenship, there seems to be no lack of interest in promoting citizenship within education systems throughout the world.

The release of Discovering Democracy materials in Australia has provided schools with access to high quality resources and much-needed professional development opportunities. The top-down approach of the project has also stimulated lively debate amongst educationists regarding the most appropriate approaches to be used in civics and citizenship education (Knight, 2000). Further debate has been stimulated by the actions of some authorities to include civics in basic skills testing programs. A

major Australian study has maintained a focus on the benchmarking of students' civic knowledge (Print and Gray, 1996).

While much has been written about civics and citizenship education in general, there has been a paucity of research on the pedagogical issues underpinning the delivery of the curriculum. Concerns about the paucity of such research are well identified by Mellor (1996a) who feels that insufficient attention had been paid to the centrality of an active, experiential pedagogy in citizenship education. A study by Dunkin and Welch (1996) represents the first significant attempt to examine teachers' pedagogical knowledge in the context of civics and citizenship education.

In an attempt to fill the gap in the literature identified by Mellor (1996a), there have been two further studies examining pedagogical approaches to civics and citizenship education. The first by Hunter and Jiminez (1998) examines a range of pedagogical possibilities in civics and citizenship education. The second by Kennedy, Smith, Jiminez, Mayer and Mellor (2001) looks at conversations about civics with a focus on the pedagogies used by teachers using the Discovering Democracy materials.

Despite these studies, there has been a paucity of research with a particular focus on civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling. Very few authors have looked specifically at the needs of young adolescents and teachers' theories of action in attempting to address these needs through citizenship education. This thesis seeks to address this gap in the research literature.

Although professional development programs have been implemented to facilitate the introduction of Discovering Democracy materials, there has been little research conducted on the professional development needs of teachers, especially in the middle years of schooling. There is a need for a program that helps teachers develop a critical pedagogy of civics and citizenship in the middle years.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One provides an introduction to the thesis by setting the study within a social, political and educational context. The associated challenges for teachers provide a theoretical framework for the study. The introduction also outlines the scope, significance and limitations of the topic, the research problem(s) under investigation, the definitions of key terms and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two takes the form of a literature review with an emphasis on the evolution of the term citizenship. Attention is paid to Indigenous, multicultural and gender perspectives on citizenship. This chapter explores the relationship between citizenship, culture and identity. It raises issues about citizenship that continue to have relevance in today's classrooms.

Chapter Three extends the literature review to an examination of citizenship and civics education. There is a focus on the ways in which programs of civics and citizenship education have been developed. It examines issues in the delivery of these programs to young adolescents. This chapter has a focus on the curriculum perspectives that add a critical

element to civics and citizenship education.

Chapter Four has a focus on the special needs of young adolescents and the theories of action developed by teachers to address these needs. Reference is made to the critical skills employed by teachers as they refine their theories of action. These critically reflective skills are related to elements of critical theory.

Chapter Five outlines the critical action research methodology used in the study. A justification is made for use of a case study approach that highlights the broad range of issues impacting on teachers' praxis at each site. The primary data collection methods of semi-structured interview, professional journal keeping and observation are outlined. An outline is provided of primary data sources. Detail is provided on the method of selecting the case study sites. Reference is made to the underlying framework of critical theory and the way in which six themes have been employed to aid the data analysis process. Attention is paid to the location of the researcher within the study and ethical issues relating to the action research methodology are discussed.

Chapter Six is devoted to case studies that highlight civics and citizenship in action at five different locations. In all case studies reference is made to student participation in citizenship education through student representative bodies. Each case study follows at least one cycle of planning, acting, monitoring and reflecting on citizenship education. Following each case study is a theory of action for a participating teacher

Chapter Seven employs a critical, cross-case analysis of the data focusing on teachers' self-reflections, their responsiveness to "official knowledge" and their opportunities for transformative action. The three critical elements and six themes outlined in chapter five provide a basis for this analysis. Attention is paid to the particular pressures faced by teachers in the middle years of schooling. In direct response to the primary research question an analytical model is used to identify the critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action.

Chapter Eight provides reflections on the key findings of the study and makes recommendations for the future. Emphasis is placed on teachers' self-reflections, obstacles and contradictions that impact on teachers' theories and opportunities for teachers to take transformative action. Reflections are made on the action research process used in the study. The final section outlines a set of guidelines for professional development programs seeking to develop a critical pedagogy of civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling.

CHAPTER TWO: COMING TO TERMS WITH CITIZENSHIP

Outline of the Chapter

The second chapter consists of a literature search with a focus on the meaning of the term "citizenship". Emphasis is placed on potentially critical issues for teachers arising from the evolution of the citizenship concept and citizenship theories. The citizenship concept is explored from Indigenous, multicultural and gender perspectives and links are developed between the concepts of citizenship, national identity and culture.

The concepts covered in this chapter have dual significance for the study. Firstly, the development of the citizenship concept is part of the content of many civics education courses (including the Discovering Democracy units) and represents vital background knowledge for teachers. Secondly, current issues concerning the nature of citizenship need to be placed in historical context. Many of the key issues from past eras still have currency in a modern context alongside more recent developments in citizenship.

Origins of the Terms "Citizen" and "Citizenship"

For teachers of civics and citizenship, the derivation of the term "citizen" is an issue of some importance. Not only may teachers be required to explain this derivation, their very orientation to the task of educating students may depend on their understanding of what the term means. It is critical for teachers to know how their own conceptions of civics and citizenship relate to the evolution and common understanding of each

concept. The evolution of each concept raises issues that have continuing relevance for classroom teachers.

The term "citizen" is derived from the Anglo-Norman word "citezein" and the French term "citoyen" (Phillips, 1999, p. 41). It is a term with urban origins based on the Latin term "civitas" – which meant people united in a city community. The historian Heater (1990) suggests that the role of citizen "entails a status, a sense of loyalty, the discharge of duties and the enjoyment of rights not primarily in relation to another human being, but in relation to an abstract concept, the state" (p. 2).

It can be argued that "citizenship is as old as settled human community" (Barbalet, 1988, p. 1). In those early times, groups of people in specific territories developed rudimentary social contracts for social benefit. The origins of citizenship are closely linked with the development of Western civilization in ancient Greece and Rome. The concept did not seem to take hold in the Islamic world or in ancient India or China. The development of the concept has been the subject of much comment by noted historians (Heater, 1990; Turner, 1993; Hogan; 1997; and Phillips, 1999).

The idea and practice of citizenship was first associated with the Greek 'polis' or city state. It was "not only a unit of government: it was also a club" (Barker, 1960, p. 21). There are certainly vestiges of the club atmosphere amongst present day politicians but it is not clear that members of the voting public view themselves as part of the same club. One of the

tasks for teachers is to convince students that they will be part of the club and it is up to them to determine how informed and active they will be as citizens.

In his treatise on "Politics", Aristotle (cited in Phillips, 1999) proclaimed that "a citizen is a man who enjoys the right of sharing in deliberative or judicial office (for any period, fixed or unfixed)" (p. 42). The use of the term "man" was deliberate. Women, children and resident foreigners, specific groups of labourers and slaves were not accepted as part of the club. Membership of the club was not for the faint-hearted. By law, any citizen who failed to take a position in key decisions would lose membership of the "polis".

Citizenship can also be viewed from a legalistic perspective – following the Roman approach that differed from the ancient Greek approach. Romans were concerned with the rights and privileges of citizens and full citizenship provided six privileges. Four of these were public rights such as service in the army, voting in the assembly, eligibility for public office and the legal right of action and appeal. The remaining two were the private rights of intermarriage and trade with other Roman citizens.

Roman citizenship provided equality before the law and acceptance was not based on race religion or wealth. Young adolescents in today's world may be intrigued to know that, in Roman times, fathers were required to instil in boys (sic) a formidable list of civic qualities. They were required to be able to sing patriotic songs and recite the famous Twelve

Tables. Boys were required to acquire firmness, courage, religious reverence, self-restraint, dignity, prudence and justice. Often a boy was taken in hand by a member of the family and taught the elements of law, government and oratory.

Emerging Issues in Citizenship

Citizens with deeply religious convictions occasionally have to face the choice of giving their allegiance to the church or to the state. In the European "Dark Ages" the concept of "citizenship was temporarily almost lost as a political concept" (Heater, 1990, p. 20). Individuals were regarded as "subjects" of the Church or reigning Monarch. It was left to Thomas Aquinas to revive the Aristotelian notion of citizenship in Europe. This helped to loosen the grip of the Church on secular life but tensions between church and state remain part of the political landscape.

Significant in the Middle Ages was Machiavelli who drew upon Roman Republican traditions of citizenship. Machiavelli believed that citizens of the republic possessed a special virtue (Heater, 1990). This "virtue" pertained to manly and martial qualities such as strength, self-reliance, courage, resoluteness and practical wisdom. For the ordinary citizen such virtue also included the qualities of public-mindedness, probity and patriotism.

The gender perspective remains a significant and critical issue in the study of citizenship but it is a perspective that has a long history. As a case in point, Machiavelli was a product of his times when it came to the

position of women in society. Women were not formally excluded from citizenship, but Machiavelli's view of citizenship was decidedly masculine and the threatening forces were viewed as feminine. In making judgement on this era, Oldfield (1990) contends that "Machiavelli's conception of citizenship is thus based on man's need both to dominate and to fear dependence on feminine forces" (p. 39).

A significant issue in citizenship studies is the relationship between the individual and the state. During the 17th Century a new link was forged between citizens and their emerging nation states. Jean Bodin (cited in Phillips 1999), who published his Six Books of the Commonwealth in 1651, did not believe that the citizen could be the subject of more than one sovereign. Bodin saw citizenship as being a cohesive force in France to counteract a diversity of laws, languages, customs, religions and races (Phillips, 1999). This view has resonance in modern day Australia through the works of Cope and Kalantzis (1997) who argue that social cohesion can be forged productively out of difference.

A critical issue relating to citizenship was recognised in the 17th century by Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes (cited in Hogan, 1997) believed that men need to live under strong government for self - protection, otherwise life would be solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Hobbes regarded citizenship as a form of "civic exchange" based on an exchange of obedience for protection that constituted the citizen as a subject of the sovereign power (cited in Hogan, 1997). Hobbes's citizenship syllabus

included a patriotic commitment to the status quo and established

government (which would appeal greatly to some of our contemporary

political leaders), resistance to demagogues, discipline in the home and the

inculcation of appropriate attitudes and behaviours (Phillips, 1999).

A further critical issue in citizenship studies is that of legitimation.

Writing in 17th century Europe, Locke (cited in Klosky, 1995) placed

emphasis on the need to gain popular consent when establishing the

legitimation of government. A citizen was expected to honour the

obligations that he assumed towards his follow citizens in exchange for the

protection afforded to his life, liberty and property. Locke spoke of the

natural rights of citizens and was concerned about the process of

representation. He believed that power should be placed in the hands of

substantial property owners who voted for members of parliament.

Highlighting the fact that gender issues are a product of their times, Locke

believed that only men could be partners in the social contract of the state

and felt that it was natural that men should have authority over women

(Klosky, 1995).

The critical link between education and citizenship has its origins in 18th

Century in Europe. Rousseau (cited in Phillips, 1999) displayed an interest

in citizenship that would have ramifications in later years. Rousseau

argued that children should be taught at an early age to appreciate the

values and procedures that are beneficial to society. Rousseau saw clearly

that education had a vital role to play in fostering a sense of nationality and

national pride. In Rousseau's view, the ultimate sovereign authority lay with the individual citizen.

A critical issue for all educators is the educative benefit gained from social participation. This issue dates back to the work of John Stuart Mill who supported Rousseau's view of the educative function of participation (Phillips, 1999). Along with many of his contemporaries, Mill struggled with the notions of placing democratic citizenship alongside concerns for individual liberty. He advocated an extension of the franchise to women. The American and French Revolutions had significant impacts on notions of citizenship but for many the "tyranny of the majority" threatened to lower the tone of civic life (Phillips, 1999, p. 45). Revolutionary events on both sides of the Atlantic threatened the networks of privilege, status and responsibility that had characterised the Western way of life.

A concern for many educators is the treatment of citizenship from a global perspective. In the late 19th Century Karl Marx considered the ideals of citizenship against a backdrop of widespread patterns of poverty and dependence. He was optimistic about extending suffrage as a way of winning the battle for democracy. This was to be achieved through a socialist economic order and mass compulsory education. The Marxist ideal of uniting workers through a world wide socialist revolution opened up the possibility of global citizenship.

Of critical interest to many educators is the link between citizenship and the welfare state. It was Marshall, following in the footsteps of Marx,

who linked capacity for citizenship with living standards. Marshall proposed three elements of citizenship drawing on civil rights elements from the 17th Century, political elements from the 18th and 19th Centuries and the social dimension from the 20th Century. Marshall believed that it was necessary to establish the liberal-democratic welfare state before the notion of citizenship could be expanded.

Marshall's position still has relevance today in that citizenship is viewed by some as, "a 'defensive response' to the excesses of economic rationalism and the rhetoric of competitive individualism" (Phillips, 1999, p.46). However it is true to say that the Marshallian position has been challenged on many fronts, in order to accommodate the rise of capitalism. The three rights (civil, political and social) are by no means equal and it would be possible to add other rights to Marshall's list (Turner, 1993). Parsons (1971), for example, introduced a new level citizenship known as "cultural citizenship".

The evolutionary view of citizenship espoused by Marshall has not gone unchallenged. Marshall has been criticised for the "teleological" character of his evolutionary view of citizenship (Turner, 1993, p. 7). Marshall's view of citizenship has an aura of inevitability about it that is not shared by his critics. A further difficulty is the inability of Marshall to examine the relationship between citizenship and capitalism. Educators should not disregard critical aspects of contemporary citizenship such as structural unemployment, gender, ethnicity and the environment (Barbalet,

1999).

The discussion so far has highlighted the fact that the critical issues about defining citizenship have evolved over time. It is important for teachers and students to be able to locate their current understandings of citizenship in an historical context. This is an issue that has resonance for the following discussion on theories of citizenship.

Theories of Citizenship

Teachers engaged in civics and citizenship education carry with them a set of individual theories related to citizenship. These individual theories are informed by personal experience but also by the literature on citizenship theory. The latter theories may have become apparent during pre-service courses, in-service courses or through general reading. A critical issue for teachers is the extent to which their theories of action in terms of pedagogy are influenced by their understanding of the citizenship concept.

Citizenship is a concept that figures prominently in contemporary sociological theory but it was not always been handled effectively in the past (Turner, 1993). Turner (1993) asserts that Marx problematised the notion, by introducing the idea of bourgeois social rights and challenging the Liberal theory of the free and independent citizen who enjoys universal privileges. Marx also challenged the view that social membership and social participation could merely be defined in political or legal terms. He sought a "revolutionary transformation of the very basis of civil society" (Turner, 1993, p. 3).

Theories of citizenship held by educators today often reflect the alternative perspective known as the "theory of civil society". In contemporary Marxism, the notion of the civil society is reflected in a sociology of non-economic social relations. Consequently, in sociological discourse there is a dichotomy between Marxist notions of civil society and opposing views of citizenship that recognise the economic imperative. It is possible to avoid this dichotomy by describing citizenship as a set of social practices that define the nature of social membership (Turner, 1993).

Religious beliefs have also had a significant impact on theories of citizenship. Weber (1978) suggests that the Christian religion was important in developing the idea of the urban commune as a political entity based on a common faith rather than common tribal or local membership. The modern notion of citizenship developed in Europe when the principles of urban autonomy and Christian political obligation were combined.

To many educators, theories of citizenship are related to a growth in secularism. These theories reflect the views of Durkheim (1950) who suggests that citizenship functions as a basis of secular solidarity. Secular commitment to citizenship is set within a framework of citizenship as national identity or citizenship within the broader context of human identity (Durkheim, 1950).

Teachers' theories of citizenship are often related to their sense of connection with the local community through the roles that they play in local organisations. However their task is also to alert students to broader

notions of citizenship. This reflects the theories of Toennies (cited in Mitzman, 1971) who makes a distinction between community (Gemeinschaft) and association (Gesellschaft). This distinction has ramifications for any discussion about the nature of social membership. This theory is useful in tracing the development of societies where citizenship is linked to a move away from an identity with a local community and towards an identity with a broader association such as the state.

Modern theories of citizenship attempt to accommodate this broader notion of association. Parsons (1971) develops a "theory of the pattern variables" in which the notion of modernity is defined. In this theory, universalism, achievement and motivation are contrasted with traditional values of particularlism, ascription and affectivity (Turner 1993, p.5). In the theory proposed by Parsons, citizenship is contrasted with the particularistic forms of commitment to society that are characteristic of the family, the village or the tribe. A critical issue for teachers today is the link between citizenship and broad concepts such as national or global identity. Given recent developments in migration and communications, with people and ideas moving freely across national boundaries, citizenship may be seen as an outdated concept.

When contemplating challenges to the traditional theory of citizenship, teachers may turn their thoughts to Europe where strong feelings of national identity sit side by side with emerging feelings of European

identity (Habermas 1995; Beiner 1995).

> Three historical currents of our contemporary period, once again in flux, touch upon the relation between citizenship and national identity. First, the issue of the future of the nation state has unexpectedly become topical in the wake of German unification, the liberation of the East Central European states and the nationality conflicts that are breaking out throughout Eastern Europe. Second, the fact that the states of the European community are gradually growing together. Third, the tremendous influx of immigrants from the poor regions of the East and South with which Europe will be increasingly confronted in the coming years lend the problem of asylum seekers a new significance and urgency. This process exacerbates the conflict between the universalistic principles of constitutional democracies on the one hand and particularist claims of communities to preserve the integrity of their habitual ways of life on the other. (Habermas, 1995, pp. 255-256)

Teachers actively involved in local community groups may hold theories about civil society that challenge the state-based notion of citizenship.

> The basic idea here was that active involvement in an autonomous civil society composed of a multitude of voluntary associations separate from (or opposed to) the sphere of the state, represents a superior form of citizenship as compared with the decayed citizenship of subservience to an all-pervasive paternalistic state. (Beiner, 1995, p. 4)

Teachers who are attracted to this theory may also become aware of its limitations. This may be achieved by reflecting on the fate of the Solidarity movement in Poland (Walzer, 1995). This movement provided an optimistic model of what a civil society may become but then turned itself into a political party and assumed the reins of government. The notion of civil society that worked at a local level did not translate easily to the national level.

Theories of citizenship are conditioned, and challenged by, our awareness of cultural diversity (Beiner, 1995). This challenge is elucidated by theorists such as Young (1990) who invokes slogans like "the politics of difference". Here the cultural fragmentation of citizenship is not seen as a danger but as a positive advantage. This challenge is supported by proponents of multiculturalism in countries like Canada and advocates of civic pluralism in countries such as Australia (Kalantzis, 1995). Individuals may be concerned that the pluralist challenge will result in the universal concept of citizenship being reduced to an aggregate of sub-national ghettoes but that claim, of course, is contestable (Beiner, 1995).

Teachers' theories of citizenship may also be influenced by postmodern discourse. This may occur if citizenship is identified as a "hegemonic function" that suppresses particularist identities within society. Postmodernism is seen by Beiner (1995) to be "an encompassing theoretical statement of the claims of localism and pluralism" (p. 9). Beiner (1995) is concerned about the claims by postmodern theorists "that *all* social reality is untranscendably local, plural, fragmentary, episodic, and infinitely rearrangeable" (p. 9).

In reflecting on their theories, teachers may be able to locate their views using three alternative theoretical perspectives on citizenship - the liberal, communitarian and Republican (Beiner 1995). Where the first emphasises the individual and the second emphasises the cultural or ethnic group, the third emphasises 'civic bonds' (Beiner 1995, p. 12). Each of these

perspectives may be reflected in the individual theories of citizenship held by practising teachers.

Citizenship and Liberalism

Personal theories of citizenship are directly related to notions of Liberalism. There are many manifestations of Liberalism as can be seen from the writing of Gutmann (1994), Walzer (1995), Taylor (1994), Kymlicka (1999), Miller (1995), White (1995), Macedo (1995) and Harris (1995). The discussion is closely linked to the politics of recognition and inevitably leads to a consideration of appropriate forms of citizenship education within multicultural societies. The study of Liberalism provides a theoretical framework for locating teachers' approaches to citizenship.

When examining theories of citizenship a distinction needs to be made between the contrasting notions of Comprehensive and Political Liberalism (Gutmann, 1995). Comprehensive Liberalism is based on the work of Mill (1980) and Kant (1965). As well as offering political principles, it provides a conception of the "good life", based on individuality or autonomy. Political liberals argue that individuality and autonomy are not necessary for good citizenship to occur. Rawls (1993), Macedo (1995) and Galston (1991; 1995) are regarded as political liberals but Galston supports a minimalist set of civic values compared with Rawls or Macedo. Galston supports the teaching of "toleration" while Rawls and Macedo emphasise the teaching of mutual respect and a sense of fairness as basic political virtues.

After giving consideration to these contested aims of civic education,

the teacher of civics and citizenship may wonder if the contrasts between the two types of Liberalism are significant. This view is supported by at least one theorist:

> If we can reasonably agree on teaching not only toleration but also mutual respect as a substantive aim of civic education, then our metatheoretical conceptions of Liberalism may turn out to be largely (even if not entirely) beside the point. (Gutmann, 1995, p. 563)

If this point is taken, Political Liberalism does not necessarily support social diversity any more than Comprehensive Liberalism. However, teachers of citizenship may feel that a case can be made for Political Liberalism. They have the support of Macedo (1995) who looks at the limits of diversity. Macedo notes the call by Young (1990) for a "politics which attends to rather than represses difference" and in which no group is "stereotyped, silenced or marginalized" (p. 7).

For those who teach about citizenship, it is often necessary to wrestle with the politics of difference. Macedo (1995) suggests that the "indiscriminate embrace of difference and diversity should be resisted" (p. 469). He argues that champions of New Left constituencies (blacks, native people, gays, women and the disabled) leave the door open for Neo-Nazis or extreme fundamentalists to gain a voice as self-styled victims of oppression. Macedo argues that we should guard against Totalitarian Liberalism and opt for Political Liberalism. This may be a significant issue for any teacher of citizenship.

An alternative approach is one that identifies Liberal, Libertarian and

Republican conceptions of citizenship (Miller, 1995). The idea of Liberal

citizenship outlined by Miller is closely aligned with the Political Liberalism

of Macedo. This in turn is derived from the work of Marshall and

Bottomore (1992) who believe that citizenship should be understood as a set

of rights equally enjoyed by every member of the society in question.

Marshall's notion of citizenship based on civil rights, social rights and

political rights embodies an idea of social justice. Each citizen is said to

enjoy entitlements apart from, and to some extent in conflict with, the

outcomes of a market driven economy. Citizenship is seen to have

redistributive implications whereby citizens gain access to free health and

free education.

The view taken by Marshall and Bottomore (1992) is challenged by the

emergence of radical cultural pluralism. How can the body politic arrive at

a conception of social justice that defines citizenship, if there is no longer a

"common shared heritage" or "way of life" by which citizens' rights can be

defined (Miller, 1995, p.435)? An answer to this question comes from Rawls

who seeks to delineate a political conception of justice: "Questions of

political justice can be discussed on the same basis by all citizens, whatever

their social position or more particular aims and interests, or their religious,

philosophical or moral views" (Rawls, 1987, pp. 5-6). As Miller (1995) notes,

a militant Liberal view of citizenship effectively declares "war on those

groups who are not prepared to accommodate themselves to the Liberal

understanding of citizenship" (p. 439).

Those who are disillusioned with the Liberal view of citizenship may be drawn towards the Libertarian view. Here, the citizen is seen as a rational consumer of public goods and people's behaviour as citizens will be modelled on their behaviour in the market. In the most extreme version of this view, the state itself is regarded as a giant enterprise and the nation's citizens are its voluntary (sic) customers. The response to pluralism is expressed in the following way. If citizens differ in their conceptions of value, each can gain access to the public goods that they require through contract and choice. There is no need to reach agreement in principle about what the rights of citizens should be as long as the state responds efficiently to its "customers" – the state's citizens (Miller 1995).

While the Libertarian position takes pluralism seriously, it has its limitations. It assumes that all citizens have access to the public goods market through market-determined incomes. This is obviously not always the case. Also the "citizen – as – consumer" approach cannot apply to cases where citizens want goods like cultural goods that are non-excludable. The Libertarian approach is "finally unstable" (Miller, 1995, p. 443) because nothing is left within citizenship except the right to contract into a community of your choice.

The third conception of citizenship is the Republican approach (Miller, 1995). In this conception, the citizen is someone who plays an active role in shaping the future direction of his or her society through political debate and participation in decision-making. A citizen identifies with a local

political community and promotes its common good through active participation. Republicanism conjures up images of small homogenous states such as 4th Century Athens or 15th Century Florence treating all citizens impartially.

The Republican claim to impartiality draws criticism from feminists such as Young (1990) who argue that impartiality acts to the disadvantage of oppressed groups such as women and ethnic minorities. Republicans claim that there is no good reason why the claims of such groups should not enter the political dialogue. This is not to say that Republican citizenship will always be able to accommodate the politics of identity but Republicans do argue that there are no limits on what may be put forward in a political forum. In the final analysis, Miller (1995) believes that Republican citizenship has better resources to deal with pluralism than Liberal citizenship (currently under stress) and the libertarian alternative (that tends to fragment citizenship).

There are other forms of Liberalism that have relevance for citizenship education. Drawing on the work of Taylor (1994), Walzer (1994) outlines two democratic constitutional states (Liberalism One and Liberalism Two) that help educators to locate their position with respect to citizenship. Liberalism One requires political neutrality among the diverse and often competing conceptions of the good life held by citizens of a pluralist society.

Liberalism One can exist as an option under Liberalism Two. With

respect to the latter, neutrality is not a necessary element but public policies are subject to three conditions: the basic rights of all citizens (including freedom of speech, thought, religion and association) must be protected; no one is manipulated into accepting the cultural values that are represented by public institutions; and the public officials and institutions that make cultural choices are democratically accountable, not only in principle but in practice (Gutmann, 1994). Liberalism Two has particular relevance for teachers in public schools.

For those who subscribe to a Liberal view of education, state-provided or state-sanctioned schools are seen to have vital role to play in preparing people to be active citizens of the state (Harris, 1995). At first glance this seems to suggest that schooling is indoctrination for citizenship. However that is less likely when Liberal democracies promote plurality and freedom of worship, when schools produce autonomous individuals and not compliant, uncritical, dogma-following citizens and when they are concerned with producing citizens for the future rather than reproducing society.

Liberalism and Democracy

The promotion of Liberal ideals through schooling can raise some critical issues for teachers of citizenship. There is always a risk of promoting the extreme forms of liberty espoused by Mill (1964). Many teachers would avoid the extreme forms of individualism espoused by Rousseau (1966). There are also risks of becoming too conservative by using education solely

to liberate the minds of an intellectual elite.

Modern Liberal theory avoids both of these extremes through the discourse of Liberal rationalism that is based on the notions of rationality, community and justice (Harris, 1995). In this model, governments provide people with the conditions of an autonomous life, without steering them towards any ideals in particular. As Harris (1995) observes: "Within such a frame of discourse government, Liberalism, autonomy, choice, pluralism, tolerance, democracy, participatory citizenship schooling and education all lie together in apparent relative comfort" (p. 220). The impact of Liberal rationalist views on citizenship education will be addressed in the next section.

The obstacles to democratic education put forward by Harris (1995) and also by Giarelli (1995) have particular significance for those involved in education for citizenship. For Harris (1995), the major obstacle to democratic education is capitalism. For Giarelli (1995) there is a necessity to collapse the walls between the public and the private, the productive and the reproductive and then to educate people in the multiple 'excellences' drawn from these spheres. Rather than focusing on obstacles, White (1995) focuses on possibilities arising out of "trust". As White (1995, p. 233) observes: "In a pluralist multicultural society the school has a major role to play in helping students to become trustworthy, to learn to trust others and to have a proper trust and distrust of institutions." Many committed teachers agree with White that schools can do much to help children form,

maintain and, where necessary, repair trust relationships.

This leads to an examination of the links between teachers, democratic dispositions and public life. As students gain political maturity, their teachers need to make it clear that, on occasions, life as a citizen in a democracy is not easy. With respect to democratic education for citizenship, White (1995) makes the following observation:

> What I see as one of the greatest obstacles to education for citizenship is the teacher who is committed to a single value, or a fixed hierarchy of values, who is very clear about what is wrong with the world and how it can be put right and who sees it as her duty to encourage her students to see the world in this way. Democratic citizenship demands teachers who on occasion complicate matters for their students, who remind them that they are committed to a number of values; this fact makes the way ahead more problematic than it might have seemed at first. (White, 1995, p. 236)

Citizenship and Pluralism

The link between cultural diversity and citizenship has particular relevance for teachers in Australia. There are many teachers in Australia whose approach to citizenship education is coloured by their personal conceptions of cultural pluralism. In some cases there may be a family history of adopting Australian citizenship as a result of migration. In other cases there may have been a personal journey in which the teacher was confronted with the reality of Australia's cultural diversity only after joining the teaching profession. There is no attempt here to trace the development of Australia's pluralist society. This development has been well documented by Castles, Cope, Kalantzis & Morrissey, (1988); Jordens

(1995), and Theophanous, (1995). The analysis in this section will focus on multicultural perspectives and their impact on teachers involved in citizenship education.

When addressing democratic education in a multicultural state, there are two concepts of multiculturalism to consider (Tamir, 1995). First there is "thin multiculturalism" exemplified by the debate between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. As these two communities share Liberal democratic beliefs, the debate is intra-liberal.

In the case of "thin multiculturalism" there are two competing interpretations of Liberalism based on the work of Walzer (1994). As explained in the preceding section, Liberalism One is committed to individual rights and a rigorously neutral state. Liberalism Two allows for a state to be committed to the survival and flourishing of a particular culture as long as the basic rights of all citizens are protected. In the Australian context, Liberalism Two may apply to the Greek community in Melbourne or to Indigenous communities throughout Australia. The following quotation illustrates the complexity of the task.

> Democratic education in a multicultural state thus seems to demand three layers of education: a unified stratum of civic education (which in fact will be similar in all multicultural societies), a particularistic stratum of communal education and a shared stratum of cross-cultural education which will introduce students to the diversity within their own community. (Tamir, 1995, p. 8)

In the case of "thick multiculturalism" complex issues arise, especially for teachers in multicultural communities. There is need for a compromise

to be reached between a Liberal and an Illiberal point of view. To meet such situations, Rawls (1994) has drawn up guidelines for a "Rule of Peoples" that would be acceptable to both Liberal and Illiberal communities. Each community would be expected to follow four principles: (a) they are peaceful and gain their legitimate aims through diplomacy and trade; (b) their system of law is sincerely and not unreasonably seen as guided by a common good conception of justice; (c) their institutions include a reasonable consultation hierarchy; and (d) citizens are seen as responsible members who can recognise their moral duties and obligations and play a part in social life.

The challenge for educators is to develop (through citizenship education programs) a tolerance of, and even a respect for, cultures that do not value individual autonomy. This issue has gained particular relevance due to the rise of religious fundamentalism. The task may cause teachers to reflect seriously on the degree of Liberalism that they personally are prepared to accept. The link between multiculturalism and citizenship can be problematic for teachers and their students. This is highlighted by Galligan who argues:

> Multiculturalism is a fine policy for enhancing the well-being of migrants from diverse backgrounds and making Australia a more interesting place, but it is bad citizenship policy. In filling the citizenship void multiculturalism has produced a dangerous muddle at the heart of Australian politics. (Galligan, 1999, p. 58)

Whether one agrees with such sentiments or not, it is important to distinguish between the fact of multiculturalism and the relative merits of

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multicultural policy. The critical issue for teachers is to help students see the relevance of multicultural trends and policies. This may not seem a matter of urgency in regions where there is little cultural diversity but these may be the very regions where such issues should be aired.

In modern pluralist states, it is difficult to discuss citizenship without making reference to the links between multiculturalism and Liberalism. The development of a Liberal philosophy, based on the concepts of individuality, independence and autonomy, owes a great deal to the work of Locke (1968), Mill (1964) and Rawls (1994). It is also relevant to take into account the criticisms of feminist and post-modern philosophers who accuse Liberalism of being too individualistic and too insensitive to the socially-constituted character of the self (Feinberg, 1995). Liberal educators have been criticised for failing to recognise the special character and needs of minority cultures. However, there is nothing in the Liberal doctrine per se that would prohibit teachers from highlighting the contribution of different cultures to our collective heritage (Feinberg, 1995).

In a multicultural society, a form of citizenship education that teaches children to view their own identities - their standards, norms and ways of life – as cultural products, is implicitly teaching them to respect people with other identities. Feinberg believes we need an expanded view of Liberalism in order to meet the ideals of multicultural education.

> The problem represented by groups that seek to opt out of our multicultural education is best confronted by understanding its roots within our expanded Liberal philosophy. On the one hand, Liberalism tells us that we should not interfere with the choices

of individuals and hence, by implication, it suggests that parents should have a large say regarding the character of the education of their children. On the other hand, the expanded, culturally implicated notion of choice suggests that Liberalism and democracy themselves work best when people understand their own culturally constructed nature. (Feinberg, 1995, p. 58)

In the Australian context, educators are challenged by the populist catch-cry that "multiculturalism is divisive". They also need to be fully aware of the impact of globalisation on modern societies. One way of addressing this is to make a case for 'civic pluralism'. This has been achieved by Kalantzis (1995) as a way of reconceptualising the "New Citizen and the New State".

The views of Kalantzis have been refined in a later study of productive diversity (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997) where the focus is on Australian patterns of work. However "civic pluralism" also has implications for teachers of citizenship. As Kalantzis (1995) argues, "just as work is changing, so is the realm of public participation" (p. 8). The trend towards an expanded welfare state has been reversed while "the domain of citizenship and the power and importance of public spaces is diminishing"(p.8). Civic pluralism is a way of managing diversity in public spaces. It is:

> a place where differences are actively recognised, where these differences are negotiated in such a way that they complement each other, and where people have the chance to expand their cultural and linguistic repertoires so that they can access a broader range of cultural and institutional resources (Kalantzis, 1995, p. 9).

The link between multiculturalism and citizenship is closely bound up with the "politics of recognition" - the subject of a lively debate between CharlesTaylor, Michael Walzer, Anthony Appiah and Jurgen Habermas in a significant publication edited by Amy Gutmann (1994). While Taylor (1994) particularly addresses the challenges of multiculturalism in Canada, Habermas looks at patterns of immigration and the impact of Euro-consciousness in Germany. Habermas (1994) argues that in multicultural societies, it is important to ensure that every citizen has the "opportunity to grow up within the world of a cultural heritage and to have his or her children grow up in it without suffering discrimination because of it" (p. 131). Teachers of citizenship have a vital role to play in creating such conditions.

Closely related to the issue of multiculturalism is the issue of racism – a reality that is evident amongst students, teachers and the wider community. Citizenship education can be a significant force in confronting racism but the process is not easy. This is particularly so if we agree with Adams (1997) that there has recently been in Australia a "retreat from tolerance" in Australian society. Writing in the late 90's, as a response to the views of One Nation leader Pauline Hanson, Adams (1997) feels Australia has made "a sharp right turn from its much-vaunted Liberalism" (p. 19). Having proclaimed its tolerance and the success of its pluralism, Australia had to face a renewal of bigotry. This was no more evident than in the field of reconciliation with Indigenous Australians.

Indigenous Citizenship

Indigenous Australians represent a special case when issues of citizenship are raised. Aboriginal people have endured the status of "citizens without rights" for much of Australia's political history (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). When the issue of Indigenous citizenship is considered, Australia provides a fascinating study of a modern constitutional democracy. After the initial conquest of the Aboriginal peoples, Australia soon became a laboratory for democratic politics. Indigenous people did not fare well in that laboratory.

Reflecting the values of their age, British colonial governments applied the rule of "terra nullius" when taking control of the Australian continent. With the benefit of hindsight it was immediately obvious that the continent was previously occupied but it was convenient for settlers and legislators to disregard the fact that Indigenous peoples had prior rights to the land. As British law gained precedence in this continent, Indigenous people were accepted as British citizens by virtue of being born here. Under the original British and colonial regimes and later under Federal and State control, Aboriginal people were subject to being ruled but had no say in the ruling.

From 1948, when Australian citizenship became a reality, Aborigines automatically gained the right to be Australian citizens. However it was not until the 1967 Referendum that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders formally gained citizenship and were counted in the census. Even today, Aboriginal people are not fully represented in parliament and in public life

and many Indigenous people are denied the rights of other citizens because of institutional racism. These are critical issues for teachers to consider as they engage students in citizenship education.

The access of Indigenous Australians to full citizenship rights has attracted the attention of numerous commentators (Peterson and Sanders,1998; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). The special connection between Indigenous people and the land has attracted particular attention:

> the settler society has, since the earliest days of colonisation, ignored the existence in Australia of Indigenous societies and social orders which have provided and continue to provide, the first locus of social membership and identity for most Aboriginal people (Peterson and Sanders, 1998, p. 1).

Of particular relevance to educators are the debates that rage over the history of Indigenous citizenship. Scholars such as Reynolds (1998) provide a wealth of historical material on culture contact between European settlers and Indigenous Australians. In recent times Windschuttle (2002) has challenged the veracity of Reynolds' sources with respect to the treatment of Tasmanian Aborigines. This challenge has given support to those who argue against what is perceived to be a "black armband" view of history.

When teachers deal with issues of citizenship there is a need to recognize the special case of Indigenous people and to deal with Indigenous issues sensitively and correctly. In order to do so, trainee teachers and practising teachers need access to resource materials that incorporate Indigenous perspectives in these issues. Teachers need access to a range of Indigenous perspectives and opportunities to incorporate these

perspectives into their pedagogy.

The Gender Perspective

Of particular relevance to teachers of civics and citizenship is a vast literature on the gendered nature of citizenship (Foster 1996; Benhabib, 1992; Cass, 1994; Leech, 1994; Pateman, 1988, 1989, 1992; Shanley and Pateman, 1991; Young 1987). Much of this literature focuses on the exclusion of women from the civic public realm of citizenship which is "both normatively masculine and relies on an opposition between the public and private dimensions of human life" (Foster, 1996, p. 52). There is also an enormous gulf between the apparent guarantee of full citizenship and women's actual lived experience of that guarantee (Leech, 1994). From a feminist perspective, women's status as citizens is underwritten by a sexual contract denying them free and equal status with men (Pateman, 1988).

Feminist legal theorists (Charlesworth, 1992; Graycar, 1992, 1993) show that there are implications for women's legal status as citizens due to the fact that they carry the burden of responsibility for work in the private sphere. One of the most significant feminist writers on citizenship, Young (1987), argues that the equality for women is not and will not be delivered merely by attempting to include women in the normative conception of man-as-citizen or simply by "laundering some of its ideals" (p. 5).

Complicating the task of finding a consensus on the meaning of citizenship from a feminist perspective is the existence of cultural pluralism. In the previous section it was shown how liberal, libertarian and Republican conceptions of citizenship attempt to deal with pluralism (Miller, 1995). Of particular interest here are the critiques of these conceptions by feminist writers.

An issue for both male and female teachers is the extent to which they accept the views of feminist writers such as Young (1987). Young is a critic of the Liberal and Republican views of citizenship that are shared by many practitioners. It is Young's view that liberals and Republicans are committed to an idea of impartiality that acts to the disadvantage of women and ethnic minority groups. She claims that Republican theorists insist on the unity of the "civic public" and participation in that sphere is governed by an idea of reason that will exclude claims based on the particular needs and desires of women and other groups. Republicans believe that it is possible for citizens to be impartial, to set aside their particular aims and preferences and to reason from a completely universal standpoint. The key issue is whether such impartiality disadvantages groups who have claims that depend on their particularity.

It is possible to separate two types of claims that are advanced in political debate (Miller, 1995). Firstly there are claims that appeal to an interest that is shared by all citizens - such as security from attack from external forces. On the other hand there are claims that reflect the interests

of particular groups such as Vietnamese women immigrants or Indigenous women. In the second case, agreement may be more difficult to achieve but it may be possible if appeal is made to a norm of justice such as equal treatment.

Republican citizenship tends not to accommodate anything that goes under the banner of "the politics of identity". However group identities are recognised in the sense that all groups are given access to decision-making forums. The Republican conception of citizenship places no barrier on the sorts of demands that can be made in the political forum.

There is a second claim that the Republican ideal relies on a private/public distinction, discriminating against those who have concerns that are essentially private matters (Young, 1990). There are two points at which a public/private distinction emerges within the Republican conception. Firstly, there is the person who acts in a private capacity and also as a citizen. Secondly, the public/private distinction will sometimes emerge from public deliberation – for example when it is agreed that some matters should be confined to a private sphere. The Republican conception certainly values active participation but every citizen does not have to engage in each debate to the same level.

The development of feminist perspectives has similarities with Indigenous and multicultural perspectives when dealing with Liberal, Libertarian and Republican conceptions of citizenship. The Liberal view of citizenship as proposed by Marshall and Bottomore (1992) and Rawls (1987)

is under threat. The Libertarian view tends to fragment citizenship so that over and above the minimum core values, each person chooses their own package of rights. The Republican conception demands a higher level of agreement between groups and individuals and it aims to achieve this in a pragmatic way through the give and take of politics (Miller 1995). A teacher who is serious about incorporating multicultural, Indigenous and feminist perspectives within the study of citizenship needs to take these conceptions into account.

National Identity

It is difficult to discuss citizenship without making reference to its links with national identity. This is especially true for those who elect to take on Australian citizenship. Often their decision to take up citizenship is closely related to their perception of national identity – and the extent to which the expression of national identity is one that values cultural diversity. This perceived sense of inclusivity in expressions of national identity can also be significant for Indigenous Australians. It clearly affects the value that they place on citizenship and the ways in which non-Indigenous people view the citizenship of Indigenous peoples.

One of the most influential writers on Australia's national identity is Donald Horne. Having helped to shape that identity through literary works such as The Lucky Country (Horne, 1965), Ideas for a Nation (Horne, 1989), and Avenue of the Fair Go (Horne, 1997). Horne (1997) argues that we should adopt a "civic identity" and "stop fussing about identity" (p. 264).

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He insists that nationalism has again become "a terror tactic" and suggests it is time for the idea of "national identity to be abandoned" (Horne, 1997, p. 264). In the face of growing internationalism, it may be necessary to discard the very idea of being a nation (Horne 1997).

Despite the expression of these sorts of views, teachers need to come to terms with issues of national identity in civics and citizenship education programs. They may be influenced by Dixson (1999) who takes issue with Horne on a number of counts. She argues that a civic identity is not enough. In her view, civic identity cannot provide an authentic rhetoric of social unity any more than the market can. She feels it is ironic for Horne to have a strong belief in diversity when he sees little real difference between nations.

While Horne searches for unity through a civic identity that cuts across the diversity in society, Dixson (1999) argues that Anglo-Celtic traditions provide a "holding" core identity which hold Australian society together. She commends the idea of "multiple identities" but argues that the cohesion of society depends on the existence of a core culture:

> To be sure, plural identities have existed since 1788, though they now proliferate with gusto. In the case of the individual, without some kind of 'holding' core identity, multiple identities risk exploding into psychosis. Within the social group, the danger comes from one or another degree of conflict, even disintegration (Dixson, 1999, p.11).

The views of Horne and Dixson are widely represented in Australian society at large. There are some who argue that Australian citizens today

come from such a broad spectrum of ethnic backgrounds that we cannot hope to agree on a single national identity. There is optimism that we may agree on a set of civic ideals that will form the fabric of society and a basis for national identity. Others argue that as well as celebrating diversity, we also need to recognise the Anglo-Celtic traditions that have provided a firm foundation for national identity.

Most Australian teachers have been influenced by positive public and educational policy on cultural pluralism and national identity. Adding significantly to the debate on Australian national identity and citizenship in the last decade of the 20th Century, Castles, Kalantzis, Cope and Morrissey (1993, p. 3) argue that the acquistion of Australian citizenship should not require suppression of one's cultural heritage or identity. "Rather the act of becoming a citizen is – symbolically and actually – a process of bringing one's own gift of language, culture and traditions to enrich the already diverse fabric of Australian society" (Castles, Kalantzis, Cope and Morrissey, 1995, p. 3).

In this context it is relevant to note the sentiments of a former Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (Colin McPhee) who stated in 1982:

> our vision of a multicultural society shares with our concept of citizenship a strong emphasis on building a cohesive and harmonious society which is all the more tolerant and outward-looking because of the diversity of its origins. (McPhee, 1982, cited in Castles, Kalantzis, Cope and Morrissey, 1995, p. 3).

This enlightened view has not always been shared by his predecessors or his successors. Another significant contributor to the debate, Jordens

(1995), expresses interest in the "imagined Australian" – a theme later picked up Dixson (1999). Jordens (1995, p. 1) argues that "a nation's understanding of itself is revealed by the categories of people it regards as foreign, as alien, as 'other'." As Jordens notes:

> From 1948 to 1987 the Nationality and Citizenship Act defined an alien as 'a person who does not have the status of a British subject and is not an Irish person or a protected person'. That is, the image of Australians enshrined in the Australian citizenship legislation was that of an Anglo-Celtic people. (Jordens, 1995, p. 1).

Despite this, a profound cultural change has taken place in Australia since the end of World War II. Australia has been transformed from a country that saw itself as essentially British to one which increasingly defined itself in terms of its ethnic and cultural diversity (Jordens, 1995). It moved from discriminating against those residents who did not fit into the imagined national community to a situation where the equal treatment of its members is required by legislation.

In developing a position on national identity, a significant issue for educators is the link between multiculturalism and citizenship. Theophanous (1995) puts forward a proposal that would provide an Australian identity based on the (i) the civil and political rights of the Western Liberal democratic model and (ii) the commitment to a comprehensive concept of social justice based on social rights.

Clearly there has been a lively debate in Australia on the link between national identity and citizenship and that debate continues. Similar debates

continue in most Western democracies. Having interviewed a group of

Australian children regarding their views on national identity, Gill and

Howard raise some significant issues for teachers:

> In relation to citizenship, the children are reasonably well-
> informed about the rights and responsibilities of being a citizen -
> a state that these respondents believe entails a respectful attitude
> towards one's country. Moreover, despite the three girls' spirited
> advocacy of free movement of all people between countries,
> there is general approval for rules to govern who can and cannot
> become a citizen. What is particularly encouraging is that, given
> the multicultural nature of Australian society and the numbers of
> visibly different groups that help constitute it, at no time did
> these children question whether non-Anglo Australians should
> be eligible for citizenship - unless they were illegal immigrants.
> We believe this study suggests that children may be beginning to
> adopt new forms of national identity - forms that involve an easy
> slippage between the global and the local, the national and the
> international (Gill and Howard, 1999, p. 9)

Any discussion of citizenship in the current era must necessarily turn to

globalisation and the formation of entities larger than the nation state. The

European Union (EU) is a relevant example of the latter. There is evidence

of common culture developing across Europe but ironically it is brought

about by American TV and film production (Field, 1996). This is not to say

that there is no resistance to such a homogenisation of culture and the

insistence of European people in holding on to their distinct languages

provides testimony to this.

As far as common European citizenship is concerned, it is evident that

people holding national citizenship of EU countries can obtain an EU

passport. However the basis of citizenship varies from country to country

as do the rights and obligations of citizens. Germany still adheres to the

principle of citizenship through blood. A third generation resident of Turkish or Kurdish extraction may find it impossible to gain citizenship in Germany (Field, 1996). Elsewhere in Europe the citizenship laws tend to be more liberal. This means that it is difficult to conceive of a common sense of citizenship across Europe.

The re-unification of Germany, the liberation of East European states, the growth of the European Common Market and the movement of immigrants into the wealthier European states are all significant issues (Habermas, 1995). While some of these are peculiarly European, the issue of migration has universal application in developing awareness of what it is to be a citizen.

