

Thesis Title: **Citizenship, the 'Self' and the 'Other'**
Perspectives of citizenship educators regarding
citizenship, with a focus on religious and cultural
difference

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Declaration of Authorship

I Malik Ajani hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

In recent decades, we have seen a resurrection of debates concerning what it means to be a citizen. Developments such as transnational migrations, rising socio-economic inequalities, the “War(s) on Terror”, and political movements based on absolutist ideologies, continue to raise broader questions of justice, equality, quality of life and social cohesion. This research project aimed to study and critically examine perspectives of citizenship held by citizenship educators and the conceptions of citizenship that inform them. Because citizenship includes a number of dimensions, and given Britain's transformation into a multicultural and multi-faith society with far-reaching implications for citizenship, this study concentrated on developing an understanding towards dealing with religious and cultural difference in the sphere of education. Additionally, qualitative interview data were collected and the q-methodology with thirty-five citizenship educators across England. The research findings revealed that citizenship educators held one of three distinct shared perspectives (SP1, SP2, and SP3) on citizenship (as well as some areas of commonality). While there were overlaps among these perspectives, broadly, SP1 gravitated towards the liberal conception of citizenship. SP2 placed great value on social-democratic citizenship and SP3 associated most strongly with multicultural citizenship. Moreover, all three viewpoints drew from features of cosmopolitan citizenship. In all, these teachers gleaned from beliefs, values and aims originating from a range of conceptions of citizenship to form their shared perspectives. That said, it was contended that these conceptions of citizenship all entailed criticisms in perceiving and dealing with contemporary realities; therefore, a strategic approach with regard to the

conceptualization and pedagogy of citizenship was proposed. This thesis argued that different conceptions of citizenship as well as visions of the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' (exclusivist, inclusivist, pluralist) should be explicitly, openly and critically examined in the cultural, political and especially in the educational institutions of society.

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In addition to this, I would like to express my deepest gratitude for my life-partner who was there during my ups and downs, my family who made so many sacrifices for me, as well as my community, my friends, my past teachers and the numerous others who influenced me and inspired me in countless ways.

Motivations for this research

I was born in India where I spent the first seven years of my childhood. Thereafter my parents would emigrate to the United States, a land of tremendous opportunity. In addition to being exposed to English at school, I became aware of my mother's Bengali heritage and Gujarati from my father's side. Being surrounded by such a multi-cultural inheritance enriched me with experiences that have shaped my outlook. Of course, language for me is not just about communication, but a gateway to literature, ways of understanding (both rational and emotive), and most importantly, forms of living that consciously and subconsciously influence our lives. In addition to this, I have always had an innate interest in philosophy and religion, which was always supported and encouraged in my family. Overtime, I began to accumulate questions, the responses to which were ample at home, in my school and in my community, but always unsatisfying to a certain degree. For instance, I have always been fascinated by questions like what does a just society look like? How can people of difference find common ground? Somewhere during my formal studies in philosophy I was exposed to the ideas of John Hick and what he referred to as pluralism. Interestingly enough, these ideas were not foreign to me, since it was something that I had witnessed in my family and my community growing up. I have memories of my maternal grandfather studiously watching the Hindu Mahabharata epic on TV, being immersed in the Quran, as well as a variety of philosophical literatures. When I was in India, I recall my father taking me to his workplace, where we would distribute mithai sweets in celebration of Hindu, as well as Muslim festivals. My mother perhaps had the most profound impact on my views. In addition

to the pedagogy I would receive from her at home, she would encourage me to go to the library and read whatever I desired and I took the fullest advantage of this. I believe education has tremendous power to alter society. It has on one hand the power to reproduce the same problems, prejudices, and practices of generating inequalities of preceding generations or it can inspire creativity, inculcate the desire for harmony with humankind and nature, and excellence in the pursuit of equality, justice, and improving the quality of life for not just a select few, but for everyone.

It is the pursuit of further education which led me to England in 2006. During my graduate studies in London, I researched the aspirations of parents with a Muslim cultural heritage and what they desired for their children's education. Here, I began to better understand the challenges they faced both as individuals and as members of minority communities, which were also common to many groups in society. It is there I became aware that the ideas I studied in philosophy and cultural studies intersected in the domain of citizenship. Since 2002, Citizenship became a statutory subject to be taught in schools in England. Citizenship dealt with issues of a just society, citizenship dealt with aspirations of minority groups and citizenship dealt with finding common ground on the challenges that we all face living on a planet that has limited resources. And so this research is amalgamation of my interests and experiences and a deeper desire to find responses to the questions that have haunted me for a large part of my life.

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Preface

Many people have heard of the term citizenship, yet it is probably one of the most elusive concepts to describe. Someone might refer to it when they claim “I am a citizen of the United States of America” or it might mean that your heritage is linked to a native tribal-nation within Canada or elsewhere. A person may also refer to it when they say, “Good citizens do not litter!” When people make such statements they are in fact referring to the various dimensions that this concept has come to be associated with. Integral to citizenship are notions of rights and moral duties, of community, of identity, of religion, of culture and education. Additionally, citizenship is in no way a static phenomenon, but rather it is contested, and is continuously being shaped within the public realm.