The "Republican strand" of citizenship has relevance here. A nation does not derive its identity from some common ethnic and cultural properties, but rather "from the praxis of citizens who actively exercise their civil rights" (Habermas, 1995, p. 258). This leaves the way open for migrants to contribute to a host nation but the migration issue also raises the question of a world citizenship that sits alongside state citizenship. The arrival of world citizenship is no longer considered a "phantom", though we are still far from achieving it. "State citizenship and world citizenship form a continuum that already shows itself, at least, in outline form" (Habermas, 1995, p. 279).

While it is true that the concept of citizenship developed at a local level, in conjunction with the growth of the city state, it also true that many of the

early Greek philosophers thought of citizenship in a global sense as well (Cutler, 1993). In a country such as Australia with its significant reliance on immigration for nation building it is important for citizenship education programs to establish links between the local and the global.

Notions of citizenship are closely related to notions of national identity. In the Australian context, Ryan, Salvaris and Weekley (1996) argue a case for the use of benchmarks to clarify what Australian citizenship embodies. Such a process may be viewed as a nation -building exercise and this interest in benchmarking citizenship has flowed into civics and citizenship education.

Culture and Citizenship

Teachers of civics and citizenship often find themselves "living with the confluence of cultures and citizenship" (Pattobingi, 1996). Their students are grappling with distinctions between the terms "nation", "society", "culture" and "civilization". Interest in these terms is heightened by warnings of a possible clash of civilizations in the foreseeable future (Huntington, 1993). However, it is possible that those who make such claims tend to overlook the porosity of cultures and civilizations. Many of the central respected values of the West are equally respected in the Islamic and Confucian worlds (Pattobingi, 1996).

Teachers of civics and citizenship can play a critical role by enhancing "people-to-people concern", rather than nation-to-nation links (Pattobingi, 1996). Studies of culture and citizenship need not be tied up with blood or

origin, but with adherence to universality and to the guarantee of a fair and peaceful coexistence. These are significant statements coming as they do from an Indonesian scholar. Further afield in Asia there are many variations on the concept of citizenship in relation to the cultural traditions of the Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Thais, Malaysians and Vietnamese just to name a few (Gilligan, 1998). These alternative concepts of citizenship often arise when students engage in studies of Asian cultures.

Civil Society

Closely linked with the notion of citizenship, is the concept of a civil society. In her successful Boyer Lecture series Cox (1995) acknowledges the wide-ranging debate taking place on citizenship. While the focus of her work is on the creation of a truly civil society, she recognises that civil societies are also civic societies. She argues that, as citizens, we must take responsibility for changing what we do not like. Linking the notions of the civil and the civic, Cox (1995) states: "My vision of a very civil society involves social connections with political life. Politics must combine the valuing of difference, intertwined rights and responsibilities, and collective and democratic involvement in decisions which affect us " (p. 69). Such views present a specific challenge to teachers as they adopt a stance on citizenship education.

Defining Citizenship

As is evident from the foregoing discussion, the meaning of citizenship is constantly shifting and changing. Citizenship is "normally a word which

slides unproblematically past our attention, yet upon closer scrutiny it can

be a rather slippery concept to grasp" (Evans, Moore, Saunders and

Jamison, 1997, p. 22).

This makes it difficult to establish a commonly accepted definition of

the term. Teachers of civics and citizenship often find it helpful to employ

different versions of the concept, each of which may be valid depending on

the circumstance:

> Citizenship as legal status: Citizenship as a status, implying formal rights and duties, the broad range of legal entitlements and obligations which accrue to the status of citizenship.
>
> Citizenship as democratic identity: Citizenship as an identity and a set of moral and social virtues based in the democratic ideal.
>
> Citizenship as public practice: Citizenship as a public practice conducted through legal and political processes.
>
> Citizenship as democratic participation: Citizenship as power sharing and involvement in decision making in all aspects of life (Gilbert, 1996, pp. 57-59).

Of equal interest are the four elements of citizenship highlighted by the

Senate Legal and Constitutional References Committee:

- full membership and active participation
- in a just, democratic and mutually supportive political community
- including the individual and collective rights and responsibilities – legal, social, economic, cultural and environmental – that go with such membership; and
- the public and private policies and resources needed to sustain participation (Rayner, 1997, p. 13).

The emphasis should be on reciprocity between citizens and their

governments. This is highlighted by a quote from High Court Justice Mary

Gaudron's judgement on the Teoh case in April 1995:

Citizenship involves more than obligations on the part of the individual to the community constituting the body politic of which he or she is a member. It involves obligations on the part of the body politic to the individual, especially if the individual is in a position of vulnerability…So much was recognised as the duty of kings. No less is required of the government and the courts of a civilised democratic society (Gaudron cited in Rayner, 1997, p. 13-14).

Of particular interest to students in the middle years of schooling is the notion of "children as citizens" (Sidoti, 1997). The idea of children as citizens can be linked to the concept of human rights. Children have an equal entitlement to the range of human rights that apply to all human beings (Sidoti, 1997). However the rights of children have been readily violated because "as a group they have never been protected by full citizenship status or conceptually thought of as full citizens" (Bessant cited in Sidoti, 1997, p. 11). Any study of the nature of citizenship needs to examine terms such as "full" citizenship.

Each of the above issues concerning the nature of citizenship has relevance for the teacher in developing a theory of action to use in the classroom. In order to raise such issues with young adolescents, teachers need opportunities to reflect on their own value positions and to decide which aspects of the citizenship concept are relevant for students in the middle years. The issues that have emerged in the historical development of the citizenship concept, especially concerning the links with notions of Liberalism and the challenges of addressing gender, multicultural and Indigenous perspectives are of ongoing relevance to teachers in the middle

years of schooling.

Summary of Chapter

In summary, this chapter has shown that the concept of citizenship is an evolving one with many nuances of meaning. In order to provide citizenship education, teachers need to have a background in the history of citizenship and should be aware of the perspectives that bear upon our understanding of citizenship. This study is not informed by any particular definition of citizenship. It recognizes that numerous definitions exist. From a critical perspective, educators need to be aware of the origins of particular definitions that they have chosen to employ in specific educational contexts.

CHAPTER THREE: ISSUES IN CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP

EDUCATION

Outline of the Chapter

This chapter examines issues in civics and citizenship education, locating these within an historical, educational and political context. There is a focus on the nature and evolution of civics and citizenship education in schools, relating its place in the curriculum to the purpose of schooling. Links are made to national, state and overseas approaches to civics and citizenship education. There is a specific focus on issues surrounding the choice of appropriate pedagogies and particular reference is made to Aboriginal, multicultural and gender perspectives.

The ideas presented in this chapter draw upon the conceptions of citizenship outlined in Chapter Two. Of particular relevance are the notions of Liberalism that inform teachers' approaches to citizenship education. Of equal importance are the emerging definitions of the citizenship concept that present a challenge to teachers and students alike.

Civics and Citizenship Education

As indicated in Chapter One, this study has a primary focus on citizenship education but this does not preclude discussion of civics education. The latter is seen to be a sub-set of citizenship education. Civics education may be viewed as a precursor to effective citizenship education or the two could be seen as parallel processes. Traditionally the focus of schools was on civics education where knowledge was imparted on the

structure and processes of government. Civics education typically included

a study of key figures in the political development of the nation and was

often linked with moral education and civic responsibility. This approach

is designated the "Old Civics". In the last decade of the 20th century, a

"New Civics" emerged. The pivotal components of the New Civics are "an

understanding of government, the constitution, civic responsibility, citizen

rights and Australian political history" (Print and Gray, 1996, p. 6). Some

commentators such as Armitage (1998) argue for a continued emphasis on

the Constitution. To many classroom practitioners it doesn't seem "new" at

all but on further examination there are indeed changes in emphasis.

Proponents of the New Civics argue that environmental issues and the

"need for ecological sustainability are also significant" (Print and Gray,

1996, p. 6). It is also relevant to note that the "New Civics" has strong links

with values education (Print and Gray, 1996; Dufty 1995; Hill 1996).

> Nowhere is the scope of the new civics education more clearly
> identified than in its deliberate treatment of values... It includes
> values issues of social justice, tolerance of others, the common
> good, majority rule and other essential value positions which
> constitute the basis of an effective democracy. (Print and Gray,
> 1996, p. 6)

The "New Civics" education adopts an inclusive position within the

school curriculum (Print and Gray, 1996). There has been an attempt to

integrate civics and citizenship education within the broad range of Key

Learning Areas especially through literacy links but the most obvious base

for civics and citizenship education is in the Key Learning Area of Studies

of Society and Environment. Possibilities for integration arise through English, Personal Development, Health and Physical Education, Creative Arts and Languages other than English, but few opportunities arise for integration in the areas of Mathematics, or Science and Technology.

A critical issue for teachers is the development of a rationale for including civics in the curriculum. A carefully thought-out program of civics education would help young adolescents to see a connection between government institutions and their own lives. One advocate suggests "the most important product of civic education is the understanding, genuinely appreciated by young people, (that) the individual is responsible for the democratic system and for the maintenance of the common good" (Babb 1995, p. 6). This approach provides continuity with earlier approaches to citizenship education as outlined in the previous chapter. There is, however, debate about the depth to which young adolescents need to know the fine details of documents such as the Australian Constitution.

The recent changes could herald a move towards a more active orientation for civics education (Kennedy, 1996; 1998). However, despite the revised definition of the "New Civics", there are many who would argue that citizenship education is still a much broader concept than civics education. The latter has a stronger emphasis on concepts such as identity and active participation in the political process. This broader view is taken by the Civics Expert Group (1994) although they fail to provide any clear definition of what citizenship education entails. The report makes little

reference to active participation.

Although the distinction between civics and citizenship is worth
making, the current trend is to combine the two concepts and to refer Civics
and Citizenship Education (CCE) as one entity. There is no clear
demarcation line between the two components when such a title is used but
it can be an issue for teachers to determine whether they are teaching civics
or citizenship education. The degree of emphasis given to each aspect
depends on the background and experiences of the teachers themselves.

Education for Citizenship and the Purpose of Schooling

Citizenship education lies at the very centre of the educational process.
One educator to promote this view is Dewey (1937) who sought to promote
democracy through education. For Dewey (1937, cited in Tamir, 1995),
democracy is precisely the "best means so far found… for realising ends
that lie in the wide domain of human relationships and the development of
the human personality" (p.2). It is Dewey's view that citizenship education
is vital to the maintenance of democracy and there are few who would
dispute this.

Drawing attention to the complex relationship between the citizen and
the State, Dewey (cited in Beiner 1995, p. 98) observes: "The moment we
utter the words 'the State,' a score of intellectual ghosts rise to obscure our
vision." Despite this apparent ambiguity, Dewey appears to have "believed
intensely in the value of citizenship, in a citizenry publicly active and alert
to scientific problem solving" (Beiner, 1995, p. 98). Citizenship education

played a prominent role in Dewey's philosophy, providing support for an action-oriented and problem-solving pedagogy.

Citizenship education is closely is linked to the content and purpose of schooling (Harris, 1995). In all societies there is a need for curricula to prepare future citizens for participation. Two features seem to be constant: instilling dominant value and belief systems and transmitting specific content. In that respect schooling is conservative. Schooling may also be seen as a form of indoctrination for citizenship. From a conservative perspective schools function to produce citizens who uncritically reproduce the social order.

There are alternative views that immediately confront that position (Harris, 1995). These include the desire to promote plurality and freedom of belief, the desire to educate and not just to socialise children, the need to produce autonomous citizens and the need in modern societies to position young people for the future. The state needs to tread a fine line between providing too much freedom and too much individualism whilst also avoiding the risk of being too conservative. Modern Liberal theory avoids both extremes largely through the discourse of liberal rationalism that concentrates on rationalism, community and justice. "Within this frame of discourse, government, liberalism, autonomy, choice, pluralism, tolerance, democracy, participatory citizenship, schooling and education all lie together in relative comfort" (Harris, 1995, p. 220).

It is hard to argue that such a system of schooling would be considered

"conservative" but when we are talking about state-provided and state-sanctioned education, what state would establish a form of compulsory schooling that challenged the dominant value, belief and knowledge systems? Given the critical orientation of this study, it is relevant to examine the neo-Marxist analysis of Harris (1995) as a way of examining the role of schooling in society. From such a perspective, universal compulsory schooling is established to serve the interests of the capitalist class. This can be achieved by considering six "illusions" related to education and citizenship. These "illusions" also operate as "allusions" (Harris, 1995) and in offering a critique of schooling, they also have direct relevance to curriculum areas such as civics and citizenship education.

Firstly there is the illusion that schooling is primarily concerned with educating. The allusion is that schools do offer educative experiences but they also act as agents of social control. It is often easier for students to absorb what is offered by a school rather than to seriously question the values underlying the curriculum that is offered.

Secondly there is an illusion of the neutrality of knowledge. This is supported by the allusion that some knowledge appears to be unquestionably neutral. However, it is not possible for all world views to be recognised and often only a few selected voices are heard in the school curriculum. Too often, in text-books, opinions are promoted as facts.

There is also an illusion of equal opportunity and mobility. The allusion here is that all children regardless of race, gender or creed are offered a

place in school. The reality of course is that school systems do discriminate against people of colour in significant ways. Part of the problem is that it is not their knowledge that school systems foster, transmit and legitimate. Recent experience of Australian primary schools suggests that the curriculum and predominant pedagogy has been feminised to the extent that it is often boys who do not have their voices heard, especially in primary schools (Biddulph 2000; West 2001).

Then there is the fourth illusion of autonomy. This is evident in the allusion that in so-called liberal democracies people do have real choices. This is revealed as an illusion when we consider the lack of real power that teachers, parents and students have over structural matters. The freedom that they do have allows them to make only minor adjustments to the status quo. Local economies and school districts are relatively helpless in confronting the forces of economic rationalism and globalisation.

The fifth illusion is that of democracy and power. In liberal democracies there is the allusion that all citizens are entitled to vote. However citizens often don't have power where it really counts. They may only get a chance of choosing between two parties with very similar policies. This is not to say that people can't effect change. It's just that the amount of effort needed even to make modest changes can be quite daunting.

The last is the illusion of liberalism. The allusion is that more alternatives are now offered and tolerated, restrictions are being lifted and speech seems freer. However those who take up radical causes and

positions by speaking out, often have opportunities denied them e.g. in access to promotion. Even in the most liberal democracies, restrictions are enforced quickly by those who have power.

These illusions may lead to a pessimistic impression of education for citizenship. Education for citizenship, in this reading, mainly seems to be directed towards conservation, reproducing the means of production and providing society with differentially skilled compliant citizens. However this analysis relies too heavily on reproduction theory and conspiracy theory (Harris, 1995). These theories suggest that schools are determined to maintain the status quo and are part of a conspiracy to keep the populace compliant.

Schools can in fact become transformative and revolutionary (Harris,1995). They can become sites of resistance and education is, by its very nature, critical and transformative. There are however some difficulties. The first is a matter of perception. Engaging in transformative education requires recognition of how people (citizens) are constituted as ideological subjects. It requires the educator to recognise and overcome his or her own construction as an ideological subject (Harris, 1995). This is a key skill as teachers reflect upon their theories of action.

Secondly, critical education requires individuals to be critical of the very system within which they are working. This basically requires educators to use the elements of the system against itself. Thirdly the critically transformative teacher may be in a privileged position with regard to learners but as a critically reflexive person may be loathe to exploit this

privileged position. As Harris very wisely warns:

> a critically educative teacher would need to avoid not only
> making children the 'walking wounded' of a cause, but also
> merely replacing one form of indoctrination with another. Such a
> person would have a lot of listening to do in a school, and a great
> deal of reflective knowledge to acquire outside. (Harris, 1995, p.
> 226)

Citizenship education is thus clearly linked to the purpose of schooling.

In fact commentators such as Kymlicka argue that public schooling was

first established with such an aim in mind:

> It is widely accepted that a basic task of schooling is to prepare
> each generation for their responsibilities as citizens. Indeed, the
> need to create a knowledgeable and responsible citizenry was
> one of the major reasons for establishing a public school system.
> (Kymlicka, 1999, p.7)

The link between civics and citizenship education and the purpose of

schooling, is a view that has informed this current study. When that

broader purpose is appreciated, the need for moving beyond the traditional

conception of civics becomes obvious:

> Education for citizenship includes, but also goes far beyond,
> classes in 'civics'. Citizenship is not just a matter of learning the
> basic facts about institutions and procedures of political life; it
> also involves acquiring a range of dispositions, virtues and
> loyalties that are intimately bound up with the practice of
> democratic citizenship. Children acquire these virtues and
> loyalties not just (or even primarily) in civics classes. Rather they
> are inculcated throughout the educational system. (Kymlicka,
> 1999, p. 7)

This study is based on a broad vision of citizenship education that has

implications for the total curriculum. It is a view that has implications not

only for pedagogical approaches within the classroom but also for the

whole mission of the school. This is one of the critical issues that

teachers need to address from a personal, pedagogical, political and practical perspective.

> The aim of educating citizens affects what subjects are taught, how they are taught, and in what sorts of classrooms. In this sense, education for citizenship is not an isolated subject in the curriculum but, rather, one of ordering goals and principles that shape the entire curriculum. (Kymlicka, 1999, p. 7)

Emerging Issues in Civics and Citizenship Education

While there was a flurry of activity in civics and citizenship education throughout Australia in the last decade of the twentieth century, the level of interest throughout the preceding decades was spasmodic. In the period 1900 – 1960 civics education was an integral if not prominent feature of the curriculum. There was an emphasis on "good citizenship", rights and duties, Australia's role in the British Empire / Commonwealth, the Australian Constitution and Australia's government structure (Musgrave 1994; Kennedy, 1995). Civics was closely linked with moral education where students were presented with case studies of people who did good works for the community (e.g. Caroline Chisholm, Florence Nightingale and Dr Bernardo). Teachers and students were viewed as receptive participants of the civic ideal (Print, 1995).

The teaching of civics tended to be didactic in nature and relied on a text-book approach. Primary teachers used departmental publications such as "The School Paper" and "Victorian Readers" (Musgrave, 1994). In secondary schools, the standard texts were Hoy's "Civics for Australian Schools" and Thorn and Rigg's "Handbook of Civics (Thomas 1994;

Kennedy 1995). Kennedy (2001) also mentions "The Citizen Reader" by Charles Long (1906) and "The Australian Citizen" by Walter Murdoch (1916) as key texts.

Between 1960 and 1990, the teaching of civics and citizenship was given little prominence as school systems experimented with new social studies curricula. There seemed to be a level of teacher resistance to the teaching of the "Old Civics", possibly reflecting the uncertainty of the times and the feeling amongst teachers that they were not adequately prepared to deal with controversial issues. Some teachers were well aware of their own lack of political literacy whilst others remained blissfully apolitical. However, the sacking of the Whitlam government in 1975 convinced a generation of teachers that they could not remain apolitical.

By the late 1980's researchers became increasingly aware of the lack of political literacy amongst students (Reid 1986; Phillips, 1989). This research was made available to two Senate Select Committees on Employment, Education and Training. The reports of these committees "Education for Active Citizenship" (1989) and "Active Citizenship Revisited" (1991) were significant documents in developing awareness of the need for change.

The stance of the Senate Standing Committee was strengthened by the decision of the Australian Education Council (1989) to include citizenship as one of its ten Common and Agreed Goals for Schooling in Australia. Goal 7 reflected the agreement reached by Ministers of Education in the area of citizenship "to develop knowledge, skills, attitudes and values

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which will enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in our democratic Australian society within an international context" (Australian Education Council, 1989, p.3).

At this time teachers were provided with access to the "Parliamentary Pack" – a resource developed by the Parliamentary Education Office (PEO) in Canberra. This resource was intended to help teachers to address the "civics deficit" that was becoming evident from a range of research reports. Teachers came to value the work of the PEO, not only for quality of programs provided at Parliament House in Canberra but also for its outreach program through publications and regional visits.

The need for radical change in civics and citizenship education was related to a unique series of events, processes and initiatives (Kennedy and Print, 1994). These included: the repositioning of Australia within the Asian region, changing relationships with Indigenous peoples, changes in the role of women in society, official recognition of Australia as a multicultural society and a robust republican debate. There is thus a strong connection between the development of citizenship education and emerging notions of citizenship as outlined in Chapter Two.

"Whereas the People" – a Landmark Report

The seminal report "Whereas the People" draws all these threads together. It presents the view of the Civics Expert Group (1994) at a time when the Federal Labor government was in power. The Prime Minister (Paul Keating) was keen to advance the republican debate. He felt that the

debate would be better informed if the political literacy of the community was enhanced. (Appendix A shows the view of a political commentator at the time.)

Just prior to the publication of the Civics Expert Group report, Keating made a significant speech at the "New Educational Realities" conference in Melbourne. In this speech he said:

> Education is the foundation of a nation's culture and strength. It is where knowledge and appreciation of our heritage is passed on: where our sensibilities are broadened, where moral, ethical and aesthetic faculties are shaped. I don't think I am alone in suspecting that some of these things are not the priorities they once were. Yet our success as a nation and as a society, as a much as the responsibility we have to our children, demands that we do not let these values slip from our education system…. Perhaps most of all, our children should know what the privileges and responsibilities of Australian democracy are. What their great inheritance is. What change is desirable and possible. (Keating, 1994, p. 5)

In the months leading up to the publication of the Civics Expert Group report, keen interest was shown in the attitudes of the Opposition to this issue. The Opposition leader, Alexander Downer, was ready to support an educational program but expressed qualifications about the government's role in the process by stating "I think it is very important Australians have a better understanding of their Constitution, of the history of the constitution but I won't tolerate propaganda" (Downer, 1994, p. 3).

The report of the Civics Expert Group (1994) draws heavily on ANOP research (Macintyre, 1995) pointing to a lack of knowledge about political structures, especially amongst 15-19 year old Australians. It then goes on to

make some observations about present and future trends in civics and citizenship education. The results of this research are backed up by Print (1995) who points to a lack of political literacy amongst NSW students in years 9,10 and 12. Print (1995) contends that student political and parliamentary knowledge is largely superficial regardless of school or sex.

The intentions of the Civics Expert Group can be deduced from comments by individual group members. As one of the authors of the report, Pascoe (1996) agrees with the Civics Expert Group argument that "knowledge about the structure and functions of Australian government were a necessary foundation for an effective civics and citizenship education program" (p. 24-25). The committee members point to the need for a program based on the "basic liberal democratic values that sustain our system of government, an appreciation of how government works in practice, knowledge of the role of non-government organizations, an appreciation of the rich diversity of Australian society and an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizens" (Pascoe, 1996, p. 25).

Civics may be presented as a recitation of dry factual material with a moral underpinning of commitment to "God, King and Country" (Pascoe, 1996). This approach to civics is seen as an outdated practice from the past. The "New Civics" has a focus on knowledge and understanding, skills, values and attitudes. This approach draws upon the ideas of social philosopher John Rawls (1985) who links the concept of justice with

citizenship. This is further evidence of the way in which emerging issues and theories of citizenship as outlined in Chapter Two have an impact on teachers' pedagogy.

The teaching of democratic values is best sustained and reinforced in environments which model their application (Civics Expert Group, 1994). Consequently, the development of a democratic school environment is an important pre-condition for effective civics and citizenship education.

> Schools are socializing agencies which teach children the skills of living in a community. They are the foundation of active citizenship. As early as junior primary school, children are involved in framing rules for the classroom and rules about the games they play: they then learn respect for the rights of others and the skills necessary to avoid or resolve disputes. Group dynamics generate some fundamental organizing principles of school classrooms. Without an active citizenship education, one that touches all aspects of school life, civics education will only create confusion and resistance. (Civics Expert Group, 1994, p. 68)

The committee members argue that civics and citizenship education need to permeate all the Key Learning Areas in the curriculum (Civics Expert Group, 1994). However the curriculum area defined in the national statements and profiles as "Studies of Society and Environment" is deemed to be the logical place to provide a grounding in civics education. The appointment of an eminent historian as chair of the committee remains a contentious issue as history teachers distance themselves from other social science teachers, feeling perhaps that civics is their private domain.

Significantly, the Civics Expert Group (1994) stresses that a global perspective should be included in any Australian civics and citizenship

education program. Given the heavy emphasis on Australian content in the resources that have subsequently been produced by the Curriculum Corporation, the committee's original view is worth noting.

> Civics education cannot be insular. In the next century more than ever before, Australian citizenship will require an appreciation of Australia's place in the world and its international obligations. We should teach Australia's system of government with an awareness of other systems of government. Without apologizing for our own expectations, we should be sensitive to different understandings of citizenship within the region. Citizenship has a global dimension. (Civics Expert Group, 1994, p. 51)

There is a particular challenge for teachers who seek to link aspects of local and national citizenship with global citizenship (Cutler, 1993). In states such as NSW, it is common for global concepts to be highlighted in junior high school programs in Geography and History and outcomes related to citizenship have been incorporated in these mandatory courses. A critical issue for teachers is the challenge of linking global concepts with local issues of concern to young adolescents.

Reflecting the views of practising teachers (Pascoe, 1996) argues that citizenship education was not intended to produce political "prissiness" or compliance amongst students. Quite the contrary, the Civics Expert Group (1994) feels that a civics and citizenship program should provide opportunities for students to discuss and debate issues and values about which they have a sound knowledge.

In order to achieve a renaissance in civics education, high quality pre-service and in-service education programs are advocated. This is strongly

asserted in the submissions made to the Civics Expert Group (1994). Subsequent studies by Alexander and Bond (2000) address the issue of pre-service education and their report recognizes the importance of professional development activities as a way of implementing change.

Since its publication "Whereas the people" has generated a great deal of discussion, especially amongst social educators. While many are pleased to see civics and citizenship education being taken seriously, there are some who point to a History bias amongst the members of the committee (Reid 1996). This has been followed by vigorous counter-arguments on behalf of that discipline by MacIntyre (1996) and Mellor (1996b). Critics also mention the lack of practising civics educators amongst the educationists on the committee (Reid, 1996), the over-emphasis on civics education rather than active citizenship (Gilbert, 1996a), the lack of attention paid to Aboriginal, multicultural and gender perspectives (Woods, 1995; Woods, 1996; Foster 1996) and the lack of a voice for practising teachers (Reid, 1996).

Some commentators link the report's recommendations to a legitimation crisis in education (Reid, 1996) whilst others express concern about curriculum and pedagogical issues. Programs arising from Civics Expert report could be viewed as an "opportunity missed" if the overemphasis on History and the heavy emphasis on content are not addressed and if the pedagogical approach does not provide more scope for students' meaningful participation in communities (Robison and Parkin, 1997).

The views of Reid (1996) need to be examined in greater depth. The upsurge of politicians' interest in civics and citizenship education reflects the state's response to a legitimation crisis (Reid, 1996). This crisis is related to the growth of economic rationalism, opposed by a rapid cultural change amongst young people threatening the very foundations of capitalist society. This is evidenced by protests on a global scale by young people at Group of Eight (G8) meetings. To them, education has become a tool of micro-economic reform and the legitimation crisis is an indication that too great an emphasis had been placed on the economic role. On the other hand, the state cannot shift too far in the direction of promoting democratic participation for fear of producing a citizenry that seeks a more equal distribution of wealth and power (Bowles and Gintis, 1987). Civics education provides an intriguing instance of this dilemma in action.

Evans (1995) and Reid (1996) provide a theoretical framework for analysing the report by the Civics Expert Group (1994). This framework has particular relevance for classroom teachers. It is suggested that minimal or maximal interpretations can be applied to education for citizenship:

> Minimal interpretations emphasise civil and legal status, rights and responsibilities, arising from membership of a community or society. The good citizen is law-abiding, public-spirited (and) exercises political involvement through voting for representatives. Citizenship is gained when civil and legal status is granted. Maximal interpretations, by contrast, entail consciousness of self as a member of a shared democratic culture, emphasise participatory approaches to political involvement and consider ways in which social disadvantage undermine citizenship by denying people full participation in any significant sense. (Evans cited in Wyn, 1995, p. 49)

A maximal interpretation is consistent with a developmental conception of democracy (Pateman, 1970) which has a long history based on the works of Rousseau (1966), Mill (1964) and Dewey (1916). The rhetoric in "Whereas the people" implies a commitment to a maximal interpretation of civics education. The subsequent papers by Macintyre (1995), Boston (1996) and Pascoe (1996) "present similar views" (Reid, 1996, p. 10).

However there is a movement away from the maximalist interpretation when the process of curriculum planning is analysed. A minimalist view of citizenship is used when we consider the lack of involvement of teachers in the curriculum making process. Teachers are depicted as a "problem" and a major reason for the perceived civics deficit. In implementing the recommendations of the Civics Expert Report (1994), the government imposed its view on what a civics education program might look like and strategies have been put in place to engineer teacher compliance to a centrally determined curriculum innovation.

A critical issue of relevance to this study is the role of the classroom teachers in designing an alternative, developmental approach to civics education. The issue is one of democratic control over the civics and citizenship curriculum.

> Participants in an educational endeavour at the local level are best placed to determine what should be taught and how. Far from constructing teachers as lacking expertise, this approach seeks to create local school communities which collaboratively use and build upon the rich fund of knowledge and experience that reside there. (Reid, 1996, p.15)

Criticism of the Civic Expert Group report (1994) also comes from the conservative side of politics. Donnelly (1997) points to the potential for teacher bias in proposed changes to civics and citizenship education. In response to the latter, the integrity of teachers is defended by Jennings (1997), who suggests that Donnelly is a Quixotic figure "tilting at the windmills" of teacher bias.

Donnelly (1997) feels that the report fails to adequately address the significant differences of opinion about the term "active and informed citizenry." Donnelly (1997) also argues that politically correct educators will promote concepts such as "social justice", "ecological sustainability", "multiculturalism" and "feminism". The Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) profile is also seen to promote this "socially critical" view of education and society. In a response to Donnelly's contention, Jennings (1997, p. 33) argues that educators and community members should be suspicious of any program in civics and citizenship that does not address such concepts.

In responding to the Civics Expert Group report, there are also normative, institutional, curricula and pedagogical issues that require attention (Hogan, Fearnley – Sander and Lamb, 1996). An example of a normative issue is the way in which we go about "imagining citizenship". The report of the Civics Expert Group shows commitment to active citizenship but does not provide a sustained analysis of what this might

mean. With respect to institutional issues, little emphasis is placed on the processes in families, schools and communities that produce varying levels of civic competence (Hogan, Fearnley and Lamb, 1996).

"Discovering Democracy"

While educationists argued about the findings of the report, the government response was more positive. The Keating Labor government welcomed the report of the Civics Expert Group and began to implement its recommendations. When a change of government took place after the Federal election of 1996, educators were not sure whether the momentum for change would be sustained. However, after a pause of 12 months the incoming Minister for Schools, Vocational Education and Training, The Hon. David Kemp, (1997) announced the launch of a substantial national program entitled Discovering Democracy. The Coalition government set aside $17.5m for the curriculum development program, $10.6 m for the Curriculum Corporation to produce relevant resources, $4.6 m for professional development programs and smaller amounts for professional development projects in higher education institutions, community education and administrative support within government departments (Print, 1995). Keating's "big picture" Republicanism was modified by Kemp's Neoliberalism (Kennedy, 2003) but in the end, civics and citizenship education programs across Australia were given a significant boost.

Within three years, schools across the nation were beginning to see the

results of this initiative with Discovering Democracy Kits (Civics Education Group 1999; 2000) becoming available and professional development programs being offered to teachers who wished to implement the program. Internal evaluations of the professional development programs (Singleton, 2001; Burgess 2001) have generally been positive, however the scope of the programs is naturally limited to implementation of the Discovering Democracy kits. There have been few opportunities for teachers to evaluate the broad range of options available in civics and citizenship education.

In an evaluation of the Discovering Democracy Advanced Professional Development Program, Singleton (2001) analyses 345 responses from primary teachers. Overall 27% rated the course as excellent and another 58% rated it as very worthwhile. In a similar survey of 540 secondary teachers, Burgess (2001) reports that 220 strongly agreed and 304 agreed that the initial session increased their understanding of Civics and Citizenship concepts as they applied to Stage 5 of the History syllabus. Professional development courses were well received but there is little evidence of the lasting impact they have had on teacher knowledge and pedagogy.

Numerous issues have been raised about the implementation of the Discovering Democracy program across Australia. There is a high demand for professional development programs dealing with implementation of the Discovering Democracy kits (Print, Moroz and Reynolds, 2001). While most teachers are enthusiastic after attending Discovering Democracy

workshops, some admit that their enthusiasm wanes after returning to school. "The latter is likely to happen when the teacher is not supported by the school or by the school administration, but even where the principal is enthusiastic, this may not carry over to the staff" (Print, Moroz and Reynolds, 2001, p. 207).

The Curriculum Corporation has distributed Primary and Secondary kits with Discovering Democracy materials to all Australian schools. Each kit contains curriculum materials, a video and CD-ROM. The high quality Australian Readers (Curriculum Corporation, 1999) that accompany the kits have also been made available to all schools. Professional development programs helping teachers to implement the kits have been conducted throughout each state and have been well attended by classroom teachers. A Discovering Democracy kit for pre-service teachers has been funded by DETYA (Alexander & Bond, 2000). This kit also contains a video and a CD-ROM containing over forty case studies showing how schools are implementing the Discovering Democracy Project.

In developing the materials, the Curriculum Corporation has been explicit in identifying the issues of critical interest to teachers. Discovering Democracy kits are guided by a distinct set of principles: "they have a past and present focus, a critical focus, and Australian and international focus, a diversity of experiences, they promote intellectual skills and skills in democratic participation as well as civic values and dispositions" (Ferguson, 1998, pp. 21-22).

In conjunction with the Discovering Democracy kits, the Curriculum Corporation is also publishing materials on citizenship through related programs. In association with the Asia Education Foundation and the National Asian Languages in Australian School Strategy there is a resource on Voices and Values: Citizenship in Asia (Gilligan, 1998). This gives students a chance to explore citizenship from a global perspective.

Links with National and State Curricula

The development of civics and citizenship programs in the mid to late 90's coincided with the release of national statements and profiles and the renewal of social science programs in most Australian states. Citizenship figured prominently in the Key Learning Area "Studies of Society and Environment". In NSW, the Board of Studies in 1998 published a long-awaited revision of the Human Society and Its Environment syllabus that recognized the significance of citizenship education. Sample units of work had a focus on Australian Democracy and Australian Identity. Draft guidelines for including citizenship education in the NSW curriculum were published by the NSW Board of Studies (1996). Citizenship concepts were built into secondary Geography and History syllabi. (The lead taken by NSW reflects the fact that the incumbent Director General of Education, Dr Ken Boston, was a member of the Civics Expert Group.) Other Australian states also included civics and citizenship concepts in their curriculum frameworks (Donnelly, 2003, personal communication).

While the Discovering Democracy project has been the major

citizenship education curriculum project in Australia over the past few decades, there have been other national and state-based projects. These include projects reported by Ryan, Salvaris & Weekley (1996), Print and Gray (1996), Luke (2001), Land (1997) and Alexander and Logan (1997). Each of these projects raises issues of importance for teachers of civics and citizenship. Of particular relevance for this study are the calls for benchmarking and the assessment of outcomes in civics and citizenship education.

As an outcome of the 1993 Senate Standing Committee On Legal and Constitutional Affairs, an inquiry was held into the possibility of developing a system of national citizenship indicators. After receiving 92 submissions, the committee published a report (1996) entitled "National Well-being: A System of national Citizenship Indicators and Benchmarks." In further developing the work of the committee, Salvaris (1995, p. 32) argued that the use of benchmarking and social indicators, underpinned by citizenship, could provide a basis for actual social change. Although the work of this committee did not impinge directly on citizenship education, it was not long before benchmarking entered into the lexicon of civics educators.

In late 1996, a collaborative research group consisting of staff from the University of Sydney, the NSW Department of School Education and the NSW Board of Studies received funding from the Australian Research Council to undertake a major project in civics education. The project was

designed to provide reliable assessment instruments for gauging students' civic understanding and attitudes. It also sought to create benchmarks in civics education for students at the end of Years 6, 8 and 10.

As an outcome of the project, Civic and Citizenship Education Benchmarks for Years 6 and 10 (NSW Dept of Education and Training, 2000) were produced as a fore-runner to the development of assessment instruments. The benchmarks were organized under the three themes: Democracy and Government, Being Australian and Citizenship. Testing of Year 10 students has begun but this decision was originally met with mixed reaction from secondary teachers. They felt that civics and citizenship concepts were being imposed on an already crowded curriculum.

In Queensland during the mid 90's an Active and Informed Citizenship syllabus was prepared by Ray Land for Education Queensland but it was not thoroughly implemented. Following this, the New Basics Project developed from a discussion paper launched by Education Queesnland (1999). Under the leadership of Professor Alan Luke the New Basics team developed a New Basics Framework ostensibly to address the needs of schools up to 2010. The four New Basics included: Life Pathways and Social Futures; Multi-literacies and Communications Media; Environments and Technologies; and Active Citizenship. The latter area was organised around the question: What are my rights and responsibilities in communities, cultures and economies? The importance of citizenship education has been boosted by its inclusion in this framework (Education Queensland, 2000).

The New Basics program is operating in trial schools across Queensland and has attracted much attention from interstate and overseas.

In July 1997 the Social Education Association of Australia (SEAA) produced a set of classroom units in citizenship education for junior primary, primary and secondary teachers. These units were published to coincide with the SEAA conference in Sydney entitled Connections 97 – Education for Responsible Citizenship. This conference was convened in association with the National Council for the Social Studies. As a result, eminent social educators from the USA joined their counterparts in Sydney to discuss citizenship education. The publication of sample units of work by practising teachers underlines the pedagogical approaches that can be taken to citizenship (Land, 1997). These units contain positive modeling of democratic values and attitudes and provided active encouragement for student involvement in school-based democratic processes. One of the teaching units with a focus on Australian Studies asks a key question that is designed to generate lively debate: "should citizenship be compulsory?" (Leverenz, 1995).

In an effort to address the professional development needs of teachers in the area of civics and citizenship education, the Federal Labor Government (through DEETYA) funded projects to promote discipline renewal through citizenship education. Under the heading of the Informed Citizenship Project, Queensland University and Monash University conducted two related projects to enhance the professional development of

teachers. The emphasis in Victoria was on the pedagogy of civics and citizenship education while the emphasis in Queensland was on the content of civics and citizenship education (Alexander and Logan, 1997). The Queensland Project brought teachers together in the Queensland Parliament House and this heightened the relevancy of the project for teachers.

The foregoing projects raise a number of significant and critical issues about the importance of assessing outcomes in civics and citizenship and adopting appropriate strategies for the promotion of active inquiry in citizenship education. The assessment and benchmarking energies are often focused on the cognitive aspects of CCE programs and rarely address ways of assessing students' social skills. The approaches taken in individual states have profound significance for teachers who work within these systems.

Overseas Developments

These Australian curriculum projects have been developed in parallel with a range of projects overseas and many have implications for the current study. These overseas projects have local relevance for a number of reasons. Firstly, developments at a local level are often influenced by the overseas programs. Secondly, Australian students, teachers and schools are actively involved in programs that cross international boundaries. Thirdly, overseas programs often provide warnings about possible dangers as well as solutions to local problems in civics and citizenship education

At an international level, there has been a significant project to test the civic understanding of Year 9 students across national boundaries. This study was conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The IEA Civic Education Study was developed well in advance of Australia's renewed focus on civics (Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999). Results from the IEA study (Hahn, 2001, p. 1.) suggest that ninth graders in the USA are "well on their way to being knowledgeable, caring, engaged citizens when compared to their peers internationally". However the study also shows that some groups perform poorly on tests of civic knowledge and sizeable numbers of young people are not supportive of democratic principles in particular contexts. For example, students born in the USA were less supportive of immigrants' rights than students born outside the USA.

This overseas project has had a significant impact in Australia, as reported in the Australian National Report of the IEA Civic Education Study (Mellor, Kennedy and Greenwood, 2001). The Australian report contains a wealth of information about the civic knowledge and beliefs of fourteen year olds. The comparative findings from the IEA civic study (Mellor, 2003) provide highly relevant information on students' experience of democracy through involvement in school councils and the preference of teachers to 'play it safe' when dealing with controversial values issues.

Another major international project is the Montage Project (British Council, 2003) that attempts to link schools in different countries as they

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explore aspects of citizenship. Through this project strong links have been established between schools in NSW and schools in Wales as well as other overseas locations. The Montage Project is supported by the NSW Department of Education and Training through the appointment of an officer to maintain a Montage Web Site (http://www.montage.edu.au). The project helps to promote citizenship education from a global perspective

In the USA there has been a long history of involvement in civics and citizenship education and this was evident when social educators from the USA and Australian met in Sydney during 1997. There are many diverse interpretations of citizenship education throughout the USA. In some states, students are assessed on their involvement in community projects (Snelson, 1996 personal communication). In other states such as Utah, citizenship education is strongly linked with programs to promote higher attendance rates at school. There has been a long-standing interest amongst US educators in the testing of basic citizenship competencies (Remy, 1980). There have also been efforts to define the multidimensional nature of citizenship in educational policy for the 21st century (Kogan, 1997).

In the United Kingdom, civics and citizenship education has been given a boost in recent years by the publication of the Crick Report (1998). This report has been welcomed by the Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education. Under the leadership of Ken Fogelman, this centre based at Leicester University has been researching citizenship education and conducting programs for students and teachers over a number of years

(Fogelman, 1991, Edwards & Fogelman, 1993). One focus of the Centre has been the linking of citizenship education with an understanding of the economy. This link has been further recognised by teachers in Australia.

In the Republic of Ireland, a program in Civic, Social and Political Education was introduced at the Junior Certificate level in 1996 (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, 1996). Students were offered 70 hours of instruction over a three year period in the junior high school curriculum. Content areas covered The Individual and Citizenship, The Community, The State – Ireland, and Ireland and the World. A feature of the program was the way in which students were encouraged to engage in community-based action projects.

In New Zealand a variety of perspectives on citizenship and ethnicity have been related to the development of a curriculum framework in the social studies area (Openshaw, 1999). The New Zealand experience in curriculum development shows that any curriculum in social studies and citizenship education needs to be honest in facing up to the bi-cultural nature of the dominion and the vested interests of particular discipline groups. These issues also have relevance for teachers in Australia.

At least one commentator notes that citizenship is not generally taught as a formal part of the social studies in New Zealand (Barr, 1997). This approach is supported by a Canadian educationist (McKay, 1996) who observes that effective teachers do not break citizenship into component parts, teach skills in isolation or rely on packaged information. There is

some support for a "whole social studies" approach where examples of citizenship are drawn from literature, real life examples and opportunities to practise citizenship in the classroom and school (McKay, 1996).

There is strong evidence that New Zealand educators such as Barr (1997) draw upon the work of Hess and Torney (1967), Dynneson (1992), John and Osborn (1992), Bickmore (1993), Common (1994) and Mellor and Elliot (1996) in stressing the importance of pedagogy in the development of democratic citizenship. "It is only through a pedagogy in which processes such as critical thinking and conversation with others are key elements that a democratic educational community can emerge"(Mellor and Elliot, 1996, p. 3).

Case studies of citizenship education from Malaysia and Hong Kong are outlined by educators from each of these countries in a significant publication edited by Kennedy (1997). In the case of Malaysia, civics education featured in the post-colonial curriculum since the 1960's. However with the introduction of the national curriculum in the mid 90's, citizenship education was offered as part of the History curriculum. The national curriculum attempted to balance the cognitive and the affective domains and insisted that "seventeen noble values" be integrated across the curriculum (Jadi, 1997). These values became the content for moral education while citizenship values were integrated within the History curriculum. It is not easy or desirable to divorce civics and citizenship education from the socio-political context in which they are offered.

In Hong Kong the teaching of citizenship has taken on added significance since the return of the colony to Chinese rule. There have been three distinct periods in Hong Kong's history since 1945 (Morris, 1997). In the period 1945-65 the state relied on coercion as a means of countering any direct threat to the legitimacy of the colonial government. In the second period, 1965-84 the nature of valid knowledge was defined by the market and the desire to show sensitivity to the People's Republic of China. In the third period after 1985 there was still an emphasis on the market, but there was increasing interest in the hand over of sovereignty from colonial rule.

In the 1960's civics education was dormant within Hong Kong's highly centralized and bureaucratic system. Civics existed as a subject up till 1965 when it was replaced by a subject called Economic and Public Affairs (EPA). The History syllabus changed in 1988 to include more focus on Chinese history and the social studies syllabus was changed in 1989 to include more emphasis on China. A new subject called Government and Public Affairs had a focus on concepts that were central to Western liberal democracy (such as rule of law, representation, consultation and elections.) This was in contrast to the previous EPA syllabus that had a focus on institutions and processes of government.

Cross-curricular guidelines in civic education were provided for schools in Hong Kong by the Curriculum Development Council (1995) and the Education Department (1996). A critical issue emerges about the approach that is recommend. As the Civic Education Guidelines explained:

These guidelines reflect the strongly held view that civic education is everybody's responsibility and that within the context of the school it should not be treated as just another subject for which exclusive responsibility rests with a particular member or members of staff. Rather a whole school approach is advanced (Curriculum Development Council, 1985, p.4).

The same Council struggled with the concept of "democracy". This serves to reinforce the point that civics and citizenship education needs to be examined within a social and political context. The Hong Kong guidelines explain that "democracy means different things to different people…So education for democracy per se would be difficult to interpret…for the purpose of these guidelines the term civic education will be used" (Curriculum Development Council, 1985).

Following the suppression of the democracy movement in Tiananmen Square in 1989, the Hong Kong authorities were cautious when advising teachers about the treatment of controversial issues: "Some teachers find controversial issues in civic education difficult to handle because these issues are not matters of absolute truth or fallacy, ethical or moral, right or wrong" (Education Department, Hong Kong, 1996, p. 70). Having said that, they then advise teachers to "set ground rules for discussion…statements must be supported by facts" (Education Department, Hong Kong, 1996, p. 71). The preoccupation with "facts" is not a phenomenon unique to educational authorities in Hong Kong.

Governments around the world express concern about the content of civics and citizenship education courses and the pedagogies to be

employed. However they rarely provide adequate support for teachers in refining their teaching practices. Governments often express opinions on what should be learnt in civics education but have little idea of how appropriate knowledge and skills may be imparted. Teachers of civics and citizenship can use overseas examples as a way of developing in students a deeper appreciation of their role in the political process.

Pedagogy

Following the publication of the influential report by the Civics Expert Group (1994), educators began to sound warnings about the lack of emphasis on pedagogy in the proposals to reform civics and citizenship education. This has been a major driving force behind the current study. There is a need to emphasise the centrality of an active, experiential pedagogy when seeking to achieve learning outcomes in citizenship education (Mellor, 1996a). Initiatives flowing from "Whereas the people…" place adequate emphasis on curriculum rationale and outcomes but too little emphasis on pedagogy.

The features of an active and experiential pedagogy are examined in depth by Mellor (1996a), Osborne (1995), Giroux (1989) and Common (1994). An appropriate pedagogy is one that encourages the development of critical awareness, participation, involvement and community (Osborne, 1995). These elements are referred to in the literature as "liberatory pedagogy", or "critical pedagogy" or "transformative pedagogics". It is important to create conditions in the classroom that foster active

participation and learning. Within the critical pedagogy approach, conditions must be provided for students to "speak with their voices"; to authenticate their own experiences (Giroux, 1989).

Those who support the development of appropriate pedagogies often point to the use of group work and group-based assessment, engagement in school governance and meaningful involvement by students in community based research projects (Brennan, 1996). Young people need to be equipped with the means to overcome the unequal power relationships that characterize society – especially those that impact on the young (Wyn, 1995). Civics and citizenship education needs to be an empowering process that results in students having a real sense of social agency (Watts, 1995, cited in Kennedy, 2001, p. 323).

One of the dilemmas for civics and citizenship educators stems from the fact that schools are not normally structured for democratic decision-making; nor are they designed to include and invite diversity and cooperation (Common, 1994). A new organizational design for schooling may be required where teachers, students and parents will be empowered to exercise influence, to shape conditions conducive to success for all and to develop a community of caring, sharing, cooperation, responsibility and diversity (Common, 1994).

A model of teaching is required that brings together a critical inquiry position and a participatory, inquiry based approach. In proposing such a model, a "pedagogy of conversation" is required (Common, 1994). It is a

means of constructing knowledge that will prepare students to participate in democracy as educated citizens. This "pedagogy of conversation" requires movement through dialogue, the development of a sense of community, reflection, construction of individual and group meaning, correction, reconstruction, imagination, recognition of past personal experience and a more conscious recognition of how that knowledge has been achieved. The quality of the conversation hinges on the types of questions that the teacher asks and the types of questions that students are encouraged to pose.

To some extent, a "civics conversation" has been generated in Australia allowing teachers to explore the pedagogical possibilities in civics education (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998). This civics conversation has highlighted the need to take into account students' present realities and future needs. Civics helps to bridge the gap between personal and national identities and involves "service learning" (Dundon, 2000) which encourages students to see the whole school community as a source for democratic living (Kennedy, 1997). However it is important to heed Hall, Williamson and Coffey's (1998) cautionary advice that a "have a go" approach may not be based on a deep understanding of citizenship. It is recognised that a pedagogy of civics education should involve cooperative practice and experiential learning but that learning needs to be structured.

There are many strategies that can possibly inform civics and citizenship education. Of these, constructivism, conflict approaches and

critical pedagogy represent three possibilities (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998).

Each of these may underpin a pedagogy of civics and citizenship education.

Constructivism emphasises the reliance on students' existing knowledge. It also draws upon the concept of authentic pedagogy – looking particularly at the 'value beyond school' aspect of what is learned in civics education (Newmann, Marks and Gamoran, 1996). The constructivist also draws upon the civic social values outlined by Levitt and Longstreet (1993), Dewey's (1916) view that learning in the classroom must be relevant to the outside world and Apple and Bean's (1999) notion of the democratic curriculum. Constructivists are critical of approaches that focus on static knowledge and seek "the right answer" (Grant and VanSledright, 1991). Within the constructivist approach there are opportunities to develop a civics curriculum with a continuum from passivist to activist (Sears and Hughes, 1996), a focus on social interaction (Houser, 1995) and a belief that students must confront their own identities (Baldwin, 1998).

Conflict approaches stem from the Socratic approach to teaching. Students need to be exposed to values and beliefs in opposition to their own. A conflict approach increases students' cognitive personas (Torney-Purta cited in Bickmore, 1993). Students learn to rehearse roles and to appreciate competing viewpoints (Bickmore, 1993). Students need to be provided with discrepant viewpoints (Engle and Ochoa, 1999). The value in presenting students with opportunities to work through confused intellectual situations draws on the early work of Dewey (1916). It is

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important for students to explore examples of conflicting morals (Simpson, 1996).

Within the conflict approach a distinction can be made between "learning inclusion" that places value on diversity, dissent and debate, and "inclusion in learning" that involves students in face-to-face confrontation with conflicting ideologies (Bickmore, 1993). Students benefit from the opportunity to work through contradictions (Apple 1990) and teachers need to be aware of the fact that in the formal curriculum conflict is often marginalized (Cherryholmes, 1991).

Critical pedagogy is applied in the field of civics education when teachers lead students beyond their immediate experience (Osborne,1991). Value is placed in Giroux's (1989) notion of dialogue and this requires special skills on the part of the teacher. Young (1992) gives hints for the development of the "critical teacher" and the approach is informed by the work of Habermas (1975) on ideology critique. This concept, to be outlined in more detail in the next chapter, refers to the way in which individuals confront erroneous self-understandings to reveal contradictions and power relationships.

The idea of teaching students to act democratically should be implicit in any approach that is adopted but is especially important from a critical pedagogy approach (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998). This developmental or maximal approach seems to have been neglected by those who have concentrated their efforts on the production of curriculum materials by a

central body.

> The federal government's current commitment to producing Discovering Democracy curriculum materials suggests we have cut short the possibilities of widespread conversation to articulate the stake people feel they have in creating conditions for an effective democracy. (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998, p.9)

In order to maintain that stake, the school needs to institutionalize three interrelated rights of individual enhancement (Bernstein, 1996). There is the right to critical understanding and new possibilities, the right to be socially, intellectually, culturally and personally included and the right to participation in terms of discourse and practice. By controlling the Discovering Democracy materials, the state (in spite of its stated commitment to widespread consultation) can exercise influence over what types of citizen it wishes to foster and create (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998).

It is difficult to examine pedagogy without reference to the content being taught. With respect to the content of civics education programs, Apple (1996) argues that "legitimate" or "official" knowledge should not go uncontested. The curriculum is never a neutral assemblage of knowledge. The debate that raged over the content of the NSW 7-10 History syllabus was a case in point. The various stakeholders found themselves engaged in conflict over the symbols that should be transmitted and the principles that should organize this transmission (Bernstein, 1975). It is relevant to ask whose principles should reign supreme!

Further impacting on the pedagogical debate is the decision by the NSW Board of Studies and the NSW Department of Education and Training

to introduce basics skills tests in civics and citizenship education at years 10 and 6. Benchmarks to inform the development of these tests have been developed as part of a joint project by the NSW Department of Education and Training, the NSW Board of Studies and Sydney University. While the benchmarks will provide valuable support for teachers in their assessment of student outcomes, there is little evidence at this stage about the extent to which a benchmarking process will improve the quality of teaching. Some educators feel that the emphasis on preparing students for skills tests will deflect schools from engagement in more meaningful citizenship education activities.

As separate middle schools are only recent developments in some states, it is relevant to note whether particular pedagogies have been recognized in upper primary and lower secondary schools. In a discussion paper produced for the Discovering Democracy Project, Singleton expresses some significant views about how democracy may be taught at a primary school level:

> Teaching democracy involves a two-pronged approach. The basic concepts of democracy must be taught, providing children with the knowledge base and theories underpinning democracy and the democratic state. In order to teach democracy teachers must model democracy. Secondly, students and teachers must be free to experience democracy, to learn to function in it and to grow and change through the experience. It is important to remember that ideas don't become knowledge except by being embodied in practice and in consequent transformations of the self. (Singleton, 2002, p. 7)

This emphasis on "transformations of the self" has important

ramifications for a study of civics and citizenship education employing a

critical action research approach.

> There is no right way to teach democracy unless we practise it.
> Amy Gutmann (1987) agrees that curriculum alone cannot take
> total responsibility for citizenship. A school's ethos, its structures
> and its role models also clearly articulate to students what is
> important and valued. (Singleton, 2002, p. 7)

School ethos, school structures and role models have a significant

impact on civics and citizenship education programs (John and Osborn,

1992). The school ethos is often evident in school assemblies and special

events that are training grounds for citizenship. School structures have an

influence on the provision of integrated learning. Role models have an

important role to play. These role models may include senior students,

teachers, principals, politicians, parents and community members

Perspectives in Civics and Citizenship Education

Of the many contentious issues that surround civics and citizenship

education, those involving the perspectives of gender, Aboriginality and

multiculturalism are of utmost significance. To these may be added

environmental, global, work and futures perspectives.

Australia, as a nation, was quick to offer universal suffrage after

Federation in 1901 but one hundred years later, there is still debate about

the low level of female representation in the nation's legislatures. As Foster

(1996) has pointed out, there is a vast literature (Benhabib 1992; Cass 1994;

Leech 1994; Pateman 1988,1989, 1992; and Young 1987) on the gendered

nature of citizenship. After reading the report of the Civics Expert Group

(1994), Foster concludes:

> One is left with the disappointing impression that the critical literature on the relationship of women with the State and within civil society, and the implications of that relationship for citizenship education, appears to have passed the authors by. (Foster, 1996, p. 52)

Only one of the report's thirty-five recommendations deals specifically with women (Foster, 1996). Recommendation Twenty Six suggests that a community citizenship education program "should make explicit provision for specific groups" and women are listed as one of a number of groups. The report itself dispenses with women in brief fashion (Civics Expert Group, 1994, p. 99) as a "group with special needs." Foster (1996) feels that the report is inadequate in dealing with the distinction between "productive" work in the public sphere and "domestic /care" work in the private sphere. She also argues, in concert with Cass (1994) and Leech (1994), that there are deep and fundamental differences between the ways in which men and women arrive at citizenship.

Whereas women as a group were recognized as citizens from the time of Federation, Indigenous Australians had to wait till 1967 before they were officially recognized as citizens. This fact has significant ramifications for the development of an Aboriginal perspective in citizenship education. After reading "Whereas the people", Indigenous people have some significant questions to ask of civics and citizenship educators (Woods 1996). When the Indigenous perspective is considered, civics and citizenship educators are challenged to include content on pre-1788

government structures in Australia. Woods (1996) wonders if there should

be greater emphasis on the struggle for citizenship rights. Such comments

possibly led to the inclusion of a unit on "People Power" and freedom rides

in the Upper Primary kit of Discovering Democracy (Civics Education

Group, 1999).

Indigenous people have a unique perspective to bring to citizenship but

also don't wish to be type-cast. In responding to a lecture by Stuart

Macintyre (who was chair of the Civics Expert Group), Woods (1996) points

out that she is a multi-faceted person, arguing:

> I can be and am an Aboriginal, heterosexual, a parent, a student,
> claustrophobic and a woman (with the multi-layers of identity
> which that has, such as daughter, sister, aunty and mother) as
> well and if I choose, I can be and am a citizen of Australia. If you
> Stuart, are also a citizen of Australia, then do we not have a
> common citizenship? (Woods, 1996, p. 34)

For teachers wishing to incorporate an Indigenous perspective in civics

and citizenship education programs, there have been significant

publications addressing the issue of Aboriginal citizenship. Included

amongst these are "Citizens without Rights" by Chesterman and Galligan

(1997) and "Citizenship and Indigenous Australians" by Peterson and

Sanders (1998). As Chesterman and Galligan observe:

> Australians or at least the majority of Australians who have
> enjoyed its benefits have been inclined to take citizenship for
> granted. Our study of Aborigines and Australian citizenship
> shows how precious it is and how its denial can be a
> fundamental deprivation for those who are excluded.
> (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997, p. 4)

Throughout Australian history there have been changing conceptions

and possibilities of Aboriginal citizenship. In order to incorporate these into

civics and citizenship programs, it is critical for teachers to appreciate

Aboriginal perspectives:

> For most of Australia's colonial history the great majority of
> Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders have been denied
> full membership of Australian society and consequently the
> rights and equal treatment that other Australians take for
> granted (Peterson and Sanders, 1998, p.1).

In addressing the issue of Indigenous citizenship, Rowse (2000) points

to the significance of Native Title legislation The Mabo and Wik decisions,

indicate that the judiciary is prepared to take seriously the attachment of

Indigenous people to the land and this is fundamental to any conception of

Indigenous citizenship. The challenge is to convey this notion to students –

especially if the students and the teacher are non-Indigenous.

The treatment of Aboriginal citizenship becomes a critical issue in

educational programs as educators balance the research literature, syllabus

requirements, their own attitudes and those of the community in which

they teach. The growth of Aboriginal Studies within the Australian school

curriculum has provided opportunities for students to explore aspects of

Indigenous citizenship (Craven, 1995a; 1995b). However there are also

opportunities or Indigenous perspectives on citizenship to be built into a

range of Key Learning Areas. Indigenous perspectives are being given

greater exposure in teacher education programs and in tertiary level texts

on Australian history and politics (Langton and Jonas, 1994).

The issue of building a multicultural perspective into civics and

citizenship education has attracted the attention of many commentators (Kalantzis, 2000; Kymlicka, 1999). This occurs at a time when multiculturalism is perceived by some as being a divisive term (Australian Nationalists, 1996). This has led to shift in emphasis towards civic pluralism:

> With civic pluralism…two things happen. Diversity becomes a genuinely mainstream issue. Second, a new collaborative politics emerges in which managing diversity is a key principle of nationalism that crosses the different realms of indigenous differences, immigrant differences, gender differences and so on. This is the new politics that should be developing out of the politics of recent decades. Its outcome could be a new mechanism for the distribution of resources and participation, in other words, a new form of citizenship. (Kalantzis, 2000, p. 107)

Despite the misgivings being aired in some sections of the community about the value of multicultural policy, there is still a significant role for multicultural perspectives in the school curriculum. Multicultural education can help to reconstruct our view of the mainstream (Cope and Kalantzis, 1996). Within the context of a pluralist society, teachers need to think carefully about the pedagogy that may help students to reconstruct the mainstream. In this task, civics and citizenship education go hand in hand with multicultural education.

The challenge for teachers in dealing with civic pluralism is that it impacts on the nature of citizenship education programs and has significant ramifications for the teaching of concepts such as national identity (Kymlicka, 1999). There are of course commentators such as Rawls (1980) who argue that social unity in a liberal democracy rests on a shared

allegiance to political principles rather than a shared identity. As Rawls (1980) puts it: "although a well–ordered society is divided and pluralistic…public disagreement on questions of political and social justice supports ties of civic friendship and secures the bonds of association" (p. 540).

However, there are dangers in focusing only on shared political allegiances (Kymlicka, 1999). Such an approach is not sufficient. The fact that two groups share political principles does not give them a reason to remain together. Social unity requires that citizens identify their fellow citizens as "one of us". This sense of shared identity helps to sustain the relationships of trust and solidarity that are needed for citizens to accept the results of democratic decisions. What people need is a sense of shared history and language. This concept of a common national identity raises many challenges for teachers of civics and citizenship education and for history teachers in particular.

One approach has been to provide a revisionist account of history that challenges mainstream accounts. This would include the "black armband" approach to history (Blainey, 1993) that concerned Australian Prime Minister John Howard. On the other hand there are those who prefer the traditional approach of celebrating those who have contributed to the mainstream culture. In line with this view, civic education "requires a nobler, moralizing history; a pantheon of heroes who confer legitimacy on central institutions and are worthy of emulation" (Galston, 1991, p. 244).

For teachers of civics and citizenship, there are critical issues to be raised about degree of prior knowledge that students need before they can engage in analysis of national identity issues. The maturity level of students is an issue to be considered. Supporters of the more cautious, conservative view would argue that information about government:

> should be taught so as to provide grounds for developing pride and affection. If instead we start nine year olds with a litany of evils and injustices, they will be likely to learn cynicism and alienation. A teacher may respond, 'But I teach about problems and injustices because I want to make my country better: if I did not have concern and affection for it I would not care about reforming it.' Precisely. The teacher did not acquire affection for our country by being told that we exterminated Indians, lynched Blacks and slaughtered Vietnamese. The teacher's concern and affection survived this knowledge because of prior training and experience, and the pupils, like the teacher, need to acquire a basis for good citizenship before they are plunged into what is ugly. (Oldenquist cited in American Association of School Administration, 1987, p. 26)

The issue for teachers in the middle years of schooling is to determine when it might be appropriate to introduce alternative perspectives. The position taken by Galston and Oldenquist can itself be a cause for disunity if we accept the view that "an account of history that focuses on the "pantheon of heroes", while ignoring the historical mistreatment of women, blacks, Indians, Jews and others, is essentially an account of history of upper class white men" (Kymlicka, 1999, p. 97).

Of continuing interest is the contention that schools should treat history "truthfully" (Kymlicka, 1999) even though historians may differ widely on what the truth is. There is a legitimate need for schools to promote an

emotional identification with our history. Students should view their nation's history as "their" history and take pride in its accomplishments as well as shame in its injustices. This sense of identification with the nation's history is one of the few means available to maintain social unity in a pluralistic state (Kymlicka, 1999). This will be important background information if citizens are to embrace their responsibilities for upholding just institutions and rectifying historical injustices. Citizenship education is not simply a matter of teaching facts about government institutions and constitutional principles. It is also a matter of inculcating particular habits, virtues and identities (Kymlicka, 1999).

Civics and citizenship education provide numerous opportunities for developing an environmental perspective in middle school programs. Student involvement in community-based environmental projects is possibly one of the most potent ways of engaging young adolescents as active citizens. Involvement is such programs can also provide opportunities for development of global, work and futures perspectives. Of particular interest are community-based environmental projects where students are linked to environmental projects in other countries or regions through email or Internet access.

Developing a Sense of National Identity

With respect to the issue of teaching about national identity, it is relevant to examine the analyses made of texts books used in Australian schools (Musgrave, 1994). In doing so it is important to recognize the

multicultural nature of society and focus on the "cultural sphere" (Gilbert, 1992). It is also relevant to recognize the power of television, the Internet and the attractions to the young of an increasingly globalised consumer market. The link between citizenship education and national identity is complicated by the apparent move towards transnational and international citizenship (Musgrave, 1994; Castles, Cope, Kalantzis and Morrissey, 1998).

The approaches available to teachers and students today need to be examined in the context of text-books traditionally used in civics and citizenship education. From an historical perspective, there are perhaps five main strands in key textbooks highlighting the implicit values that support citizenship formation in the period 1895 – 1965 (Musgrave, 1994). These strands are: citizenship was for some and not for all; citizenship was based on an assumption of a single dominant religion, citizenship was conceived of in monolingual terms, citizenship promoted the values of a capitalist economic system and citizenship was based on a view of the world seen largely through British eyes. Teachers face the task of ensuring that the current mix of resources allows students to challenge these former conceptions of citizenship.

There are some important conclusions that can be reached from a study of traditional teaching materials in civics and citizenship (Musgrave, 1994). National identity is a setting within which teachers can view citizenship. They can utilize a sociological approach to citizenship that views citizens as members of imagined communities. Given this broad view, civics and

citizenship should not be taught as one subject. There will be a need to list

certain essentials about the duties required of citizens and the curriculum

should not just aim to replicate the national identity but to change it. Given

the diversity of today's society there is a move away from official text-

books such as those used in past years. One wonders then why the federal

government and Curriculum Corporation considered it prudent to produce

a Discovering Democracy kit ostensibly suited to all circumstances.

Studies of identity formation in specific classrooms have revealed

important insights on citizenship education. In one significant study

Grundy (1994) employs the insights of post-structuralist theory to

interrogate ways of investigating the meaning and implications of

classroom practices. Using discourse analysis, and placing emphasis on the

discourse of "identity", Grundy analyses a social studies lesson with a sixth

grade class. She considers it "bizarre" that the teacher presents Australian

history as 'our History' when the class consists of students from a range of

ethnic backgrounds, many of whom class themselves as temporary

residents. As Grundy notes:

> The representation of an Australian identity through this lesson
> can be interpreted through two metaphors: that of a gift or that
> of a garment. One reading of the discourse of the lesson is that
> the teacher is offering a gift of history to these displaced
> children, a history that he invites them to make their own as he
> has made it his own.
>
> It is also possible, however to read this lesson not simply as the
> teacher giving *his* story (the story he has made his own) to the
> students to have but rather giving them *this* story (a particular
> construction of history) to live. The gift becomes a garment, not
> something for us to take up or leave, to admire or critique, but

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rather an identity to put on and make their own. What is being taught is more than Australian history. The lesson is "Becoming and Being an Australian". (Grundy, 1994, p. 30)

On a similar theme, a study of upper primary children focused on children's perceptions of national identity (Gill and Howard, 2000). The students in this survey came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Australian students express an interest in what it is to be Australian (Gill and Howard, 2000). This is in contrast to British children surveyed by Carrington and Short (1995,1998) who show little interest in what it is to be British. The Australian children express a sense of belonging with the Australian environment. They see Australia as a peaceful nation and seem to be positive about cultural difference. However, Gill and Howard report:

> For the young people who took part in the discussions, the sense of being part of a cultural entity related to being Australian was not a key element. There was no mention of songs or poems or literature that was typically or patriotically Australian. There was no mention of features of Australian history save for a few references to the mistreatment of aboriginal Australians. The traditional social history of white settlement, of explorers and pioneers, of droughts and floods had not made any impression on these young people's understanding of how the world in which they lived had come to be. Theirs was after all the generation of television and video rather than chalk and talk or storytelling and reading. They spoke of wars in other countries as though they were endemic, almost like measles, rather than emerging from deep-seated historical and/or religious difference. Their Australia is by and large an easy-going happy place which has gained their active approval albeit in ways that do not ask much of them. (Gill and Howard, 2000, p. 6)

Values and citizenship

Any discussion of national identity, leads to a consideration of cultural values and the issue of values is one of vital concern to civics and

citizenship educators. Such a discussion about the social construction of citizenship raises the issue of whose values should rule (Hill, 1993). The link between values education and citizenship education leads to a consideration of civic consciousness, civic concern and civic competence as well as holistic and global perspectives on citizenship (Dufty, 1995).

The holistic view contrasts with those that "focus primarily on students knowing about Australian political history and the constitution as the prime preparation for Australia becoming a Republic" (Dufty, 1995, p. 20). The holistic approach assumes that civic consciousness (awareness), concern (sensitivity) and competency (action skills) are interrelated and have integral importance to citizenship education. Civics and citizenship are not only concerned with national, state and local political institutions but with all aspects of human life including the lives of couples, communities and corporations. Civics is not only about preserving past traditions but also caring for future generations (Dufty, 1995).

The issue of values remains one of the most contested issues in the school curriculum. Numerous writers including Kennedy (1993; 1995a, 2001), Hill (1996), Clark (1996), and Thompson (1996) have pointed to the key role that values play in civics and citizenship education. It is evident that the Civics Expert Group (1994) attempted to include some shared values in their report. Gaining commitment to these (shared values) raises significant issues for teachers but "assuming that there are no common values will raise issues of a different kind " (Kennedy, 2001, p. 323). Values

do underpin democratic decision-making and young people need to be made aware that their own values will determine particular courses of political and social action (Kaplan, 2000).

While government and citizenship are often seen to be secular matters, the term "democracy" also has connections with theology. Democracy relies on basic principles in order to operate effectively. Many of these principles have deep religious roots (Mills, 1998). Investigating these roots can provide a useful way of integrating citizenship education with studies of religion. It can be shown how the Australian legal system has Judeo-Christian roots, how volunteer work in society is often organized through religious organizations and how people working for a democratic society in areas such as civil rights have often drawn upon their faith experiences.

It is instructive to analyse the values expressed in documents such a "Whereas the people", the views of values educators and then to compare these with values expressed by Australian school children in Years 5, 6 and 11 (Clark, 1996). The Civics Expert Group (1994) list values such as: civility and respect for the law, acceptance of cultural diversity in society, and appreciation of Australia's record of achievement as a democracy. In the meantime values educators such as Risinger (1992) suggest that a study of civics should examine the role of the individual in society and the responsibilities and behaviour that lead to a just and fair nation. There is a need to develop in students a sense of fair play, respect for minority rights, tolerance of other beliefs and a desire to participate actively in a democratic

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society (Risinger, 1992).

After interviewing students from Years 5, 6 and 11, Clark (1996) is heartened to find junior students dreaming about peace, equality, freedom and law and order. Older students feel that citizenship should involve: being proud to be Australian, valuing multiculturalism, showing tolerance of differences and having sensitivity to the need so others. While there is some congruence between the values expressed by the report writers the values educators and Australian students there is obviously scope for civics and citizenship educators to examine how values statements are translated into action at the classroom level.

Of particular interest in this regard is the critical issue of what makes a good citizen. In a significant Victorian study, students, parents and teachers were asked to share their perceptions of what is means to be a "good" citizen (Prior, 1997). The concept of a "good citizen" is not clearly articulated in the research literature, however Prior (1997) reports on perceptions from one school community as a case study. The teaching staff in general listed the following qualities of a "good citizen": concern for the welfare of others (78%), tolerance and diversity within society (68%) and moral and ethical behaviour (66%).

For social studies teachers the most popular responses were as follows: knowledge of current events (70%), concern for the welfare of others (60%) and ability to question ideas (60%). Students stressed the importance of the following qualities: concern for the welfare of others (85%) and ability to

question ideas (80%). Parents of both junior and senior secondary students in the school community ranked the following in order: concern for the welfare of others (95%), moral and ethical behaviour (90%) and family responsibilities (80%).

In analysing the results of the survey, a strong values orientation becomes apparent:

> The main message from this data is the importance all groups place on the values dimension of social learning. It suggests that teachers of social education need to have the knowledge, skills and attitudes to employ teaching and learning strategies which investigate conceptual elements of citizenship – like identity, community, social justice, equity – within the experiences of their students. (Prior, 1997, p.14)

In a parallel study conducted in Western Australia, students from upper primary and upper secondary classes were surveyed about their perceptions of what constitutes a "good citizen" (Phillips, 1995). The students listed "respect for rights and property of others" and "honesty" as characteristics of good citizens. When their perceptions were compared with those of adults in Western Australia, it was found that adults placed greater importance on the development of political literacy. There was little awareness amongst students that it was important to gain knowledge of the political system in order to be a good citizen. While it is acknowledged that an interest in politics generally increases with age, young people require a minimum level of political literacy in order to have a framework for participating in a democracy (Phillips, 1995, p.23). This research supports the earlier work of Mabe (1993) that has a strong focus on the moral and

practical foundations of civic education and the Australian National report of the IEA study (Department of Education Science and Training, 2001) also contains important findings on this issue.

A cross-cultural analysis of civics and citizenship education reveals the importance of the values issue. Of interest in this regard is a study conducted in Iran of the required characteristics of good citizenship (Vajargah, 2001). Citizenship education is placed with an Iranian context, providing a perspective on religious citizenship. Perceptions of Iranian school teachers are reported with respect to their view of good citizenship. To the 436 teachers in this study, civic attitudes were given more importance than civic ability or civic knowledge and this finding is consistent with those reported by Prior (2000).

Another aspect of good citizenship, from a global perspective, may be derived from the Young Diplomat Program in Northern Queensland - a joint initiative of the Institute of International Affairs, the Northern Region of the Queensland Education Department and James Cook University (Smith, Sullivan and Smith, 1996). The impetus for the program came from the voices of teachers who were dissatisfied with the status of the social sciences and were willing to address some key aspects of the Civics Expert Group report. To the participants in this study, good citizenship had a distinctly global perspective and an emphasis on interpersonal / intercultural skills.

Civics and citizenship education can also be linked to equity concerns

and the revitalization of Australia's egalitarian society (Smyth, Hattam and Lawson, 1998). Of particular interest are the qualities of citizenship that Australian schools should emphasise (Walsh and Salvaris, 1998). These qualities depend on the varied meanings of citizenship that are accepted in the community, the links between citizenship and schooling and limitations of formal education. Consideration of these matters may help educators to develop new directions in schooling for an active democratic form of citizenship (Walsh and Salvaris, 1998).

In order to promote an active and democratic form of citizenship there is a need for teachers to employ participatory pedagogies. Citizenship education must begin early. Role-playing using democratic problem-solving can be used to teach students how to define and overcome problems democratically. Drawing on the work of Giroux (1996) and Print (1996) it is important that teachers use pedagogies that foster critical thinking, through group work, simulations and role play while employing the new technologies (Walsh and Salvaris, 1998).

While some educators argue specifically for the use of technologies based on CD-ROMs (Print and Gray,1996), there is also a need to ensure that students are aware of the impact of the mass media. Television and radio (and one would add the Internet) are increasingly important sites of learning (Giroux, 1996). These sites offer a mixture of mixture of entertainment, ideology and commentary on political matters and students need help in critically interpreting the messages that they receive.

There has been active debate in the educational community regarding the optimum delivery of civics and citizenship education. Should it be delivered within a particular discipline, a particular key learning area or in a cross disciplinary fashion across the total curriculum? This debate raises questions of knowledge selection and pedagogy. As Kennedy (2001) points out:

> All writers on the question of pedagogy have called for an active and engaging approach to the teaching of civics and citizenship education (Berrell, 1993; Wyn, 1995; Mellor, 1996; Brennan, 1996; Kennedy, 1996). Such a call is perhaps easier to make in rhetorical form than to translate into practice…This is a particularly important point to make in relation to the role of the disciplines such as history and political science in any program of civics education. Young (1996) and Mellor (1996) go to great lengths to point out that approaches to teaching in the area should be based on inquiry and understanding, not simple transmission. (Kennedy, 2001, p. 323)

There are strong arguments to be made for the teaching of civics and citizenship through the discipline of History (Macintyre, 1996; Young, 1996; and Mellor (1996b). However, such arguments are often put by people with a vested interest in the discipline. Macintyre (1996) as chair of the Civics Expert Group no doubt tried to keep an open mind but felt a need to defend a revised approach to History when he wrote:

> The older triumphal story of nation building has been abandoned, and so it should be, but in its place we have a bewildering array of options, most of them lacking narrative coherence and exploring particular experiences and identities at the expense of a holistic understanding of the historical process...My plea is a simple one. I wan to see a retrieval of the civic dimension in history, a joining together of the changes in our public life, the ways we live together, with an enlarged

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understanding of diversity and difference. (Macintyre, 1996, p. 62)

While historians seek to maintain the central positioning of history in civics and citizenship education courses, they do have reservations. Young (1996) is concerned about the capacity or otherwise of schools to provide history-enriched civics programs in the light of the current provision of history education in most states. There is also concern about the type of history teaching that may best meet the learning needs of young Australians for participation in civil life.

While historians fight to ensure that history had a place in the delivery of civics and citizenship education programs, others are concerned to show that civics and citizenship can be taught across the curriculum. Literacy can be linked to citizenship education through a heritage study (Reynolds, 1997). A literacy perspective on civics and citizenship, can be gained by seeking cooperation from a range of professional associations in the development of holistic programs (Meiers, 1996). The Australian Readers provided as part of the Discovering Democracy program have provided opportunities for such an approach.

Adding a further perspective to the issue, economics teachers argue that being "enterprising" and "economically literate" are essential ingredients to active citizenship (Forsyth, 2000). Such links between citizenship education and economic literacy have been developed in both the USA and Australia and have led to the development of specially

designed units of work in civics and citizenship education.

While most writers see direct connections between civics and citizenship and Studies of Society and Environment, new civics courses need to take into account the research that has been carried out on students' political awareness (Phillips and Moroz, 1996). The declining status of the social studies is a matter of concern in Western Australia at least, and Social Studies may not be a vehicle for delivering citizenship education effectively (Moroz, 1996). Despite these misgivings, it is likely that Social Studies teachers need less convincing than Mathematics and Science and Technology teachers that they should include a citizenship perspective in their courses.

Another issue of concern to educators is the extent to which outcomes in civics and citizenship education can and should be benchmarked. This issue is necessarily linked with the competency debate. There is a long history in the USA of developing basic citizenship competencies (Remy, 1980). As Walsh and Salvaris (1998, pp. 32-33) outline in their discussion of standards, indicators, audits and benchmarks, the Senate Legal and Constitutional Reference Committee (1995) conclude that standards for effective citizenship need to be developed. The committee suggests that in the Australian context there was a need to provide a unifying theme based on widely accepted values and symbols such as "democracy, fairness, tolerance, participation and social solidarity (Senate Legal and Constitutional Reference Committee, 1995, p. 10). Schools obviously have a

role to play in this process.

The Civics and Citizenship Education Benchmarking Project conducted at Sydney University in conjunction with the NSW Department of Education and Training and the NSW Board of Studies has made significant progress in defining benchmarks for students at Year 6 and Year 10 (Hughes, 2000; 2002). Of particular interest are the work samples that they provide to show teachers and community members what levels of achievement students can reach on particular tasks. Despite the advances made here, there is still lively debate on the extent to which the broad scope of citizenship education can be reduced to a set of benchmarks.

An issue of concern to educators is the extent to which civics and citizenship education requires a major shift in the structuring of schools. Students cannot gain a full understanding of civics and citizenship concepts unless their schools are democratic in their processes (Apple and Beane, 1999). There is clearly a need for open discussion of the meaning of democracy and the nature of democratic schools. These schools can be defined firstly in terms of democratic structures and processes and secondly in terms of the democratic curriculum.

Is it sufficient that schools have clear standards and appropriate pedagogies for teaching civics and citizenship? A more extensive reform of civics and citizenship education may include "the restructuring of schools themselves as key democratic institutions" (Walsh and Salvaris, 1998, p. 43). School systems should provide a frame of reference for political

participation, the cultivation of civic virtue and democratic citizenship. In some schools this leads to the establishment of school parliaments. Others move outside the school to encourage student involvement in community action projects (Holdsworth, 1996, 2001.)

Teachers of civics and citizenship should "practice what they preach" by providing models of democratic society within schools, modelling cooperation and providing models of ecologically sound communities and just societies (Newell, 1996). Following such models, students can be elected democratically by their peers and learn how to be effective representatives.

A final set of issues relates to teacher readiness and sources of teacher resistance to civics and citizenship education initiatives. The issue of readiness to introduce materials from the Discovering Democracy Project is a case in point (Print, Moroz and Reynolds, 2001). One aspect of readiness is the teachers' knowledge of strategies to inspire students. Some of the teachers interviewed by Print, Moroz and Reynolds (2001) were discouraged by the perceived level of student apathy and this was highly pertinent at a middle school level.

> The teachers interviewed indicated that they appreciated the materials and deemed them useful. However when it came to actual usage in the classroom, a number said that the students they taught were too apathetic and disinterested and that it was too difficult to motivate them (Print, Moroz and Reynolds 2001, p. 206).

In seeking to understand what blocks teacher enthusiasm for civics and citizenship education (CCE), a recent study has uncovered the following

views of teachers:

> CCE is not a "core" school priority. I need strategies to help the school community see the benefits of CCE.
>
> There is no shared understanding of what CCE is or could be. I need ways to assess active citizenship.
>
> CCE is seen only as the responsibility of the SOSE faculty (Forsyth and Tudball, 2001, p. 7).

The important link between classroom approaches and whole school approaches is mentioned by experienced teachers as a way of making civics and citizenship education more meaningful both to themselves and their students. Reporting on a recent study of civics and citizenship education in Victoria, (Forsyth and Tudball, 2003) state that:

> Many teachers talk about the importance of the whole school culture in the delivery of effective CCE outcomes and argued that there should be a democratic approach to school decision-making, and democratic models should allow all members of the school community to "live" active citizenship (p. 8).

Summary of Chapter

The critical issues raised in this chapter have significance for teachers as they develop theories of action for engaging young adolescents in civics and citizenship education. These issues provide a set of choices that teachers need to make as they determine what concepts, skills and attitudes should be taught and how they should be taught in a middle school setting. Of particular relevance are the issues concerning the overall purpose of schooling, the incorporation of curriculum perspectives and choices about pedagogy that invite teachers to reflect on their overall educational

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philosophy.

In Chapter Three, emphasis has been placed on a range of issues that have the potential to become critical issues for participants in this study. In developing their theories of action teachers may concentrate on the issue of delineating civics education from citizenship education. They may address issues concerning the knowledge base of civics and citizenship education and make decisions about use of materials from the Discovering Democracy project. There are significant and critical issues surrounding the choice of appropriate pedagogies for students in the middle years of schooling and there are specific issues relating to the incorporation of gender, Aboriginal and multicultural perspectives.

CHAPTER FOUR: REFLECTING ON CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP

IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Outline of the Chapter

In this chapter, attention will be paid to the literature that deals with

the special needs of students in the middle years of schooling and the

relevance of this literature for citizenship education. There will also be a

focus on the professional development of teachers in the fields of civics and

citizenship education. The chapter will conclude with an examination of

teachers' theories of action, teacher reflexivity and critical theory – the latter

providing an epistemological base for the conduct of the study. There is an

emphasis on the theories of action that teachers develop as they address the

challenge of making civics and citizenship education relevant to the needs

of young adolescents. The development of teachers' theories of action is

related to their ability to reflect critically on their practice.

Civics and Citizenship Education in the Middle Years

This study has a particular focus on civics and citizenship education in

the middle years of schooling. This level of schooling includes the upper

primary and lower secondary grades when students are 10-14 years of age.

In some locations, purpose-built middle schools cater for the needs of these

young adolescents. At other locations, their needs are met in regular

primary and secondary schools. The needs and characteristics of these

young people are quite distinctive (Hargreaves and Earl, 1990) and these

young people respond best to a range of specific pedagogies, curriculum

patterns, organizational structures and welfare provisions (Braggett, 1997;

Beane, 1993). Students at this age invariably present a challenge to

educators and particularly for civics and citizenship educators when they

deal with students exhibiting characteristics of alienation from society

(Cumming, 1996).

In a key Australian study, Eyers et al (1992) draw on the earlier research

of Hargreaves and Earl suggesting that adolescents need to:

> adjust to some profound changes: physical, social, emotional and intellectual; grow towards independence (while still needing security in many personal relationships); gain experience in decision-making and take responsibility for these decisions; develop a positive self confidence through achieving success in significant events; progressively develop a sense of "Who am I?" and of personal and social values which become part of that person's life; establish their own sexual identity; experience social acceptance, and gain affection and support among peers of the same and opposite sex; think in ways which become progressively more abstract and reflective; become more aware of the social and political world around them, and gain skill in coping and interacting with that world; and establish or maintain relationships with particular adults who can provide advice and act as role models. (Hargreaves and Earl, 1990, p. 3)

A number of these needs have obvious implications for civics and

citizenship teachers. Programs in civics and citizenship education play a

significant role in helping young adolescents to establish a sense of identity.

Such programs also provide an opportunity for students to develop

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decision-making skills. These may be developed in the normal classroom,

through involvement in student representative councils (Robinson,

Ruming, Hannford & Myles-Holland, 1999) or through school projects

based in the wider community. Many of these programs have been trialled

since the publication of "Turning Points" report by the Carnegie Council on

Adolescent Development (1998).

Students in the early stages of adolescence have specific physical

characteristics and needs related to the adolescent growth spurt and the

onset of puberty (Braggett, 1997). There are also specific cognitive

characteristics and needs (including the emerging capacity for abstract

thought), social characteristics and needs (exemplified by the importance of

peer group acceptance) and psychological characteristics and needs

(including heightened emotional intensity). Of particular importance here

are the social characteristics of peer pressure. The significance of peer

pressure to young adolescents can provide a challenge to teachers as they

seek to impress on students the relevance of other reference groups.

Significant Australian studies of early adolescence (Cumming, 1996)

focus on the perceived alienation of young people and the need for teachers

to engage their curiosity in imaginative ways. Consequently, teachers of

young adolescents are constantly challenged to find new ways of

motivating students and making learning tasks more meaningful. There has

been particular interest in authentic pedagogy (Newmann, Marks and Gamoran, 1996) amongst middle school educators seeking to make the curriculum more relevant.

In relation to middle school pedagogy, researchers have investigated middle school students' understanding of meaningful learning and classroom activities that they find engaging (Ares and Gorrell, 2002). It is evident from this research that young adolescents respond positively to classrooms in which they are active, both mentally and physically. They prefer to be engaged in instructional activities that are meaningful, varied, interesting and involve aspects of group learning. "Meaningful learning" in this context is instruction relevant to students' lives and to their goals for the future. Middle school students express a desire to share control of their learning. They wish to share responsibility for learning and behaviour. Students feel that they learn best in humane, relaxed, engaging classrooms where student learning is the focus. Finally, student perspectives on learning and teaching can be substantive sources of information for educators as they act to foster students' meaningful engagement with content (Ares and Gorrell, 2002).

All of the above findings have direct relevance for teachers of civics and citizenship but there is no single pedagogy that works in all situations. At different points in time students will respond to constructivist or conflict

approaches whilst others will respond to critical approaches (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998). Students need opportunities to construct an understanding of the political landscape and their place in it. They need to be able to identify the ways in which society accommodates conflict and they need to identify the power relations in society that influence social actions.

Related to this emphasis on meaningful and relevant activities in middle schools is the upsurge of interest in authentic pedagogy (Newmann, Marks & Gamoran, 1996). Authentic achievement in civics and citizenship education can be achieved by placing emphasis on the construction of knowledge, disciplined inquiry and the value of such studies beyond school (Gunn and King, 1996). For authentic achievement to occur, students need to be producing new knowledge or meaning rather than simply memorising and repeating facts and information – a characteristic of the old civics.

Authentic pedagogy involves a particular type of cognitive work that involves striving for in-depth understanding and expressing understanding through elaborate communications. Also, authentic learning has a meaning outside the certification of learner competence. A school using authentic pedagogy is not satisfied with an impressive score on a civics test unless the knowledge has relevance in a real world setting.

There is considerable debate about the way in which citizenship

education should be taught in the middle years (Vontz and Nixon, 1999). In the middle years of schooling, there is belief that civics education can be made more authentic by ensuring that it is issue-centred. However, this approach is not universally used. The issues-centred approach has failed to gain wide acceptance for a number of reasons: some teachers and parents express reservations about emphasizing potentially controversial topics, some argue that it reduces the time spent on content coverage and others argue that the emphasis on process over content means that issues are dealt with in an interdisciplinary manner without any adequate conceptual structure.

Middle school programs, such as Project Citizen developed by the Center for Civic Education in California, can overcome some of the above problems (Vontz and Nixon, 1999). This project addresses many of the concerns directed against issue-centred education. Instead of injecting problems into the civics classroom merely for the sake of creating controversy, the program encourages children to examine important questions of policy that are relevant to them and their communities.

Rather than avoiding controversial issues, young adolescents should be talking with others, especially people with different viewpoints, about matters of public and common concern (Hess, 2001). That is a basic pro-democracy skill. It is important to teach young people how to participate

more effectively in discussions of Controversial Public Issues (CPI). There are three attributes of the CPI approach. The controversy needs to be "live" – meaning it is currently on the public platter. Secondly, there is a "public" interest in making a decision on the issue. Thirdly, there is significant disagreement about the best solution (Hess, 2001).

In another exemplary project, middle school learners with the support of their teachers and university students, engaged in a variety of local investigations and then shared them with students completing similar investigations in another country (Carlson, Holm, Krook and Whiteman, 1997). The project is based on the premise that, to be an effective citizen, it is crucial for students to develop investigation skills with the ability to weigh evidence and draw conclusions. It is also important to gather information from different perspectives. This Local/International Investigation Model prepares students for effective citizenship in their own countries and at a global level.

Another way in which civics and citizenship education can be made relevant to young people, is to take negotiation of the curriculum seriously. Early support for the negotiated curriculum came from Boomer, Lester, Onmore and Cook (1992) and Beane (1997). Later writers such as Smyth, Hattam and Lawson (1997) linked negotiation of the curriculum to a culture of innovation in the classroom. Negotiation of the curriculum has been

outlined in action research projects conducted in the middle years (Reid, 1988). Although the curriculum can be negotiated to meet the needs of individual students in the middle years (Braggett, Morris and Day, 1999), some teachers show resistance to negotiation. This may occur if negotiation conjures up images of students dictating what is taught - with programs being subject to the whims of youngsters. However, negotiations can take place with individuals, small groups or an entire class and "the results are much more satisfying when youngsters have an input into their own learning" (Braggett, Morris & Day, 1999, p. 54)

Negotiation of the curriculum presents a challenge to teachers of civics and citizenship, especially when dealing with young adolescents. The role of the teacher in the middle years needs to change from that of a dispenser of knowledge to that of facilitator. When that happens:

> The middle school years provide an excellent opportunity for teachers and students to work together, to consult and to negotiate the curriculum in a meaningful fashion. It can prove to be a very positive time in a youngster's life. (Braggett, Morris & Day, 1999, p. 56)

An allied aspect of curriculum negotiation is the provision of opportunities for young adolescents to be involved in decision-making. This is central to any pedagogy of civics and citizenship education. An emphasis on decision-making skills particularly in middle years social studies lessons, is important for youth and democracy.

> Social studies teachers ought to be explicitly aware that the compelling reason for the existence of social studies curricula is to foster values and public practices that are consistent with democratic values (equality, freedom, due process, and respect for all people, whether they have handicaps, or are attached to different religions, nations or cultures). (Ochoa-Becker, 1999, p. 3)

Teachers of civics and citizenship may well take advantage of the Engle-Ochoa decision-making model (1988). This model has two major dimensions; "content" in the form of controversial issues and "intellectual processes", in the form of critical thinking and decision-making. Decision-making is linked to counter-socialisation, showing how social studies teachers in the middle years can help students to examine the values that they acquired non-reflectively. To counter-socialise, "teachers need to know their students well, focus on controversial issues and make critical thinking and decision making a regular part of their teaching (Ochoa-Becker 1999, p. 4). Those teachers adopting this model believe that democracy is not well served by either blind loyalty or unthinking behaviour on the part of citizens.

There is quite a lively debate amongst educators (Mellor 1996; Print and Gray, 1996) about the extent to which civics and citizenship education should be approached through a particular discipline or through an integrated approach. In the case of middle schooling, the argument for an integrated approach has been made very strongly by Beane (1997) and

Cumming (1994). While teachers in primary schools tend to be quite comfortable with integrated approaches, secondary teachers have been less enthusiastic. The common explanation is that secondary teachers are traditionally more subject-oriented than student-oriented. While secondary teachers accept the fact that an holistic approach makes sense and students coming from primary school are used to having a limited range of teachers, they are often restricted by their training in specific disciplines.

Complicating the issue is feedback from students entering secondary school that they actually enjoy the wider range of subjects and teachers. So where does that leave civics and citizenship education? Even in primary schools where there is a tradition of integration, it is not uncommon for the formal teaching of civics to be treated separately to the broader aspects of citizenship education that take place in student representative councils and school assemblies.

In those schools where civics and citizenship education falls within the ambit of social science or Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE), specific programs have been prepared for young adolescents. One such program outlined by Chittenden (1997) provides a model of increasing political literacy through junior secondary social science. Year 8 students begin with a study of community involvement and action. This leads to a study of local, state and federal government and the operation of law in

Australia. Year 9 students look at government in ancient Athens, the Westminster system and also look at the European Community, models of government in Asia and the special case of the United Nations. Year 10 students look at Federal government and republican movements. Students are given opportunities to display leadership skills, negotiation and communication skills.

In the literature on middle schooling, there seems to be widespread support for a teams approach (Arnold and Stevenson, 1998). The common approach is for middle school students to be taught by a small team of teachers – each specializing in a combination of subjects e.g. English and Social Studies or Maths and Science. With respect to civics and citizenship education, it is perhaps more likely that integration will occur if the same teacher has students for English and social education. As Jackson and Davis argue:

> In fact, two- and three-person teams generally require teachers to teach more than one subject, so the possibility of curriculum integration is obviously enhanced…Such small teams are very appealing, but they require teachers to have in-depth content knowledge in two areas, which, while desirable, is still rare. (Jackson and Davis, 2000, p.130)

Advocates of middle schooling, argue that programs need to exhibit the "3 Ds": dignity, democracy and diversity (Beane, 1993). Dignity is achieved when the subject matter deals with issues such as freedom, caring, equality and peace and the sharing of information integrates development of a

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personal identity. Democracy is achieved through student participation in school governance as well as classroom and community decision-making. Opportunities are also given for students to value the diversity of cultures living within the community. While accepting these three elements, there is a case for inclusion of an additional "D": for Dialogue. Roberts (1997) argues that students and teachers need to be involved in philosophical dialogue about the issues of fairness, rights, justice and change. These are all potentially significant aspects of civics and citizenship programs in the middle years.

With respect to the fostering of democracy in middle school classrooms, it is wishful thinking to expect children to become responsible citizens if they are schooled in non-democratic environments that stifle the skills and attitudes on which responsibility depends (Radz, 1983). One can go further than this to suggest that it is wishful thinking to expect teachers to foster democracy in their classrooms if they do not learn how to practice democratic pedagogy in professional development programs and then implement such practices in their classrooms (Kubow and Kinney, 2000).