This research project aims to study and critically examine perspectives of citizenship held by citizenship educators¹ and the conceptions of citizenship that inform them. Additionally, because the subject of citizenship includes a number of dimensions, and given Britain’s transformation into a multicultural and multi-faith society with far-reaching implications for citizenship, this study concentrated on one particular feature, which is to understand existing attitudes and approaches towards dealing with religious and cultural difference in the sphere of education in England.

¹ In this study, the term “citizenship educator” will refer to school teachers in England who provide teaching on citizenship topics within subject classes such as (History, PSHE, Religious Education, Citizenship Studies ...etc), as well as to citizenship coordinators who may directly teach and oversee the content of such lessons for other teachers within the school. The scope of this project is limited to teachers from Key Stages 3 & 4 (secondary schools) in England. Citizenship is a statutory National Curriculum subject in England at Key Stages 3 & 4.

Key Questions

- What perspectives of citizenship are held by citizenship educators?
- What are their concerns in regards to living in a diverse society?
- What do they propose to deal with diversity/'Othering'² challenges?

The literature review in (Chapter 1) will provide some context and parameters for what will follow by introducing various historical conceptions of citizenship and some of the surrounding debates, which have significance for England and beyond. Next, the chapter will also examine education within the context of England to identify those vital societal concerns that were hoped to be addressed by the introduction of *Citizenship* as a National Curriculum subject, to be taught in schools. In addition to this, since the theme of religious and cultural difference is a key focus of this research, related literature was reviewed to inform the study, as well as provide some margins for the scope of the project, (in terms of what specific areas will be covered in the research).

Citizenship education implies inculcating certain beliefs and values, awareness of certain rights and responsibilities, and perhaps proper ways of engaging in society, therefore it seemed appropriate to examine the perspectives of citizenship educators, since they are the ones who are directly involved in the process of 'citizenship making'. Chapter 2 will encompass the discussion on the methodology, which in this study included the entire research approach. Such a discussion entailed the theoretical frameworks that inform the research, assumptions about what is considered

² Refers to the societal practices that create insider/outsider dualities within the citizenry, which can be explicit or implicit, resulting in the disenfranchisement of groups of people, whereby deterring them from participating as full and equal citizens. This notion will be explored further in this, as well as, subsequent chapters.

knowledge, discussions on methods and techniques, as well as some critiques associated to them.

Bernard Crick³, who chaired the British Government's Advisory Group on Citizenship, highlighted the importance of learning from the past, specifically drawing attention to the "active" nature of citizenship in ancient Athens. Citizenship, as Crick explained, had "its origins specifically in ancient Greece and is a key part of our civilization" (Crick, *Essays on Citizenship*, 2000, p. 4). Today "active citizenship", which is a mantra for the civic-republican tradition of citizenship seems to have become a buzz phrase in society.⁴ However, one could probe a bit further and also ask what exactly did such a notion of citizenship bestow for most of the people in the ancient Athenian democracy and Greek society as a whole? Critically examining the nature of citizenship within this context may help us to further understand how the concept of citizenship is articulated both in its ideals and in its practices, especially if it is a "key part of our civilization". For these reasons, Chapter 3 will scrutinize the nature of citizenship in one of the oldest democracies in the world. Furthermore, it will open a critical discussion about the interplay between public views of the Self in relation to 'the Other', and the social practices including pedagogical ones as a key dynamic of citizenship; something, which was not just a phenomenon of the world's earliest democracy, but an occurrence which exists in different forms today.

³ In 1997, Sir Bernard Crick was appointed as the Chairman of the Advisory Group on citizenship. Based on the advisory group's work, the Crick Report led to the introduction of Citizenship as a core subject in England's National Curriculum in 2002.

⁴ 'Active citizenship' a term used by Bernard Crick goes as far back as 1998, in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) mentioned previously. London.

Chapter 4 will report on as well as critically analyse the “shared perspectives” of citizenship held by contemporary citizenship educators in England and the conceptions of citizenship that inform them. The teachers who participated in this study were teaching in schools across England, and many of the issues that they tackled in the classroom are in fact being discussed and debated by academics, researchers, politicians, as well as a variety of citizens both within and beyond the geo-political borders of England. Additionally, this study will illustrate how citizenship educators drew from beliefs and aims emanating from a variety of conceptions of citizenship such as cosmopolitan citizenship, civic-republican citizenship and liberal citizenship to inform these shared perspectives. In addition to reporting on these viewpoints, the chapter will also discuss the limitations and critiques associated with these conceptions of citizenship in perceiving and dealing with contemporary societal challenges. Furthermore, the analysis will illustrate the places where teachers exhibited common ground in terms of their views.