Teacher educators and teachers need to be aware of the principles for creating more democratic classrooms. They need to know how to create democratic environments in the classroom and develop awareness of the implications of using more democratic models. Drawing on the ideas of

middle school teachers from Hungary and Ukraine, the Institute for Democratic Education and Exchange put forward eight principles for creating more democratic classroom environments (Kubow and Kinney; 2000). These eight principles invite teachers to: promote active participation by students, avoid textbook dominated instruction, promote reflective thinking, incorporate decision-making and problem-solving choices, focus on controversial issues, encourage individual responsibility, recognize human dignity, and emphasize relevance. Most of these have direct relevance for civics and citizenship educators.

When it comes to implementing these principles, teachers need to be aware of the preferred learning styles of their students and these can be well established by the time students reach the middle years. A useful model for the middle school classroom based on the experiential learning theory of Kolb, has been developed by McCarthy (1987). Her 4 MAT system of learning and teaching that can be readily applied to middle school classrooms. In addition to that, recognition should be given to the multiple intelligences devised by Gardner (1993) and translated into action by Lazear (1991a; 1991b).

While civics and citizenship education are often closely associated with the social studies (or Studies of Society and Environment), it is increasingly evident that civics and citizenship education has a cross curriculum focus.

Given the current emphasis on literacy in middle schools, it is not uncommon to find literacy educators (Reynolds, 1997) using themes from civics and citizenship education to introduce linguistic structures. Of particular help in this regard have been the Australian Readers produced by the Curriculum Corporation for the Discovering Democracy project.

Within the literature on schooling for young adolescents there is a strong focus on resilience (Fuller, McGraw, Goodyear & Brouwer, 1998: Burns, 2001). In some respects young adolescents are highly susceptible to drug taking and violence in their lived reality or through the mass media. In other respects young adolescents are remarkably resilient, given the high rates of social and technological change, substance abuse and patterns of domestic and public violence in society at large. Within that scenario civics and citizenship programs have a vital role to play in helping to build resilience amongst those adolescents who are most at risk (Burns, 2001).

Young adolescents are thus shown to have specific needs that need to be addressed by appropriate strategies when teachers introduce them to programs in civics and citizenship education. It is too early to argue that a particular middle school pedagogy has been developed but there are some general principles emerging and these provide a focus for the current study. The aim here is to identify the issues that teachers face as they reflect critically on the range of strategies that make civics and citizenship

programs more meaningful to young adolescents.

Teachers' Theories of Action

Given that the focus of this study is on the role of teachers in civics and citizenship education, there is particular interest in the theories of action that inform teachers' action in the classroom. Argyris and Schon (1974) define a theory of action as "a theory of deliberate human behavior" which can be used as a "unit of description for the knowledge that informs action" (p. xxi).

As teachers introduce programs in civics and citizenship education their actions are based on personal theories. These theories can be based on a combination of past and present experiences. These theories must be robust enough to accommodate the complexity of daily tasks.

> The daily world of the teacher is a capricious one. Classrooms are multi-dimensional, crowded places in which the teacher has several roles, the obligation to fulfil a variety of functions and the need to carry out a multitude of activities simultaneously or in very rapid sequence. Further classrooms are unpredictable: methods which helped one pupil learn may prove ineffective with another or with the same pupil on a different day, moods and reactions may be affected by circumstances outside the classroom which are unknown to the teacher, arbitrary events may curtail availability or usefulness of resources. Teachers are subjected to a constant barrage of information on all sensory channels, to which they must respond sensitively (since a mis-timed or inappropriate response will often provoke a downward spiral of inattention, misunderstanding or conflict) and swiftly, with little time for sustained rational thought. (Nias, 1987, p. 3)

In handling the "busyness" of the classroom, teachers are informed by

theories that they have developed on the basis of their experiences as teachers and as students, as well as their reading and their training. These theories are sometimes quite explicit but more often are held subconsciously. Whether they are stated explicitly or not, teachers' theories inform their everyday actions.

Of particular interest in the development of theories are the types of knowledge that teachers acquire and use in their work. Carr and Kemmis (1983, p. 44) recognize: commonsense knowledge about practice; folk wisdom that is developed on the basis of experience; skill knowledge that is related to specific tasks; contextual knowledge about particular classes and subject fields; professional knowledge about teaching strategies and curriculum; ideas about educational theory; and finally social and moral theories and philosophical outlooks. Each of these types of knowledge can influence individual teachers' theories of action in relation to civics and citizenship education.

The importance of teachers' theories of action evident in a study by Dunkin and Welch (1996) that highlights four case studies of teacher knowledge in civics and citizenship education. Through interviews using stimulated recall the researchers investigated key areas of pedagogical knowledge highlighting the teachers' pedagogical repertoire and their knowledge of teaching and learning strategies. As Dunkin and Welch (1996)

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report "the first was best illustrated when teachers were called upon to explain their use of apt analogies, similes, metaphors and the like to clarify concepts with students" (p. 22).

This study by Dunkin and Welch (1996) provides a set of speculative propositions with important ramifications for teachers of civics and citizenship. Dunkin and Welch (1996, p. 32) report that when experienced teachers are asked to teach material with which they are unfamiliar, they begin to act like novices again. It was also proposed that when teachers are asked to implement new syllabuses involving content with which they are unfamiliar, they tend to interpret the syllabuses as being more prescriptive than they are intended to be. Thirdly, when teachers lack confidence in their knowledge of subject matter, they tend to adopt teacher-centred methods. All these conclusions have obvious ramifications for professional development courses in civics and citizenship education (Jennings, 1999).

In developing a theory of action with respect to civics and citizenship education, the classroom practitioner has the potential to reflect critically and reflexively. When operating reflexively, as researchers of their own practices, teachers become aware of the impact of power dominant forms of inquiry. In this way, critical issues are illuminated through reflexivity.

> The process of reflexivity is an attempt to identify, to do something about and acknowledge, the limitations of the research: its locations, its subjects, its process, its theoretical context, its data, its analysis and how accounts recognize that the

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construction of knowledge takes place in the world and not apart from it. (Shacklock and Smyth, 1998, p. 7)

In this study, where it was necessary to work in close conjunction with classroom teachers as they researched their own practice, the issue of reflexivity was doubly important. We were each challenged to conceive of ourselves as practitioners and as researchers able to question our research methods as well as our practices.

Indeed, reflexivity in 'critical' research work is important in honestly and openly addressing issues concerning the validation of research findings, as well as those ethical and political questions which arise from relations between the researcher and the researched that are implicit in the research agenda and research methods. (Shacklock and Smyth, 1998, p. 7)

Issues of critical reflexivity relating to research method are further explored in the following chapter. However, at this point, the focus is on a process by which teachers of civics and citizenship in middle school classrooms reflect on their roles as researchers of practice, gradually refining their educational praxis.

Critical Theory and Teachers' Critical Reflection

The content and conduct of this study is heavily influenced by the critical theories of Habermas (1972) and Fay (1987). These theories not only influence the formulation of the research problem and the methodology – they also throw light on the nature of teachers' theories of action. The link between critical theory and teachers' theories of action is strongest where

existing theories have been developed on the basis of sustained critical

reflection and an exploration of this link depends on a clear understanding

of what the critical theories entail.

A critical theory has a number of key elements (Fay, 1987). Firstly it

requires a theory of false consciousness that:

> demonstrates the ways in which the self-understandings of a group of people are false (in the sense of failing to account for the life experiences of the members of the group) or incoherent (because they are internally contradictory) or both. This is sometimes called an 'ideology critique'; explains how the members of the group came to have these self-misunderstandings, and how they are maintained; and contrasts them with an alternative self-understanding, showing how this alternative is superior. (Fay, 1987, p. 31)

In terms of the present study, opportunities were provided through

interviews and a seminar for participants to engage in a form of ideology

critique, to explore how self-misunderstandings developed, to identify

contradictions and to identify examples of alternative understandings.

These activities were used deliberately to stimulate reflection on theories of

action related to civics and citizenship education in the middle years.

A fully developed critical theory, according to Fay (1987), needs to

incorporate a theory of crisis that:

> spells out what a social crisis is; indicates how a particular society is in such a crisis (by) examining the felt dissatisfactions of a group of people and showing both that they can threaten social cohesion and that they can not be alleviated given the basic organization of the society and the self-understandings of its members; provides an historical account of the development of this crisis partly in terms of the false consciousness of

the members of the group and partly in terms of the structural bases of society. (Fay, 1987, p. 32)

Throughout the current study opportunities arose for the examination of a legitimation crisis concerning civics and citizenship education. For example, a legitimation crisis may exist with respect to the teaching of democratic principles when schools themselves do not exemplify such principles. In reflecting critically on their own practices, teachers may also reflect critically on the social structures within which they live and work.

A critical theory needs to provide an indication of how educational institutions can respond to perceived needs. In the case of civics and citizenship education, there is a need to know how classroom practices and school structures can address some of the inconsistencies arising out of self-reflection. There is thus a need for a theory of education that "offers an account of the conditions necessary and sufficient for the sort of enlightenment envisioned by the theory; (and) shows that given the current social situation these conditions are satisfied" (Fay, 1987, p.32).

It is insufficient for a critical theory to critique specific forms of civics and citizenship education. The issue of relevance here is the extent to which schools provide opportunities for students and teachers to explore the ramifications of active and informed citizenship. Finally, a critical theory needs to be based on a theory of transformative action that:

isolates those aspects of a society which must be altered if this social crisis is to be resolved and the dissatisfaction of its

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members lessened; details a plan of action indicating the people who are to be the 'carriers' of the anticipated social transformation and at least some general idea of how they might do this. (Fay, 1987, p. 32)

In the conduct of the current study there were opportunities for participants to develop new understandings of civics and citizenship education and to bring about change in their respective schools. Most of the participants were in leadership positions where it was possible for them to implement change. In identifying critical issues for teachers, this study provided opportunities for practitioners to examine ways in which they could transform school structures as well as changing their own classroom practices.

In reflecting on their theories of action related to civics and citizenship education, participants were encouraged to consider the nexus between theory and action. Following the tradition of critical theorists there is a focus in this study on "praxis" or informed action (Carr and Kemmis, 1983). When theories of action are illuminated, abstract aspects are not given prominence.

> Educational theory is practical in the sense that the question of its truth will be determined by the ways in which it relates to practice. For this reason educational theory cannot simply explain the source or nature of the problems that practitioners may face. Nor can it rest content with trying to solve problems by getting teachers to apply any solutions it may produce. Rather its purpose is to inform and guide the practices of educators by indicating the actions that they need to take if they are to overcome their problems and eliminate their felt difficulties/ (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p.128)

The practical application of teachers' theories of action has particular

relevance for this study. The classroom practitioners participating in this

study were encouraged to take action in their classroom and school settings

as a way of reflecting on their pedagogy. By reflecting critically on their

practices, teachers have opportunities to contribute to educational theory

whilst bringing about change within themselves and their school settings.

The development of educational theory at the practitioner level implies

change.

> In this sense, educational theory must always be oriented
> towards transforming the ways in which teachers see themselves
> and their situation so that the factors frustrating the rational
> development of their practices can be recognized and eliminated.
> Equally, it must be oriented towards transforming the situations
> which place obstacles in the way of achieving educational goals,
> perpetuate ideological distortions and impede rational and
> critical work in educational situations. (Carr and Kemmis, 1983,
> p.128)

Practical issues such as accommodating and resisting curriculum

innovations in civics and citizenship education show how critical theory

has influenced educational thought. This practical application of critical

theory is widely recognised in the sociology of education (Wexler, 1987;

Morrow and Torres, 1995; Apple, 1996; Giroux, 1981 and 1994b; Giroux and

McLaren (1989), Aronowitz and Giroux (1985); Goodson (1988) and Luke

(1988).

> These and other scholars in education recognize that schooling is
> increasingly a contested terrain in late capitalism, making

education a vital topic for critical scholars interested in criticizing ideology as disseminated through schooling and reconstructing institutions and discourses of higher education. Like media and cultural studies, the critical sociology of education, much of which has migrated to the United States from the UK and Australia, is concerned not only to identify domination (e.g. Bowles and Gintis's (1976) classic work on what they call " the hidden curriculum") but also to identify and foster "resistances" both in the classroom and curriculum and in the ways educational administrators run their institutions. (Agger, 1998, p. 175)

The resistances that teachers exhibit are of particular relevance for this study as they reflect the critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action.

Resistance Theory

In a study that invites participants to be critically reflective about citizenship education, it is relevant to examine the links with resistance theory. This is particularly relevant in cases where teachers are expected to implement civics and citizenship programs that are heavily laden with ideology. Teachers as social agents need to interpret policy documents and curriculum packages critically. For Willis (1997) "social agents are not passive bearers of ideology, but active appropriators who reproduce existing structures only through struggle, contestation and a partial penetration of those structures" (p. 75).

Quite often, classroom teachers are resistant to enforced curriculum

change in fields such as civics and citizenship education if they feel that the curriculum is already overcrowded. Keeping in mind both pre-service and continuing professional education, Giroux (1981) suggests that "the seeds exist within teacher education to developing critical individuals who can begin the task of generating a more radical and visionary consciousness among fellow workers, friends and students" (p. 156). This study sought out examples of such processes in action, as teachers identified critical issues in civics and citizenship education.

In this study opportunities were provided for participating teachers to engage in dialogue with colleagues over civics and citizenship education. Of particular interest were their views on the distinct meaning of civics and citizenship and their views on how formal and informal aspects of citizenship education might be integrated. Bullough and Gitlin (1985) argue that is important for teachers to engage in dialogue and discuss shared ideals because:

> actions that make problematic role boundaries and move toward identification and realization of shared ideals would be considered resistance. Accordingly, dialogue is an essential precondition to resistance because through dialogue the taken-for-granted ideological nature of role boundaries can best be revealed. (Bullough and Gitlin, 1985, p. 72)

For critical theorists, the role boundaries of teachers need to be contested. Classroom teachers need to fight for the right to be curriculum developers of civics and citizenship education programs – and not

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just curriculum implementers. This study provides an opportunity for such issues to be raised and investigated and the case studies in Chapter Six illustrate ways in which teachers develop programs to suit local needs.

Ideology Critique

In developing their theories of action in relation to civics and citizenship education, teachers need to engage in ideology critique. Through ideology critique teachers respond to a range of critical issues that emerge out of their practice. This concept was introduced by Habermas (1972) into critical social science. The contribution of Habermas can be explained in this way:

> Critique is aimed at revealing to individuals how their beliefs and attitudes may be ideological illusions that help to preserve a social order which is alien to their collective experiences and needs. By demonstrating how sociological forces generate erroneous self-understandings, ideology critique aims to reveal their deceptive nature and so strip them of their power. (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p. 37)

Ideology critique is a significant skill for teachers to develop as they reflect critically on their practices in middle school classrooms. Through ideology critique they are able to identify erroneous self-understandings about the ways in which civics and citizenship may be addressed. Drawing on the works of Habermas, Carr and Kemmis go on to say:

> As well as revealing how ideology may conceal contradictions and inadequacies inherent in ideas and beliefs, ideology critique also attempts to show how these same ideas and beliefs contain some indication of the real aims and interests of individuals and thereby imply some alternative self-conception model based on

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their true meaning. In this sense ideology critique attempts to show individuals how their erroneous self-understandings often can nevertheless intimate in a disguised form, their real needs and purposes." (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p. 137)

Ideology critique can occur at an individual level as a teacher reflects critically on classroom practice but more often it occurs in a group situation. Opportunities for group reflection may be provided through seminars and opportunities for teachers to work in pairs on school-based projects. Despite the strengths of the process, Habermas sees a limitation to ideology critique and proposes a solution.

> The idea of critical social science is developed by Habermas as a way of overcoming this limitation of ideology critique. A critical social science is, for Habermas, a social process that combines collaboration in the process of critique with the political determination to act to overcome contradictions in the rationality and justice of social action and social institutions. (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p. 142)

For Habermas, the integration of theory and practice can have a profound impact on practitioners. In developing a critical praxis of civics and citizenship education, middle school teachers can reach new levels of awareness concerning the pedagogies that best suit their situations. This can be linked to the process of theory building.

> A critical social science will be one that goes beyond critique to critical praxis; that is a form of practice in which the 'enlightenment' of actors comes to bear directly on their transformed social action. As we shall see, this requires an integration of theory and practice moments in a dialectical process of reflection, enlightenment and political struggle carried

out by groups for this purpose of their own emancipation. (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p. 142)

This study provides an opportunity for teachers to develop a praxis of citizenship education, in which enlightenment about meaningful practices in the middle school classroom leads to transformed social action at the school level. The case studies in Chapter Six illustrate situations in which student councils and school parliaments have played a direct role in school decision-making.

Legitimation crisis and "official knowledge"

Critical theory is often linked to the notion of a "legitimation crisis" that can have direct ramifications for civics and citizenship education. It tends to manifest itself at a macro level somewhat removed from the day to day activities of classroom teachers but is nonetheless important to their work. Habermas reflects on the contradictions and crisis tendencies endemic to advanced capitalism pointing out that a legitimation crisis need not occur if there are sufficient rewards available.

> Only a rigid socio-cultural system, incapable of being randomly functionalised for the needs of the administrative system, could explain a sharpening of legitimation difficulties into a legitimation crisis. A legitimation crisis can be predicted only if expectations that cannot be fulfilled either with the available quantity of value or, generally, with rewards conforming to the system, are systematically produced. (Habermas cited in McCarthy, 1982, pp. 370-371)

In a contested curriculum arena such as civics and citizenship

education, it is evident from time to time that a discrepancy occurs between the aspirations of politicians and educational authorities and the aspirations of classroom teachers. In these instances, the practitioners feel that they have a closer connection with the mood of the electorate on issues like republicanism.

> A legitimation crisis must be based on a motivation crisis – that is, a discrepancy between the need for motives declared by the state, the educational and occupational systems on the one hand, and the motivation supplied by the socio-cultural system on the other. (Habermas, 1975, pp. 74-75)

This may seem to be far removed from the thinking of individual teachers in a school setting but Reid links citizenship education to the legitimation crisis in the following way:

> The current focus on civics and citizenship education in Australia is an element of the state's response to its legitimation crisis (e.g.O'Connor 1973, Habermas, 1976). This crisis has been brought about partly by social dislocation produced by the post-Keynesian economic settlement with its commitment to the philosophy and practice of economic rationalism in the context of a globalised economy (Reid, 1996, p.9).

For teachers in the middle years of schooling, there can be suspicion amongst teachers about the motives behind policy directions if it is felt that such changes are linked to an economic rationalist approach. There can also be a sense in which teachers perceive a legitimation crisis in relation to the political uses being made of the education system. Regarding the current focus on civics and citizenship Reid goes on to argue that:

It is also the result of the experience of rapid and complex cultural change which has produced a sense of turmoil, particularly amongst the young, where there is accumulated evidence of alienation, anxiety and confusion. Such dislocation, if left unchecked, can threaten the foundation of a capitalist society. As a consequence the state is moving to use the education system as a means by which to establish a greater social cohesion. (Reid, 1996, p.9)

Discussion linking the legitimation crisis to civics and citizenship education, has led to a questioning of the very nature of schooling. Questions of social and political control have figured in the debate. Reid extends the argument further by questioning the economic orientation of schooling:

In the past few years the education system has been constructed as an instrument of micro-economic reform, and as a consequence much of the curriculum innovation and change has occurred at a national level (Lingard, 1993) and has a vocational emphasis. The move to introduce civics education is partly an attempt to redress this imbalance, without disturbing the contribution of schools to micro-economic reform. But the two roles the schools are expected to play – developing skilled workers and responsible citizens – are often contradictory, and it is difficult for the state to engineer the right balance. (Reid , 1996, p. 9)

In the latter half of the 20th century there was a shift in emphasis towards a competency-based approach to schooling that was clearly linked to the role of schools in the economy. Reid shows how this emphasis on the economic role of education leads to a particular dilemma with relevance for civics and citizenship education.

The current legitimation crisis is an indication that perhaps too great an emphasis has been placed on the economic role.

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However, Bowles and Gintis (1987) point out that the state cannot shift too far in the direction of promoting democratic participation for fear that that the outcome may produce a citizenry with the skills and the commitment to challenge capital and achieve a more equal distribution of power and wealth. This is the classic dilemma that the state constantly faces in its functions of support for capital accumulation and legitimation of the capitalist system (Offe, 1985). It is a delicate balancing act, and civics education offers an intriguing case study of this dilemma in action. (Reid, 1996, p. 9)

The issue also has relevance for the training and retraining of teachers in civics and citizenship education. In some respects such training and retraining from a critical perspective takes on a counter-hegemoic nature. Jennings, in discussing the dialectic of accommodation and resistance within counter-hegemonic forms in teacher education, observes:

The question of legitimacy opens up a theoretical perspective on the interaction between the authority of the state and the function of the education system. Social legitimations are found in major institutions such as the church, education systems, mass media and the law. Teachers work within a system of education which suffers its own legitimation crisis. Thus the crisis for teachers, as professionals, occurs at three levels: as participants within the social system, as incumbents of the label 'professional' and as participants within the sub-system of 'education'. (Jennings, 1987, p. 57)

The link between the educational legitimation crisis and civics and citizenship education is highlighted as teachers invite students to imagine what sort of society we might have compared with the reality that we experience on an everyday basis.

Legitimation is the social process whereby individuals learn to accept that the state has the right to govern and that the resulting structures of the social system are made to appear

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acceptable to its members. A crisis develops when there is a mismatch between "what is" (the reality) and "what ought to be" (the ideal). It occurs when a significant number of people perceive a discrepancy between what is considered to be "right" and what is the actual state of affairs. In such a situation people are apt to question and challenge the legitimacy of social and political arrangements. (Jennings, 1987, pp. 57 - 58)

As in many areas of the curriculum, there is often a mismatch between what is happening in civics and citizenship education and what ought to be happening. Those who see schools as training grounds for active citizenship may be frustrated to find that the approach is content-driven and academic.

Related to the legitimation crisis is the notion of "official knowledge" as espoused by Apple (2000). It is Apple's view that teachers and students need to be aware of counter-hegemonic as well as dominant views, especially when dealing with controversial social issues.

> "Official Knowledge" analyses the struggles over curriculum, teaching and policy at a variety of levels and points to possibilities – not only limitations in the current situation. It argues that the forms of curricula, teaching and evaluation schools are always the results of such accords or compromises where dominant groups, in order to maintain their dominance, must take the concerns of the less powerful into account. This accord is always fragile, always temporary, and is constantly subject to threat. There will always be openings for counter-hegemonic activity. (Apple, 2000, cover page)

This counter-hegemonic activity may include a resistance by teachers to the use of centrally designed curriculum materials and federally-funded produced civics and citizenship projects.

Critical Pedagogy

Moving from a theoretical position to a practical position, Hunter and Jiminez (1998) show how critical theory has an impact on pedagogy. This can occur as teachers invite students to move outside their comfort zones and to think more independently of their parents and even their peers. As Hunter and Jiminez (1998, p, 7- 8) explain:

> A critical pedagogy views existing curriculum with criticism, because it is foreign to the student and is remote from their experiences and expertise; it is something that is imposed on them, rather than done with them (Osborne, 1991,p.53). From a critical perspective, students' perspectives are thus cited as a "starting point" for meaningful instruction. This incorporates aspects of constructivism, but goes beyond it, as what a student values or knows is questioned and may be considered "unacceptable". As such, it is the job of the teachers to go beyond students' experience at some point in order to introduce students to a wider world of ideas and knowledge (Osborne, 1991).

Teachers and students can use critical theory to understand how they think about issues such as citizenship (Leppard, 1995; Paul, 1990). Citing Paul, Leppard (1995, p. 56) argues that critical theory works from the belief that "learning is essentially a public communal, dialogical and dialectical (investigating truth) process in which learners can only proceed indirectly to truth"…with much back-tracking, misconception, self contradiction and frustration in the process. Authoritative answers are replaced by authoritative standards for engagement in the communal dialogical process of inquiry.

Student Voice

Related to the notion of critical pedagogy is the issue of promoting student voices. The student "voice" is an essential part of the classroom, and through the recognition of student experiences, part of this 'voice' is considered (Osborne, 1991). The issue of student voice is particularly important when teachers engage students in active citizenship through involvement in student representative councils. Voice can be defined as "the various measures by which students and teachers actively participate in dialogue" (Giroux, 1989). A reasonable question to ask of civics educators, is whether they will allow for such voices to be developed (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998).

This may present a challenge to the preferred pedagogy of civics and citizenship educators and is likely to become a critical issue. If Giroux's definition of the role of the teacher is accepted, then we need to give consideration to "voice" in the sense that: "teachers are active community participants whose function is to establish public spaces where students can debate, appropriate, and learn the knowledge and skills necessary to live in a democracy" (Giroux, 1989, p. 201.)

Teachers operating in a critical perspective will provide "spaces" for the development of the student voice (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998). This view is supported by Young (1981, 1992) based on his research of teacher epistemologies. A "critical" teacher is identified as one who views

knowledge as a 'collective product of a history of inquiry' and whose methods in the classroom "went beyond method to a sharing of experience and the construction of meanings and argument" (Young, 1992, pp. 19-20).

The development of student voice is a critical issue for teachers wishing to model democratic processes in the middle school classroom. As Hunter and Jiminez (1998) contend: "a pedagogy that is 'critically oriented' provides room for the student to enter into the conversation, to find their 'voice'. Critical theory then suggests that without this inclusive process in the construction and development of an argument, a student may never approach understanding" (p. 8).

Summary of Chapter

This chapter outlines the unique characteristics and needs of young adolescents. These needs and characteristics provide a basis for discussing the appropriate strategies that may be employed by teachers of civics and citizenship in the middle years. Discussion on teachers' theories of action and critical reflexivity is related to the development of critical pedagogies in civics and citizenship education. This chapter also examines the literature on critical theory that provides the basis for an approach to civics and citizenship education, allowing teachers to reflect critically on their praxis. It has also been shown how teachers engage with critical issues in their practice and develop theories of action that guide their approach to civics

and citizenship education through a process of critical reflection. The analysis developed by (Fay, 1987) is used extensively in the data analysis phase of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY

Outline of the Chapter

This chapter explains how critical action research was used to

explore issues affecting the provision of civics and citizenship education

in a middle schooling context. The action research approach led to the

formulation of a set of five case studies. The primary data collection

methods were semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews,

observation, professional journals and document analysis. These

methods were all used as part of the action research process. Data

analysis was based on a range of coding strategies. A set of six themes

emerged from data in the case studies and these were further analysed

using elements from critical theory. This chapter also outlines the ethical

issues involved in the data collection process.

The Action Research Methodology

Action research can take many forms but for the purposes of this

study, the following description was adopted:

> Action research is a form of self-reflective inquiry undertaken
> by participants in social (including educational) situations in
> order to improve the rationality and justice of (a) their own
> social or educational practices, (b) their understanding of
> these practices, and (c) the situations in which the practices
> are carried out. (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p. 52)

Action research methodology was employed in this study to identify

the critical issues underlying teachers' theories of action in civics and

citizenship education. There were at least two levels of research

operating simultaneously. At the individual school level, teachers investigated their own practices, with visits by myself as coordinator and critical friend. At a broader level, classroom teachers, regional consultants, teacher educators and trainee teachers met to discuss, implement and reflect on critical issues in civics and citizenship education. These discussions informed the activities of the inner reference group.

As a form of social inquiry, action research is a methodology based on a clear set of principles of procedure (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988) that involve: observing protocols, actively involving stakeholders and negotiating with those affected. The method is based on a self-reflective spiral of cycles involving four related stages of planning, acting observing and reflecting. In this study, a modified version of the Kemmis and McTaggart model is used to illustrate the links between school-based projects and the activities of the outer reference group (Figure 1).

Figure 1   The Action Research Process

Cycles of Action within Schools   Outer Reference Group Activities

Cycle One

    Planning

                                        Reporting on projects to

    Acting   outer reference group.

    Monitoring

    Reflecting   Critical feedback from

                                        outer reference group

Cycle Two

```
Planning          ─────────────▶    Participation by teachers
                  ◀─────────────    in a seminar, resulting in
Acting                              feedback for schools.

Monitoring        ─────────────▶
                                    Reporting on projects to reference
Reflecting                          group and feedback to schools
                  ◀─────────────
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As outlined in this model, members of an outer reference group
were kept informed about projects being conducted in schools.
Membership of the outer reference group was fluid but I was able to
provide critical feedback from these meetings back to schools. The
convening of a one-day seminar for participating teachers provided an
opportunity for participating teachers to share experiences, to critique
each others' projects and to take back to their schools new ideas for
implementation. Due to its collaborative nature, this seminar helped to
draw the project closer to the optimal model of action research where,
ideally, all stakeholders are involved in each phase of the action
research cycle.

Action research is both participatory and collaborative (Carr and
Kemmis, 1983, p. 168). It is a methodology that can operate in at least
three different modes: technical, practical and emancipatory (Grundy,
1982). Each of the above modes has a distinct theoretical basis that can
influence the conduct of a study. The emancipatory mode of action
research (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p. 178), based on critical theory,
allowed participants in this study to address contradictions, power

relations and inconsistencies between educational policy and practice. An effort was made to avoid the "technical mode" where an external researcher sets the agenda for participants and is not involved in the planning of action cycles. My own role extended beyond that of external agent.

Action research has many strengths but most importantly it can provide a powerful tool for change (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988). It is a method that is familiar and accessible to educational practitioners and provides participants with a strong sense of ownership of educational research (Altrichter, Posch and Somekh, 1993). Action research is reduced in effectiveness if true collaboration is not evident. Success depends on participants having high-level reflective skills and the opportunities for reflection are minimised if the action steps taken by participants are conservative in nature. There are many variations of action research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000) but whatever version is used, its impact can be reduced if participants do not share a common belief in the methodology.

Participating teachers were given the freedom to implement a plan of action suited to their particular teaching style and setting. Some action plans focussed on citizenship education through a specific discipline area. Others based their action on a whole school and integrated approach. Some action plans extended beyond the formal school curriculum and well beyond the physical limits of the school. It

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was expected that individual teachers would conduct action research over at least one school term and no longer than two terms but, in reality, some projects were extended over a period of three years.

In this study, eight teachers participated in the action projects conducted at five different schools. One of the participants also took part in a pilot study conducted in 1997. In the pilot study the secondary teacher and his partner, a primary teacher, recorded their perceptions of civics and citizenship education. Their views were recorded on video and replayed to other participating teachers as well as to teacher trainees and teacher educators.

The major themes forming the basis of the data analysis process began to emerge out of the data from the very beginning of the project when the pilot study was conducted. Some of these themes formed the basis of interview schedules whilst others emerged out of the data as the project progressed. It was evident from the conduct of the pilot study that some of the critical issues would revolve around the personal backgrounds and philosophies of the participants, their pedagogical approach to the teaching of citizenship in the middle years, political action concerning the dissemination of policy and syllabus documents and practical constraints impacting on teachers' lives at the school level.

The initial responses by the two experienced teachers in the pilot study suggested that critical issues and professional development opportunities could be tentatively grouped under the headings of

Personal, Philosophical, Curriculum and Pedagogical Issues (Jennings, 1999). Within those headings a number of key issues arose: the importance of family upbringing and teaching experiences in forming views about citizenship; the balance between content, skills and attitudes in civics and citizenship programs; opportunities for taking a holistic view of civics and citizenship education; opportunities to engage in dialogue about civics and citizenship issues, opportunities to bring about change in school structures to suit the needs of young adolescents and opportunities to discuss what is meant by civics and citizenship. Recurring themes in the pilot study discussions included the issues of assessment, provision of leadership opportunities, accommodation of citizenship outcomes and the importance of providing feedback for students. These issues helped to inform the broader study that followed.

As the study progressed, it became evident that definitional issues about the nature of civics and citizenship education were of critical importance to teachers as were professional development issues at a time of significant curriculum change. During the final stages of analysis six themes were employed: the personal, the pedagogical, the definitional, the practical, the political and the professional.

Although this study was primarily oriented towards critical action research (outlined below), it also employed aspects of participatory action research (Goff, 1997; Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000) and

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classroom action research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000). Participatory research has three particular attributes that distinguish it from conventional research: shared ownership of research projects, community-based analysis of social problems and an orientation towards social action (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000, p. 568). Classroom action research on the other hand "typically involves the use of qualitative, interpretive modes of inquiry and data collection by teachers (often with help from academics) with a view to teachers making judgments about how to improve their practices" (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000, p. 569). The modes of action research employed in this study are recognised as useful tools for teacher professional development (Grundy, 1995).

Critical Action Research

The specific mode of action research used in this study was "critical action research" as identified by Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) in the Handbook for Qualitative Research. As Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) explain: "critical action research expresses a commitment to bring together broad social analyses: the self-reflective collective self-study of practice, the way language is used, organization and power in a local situation and action to improve things" (p. 568).

There are numerous reasons for employing a critical (emancipatory) form of action research in this study. The most obvious of these is the very nature of the subject matter itself. The object of the study is to

highlight 'critical' issues facing teachers of citizenship education. Consequently, the research relies on critical theory as a base (Carr and Kemmis, 1983.) It was thus intended from the outset that the action research projects undertaken in participants' schools would expose examples of false consciousness and uncover contradictions and power relations that prevented practitioners from employing the strategies they thought were most appropriate in the middle years of schooling.

A conscious choice was made to use the critical theory approach after considering the ways in which discourses can be exposed through action research (Jennings & Graham, 1996). Consideration was also given to the point that teachers as researchers often become "prisoners of their own perspectives" (Jennings, 1995) when using action research. In this study, all participants (including classroom teachers, student teachers, university academics and consultants) had opportunities to reflect critically on their praxis.

As outlined by Carr and Kemmis (1983) and Grundy (1982), critical or emancipatory action research is derived from the work of Habermas (1972) and the Frankfurt School of critical theorists including Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) and Marcuse (1964). The early critical theorists were concerned about the dominance of positivistic science and the degree to which it was dominating ideology. Critical theorists sought to merge the classical view of "praxis" or (informed action) with the rigour and exploratory power of modern science (Carr and Kemmis, 1983, p.

133).

Critical action research involves high levels of participation and follows a critical social science tradition that seeks to reveal instances of disempowerment and injustice. Such an approach is relevant in situations where teachers feel pressured by system requirements to teach civics and citizenship education in particular ways. It is also relevant in situations where teachers are dealing with citizenship issues concerning disadvantaged and marginalized groups. In some cases, members of those groups are in the civics and citizenship classes where these issues are being discussed. In other cases the teachers themselves may come from such marginalized groups and this may influence their approach to citizenship issues.

Case Study Method

Compared with survey research, case study concentrates on a range of factors within a "bounded instance" (Merriam, 1988, p.7). In this study, the bounded instances were set by individual teachers working with upper primary and lower secondary school students on citizenship education projects either in the classroom, school or local community. There was deliberate intention to collect rich data from five separate sites.

Case study methodology used as part of the action research model allowed for holistic description of teachers' experiences within the context of their daily practice. As Yin (1984) observes: "the case study's

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unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence -
documents, artefacts, interviews and observations" (pp. 19-20). The case
studies were enhanced by observations of teacher-student interactions
in individual school settings. Case study is a research design that is
particularly suited to school-based situations where teaching and
learning activities cannot easily be separated from their context
(Stenhouse, 1983).

The heuristic, inductive and particularistic features of case study were
readily applied to this study. As Stake (1995) suggests, the heuristic
element is highlighted through case studies that illuminate teachers'
practical knowledge. In this study their practical knowledge of
citizenship education provided such a focus for the investigation. The
case studies of teachers in action are inductive in the sense that
"generalisations, concepts or hypotheses emerge from an examination of
data - grounded in the context itself" (Merriam, 1988, p.13.) The
particularistic nature of case study can be identified as follows:

> It can suggest to the reader what to do or what not
> to do in a similar situation....It can examine a specific
> instance but illuminate a general problem....It may
> or may not be influenced by the author's bias. (Olson
> in Hoaglin et al. 1982, pp. 138-139)

The choice of a case study approach can have both a narrowing and
broadening effect on the conduct of a study such as this. It can be
narrowing in the sense that only a few cases are selected. Due to budget
restrictions, there was no attempt in this study to cover a broad

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population. On the other hand the investigations within each site can be wide-ranging in scope and this is seen as positive element where the research question is open-ended. In this study the range of and complexity of critical issues arising at each site was deemed to be significant.

Site Selection

The selection of cases for this study followed the purposeful sampling technique of Patton (1990, p. 49). Purposeful sampling involves the selection of extreme cases, typical cases, those that show maximum variation, critical cases, politically important cases and those that are simply most convenient. Included in this study were cases that illustrated variation in terms of school size and composition and those that highlighted active forms of civics and citizenship education.

In the selection of participants for inclusion in this study, maximum variation was sought by considering such factors as gender, years of experience, ethnic background and training of participating teachers (Patton, 1990). Care was taken to include a range of sites from primary to secondary schools, urban and rural schools, with wide variations in pedagogical stance. Unfortunately, no private schools were included in the inner reference group but schoolteachers from the private sector were represented in the outer reference group.

The five case study schools were selected from two adjoining states (NSW and Queensland). This expanded the possibility of examining the

impact of different curriculum models and different teaching methods. There was no attempt to compare the approach of the two systems to civics and citizenship education as only one Queensland school was included. The aim was to simply to maximize variation in the case study schools. This was done by including a small rural school with an enrolment of less than one hundred students, a large primary school of more than one thousand students in an urban area, a large secondary school and some medium sized primary schools in regional centres. Two of the schools had significant Aboriginal enrolments.

The participating teachers were generally supportive of the ethos of their particular school but were sometimes critical of the school systems in which they taught. The original plan was to invite participation from ten different teachers from ten different schools in widely varying socio-economic circumstances. In the final analysis only five sites were selected in an attempt to focus on depth rather than breadth of coverage. Financial limitations also came into play as each participating school was provided with a set of resources funded by a Doctoral Merit Research Grant. Once these were selected I worked with participants to draw up a series of case studies following principles outlined by Merriam (1988). These case studies include examples of vignette, narrative, portrayal and analysis (Stenhouse, 1983).

Drawing upon the features outlined by Merriam (1988, p. 32), this methodology had the advantage of being the most likely to provide an

answer to the research problem. It enabled the classroom researchers and myself to highlight the complexity of teaching and learning in citizenship education. It allowed the study to be anchored in real life classroom settings. This approach also had the advantage of offering insights into the professional lives of teachers.

The limitation of such a methodology is that the data collection process can be lengthy. In this study the participants conducted individual action research projects over a period of one to two school terms and in some cases over a period of two to three years. I visited each site at least twice in that period maintaining on-going contact with participating teachers either through face-to-face meetings, teleconferences or electronic mail networks.

The success of the case study approach depends on the sensitivity of the researcher to the social context. Each of the cases was unique in terms of its social context but one of the common elements at all sites was a commitment to student involvement in decision-making through school parliaments or student representative councils.

While the case study schools formed an inner reference group, there was also an outer reference group of schools not directly engaged in action research and a group of critical friends mainly composed of consultants and academics who attended a series of seminars during the life of the project. There was a degree of interaction between these groups as information was passed from one level to another. In some

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cases the web site (Appendix B) was used to inform members of the outer reference group of progress in individual schools. Papers presented at conferences also aided the dissemination of information from schools. Verbal reports were given back to schools after presentations were made at conferences.

Each of the case studies thus contains information from the school sites themselves and from wider sources through input from the outer reference group. The case studies reflect the practices of teachers in northern NSW and South Eastern Queensland but the inputs from members of the outer reference group reflected wider concerns.

Data Sources

Figure 2 (below) outlines the data sources used in the study. The most significant data sources for this study were the action research reports of participating teachers, the interviews with participating teachers and the observations that were undertaken within schools. Other sources of data included teachers' professional journals, feedback from workshops, responses by pre-service teachers to questions on citizenship education, contributions to discussion lists by practising teachers and academics, journal articles by researchers and teachers and the project coordinator's journal.

The following diagram (Figure 2) provides an outline of the significant sources of research data for this project. These varied data sources provided opportunities for checking the perceptions of different

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participants as they took part in the project. It was possible to compare my own impressions and reflections on events with those in the inner and outer reference groups. The sources of data were quite varied: sometimes taking the form of web sites and sometimes taking the form of transcribed interviews and field notes. Video was used at a few points in the project to record interviews and seminar discussions and transcripts of these video records proved to quite useful in recalling environmental setting and body language as well as verbal and written accounts of events. These video impressions were used to check the impressions recorded in my field notes.

Figure 2. Data Sources

The researcher's reflective journal

Professional journals of participating teachers.

Transcripts of videos from conference workshops

Feedback from seminars for participating teachers

Critical Issues for teachers: in providing meaningful citizenship education for students in the middle years of schooling.

Policy documents on citizenship education and the middle years of schooling.

Transcripts of interviews with participating teachers.

Contributions to the Education for Citizenship web site and discussion forum.

As coordinator of the project I moved between participating schools to collect data and I also collected data from an outer reference group of teacher educators at a series of educational conferences. The interviews with participating teachers were particularly useful as were the action research reports of these participants. The interviews were semi-structured as outlined in Appendices C, D and E.

Another significant source was the video and audio transcript of a seminar for participating teachers held at Southern Cross University. Five of the participating teachers were given day release to attend a one-day seminar, also attended by an educational consultant, a teacher educator and a student teacher. Throughout the life of the project I conducted a series of workshops at national conferences and feedback from critical friends at these workshops proved to be invaluable. Participating teachers contributed to the Education for Citizenship Education web site (Appendix B) and trainee teachers from the outer reference group contributed to the Education for Citizenship Discussion Forum.

Data Collection Methods

In this study, data were collected by means of semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted in school settings, professional journals kept by teacher participants and the project co-ordinator (Holly 1984; Tripp, 1987) and school-based observations (Patton, 1990). The latter required participating teachers and myself, as project co-ordinator, to

keep detailed field notes. The provision of a Discussion Forum on the

project web site provided another mechanism for data collection.

The selection of appropriate data collection strategies was closely

related to the research questions guiding the study and the types of

information required to answer the primary research question (Marshall

& Rossman, 1999). The keeping of "field notes" (O'Hearn-Curran, 1997

in Marshall and Rossman, 1999) was an important element of the data

collection process. These "field notes" allow the researcher to include

emerging analytical insights throughout the data collection process

A significant amount of data for this study was collected through

semi-structured interview (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander,

1995, p.65). At least three interviews were conducted with each

participating teacher: an initial interview, a mid-term interview and a

final interview. Appendices C, D and E show how the focus of the

interviews changed over time.

Journal keeping by myself and the participating teachers was another

data collection method. Participating teachers were encouraged to

follow the guidelines provided by Holly (1984) in keeping professional

journals whilst school based projects were in progress. Teachers are

encouraged to "write for yourself" and "write to communicate with

others." (Holly, 1984, p.18). Journal keeping is seen as a way integrating

theory and practice and promoting teachers' professional development.

However teachers need encouragement as the following anecdote from

Holly illustrates:

> 'But how can I write about teaching? Teaching is like breathing – you just do it!' said Jerry.
>
> 'Try writing about the few events or experiences, feelings or thoughts that occur to you as you reflect on the day', I suggested. After a few months of writing he felt differently about writing and about teaching.
>
> 'I can't believe I never thought about these things before!' Jerry was documenting and thinking about the meaning of teaching and concomitantly exploring his own professional development. (Holly, 1964, p. 17)

Observation was the third major data collection method. This data collection method was employed by myself as project coordinator while visiting school sites and conducting seminars and workshops. In the case studies, my own observations and reflections are identified as "field notes." Observation was also employed by participating teachers as they monitored the effects of their actions in citizenship education at each school site. The observation techniques employed in this study were informed by the writings of Patton (1990), Glesne and Peshkin (1992), Adler and Adler (2000) and Angrosino and Mays de Perez (2000).

A focus group interview process outlined by Berg (1998), was utilized during the course of a one-day seminar. As Berg (1998) explains "focus group interviews are either guided or unguided discussions addressing a particular topic of interest to the group and the research" (p. 100). In this instance, all present shared an interest in the pedagogy

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of civics and citizenship education. The discussions were guided to some extent but the format was flexible, allowing participants to vary the order of events and to extend discussions if they proved to be particularly useful.

Data Analysis

The analysis of data is organized around six themes that emerged directly out of the data, and these were later organized under three key elements. These elements (from Fay, 1987) reflected the critical approach that provided an epistemological framework for the study. Following the traditions of critical social science (Agger, 1998; Fay, 1987; Carr and Kemmis, 1983; and Habermas, 1975), particular emphasis has been placed on the ability of participating teachers and myself to challenge self-understandings, to engage in ideology critique, to identify constraints, contradictions and power relationships and to take part in transformative action within the context of citizenship education. A cross-case analysis of the issues that emerged from individual action research projects and seminars is outlined in Chapter Seven.

Content analysis was employed as a technique to interpret case study data, policy documents and transcripts of interviews. "In content analysis, researchers examine artifacts of social communication. Typically these are written documents or transcriptions of recorded verbal communications" (Berg, 1989, p. 223). Silverman (1993) expresses caution about the quantitative aspects of content analysis, but also sees

merit in the related process of narrative analysis. Using this approach the investigator uses a set of principles to exhaust the meaning of a text. When this perspective is employed, it is not reductionist or positivistic. "Rather, it is a passport to listening to the words of the text, and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words" (Berg, 1989, p. 225).

The significant linkages between all phases of such qualitative studies were well established by Elbaz (1983) in her study of an individual teacher in Canada. Analysis of data through a case study was "well suited to attain an understanding of the teacher's knowledge from her own point of view, and thus to exemplify and embody the conception of practical knowledge" (Elbaz, 1983, p. 51). This approach provided a model for the present study.

In qualitative research based on a case study approach, the researcher is not sure at the outset what will be discovered. Merriam (1988) suggests, "the final product of a case study is shaped by the data that are collected and the analysis that accompanies the entire process....The data that have been analysed while being collected are both parsimonious and illuminating" (p. 124). This was significant in the current study as themes for analysis shifted over time.

In order to address this issue, there are techniques available to process data during the data collection phase (Bogdan and Biklin, 1982). It is suggested, for instance, that memos be written as soon as possible

after an event and that a researcher should not talk about the events with others until they are fully recorded, as recollections of events may be modified as a result of such conversations (Bogdan and Biklin, 1982). For this study, events were written chronologically while catchwords and phrases were recorded as the data analysis process proceeded.

Although it is difficult to find a single formula for analysis of the types of data collected in this study, Miles and Huberman (1994) provide a useful set of tactics for generating meaning from the data collected. Amongst the tactics used in this study are: the noting of patterns and themes, seeing plausibility, clustering, making metaphors, counting, making contrasts, building a logical chain of evidence and making conceptual/theoretical coherence.

The emphasis in each case study was the development of a critical appreciation of civics and citizenship education that was directly related to the day-to-day experiences of teachers as they worked in the field of citizenship education. I coded the information in each case study to enable an in-case and cross-case analysis. The cross-case analysis employed the following six themes: "the personal", "the pedagogical", "the definitional", "the practical", the "political" and "the professional".

Some overlaps of data occurred within these themes. The "personal" theme contains data on family politics affecting individual teachers whilst the "political" theme involves references to broader political influences on the curriculum and politics at the school level.

This study followed the suggestions of Guba and Lincoln (1982) and Mills (2003) in ensuring credibility (rather than internal validity), transferability (instead of external validity) and dependability (instead of reliability). In general, the trustworthiness of the data collection and analysis process was ensured through triangulation of the data, member checks and thick description. The opportunities for triangulation of data and investigation were enhanced by my visits to schools, viewing interactions between students and participating teachers as they engaged in citizenship education activities.

Triangulation was used in this study as a means of ensuring the trustworthiness and credibility of the findings. Berg (1998) argues that triangulation was first used in the social sciences as a metaphor for describing a form of multiple operationalism or convergent validation (p. 5). The method used here follows the work of Denzin (1978) who introduced an additional metaphor of "lines of action" to accommodate multiple data collection strategies, multiple theories, multiple researchers, multiple methodologies or combinations of these four categories (p. 5). In this study triangulation was achieved through use of multiple methods, multiple researchers and multiple data sources. This afforded opportunities for cross-checking data from the school and other sites.

As well as analysing the critical issues raised by participants during their action research projects, there were also opportunities to analyse

participants' responses to meetings with other participants and issues raised in the project readings. Project readings were articles and book chapters on citizenship education and action research provided for all participants. These responses allowed for additional cross-checking of data to illuminate participants' theories of action.

The analysis was based on a triangulation of data from interview, journal and observational sources to enhance the trustworthiness of the data collected (Patton 1990). Where there were two participants in the same school, member checks enabled me to verify the case study data with participating teachers. Content analysis (Patton 1990, p. 381) was utilized in analysing policy documents on civics and citizenship education and in analysing the transcripts of on-site interviews.

There was also an opportunity to apply a layer of critical theory on the data, drawing on the work of Carr and Kemmis (1983). The intention here was to focus on contradictions between the teachers' espoused theories and their theories-in-use. Attention was also paid to the contradictions between the policy of teaching "about" democratic principles and the opportunities provided for students to be actively involved in democratic decision-making. This final layer of analysis allowed conclusions and recommendations to be made regarding the professional development of teachers in the field of citizenship education.

Analysis of the data revealed a range of critical issues related to

teachers' theories of action. It also revealed the disjunction between personal, institutional and societal attitudes to citizenship, the availability of suitable resources, mastery of appropriate teaching strategies, whole school approaches and the ability of teachers to make such topics relevant to the needs of early adolescents. Participating teachers revealed other critical issues that had not been identified at the outset of the project. Finally these critical issues were classified by means of six major themes.

A further stage of data analysis involved the contributions of people in the outer reference group and the group of critical friends for the study. This involved content analysis of material contained in schools reports, journal articles, conference proceedings, workshop notes and web sites. The content analysis process followed guidelines established by Berg (1998) who outlined three major procedures: identification of common classes, special classes and theoretical classes (p. 235). These three procedures provided a basis for analysing data from the outer reference group as well as the inner reference group. The common classes referred to general policies on civics and citizenship whilst the special classes dealt with specific policies in individual schools. Theoretical classes were formed when connections could be made to critical theory.

The coding of data from these sources was less problematic for the inner reference group because of the semi-structured interviews that

were conducted. The questions directed at participants fell within well-defined parameters but often participating teachers would respond with unexpected concepts that were added to the more predictable concepts. The data collected from the outer reference group and the group of critical friends took a less predictable path. The issues raised were more serendipitous because they came from a greater range of backgrounds and their commitment to the project was more tenuous.

In conducting interviews with participating teachers, I used a variety of cues to give the interview process a critical edge. Participants were invited to identify to personal, political, practical, philosophical and pedagogical issues related to their views on citizenship education. These headings grew out of the data collected from the pilot project conducted in 1997. These interview questions provided opportunities for comment on Aboriginal, multicultural or gender perspectives or policy pronouncements by central authorities.

Locating the Researcher

From the outset of this study I acted as a critical friend for participating teachers and as a communicator between the inner and outer reference groups. Although participating teachers were encouraged to examine their own practices and those of others from a critical perspectives I was in a more privileged position to do this as I moved from one school or group to another.

Particularly significant in helping to locate the author in the study

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was the pioneering work of Glesne and Peshkin (1992) and more recently the work of Peshkin (2001) in outlining ten common issues for the beginning researcher. Of particular relevance was the following point on subjectivity:

> There is no way that you can go anywhere without carrying along with you who you have been as a human being: your biography, the demographics of your life, and your values. There is no way I could imagine that you could be present somewhere without having in tow with you what it is you care about, and what it is you do not care about and the point of carrying and not carrying is a very shorthand way of talking about what your subjectivity is about. (Peshkin, 2001, p. 6)

Of further help in locating myself as a critical researcher was an article by Kanpol (1998) entitled "Where was I? Or was I"? In seeking "an immediate subjective interpretation and further analysis" of his role as a researcher, Kanpol (1998, p. 191) reflects on his work as a critical ethnographer in public schools. There is recognition of how micro-narratives have subjectively affected his critical ethnographic studies allowing him to move from "critical cynicism" to "critical joy" (Kanpol, 1998, p.191). Having chosen to adopt a critical stance in this study, I found this observation to be heartening. It was also heartening for the participating teachers to know that: "A 'critical' research agenda isn't only about attaining knowledge of the structural elements of schools. A research agenda as I am delineating it, is a committed understanding of where one fits into the structure (Kanpol, 1998, p. 200). The element of "critical joy" can be attained if the researched and the researcher attain

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some form of intersubjective compromise.

Ethics

In the conduct of the action research projects within individual schools and across the project as a whole, guidance was sought from the "Principles of Procedure in Action Research" outlined by Kemmis and McTaggart (1988, pp. 106-108). Of particular importance the principles that I followed as project coordinator to observe protocols, negotiate descriptions of people's work and negotiate accounts of others' points of view. It was important to make the principles of procedure explicit and as a result all participating teachers had access to the text by Kemmis and McTaggart (1988).

Further advice on the ethical conduct of action research studies was sought from Goff (1999) and Mills (2003). Goff (1999, p. 36) suggests that many of the processes used in participatory action research include: making research outcomes public; reaching research outcomes through self-determination of participants; making the assumptions of the research practice transparent, modeling learning with participants; observing the implicit or explicit boundaries of and individual's rights; practising equity of participation and enabling the highest possible degree of learning. These principles apply equally to critical action research. Of particular significance to the current study are those principles that protect the rights and integrity of the participating teachers.

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With respect to ethical procedures, teacher researchers are advised to: develop an ethical perspective that is close to one's personal ethical position; seek informed consent from participants; determine the broader social principles that affect your ethical stance; consider the principles of utilitarian, deontological, relational and ecological ethics in developing one's position; consider anonymity and confidentiality; avoid deception and ensure that data are accurately recorded (Mills, 2003, p. 96).

Ethics approval for this study was obtained from a variety of sources including James Cook University (Approval Number H784), the NSW Department of Education and Training and a particular school in the Gold Coast District of Education Queensland. Copies of the ethics approval documents have been included with the thesis as Appendices F and G. Although universities, school systems and individual schools are becoming more rigorous in establishing ethics approval procedures, the approval process in this case was aided by the fact that no data were collected directly from school students. The participating teachers were the primary sources of data for the study.

In planning the study recognition was given to the following ethical issues: the gaining of informed consent, outlining predicted benefits, costs and reciprocity to participants, discussion of potential harm and risk, emphasis on honesty and trust, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, procedures for intervention, ownership of data and use and

misuse of results (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

With respect to this study informed consent was obtained from participants in each school and from others contributing data. The potential benefits of participating in the project were pointed out to participants and these were phrased in terms of teacher professional development, provision of resources and at least opportunity for time release. In terms of cost, it was recognised that a time commitment was required of participants but efforts were made to limit those time commitments.

In terms of honesty and trust, I made the research process as transparent as possible by providing transcripts of interviews available to participants. Schools were assured that the case studies would be anonymous in the final report and the real names of teachers would not be used. Participants in the study were assured that they would retain ownership of data and would be given an opportunity to challenge facts or interpretations that appeared to be incorrect.

Summary of Chapter

The chapter outlines the critical action research methodology and the variety of data sources employed in the study. It also outlines the process of collecting and analysing data from these sources. Reference is made to the six themes used in Chapter Seven to critically analyse data. The critical action research methodology is informed by critical theory and key elements from critical theory are used in the data analysis

phase of the project. This chapter also outlines the ethical issues that arose in the conduct of the study and addresses the issue of locating myself as a researcher working along side a team of classroom practitioners researching their own practice. The results of our combined efforts are portrayed in the case studies that follow.

CHAPTER SIX: CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ACTION

Outline of the Chapter

This chapter consists of a series of case studies from five different school sites in Northern NSW and South Eastern Queensland. At each of these sites, participating teachers conducted action research projects on civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling. The participants in these case studies formed an inner reference group for the purposes of this study.

The five case studies focus on teachers' theories of action in approaching civics and citizenship education with young adolescents. These theories of action were refined over the course of the project as teachers engaged in a series of action research cycles to highlight critical issues in their practice. The case studies also include comments from my own journal and comments from members of the outer reference group where these were related to critical issues in particular case studies.

Each case study contains a description of the key players under the heading "Setting the Scene". These descriptions are drawn from my field study notes during visits to each school. At the conclusion of each case, the theories of action of individual teachers are identified. In cases where two teachers were involved at the same school, emphasis has been placed on just one theory of action. The case studies show how teachers' theories of action are constantly modified as they confront

critical issues in the process of engaging young adolescents in

meaningful forms of civics and citizenship education.

Case Study One – The Role Model

The following case study outlines the actions taken by a teacher at

Sunland Primary School to identify critical issues in civics and

citizenship education at a small rural school. The case study highlights

the theories of action employed by Graham, a teaching principal, who

plays a vital role as active citizen in the local community. The action

research conducted at this school also involves other staff members and

senior students.

Setting the scene.

> It is 7.45 am as Graham crosses the bridge, leaves the city
> behind and drives out past the showground. He is on his way
> to the rural school where he holds the position of teaching
> principal. As his Four Wheel Drive climbs the winding rural
> road to the north, Graham recalls that he has an 8 o'clock
> appointment but he is not tempted to exceed the speed limit.
> On the morning news there is yet another story about a truck
> accident on the highway and Graham is well aware of the
> circumstances. He was present at the scene of this latest
> accident in the early hours of the morning. He is a volunteer
> with the State Emergency Service. This background in
> volunteer work influences Graham's approach to the teaching
> of citizenship.
>
> At 7.55 am Graham passes the small community hall where
> students from his school have contributed to the painting of
> an attractive mural. There is a strong tradition of community
> involvement in his school. On the left he notes a sign
> welcoming travellers to the district. It features a colourful but
> endangered species of butterfly. Graham's school has been
> active in helping to preserve this natural icon of the district.
> One of his teachers has won a national award for raising
> awareness of conservation issues. As he pulls into the school
> playground Graham can feel quite satisfied about his school's

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involvement in citizenship education (Field notes, 1999).

Background.

Graham undertook his initial training as a teacher more than thirty years ago at Armidale CAE. He recalls that the program provided no specific training in civics and citizenship education. He was made aware of the pioneering work by Brady (1972) on values education, where children were presented with a series of moral choices. Graham could not recall any significant emphasis being placed on civics and citizenship education at recent in-service courses or Principals' Conferences that he had attended. However he was aware that citizenship education was a Departmental priority in NSW.

Citizenship education is an important part of Graham's personal philosophy of teaching. To him, it involves rights, responsibilities and helping children to make choices and clarify values. In Graham's words these are the "goodie things" in the curriculum. He recognizes that it is difficult to measure improvement in these areas. However this has not prevented him from being involved in Disadvantaged Schools programs where the emphasis is placed on building student initiative. Graham acknowledges that he once believed that the basic skills were the "be all and end all' of teaching but has come to the realisation over the years that personal development is just as important as basic skills development and citizenship education is a significant part of personal development.

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Graham currently has a role as teaching Principal – where he normally takes the Year 6 or 5/6 composite class as well as fulfilling his administrative and leadership duties. His rural school has approximately 100 students. He has been a teacher since 1972 and a teaching principal since 1982. He has been active in establishing a student representative council (SRC) within the school and citizenship education activities have been channeled through that body. He agrees that SRC activities can be linked to the formal curriculum but the task is seen to be time-consuming. It is easier for him to make links with the upper primary curriculum than the lower and middle primary curriculum because civics and citizenship issues figure prominently in Stage 3 (upper primary) syllabus documents.

The following action research cycles were completed at Sunland Public School between 1998 and 2002. The theories of action are those expressed by Graham but often in conjunction with the rest of the school staff. Each cycle followed the process of planning, acting, monitoring and reflecting.

Decisions, Decisions - Action Cycle One.

Graham had an enthusiastic 5/6 group in 1998 and found that they contributed well to the Student Representative Council. They showed initiative in organizing activities for International Teachers' Day. His plan for the end of 1998 and the beginning of 1999 was to focus on the teaching of decision-making skills and the organisation of lunch-time

sports activities by students. By involving students in decisions about purchase of sports equipment, Graham believed that children became aware of broader budgetary issues affecting the school. The senior students planned to continue the tradition of presenting a gift to the school and holding an end of year celebration. This event was open to those students who had acted responsibly during the year.

In planning an initial action step, Graham decided to provide direct teaching of leadership and decision-making skills in Personal Development lessons. He encouraged the active involvement of students in a lunch-time sports program. He also encouraged student involvement in organizing fund-raising activities and planning the school's "celebrations" at the end of the year for those students who had followed the school discipline policy.

In monitoring this cycle, Graham kept journal entries on the success of the decision-making program. He also made observations of the lunch-time sports program and the handling of funding issues in the SRC. Journal entries were made on student awareness of broader budgetary issues. Observations were made of student responses to the celebrations concept.

The organization of lunch-time sports activities was described in these terms:

> When I came here, sport seemed to be a bit of an issue with the parents so I thought I would channel the student council along the same sports line. I didn't need to do much channeling as they jumped in and organized a lunch-time

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Newcombe ball activity. They worked on the draw and spoke about it at assembly. And now they're hot to trot with a cricket competition (Graham, 2/11/99).

Near the end of each year the school organizes a special event that that is linked to citizenship.

We have celebrations here at the end of each term as part of the discipline policy. They (the student council members) have a say in what happens there. The celebrations are for people who have done the right thing. If they don't get any discipline slips they get to go on the celebration. The student council is involved in making the decision about where they go. This year it's the Water Slide. That's pretty popular (Graham, 2/11/98).

In addition to the Celebration event, students are also involved in organizing a presentation night where all the students return to school one evening for a barbecue. The student council plays a significant role in the organization of that event.

In reflecting on this first action cycle, Graham felt that students responded positively to the direct teaching of decision-making skills. He found it difficult to teach leadership skills unless there were numerous leadership positions to offer the students and the opportunities were limited. However Year 5 students from the previous year did have an opportunity to show leadership skills – thus continuing the traditions of student leadership within the school.

Senior students were actively involved in organizing lunch-time sports activities. They showed leadership. Students showed awareness of broader social issues when engaged in fund raising for sports

equipment. Most students responded positively to the Celebrations concept – modifying behaviour in order to go on the end of year excursion. One incorrigible student was excluded. This provided a lesson, both to the student himself and others, about the importance of rights and responsibilities.

Graham saw the student council as a significant vehicle for teaching about civics and citizenship:

> To me it's not teaching about government, it's teaching about the processes – the processes of government. I try to engender this in the council. So if there are 7 kids there and the vote is 4-3, it's majority rule. And if they are one of the three then it's "stiff bikkies". That's the way it works. Those are the processes I'm talking about (Graham, 2/11/98).

Graham's approach to civics and citizenship was closely linked to his overall teaching philosophy. He found time in his busy schedule to give priority to this aspect of teaching. My own journal records a reflection on this cycle:

> I am constantly in awe of the complexity of the teaching principal's role. These students are lucky to have a teacher who can balance administrative duties with teaching duties, play an active role in community affairs and still have time to participate actively in school council activities (Field notes, 12/98).

The Young and the Old - Action Cycle Two.

Graham decided to change to focus for 1999, as he had a small, cooperative year 6 class. His plan was to tie in with "The Year of the Older Person" activities and with local history. The plan was to develop links with older persons in the community, to get representatives from

different community organizations to visit the school and to make a link with local history. The idea was to provide students the opportunities of actively contributing to society.

For the second action step, Graham continued with direct instruction in decision-making skills, maintaining a focus on cooperation, commitment and choice. He linked this with the teaching of Personal Development and social skills in the new HSIE syllabus. School events to celebrate the Year of the Older person were linked with HSIE and PD lessons. Graham used values clarification exercises drawn from the early work by Brady (1972). He also introduced a unit on global connections that had a focus on Australia in a global setting.

Observations were made of student responses to Graham's formal instruction in decision-making skills. It was noted that students responded well to some of the elderly citizens visiting the school but not to others. There seemed to be a need to identify those community members who were able to communicate effectively with students. Graham explained how he used formal Personal Development lessons to teach decision-making and leadership skills.

> I have done several personal development lessons on leadership and decision-making. The decision-making ones were quite good. The leadership ones – well it's hard unless you've got to have actual leadership positions to give them to test out what they have learnt (Graham,9/3/99).

A new Human Society and its Environment curriculum document had arrived in the school and Graham found relevant sections on Social

and Civic Participation to guide his teaching. Although he was prepared to design his own units to suit local needs, Graham was pleased to see the Units of Work book supplied with the syllabus.

> I am doing a unit out of that (on global connections). I just went straight to the Stage 3 units (Graham, 9/3/99).

Graham was obviously making a connection with the formal curriculum but also adapting his teaching to a perceived need in the community. In my professional journal I noted:

> It's interesting to see how the suggested units of work are being picked up by teachers. But someone like Graham doesn't see them as being prescriptive. He can see a connection between the formal teaching of social education and the practical side of citizenship education. The Year of the Elderly provided an opportunity for him connect the two and to involve the community (Field notes, 3/98).

In reflecting on the second cycle, Graham was committed to community involvement in the school and felt that upper primary students responded positively to connections with the real world. With respect to the teaching of leadership skills Graham felt that this worked less successfully in the formal setting and needed the practical context of an SRC structure.

Confronting Selfishness - Action Cycle Three.

The plan for the third cycle also in 1999 had greater focus on long-term issues with greater emphasis on addressing a perceived selfishness amongst students. Special focus was placed on helping a talented tennis player to compete at a national level as well as organizing an end of year fun day. There was a commitment to continuing with the older person

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theme. Graham couldn't find a ready-made unit of work to address this issue. He planned to develop a unit based on the skills he wanted to teach. Also it was planned that the SRC would be involved in raising funds for a basketball court.

As an action step, the student representative council decided to raise financial support for students selected to compete in national sports events. A specific unit of work was designed to teach relevant social skills and to address the Year of the Elderly theme. The local Northern Star newspaper was used to highlight community issues and to link citizenship to Literacy programs.

Students were involved in planning a visit to Canberra in Term Four. The SRC was involved in supporting community organizations such as the Rescue Helicopter, Caritas in East Timor and Can Teen – a charity helping teenagers with cancer. The "Kid of the Week" scheme was introduced to give all children a chance to build self-esteem.

In monitoring the action, it was noted that the local Northern Star newspaper was used successfully to make a literacy link with social issues. Students became involved in discussing teenage crime issues. Graham asked students to discuss solutions and was surprised by the range of responses – some taking a hard line and some taking a humanitarian approach. He asked a young offender who stole equipment from the school to write a letter of apology to the students and parents. This made a significant impact. The local newspaper was

used to highlight the local impact of state election issues. Planning of the excursion to Canberra helped students to see issues from a broader perspective.

Graham continued to reflect on the meaning of the term citizenship and placed a number of formal and informal activities under the heading of citizenship education. He resisted the urge to confine citizenship education to a narrow range of activities and felt that family backgrounds had a significant impact on how students responded to social issues. He saw the school as a vehicle for opening up choices, providing role models, reducing selfishness and providing opportunities for community involvement.

There was cause for reflection about the building of a student representative council tradition in the school and the importance of role modeling. Graham explained how his current group had been introduced to social action in the school.

> Last year there were only eight kids in Year 6 and with the project that they undertook they tried to do all the organization but when it came to the actual implementation of the fun day they realized they didn't have enough bodies on the ground, so they coerced volunteers from the Year 5 kids. The Year 5 kids became runners of stalls, gophers and helped in the setting up (Graham, 30/3/99).

That experience certainly helped these students when they moved on to Year 6 in the following year.

Order in the House - Action Cycle Four.

The plan for the fourth cycle later in 1999 was to have SRC activities continue in parallel with formal classroom instruction leading up to an excursion for senior students to Sydney and Canberra. Graham's plan was to monitor SRC activities closely, believing that upper primary students needed guidance in their deliberations. Through the SRC, students were involved in a fund raising activity for the National Bandana Day Canteen – supporting children with cancer and also raising funds for students in representative team.

The students in years 4, 5 and 6 travelled to Sydney and Canberra in a trip that had a strong focus on citizenship education. There was formal instruction in class prior to the trip and follow-up activities linked to the formal curriculum. Here there was a deliberate attempt to link civics and citizenship education.

While monitoring the outcome of this action step it was noted that students responded positively to SRC fund-raising activities.

> It is like the girl I spoke about earlier who was selected to represent NSW in tennis. Because she was local and because the kids could relate to her, there was a function that was really well supported and 300 bucks was raised for her to go to Rockhampton (Graham, 16/12/99).

In another instance:

> One of the girls in the school has a brother who has recently been diagnosed with spinal cancer, a teenager 19 years old and really, really sick. The Canteen comes along and we raised 180 bucks because it was a local issue, because the kids cared, and they knew about it. There they were, sitting with their bandanas on (Graham, 16/12/99).

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Graham was excited by the response to the Canberra excursion:

> Now this is more down the traditional citizenship/democracy road but the work that the kids did when they returned was quite amazing (Graham, 16/12/99).

Students responded well to the practical activities provided by the Parliamentary Education Office and Australian Electoral Commission. Graham recalls the situation:

> They have a beaut big room with touch screen computers all around and they've got big wall plaques with signs 'For your information, you need to answer these." The students go around in groups. They actually enjoyed something like that (Graham, 16/12/02).

The preparatory work that had been done previously at the school began to pay dividends:

> The kids were riveted. The lady who took us for a tour of Parliament House and the reference center couldn't get over the questions the children asked. They weren't dumb questions at all. Both classes had done a prior unit on government and it was amazing (Graham, 16/12/99).

Regarding the types of questions asked by students Graham recalled:

> Oh they were asking about the roles of different people. When she'd point out that the speaker sits there, they were asking questions that I didn't think kids would ask about. About Hansard and what's the tradition behind that. Some of them asked, "Where do the media sit? They were aware of these things from what we had done (Graham, 16/12/99).

Graham felt that the visit to Parliament House helped students to get a sense of how parliament operates. In a sense it was a reality check for students who had studied the workings of parliament in the classroom.

> They were fascinated by the fact that you might only have four or five members in the parliament and one rabbiting on about something but when it comes time to vote, the bells ring and they all comes scurrying back from their rabbit warrens (Graham, 16/12/99).

In reflecting on this action cycle Graham felt that his underlying philosophy had been confirmed. Despite the success of the SRC funding-raising activities in breaking students out of their natural selfishness, and despite the success of the Canberra excursion, the prior formal instruction and the success of the follow up activities, Graham felt that citizenship education in the middle years is best done through personal development lessons.

> The way I would do it is through personal development. I think kids have got to be aware of their own feelings, their limitations and they've got to know how to make decisions. You have to give them practical hands on activities. The operation of my SRC is fairly basic. Some schools will have a whole school parliament but perhaps a class parliament will work well in the middle years (Graham, 16/12/99).

In reflecting on the questions that students asked at Parliament House, Graham felt that formal instruction had played a part but he felt that active involvement in the SRC had been more significant.

> I think it's more on the action side because it's hard to get really enthusiastic about formal teaching of government. The best way to do it is like the people in the Parliamentary Education Office. We had a mock parliament where we debated a bill. We had ministers in a role-play and the kids got a lot out of that. We debated the homework bill and the kids could see that no matter what other politicians said, the government won because they had most people. The kids were saying to me afterwards 'but we had better arguments'. It was just "stiff bikkies". That's it, that's democracy for you

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(Graham, 16/12/99).

Bringing Federation to Life - Action Cycle Five

A different focus was required in 2001. Graham was teaching a 4-5-6 composite class of 30 students as well as performing his duties as Principal. The Student Council was not able to meet as regularly as in the past but when it did, the focus was on school improvement. In line with a building program around the school, students were involved with planning new playground spaces and gardens. The senior class was involved in planning a trip to Western NSW, including a visit to Tenterfield to fit in with Centenary of Federation celebrations and a study of primary industry. The plan was to make students more aware of Australian history and Federation issues, to develop social skills of cooperation and leadership and decision-making.

In terms of action, there was a focus on continuing the work of the Student Representative Council especially in caring for school grounds. Students were involved in an annual Health and Safety Day – where service workers were brought into the school. Use was made of Discovering Democracy Readers in the classroom, to establish links between literacy learning and citizenship issues. The excursion to Western NSW was used to broaden awareness of Australian history, Federation and primary industry issues.

The whole school was involved with Federation Medal activities and students were invited to dress up for the occasion as Australian citizens

– past and present. Tuning in to "Behind The News" programs on issues of global terrorism and the Tampa crisis provided opportunities to discuss concepts of national identity and global citizenship.

In my own journal, the issue of resourcing was raised. The distribution of booklets to all schools obviously had an impact on teachers' attitudes to civics and citizenship education.

> The Federation Medal idea seems to have taken off. Schools respond positively if educational authorities provide high quality resources, encourage links with the community and provide teachers with innovative ideas in utilising new resources (Field notes, June, 2001)

Data were collected through teacher observations and interview. Students responded positively to the Western NSW excursion, cooperated well, enjoyed planning their own meals, and showed a strong interest in local history. The discussion of current affairs issues following BTN programs brought forth a range of responses. Family influence was strong.

Graham was also surprised to see how many students dressed as past members of their own families during the Federation Medal celebrations. As Graham noted:

> Obviously parents assisted in the preparations for this event - so that gave it added meaning and the staff dressed up (Graham, 24/10/01).

It seemed evident that local activities centred around the school gave students a stronger sense of community and especially when these events brought people of all ages together. It just happened that, on this

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occasion, the Centenary of Federation theme was highly pertinent to a broader notion of citizenship at a national level.

With increased pressure on time, Graham was committed to using an integrated approach to citizenship education. He also had a personal commitment to teaching citizenship education with a strong personal development focus. These were important reflections on the fifth cycle. He acknowledged the difficulty of introducing Indigenous and multicultural perspectives into the curriculum when the community had little cultural diversity. Parental influence was strong.

After conducting action research for a number of years Graham was struggling with a precise definition of citizenship education but still wished to maintain the values orientation. Citizenship education remained central to his pedagogy and the school ethos reflected his personal emphasis and the values of his staff.

In terms of the formal curriculum Graham made use of materials provided by the Curriculum Corporation and NSW Board of Studies but was proactive and flexible in using such documents to design units of work. An entry in my journal touched on this point:

> It's always interesting to see what resources Graham is using. We know that state syllabus documents and resources distributed by federal authorities sometimes take a while to appear in the nation's schools but Graham seems to have the latest resources. Perhaps he is in a good position as teaching principal to look out for new resources in citizenship education. I can see from visits to the staffroom that he shares them with other staff (Field notes, 3/98).

The Sunland case study primarily features the actions and reflections of one individual – a teaching principal. It is clear from this case study that personal factors weigh heavily on the way in which civics and citizenship education are taught. Here is a teacher with a personal philosophy that links citizenship education to personal development. The principal is an active citizen in the community and other teachers on the staff also present positive role models.

The case study also illustrates the proactive nature of experienced teachers, willing to draw on syllabus documents and support materials but also willing to vary the curriculum to suit local needs. There is evidence that state and federal curriculum documents as well as teaching kits have filtered down to the school level but it is not clear how extensively they are used by teachers. The pedagogy employed in this school is strongly oriented to active learning through community activities and excursions.

The issues that arise are related to development of the whole child and the place of civics and citizenship education in that total development. Other issues are related to the activity of student representative councils and comparatively little is said about the strategies used in formal classroom situations. Awareness is shown of social justice issues concerning Aboriginal and multicultural citizenship but these do not arise immediately to the forefront of discussion.

Graham's theories of action: engaging with the community

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In his approach to civics and citizenship education with young adolescents Graham's theory of action is informed by his overall philosophy of education and his active role as a volunteer for the State Emergency Service. His basic educational philosophy is one that promotes the development of the "whole child". Graham senses a growing selfishness in society that is reflected in the behaviour of his students. His mission is to help students become more aware of the needs and rights of others.

Graham seeks to develop the skills of responsible and cooperative citizens. He encourages community involvement in the school and school involvement in the community. Graham places emphasis on the development of strong links between the school and the community. The school is seen as a training ground for the skills to be used in community life. He is concerned about safety issues such as the risk of sun cancer and, as an active volunteer being called out to address local emergencies, he is a role model in the community. However he does not expect other staff members to play such an active role. He thinks each community member needs to assess what contribution they can make.

Graham believes that students who uphold school rules should be rewarded with benefits such as attendance at end of year celebrations. He encourages students to be aware of their responsibilities as well as their rights. He believes that civics and citizenship education are closely related to personal development. He believes that young adolescents

generally rise to the occasion when given adult responsibilities. He feels
that the learning that takes place in practical situations will complement
what they learn in their formal studies. He actively supports the
teaching of leadership skills.

In developing and refining his theory of action Graham is keenly
aware of the obstacles, contradictions and power relations that impact
on the lives of teachers. He believes that teachers have too little time to
reflect on their approaches and to fully implement the ideas of others
when the opportunities for sharing do arise. As principal, however, he
encourages those staff members who promote the active involvement of
students in community activities. Graham is aware that in some
communities teachers feel constrained about raising controversial issues
in the classroom, especially where communities are polarized over
environmental or law and order issues.

He is well aware that young adolescents can be difficult to motivate
as they come to terms with the onset of puberty. He believes that formal
instruction may have to be achieved through active, problem-solving
strategies. He believes that students need to perceive the curriculum as
being relevant to their needs and teachers need to be flexible in their
approach to accommodate the range of abilities and needs.

Graham feels that teachers of civics and citizenship are influenced
and sometimes confused by the changing priorities of curriculum
planners. Whilst citizenship may be a high priority in one year, it may be

relegated to a different status in the following year and teachers need more lead time to adjust to these changing priorities. He appreciates the benefits of new technologies in engaging the interests of young adolescents but feels that the practicalities of networking schools and classrooms with the Internet will take some time.

On a broader level, Graham feels that the whole educational agenda is changing. His own theory of action is child-centred but he feels that others don't necessarily share that view. His theory of action in civics and citizenship is one that resists perceived trends towards de-personalization of education.

> Sometimes I think that those in authority lose sight of the fact that children are at the centre of all we do. They tend to talk about quality assurance and talk in terms of outputs and value added. We shouldn't neglect the human emotions of the staff and the students. We're not robots. We have private lives and like it or not these impact on our teaching and learning (Graham, 24/10/01).

Graham tends to resist those aspects of current policy that smack of economic rationalism and feels that schools are being pressured to conform to economic rationalist approaches. His actions are designed to raise the consciousness of sharing and caring individuals. He wants his students to clarify their values, to make their own choices, to take ownership of their decisions and to be less self-centred.

> I've got a feeling that kids over the last five to six years have become more selfish. I think that's a reflection of the society in which they live. It's all a matter of 'What's in it for me?' rather than what's good for everyone. It's hard to get that across to children but we need to try (Graham, 2/11/98).

Graham is happy to select and teach from centrally prepared units of work if they are well supported with resources but he also likes to provide a high level of personal input to meet the needs of his students. Although he appreciates the need for the main curriculum perspectives, he says that it is sometimes difficult to develop a truly Aboriginal or multicultural perspective if there are few human resources in the local community to enhance such perspectives.

In terms of pedagogy, Graham prefers an active, experiential approach. He has been instrumental in setting up the student representative council. He complements this by providing formal instruction through the Key Learning Areas and tends to work through the Personal Development strands as well as through Human Society and Its Environment and Literacy. He supports the notion of the integrated curriculum.

Having recognised the positive reaction of young adolescents to active involvement in learning, he organizes excursions to Canberra and historical sites in the local area, invites community members to visit the school, encourages involvement in community projects, uses current affairs programs like Behind the News and the local newspapers to highlight current issues and gives students the critical skills to analyse news events in the classroom.

Graham is flexible in his approach, occasionally using the centrally

prepared units of work but on other occasions developing his own units of work on current themes. These often revolve around international themes (the International Year of the Older Person, the International Year of the Volunteer) or national themes (such as the Centenary of Federation). In such instances he is prepared to take a whole school approach and replace formal instruction in the classroom with community based events.

Graham believes that young adolescents respond positively to high quality resources (such as those produced by the Curriculum Corporation for the Discovering Democracy Project). He also believes that the interactive displays by the Electoral Commission and other venues in Canberra effectively engage student interest as do the role-plays in Parliament House. In following up on such visits he believes that moral dilemmas provide a valuable means of promoting the values component of civics and citizenship education.