Chapter 5's theme will build on previous chapters to illustrate the ways in which visions of the ‘Self’ in relation to the ‘Other’, have a substantial link to the kinds of citizens and society we are shaping. These visions of citizenship include the exclusivist, inclusivist and pluralist ways of perceiving and dealing with religious/cultural difference. Additionally, the chapter will examine how some of these visions of citizenship can to a considerable extent lead to the construction of insider and outsider groups within the society. Based on this, we will explore the views of the citizenship educators and attempt to understand what groups in society they

believe to be excluded or disenfranchised. Moreover, through the analysis of the concerns of these teachers, we hope to better understand what these teachers perceive to be barriers in dealing with difference. Furthermore, the chapter will report on what these teachers recognize to be the goals and strategies to counter the 'Othering' and to improve social cohesion in society. Chapter 6 will offer some reflections on the study as well as, discuss possible implications of the findings. Additionally, a strategic approach with regard to both the conceptualization and the pedagogy of citizenship will be proposed for consideration. Finally, it deserves mentioning that even though the key focus of this research was primarily based on data gathered in England, however the discussions, models, arguments, analysis and suggestions, which focus on multi-faith and multi-ethnic societies, might also be useful elsewhere.

**Chapter 1: A Review of Literature to set the
Research Backdrop**

Introduction

Citizenship as a societal construct is both contested and multi-dimensional in character. Integral to it are notions of rights and duties, of community, of identity, of religion, of culture and education. This chapter will aim to set the context and parameters for a discussion of these themes. The chapter begins by examining the various historical conceptions of citizenship, the relevance of identity within them, and the surrounding debates, which have significance for England and beyond. Next, it will look at education within the context of England to identify those vital societal concerns that were hoped to be addressed by the introduction of *Citizenship* as a subject in schools. In particular, I will examine the National Curriculum for *Citizenship for England*, a curriculum that is informed by and endorses a particular conception of citizenship; a curriculum which in turn promotes specific beliefs and aims of shaping society. In addition to this, since the theme of religious and cultural difference is a key focus of this research, related literature was reviewed to inform the study as well as provide some parameters for the scope of the study. Furthermore, pertinent research regarding neo-liberalism, racism and education, teachers' views on citizenship was examined in order to better understand the current developments in this field. This then enabled the identification of the knowledge gap that remains and which could be explored further.

Conceptions of citizenship

Citizenship as a heritage of humanity that deals with laws, rights, duties and even ethics/morality has a long-standing historical tradition. One of the earliest glimpses into this tradition can be observed at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York,

where a replica of the Cyrus Cylinder can be found. The Cyrus Cylinder (which now resides in the British museum), was produced in 539 BCE by Cyrus the Great of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, is recognized as the first human rights document (United Nations, 2008). One salient theme of this declaration was that the citizens of the empire would be allowed to practice their religious beliefs freely. The ancient Greeks were also amongst the earliest to contribute to the tradition of citizenship. "Politeia" in Greek means the city, the civic body and citizenship. Here, a citizen was a member of a community, which was defined by autonomy and which gave itself its own laws (Magnette, Paul et. al., 2008, p. 8). One of the earliest systematic attempts to develop a theory of citizenship is often attributed to Aristotle, who in *Politics* (1274b38) proclaimed, "We must examine, therefore, who should be called a citizen and who the citizen is" (Aristotle, Robinson, & Keyt, 1996, p. 3). The last two thousand years have revealed a contribution of various individuals and societies who have attempted to offer a response to this question both in theory and in practice.

Most recently, within the Anglo-European context, citizenship has increasingly become concerned with the shaping of law and decisions of society in dealing with individuals and groups both inside and outside the paradigm of the nation-state. Within the British context, T H. Marshall (1964, pp. 71-72) through his essays argued that citizenship is a status that involved access to various rights and powers, which included civil, political and social rights. The demands for more equal citizenship lead to developments such as the Magna Carta for instance, which gave people rights such as to be tried by a jury through the law of the land, instead of some arbitrary punishment of the ruler (Linebaugh, 2008, pp. 11,28). Additionally, the American declaration of independence

(from Britain) stated that all men had the right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'⁵ Despite such pronouncements, Marshall explicated that in pre-modern times, citizenship was limited to a small elite group (male land owners) (Marshall, 1964, p. ix). Thus, citizenship was appealing for Marshall because it was central to understanding systems of inclusion and exclusion. Yet such a notion would expand in the centuries to follow.⁶ In the eighteenth century, demands for citizenship emphasized rights needed for individual freedom, which could be protected by the law (ibid). These rights included freedom of speech, equality under the law, and the right to own property. In the nineteenth century, citizenship came to include the right of parliament or having access to the decision making process within a polity.

Even so, Marshall's principal concern was that legal rights were inadequate without rights of participation and these had limited value, especially where inequalities of wealth and power prevented large number of citizens from taking advantage of their citizenship entitlements (Archibugi, Held, & Kohler, 1998, p. 131). One response to this predicament was the creation of welfare institutions and services by the nation-state. Thus the twentieth century, social rights like welfare, security and education became a major element of the definition of citizenship (Marshall, 1964, pp. 72,74). Such an approach implied a certain amount of redistribution of wealth, which involved the loss of liberty for some. Here, some would ask could such a loss of

⁵ The political philosophy expressed in the US Declaration of Independence was not completely new, but was informed by the ideals and values expressed by thinkers such as John Locke and other Continental philosophers (National Archives, 1776).

⁶ Scholars have indicated that the liberties outlined in the Magna Carta such as trial by jury, the prohibition against torture, due process of law have suffered by developments such as Guantanamo (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 11).

liberty be justified?

One justification was argued by John Rawls (1971, p. 302), who in his *Theory of Justice* stated that social and economic inequalities should be arranged so that they are both "(a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of equality of opportunity." However, such a justification did not satisfy everyone. Opposing the social-liberal or social-democratic conception of citizenship was the Neo-liberal tradition, which contended that services such as education, law and order and healthcare should be transferred to the private sector and left to market forces to determine their direction (McNaughton N. , 2009, p. 17). During the 1970s and 1980s, Neo-liberalism was often associated politically with the New Right conservative movement, and championed in the British context by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and in the US by President Ronald Regan.

Critics of such a political-philosophical conception asked, could the market forces be trusted to decide what is best for society? Also, if formal government takes a step back in direct control, who would fill in the gap in dealing with the society's needs? Through advocates like Phillip Pettit (1997), another tradition that saw a revival was the civic-republican conception of citizenship, which emphasized that among the hallmarks of citizenship, is the active life of the citizen. Such a formulation attached primary importance to civic virtue, the citizens' willingness to "subordinate and sacrifice their private interests to the common good of society" (Weithmatt, 2003, p. 704). However, such a conception has been criticized for having the tendency to assume that all citizens in the modern world possess the knowledge, skills, time

and wealth necessary for the practice of 'active citizenship' (Oldfield, 1990, p. 156). It also neglected the fact that a number of modern societies have minority groups that are often legally, socially or economically marginalized from taking part in the equal co-authoring of society. Although Marshall may have recognized certain emerging trends in citizenship, critics have contended that issues of civil, political and social rights are far from settled. Additionally, many of these critiques of liberal and civic-republican citizenship fall under the banner of communitarian citizenship. Moreover, one particular strand of the communitarian way of shaping society has pursued a variety of aims, practices, and policies supporting the recognition of multiple identities, groups and cultures in society, and is commonly referred to as multicultural citizenship.⁷ Multicultural citizenship has advocates such as Will Kymlicka (1996), Amy Gutmann (1994) and Tariq Modood (2005), all of whom have promoted the belief that minority groups and cultures in multination-states may need 'group rights' and/or protections from economic or political decisions of the majority culture. As Gutmann (1994, p. 8) explains:

"Full public recognition as equal citizens may require two forms of respect: (1) respect for the unique identities of each individual, regardless of gender, race, or ethnicity, and (2) respect for those activities, practices, and ways of viewing the world that are particularly valued by, or associated with, members of disadvantaged groups, including women...etc."

That said, for others, dealing with such questions and issues requires a substantial shift in perceptions, strategies and resources that looks beyond the traditional framework the nation-state. Cosmopolitan citizenship stems from an impulse that many of the

⁷ This conception is also referred to as "communitarian-liberal" by David Miller in *Citizenship and National Identity*, 2005, p. 102-107.

problems in society are not confined to the nation-state and require ethics, associations and institutions of an international nature. As Archibugi et al. (1998, p. 204; 1995) argued:

“Few decisions made in one state are autonomous from those made in others. A decision on the interest rate in Germany has significant consequences for employment in Greece, Portugal and Italy. A state's decision to use nuclear energy has environmental consequences for the citizens of neighbouring countries. Immigration policies in the European Union have a significant impact on the economic development of Mediterranean Africa. All this happens without the affected citizens having a say in the matter”.⁸

Based on such an understanding, advocates of cosmopolitanism affirm that citizenship should support the attempt to create and support institutions and structures, which enable the voice of an individual citizen to be heard in global affairs. Cosmopolitan citizenship also requires the active attempt by the individual to inform himself or herself of local and global issues and concerns; furthermore it binds a citizen to responsibilities that go beyond the nation-state. That said one critique of Cosmopolitanism is that it takes away attention from local priorities and concerns. What might be necessary to communities in Bradford, England might not necessarily be of concern to people in Texas, USA.

For those who espouse the conservative⁹ conception of citizenship this means a focus on creating an inclusive community. If for liberal citizenship, communities should facilitate choice, for conservative citizenship, communities are a source of authority and provide a substantive way of life that the citizen should adopt (Miller, 2005, p. 104). In such a conception, the nation-state is the ideal community to provide citizens what they need to succeed.

⁸ Archibugi, D., & Held, D. (1998). *Re-imagining political community: studies in cosmopolitan democracy*. Polity Press, p. 204.

⁹ Conservative citizenship is also referred to as the “communitarian right” conception by David Miller in *Citizenship and National identity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, p. 103-104.