As a teaching principal taking the upper primary classes in a small rural school Graham is in a good position to adopt whole school approaches to civics and citizenship. He actively encourages his students to adopt leadership roles within the school. He encourages students to conduct their own student representative council meetings but is prepared to play a guiding role until he feels that they are ready to accept responsibility for their decisions.

Graham's theories of action in civics and citizenship have developed over a long career in teaching. However, his involvement in this study has helped him to reflect on a range of critical issues concerning the needs of young adolescents, the impact of rapid social change on their learning, the impact of economic rationalism on the school system, the school's role in the community, the practical involvement of students in school governance and the impact of new resources on middle school pedagogies. By working through a series of action research cycles, Graham has reflected critically on the approaches to civics and citizenship education that best suit the needs of young adolescents. Some of his basic assumptions have been confirmed and others have been challenged.

Case Study Two – A Sense of Community.

The second case study traces the actions of two senior teachers at Hilltop Primary School who are actively involved with a student representative council. The theories of action outlined by these teachers reflect the fact that this school has a close connection with the local community. There is also strong parental involvement in the school and these teachers strongly support that involvement.

Setting the scene

> It is 8.30 am when Jane and Brian meet in the school car park. Their school is located in a rural village of less than 2000 people on the North Coast of NSW. The school buildings are modern and attractive although there has been a public school in this locality for 100 years. The school has an enrolment of 250 students. Both Brian and Jane grew up in the

far north coast region and are considered locals. Brian believes that the school is located in "God's own country." The school is located opposite the village shops and is central to the life of the community. Its hall is used by community groups and is a polling booth on election days (Field notes, 1999).

Background.

Brian trained as a teacher at a local teachers' college and later completed a Bachelor's degree through Mitchell CAE at Bathurst. He began teaching in 1973 and currently holds the position of assistant principal. Brian's wife is also a teacher and they live quite close to the school. Brian cannot recall any specific training in civics and citizenship and he is keen to know how authorities are defining these terms in the late 90's. He and Jane find that they don't agree on the terminology. They are both involved with the school's student representative council. Brian teaches a Year 6 class whilst Jane teaches a 4/5 composite.

Jane completed her teacher training through the University of New England where she completed a Bachelor of Arts degree followed by a Diploma of Education. She began teaching in 1979 but spent four years out of the classroom whilst having a family and travelling. She is married to a secondary teacher who is heavily involved in Land Care activities. Her husband sees a distinction between civics and citizenship. Jane feels that citizenship education is best delivered in an integrated way but sees HSIE and the Literacy areas as being important vehicles for teaching citizenship skills and concepts.

The school principal is also very interested in citizenship. Although he lives at some distance from the school, he feels very close to the school community. He is a leading figure in the Primary Principals' Council for NSW and is very supportive of the local university's teacher training program. In his school assemblies he encourages students to become actively involved in the community. He encourages members of the community to take an active role in the life of the school.

Far from the Madding Crowd – Action Cycle One.

In the latter half of 1999 the plan devised by Jane and Brian was to develop a representative student body that played an active role in the effective running of the school. There was also a plan to encourage more involvement by students in a variety of citizenship projects. Action was taken on a number of fronts simultaneously.

Firstly the teachers with responsibility for the SRC decided it had become too unwieldy so it was decided to have two representatives from each grade (two to six) as well as school captains, vice captains, sporting house captains and library representatives.

Secondly it was decided in conjunction with students to run monthly meetings with a focus on meeting procedure, reports from individual class meetings, playground issues, establishing rules, identifying problem areas around the school, developing social skills and engaging in fund raising activities.

Thirdly it was decided by teachers and students that at every second

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meeting there would be separate meetings for junior and senior members of the school to encourage more participation by the younger children.

Fourthly there were other activities undertaken around the school not necessarily through the SRC. These included: continuing a buddy system where Kindergarten children were matched up with individual Yr 6 students as buddies, a Peace Kids program where Year 6 students mediated issues occurring in the playground, class meetings, school captains attending staff meetings to review school discipline policies, and a peer support program.

Jane explained the operation of the buddy system that gave senior primary students an opportunity to shows leadership and accept responsibility.

> We have a great buddy system between the year 6 students and the incoming Kindergarten students. The Year 6 students are buddied up with Kindergarten children and that follows through. They try to cut it off at the end of term one as the Kindies by then are becoming more independent (Jane, 15/10/99).

Finally, there was direct instruction on civics and citizenship in the formal curriculum with units of work focusing on government. The release of a new syllabus in Human Society and Its Environment was accompanied by a renewal of interest in this subject area.

The success of these actions was monitored by Jane and Brian, observing the input of students at SRC meetings and also by observing the tone of the school at assemblies and at special events. Students were

asked to provide their impressions of how the council was working, how problems were being solved and how improvements were being made to issues of importance to students. Issues raised included the matter of rights and responsibilities, student input into the creation of school rules, creating separate canteen lines for juniors and seniors, providing different products at the school canteen, wearing of sunglasses at school and strategies to prevent bullying in the playground.

Staff members reported that school captains made a valuable contribution to the establishment of a school discipline policy. This represented an important step forward in school democracy.

As Jane explained it:

> Another time we had our school captains come to a staff meeting where we were reviewing our discipline policy and that was just wonderful – the things they were coming up with. It was very good to see that they were so relaxed and they really felt that they could put their point of view forward. That was really profitable. The captains also have a fortnightly meeting with "the boss" and that gives them a chance to bring up issues as well (Jane, 15/10/99).

In reflecting on the first cycle, the following insights were revealed. With all the best intentions, it was found that monthly meetings were not always held regularly. This was due to the busy nature of the school. Jane felt that in future cycles there would be a greater emphasis on regular meetings, with planned agendas to give students a chance to grow in their roles and to see how adult organizations operate. The way

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was left open for student representative council matters to take new directions.

Successive Cycles (2000 – 2001).

Over the following two years the Student Representative Council continued to meet and there were numerous opportunities for students to be involved in citizenship education. These included: the planning of Big Morning Teas, celebration of the Year of Older Persons, continuing the tradition of a grandparents day, the enhancement of class meetings, visits by SRC representatives form a nearby high school, celebration of the school's centenary, the Year of the Volunteer and the direct teaching of social skills both through the SRC and through the formal curriculum. Also in the formal curriculum there was implementation of the new HSIE syllabus with its emphasis on social skills, citizenship perspectives and specific units of work on government and democracy. There was also an attempt to link citizenship education to the teaching of text types.

By chance, I visited the school one day when students from a neighbouring high school came to talk about involvement in student politics. In my journal, I was impressed by the potential of this approach:

> This was a great idea. The secondary students spoke with enthusiasm and assurance. They obviously benefited from going to the leadership camp. I was watching the senior primary students and they were totally absorbed. I must find out who organized this! It is a strategy with a lot of potential (Field notes, 11/99).

At our seminar for participating teachers, there was opportunity to explore the background to this development. The educational consultant attending the seminar screened a video that we had made of a training camp for SRC representatives from local secondary schools.

> James gave some insights into the camp that he holds each year for SRC representatives in the region. Having attending one of the camps, I could attest to the quality of the program. The teaching kit provided by the NSW Department on SRC activities was well received. James was moving towards the production of a kit for primary teachers and students and that seemed to be a popular idea (Field notes, 1999).

One of the features of this school was the emphasis placed on community involvement by the principal and the staff members. As a neighbour to the school, I was able to observe this involvement at first hand.

> Tonight we had a meeting of the Centenary committee. It is obvious that students and parents will be actively involved in the Centenary but it is the teachers who will be the role models as active citizens, providing an opportunity for former students to mix with current students in celebrating an achievement in public education (Field notes, 5/01).

In summary, this case study illustrates an attempt by two experienced teachers to make a Student Representative Council more effective. The main issue of concern is the teaching of broad social skills to enable students to become better citizens. The focus again is on the whole child rather than the achievement of specific outcomes outlined in curriculum documents.

However, it is true to say that citizenship education is seen as a

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vehicle for achieving some specific objectives in areas such as literacy.

The school's links with the local community are quite strong and this is

obviously an issue for teachers in rural and semi-rural areas. It is evident

that active citizenship programs can be effective if the school executive

is supportive of student councils. In schools where this support was not

so positive, individual teachers may see this lack of support as a major

issue impacting on their approach to citizenship.

The teachers' theories of action were very much conditioned by their

environment – working in a school with a strong community focus. The

academic distinctions between civics and citizenship education were not

as important as the need to teach social skills and to develop the school

as a microcosm of a democracy.

Jane's theory of action

Jane's theory of action reflects her belief that the school has an

important role in a small rural community. She encourages students to

be active in the community. She has a school principal and deputy who

actively support holistic approaches to civics and citizenship education

and this significantly influences her work with young adolescents.

Jane feels that students gain the greatest benefit out of civics and

citizenship if they are actively involved with the school community and

if they develop a sense of ownership over the projects that they

undertake.

> In the activities we've done this year the students have
> designed the plans themselves, so they feel ownership of

what they're doing. They are actively involved in deciding what jobs need to be done and who's going to do them. If you evaluate what we did well and where we went wrong this year, it's when students feel ownership of projects that they seem to be most engaged (Jane, 7/12,99).

Jane's theory of action is influenced more by her teaching experience than any specific initial training that she received in civics and citizenship education. She is keen to implement elements of the formal curriculum within her classroom but also feels it is important to focus on whole school approaches to personal development. She is as much concerned about events in the playground as she is about events in the classroom and takes an active interest in the Peacemakers program.

In terms of pedagogy, Jane is proactive in teaching social skills by placing a focus on how to run meetings, how to resolve conflict and how to develop leadership skills. She seeks to ensure that learning is meaningful to her students so that they gain ownership of what they learn. Her focus is on community-based activities. She encourages students to work with the elderly, to be involved in rainforest restoration projects and to actively celebrate the centenary of the school.

In terms of addressing obstacles, Jane feels that departmental priorities are constantly changing but she can see the sense in teaching literacy through programs in civics and citizenship. She feels that schools are not yet utilizing electronic media to the best advantage and she recognizes that her own skills need upgrading.

Jane's actions in the school have been geared towards working with

Brian to improve the functioning of the Student Representative Council. She encourages senior primary students to develop conflict resolution skills to take a lead in addressing playground bullying. She also feels that the upper primary students can play a valuable role as buddies for Kindergarten students as they learn how to adjust to school life. She involves students in decision-making and encourages student representatives to be actively involved in the decision-making over school discipline codes. Jane's approach to school democracy is evident when she says:

> The school captains and vice captains came to our staff meeting as representatives of the SRC. They weren't intimidated at all and they were fair in what they said. Some of their points we didn't like to hear but we were pleased that they were open and wanted to contribute to the development of the code (Jane, 7/12,99).

Jane's theory of action has developed over a number of years but through her involvement in this action research project, she has been able to appreciate the importance of community involvement as a way of engaging the interests of young adolescents. In developing a praxis of civics and citizenship in the middle years she has accommodated the needs of the formal curriculum but has been proactive in promoting extra-curricular activities.

Case Study Three – Parliamentarians at Work!

The third case study examines the theories of action of two senior teachers at Greentrees Public School. The action research cycles in this study focus particularly on the development of a School Parliament. The

critical issues raised in this study have particular relevance for whole

school approaches to civics and citizenship. The teachers' theories of

action reflected the school's integrated approach to learning and a need

to develop the full range of students' talents.

Setting the scene.

> It is 8.15 and Keith is on his way to school. On the local ABC radio station he hears that another school in this North Coast Regional centre has suffered vandalism over the long weekend. He is relieved to hear it is not his school. After negotiating a few roundabouts on the busy highway he slows down at the pedestrian crossing and waves to the lollypop man who is already guiding students across the highway. To his left is a set of government buildings and to his right is the school. He notes some litter up against the school fence and makes a mental to note to raise this in the School Parliament meeting.

> On entering the staff room he is greeted by Renata who teaches the opportunity class for gifted children in the school. Keith teaches a 4/5/6 composite class and both of them have an involvement with the school parliament.

> Their primary school has a population of 430 students. Many of these come from low socio-economic backgrounds and single parent families although members of the school community are sensitive to the school district being portrayed in this way. The school zone encompasses a housing commission area with some difficult social problems being evident. Amongst the 430 students approximately 100 are of Aboriginal descent.

> In order to cater for the diverse academic and welfare needs of the students, the school has adopted a module learning system that incorporates multi-age, mixed ability groups and team teaching through themes. Teachers are given the responsibility of teaching a particular Key Learning Area and the classes rotated to those teachers during session times. Keith for example concentrated on HSIE, Science and Technology and Visual Arts. The modules are designated junior (Kindergarten , Years 1 and 2), Middle (Years 2/3/4) and Senior (Years 4/5/6). Keith and Renata teach groups in

the senior module (Field notes, 1999).

Background.

Keith has been a primary /infants teacher for nearly twenty years and Renata for twenty five years. Neither Keith nor Renata can recall any specific emphasis on citizenship and civics education in their teacher training courses. Both recall that modern syllabuses were just being developed when they were being trained, so their lecturers took ideas from a range of sources. Neither could recall any in-service activities being offered in citizenship education through the HSIE Key Learning Area. Keith felt that he did not have a strong background in politics and government and most of his knowledge had come from actually teaching such topics.

Both began teaching in western districts of NSW, where staff members were relatively young. There was money available for professional development but not in the social studies area. They remain receptive to the idea of expanding professional development opportunities in civics and citizenship education.

Giving Students a Voice – Action Cycle One

The plan for the first action cycle grew out of past experience. Prior to 1998 the school had a Student Council, elected at the end of each year, to take office in the following year. On the Council were four Year 6 students and two from each of the other year levels except Kindergarten. Two of the Year 6 students looked after kindergarten issues. The plan in

this first action cycle was to encourage "better student representation in some school-based decisions."

In 1998 a Staff Policy group was formed with the task of setting up a school parliament. As Keith explained to a seminar group, the principal did some groundwork before the Staff Policy group convened.

> Before we started, our principal sent away for various models of school parliaments. You'll find that our original student parliament model was a direct steal from a school in Newcastle. So I won't say we were brainy or intelligent. We made some changes but this one fitted our school quite well (Keith, 15/10/99).

My journal contains a reference to this point:

> Once again, I find the principal playing a key role here. It seems that citizenship education programs have a greater chance of success on a whole school basis if members of the school executive show leadership in this regard. It makes me wonder what happens in a school where a class teacher is keen to implement a citizenship education program and there is only lukewarm support from the executive and other staff (Field notes, 10/99).

In implementing an initial course of action members of the staff developed procedures and policies for the conduct of a student council. Candidates gave election speeches and elections were held. The School Parliament held regular meetings. Students from each sporting group attended meeting as a committee. A school parliament structure was put in place.

Units of work on government and citizenship were developed for use in senior classes. In my journal there was reference to a recurring issue.

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It seems that most of the participating teachers are teaching about government in a formal manner through HSIE or SOSE and they are also heavily involved in school parliaments but it is not clear how effectively the two strands of civics and citizenship are integrated. Are there practical constraints on this type of planning? (Field notes, 11/99)

Observations were made of school parliament meetings. In reality only students from the upper and middle levels took part. Students from the upper module could become ministers responsible for portfolios like the Environment, Sport and Recreation. A teacher attended each meeting and assisted children to organize activities – recording data along the way.

Upon reflection, the supervising teachers felt that more time was required for meetings and meetings needed a more formal structure. In order to attract more involvement from Aboriginal children, it was decided that two new positions would be created on the Parliament for Indigenous students. It was planned that a roster would be set up for classes to visit the parliament as a gallery – two classes at a time. It was decided that more staff involvement would be sought. It was recognized that skill levels for debating issues needed to be enhanced. It was decided in conjunction with the students that more time was required for class meetings and house meetings to generate more involvement and to provide a source of new issues for the student parliament.

It had been expected that the School Parliament would have a greater impact on the school. As Keith reported:

It's not impacting on the school as much as we would like. The problem area is that the students who are appointed as ministers don't seem to have the ability to carry out their portfolio duties. There's an issue of students being able to take a problem through to an end point and come up with a solution. …. We need to take it back to a classroom level, to give them the training and that's where we should focus in the future. I think if we can get a solution at the class level, there will be a benefit in bringing that back to the School Parliament. We also need to emphasise meeting procedure at the class level (Keith, 15/12/99).

Keith also thought it would be helpful to have class groups sit in the gallery of the School Parliament.

When we get the class meetings going, we'd like to have classes coming in on a roster – to be invited in when the school parliament's meeting. I'd like to see two people from the class group elected to attend the meeting, to introduce a bill or put an idea to the parliament and then the class group in the gallery could see the idea go through (Keith, 15/12/99).

Keith also saw a need for formal teaching of civics at the classroom level.

We will actually teach them the structure of government, what is decision making and get to the more formal processes and when they have a good understanding they'll be able to make the transfer in the parliament (Keith, 15/12/99).

Renata also had some reservations about the success of the student parliament.

The student parliament is a great idea but it is a difficult thing for kids of this age to operate. It still has a lot of teacher input. I mean they can run a meeting but when it comes to making decisions we find that they talk around it and around it. (I suppose they're like politicians.) But they find it hard to make a final decision. (Renata, 15/12/99).

Renata was also able to identify some causal issues:

The kids really do need cooperative skills to be able to work

together (Renata, 15/12/99).

She also pointed to the need to develop leadership skills.

> I had a girl in my class a couple of years ago and when we
> had an environment day and I just left it with her. In no time
> at all she had a committee together and organized the lot. She
> had a Green Day and had a whole lot of activities that she'd
> organized. Now she's an exception being able to do
> something like that. (Renata, 15/12/99).

Expanding on this further, Renata made a significant statement given her role with the OC (gifted and talented) class:

> What they need are those leadership and cooperative and
> organizational skills. It doesn't matter how bright they are.
> That's really got nothing to do with it. They have to have
> those skills to do it successfully. There really need to be
> training time for those kids. Maybe they need to be elected
> earlier and we could spend a term doing some training
> (Renata, 15/12/99).

Skilling Students in Democratic Processes – Action Cycle Two

The plan in the second cycle of action research was to refine and expand the student council structure. There was a strong feeling that students needed more effective political skills. It was felt that these could be developed in class meetings prior to their involvement in student council matters. Keith was keen to have class groups visiting the student council meetings as a gallery group so they could see what happened to their proposals in the full council meeting. Renata felt that teachers may need to spend some quality time with council members to coach them in their roles.

There was a plan to invite members of the local municipal council and local members of state parliament to attend the student council as

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guest speakers. Visits by teachers from Parliamentary Education Office were planned and it was thought that a stronger link would be established with formal teaching of civics in HSIE area as teachers became more familiar with the new syllabus.

During this cycle, attempts were made to streamline the student parliament structure and to boost the importance of class meetings. A visit by travelling teachers from Parliamentary Education Office took place as a significant action step. Classes began to visit the parliament by sitting in the gallery. New units of work on Australian Democracy were introduced from the new HSIE syllabus.

In reflecting on the action step, Renata recalled a visit to the school by teachers from the Parliamentary Education Office.

> My kids actually went up when we had the Parliamentary Education officers here. It all made more sense to the students. Perhaps we could run a session like that ourselves. We just need the materials and the ideas. The kids really understood what was going on. At the end of the mock parliament session they had to decide on an issue and some crossed the floor. Then the teacher explained that parliamentarians don't usually do that (Renata, 15/12/99).

In summary, this case addresses the issue of taking a whole school approach to citizenship education by establishing a school parliament. The issues that arose were often logistical ones of getting the school parliament to work effectively. Another issue was the extent to which connections could be made the activities of the school parliament, formal civics and citizenship education in classrooms and events in the real

world of politics and government. This is a case study in which the issue of Aboriginal citizenship has specific relevance because of the number of Indigenous students in the school. My journal entry contained a reflection on this issue.

> During the interview I mentioned a recent visit to Perth where a young Aboriginal consultant outlined a program using Aboriginal sportspeople as role models in schools. Keith and Renata felt that Aboriginal kids in their school got to attend the School Parliament in their capacity as sports captains. I wonder if we should be proactive here in introducing students to Aboriginal role models from all walks of life e.g. successful dancers, film-makers and Land Council members and politicians (Field notes, 11/99).

The theories of action espoused by these teachers recognised the importance of teaching leadership skills. The School Parliament provided a focal point for demonstrating those skills but the classroom was seen to be a vital training ground for teaching such the skills needed for a democratic society. The teachers in this school practised an integrated approach to civics and citizenship education.

> The teachers at today's seminar were impressed by the Greentrees approach. They took on board the lessons that had been learned about training students at the classroom level to perform duties at a wider level in the School Parliament (Field notes, 12/99).

Renata's theory of action

Renata's theory of action is strongly reflects her dual role in the school of enhancing the cognitive development of gifted and talented students whilst also developing the social skills of all students. She recognizes that experiences in her own family helped her to develop an

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interest in political issues and she feels that her initial training did not actively address the issues of teaching about government. Her interest in the field has been enhanced by her teaching experiences, the planned trips to Canberra, her involvement with the school parliament and her actions in the classroom to make class meetings valuable learning experiences. To Renata, civics and citizenship education is very much about developing responsibility within students.

In terms of pedagogy, Renata's focus is on teaching critical thinking skills. She doesn't see much point in teaching isolated facts about government and feels that young adolescents need to locate learning within a context that is meaningful to them. She is proactive about taking ideas from the recommended units of work and adapting them. She is supportive of using simulation games and role-play to enhance learning about civics and citizenship. She places a strong emphasis on skill development:

> I think we have to train kids to be able to talk, to debate and discuss. They need to be able to cooperate in groups to get jobs done. They need personal development in that area as well as knowledge. They need the social skills to interact so have to work on talking and listening skills (Renata, 30/10/98).

Along with her colleague, Keith, she encourages students to adopt new roles in class meetings and in the School Parliament. Renata supports the conduct of election campaigns as students bid for representative positions. She encourages students to follow correct meeting procedure, to listen to the ideas of others and to make sure that

student projects reach a conclusion. She urges them to follow through with suggestions for school improvement.

In terms of constraints, Renata feels that some of the recommended resources have a reading level that is too high for primary students. She is concerned that issues like civics and citizenship go in and out of fashion as curriculum planners adjust to community perceptions of what should be in the core of education. Renata accepts that young adolescent boys and Aboriginal students in general are sometimes reluctant to take part in democratic decision making. She uses self-esteem building strategies to enhance the participation of Aboriginal students.

Renata has worked closely with Keith and members of the school executive to develop the notion of a school parliament. She works actively at the classroom level to provide students with the skills, attitudes and knowledge to be able to participate in school decision-making. She has taken positive steps to boost the involvement of Aboriginal students in school activities and feels that the school parliament concept requires a high degree of teacher input:

> The student parliament is a great idea but it's a difficult thing for kids of this age to operate. It requires a lot of teacher input. I mean they can run a meeting but when it comes down to making decisions they tend to talk around and around the topic. (I guess they're like all politicians in that regard.) They need all sorts of cooperative skills (Renata, 15/12/99).

By working through a series of action cycles, Renata has had an opportunity to reflect on, and refine, her theories of action. She

appreciates the impact of curriculum pressures and practical constraints

whilst promoting the concept of a school parliament that provides a

model of democracy in action. She is constantly revising her theories of

action regarding the development of social and leadership skills

amongst young adolescents. She feels that students need more positive

role models in the community, outside of those provided at school.

Case Study Four - Promoting Student Voices

The fourth case study is based at Northlands State School. The

action research cycles highlight the self-reflective work of two teachers.

Their theories of action are closely related to the implementation of

democratic schooling in a large primary school within a rapidly-

growing urban area.

Setting the scene.

> Iris rushes in and out of the staff-room, grabbing her lunch
> and a pile of minutes. As her colleagues settle down to a
> lunch-time chat about local politics, and some make ready for
> playground duty, Iris heads for the student representative
> council meeting. It is a hot, steamy day at her Gold Coast
> school as she makes her way across the busy playground,
> checking that students were wearing their hats. Skin cancer is
> major problem in this locality.

> Her primary school is one of the largest in the state and the
> young Principal has the support of two experienced deputies
> in implementing his progressive ideas. One of these was
> instrumental in getting the Student Council started. The
> school is a relatively new one, in a recently developed suburb.
> The Principal's task has been to build a sense of community
> in a rapidly expanding school with over a thousand students.
> Iris and her colleague Ingrid have helped in this process by
> establishing a student council.

> The basic framework of the Student Council had been set in

place since the inception of the school in 1994. The concept has been to promote student voices in the functioning of the school-based activities. The Council is a vehicle through which students across the year levels can have an input into school governance by sharing ideas, grievances and suggestions for improvement. It operates through a democratic system using a functional agenda. The original concept however lacked a formal structure (Field notes, 1999).

Providing a Structure – Action Cycle One.

The plan in the first cycle was to provide a functional structure to facilitate citizenship education through School Council activities - allowing students to conduct meetings and to follow agenda items. The initial structures allowed for two nominated representatives from each year level (4-7), with representative chosen by year level peers. These representatives did not necessarily have the support of teaching staff.

It was believed that leadership opportunities and ownership of the structure was an integral part of the overall goal of "learning for life" so adult role modelling and guidance was a feature of the structure. While continuing some aspects of the existing student council format to maintain a sense of continuity, Iris took the initiative by modelling correct meeting procedure and fine tuning operations (such as disseminating information, conducting research, following through on ideas raised by students and negotiating changes with students).

Ingrid joined Iris in organising the student council from 1997. As an infants teacher, she brought a new perspective to the role. Through her additional support, processes were continually refined. She made an impact highlighting the purpose of the student counselor role.

A student suggestion box system was introduced and a buddy system was used to enhance cohesion between students in the upper and lower sections of the school. An attempt was made to introduce a shadow executive who would take over council operations when year 7 students moved on to high school.

By developing a clearer profile of the student councillor role, it was found that year level nominations were not based on popularity alone. Student councillors began to fulfil their role descriptions more effectively. There was tighter control of meeting format and the council began to take on issues of student concern as the suggestion box idea began to operate successfully.

A buddy system proved to be successful in breaking down barriers between the upper and lower school. It also provided leadership opportunities for students in the upper school. The shadow executive system was implemented with some success. The student council gained a higher profile and more credibility in the school community.

Iris saw a strong link between student council activities and democratic processes:

> It was important for us that the democratic process of decision-making was put into place and used as a vehicle for students. So we helped them but they were the voice. We sat beside them saying "do this" or "say this" and eventually they took on the ability to run the meetings but using their own language. It was also important for the students that their views were respected, researched and put into practice (Iris, 15/10/99).

Iris also saw how it was important for senior primary students to develop communications skills and engage with adult world.

> The activities required students to develop communications skills. Students had to meet with members of the school administration and other adult bodies to see if their ideas were viable and to see if they had permission to go ahead. So therefore when they came up with an idea, we skilled them in the process of "Who are you going to see about that?" and "What are going to do after that?" You knew as adults that a lot of these ideas weren't going to work but we let them work through the process. So we concentrated on the process that that they had to go and see the principal, that they may have to see the tuckshop lady, or they may have to contact the bus company over certain issues. They would often come back and say "We can't follow this idea through because of some legal implication." As much as we knew this from the beginning, it was important for them to follow it through (Iris, 15/10/99).

In terms of practical constraints, students and teachers alike learnt some significant lessons.

> It was also relevant to point out that it was not always the staff administration that rejected or hindered the anticipated outcomes. So we weren't seen as the meanies – saying no you can't do this. They worked it through and found there were barriers elsewhere (Iris, 15/10/99).

My journal at the time contains a reflection on this issue:

> Teachers are constantly faced with this issue of deciding how much freedom to give students. The teacher who takes on the role of adviser to a student council is constantly treading a tightrope between the adult policies decided by the school executive and the democratic principle of giving students a real say in the decision making process (Field notes, 11/99).

When the infants teacher (Ingrid) joined the team, one of her tasks was to tighten up the procedures.

> We found that in meetings there were ideas coming from everywhere but there was no outcome. We weren't getting

anywhere. So I guess we had to put words into their mouths by asking "What is it you want?" We would get various ideas before we showed them how to put it in the form of a motion. Then we would say, 'now you've got to propose that as a motion" so we built the language in there (Iris, 15/10/99).

Gradually the role of being a student representative has gained in importance amongst the student body. This has occurred by holding an official induction ceremony attended by a member of the local council such as the Mayor. Badges were awarded to each representative, parents were invited to be present at a morning tea that followed. There was an additional ceremony when a handover of badges took place at a whole school assembly adding to the seriousness of the role.

Of interest was the teachers' perception of student ability to commit to the role.

> We found at this upper primary level, because of the commitment, we were best to change councillors after one semester. We found some of them lost interest over a twelve month period. We decided to change every six months and students could renominate if they wished. It gives someone else a chance and it gives those with keen interest in sport or music to proceed with another interest (Iris, 15/10/99).

Involvement with the student council did not limit students to activities within the school.

> We wanted to develop more conscientious awareness of student councillor involvement in the community. That's where we brought in things like visiting the elderly and writing letters to authorities regarding environmental issues. At one stage they had a problem with an overcrowded bus. They had to write to the bus company and the council to solve that problem (Iris, 15/12/99).

With reference to formal teaching of civics to year 7 students, Iris

refers to a social studies unit called Responsible Participation. To her there are time constraints on what can be done.

> Responsibility is ongoing. So whether you teach it through the government unit or through school action, it is ongoing. Now as far as the government part goes, it's a timeframe game. I feel from my experience we do local, state and federal government, their responsibilities and how kids in the future will fit into what's important. To me, this is about as much time as I can spare in a term. I guess it's a bit content based (Iris, 15/12/99).

In reflecting on the first cycle, Iris and Ingrid believed that there were positive outcomes in the form of intrinsic rewards when students became involved in student council activities. These rewards included the development of leadership skills, communications skills, confidence, organizational skills and empathy towards others.

Extrinsic rewards to student council activity were also evident in the form of financial contributions and purchase of equipment resulting from student requests (including the installation of water bubblers on the oval, more sand-pit equipment and board games.)

Successive cycles 2000-2001.

It was planned that there would be two student councilors nominated from each year: one to be student nominated and one to be teacher nominated. In this way it was felt that best of both worlds would be achieved. It was felt that the teacher nominees would have sound social skills whilst the student nominees would have credibility amongst the student body. It was also planned that more energy would be spent in helping student councilors to bring their ideas to fruition.

This case study links citizenship education to the development of a school ethos. For teachers involved in student council activities there are issues of addressing the representative nature of student councils in a new and rapidly growing school. The issue of accommodating specific curriculum and policy documents does not arise as a significant issues but since this case study was concluded, this situation may have changed as new syllabus documents in Studies of Society and Environment have been released.

In this particular case study, my journal entries often mentioned the sheer size of the school.

> It's quite a task getting a student council to function in a school of this size. Perhaps it is more effective to have class meetings and year level meetings. I recall my first visit to the school when I saw the young principal operating a whole school assembly with over 1000 children. He was expecting the local member of parliament to arrive any minute and a number children had been bitten by ants while sitting on a grassy bank waiting for the assembly to start. One hand signal caught everyone's attention. The student leaders up on that stage were getting a great insight into what leadership involves (Field notes, 10/99).

Iris's Theory of Action.

Iris's theory of action in teaching civics and citizenship education closely reflects the school philosophy of promoting a student voice in the functioning of the school. Iris's strategy in this rapidly growing primary school is to implement a policy first mooted by the founding principal and later put into effect by an experienced deputy principal. Iris sees the Student Council as a vehicle for students to share ideas

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across all year levels, to air grievances and to make suggestions for improvements to the school. She supports the democratic processes that allow a student-elected and staff-elected representative to speak on behalf of each grade level. She believes that young adolescents should be given opportunities to display good citizenship that will build social cohesion within the school and in the community. This is seen as being important in a school, that is newly established and rapidly expanding in size. Iris believes that a good citizen in the context of her school is someone who:

> actively involves themselves in a school role not only to advance themselves but also to promote school community cohesion. This role is one that gives our students direction, promotes responsibility, encourages empathy with the needs of others and fosters leadership qualities amongst our future Australians (Iris, 15/10/99).

Iris's pedagogy is one that promotes leadership skills, organizational skills and responsibility on the part of students. Through her actions in civics and citizenship education she seeks to develop in students a sense of ownership over their learning. She helps students to use correct meeting procedure when making decisions about school improvement. Her focus is on democratic decision-making. She actively encourages students to stand as student councilors but realizes that some students only wish to stand for periods of six months. She encourages them to conduct election campaigns so they get a chance to reflect on and self-actualise their leadership qualities. She believes that students need

training in leadership roles and perform best if they have a chance to be an understudy to someone already in the role.

Iris encourages students to be actively involved in community activities and encourages local political identities to visit the school. She encourages students to contribute to local charities and to raise funds for the purchase of school equipment. She sees this as a preparation for active involvement in the wider society. She feels strongly that young adolescents need practice in public speaking and seeks creative ways to engage these students in formal aspects of civics education.

Iris encourages student leaders to engage directly with members of the school executive and local authorities when they are proposing changes. She thinks it is important for them to follow through on proposals and see how proposals for change need to pass through various levels of authority. She feels that they learn from working through the feasibility and ramifications of their suggestions.

Iris is well aware of the constraints of working in a large school with a developing ethos. Her work with the Student Council is an attempt to develop a sense of community amongst students at all grade levels. She is aware of the changing nature of curriculum policies and the demands that these place on classroom teachers. She has played an active role in helping student teachers to interpret the new SOSE syllabus from the perspective of a classroom practitioner. She is aware of new approaches to civics and citizenship as exemplified in the New Basics program being

trialled in neighbouring schools. Iris is well aware of the time constraints on classroom teachers who take on the added responsibility of supervising student councils.

The theories of civics and citizenship education held by Iris have led her take transformative action within the school to adapt and refine the existing Student Council. She sees this as a way actively promoting student voice within the school and gives students opportunities to make decisions and to follow up responsibly on their decisions. She has worked to create a system that replicates real world processes and gives students support and direction in linking their formal studies of government with practical opportunities at the school level. She ensures that students who seek success as leaders are given due recognition for their efforts.

> The role of being a student representative has gained greater importance in the student body since we introduced an induction ceremony and asked the Mayor to award badges. Parents and civic leaders are invited to the ceremony and to the morning tea afterwards (Iris, 15/10/99).

Case Study Five - Curriculum Pressures

The final case study highlights the theories of action of a Social Science Head teacher and Middle School leader at Lakes High School. The critical issues here are directly related to external pressures on the curriculum and tensions between departments in a secondary school setting. The teacher has gained wide experience in rural high schools, in Australia and overseas, and this has an impact on his theories of action.

> Joe branches off the highway just as the business report begins on national radio. He likes to focus on this report for his Business Studies classes so he takes a more rural route to his school on the south side of the city. This way he can avoid city traffic and concentrate on the events of the day. As he pulls into the car park he notes that the painters have done a good job in highlighting the historical façade of this long-established school. Although the school has been elevated above the flood level, there have been some close calls in the past few years and the paint will freshen up the school's appearance.
>
> Joe is the Social Science Head Teacher and on entering the Social Science staff room he is welcomed by cheery greetings from his dedicated staff. Outside the door is an anxious Year 7 student who has been asked to report to Joe over a behavioural matter. Joe constantly juggles two roles: as Year 7 coordinator where he plays an administrative and pastoral role and as Head Teacher where he is also expected to provide instructional leadership.
>
> His school, on the outskirts of a large regional centre, draws students from both rural and urban backgrounds. Many of the students travelled large distances to school each day. The school is one of five secondary schools in the city – two others being state schools and two being Catholic high schools. There is strong competition between these schools and Joe has been active on the school executive in enhancing the school's reputation (Field notes, 12/99).

Background.

Joe was well aware of the challenges facing citizenship education in

the school as the History Faculty was aligned with the English Faculty

and separated from the Social Sciences. The emphasis on literacy and the

teaching of text types has helped to improve communications between

faculties. In his role as Year 7 coordinator Joe had encouraged the

development of a team approach to the instruction of Year 7 students so there was potentially a vehicle for discussing cross-disciplinary approaches to citizenship education. Morning assemblies for all year 7 students provided opportunities for organizing and recognizing positive contributions to the school and local community. The school did have a student representative council.

Joe's views on citizenship education were partly influenced by his experiences as an exchange teacher in the USA. In his American school, students were assessed on the basis of their participation in community projects and Joe felt that this raised the status of citizenship education. He was not sure whether the proposal to test civic knowledge on a basic skills test would have the same impact.

Grappling with Outcomes – Action Cycle One.

As Head Teacher for Human Society and Its Environment, Joe felt responsible for promoting civics and citizenship in the school and for ensuring that relevant syllabus outcomes were being addressed. His project planned to investigate the readiness of staff to implement civics and citizenship education in the middle school.

As Joe indicated at the outset, it was feasible to plan a project on citizenship:

> In terms of what you have just mentioned as an action research project, to me it would be easy to track what's happening and to show whether, as a result of this change in our assessment, we are actually looking at what kids can do rather than comparing them (Joe, 17/12/99).

Asked whether the assessment would be of skills or knowledge, Joe replied:

> It's a bit of both. The assessment's going to be on both (Joe 17/12/99).

As Head Teacher, Joe sought to provide a Yr 7-10 overview of Geography in which the civics and citizenship concepts had been embedded. Staff members were asked to identify civics and citizenship outcomes and to write assessment tasks to measure the degree of achievement of these outcomes. The Faculty team planned to write programs with specific civics and citizenship learning activities.

Joe was involved in subjectively observing the mood, attitudes and acceptance by staff and students of civics and citizenship concepts. While there was no overt resistance, civics and citizenship was given a low priority behind the new HSC, a new reporting system and Disadvantaged School Component priorities. The new outcomes-based assessment tasks however did encourage some enthusiasm particularly at Stage 5 (Year 9 and 10). This shifted the responsibility from the teacher to the student but unfortunately observations suggested that classrooms remained teacher-directed and this resulted in high degree of student disengagement.

There were significant challenges to be faced by teachers as new approaches to citizenship education were promoted by the Education Department and Board of Studies.

> We're in the process of changing over to an outcomes based

assessment system and as part of that we are going through an agonizing time where we try to work out how we are going to do it. We have to work out what sort of outcomes we are going to report on and how we are going to measure these outcomes. Within that, citizenship pops up and gives us another chance (Joe, 17/12/99).

In commenting on the new Geography syllabus, Joe felt that the changed emphasis would impact on students in the middle years (i.e. lower secondary).

In Years 9 and 10 we're supposed to focus on Australian Geography in Years 9 and 10 (and global Geography in Years 7 and 8). A lot of people are resisting that as its crazy not to be doing local fieldwork in years 7 and 8. Some people are still doing local studies there (Joe, 17/12/99).

Despite the above-mentioned complications, Joe did see some scope for local input through the school's involvement in a national project.

We have made contact with a lady from Melbourne who is running a Making Places project next year. We are going to participate along with another local school. The lady running this project is worried that kids are not making links with their local communities. I see it fitting in with the things we want to do and it will go across Faculties. It looks like they are going to focus on a project involving the river and that's quite close to use (Joe, 17/12/99).

Joe reflected on the first cycle. It was obvious that progress could be made in curriculum planning by ensuring that explicit outcomes related to citizenship were included in the program. However more work needed to be done on developing appropriate pedagogies to facilitate these outcomes.

All members of the HSIE staff felt the pressure of external agendas as the Board of Studies announced plans to assess the achievement of

civics and citizenship outcomes in year 10. This obviously had

ramifications for the junior secondary years as well. Was this the best

way to increase the status of citizenship education – by making it

assessable?

The issues raised by Joe seemed to be very familiar to me. In my

journal I noted:

> The scene in the staff-room brings back many memories of being a Social Science Head Teacher. The move towards outcomes based assessment has intensified since I last played this role. I can see how the emphasis has changed with respect to citizenship education. Previously we were happy to include these things in our program but we never had to assess student achievement of outcomes in this area. The only example I could think of was in the Victorian Senior Geography syllabus where students were encouraged at one stage to become involved in community action groups for one of their assessable tasks (Field notes, 12/99).

Developing Appropriate Activities – Action Cycle Two

The plan for the second action cycle was to enhance the use of

outcomes as a means of measuring the degree of individual involvement

in citizenship education and to encourage the recognition that

student/teacher relationships are at the foundation of civics and

citizenship education – particularly in the middle years of schooling. It

was recognized that citizenship education could be addressed in an

integrated manner across the school curriculum.

More work was carried out in developing strategies to assess

achievement of outcomes in civics and citizenship. Also members of the

Faculty developed learning activities related to the specified outcomes

and also related to the needs of young adolescents.

Joe noted the use of the team concept in Year 7 as a way of integrating citizenship education across the total curriculum. Under the team approach, groups of Year 7 students were exposed to a small team of teachers who taught more than one discipline to the same group of students.

> Within the team concept there is definite attempt to establish a sense of community. One of the approaches that we took was to try and give some sort of control over their own environment. So we ran regular assemblies and at the assembly there was a usually a year group in charge of the assembly. They surveyed the students and they tried to identify areas of concern for kids. Then they fed that back through the SRC to try to get some change (Joe, 17/12/99).

Reflecting on the broader picture of developing an integrated approach to citizenship education, Joe felt that much had yet to be done.

> On the one hand there's an attempt across the whole school framework to have student involvement in school governance but at the same time there's a push to have citizenship written into your programs. Really there hasn't been any attempt to marry the two. It really hasn't been and that's an obvious area where more could be done (Joe, 17/12/99).

Joe could see the potential of using the assemblies as a way of integrating citizenship across the curriculum but he was cautious about the results:

> But once again, as I say, it was very superficial (Joe, 17/12/99).

Visiting this school brought back memories of the days that I spent as a casual relief teacher in this school. The junior secondary students always seemed to have specific needs.

> Coming here today talking to Joe, I am reminded of the lessons that I gave to Year 7 and Year 8 just a few years ago. As I recall it was very difficult in most classes to take a didactic approach to issues pertaining to citizenship. These children needed to be involved in activities where they could achieve a short-term result and get immediate gratification. I think any program in citizenship education would have to be activity based and divided into discrete sections. I spoke to Joe about the program we had in Victoria where Years 7 students were involved in a community project each Wednesday afternoon. It seemed to work (Field notes, 17/12/99).

In this case study, the main issue is one of achieving syllabus outcomes and accommodating in-school politics. This is not to say that the focus on the whole child is insignificant because the school has instigated specific programs to address the needs of young adolescents in the first few years of secondary school. The critical issue is one of curriculum control and the extent to which teachers feel that civics and citizenship education has been imposed on an already crowded curriculum. This dos not however detract from the fact that teachers value active citizenship and teachers from this school have won awards for the work they have done with students in local community projects. This is a case study where issues of Aboriginal citizenship may have been expected to have a higher profile due to the nature of school enrolments.

Joe's theory of action.

Joe's theory of action is based on a perception that curriculum pressures are forcing teachers to concentrate on civics more than

citizenship education. He feels that many teachers don't appreciate the distinction between civics and citizenship. He also feels that teachers have partially accommodated calls to integrate civics and citizenship into the Key Learning Areas but feels that this is done in a superficial way.

> There are changes occurring above us in the system and there are superficial changes taking place at the school level outside the classroom if you like but there is very little fundamental change taking place in the classroom itself. There has to be more focus on what the teacher does in the classroom (Joe, 17/12/99).

Joe's theory of action is related to his role as Head Teacher – developing junior high school curricula with a focus on civics and citizenship. He believes that strategies in civics and citizenship need to have a whole school focus. He supports efforts by the school to involve students in Arts and Drama activities. He is aware of the need to engage Indigenous youth in these activities as a way of enhancing their sense of engagement with the school's programs. He thinks that whole school social activities are positive in drawing students together from different home backgrounds.

Joe actively supports programs that link formal instruction in Geography with local environmental projects in the local community. The revegetation of river banks is an issue for many students at his school as many of their homes are located in a flood prone region. He feels that the teaching of skills and attitudes goes hand in hand with the teaching of content.

Joe feels that the impersonality of large secondary schools mitigates against the efforts of teachers to provide meaningful experiences in civics and citizenship. He is concerned that young people in local primary feeder schools come to secondary school with well-developed leadership skills but are rarely given opportunities to expand on these skills till they are in the senior secondary school.

Joe is aware that the emphasis on particular subject disciplines in the secondary school hinders attempts to promote integrated learning. However, he is encouraged by the way in which the teaching of text types in the school's literacy program has paved the way for addressing issues across the school curriculum.

The development of a teams approach in Year 7 has been fully supported by Joe. He feels that daily assemblies of year 7 students with their small band of teachers helps to bond students when they first arrive at high school. The assemblies provide opportunities for teaching civic values and for rewarding those students who have accepted leadership roles. He believes that the teams approach makes integration of learning more possible. As Year 7 coordinator he is well aware of the difficulties that young adolescents face in the transition from primary to secondary school. He sees a direct link between citizenship education and the development of a more student-centred approach in the middle years.

The theories of action by teachers in secondary schools have a

different focus because of the greater emphasis on subject-related outcomes. Teachers feel that they have little control over the changing nature of the curriculum and the attitude to civics and citizenship education has been affected by this situation. Despite this, there is little dispute that civics and citizenship education lie at the heart of the educational process.

Joe's theory of action is strongly conditioned by his teaching experiences in rural communities and his experiences as an exchange teacher in the USA. Joe is also influenced by his teaching experiences in relation to the Disadvantaged School Program. He recognizes that young adolescents can become alienated from the school system and he is positive about engaging students in active learning. He uses his position as Head Teacher to incorporate civics and citizenship education into school programs but he is aware that his staff members feel overwhelmed by the fact that they have to cover so many outcomes in the mandatory sections of the course. His teachers feel that curriculum planners have unrealistic expectations of what can be achieved in middle school classrooms. His fellow teachers also feel the pressure of preparing students for compulsory basic skills tests on civics and citizenship in Year 10. Joe's pedagogy is based on a realisation that the incorporation of specific civics and citizenship outcomes into the secondary curriculum will require new skills of teachers.

Joe feels that many teachers feel constrained by the demands of the formal curriculum and don't have the flexibility to adapt programs to student needs and local concerns. He feels that curriculum planners over-emphasise content and should focus more on process. Joe feels that the focus on Global History and Geography in Years 7 and 8 leaves few opportunities for students in these year levels to make connections with civic issues in local settings.

> Unfortunately the new civics and citizenship education programs have been introduced at a time of unprecedented change in the curriculum. Teachers may have a high regard for the value of civics and citizenship but it has been pushed aside by other priorities. Obviously it does overlap with different KLAs and developments in student-based learning and authentic assessment (Joe, 17/12/99).

Within the classroom he finds that female students tend to accede more readily the teachers' demands but he finds that boys tend to more proactive in showing their dislike for formal methods of instruction on topics that appear to have little relevance. Joe feels that schools are finding it hard to compete with the new technologies that are available to students in the wider world. He worries that teachers using old technologies are doomed to be regarded as 'boring old farts'. He agrees that some teachers have developed a gift for engaging young adolescents and he feels they should have an opportunity to share those techniques with others.

Joe uses his authority as Head Teacher to incorporate civics and citizenship education into the curriculum. As Year 7 coordinator he is

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able to restructure the junior high school to accommodate a teams approach to learning. He supports the activities of the student representative council as a way of airing student concerns and giving students a greater sense of ownership of school based decisions. However he agrees that older students tend to dominate the SRC in secondary schools. The needs of young adolescents are often subsumed by broader issues in a large school setting, especially when year 7 students come from a wider range of small feeder schools. It takes some time for these people to have their needs met in a large school. Joe's theory of action is basically idealistic in regard to student democracy but inevitably tempered by the reality that school structures are hard to change.

Summary of Chapter

The case studies in this chapter show civics and citizenship in action. Although there are similarities between the case study schools in terms of their involvement with student councils, there are wide differences in context. There are also differences that can be related to the theories of action developed by individual teachers.

Teachers' theories of action are influenced by a wide variety of factors including their initial training, their teaching experiences, their access to professional development courses and resources and the ethos of the schools in which they teach. In these case studies, all teachers display a theory of action that works on the premise that children need

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training in social skills on a practical level. Schools are seen as training grounds for democracy.

The critical issues that arise in each case study are quite specific to the circumstances. There are critical issues that relate to the personal background and aspirations of each teacher. There are critical issues related to the development of a distinct pedagogy in teaching civics and citizenship education. There are political and practical constraints that impact on teachers' theories and there are definitional issues that provide an insight into the very purpose of civics and citizenship in the school curriculum.

In developing theories of action related to students in the middle years, these case studies show that teachers are keen to provide young adolescents with leadership experiences. They recognise that young adolescents desire a hands on approach to learning but also need a formal grounding in key concepts. The development of those key concepts seems to be best achieved when students appreciate the relevance of their learning beyond school. Interaction with members of the community heightens this awareness.

While recognizing the individual characteristics of teachers' theories it is evident from this study that all participating teachers take care to promote student voices, directly teach social skills and critical thinking skills, engage with the local community and make use of new technologies when engaging the interest of young adolescents. In their

approaches to civics and citizenship they make effective use of prepared

units of work and new resources but also reserve the right to adapt the

curriculum to current international, national and local events. They see a

strong link between civics and citizenship and values education and

they place greater emphasis on process outcomes than knowledge

outcomes when providing education for citizenship.

In the following chapter, an emphasis is placed on the analysis of

critical issues arising from these case studies. Critical theory is employed

as a tool to highlight and explore those issues. The action research

projects outlined in this chapter have given teachers an opportunity to

reflect critically on their practice and to develop a deeper understanding

of the theories that guide their actions. The case studies show how

teachers respond to a range of critical issues as they develop theories of

action for engaging the interests of young adolescents.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ENGAGING THE CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Outline of the Chapter

This chapter provides a critical perspective on teachers' theories of action outlined in Chapter Six of this study. The critical perspective is achieved by applying three elements of critical social science that highlight a theory of false consciousness, a theory of crisis and a theory of transformation (Fay, 1987). Reference is made to six themes that emerged during the data collection process to identify the critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action. These themes are defined as the "personal", "pedagogical", "definitional", "practical", "political" and "professional". The analysis draws upon data from inner and outer reference groups as well as relevant findings from the research literature to illustrate the full range of issues that impact on teachers' theories. A conceptual model shows how the three elements and six themes are interconnected. The chapter concludes by identifying a set of ten critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action as they engage young adolescents in meaningful forms of civics and citizenship education.

Identifying Critical Issues Using Key Elements and Themes

In order to provide a critical perspective on the issues influencing teachers' theories of action, the analysis process links the theory of false consciousness to a critique of teachers' self understanding, it links a theory of crisis to the ways in which teachers respond to "official knowledge" and

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it links the theory of transformative action to changes that teachers make in their educational settings. The interaction of these elements provides a means of understanding the challenges that teachers face in developing a critical pedagogy of civics and citizenship education in the middle years. This understanding has been gained through the medium of action research.

The following model shows how the three key elements of critical social science, and six themes arising from the data, provide a basis for identifying the critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action. These critical issues inform teachers ' theories of action as they engage in transformative action to enhance civics and citizenship education with young adolescents. This model is proposed as a tool for analysing the nexus between theory and practice and also provides a conceptual framework for devising professional development programs in civics and citizenship education. It thus addresses the primary, contributing and secondary research questions for the study.

Figure 3. A Model for Analysing Critical Issues

Self-Reflection
The personal
The pedagogical
The definitional

Transformational Action

The professional
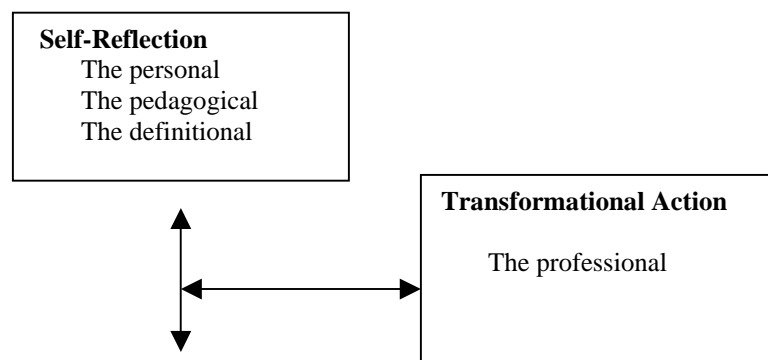
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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│ Confronting "Official        │
│ Knowledge"                   │
│                              │
│   The practical              │
│   The political              │
└─────────────────────────────┘
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The first set of critical issues shows how teachers use action research to engage in critical self-reflection. This process leads to a heightened consciousness of teachers' praxis (Carr and Kemmis, 1983) and an awareness of examples of "false consciousness" (Fay, 1987). These issues are derived from three related themes: namely the "personal", the "pedagogical" and the "definitional". The issues identified in this section relate to the fact that the teaching of civics and citizenship education is a highly personal act that is closely related to the teacher's overall educational philosophy, personal background and commitment to cross curriculum perspectives. Data from the case study schools shows how participating teachers reflected critically on their praxis as the action cycles progressed.

Of relevance to teachers' self-reflection are critical issues relating to the development of appropriate pedagogies that directly address the needs of young adolescents. There are also issues relating to the teacher's personal views on what the concept of citizenship means and what is entailed in teaching civics and citizenship. The analysis shows that teachers are constantly refining their own views on what it means to be a citizen.

The second set of issues refers to a heightened realization by participating teachers of the constraints, obstacles and power relations that influence their praxis. These issues reflect teachers' ability to engage in ideology critique, to engage in resistance, to appreciate legitimation crises (Habermas, 1975) and to highlight the marginalisation of the classroom teachers in the curriculum development process (Reid, 1996). They are related to "practical" and "political" themes that also emerged from the data.

The issues arising in this analysis deal with teachers' propensity to accommodate and/or resist "official knowledge" with respect to policy and curriculum directives. These issues include attitudes to assessment, integration possibilities and access to resources. Also of relevance here are issues concerning institutional constraints and the impact of school ethos on the delivery of civics and citizenship education. On a broader level, there are civic megatrends and civic realities reflecting broad changes in society that impact on teachers and young adolescents. On the whole these are external issues that impact on the teaching and learning situation.