This entails distancing all social or cultural associations and preferences that are not directly linked to the national identity. The focus on the nation-state implies a common language and history. Therefore for conservative citizenship this means that “one must promote a restrictive approach to immigration” (Miller, 2005, pp. 104-106). Furthermore, loyalties outside the nation-state are a cause for concern within such a framework. For instance, conservatives like Scruton (2006) have asserted that “the domination of our national Parliaments and the EU machinery is partly responsible for the acceptance of subsidised immigration, and for the attacks on customs and institutions associated with traditional and native forms of life...”. As result, the conservative conception of citizenship sponsors a nation-centric focus in institutions, which is supplemented by an inward looking identity that minimizes loyalties to all associations (tribal, ethnic, etc) that are external to the nation-state.¹⁰ Additionally, conservative citizenship seeks to build a strong nation-state, where society's security needs trump the rights of individuals. Later chapters will go deeper into all of these conceptions of citizenship and seek to understand how they propose to deal with contemporary realities and challenges and the kinds of citizens they seek to create.

In all, these conceptions of citizenship denote specific values, beliefs and ideals that often stand fervently in opposition to one another. So when the discussion of citizenship education is raised or the question is asked: how should we educate our children in this matter? Such a question can evolve into a polemical issue itself, because citizenship also involves the shaping of identities. In

¹⁰ There is an inherent tension within such a conception, where it at times presupposes specific dominant identities as being more native or indigenous than others. This will be examined further in later chapters.

schools, this means the identities of our children who are learning from teachers what it means to be a (good) citizen.

Defining citizenship

Bernard Crick has declared that citizenship carries four meanings: the first is correlated to rights and duties as related to a state; the second, it can refer to a belief; the third, it can refer to an ideal, and fourth, it can refer to an “educational process” (Heater D. B., 2004, p. Forward). Be that as it may, what one finds is that today, citizenship is frequently referred to as a legal status. Often, it implies being part of a political community or carrying a particular passport. For instance, a person could declare that ‘I am a citizen of the United States’. Such a legal status provides a person a place in society specific to the polity, such as the nation-state. In relation to the law, the status bestows upon the citizen certain rights and duties, such as the right to work and earn income to provide for a family and participate in the building of his or her society’s future. However, as many polities have discovered that merely carrying a passport is not sufficient to effectively participate in one’s society. That citizenship in reality requires certain knowledge and skills to effectively contribute towards and receive the benefits of such a membership. For this reason, all European Union member states have integrated some form of citizenship education into their primary and secondary curriculum¹¹. Moreover, because citizenship education implies the shaping of identity, specifically the identities of children or future citizens, it draws considerable attention and interest.

¹¹ United Kingdom is a signatory of the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (Council of Europe, 2010).

The school and identity formation

Kramer (2001) has argued that starting in the 19th century national identity became the new religious identity. Henceforth, the nation-state, sought to bind its citizens with a new secular identity distinguishing itself from other pre-existing identities (e.g.: religious, ethnic, etc). Wherefore, the school, as an instrument of the state, became a primary institution where such a transformation towards a national identity could be achieved. Specifically in the UK, Ross (2000, p. 150) contended that through the language and rhetoric of the Qualifications and Curriculum development Agency (QCA)¹², the National Curriculum attempts to:

“define its citizens primarily as individuals owing obligations and duties to the State and these duties are prior to and independent of any rights and to minimize alternative identities (of class, ethnicity or gender – or regional and supra-national affinities)”.¹³

However, within the discourse of identity, such a view is not the only way of perceiving oneself. There are those that perceive identity as singular or homogenous, having one primary fixture or loyalty, and others who see it as plural or fragmented having multiple simultaneous alliances and associations to groups, cultures, and communities. In *Britons*, Linda Colley (2009, p. xxvii) argued that:

“People in the past often consciously or unconsciously dealt in multiple identities. Thus a resident of Edinburgh might cherish her civic patriotism, but also view herself in some circumstances as a proud Lowland Scot. And additionally in other contexts feel fervently British, and so forth”.

¹² QCA was the predecessor to the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency (QCDA). In March, 2012 the QCDA was closed and replaced by Standards and Testing Agency (STA) which took over its functions.

¹³ Ross, A. (2000). *Curriculum, Construction and Critique*. London: Falmer Press, p. 150.

Nevertheless, some have asserted that even if it is accepted that individuals have multiple identities, within this repertoire of identities, there is one that is primary (Ross, 2000, p. 289; Jenkins, 2008), and for those like Ernest Gellner (1983, p. 6), this primary identity would necessarily be the national identity:

“A man must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears; a deficiency in any of these particulars is not inconceivable and does from time to time occur, but only as a result of some disaster, and it is itself a disaster of a kind”

Thus, the teaching of citizenship would ultimately involve explicitly or tacitly espousing certain views of identity, while marginalizing others. Another example of such developments could be seen in the formalization of legal citizenship or the movement of status from ‘subjects’ to ‘citizens’, which in the UK, was a recent occurrence. It was only in 2002, when a new citizenship oath and pledge was formalized into law, and which added a pledge “to respect the rights and freedoms of the United Kingdom and its inhabitants” (Crick, 2002, p. 104). Prior to this, immigrants seeking legal citizenship had to take an oath of allegiance to the monarch. As these discussions and debates on citizenship carry on, one could gather that different conceptions of citizenship entailed shared ways of defining the citizen, her identity, as well as ways of dealing with others and the world at-large. Eventually, these debates have an influence on and permeate into the education system. Later chapters will investigate the views of citizenship educators in regards to such issues. The next section will explore the societal triggers that inspired Citizenship to be taught in England.

Why citizenship education in England?

In the last few decades, we have seen a resurrection of debates concerning what it means to be a citizen. Trends such as globalization, urbanization, environmental degradation, accelerated transnational migrations, rising socio-economic inequalities, the 'War(s) on Terror', repeated breaches of the right to privacy, as well as political movements based on absolutist ideologies, continue to raise broader questions of justice, equality, human rights, patriotism, and social cohesion. Since dealing with such trends has become a vital concern of many, the field of citizenship is regarded as that of both deliberation and contestation between a rising number of stakeholders. As a result, the study of citizenship has grown to be increasingly interdisciplinary, attracting historians, sociologists, political scientists and many others who are raising questions, and sometimes offering solutions to come to terms with the challenges that are both local and global in character. Within the discourse of citizenship, the site that has attracted attention from both the intellectual or political elite as well as the popular masses is education.

Specifically in England, the introduction of citizenship in education seems to have risen from two prominent concerns. First, researchers in England and in Europe at large have reported extensively about what is perceived as youth feelings of alienation and apathy from mainstream politics and civic life (Andrews & Mycock (2007); Wilkens (1999); Wilkens (2003) ; Furnham & Gunter (1989); Kerr, McCarthy, & Smith (2002); Kiwan (2005); Osler (2001)). Political apathy was in one instance reflected in 2001, when Britain recorded its lowest turnout ever in voting since 1918 - where

only 59% of the population voted (Electoral Commission, 2002, p. 6). Additionally, according to a MORI social research institute survey, out of all the young people in Britain who were eligible to vote in 2001, only 39% did so (ibid). This of course, raises some serious concerns about the legitimacy of a democratic polity, if a large number of citizens are not voting; could such a polity still be considered a real democracy? In addition to concerns about political apathy, there was a wider anxiety about the rise in xenophobia, racism, Islamophobia¹⁴ and issues of social cohesion in society (Runnymede Trust (1997) ; Werbner & Modood (1997); Torres & Mirón & Inda (1999) ; Wilkens (1999) (2005)). In 1997, *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage* (fourth national survey) recommended that "an explicit idea of multi-cultural citizenship needs to be formulated for Britain" and that "a more plural approach to racial disadvantage requires forms of citizenship which are sensitive to ethnic diversity and offer respect both to individuals and to the social groups to which they feel they belong" (QCA , 1998, p. 17).

Such concerns would culminate in 2001, an intense period of riots in various parts of England, including Bradford, Oldham and Burnley, where tensions between ethnically minority communities and the majority white communities became increasingly apparent (BBC, 2001). Commissioned by the Home Office, the Cantle report (2001, p. 9) stated that it was struck by the depth of "polarisation of our towns and cities" or the lack of integration between citizens of different ethnicities. The report further

¹⁴ The Runnymede Trust Report (1997) defines Islamophobia as "the dread, hatred, and hostility towards Islam and Muslims perpetrated by a series of closed views that imply and attribute negative and derogatory stereotypes and beliefs to Muslims" (Esposito J. L., 2011, p. 235).

articulated the benefits for different communities to mix and learn about different religions and cultures. The demand for Citizenship in England, as well as in Britain and in Europe at large sought to in some satisfactory sense, respond to such anxieties and concerns and resulted in the formalization of citizenship education within the British context.

Context of citizenship education in England

With Britain becoming increasingly plural, some key changes in education were initiated to respond to the needs of a more diverse society. The Education Reform Act of 1988, while stipulating that locally agreed syllabuses had national conditions put on them so that they had to reflect the predominant Christian traditions of the country; they also had to take into account other principal religions that were now part of the nation-state (IFN-UK, 2006, p. 5). Another key development in the educational sphere was the National Curriculum. The Education Act (1996), section 351 stated that all schools funded by the government are required to provide a balanced and broad-based curriculum that promotes:

“the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society, and (b) prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life”.

Within such a framework, initially it was thought that citizenship as a subject was to be approached in a cross-curricular manner through a variety of subjects (e.g.: English, geography...etc). However, in 1998, the Qualification and Curriculum Authority committee, headed by Bernard Crick proclaimed that the teaching of citizenship could no longer be left to uncoordinated local initiatives that varied considerably in terms of content and

delivery methods. Additionally, the committee emphasized that there must be a “statutory requirement on schools to ensure that it is part of the entitlement of all pupils” (QCA, 1998, p. 7). Since 2002, Citizenship as a subject has become a component of the National Curriculum as a statutory foundation subject for pupils aged 11-16 in secondary schools. As for primary schools (pupils aged 4-11), citizenship education remains part of the statutory cross-curricular theme of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). That said, it has been reported that despite having the common curriculum on citizenship, there are differences in the ways in which this is implemented within the UK. For instance, the education systems of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales have differing views on how to deal with citizenship education in their curriculum, assessment, and expected pedagogical and social outcomes. Yet, all four nations seem to agree that citizenship education should “increase political engagement amongst young people and encourage an inclusive framework of civic identities” (Andrews & Mycock, 2007, p. 74). Thus, here again the emphasis on civic participation and inclusive identities (as opposed to racist, xenophobic, anti-Semitic...etc) are served as fundamental goals to be achieved through the introduction of citizenship education.