The final set of issues relates to the opportunities for teachers to be involved in transformative action (Fay, 1987). Through such actions teachers may develop a critical pedagogy of civics and citizenship specifically suited to the needs of young adolescents. Reference is made to the insights gained from teacher research and reflection-on-action. These

critical issues are related to a "professional" theme that emerged out of the data.

The issues in this final group derive from actions taken in the school or classroom to transform the teaching of civics and citizenship. These are issues that are related to conversations with colleagues and students that result from the taking of action and the involvement of teachers in professional development programs that influence the ways in which they approach civics and citizenship education. While the participating teachers in this study have not been engaged in dramatic change to school structures and processes, all have been transformative to some extent in promoting democratic forms of education. These actions have highlighted a particular set of critical issues.

The foregoing sets of issues are interconnected in the sense that a raising of participants' self-awareness through an examination of institutional constraints and contradictions can lead to transformative action. As Fay explains:

> A critical theory wants to explain a social order in such a way that it becomes the catalyst that leads to the transformation of this social order (Fay, 1987, p. 2).

The critical issues outlined at the end of this chapter were derived from the combined application of these critical elements and themes. The following analysis shows how the involvement of participating teachers in school-based action research projects led to a heightened consciousness of

their pedagogy, helped them to identify institutional constraints and contradictions impacting on their practice and paved the way for transformative action in the provision of civics and citizenship education for young adolescents.

Critical Self-understanding

The first stage of analysis shows how participating teachers in the case study schools were confronted by a set of issues involving critical self-reflection as they refined their theories of action in relation to civics and citizenship education. The following discussion of issues relating to critical self-understanding and false consciousness, draws upon the themes that developed during the data analysis phase of the project with a particular emphasis on "the personal", "the pedagogical" and "the definitional".

The personal.

There are obviously many personal factors that may influence a teacher's approach to citizenship education. These range from: the teacher's personal philosophy on life and their involvement in the community; their exposure to political knowledge in their professional training; their personal response to teacher training; their gender, ethnicity and significant life experiences. Through their involvement in action research at individual school sites, participating teachers in this study developed a critical understanding of how these personal factors influenced their theories.

A teacher's personal philosophy of life and their views on social participation have the potential to influence their approach to citizenship education. In acting out their lives as citizens in the community, teachers become role models for their students. Students readily recognise those teachers who play an active role in community affairs. A teacher's personal philosophy on citizenship will impact on their teaching either consciously or unconsciously. This is borne out in each of the case studies.

In the Sunland Case Study, Graham's personal philosophy is immediately evident in his approach to civics and citizenship education.

> I guess that my basic philosophy with kids is that in many cases there's no right or wrong answer. It's about choice and it's my basic philosophy that kids have to be responsible for what they do. We as teachers have to give them the skills to make appropriate choices. I think we need to teach them about values and I think we perform an important role in getting them to make those appropriate choices (Graham, 2/11/98).

A number of the participating teachers play significant roles in community activities. This is best illustrated by Graham who is actively involved in the State Emergency Service. Students, parents and staff are well aware of his role in that organization.

> People in the school community are aware of my work in the SES and of course other staff have interests of their own. As a result of my SES background, we have a whole school approach to Safety. We take a full day each year to deal with school safety where we bring in lifesavers, people from Country Energy and the Ambulance Service. These are also role models from the community. Then there is Julie and her focus on the environment. She lives in the community whereas another

teacher has a leading role with the Soccer Club in a neighbouring community (Graham, 16/12/01).

Included in the "personal" theme are influences that mould the individual's attitude to the political process. Broader influences at a professional and institutional level are included under the "political theme". Political knowledge is initially gained through family influences that can have a lasting impact on teachers' practice. Participating teachers in this study readily acknowledge these influences.

> My mum was very Labor and my dad was a right wing sort of person and they were always arguing. Now my children will go and argue with my parents (Renata, 30/10/98).

> I came from a rural background. My parents have always been Country Party. When I got to uni there were all these different ideas and that's when my interest in politics started (Keith, 30/10/98).

In the pilot study, respondents confirm that a teachers' family background has a significant influence on their approach to civics and citizenship education. Of particular relevance are the moral training and role-modelling provided by their own parents.

> I'm typical of a middle class high school teacher. My parents were positive role models. I was taught to take responsibility for my actions and that affects how I operate as a citizen today (Joe, May 1997).

> My parents greatly influenced me. They provided guidance based on their religious beliefs. They worked for St Vincent de Paul here people were caring about each other (Joan, May 1997).

I'm the lucky one. Many kids today don't have that influence. I approach civics and citizenship education the way I approach all teaching - using a holistic approach (Joan, May 1997).

Also of significance are the teachers' experiences in positions of authority – especially where these experiences provided insights into the home backgrounds of students. Critical reflection on their roles led participants to a realization that experience in leadership positions had a significant influence on their theories of action.

My personal experiences as a head teacher and year co-ordinator show me that children today are coming from dysfunctional families. There are street kids in our school. We have 60 independent students in our school – disconnected from their families. Family structure just doesn't operate (Joe, May 1997).

There is a strong emphasis on the importance of teachers as role models for students:

I think if we are to focus only on civics and citizenship content we aren't going to do much good. The most important role models for many of these kids are their teachers. Civics and citizenship education is very much about positive modelling by teachers and other community members. My upbringing and my professional experiences affect my approach (Joe, May 1997).

In recent years teacher training institutions have placed greater emphasis on citizenship education, especially within Key Learning Areas such as SOSE (or HSIE in NSW) and PDHPE. However for most of the teachers participating in this study, initial teacher training took place some 20 years ago and few could identify any specific instruction in civics or citizenship education. Generally they could not recall any professional

development activities directly addressing this area of teaching and learning.

> I didn't have anything on civics and citizenship in my training. I only did a one year Dip Ed. I think we had 6 hours of Maths and it was really pushed in. I don't remember anything on Civics (Jane, 7/12/99).

> I can't remember doing anything at college on citizenship education but I do remember a few resources around the place. Like you I can remember column programming and there was a heading for moral education or something like that (Graham, 2/11/98).

While some participating teachers encountered political science courses in their degree programs, most believed that their background knowledge on politics had developed incidentally through life experiences and exposure to the mass media. In a number of cases participants reported that they had gained political knowledge by actually teaching the topic and by taking students on excursions to parliament and local councils.

> When I finished my training I was not very aware of how the system worked. I've learnt more since I started teaching. It's actually been a requirement of the course that you teach about government. I've learnt more about the nuts and bolts and what government is all about by teaching it (Keith, 30/10/98).

> And our trips too! (Renata, 30/10/98).

> Oh yes the excursions to Canberra and Sydney. We always make sure we get the kids into question time and we learn a lot there as well (Keith, 30/10/98).

The action research steps undertaken in schools led to the realization that personal identification of teachers in terms of their gender, class, ethnic background or sexual preference may have a distinct bearing on their approach to citizenship and citizenship education. Of particular significance is the impact of female role models in the political process.

> We have a female staff member who is a local councillor and this would influence her approach to citizenship (Jane, 7/12/99).

There is a recognition amongst participants that Indigenous and immigrant teachers have a particular interest in the history of Australian citizenship, including the denial of citizenship status to Aboriginal people till 1967and the impact of the White Australia Policy. Graham (2/11/98) felt that Indigenous teachers would be inclined to reflect critically on their identity as Australian citizens because of discriminatory practices in the past and present. Joe (12/10/01) believed that teachers from immigrant backgrounds would tend to focus particularly on aspects of dual citizenship and the contributions of immigrant groups to Australia's national identity.

Male and female participants in the study actively encourage girls to become involved in SRC activities as a way of overcoming the patriarchy that is observed in political affairs. They expect that Indigenous teachers will focus specifically on identity aspects of citizenship education, thereby adopting a transformative approach to education. On the other hand, they believe that non-Indigenous teachers of conservative background

deliberately avoid such controversial aspects of citizenship education. The personal background of teachers strongly influences their ability and willingness to engage in ideology critique. A critical issue for any teacher is the degree to which they are willing to engage in transformative action when approaching citizenship education.

The participating teachers in this study identified a number of personal issues that are reflected in the literature on citizenship education. One such issue concerning the importance of teachers' background knowledge is highlighted by Alexander and Logan (1997) in their rationale for developing the Informed Citizenship Project. The rationale is based on a perceived need by the Department of Education, Education, Training and Youth Affairs to provide professional development programs for teachers featuring discipline renewal of citizenship education knowledge. As Alexander and Logan (1997) argue: "all would agree that this is an area of school knowledge that had been neglected for far too long and a good place to begin remediation was with the teachers" (p.2). There is perhaps less agreement on the types of knowledge that teachers require. The critical issue of achieving an appropriate balance between content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge is an important aspect of teachers' self-reflection.

Another critical issue in teacher self-reflection concerns the teaching of values. Teachers' values are particularly critical in influencing student values. As acknowledged by Graham in the Sunland case study, teachers

dealing with controversial issues related to citizenship will sometimes be inculcating values and at other times clarifying values. No matter how effective they are in disguising their personal beliefs, most agree that their own values, consciously or subconsciously, affect the programs that they deliver. The literature on civics and citizenship education abounds with studies pointing to the centrality of values (Hill, 1993, 1996 ; Dufty, 1995; Kennedy, 2001; Clark, 1996; Risinger, 1992; Thomson, 1996) and participants in this study showed clearly how their theories of action are driven by environmental and social values.

Data from this study support the finding of Gilbert, Carr and Singh (1995) that teachers involved in community action projects tend to hold widely varying views about what constitutes citizenship. Gilbert, Carr and Singh (1995) argue that education for active citizenship should focus on commitment and understanding as well as developing a set of skills. When it comes to dealing with issues of identity and the major curriculum perspectives (including gender, Aboriginal and multicultural), the teacher's own sense of identity becomes a critical issue.

In reflecting critically on their theories of action, teachers emphasised the inter-connectedness of their roles as teachers and as active members of the community. There was an inter-connectedness about their involvement in formal and informal modes of instruction on civics and citizenship. This was evident in each of the case studies and teachers' theories of action

reflected the ways in which they accommodated both formal and informal modes of instruction.

The pedagogical

Further analysis of the data from this study reveals a set of critical issues related to teachers' pedagogical approaches to civics and citizenship education in the middle years. As participating teachers engaged in action research projects they confronted a series of pedagogical issues influencing their theories of action. These issues were related to the adoption of appropriate teaching strategies, integration across Key Learning Areas, teacher involvement in curriculum development, formal versus informal instruction and a range of related teaching and learning issues. The actions taken by participating teachers allowed them to develop a heightened consciousness of pedagogies that suit the needs of young adolescents. Their theories of action have been directly influenced by the pedagogical issues outlined below.

In approaching civics and citizenship education, teachers in the case study schools reflected on their use of a wide variety of approaches. From time to time all have approached civics education in a didactic fashion, carefully outlining the structure and processes of government and showing how political institutions have developed over time. On other occasions they have rejected this approach, preferring to involve students in practical activities and allowing them to develop key concepts through experience.

The same pattern applies to the broader curriculum area of citizenship education, with some of the participating teachers occasionally using didactic, teacher-centred approaches to the treatment of rights and responsibilities and issues related to national identity. Other participating teachers approach citizenship education by involving students in community projects, class parliaments, student representative councils and/or mock parliaments. This was evident at each of the case study sites.

The range of approaches reported in this study reflects a debate over pedagogy that is evident in the research literature and reported in Chapter Three. The teachers in this study occasionally represent a wider group of practitioners who focus on the importance of content knowledge (Saunders, 1996; Donnelly, 1997) but more commonly they represent those who focus on process, or going "beyond facts" (Kymlicka, 1999; Common, 1994; Osborne, 1991; and Giroux, 1989). The move towards benchmarking in civics and citizenship education (Salvaris 1995; Print and Gray, 1996) with its focus on knowledge and skill outcomes is likely to have a significant impact on pedagogies employed in the classroom.

The secondary teacher involved in the pilot study is one who expressed a particular view about the importance of content knowledge:

> In the general area of social sciences we have taught topics related to government. We have taught topics particularly related to the legal system. I see these things as being important. But at the end of the day I don't think it makes much difference to whether these students end up being good citizens or not.

> Whether they know about our government or our legal system really doesn't make much difference to the way they act and behave. So personally I don't think content is that important. I think the more important thing is that these students value the freedoms and rights that they have. I personally think that the role of the junior high school is to get students to act responsibly in group situations – with their peer group (Joe, May, 1997).

The development of precise outcomes in civics and citizenship education is viewed by participating teachers and others in the profession as a means of enhancing the credibility of this field of study (Print and Gray, 1996) and his view was generally supported by participants in this study. In NSW, benchmarking projects have led to the development of basic skills tests in civics and citizenship for Year 10 and Year 6 students. By taking assessment of outcomes seriously, it is felt that more emphasis will be placed on the development of appropriate pedagogies.

Reflecting critically on this trend, participating teachers such as Joe argue that an over-emphasis on knowledge outcomes rather than process outcomes will have a deleterious effect on the way in which citizenship education is taught. While agreeing that the assessment of active citizenship outcomes can be problematic, Joe reported on his experience in the USA. As an exchange teacher he noted that participation in a community project (or service learning) was included in the assessment requirements of a secondary school program.

> In my American middle school a third of the assessment in one of our social studies courses was for citizenship activities in the school and in the community. My class had responsibility for

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cleaning up the land adjoining a section of the interstate freeway. Students also got recognition and reward for helping in a pre school and an old folks home. I think this develops some transfer between school citizenship and community citizenship. To have citizenship education as part of the assessment system is a critical issue (Joe, 5/1997).

Where civics and citizenship education are closely aligned to the teaching of SOSE or HSIE, the pedagogy is naturally linked with the norms of that Key Learning Area. However even within this Key Learning Areas there may be differences between historians and geographers in the ways that they approach civics and citizenship. While this was significant for secondary teachers, the primary teachers in this study approached citizenship education in a holistic manner spanning a range of Key Learning Areas and this involves the use of a variety of teaching strategies.

Citizenship education needs to be approached from an holistic viewpoint and raise issues that that have real meaning to kids of this age (10 – 11 - 12). They need to be involved in things like role play, debating about issues related to their lives and they need to do interviews and engage in projects around the school and in the community. There is a need for recognition of their efforts. Successes need to be celebrated (Janice, 5/1997).

The data collected in this study confirm the view that there is a continuing debate about the role of History in civics and citizenship education. There is recognition of the strong views about the role of History in civics and citizenship education as espoused by Osborne (1995), Macintyre (1996), Young (1996) and Mellor (1996). Amongst this group,

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Macintyre (1996) laments the decline of history as a key area in the school curriculum and makes a link with civics education:

> I think the history curriculum has retreated from civic concerns. The old, triumphal story of nation building has been abandoned, and so it should be, but in its place we have a bewildering array of options, most of them lacking narrative coherence and exploring particular experiences and identities at the expense of holistic understanding of historical process (p. 62).

The issue of how History teachers approach civics and citizenship is raised in the Lakes High School case study and also figures prominently in the literature. Young (1996, p. 70) recognizes that the "old conceptions of History" still persist including their association with traditionalism. However she argues that a new History has been developed to bring life to the study of civics and citizenship. Young argues that the new History offers "unique pathways for the development of critical understandings and participatory skills" (p. 70). Mellor (1996) seeks to establish how History contributes to the development of a citizenship curriculum. In doing so she goes out on a limb to assert that "the conceptual pedagogical model is the only one which will provide meaningful outcomes" (p. 74). Further, Mellor (1996) argues, "teachers of citizenship, if given their heads, will make a mockery of discipline-based pedagogy" (p. 79).

Teachers of young adolescents face a particular dilemma in this regard. The argument for teaching citizenship education through specific disciplines like History seems to fly in the face of calls for an integrated

approach to civics and citizenship education – especially from those involved in the middle schooling movement (Cumming, 1994). As teachers in this study adopted integrated approaches to civics and citizenship education they were aware of the need to preserve the integrity of particular disciplines as well as engaging student interest.

Participants in this study were aware of research studies suggesting that SOSE as a Key Learning Area "is in no shape to deliver the goals of citizenship effectively" (Moroz, 1996, p. 64) and that "civics" is a word that's just not used in many schools (Moroz, 1999). However, it was felt that the inclusion of active citizenship as one of the key curriculum organisers in the Queensland New Basics program may provide a solution. If active citizenship is being studied in a rigorous way under this program and moved to the very centre of the curriculum school, it may allay some of the fears expressed by proponents of a single discipline approach.

With the release of new curriculum materials, teachers have gained access to ready-made units of work (Land, 1997) that include suggested teaching strategies. In these instances a suggested pedagogy is provided or at least strongly suggested. All of the teachers participating in this study valued such guidance. On the other hand, the experienced teachers in this group (including Graham, Renata and Joe) were active in developing their own units of work to accommodate local needs or to coincide with current national and international events. Such units are often based on a highly

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personal pedagogy, in turn reflecting a deeply personal philosophy of citizenship education. Teachers may draw on outcomes from relevant curriculum documents but may also draw upon other sources.

The individual teachers in this study favoured particular strategies whilst engaging students in citizenship education. Graham in particular used newspapers in the classroom as a means of ensuring relevance and currency. There is a strong link here with literacy programs, when teachers use newspapers and other media to teach text types and to develop critical thinking skills. Such techniques figured strongly in the theories of action of participating teachers.

The teachers in this study (Renata and Graham in particular) emphasized the importance of teaching critical thinking skills as part of a civics and citizenship education program. There was a particular interest in helping students to analyse media reports. The critical issue is one of preparing citizens who are able to analyse media reports effectively and make judgments accordingly. This approach has wide support in the literature from Osborne (1991), Giroux (1994a) and Kennedy (2000) and Apple (2000).

Each of the case study schools offers forms of citizenship education involving extra-curricular activities such as school assemblies, student representative councils, community projects and camps. These figure largely in teachers' theories of action and can involve events that are

relatively spontaneous and unplanned. Citizenship education thus forms

part of the school's "hidden curriculum" as well as the visible curriculum.

These holistic activities sit alongside formal classroom instruction based on

mandated curricula but may include objectives that are not so cautiously

articulated.

A teacher in the pilot study explained how students at his school had

gained from practical experience in a community project when their class

teacher encouraged them to join in an environmental project.

> At my current school we have a teacher who ran an environmental education course – planting trees in the local park. Students had responsibility for planting and caring for trees. They got a lot of rewards for that and developed a sense of community, responsibility and citizenship. I believe in the hands on approach. You have to act out citizenship and be part of it (Joe, May 1997).

This response resulted in an entry to my professional journal.

> My thoughts were drawn back today to the project we ran at my last school in Victoria. Working with the local council we took Year 7 students down to a park by the river each Wednesday. The children planted trees by the river bank to prevent erosion and engaged in a range of inter-disciplinary environmental activities. When some vandals destroyed a sign to celebrate the project the students became incensed and insisted that the sign be re-erected. I know that these students have visited the site in later life and are proud of their achievements when they see the revegetated site. (Field notes, May, 1997).

While teachers in this study recognized that it was important to

program for civics and citizenship in a formal way, many wanted to leave

open the possibility of serendipity. A unit of work with a focus on rights

and responsibilities planned precisely to cover over a two-week period may best be treated sporadically as issues arise in the classroom or around the school and community. This approach was confirmed by teachers participating in this study (and especially Graham who regularly deviated from the planned units of work). The critical issue is one of flexibility and immediacy. Graham's theory is that meaningful learning takes place when issues are dealt with as they arise in the school community and have direct relevance to his students. His theory of action thus contains elements of authentic pedagogy.

For the teachers participating in this study, there were often two distinct pedagogies running side by side. There was the formal teaching of civics and citizenship within the confines of the classroom and there was the involvement of students in forms of social participation such as school parliaments. In theory, the two pedagogies were seen to interact but often there was little direct linkage between the formal classroom-based lessons and student council activities.

The exceptions to this were situations where direct teaching of social skills took place in classrooms as a prelude to students using these skills in practical school-based activities (as in Greentrees and Sunland). On occasions, student council representatives were afforded instruction in leadership skills outside the classroom but in special organized camp situations. The schools such as Greentrees that had instituted class

parliaments often employed pedagogies that brought the formal and informal aspects of citizenship education together.

For some secondary teachers at the Lakes High School, civics and citizenship were seen as "additional" components to existing social science programs and as such they were accorded a low status. In other situations (at Hilltop and Sunland), civics and citizenship were placed at the very centre of the teaching act. Graham in particular saw citizenship education as a common component linking all basic skills. This obviously had ramifications for his pedagogy as he used themes from citizenship education as a basis fro programming.

For teachers such as Jane and Graham who saw strong links between citizenship education, personal development and life skills, there was a strong reliance on strategies involving values clarification and moral dilemmas. Civics and citizenship programs represent an opportunity for students and teachers to engage in meaningful dialogue on a range of civic issues. Within the case study schools civic issues included law and order (Sunland), protection of the environment (Sunland and the Lakes), community development (Northlands), respect for the elderly (Hilltop and Sunland) and Indigenous rights (Greentrees).

Jane and Graham in particular saw a strong link between students' social participation and their sense of self-esteem. Consequently the pedagogies that they employed in citizenship education had an emphasis

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on esteem building. This was particularly important for those students who normally gained little public recognition. One school (Sunland) employed a Kid of the Week program to ensure that all children had a chance to have their attributes publicly recognized. The theory was that this public recognition and positive reinforcement would encourage such students to become more actively involved in the school community. This focus on building self-esteem accords closely with research on the needs of adolescents (Hargreaves and Earl, 1990; Braggett, 1997). A critical issue for each teacher in this study has been the development of a theory of action suited to the specific needs of young adolescents.

A common theme developing out of the case studies was the issue of student involvement and ownership. All the participating teachers encouraged students to be involved in decision-making and to develop a sense of ownership of the projects that they undertook. This was particularly evident in the case of student representative councils and school parliaments. However it was evident at Greentrees and Northlands that teachers use guided democracy to lead students towards worthwhile projects so student ownership of projects may in fact be illusory.

In instances where schools had set up school parliaments or student representative councils, it was evident that only a few select students had an opportunity to experience democracy in action. Teachers such as Renata and Keith, who expressed concern about this issue, implemented strategies

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that increased involvement by a wider range of students. The holding of class parliaments in conjunction with school parliaments provided the potential for more students to become involved in the decision making process. Efforts were made to have class groups visit the school parliament as a gallery group, to view the passage of particular proposals. In some instances the scope of the school parliament was broadened to include sports captains. This was a way in which equity concerns could be addressed because Indigenous students were commonly elected as sports captains and this was one way of involving them in the broader decision making process.

The emphasis on school parliaments and student councils, as a way of learning about democracy, was shared by all participants in this study. The approach is supported by evidence from Holdsworth (1996) regarding the connectedness between participation and citizenship. The critical issue is one of giving greater credence to the learnings that take place in such forums and making a connection between these learnings and those that occur in the formal classroom. The class parliament concept seems to make such a connection.

In developing a pedagogy of citizenship education, each teacher sought to achieve a balance between the need for content knowledge and the need for skill development. This applied to student representative council activities as well as to classroom activities. In the formal classroom, the

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teacher establishes what sort of knowledge input is required and when it should be introduced. Some may prefer to provide such input at the start of a unit. Others prefer to involve students in activities and then provide additional input when the need arises. A critical issue developing out of this study is the challenge that teachers face in finding a suitable balance between content development and skill development.

When dealing with personal and national identity as part of a citizenship education program, the teachers in this study were faced with a number of challenges pertaining to their own sense of identity and that of their students. Some such as Ingrid addressed such issues directly, by explaining how they took on Australian citizenship after coming to Australia as a migrant. Others felt they would deal with identity issues quite cautiously if they have a large number of recent immigrants amongst their students. In raising the matter of Indigenous identity teachers at Greentrees, the Lakes High and Sunland said they would rely on local elders to provide most of the input. Their belief is that identity is a deeply personal matter and needs to be handled sensitively.

However, identity is also a concept that has national and international overtones. This study shows that participating teachers (especially Joe and Graham) were keen to establish connections with global issues as they dealt with local issues. Their theories of action included the study of citizenship

issues amongst Indigenous people, as well as social justice, migration and environmental issues on a global scale.

The theories of action for participants in this study were based on assumption that students need real world experiences when learning about political systems. In cases where it was impractical to take students on excursions to houses of parliament, it was possible to have local members or councillors to visit the school (as at Greentrees and Northlands). The participating teachers in this study generally had a positive opinion about the impact of travelling educators from the Parliamentary Education Office who previously visited schools in regional areas. A number of participants recognized the need for teachers to have expert role models in dealing with citizenship education. When discussing the student-centred approach to learning one participant commented:

> There are very few teachers who have those genuine skills to run that sort of program and they are few and far between. I reckon if the Department of Education could encapsulate that and bottle it and spray it over the rest of us, that would be fantastic (Joe, 17/12/99).

An experience-based pedagogy of citizenship education not only applies to practices in the individual classroom. It may also relate to whole school practices. At each of the case study sites school assemblies were significant vehicles for addressing citizenship education. In the Lakes High school, a teaming approach was employed to enable teachers to get to know students on a more personal basis through a year level assembly. Recognition was

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given at special Year 7 assemblies to students who displayed citizenship skills.

A key issue for participating teachers was the development of strategies to address curriculum perspectives. In some of the case study schools (Greentrees and the Lakes High) assemblies were used to address Indigenous issues. Others addressed such issues in the context of the formal curriculum. One of the student teachers contributing the web-based Education for Citizenship Forum reported on a technique used by a mentor teacher to highlight an Indigenous perspective:

> I did some work with the Discovering Democracy Kit during my last practicum. On of the most enlivened responses from the Year 5/6 class came while a teacher was introducing the "Freedom Ride" component of the "People Power" unit. He glibly announced that the managers of the local pool had contacted him to say that children from this particular primary school were no longer allowed to swim at the pool due to a nit infestation in the school. Children from other schools were not banned. After a while the children realized that this was a joke, but their indignantly emotive response showed how I think Civics and Citizenship can be effectively taught to this age group (Lottie, 26/3/01)

The trainee teacher was able to develop a theory of action based on these and other experiences:

> Learning is more effective when that learning is centred around material that is meaningful to the learner. It may be difficult to find content that students of this age have strong opinions about. However there is often stuff going on at the community level that affects adolescents and their rights. For example the existence of public spaces where skate-boarding is prohibited may be a point for debate (Lottie, 26/3/01).

In recent years, educators have made greater use of educational technologies to enhance the learning environment in fields such as citizenship education. The Discovering Democracy kits used an array of high quality readers, videos, CD–ROMS, web sites and posters to promote citizenship education. A number of participating teachers noted the sophistication of young adolescents with respect to new technologies. It is recognized that teachers need to utilise these technologies to attract student attention. Teachers in this study confirm the view that teachers need to be aware of the characteristics of the "techno" generation when planning programs in civics and citizenship education (Kennedy, 2000). Otherwise they will be faced by a "considerable disjunction between the message of civics education and the lived experience of students" (Kennedy, 2000, p. 9).

The data collected in this study show clearly how teachers' choice of pedagogy is related to their personal philosophy of teaching. Those who adopt a transformative rather than reproductive approach to teaching are more likely to approach civics and citizenship education in a holistic manner. They are less likely to focus on a narrow set of outcomes handed down by a central authority and are more likely stress the emancipatory aspects of education for future citizenship (Hunter and Jiminez, 1998).

It is evident from the above discussion that teachers' theories of action in civics and citizenship education are influenced by a range of pedagogical issues. This study has highlighted a number of issues relating to content

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knowledge and pedagogical knowledge but in the middle school context this may not be enough.

> A deep understanding of subject matter knowledge and appropriate pedagogy will go a long way towards equipping teachers of civics, but it will probably not go far enough. As the abundant literature on middle schooling attests, one of the most significant needs for young adolescents is the development of relationships with significant adults (Cumming, 1996, p. 9).

This theme is further developed by Kennedy (2000) who describes the skills and strategies that are required of civics (and citizenship) teachers when engaging with students in the middle years of schooling:

> Increasingly teachers are being asked to perform roles that take them beyond that of simple dispensers of knowledge. Civics teachers are no exception. The more they introduce students to ideas about rights and responsibilities, about social and political participation and about the common values that tie people together, the less they can stand back and fail to get involved in the lives of their students. Relationship building follows naturally from the fundamentals of civics. (Kennedy, 2000, p. 9)

At each of the case study sites, teachers developed close working relationships with young adolescents especially in relation to student representative council activities. Teachers' theories of action showed that they were prepared to get involved with the issues that concern their students. In doing so, they had opportunities to reflect on the function and meaning of civics and citizenship education.

The definitional

Throughout the course of this project, participating teachers had opportunities to distinguish between civics and citizenship education. In

some cases they were refreshingly honest in saying that they were unclear about the distinction. In most cases however, they aligned civics education with formal teaching about government structures and processes. There was little consensus on what citizenship education entailed except that most emphasized the active element of being involved in democratic processes at the school or community level.

In some cases, the practising teachers in this study saw the distinction between civics and citizenship education as being one of academic interest only. They noted that in much of the academic and professional literature, the combined term "Civics and Citizenship Education" (CCE) was being used more often to describe the field of study without making a clear distinction between the two elements. They noted that the original emphasis of the Discovering Democracy Project was on civics education but felt that as practising teachers became involved in the project, there was a conscious effort made to include broader aspects of citizenship education.

The foregoing discussion over the semantic difference between civics and citizenship education raises a number of issues from a critical perspective. When interest in civics and citizenship education was revived in the last decade of the 20th century each of the terms was aligned with a different philosophical and educational tradition. Participants in this study recalled how civics education was traditionally aligned with a cognitive approach to teaching that focused on learning about the structure and

processes of government. They also suggested that it had an affective element that conjured up notions of didactic teaching about being a "good" citizen. This was not surprising as civic and moral education formed a distinct part of the traditional social studies curriculum where it was associated with the telling of moral stories.

For participants such as Joe, citizenship education is aligned with yet another tradition that goes back to the concept of schooling for democracy. This concept is associated with an approach to learning that encourages students to be active participants in the learning process, to be actively involved in the running of the school and to be actively involved in community projects. In lay terms, citizenship education is often linked with the programs designed for recent immigrants who are planning to take out citizenship of a new country. Here there is an emphasis on gaining the knowledge and skills that will enable an individual to participate fully in society and to appreciate the norms of the host country.

The participants in this study were aware that politicians and educational bureaucrats often used the term citizenship education when they really meant civics education. The practising teachers themselves have often maintained a jaundiced view of civics education because of their own experiences of the education system. It is evident from this study that all participants felt it was important to teach about government structures and processes. Some felt uncomfortable about delving into the controversial

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areas of citizenship and identity whilst others (such as Joe) felt that the latter elements were the most important.

Teachers participating in this study, through dialogue with their colleagues and their students, developed an awareness of the ways in which the meaning of the term "citizen" is constantly changing. Alexander relates this definitional problem to historical factors:

> The problem of definition may lie with the influence history has over meaning. That is, we often no longer mean what the meaning used to be. The original meaning for citizen as a reference to an affiliated city, gave way to an affiliation with a country. Now, that may not be a sufficient reference. The term 'citizen' may need to be restructured to give added breadth and depth (Alexander, 1993, p.8).

This continuing dialogue over the meaning of citizenship and the difference between citizenship education and civics education has a strong influence on teachers' theories of action. These theories of action are constantly changing as the key concepts are redefined. On the other hand, personal and pedagogical issues impacting on teachers' theories are likely to be more stable in their impact.

Critique of "Official Knowledge"

The second set of issues impacting on teachers' theories of action are less introspective in nature and focus more on teachers' responses to external forces. Included here are teacher responses to institutional obstacles and constraints, contradictions between theory and practice, the impact of power relations, critique of dominant ideologies and "official

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knowledge", identification of legitimation crises and forms of accommodation and resistance to official policy on civics and citizenship education.

The contributing research question for this study provided scope for identification of constraints, contradictions and power relations that prevent teachers from employing strategies that they know, intuitively, will be appropriate for students in the middle years. This question was framed specifically to suit the experienced profile of the teachers participating in the study.

The analysis of data from this study shows that there are often contradictions between the stated aims of school systems and individual schools compared with the actual programs on civics and citizenship that are put into place. It was noted during this study that citizenship may be promoted as a priority for the public school system but very few funds were allocated at the state level to promote citizenship education. Many individual schools had citizenship in their school motto but often there was only token recognition of those who displayed good citizenship.

There is a clear disjuncture between espoused theories and theories-in-use when schools purport to teach about democratic principles but operate very autocratically, providing individual teachers or students with few opportunities to engage in decision-making. School systems, schools and classrooms are often un-democratic in their structure, thus leaving students

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with few opportunities to develop responsibility. While each of the case study schools in this study had a form of student governance, there was little evidence that these student bodies made significant decisions about the conduct of the school.

In terms of power relations, teachers often feel that they have little power when a top-down approach to curriculum development is utilised. This was found particularly amongst a minority of secondary Geography teachers at the Lakes High School who felt that civics and citizenship represented just another "trendy" inclusion in the curriculum. Teacher resistance can be a powerful force unless such perceptions are addressed.

In some instances the action research projects in individual schools showed evidence of ideology critique and revelations of false consciousness. This was evident when teachers such as Joe realized that pedagogies suited to a civics approach could not be applied to broader citizenship education. There was also a questioning of the motives behind a policy that stressed content knowledge without providing a focus on process.

To some extent teacher resistance to the use of appropriate pedagogies for young adolescents could be traced back to a perceived lack of high quality resources and administrative constraints within schools. Although the provision of high quality resources has been overcome to some extent by distribution of Discovering Democracy kits and access to professional

development programs geared to the use of these resources in the classroom, it was commonly found in this study that resources have not always found their way to the teachers who could most benefit from them.

Where there is an emphasis on subject-oriented outcomes mandated by centralized authorities, teachers feel limited in their freedom to use integrated approaches to civics and citizenship education. This is reinforced by the type of training provided for secondary teachers, that tends to be subject-oriented. New training programs for middle school teachers may help to address this issue however in the meantime there is little incentive for History and Geography teachers at the Lakes High School to compare notes on what is being taught in civics and citizenship.

While official emphasis has been placed on resources development and student outcomes through programs such as the Discovering Democracy Project, there has been little emphasis on the development of appropriate pedagogies. It is conceded that the Discovering Democracy kits and training programs provide some suggested strategies but little substantive research seems to have been carried out on a pedagogy of civics and citizenship education, especially in the middle years. Teachers from the case study schools who sought to attend the Discovering Democracy courses were either rejected due to pressure on places or could only attend for one day. This left little time to examine relevant pedagogies after teachers were familiarized with course content and resources.

Little emphasis has been placed on civics and citizenship in teacher training and professional development programs except through the Discovering Democracy Project. Participating teachers in this study expressed some reticence about adopting new approaches to civics and citizenship education where they felt that their own technology skills were lacking. Ironically, it is often the ICT approach that appeals most directly to the interests of a "techno" generation.

Under the pressure of rapid curriculum change, teachers in this study (such as those at Hilltop) expressed caution in adopting initiatives until they were officially mandated. The participating teachers in this study showed awareness of the Draft Citizenship Education Framework K-10 produced by the NSW Board of Studies (1996) but had not acted to implement it. This document provided a clear rationale for citizenship education, stating in part:

> All young Australians should engage in learning experiences that enable them to understand how their society operates; to understand the foundations upon which their democratic society is based; to understand their rights and responsibilities; to understand and apply the principle of civic liberty, which emphasizes freedom of action within the law; and to understand the rule of law and to understand how changes to the law may be made (NSW Board of Studies, 1996, p.1).

While the response to this rationale was positive, many teachers focused on the term "draft" in the title of the document and also took note of the warning "This is not a syllabus" inscribed on each page. Given the

pressure of accommodating other mandated sections of the syllabus, practitioners in a number of case study schools decided to set this document aside until its status had been formalized.

It was evident from the one day seminar and discussions with teachers that there is political pressure on schools to adopt civics and citizenship programs that have a strong knowledge component – with politicians making knee-jerk reactions to polls on perceived deficiencies in political literacy. Teachers at the Lakes High School in particular talk about an overloaded curriculum that makes it difficult for teachers to spend adequate time on development of civics and citizenship concepts. While this was keenly felt at the secondary level it was also mentioned by primary school teachers. The development of integrated programs may provide a solution to this but integrated programs need to be geared to local needs and this can be time-consuming.

Participating teachers were aware of the need to examine current research on the specific needs and characteristics of young adolescents and the types of programs / structures that address these needs. Specific mention was made of the need for students to establish a sense of identity through civics and citizenship programs. It was recognised that young adolescents need opportunities to take on adult or leadership roles and this was evident in the primary school studied. However it was felt in many

secondary schools, leadership positions are taken almost exclusively by students in the senior secondary years.

Non-flexible school structures such as rigid timetable constraints on the development of integrated programs and restrictions on excursions into the community can limit the success of programs that require an active, experiential approach. In each of the case study schools, teachers expressed an interest in conducting more excursions but felt limited because or cost or organizational issues. This limitation is more likely to be overcome in situations where a whole school approach is taken to civics and citizenship education.

In terms of constraints, it was recognised in this study that teachers are not always free to negotiate the curriculum with students in meaningful ways. In many cases negotiation only takes place over insignificant issues. Those teachers who employ democratic approaches tend to feel the pressure of official expectations in an outcomes-based environment. In such situations, teachers are keen to provide students with more control over their learning but may be constrained in doing so because of the need to report on a specified range of outcomes.

Participating teachers such as Graham at Sunland reported that there are suspicions in some sections of the community about the ability of teachers to deal with political issues in an unbiased fashion. This is particularly so in polarized communities where there is conflict over

environmental and development issues. In such communities, teachers feel more comfortable when taking a conservative approach especially at election time.

All of the participating teachers in this study believe it is important for students to see legislative processes in action and thus spend time organizing trips to local councils, state and federal parliaments. However such visits can lead to contradictory moments. As one teacher reported:

> On one occasion when we were studying parliament at first hand we watched the parliamentarians misbehaving. The children were absolutely disgusted. "Is that how we are supposed to behave?" they said (Brian, 7/12/99).

Such reactions provide a dilemma for teachers, especially when they spend a great deal of time organizing excursions. The behaviour of legislators, diminishing the institution of parliament in the eyes of students, can lead young adolescents to be apathetic about democracy. Despite this, the critically reflective teacher in this instance used the experience as a teachable moment. Students came to appreciate that the real world is not perfect; that adults too can act like children. The teacher argued that it is up to future politicians to lift the standard of debate, thereby providing his students from Hilltop Primary with a clear challenge to become active citizens. His theory of action was to turn a potentially negative event into a learning experience but the point remains that the time spent organizing excursions can be constraint on experiential learning.

The practical

Various practical issues emerged out of the data on civics and citizenship education in middle schools. These practical issues related to time constraints, curriculum pressure, Internet access, and the impact of school policies and structures, resources and community pressure on teachers' theories of action.

For the teachers participating in this study, the issue of time constraints was very real. This was particularly true when it came to involvement in extra curricular activities. Most had administrative positions as well as being classroom teachers, so there was little time left for them to devote to student representative council or school parliament duties. Often teachers became involved in these activities over and above their teaching load.

> Often ideas were brought forward by the student body but they were not put into action because they required staff input (Iris, 15/10/98).

Most teachers could spend only limited time in developing student skills through student council meetings. As one teacher reported near the end of year:

> The kids in the parliament are getting really good but the year is virtually over. Next year we'll have to turn round and train another group (Renata, 30/10/98).

In some instances it was a combination of time constraints and other issues that influenced the teaching of civics and citizenship. This secondary teacher sought to express the feelings of social science staff:

There is a degree of cynicism about the attempt to provide a citizenship perspective when schools are left to their own devices to embed this in their programs. Teachers have neither the time nor the expertise to do this. The increasing number of marginalized, disenfranchised and disruptive kids means that teachers are wary about trying anything new (Joe, 10/12/01).

In some instances, existing school structures were seen as practical constraints to the provision of relevant civics and citizenship education.

As Year 7 coordinator I have come to realize that we have a problem in high schools. We have very large groups and this creates problems. Kids enter from feeder primary schools as responsible citizens. These kids come into the school feeling positive and by the end of year 8 we have lost them. It's obvious to me that that the structure we have in the high school is not serving the needs of these students. We need a structure that puts kids into smaller group situations and gives them a chance to display responsibility. It's difficult in a Year 7-12 structure to give responsibility to younger students – so the younger students are forgotten about (Joe, 5/97).

There are numerous interconnected issues here. It was evident from visiting the Lakes High School that some secondary teachers view the introduction of citizenship perspectives as an imposition. They feel that the core area of their subject is already overloaded and they feel that disciplinary issues impact on the ability teachers to introduce new strategies associated with citizenship education. On the other hand, of course, there are secondary teachers who willingly include citizenship perspectives in the curriculum whether they are mandated or not. There are also those who introduce concepts of democratic schooling into their

pedagogies because they see these as ways of ensuring that students are not disenfranchised.

This issue of curriculum pressure was alluded to in the foregoing discussion and has an impact on primary as well as secondary teachers. The professional development programs being conducted in association with the Discovering Democracy project show teachers how to incorporate notions of civics and citizenship without compromising the rest of the curriculum but few teachers across the state have an opportunity to attend such workshops. Participating teachers reported that, to some of their colleagues, citizenship education is seen just another add-on to an already crowded curriculum.

For teachers seeking to keep up to date with trends in civics and citizenship education, the Internet is a valuable source. In this project, there was an attempt to connect participating teachers through a central web site but it was only partially successful. This was because most schools were only just getting to a point where Internet and email access were readily available. Teachers' access to and expertise in using the Internet can be an important factor influencing their theories of action in the classroom.

Some teachers in case study schools who wished to use excursions as a part of a citizenship education program were hampered by school policies allowing each class only one excursion per year. In other case study schools a high priority was placed on the teaching of literacy and numeracy skills,

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leaving little time for the teaching of social skills. This constrained the actions of some participants.

It is certainly true that over the life of the project, teachers gained access to a greater range of high quality resources in civics and citizenship education. The Discovering Democracy Project played a significant role in this respect and government agencies have become more aware of school needs. Commercial publishers have recognized a market in citizenship education and teachers have shown initiative in locating new resources. However, the available resources often do not reach the teachers who could most benefit from them because resources remain in the principal's office or in a hidden part of the library. In some instances (for example at Greentrees Public School) teachers have found that the resources are too difficult for their students to use. In such instances teachers may be forced to revert to more conventional sources, including out-dated texts on Australian government.

Many of the resources being distributed through the Discovering Democracy Project and other sources have a strong emphasis on developing gender, Aboriginal and multicultural perspectives. Of particular note is the "People Power" unit that deals with Freedom Rides in support of Aboriginal rights at the Upper Primary level. However, for some teachers, use of these materials will bring them into conflict with strong community attitudes on Indigenous, immigration and environmental

issues. The degree to which these perspectives are handled directly may depend on the teachers' background knowledge and willingness to challenge community attitudes. The latter was evident at the Hilltop site.

A critical approach seeks to identify examples of false consciousness (Fay, 1987) and contradictions and these can be detected when the practical constraints on Civics and Citizenship education are examined in detail. Of particular note are the comments of participating teachers who feel the impact of curriculum pressure from educational authorities. While encouraging teachers to get involved in civics and citizenship activities, educational authorities have placed strong emphasis on the achievement of literacy goals. Because of community pressure on schools to boost basic skills test results, teachers (especially at the Lakes High School) report that it is increasingly difficult to devote quality time to broader citizenship education activities.

Many of the new resources in civics and citizenship education are based on the assumption that students and teachers are able to make effective use of CD-ROMs and the Internet. While governments are making substantial efforts to improve technology in schools, the reality at the school level is often one of limited access. During the early phase of the project, in the late 1990's it was often the case that participating teachers and their students did not have Internet access in individual classrooms and facilities were not available for class groups to use CD-ROMs. A teacher's theory of action

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may well involve a range of technologies but this will only be sustained if access to technology is reliable.

Although the outcomes of the action research projects at each school were distributed in hard copy form and through the Education for Citizenship web site, it was not always possible throughout the life of the project for teachers to communicate electronically with other participating teachers. This was recorded in my journal:

> The project has now been under way for a year and I have hit some snags in using the web site as a medium for two-way communication. There are problems in gaining access to the university based discussion list for participating teachers. Also at the school level, the quality of email and Internet access is not reliable. Most schools seem to have networking problems (Field notes, 10/98).

Internet access has improved enormously in the past five years. With current levels of Internet access and teacher expertise, it would be possible for greater interaction to occur between participating teachers in the case study schools.

While official encouragement is given for schools to undertake excursions to Canberra and state capitals, there are often financial and administrative constraints operating at the individual and school level to ensure that some students only have access to limited real world experiences. In some case study schools there were reports of limits being placed on the number and length of excursions to reduce the financial burdens on families and to prevent disruptions to the wider curriculum.

On the issue of teacher readiness it is recognized that a professional development program was incorporated in the Discovering Democracy program and this has significantly enhanced the implementation of the project. However there was a limit to the number of places in these professional development programs and, in many regions, demand outstripped supply. On the other hand, very little support was provided for classroom teachers when civics and citizenship components were added to upper primary and lower secondary social science programs. The need for professional development recognised at the federal level (through the Discovering Democracy Project) was not always evident at the state level when new elements were added to Studies of Society and Its Environment (SOSE or HSIE) programs.

For teachers involved in this study, there was evidence of a legitimation crisis affecting the delivery of civics and citizenship education to young adolescents. A legitimation crisis arises when there is a mismatch between "what is" (the reality) and "what ought to be" (the ideal). It occurs when a significant number of people perceive a discrepancy between what is considered the "right" way to approach civics and citizenship education and what actually occurs. The secondary teacher, Joe, made that point forcefully, by suggesting that educational authorities were being overly influenced by political ideology. In this situation teachers are apt to

question the overall legitimacy of educational authorities or social and political arrangements in society at large.

To some extent teacher resistance to the use of appropriate pedagogies for young adolescents could be traced back to a perceived lack of high quality resources and administrative constraints within schools. Although the provision of high quality resources has been overcome to some extent by distribution of Discovering Democracy kits and access to professional development programs geared to the use of these resources in the classroom, it was commonly found in this study that resources have not always found their way to the teachers who could most benefit from them.

The political

At the best of times, teaching is a political act but in the case of civics and citizenship education, political influences on the teaching act are of increased significance. In the fields of civics and citizenship education, political influences from the wider community can strongly influence the content of courses and the availability of resources. Politics plays a significant role at the level of curriculum development, with representatives of particular interest groups lobbying for the inclusion of particular content. Politics operate at the school level to determine the curriculum that is offered in civics and citizenship education. The individual teacher's political views also impact on the approach taken to civics and citizenship education.

In Australia during the 1990's civics and citizenship education were given a boost by Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating who sought to stimulate public discussion of Republicanism. Teachers in this study were well aware of Keating's input although few had specific knowledge of the report that he commissioned by the Civics Expert Group. Teachers were well aware that the incoming conservative government maintained the momentum in civics and citizenship education by introducing the Discovering Democracy project. Paul Keating's views on Republicanism and the report of the Civics Expert Group may have revived interest in the area of civics and citizenship but teachers were also aware that the Discovering Democracy Project carried the stamp of the incoming conservative government.

At a state level, ministers of education provided varied levels of support for civics and citizenship education. In NSW, the Labor premier Bob Carr has consistently displayed a personal interest in political history (albeit with a focus on American history) and the Director General of Education was a member of the Civics Expert Group so it was not surprising to see the NSW department publishing Draft Guidelines for Citizenship Education. Classroom teachers in the case study schools could see there was high level support for citizenship education and teachers' response was naturally coloured by their own political allegiances.

In the Lakes High school, teachers felt that citizenship education had been imposed upon an already crowded curriculum. This was particularly so in the case of Geography teachers who had misgivings about the direction of the new syllabus:

> There has been a certain resentment about an imposed syllabus. Teachers feel that their opinions have been ignored. There has been interference by the Premier and the Minister. Their particular biases have been resented particularly by Geography teachers (Joe, 17/12/99).

In other instances, teachers have been frustrated by perceived changes of emphasis in civics and citizenship. Political influence is seen to impact on the policies of Departments of Education and this has an impact on teachers' propensity to accommodate such changes.

> The Department's priorities are always changing. Civics seems to be a topic that is in and out of fashion (Renata, 18/12/01).

Participating teachers were happy to give recognition to successful programs. The Discovering Democracy kits were well received by teachers – even left wing teachers who were not generally supportive of the Federal government's education policies. However, many of the teachers in the case study schools who praised the Discovering Democracy materials were still very cautious in their support for educational policies in general. Teachers saw general trends occurring that were plainly undemocratic. They expressed misgivings about overall approaches to education based on economic rationalist philosophies.

> The government agenda is changing. The profession is changing. Children are not necessarily at the centre of education any more. Quality assurance is seen to be more important. People in places of power and authority seem to see education more as a business – as Kerry Packer would. They are concerned with outputs and value added. They don't take human emotions and feelings into account. The kids and the staff need to be considered. We're not bloody robots. We have private lives that impact on our teaching and learning (Graham, 24/10/01).

If teachers feel that economic rationalism is having an impact on educational policy, their attitude to citizenship education is likely to be affected. Some of the participating teachers found it difficult to hide from students their disillusionment with educational policy. On the other hand, some teachers responded to this situation by arguing that it is all the more important to inform and empower students to become active citizens.

There are numerous critical dimensions to the political aspect of teaching civics and citizenship in the middle years of schooling. The first pertains to the broader political environment in the community and its impact on the classroom teacher. The second relates to the politics within school communities.

The influence of the broader political climate can be viewed from a critical perspective when teachers demonstrate a self-awareness of the external political influences on the teaching act. It was evident to a number of teachers in case study schools that the revival of civics and citizenship education in the mid-nineties was closely related to the political aspirations of some of the nation's leaders. Some were also aware that some sections of

the community (Donnelly, 1997) had reservations about teachers dealing with highly sensitive political issues in the classroom. They were aware that political pressure had been brought to bear when courses with political content had been proposed.

The issue of teacher resistance to curriculum reform also highlights a critical element. In both primary and secondary schools there was evidence of teachers resisting implementation of civics and citizenship programs because it was felt that some programs reflected the views of a particular government or interest group that may not remain in power for very long. No matter how beneficial they may be, top-down reforms in education have little chance of succeeding unless classroom teachers feel that they have ownership of such reforms. This was particularly evident at the Lakes High school but was also evident at primary schools in this study.

At an individual school level, political issues became critically important when disputes arose over the place of civics and citizenship education in the total curriculum. In the Lakes High school, there was discussion about the extent to which History teachers were best placed to teach civics and citizenship

In examining political issues at a critical level, participating teachers pointed to the issue of promoting democracy within the school system, by allowing discussion of controversial issues such as the Republican debate and engaging in the discourse on the perceived civic deficit of political

knowledge. Teachers may not be cognizant of the legitimation crisis outlined by Reid (1986; 1996) but still tread a careful line between their own political views and the expectations of their employers. They are often actively involved in school politics with respect to the delivery of civics and citizenship programs and are constantly aware of criticism by media commentators about the level of political correctness in school programs.

In summary, there are numerous political issues that impact on the development of teachers' theories in civics and citizenship education. These issues operate at the national, state, community and school level and also reflect community attitudes on the most appropriate schooling of young adolescents. It seems obvious from this study that teachers simultaneously accommodate and resist "official knowledge" regarding the content and delivery of civics and citizenship education at the middle school level.

Opportunities for Transformative Action

Of particular relevance in this study are the actions taken by experienced teachers to change school practices and structures so that students play an active part in school decision-making. In all of the case study schools, participating teachers have been active in setting up and refining class parliaments, school parliaments or student representative councils. Teachers' commitment to this active, participatory approach to civics and citizenship is based on their belief that young adolescents respond positively to the opportunity of showing responsibility. Through

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taking action teachers have confronted issues that have subsequently informed their ongoing theories of teaching civics and citizenship.

In the analysis of data from this project it was possible to identify specific actions by teachers based on a heightened sense of consciousness regarding the delivery of civics and citizenship education. In these instances, there was a sense of emancipation from institutional constraints and a sense in which teachers felt empowered to design programs that were age appropriate.