That said, there seems to be a variety of ways in which citizenship education is delivered in England. The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) report (RR416) based on a National first cross-sectional survey described that schools employ a variety of delivery methods in implementing citizenship education (Kerr, D. et al., 2003). Here, it was commonly reported by school leaders that such teaching occurs predominantly through citizenship

topics in Personal, Social and Health Education [PSHE: 90% of it]. However, other delivery methods included a cross-curricular approach, where citizenship related topics were taught in subjects such as religious education, history, geography and English (Kerr, D. et al., 2003, p. iii).

To comply with the Crick Report (1998), majority of schools indicated they planned to use PSHE and religious education (RE) subject teachers as providing key roles to deliver this curriculum (ibid, p. 52). Here, seventy-five percent of schools indicated they had appointed a coordinator for citizenship education and instead of dedicating a specific time slot, planned to teach citizenship in RE, PSHE and through tutorial periods (Kerr, D. et al., 2003, p. iii). Even so, the majority of teachers (seventy-one percent) indicated they had not received any training in relation to citizenship education (ibid, p. iv). Thus, the majority of teachers teaching citizenship are non-specialists; however the number of specialists is gradually growing (Keating, 2009, p. 72).

One way to understand the importance given to citizenship education is by the time allocated to the teaching of this subject. Firstly, there does not seem to be any statutory requirements for time allocated to citizenship in Key Stage 3. That said, DfES recommendations suggest three percent of teaching time per week to be dedicated to citizenship (QCA, 2002, p. 25); this would be approximately 45 minutes per week or 27 total hours per year. Compared to this, subjects like Math, English and Science are allocated twelve percent or 108 hours a year per subject. Within such a recommendation, citizenship educators seem to have a great degree of discretion on how the teaching time for

citizenship is actually utilized. Here, it is worth mentioning that citizenship teachers indicated that often they used their own ideas/self produced material and media sources to plan citizenship related topics and lessons. Thus, it wasn't a complete surprise in the initial years after the introduction of the programme, when the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted) reported that there was an uneven development of citizenship education in schools, where teachers and school leaders delivered this subject using a variety of different approaches and with only a "small number" having very good practice (Kerr, D. et al., 2004, p. 24). Furthermore, Ofsted also reported on a lack of confidence among many teachers in regards to teaching this subject and that these teachers sought reassurance that their approaches were proper (ibid). Despite this, the views of teachers and school leaders over the years have become more confident about citizenship education, where they have cited positive impacts on student participation in community activities, skills, and awareness (Cleaver, E. et al., 2005, p. iii; Keating, 2009, pp. 10-14). Additionally, Ofsted has confirmed that many schools gave opportunities for some students to participate in volunteer projects and influence change in school and beyond (Ofsted, 2010, p. 6).

Even so, research indicates that citizenship teaching is generally poor and large scale studies have shown that teachers feel they need more training - both in the knowledge of the subject and the teaching of it (Dunn & Burton, 2011, p. 176; Kerr, D., & Great Britain, 2007, p. 45). According to a 2008 survey, 50% of CE staff had not received any training in citizenship education and, a significant number of teachers indicated a desire for such training

(Keating, 2009, p. iv).

In addition to this, Ofsted inspectors found that in a number of schools, when teaching citizenship, teachers focused on identity and diversity in a satisfactory way, yet the link between citizenship and the duty to promote community cohesion was often not explicit (Ofsted, 2010, p. 7). This finding overlaps another study that compares citizenship education between two similar contexts. Evan (2006) also reported on the views of teachers from Canada and England on citizenship education. This research revealed that generally speaking teachers emphasized knowledge acquisition or understanding things like rights and duties and being informed about civic-life as being the central focus of the subject (2006, pp. 418-19). Aside from this, the study found that teachers in England tended to put more emphasis on duties and legal responsibilities, rather than one's rights, whereas Canadian teachers tended to focus on beliefs and values related to living in a culturally diverse society. In all, these findings offer a better understanding of the context of citizenship education in England, which has been generally described as fragmented and uneven.

Thus, within such an assorted context, one question becomes particularly relevant: what perspectives of citizenship are held by educators who teach citizenship? Since, this would have some indication to the kinds of citizens that are being shaped in schools. As discussed previously, the introduction of Citizenship into the National Curriculum followed some pressing concerns. Consequently, understanding the perspectives of citizenship educators and critically examining the conceptions of citizenship

that inform these perspectives seems to be an essential task and a worthy aim of this research.