Of particular interest also are the trainee teachers who worked in some of the case study schools. In doing so, they interacted with practising teachers and reflected on their own learning experiences as they introduced new strategies to local schools. They provided examples of personal insights on citizenship education as they contributed to an Education for Citizenship Forum. One student teacher candidly reported on his early experiences of citizenship education:

> In year six I went to Canberra on a school band excursion. We did the whole tourist / sightseeing thing around the ACT. All I can remember about Parliament House was how boring it was. We walked around for ages and then we sat in a huge green room (The House of Representatives) and a man talked to us for so long about how it worked, and rah, rah, rah. I honestly don't remember doing any work on this topic in Primary School and it wasn't until I did Legal Studies in Year 11 and 12 that I learnt how parliament works (Nigel, 26/3/01).

This student teacher's early experiences have directly influenced his approach to civics and citizenship education. Of particular interest are his memories of student democracy.

> The school I went to didn't have a school captain or vice captain as such. It had councillors and I was one. I think there about twenty of us. Our major job was to run assemblies and stuff like that. As well as this, the councillors were divided into pairs and assigned to a class. Every now and then we went to our class and talked about things on the list that the teacher in charge of councillors provided. I don't think it was too successful. The coolest thing about being a councillor was that you got to wear a badge. I don't think our duties were too important but one of the things we were supposed to do was to set a good example (Nigel, 26/3/01).

This student teacher was very much aware of the contradictions that occur in schools. So often schools set up structures for student democracy but none too subtly ensure that an autocracy exists by controlling the issues that student councilors can raise. This particular student is well prepared to teach about civics and citizenship in a transformative way, given the level of self-awareness about his own experiences.

Another student teacher reflected on her own experiences as a member of the student representative council:

> During my passage through the middle years I was involved with the student representative council. While in this council, I attended one of those leadership camps as we saw in the video. I found these camps to be very beneficial as they taught me how to get along with and work with others. I feel that this sort of program should be developed so that all students participate and not just the SRC members. All students would benefit from going through this program (Kay, 23/3/03).

This trainee, now teaching in the Northern Territory, was developing a theory of action that has informed her personal approach to civics and citizenship education. There is a strong realization that personal experiences impact significantly on approaches to civics and citizenship education in the middle years.

The professional

The delivery of high quality civics and citizenship education programs in the middle years of schooling requires teachers to have a high level of expertise. Noted during this study were such issues as the initial training of teachers and the opportunities for professional development. From the professional perspective, it is important for teachers to engage in conversations with peers on the need for transformational changes that enhance opportunities for civics and citizenship education.

Teachers participating in the study were generally not able to recall any substantive instruction in civics and citizenship education either in terms of background knowledge or pedagogy. There was also little recognition given to the special needs of students in the middle years. It should be noted that all the participating teachers in the study had at least 15 years of experience and that more recent graduates may have had more exposure to civics and citizenship education. However a survey of current teacher education programs across Australia (Print, Moroz and Reynolds, 2001) suggests that Civics and Citizenship education is primarily introduced in

specialist SOSE courses. In some primary teacher-training programs SOSE
is not compulsory and neither is instruction in civics and citizenship
education.

In terms of professional development opportunities for practising
teachers, some of the participating teachers attended official Discovering
Democracy workshops and others applied but had not been accepted. Most
agreed that the one-day seminar, held as part of this project, was the type of
activity most likely to enhance teaching of civics and citizenship. Gaining
release time from the classroom to discuss civics and citizenship issues,
preview teaching materials and to plan courses was seen to be a valuable
professional development exercise. During the one-day seminar,
participating teachers found it helpful to hear first hand accounts of how
other teachers approached civics and citizenship education. It was felt that
a series of visitations to other schools would be valuable – to see programs
in action.

It is noted that numerous subject associations such as Social Education
Association of Australia and the Australian Curriculum Studies Association
have held conferences for teachers and academics with a strong focus on
citizenship education. The Middle Years of Schooling Association held
conferences with a focus on middle schooling. However, financial
considerations and lack of professional development funds meant that
classroom teachers were often unable to attend such conferences.

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Participating teachers reported that the activities planned by the Parliamentary Education Office provided worthwhile professional development opportunities for teachers as well as worthwhile learning experiences for students.

The close link between values clarification skills and the teaching of citizenship education was well established. Most participating teachers could recall instruction in values clarification during their training courses but it was evident that professional development programs in that area were considered to be relevant. It was evident that participating teachers needed time to appreciate the significance of curriculum perspectives on citizenship and to develop a personal philosophy of civics and citizenship education. This suggests that any professional development program would best be run over an extended period of time.

It was expected at the outset of the project that a designated web site would provide opportunities for professional networking during the life of the project. It was anticipated that the web site would connect teachers to developments in civics and citizenship education in Australia and overseas. There is little evidence that the participating teachers made extensive use of the web site. The projects at each school were outlined on the web site but throughout the life of the project the web site was not used as a vehicle for professional growth. Participants were nevertheless positive about the

potential benefits of such a web site as a networking device and as a tool for professional development.

Teachers participating in the project were provided with folders that contained relevant articles on citizenship education and action research. They were also provided with copies of texts on citizenship education, action research and journal writing. Greater use could have been made of these if the participating teachers had been enrolled in a tertiary level course whilst conducting their action research projects.

During the life of the project, materials from the Discovering Democracy project were distributed to schools but it was not clear how extensively the materials were used. It appeared from comments made in seminars that many classroom teachers were simply not aware that curriculum materials had arrived in the school. Often these resources stayed in the Principal's office or were dispatched to the library. Those teachers who used the kits and attended the professional development programs for Discovering Democracy were generally impressed by the quality of the materials and the training program.

The issue of taking action to integrate civics and citizenship across the curriculum proved to be problematic. The prospects for integration were naturally more positive in primary school situations where the same teacher taught all key learning areas. Integrated programs appear to have lower prospects of succeeding in secondary schools where communications

between subject departments are often limited. Some of the most significant citizenship education opportunities arise in school assemblies and through extra-curricular activities where subject jealousies do not apply.

Participating teachers readily admit that their own knowledge of political issues could be enhanced. Most of the participating teachers developed a knowledge of, and interest in, politics through life experiences rather than through any formal course of study. They would be prepared to attend formal courses if they were available.

The involvement of a student teacher in the one-day seminar and the visits by student teachers to local schools showed that a valuable professional development relationship could be developed. This was especially true in instances where student teachers developed materials and strategies and tested them in local schools as well as tapping in to the expertise of experienced teachers in those schools.

The self-selected teachers in this study did not need any help in developing a rationale for including civics and citizenship in the curriculum but it would be worthwhile including such an element in professional development programs. Some of the teachers participating in this study took part in the professional development programs organized locally to support the Discovering Democracy kits. In one case, a participating teacher commented on the priority given to the Aboriginal perspective in the professional development program. He felt that the emphasis reflected the

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identification of course presenter as an Indigenous person. He came from a school with very few Indigenous students. On the other hand presenters delivering the course believed that it was important to focus on the issue of perspectives.

In discussions with teachers, I deliberately raised the issue of incorporating perspectives. On occasion, I drew on my own experiences:

> During the course of the interview today I mentioned the case of a school to the west of Lismore that has a significant number of Indigenous students. On visiting the school one day I was invited by a class teacher to view a special "Racial Harmony" ceremony. The ceremony included a series of Aboriginal dances performed by talented senior students and a speech by a member of the Aboriginal Education Consultative Group. The highlight of the ceremony was the reconciliation award given to an Indigenous and non-Indigenous student in each grade. Members of the community attending the ceremony were proud of the students' achievements as were the recipients (Field notes, 11/99).

Such ceremonies provide an example of how citizenship education can operate at a whole school level. It seems that a similar strategy could be usefully applied in culturally diverse urban schools. A professional development program in citizenship education would focus on such strategies. On occasions there would be a need to explain why an Indigenous or multicultural perspective has significance in schools where there is little cultural diversity.

The teachers participating in this study demonstrated an ability to use action research as a means of improving their understanding of civics and

citizenship education. The role of a critical friend seems to be vital in helping teachers to reflect on their practices. During the course of the project the author provided a link between the participating schools and an outer reference group of critical friends. It would have been more beneficial if participating teachers had directly reported their action research projects to conference workshops and had an opportunity to gain feedback from teacher educators, consultants and other teachers.

Each of the teachers participating in this study took part in a form of tranformative action. These actions involved the establishment of student councils, the organization of community projects, the celebration of events such as Federation or the design of specific units of work to address specific outcomes in civics and citizenship. Those involved in the establishment of student councils invariably found that a sound program of teaching social skills was required. Such insights informed their theories of action.

In terms of addressing practical constraints on the provision of meaningful civics and citizenship education, one teacher in the pilot study took a critical approach to professional development.

> As in most PD programs you have to convince teachers of the need for change. They should concentrate on the need to change school structures. I think it is difficult to teach citizenship in a system that is essentially hierarchical – consisting of a thousand kids. Teaching responsibility in that sort of structure is pretty near impossible. You need to be able to convince teachers to change the structure and you need to provide some models that they can use and adapt to their own environment (Joe, May, 1997).

Involvement in this project led participants to realize that civics and citizenship education incorporates a range of perspectives and raises a number of critical issues. Teachers recognised that a sound knowledge base was required to teach civics and citizenship effectively but they also realized that development of an appropriate pedagogy was equally important. Teachers recognised that professional development programs with a focus on civics did not provide a sufficient grounding for the development of a comprehensive citizenship education program. Practising teachers expressed the same concerns as academics such as Reid (1996), when politicians aligned civics and citizenship education with an approach that focused on facts about government.

Addressing the Critical Issues

This research project has been concerned with one central focus: the identification of critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action as they engage students in civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling. The analysis so far has examined common experiences arising out of the case studies through an application of three concepts from critical theory and an exploration of six major themes. The analysis has made it possible to identify a set of critical issues that reflect the intersecting influence of teachers' reflective skills, their ability to accommodate and resist "official knowledge" and their transformative actions within school

environments. The examination of teachers' theories has shown that classroom practitioners dealing with young adolescents are influenced by critical issues flowing from their critical reflection on personal philosophies , the policies of the system within which they work and the transformative actions that they take in their school settings.

Figure 4 . Transforming Civics and Citizenship Education
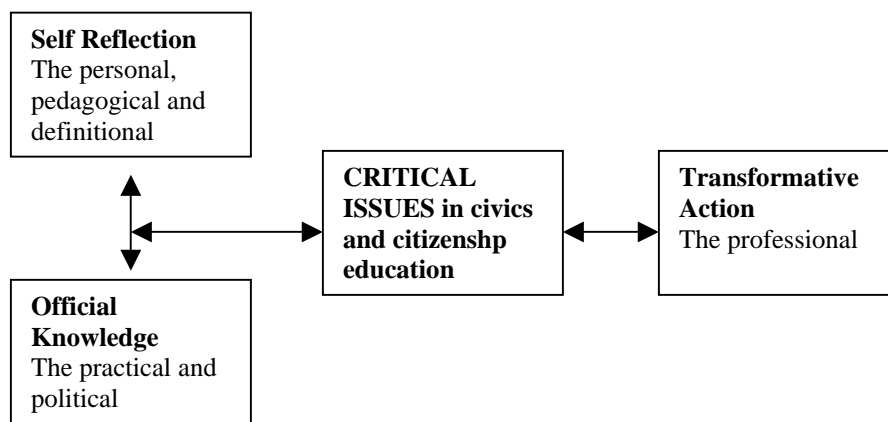
It is now possible to highlight a range of critical issues relating to: the nature of citizenship; civic megatrends and civil realities; the needs of young adolescents; policy and curriculum developments; curriculum perspectives; pedagogical issues; resources; assessment and benchmarking; school philosophy and ethos; and professional development through networking. This study has shown that there is a complex mix of interrelated issues that are critical to the delivery of meaningful civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling.

The first critical issue concerns the very nature of citizenship. Of significance here is the level of background knowledge on citizenship and citizenship theory that is required of teachers. Related to this is the knowledge required of the different conceptions of liberalism that are tolerated by society and the individual, the teacher's appreciation of cultural diversity and subsequent links with the common and agreed goals of society. The teacher's own concepts of personal, regional and national identity are critical issues in determining how civics and citizenship education can and should be handled.

The second issue refers to the influence on teachers' theories of civic megatrends and broad social movements. Teachers and students alike are influenced by the effects of globalisation and corporatism. Within Australia there are unresolved issues such as Republicanism and Reconciliation that impact on how civics and citizenship education may be handled. Society in general benefits from and celebrates the work of volunteers and these are social phenomena that influence how civics and citizenship can be taught.

A third issue of critical importance to teachers in the middle years is the challenge of addressing the specific needs and characteristics of young adolescents. Even experienced teachers of this age group are constantly re-adjusting their strategies in the light of social pressures that impact on young adolescents. These pressures, including feelings of alienation, the incidence of drug taking, the impact of pop culture through the media, and

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changing social mores and identities present a challenge to teachers in making civics and citizenship education relevant and engaging. The critical task for teachers is to help students see a connection between their own needs and the needs of society.

The fourth issue relates to the impact of educational policy on teachers' theories of action. Teachers operate within an ever-changing environment of emerging educational policies and curriculum development. Educational authorities at a national and state level have accepted the premise that civics and citizenship education are central to the purpose of schooling. They have embedded these concepts in national and state curricula and in many cases have included civics and citizenship as part of a mandated core. There are expectations that teachers will help students work towards civics and citizenship outcomes in SOSE (or HSIE in NSW). The Discovering Democracy Project is an indicator of the federal government's commitment to the curriculum area.

The New Basics Project in Queensland and the Basic Skills tests in NSW show teachers that governments are serious about the centrality of the issue. The critical issue for teachers is to find an appropriate response to this, especially when practitioners had little input into the development of these curricula. They find themselves under pressure to integrate literacy with the teaching of civics and citizenship and also to develop the multi - literacies required of a technological age. They find themselves being asked

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to "socialize" students when their preference may be to "educate" students. In responding to civics and citizenship initiatives from the federal and state authorities, students and teachers may well ask whose agendas are being served.

The firth issue concerns curriculum perspectives. Of critical significance to all teachers are the expectations that they incorporate Aboriginal, gender and multicultural perspectives. To some extent the Discovering Democracy materials have provided examples of how this may be done effectively. However, an issue for teachers is the challenge of finding suitable resources, especially human resources, to provide the necessary insight on citizenship issues. When it comes to incorporation of Aboriginal perspectives, it is critical for teachers to know which Aboriginal perspectives are to be given priority and credence. The same is true for gender and multicultural perspectives.

The sixth issue is concerned with pedagogy. Possibly the most significant of the critical issues is that of developing a set of strategies to suit the needs of young adolescents. Teachers not only need to have a range of strategies available but also ability to implement them. Teachers need to develop theories of action that link formal instruction (civics) with active involvement (citizenship). There are related issues of determining the distinctions between civics and citizenship. There are critical issues concerning the choice of constructivist, conflict or critical approaches to

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civics and citizenship education. The selected pedagogy needs to address the development of social skills - providing students with opportunities to develop decision-making and leadership potential.

In terms of pedagogy there are also critical issues regarding the degree of connection that can be attained with the local community as well as fostering a sense of national and global identity. Teachers have shown how it is necessary to strike a balance between engaging students in controversial issues while also ensuring that they have the necessary conceptual background. Students need to be drawn away from a natural selfishness into an arena where civic concerns are appreciated.

There are issues surrounding the development of critical thinking skills as teachers are aware of the community perception that they may unduly influence students with their own political beliefs. Some teachers avoid this by taking the safe option of only concentrating on knowledge of political structures and processes. Others take a more transformative approach, directly encouraging students to engage in social action at appropriate levels (classroom, school, community, regional, national and global).

The availability of resources forms the basis of the seventh issue. In terms of resource use and resource development there are critical issues involved in selecting age appropriate materials and making sure that they accommodate the required curriculum perspectives. While the Discovering Democracy materials are generally of a high quality and include audio-

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visual materials (videos and CD – ROMS) that appeal to the "techno" generation, there is a need to go outside these centrally produced materials.

The eighth issue recognises the impact of assessment requirements on teachers' theories. The movement towards benchmarking of civics and assessment of specified outcomes has no doubt given civics and citizenship a new-found credibility in some circles. However, to some teachers there are critical issues about the extent to which this approach hinders the free flow of ideas in the classroom and teachers' ability to modify the curriculum to suit the needs of young adolescents.

The ninth issue highlights the critical importance to teachers' theories of the ethos of the school or the school system in which they teach. Because of the holistic nature of civics and citizenship education it is much easier for individual teachers to develop innovative strategies if there is a general commitment to civics and citizenship in the whole school or school system. Some of the case study schools in this study provided examples of how classroom activities supported whole school activities. Of particular importance are the choices made by teachers and schools to encourage a student voice in the management of the school.

The final issue affecting teachers' theories is their access to professional development opportunities and networking. It was evident in this study that few experienced teachers could recall any rigorous instruction in civics and citizenship education during their initial training. While this has

changed in recent years there is little evidence to suggest how effective new

programs are and this may provide a focus for future research. In terms of

ongoing programs, the professional development courses for the

Discovering Discovery Project have been successful but these are only

geared to the delivery of one curriculum package. There have been some

broader programs designed to support the introduction of HSIE syllabuses

in NSW and SOSE syllabuses in Queensland but often the focus on civics

and citizenship aspects has been minimal. It is evident from this study that

teachers accommodate and resist the "official knowledge" contained in

policy statements and syllabus documents.

A critical issue for teachers is the extent to which professional

development programs address the degree of readiness that teachers have

to implement civics and citizenship programs. There is also a need to assess

the levels of resistance that occur within the teaching community when new

programs are introduced. The experienced teachers in this study had an

abundance of accumulated wisdom on how to introduce young adolescents

to civics and citizenship programs but valued the opportunities to share

those ideas with others.

One of the most significant issues is the "busyness" of teachers' lives

that tends to impact on their propensity to engage in critical self-reflection

and to operate reflexively. Despite this "busyness", teachers do have

sophisticated theories of action, they engage in ideology critique and they

engage in "informed action" or "praxis" even though they may not use these labels. The critical issue is to find a way of making these qualities transparent and to develop a pedagogy of civics and citizenship in the middle years.

Summary of Chapter

The analysis of data from a variety of sources has led to the identification of three groups of critical issues in civics and citizenship education that influence teachers' theories of action. These are based on the opportunities provided through the action research process for teachers to reflect on their theories of action, to examine the constraints on their actions and to engage in transformative education as means of promoting education for democracy. Within each of these groups of issues analysis is provided through major themes: the personal, the pedagogical, the political, the practical, the professional and the definitional.

It is obvious that personal factors impact heavily on the way in which teachers approach citizenship education. The teacher's family history, ethnic background and philosophy of teaching are all significant. The extent to which they are active citizens in their local community can have a significant influence on how they approach citizenship education. In many instances, teachers would benefit from a professional development

program that helped them to recognize the influence of these personal factors on their approach to teaching citizenship.

There are also many critical issues to be faced relating to the teacher's choice of pedagogy. Some teachers obviously feel constrained by syllabus requirements whilst others feel liberated. The participating teachers in this study had all made a commitment to active citizenship by promoting involvement in student representative councils or school parliaments. The issue of integrating the active citizenship elements with formal classroom instruction remained a problematic one. In many cases it was simply easier to keep the two strands separate. Others sought opportunities to link the civics and citizenship elements quite consciously.

Most teachers in the study felt that their own political knowledge had been enhanced by their involvement in citizenship education programs. Few claimed to have a deep knowledge of political structures and processes or tertiary qualifications in political science. Participating teachers recognised the need to take a balanced approach especially when political tensions were running high in their local communities. Political issues also became apparent within the school setting when disputes arose as to who should carry responsibility for delivering citizenship education programs.

The practical issues raised by teachers were often related to constraints on time to develop meaningful programs for young adolescents. There were also time factors involved when teachers supervised SRC activities

over and above their normal teaching loads. There was mention of cost factors when teachers sought to increase the opportunities for experiential learning through visits to parliament or involvement in local community programs.

There were critical issues related to the opportunities provided for professional development in citizenship education. Universally, teachers in this study argued for more professional development opportunities. The professional development days organized as part of the Discovering Democracy program were welcomed by teachers but some felt that they would get more out of such days if they were preceded by programs that enabled them to expand their knowledge of political processes and the background knowledge to incorporate Indigenous, multicultural and gender perspectives in citizenship programs.

There are important distinctions to be made between civics and citizenship education. The emphasis in recent times has been on civics education because of the greater likelihood that knowledge outcomes can be assessed. However, many teachers want to explore methods of promoting citizenship education in the broader sense, using involvement in projects at the school and community level as a way of developing higher order concepts on the basis of personal experience. In a real sense, classroom teachers are "policy actors" (Kennedy et al, 2002), responding to

official directives in civics and citizenship education by actively fashioning

programs to suit the needs of young adolescents in their care.

This chapter has utilised an analytical model for identifying the critical

issues that informed teachers' theories of action in each of the case study

schools. The critical issues so identified, provide an insight into the praxis

of experienced teachers as they work as policy actors to provide meaningful

forms of civics and citizenship education to young adolescents. These

critical issues also provide a set of guidelines for informing professional

development programs that further facilitate that process.

CHAPTER EIGHT: LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

Outline of the Chapter

This final chapter, both reflective and forward-looking in its intentions, has three main sections. The first section contains a summary of the thesis findings and a set of personal reflections on those findings. The second section contains reflections on the research process itself, with a focus on the particular action research model employed in the study, the links developed with participating teachers, issues of locating myself in the study, the process of working with an inner and outer group of participants, problems in using web-based communications and issues in the selection of case studies. The third section outlines a set of professional development guidelines for teachers of civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling. These guidelines are based on key findings from the study as outlined in Chapter 7.

Summary and Personal Reflections on the Findings

This study has identified a set of critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action as they develop programs in civics and citizenship education for young adolescents. It is contended that teachers continually negotiate spaces between their own views and the requirements of the syllabus as they approach civics and citizenship education in the middle years of schooling. In developing their theories, teachers simultaneously accommodate and resist "official knowledge" regarding appropriate

content and preferred strategies for teaching civics and citizenship. The study shows that theories of action are constantly changing as teachers seek meaningful ways of engaging young adolescents in a learning process that prepares young people for informed and active participation in society.

This study has shown that as teachers are confronted by a series of critical issues and challenges as they move towards more transformative approaches to civics and citizenship education. These issues cause teachers to reflect critically on their personal and educational philosophies and on their pedagogies. The teaching of civics and citizenship education can be transformative for the teacher as well as for the student as they move away from the "Old Civics" approaches based on reproduction theory. It is also evident that teachers need specific knowledge and strategies to actively engage young adolescents in civics and citizenship education.

Teachers are more than just "policy actors" implementing centrally planned curricula. They are autonomous agents who sometimes act quite independently of "official knowledge". This is particularly true of teachers working with young adolescents where the challenges are quite unique. When teachers adopt a transformative stance towards civics and citizenship education, they are forced to confront the critical issues outlined in this study. The transformative stance requires teachers and their students to critique existing structures and policies and to be active agents of change in society.

The critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action can be related to individual perceptions of obstacles, contradictions and power relations in the learning environment. These factors can prevent teachers from employing the strategies that they feel, intuitively, will engage the interest of young adolescents. The critical issues identified in this study provide a set of guidelines for professional development programs that aim to develop a critical pedagogy of civics and citizenship education in the middle years.

Through the action research cycles carried out in their respective schools, participating teachers have reflected on the importance of their own training and personal background, their philosophy of teaching, their conceptions of citizenship and the special needs of young adolescents. They have confronted the dilemma of matching syllabus requirements and suggested approaches with the pedagogies that they know, intuitively, will work with children in the middle years of schooling. Teachers' theories about the best ways to approach civics and citizenship education are more influenced by life experiences than by formal training. There is recognition that individual differences in teachers' approaches are related to family background, life experiences, involvement in community life and political beliefs.

Of particular relevance is the teachers' personal philosophy of teaching and whether civics and citizenship education are viewed as being central to

the very purpose of schooling. Analysis of data from this study suggests that teachers commonly fall into two camps when locating civics and citizenship within their overall philosophy of teaching. Some adhere to the view that schooling is a matter of preparing students for participation in the existing society by exposing them to the traditions and beliefs that underlie our way of life. The emphasis here is on cultural reproduction. Others have a more transformative view of education, believing that the purpose of schooling is to prepare citizens who will actively critique society and thus become active agents of change. These differing approaches have a profound effect on how teachers approach civics and citizenship in the middle years.

As teachers participating in this study shared their views on civics and citizenship through semi-structured interviews, journal entries and seminars, I was moved to reflect on my own situation – and especially the influence of my father who was actively involved in the political process and an agent of change in his own community. My own approach to education has tended towards the transformative approach as a result of my father's influence. However, it is recognised that those who subscribe to a transformative approach may still feel that young adolescents need a solid grounding in political concepts before they become actively engaged in the decision-making process. The critical issue in developing a viable theory of

action is to plot a course between what is ideal, what is expected and what is possible.

Of relevance also are teachers' views about the type of Liberalism that that they are prepared to accept within the school community and the wider society. In developing a theory of action in relation to civics and citizenship, the issue of pluralism lies at the very heart of what we do. It is a critical issue for teachers to confront their own feelings about national identity and the types of diversity that they and the wider society are prepared to accommodate. Some teachers are personally uncomfortable about promoting multiculturalism. Some support "thick" rather than "thin" multiculturalism. Their preference may have a profound influence on how they interpret official directives on the incorporation of curriculum perspectives in school programs. In some cases, these perspectives actively drive teachers' actions. In other cases, individual teachers only pay lip service to gender, Aboriginal, multicultural and environmental perspectives.

It is evident that many practising teachers are not necessarily conscious of the formal theories of citizenship that appear in academic texts but they still develop and use their own theories of citizenship. In many cases these theories reflect the same struggles that have taken place in the evolution of the citizenship concept and the development of formal theories. Theories of action about the promotion of citizenship at the school level often reflect

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broader social movements in society at large. The teachers involved in this study raised issues about the participation of women, the ruling of society by elites and the balance between rights and responsibilities that not only have relevance today but also figured in the origins of the citizenship concept.

A link can be established between the formal theories of citizenship that focus on civic responses to economic rationalism and the efforts made by teachers to help young people appreciate their role in society as consumers. Young people are often engaged in the economy through after-school jobs and through their interest in brand name products in the youth market. Teachers who appreciate the link between consumerism and citizenship can lead their students to examine the reasons for government regulation of goods and services and trends towards corporate citizenship on the part of private and public enterprises.

Few teachers today can approach the teaching of civics and citizenship without appreciating the impact of global trends and civic realities on the citizenship concept. This study has shown that Australian teachers are directly exposed to ideas from other nations where traditional notions of citizenship are being challenged. They are aware that the emergence of European citizenship coexists with the strong notions of national citizenship that remain in European states. Young people in France can be fiercely nationalistic whilst also being proudly European. Young people in

Wales can be fiercely Welsh whilst also being British and European. This realization occurs as teachers and young adolescents in Australia become involved in programs like the Montage Project, where they are actively involved in dialogue on citizenship issues with their counterparts in other nations.

Practising teachers, on a daily basis, confront the fact that young adolescents have needs and characteristics that make it difficult to accommodate the outcomes set out in formal curriculum documents. Teachers in this study clearly show a preference for active and experiential forms of learning especially through student representative councils or school and class parliaments. They have developed strategies that appeal to students but constantly walk a tightrope between what the syllabus requires and what actually works in a middle school setting.

While teachers encourage students to become actively involved in such activities they often find it difficult to integrate these practical activities with formal requirements of the syllabus. The participants in this study showed that involvement in community activities and excursions to parliament can be linked directly to specific units of work in SOSE or HSIE. Often, however, such practical activities were treated as separate entities. In some cases, the practical activities were related to school-wide projects that do not necessarily link with formal curriculum requirements for each stage. I recalled that when my own students were involved in a community action

program at a school in Victoria, our staff members made little effort to integrate these activities with formal units of work in Geography.

In this study, teachers actively encouraged students to be involved in student representative councils or class and school parliaments. These actions were apparently based on a theory that social participation at a school level is an important precursor to social participation in the wider community. In a sense these theories reflected the classical notion of citizenship as a social contract between the citizen (the student) and the state (in this case represented by the school). The challenge for teachers of young adolescents is to find ways of showing that individuals have a relationship with a body known as "the state". For young adolescents it is more likely that they can conceive of having a strong relationship with their family, peer group, sporting group or club. Experienced teachers have strategies that allow students to appreciate their relationship with broader social institutions. Giving students a chance to vote in school elections provides some compensation for the fact that they can't vote in general elections.

The teachers in this study universally accepted the fact that teaching of civics and citizenship is a significant and valid role for teachers. They recognised that parents play a role, more prevalent in traditional societies, where young people were inducted into the rights and responsibilities of

the citizen. In modern times teachers claim an equal role in preparing students for citizenship.

In secondary schools it is obvious that approaches to civics and citizenship tend to be conditioned by teachers' orientations towards particular disciplines. It is rare to find History and Geography teachers or English and History teachers engaging in a dialogue across the disciplinary divides about appropriate approaches to civics and citizenship. Through involvement in this study, I have come to appreciate the importance of the historical approach to citizenship even though my own orientation has traditionally been that of a Geographer. I see now how the two approaches could be integrated but I recognise the vested interests that may prevent this from occurring in many school situations.

Of concern to both primary and secondary teachers, but particularly the latter, are expectations that an outcomes approach will guide all activities in civics and citizenship education. Practising teachers often feel that educative opportunities in civics and citizenship go begging because of the need to report on a specific set of outcomes. During the life of this project, teachers had an opportunity to see the advantages of the benchmarking projects that provide teachers with specific skills in assessing student performance in civics and citizenship. However there was still a concern that citizenship education, in particular, has a holistic element that cannot

easily be accommodated when a subject-based outcomes approach dominates the learning situation.

Teachers in this study have agreed that the formal assessment of student outcomes may well raise the status of civics and citizenship education. However, the practical wisdom of teachers in this study suggests that assessment criteria based on active involvement in community projects (as used in the USA and Ireland) could well improve the authentic nature of learning in Australian middle schools.

Teachers' theories of action in relation to civics and citizenship education are less likely to involve resistance if teachers' philosophies are closely aligned with a school ethos that promotes active involvement of students in decision making processes. This usually means that there is a commitment to democratic education that pervades the whole school and is supported by the principal as well as the staff. The best examples of democratic practice seem to occur where the principal takes an active role in encouraging student participation. In such situations, teachers find it easier to promote similar philosophies in the classroom and across the school's programs.

For teachers in this study, civics and citizenship education are closely related to programs that foster leadership and build self-esteem. The growth of separate middle schools is partly a response to this need to focus on student self esteem and to provide leadership opportunities for young

adolescents. In systems where primary and secondary schools are segregated, it has been recognised that students who developed sound leadership skills in the last years of primary schools were not afforded those same opportunities when they moved to junior secondary levels.

In providing programs in civics and citizenship for young adolescents, teachers in this study have recognised the fact that young adolescents need opportunities to develop a sense of identity and to build self-esteem. As a result, they often develop theories of action that bring them into conflict with curriculum requirements that focus more on strictly conceptual forms of learning. Teachers will normally accommodate new developments in curricula but in other respects will quietly resist if they feel that other more authentic forms of learning are required. In these ways they attempt to address the alienation from schooling that is characteristic of many young adolescents. Through negotiation of the curriculum to provide more authentic forms of learning, teachers develop theories of action that make civics and citizenship more meaningful in the middle years.

Teachers' theories of action are necessarily influenced by the perceived constraints under which they work, the contradictions that they encounter, the obstacles that they face, the patterns of false consciousness that influence their praxis and the power relations that influence their capacity to tailor programs to the needs of young adolescents. Of all the constraints identified in this study the most significant affecting teachers theories of

action were the pressures of the mandated curriculum to achieve a range of outcomes and the rigid structures of schools that mitigate against the introduction of integrated approaches to civics and citizenship education. There was a strong feeling amongst teachers that civics and citizenship programs for young adolescents had been devised and handed down by people with little experience of the reality of middle school classrooms.

The issue of lack of access to resources is one that shows how constraints operate in a subtle way. The Curriculum Corporation went to great lengths to ensure that all schools in Australia gained copies of the Discovering Democracy materials. However, as is the case with many Federally-funded projects, these curriculum materials did not necessarily reach the classroom teachers who were in most need of them. Evaluations of the Discovering Democracy Professional Development Programs confirm the findings of this study that quality resources are often not known to classroom teachers. Also this study has shown that there is a degree of serendipity in that way that teachers locate quality resources other than those distributed by central authorities.

Some case studies suggested that teachers felt constrained by inflexible school structures when approaching civics and citizenship education. These structures related to curriculum planning and freedom to implement integrated programs of work. However, it was also noted that in some instances schools did not feel constrained to follow traditional patterns if

sanction was given by governments and educational authorities for involvement in broad social movements. The teachers in this study varied school programs to incorporate the Centenary of Federation celebrations and activities associated with the International Year of the Older Person and the International Year of the Volunteer.

Reflections on the Research Process

In this study, emancipatory or critical action research was employed for reasons outlined in Chapter Five. This research method is one that I have used in previous studies so I felt confident of its potential in this study. However in reflecting on the process, as it evolved in this context, it was evident that a number of problematics emerged.

Critical action research, in contrast with other forms of action research, assumes that a community of learners will attain a level of communicative competence as outlined by Habermas (1970, 1972) enabling them to identify distortions and expose contradictions within their research setting. It assumes that participants in a study will have time to develop that level of competence and will share a willingness to talk openly about issues affecting their practice. It also assumes that participants will be fully aware of the action research process. Finally there is a need for acceptance of the role played by one or more critical friends as the study progresses.

At the beginning of this study, I provided teachers in each participating school with a set of texts and articles on topics such as action research,

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professional journal keeping and citizenship education. In retrospect it would have been beneficial to run a seminar for these participants at the start of the project to outline the action research process and to highlight the features of critical action research. As it happened, most teachers looked through the resources out of courtesy but did not have an opportunity to fully engage with the principles of critical action research. Some had prior experience of action research but not necessarily of critical action research.

As the research process progressed, the participants in each school took strategic action and reflected on the results. In most cases they moved through a series of action cycles and reflected on the results of previous cycles. There was often a high level of communication between teachers at the same site but there were few instances where participants adopted a truly critical stance, reflecting on examples of false consciousness or revealing insights into contradictions and power relations. This may have been possible if the participants were given more opportunities for reflection in a group setting.

It was my initial intention that I would spend many hours in each school getting to know the staff, and observing teachers in action as they taught lessons in citizenship education. In reality, I spent most of my time in schools interviewing teachers at lunch times or before school. In order to gain ethics approval from state education departments, I decided to focus on the perceptions of teachers rather than to directly involve young

adolescents in the study. In retrospect I should have spent more time in student representative council meetings and classrooms, if only to capture a sense of the setting in which these teachers worked.

The opportunity of playing a critical friend role was made possible because the interviews with teachers were more like semi-structured conversations between colleagues. It was possible in those situations to raise issues about perspectives, distortions, power relations and contradictions. However, I would have preferred to spend more time doing this and making use of other critical friends. In some cases participating teachers found their own critical friends amongst colleagues within their respective schools and this aided the process of critical self-reflection as illustrated by teacher's comments in Chapter Seven.

The teachers who participated in this study were largely self-selected in that they initially expressed an interest in exploring citizenship education. They gave of their time willingly in writing action research reports and taking part in interviews. Although I was a regular visitor to such schools through my role as a teacher educator, I was still surprised at the busyness of teachers' lives. Often we had to jam our interviews into spaces before school or at lunch times. The pressures on teachers were quite obvious.

It would have been more beneficial for this project if the teachers had been provided with more time release through a grant to engage in this research. As it happened we had had one full day seminar that is described

in detail later in this section. It would also have been beneficial if the participants had been enrolled in a professional development program or program of tertiary study to ensure that their research skills were developed to suit the task. Despite this, the teachers showed an understanding of the cyclical nature of action research and effectively moved through a series of cycles as they reflected on their actions.

As coordinator of the project I had the advantage of being able to move between different interest groups and this was a privileged position. In visiting schools, I played a number of roles: (a) collecting information about school based projects and teachers' perceptions of citizenship education, (b) acting as a critical friend, to convey information about state and national policies and (c) acting as a communicator between inner and outer reference groups. At times the participants may have been confused about "which hat I was wearing" and this may have hindered the data collection process. Despite this, I was included in the action research process as a critical friend when teachers moved from one cycle to another.

As a social science teacher with forty years of experience I found that I had much to share with the other participants in the study. Thus is it was possible to conduct interviews as a professional dialogue. I was able to share with classroom teachers my prior experiences in schools. I was also able to provide a communication channel between my teacher trainees at the university and practising classroom teachers. At one point in the study

my trainee teachers went out into schools to deliver lessons in civics and citizenship education and brought back observations about what was happening in civics and citizenship education. There were opportunities for a two-way flow of expertise and resources.

It was a disappointment to me that none of the participating teachers were able to accompany me to national conferences on citizenship education. However, I was able to take two trainee teachers to a conference in 1997 and they were able to report on citizenship education programs in local schools. One of these trainees subsequently taught in one of the case study schools and has been active in citizenship education programs.

My links with teacher educators and consultants in the outer reference groups proved to be invaluable. In some cases I was able to report progress on our project to key players in the Discovering Democracy program and in other cases my colleagues in teacher education were able to act as critical friends regarding the outcomes of the project. Where possible, I attempted to feed back to case study schools the comments made by these critical friends. This process could have been a lot more formalized through a project newsletter or through the project web site.

A specific web site called "Education for Citizenship: The Challenge of the Middle Years" (Appendix B) was established during the course of the project. It was envisaged at the outset that this web site would be a major source of communications between participants from the inner and outer

reference groups. To a limited extent this happened but the potential of the web site was never realized. The web site did provide members of the outer reference group with an insight into the interim findings of the findings. The related sites page was well used by student teachers and the URL (http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/edu/projects/citizenship/relatedsites.htm) was publicized widely at conferences and in academic journals. The main problem was, however that during the early years of the project participating teachers had only limited access to Internet and email technology at school. The expected level of communication between participants in the study rarely eventuated. The discussion list attached to the site operated well for student teachers but it was difficult for participating teachers to gain access to the discussion list.

The one-day seminar organised for participating teachers, a department of education consultant, a student teacher and myself as a teacher educator proved to be a valuable experience for all. The sharing of ideas on that occasion showed clearly how important situational factors are determining teachers' theories of action. This seminar came close to the notion of the Innovative Links Roundtable that I had been involved with in previous years (Yeatman and Sachs, 1995). The one-day seminar confirmed my belief in the roundtable concept as a professional development tool.

In terms of ethical considerations, there was one issue that caused concern. One of the participating schools provided a description of the

school early in the life of the project. The school principal agreed to the wording. Some years later an issue was raised by a parent from the school who located the web site by accident. This parent objected to the description of the school setting that emphasized the low socio-economic status of parts of the community and raised this with a new principal and deputy principal. I learnt from this that it is not sufficient to collect and publish information from schools. It is also necessary to check at different points in time whether descriptions of socio-economic factors represent the views of the participants. The issue is one of different audiences – the emphasis on socio-economic issues may be relevant when describing the school for additional funding but perhaps not for reporting on a citizenship project.

In reflecting on the selection of case study schools, I feel that all five sites provided valuable insights. However I also feel that the study would have been greatly enhanced if some inner city schools with greater cultural diversity and remote schools with Indigenous students had been included. An attempt was made to include these through the outer reference group but without success. Throughout the life of the project I became aware of numerous schools where innovations in civics and citizenship education were taking place. I was also aware of other parallel projects being conducted and it would have been particularly useful to work with those researchers who had contact with teachers completing the Discovering

Democracy professional development courses. The end result is that issues relating to multicultural and Aboriginal citizenship have not gained the prominence that I had expected.

Whilst gathering data on this topic I gained new insights into the research process as an exercise in self-reflexivity. I adopted a constructionist stance, listening to the voices of practising teachers and drawing on their perspectives to further develop my own understandings of school-focused research (Jennings, 2001). These new understandings accord closely with the views of Steier :

> For many of us, taking a constructionist stance means, as a starting point, challenging the traditional objectivist and rationalist views of inquiry, which keep the world, both physical and social, at a distance, as an independently existing universe and which hold knowledge as reflecting, or even corresponding to *the* world. In contrast to this traditional view is the recognition that what I describe in my research is in no way existent apart from my involvement in it – it is not 'out there'. My claims are not ontological, in the sense that they reveal an existent universe that might be known apart from my knowing activity and its entailments. (Steier, 1991, p. 1)

In many respects this was a personal journey. I make no apology for the personal biases that appear in the study, but hopefully I have also allowed spaces for the voices of others as we shared our understanding of how young adolescents can be engaged in civics and citizenship studies. Other researchers will no doubt add a student voice to such studies.

This study highlights the need for further studies of civics and citizenship education the middle years of schooling. Further research is

needed on the educational value of experiential learning in civics and citizenship. There is also scope for further exploration of the role that new technologies may play in the engagement of young adolescents in civics and citizenship programs. There is a need for further exploration of the civic conversations that are held between teachers and young adolescents, as well as parents and middle school teachers from different disciplines. Finally there is scope for further research to be done on the differences in approach taken by primary and secondary teachers as this study only included one secondary school.

Guidelines for Professional Development

The following guidelines address the challenge of the secondary research question in Chapter One that dealt with professional development. These proposals are provided in full recognition of the excellent work being done around Australia by teams implementing the Discovering Democracy project. These guidelines relate to a proposed professional development program at a tertiary level that prepares middle school teachers for civics and citizenship education outside the boundaries of the Discovering Democracy program. The guidelines provide for scope for a rigorous critique to be made of existing programs and projects and should pave the way for development of a critical pedagogy of civics and citizenship education in the middle years. The guidelines outlined here are derived directly from the critical issues outlined in Chapter Seven.

Re-Imagining citizenship.

A professional development program needs to allow teachers the opportunity to imagine and re-imagine different forms of citizenship and different visions for Australian society. In order to do this, teachers will need a thorough grounding in the history of the citizenship concept and a knowledge of citizenship theories. There should be opportunities to explore the types of Liberalism that we may strive for in developing a culturally diverse society with a common set of agreed goals. Teachers will need a thorough grounding in Australian history as it relates to citizenship.

Civic megatrends and civic realities.

The professional development program should provide opportunities for teachers to explore the impact of globalisation and corporatism on citizenship. There should also be opportunities to examine significant social movements such as Feminism, Reconciliation and Republicanism. Of particular importance are the civic realities that influence the lives of young adolescents, some of which are threatening and some of which are challenging and heartening.

Understanding young adolescents.

There is clear need for the program to examine the needs and characteristics of young adolescents and the impact of social change. It is necessary to look at the causes of alienation in young people along with patterns of youth suicide and drug taking. There should be opportunities to

understand how young people's growing sexual awareness, search for identity, interest in technology and exposure to mass culture all have relevance for engagement in civics and citizenship programs. Emphasis should be placed on ways of giving students a voice in democratic decision-making and programs that promote resilience.

Analysing curriculum policy.

Teachers of civics and citizenship in the middle years need to have opportunities to critique the impact of political influence on educational policy. They require an understanding of the forces impacting on curriculum development at the national, state and school level. They need opportunities to explore the rationale behind benchmarking projects, basic skills testing and the current emphasis on outcomes based education. They also need to have opportunities to explore links between civics and citizenship and the common agreed goals of schooling. There should be an opportunity to examine the role of particular Key Learning Areas as well as integrated and whole school approaches to civics and citizenship. Teachers need opportunities to become aware of interstate and international developments in civics and citizenship, especially where there is a high degree of mobility amongst students and where political issues in other countries have a direct impact on Australia.

Curriculum perspectives

Any professional development program needs to address the full range of curriculum perspectives but Aboriginal, Gender, Multicultural and Environmental perspectives in particular. The development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives is particularly significant because of the special place these people hold in Australian society. Gender perspectives are particularly important in society as political parties try to achieve greater political representation. The importance of multicultural perspectives on citizenship has been heightened by current debates on immigration and asylum seekers. Citizenship education programs provide many opportunities for development of environmental perspectives.

Pedagogies

Professional development programs in civics and citizenship education should have a strong focus on pedagogical approaches to civics and citizenship education. Teachers need to have at their disposal a range of strategies including the constructivist, conflict and critical approaches. Teachers need opportunities to reflect on their overall approach: is it to socialize or to educate? Is it to reproduce society or to transform society? Teachers need to know how to engage young adolescents in active, experiential forms of learning that also lead to a sound conceptual knowledge of how society operates. Teachers need to be able to share examples of how student participation can be enhanced and need to have an opportunity to examine exemplary programs where a middle school

pedagogy has been developed. There need to be emphasis on strategies that lead to critical thinking, decision-making and leadership skills amongst students.

Of particular importance in the development of appropriate pedagogies are the opportunities to explore links with values education. Teachers need to develop skill in dealing with controversial issues and to help students clarify their values. This may involve developing stronger links with the community so the professional development course should provide opportunities to develop skills in forging strong links with parent groups and members of the wider community.

Resources

Teachers need have opportunities to evaluate resources on the basis of their appeal to young adolescents, their relevance to curriculum outcomes, their use of multi-media and their incorporation of curriculum perspectives. Included in the professional development program should be links to relevant web sites and suggestions for development of school-based resources.

Assessment and benchmarking

The program needs to examine a range of assessment strategies. This may include a critical examination of the Rich Tasks produced by the New Basics team in Queensland and the evaluations of the Basics Skills tests conducted in NSW. The course may examine strategies used in a range of

Australian states and overseas countries to include active citizenship as part of the formal assessment program.

School ethos

The professional development program should provide opportunities for teachers to critique the impact of school and system level philosophies on the conduct of civics and citizenship programs. It is also relevant to examine the impact of having full support from a school principal in developing school-based approaches. It would be helpful to examine case studies of schools that have implemented successful programs in civics and citizenship that are reflected in the schools' mission statements.

Professional networking

While it goes without saying that the principles outlined here should also be incorporated into pre-service courses, the focus in these guidelines is to inform ongoing professional development. While there is a place for formal tertiary level courses, there is also scope for school level and district level programs and those that incorporate action research. There seems to be particular scope for teachers to use online discussion lists to explore approaches to civics and citizenship. There is a need for practitioners to develop skill in researching their own practice and to realize how there are personal, pedagogical, political, practical and definitional issues that influence their theories of action. As far as involvement of academics is concerned, the Roundtable model employed in the Innovative Links Project

(Yeatman and Sachs, 1995) seems to hold promise. Teachers need opportunities to research the conversations that occur within staff-rooms and classrooms as young adolescents and their teachers explore the notion of democracy and what it means, not only to be a citizen, but a "good" citizen.

Classroom teachers are well-placed to research their own practices in relation to civics and citizenship education in the middle years. They are influenced by the policies developed by central authorities but in the final analysis, it is their pedagogy that makes the difference:

> Too often, elite policy makers take the high ground when it comes to production of educational policy as though the creation of a new policy is enough to make it successful. A truly sustainable policy process has to both recognise and celebrate the contributions that teachers make for they are the final arbiters of policy and its true success depends on them.(Kennedy et al, 2002, p. 80)

There is scope for teachers to transform civics and citizenship education in ways that actively engage young adolescents. Such a transformation relies on the teachers' ability to reflect critically on their own practices, to develop awareness of the power relations that impact on their pedagogies and to make appropriate instructional and structural changes within their fields of influence. This study has highlighted the critical issues that inform teachers' theories of action in making such changes.

There is also scope for schools to have teacher "champions" (Forsyth and Tudball (2003) who will provide leadership, generate ideas and share

ideas with colleagues at the school level. Teacher champions of civics and

citizenship education not only become active role models for teachers but

can also play a role in influencing school leaders and curriculum managers.

In middle school settings, teacher "champions" are those who reflect

critically on the needs and characteristics of young adolescents as this

illustrated in this concluding vignette.

> The scene is a service club in Northern NSW where over six hundred upper primary students and their teachers have assembled for a day-long training program on leadership and motivation. Sitting at the back of the hall is Jean, an experienced teacher from a state school who has been promoting leadership programs in her school. The students have been enthralled by the presentation of a year ten student from a local catholic college who explains how she has overcome the adversity of a debilitating illness. Following that, is the speech of a mountaineer who has climbed Mount Everest. He talks about his motivation to climb mountains, his efforts to inspire others in his team and the loss of the toes on both feet as a result of frost-bite. Jean waits expectantly as some of her children rise to ask questions of the mountaineer. Some ask about motivation and others ask about ways of inspiring others to achieve great feats in the face of adversity but she is brought back to earth by one particular question of the mountaineer: "When they took your toes off, did they give them back to you in a box?" Here was a reminder of the sense of wonder that remains with young adolescents as they adopt adult leadership roles and take on the duties of citizens. (Field notes, February, 2003)

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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

"Education for Citizenship" Web Site

http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/edu/projects/citizenship

APPENDIX C

Initial interview schedule

a) Present teaching role

Please outline your current teaching role.

(i.e. the grade or grades and subjects that you teach)

Do you have any additional responsibilities in the

school besides your face to face teaching duties?

What background data can you provide on the students

to be involved in your citizenship education project?

a) Professional Background

How many years of teaching experience do you have?

At what levels?

What are your academic qualifications?

Did your tertiary training include any studies of citizenship?

b) Reasons for becoming involved in the project

What motivated you to become involved in this project?

c) Understandings about the nature of the project

What are your understandings of the nature of the project and

your role in it?

What is your understanding of action research?

d) Current understanding of the term citizenship

What is your current view of the term citizenship?

What is your understanding of citizenship education?

Does it differ from civics education? If so, in what ways?

e) Knowledge of current curriculum and policy documents relating to citizenship education.

What do you consider are the main curriculum and policy documents which are relevant to teachers in the field of citizenship education?

f) What is the impact of these documents on your teaching practice?

g) What are the specific needs of students in the middle years of schooling when it comes to citizenship education?

What types of programs will be most meaningful to them?

h) What, in your opinion, are the most critical issues for teachers when planning and implementing meaningful citizenship education programs for students in the middle years of schooling? You may care to issues under the following headings:

Content issues

Pedagogical issues

Personal / philosophical issues

i) What is a problematic in citizenship education which could provide you with a focus for the first stage of your action research project?

APPENDIX D

Mid term interview schedule

a) What was the issue that you decided to investigate?

b) What was the thinking behind your action plan?

c) What was the actual step that you took in citizenship education?

e) How did you plan to collect information?

d) What did you observe?

e) What were your reflections on the project so far?

e.g. Regarding:

    i) the content of citizenship education in the middle years.

    ii) the best way to approach citizenship education

f) What further action steps might you take?

APPENDIX E

Final Interview

a) How many cycles of action research were involved in your project?

Could you show the stages of each cycle in diagrammatic form?

CYCLE ONE

    PLAN

    ACTION

    MONITORING

    REFLECTION

CYCLE TWO

    PLAN

    ACTION

    MONITORING

    REFLECTION

b) How and why did your action plans change over time?

c) What understandings have you gained about the teaching of civics
and citizenship education to students in the middle years of
schooling?

d) What do you now feel are the critical issues for teachers in
citizenship education?

Can you make connections with any of the following issues?

(i) The Personal

    e.g.The importance of teachers as role models in citizenship

(ii) The Political

    e.g. Government support or interference in citizenship

education

(iii) The Practical

    e.g. Constraints at the school or classroom level

(iv) The Philosophical

    e.g. Knowledge of citizenship theory, personal teaching

philosophy

(v) The Pedagogical

    e.g. teaching across the curriculum, use of appropriate

    strategies, implementing curriculum documents

(vi) The adequacy of resources for teaching in this area.

(vii)The gender issues involved in civics and citizenship

(viii) The Indigenous issues involved in teaching civics and

citizenship

(ix) The multicultural issues involved in teaching civics and

citizenship

(x) The relative importance of civics and citizenship.

(xi) Practical involvement in Student Representative Councils.

e) What recommendations would you make for the provision of

professional development programs in civics and citizenship

education? In other words what would be the features of an

exemplary professional development program for teachers?

Ethics Approval: James Cook University

Ethics Approval; NSW Department of Education and Training