The Crick report declares that the aim of citizenship education is to develop “values, skills and understanding”; however ultimately the curriculum is interpreted by citizenship educators who may prioritize certain beliefs, concentrate on certain topics and marginalize others. Clearly there is a need to ask what citizenship means to these teachers, and in what ways do they propose to deal with the issue of difference, specifically religious and cultural difference in society? Subsequent chapters will probe deeper into this enquiry as well as examine the findings related to this research. For now, it might behove this discussion to expand further on the notion of ‘Diversity and citizenship’.

Diversity and citizenship

According to the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, the Persian king Darius once summoned some Greeks to his court. Darius asked the Greeks if they would eat the corpse of their deceased parents for a large sum of money. The Greeks, who in their religious/cultural practices cremated their dead, were shocked by such a suggestion, and proclaimed that they would not do it for any amount of money. Then Darius called forth some Callatians, who as part of their tradition ate the remains of their dead parents. Darius asked the Callatians, for what price would they be ready to cremate their deceased parents. The Callatians ‘uttered a cry of horror’ and were equally shocked by such a suggestion and asked Darius not to say such an appalling thing. From such reflections, Herodotus concluded:

"If anyone, no matter who, were given the opportunity of choosing from amongst all the nations in the world the set of beliefs which he thought best, he would inevitably, after careful consideration of their relative merits, choose that of his own country. Everyone without exception believes his own native customs [culture], and the religion he was brought up in, to be the best; and that being so, it is unlikely that anyone but a madman would mock at such things...

One can see by this what *customs* can do, and Pindar, in my opinion, was right when he called it 'king of all'"¹⁵.

In such a short narrative, Herodotus highlights a prominent attribute of humanity, this being diversity and the importance that a group's religious/cultural practices have in their lives. Diversity is according to Webster's Dictionary," a state of difference; dissimilitude; unlikeness"; and in the Oxford Dictionary diversity means "a different kind; a variety". Simply put, when we say "diversity", we are referring to something different in whatever form it takes. According to the QCA, "diversity includes our different and shared needs, abilities and membership of groups and communities such as gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, physical and sensory ability, belief, religion and class. Learning about diversity involves recognising that culture, including the language, ideas, customs and traditions practised by people within a group, also forms part of identity..." (QCA, 2007, p. 33).

Today, diversity specifically becomes relevant to citizenship, if one asks how a citizen should deal with religious and cultural difference. Specifically since concerns related to social tensions, racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia have led to the introduction of Citizenship in the National Curriculum (as noted in earlier sections),

¹⁵ Eller, J. D. (2009, p. 50). *Cultural anthropology: Global forces, local lives*. New York: Routledge, p. 50.

one way to begin an enquiry into this notion is to perhaps look in the past.

After decades of the religious wars of Europe, ideas of the division of power within societal space came to be perceived as a pertinent necessity if peace were to be sustained. For political thinkers such as Rousseau and Locke, what was needed was a societal compromise within public space. Here, the citizen and the church¹⁶ would acquiesce to the state's authority, and in return, the state would limit its authority in regards to a citizen's religious associations. Within such a compromise, all loyalties, whether ethnic, tribal, or religious would need to move to the periphery, giving the state a direct link to the citizen.

In return for fulfilling his or her duties towards the state, the citizen would be accorded certain rights and protections by the state. Within the shared public space, the citizen would be entitled a set of freedoms to explore his/her diversity as long as s/he is considerate towards the rights of his or her fellow citizens. Moreover, within the private space, s/he was granted the right to explore his/her affiliations with greater autonomy. This *social contract* sought to consign to the people a common space or a common language for the exchange of ideas and activities while maintaining some kind of just and harmonious social order. In theory, such a public/private secular compromise seemed comprehensible, but in practice, different polities have over time, drawn the dividing line between public and private in a variety of ways. France, India, the United States and the United Kingdom

¹⁶ John Locke, 1689, in *A Letter Concerning Toleration* states a church is “a free and voluntary society people who worship God as they see fit”.

are all expressions of the diversity of ways in which the secular notion has been understood and practised.

In Britain, the question of how best to deal with diversity, particularly religious/cultural difference, is still being asked and refined. The Parekh report posed a view of dealing with diversity by recognizing the needs of individuals and of those individuals who see themselves as part of communities:

“Even as Britain is a community of communities, it is also a community of individuals, a liberal society whose citizens cherish their individuality and delight in their freedom of self-determination and self-disclosure. They like to make their own choices and jealously guard their freedom against unwanted interferences. Obviously, they are and cannot avoid becoming members of different regional, civic, religious, cultural and other communities. They are born into a religion and most of them continue to retain at least some ties with it, and they all live within rural or urban areas and inescapably share the ties of common interest with those around them. They are, however, not imprisoned within or defined by these communities, and remain free to leave and criticize them. Communities do not exist independently of individuals, but equally individuals do not exist independently of communities either. Britain is therefore best described as a community of individuals and of communities, a community of individuals in their individuality as well as their membership of overlapping communities”

Parekh (2001, p. 694)

In relation to schools in England, and perhaps in Britain in general, such an understanding has resulted in two simultaneous practices. The first is where schools have accommodated the needs of various cultures through practices such as facilities for prayers, access to halal food, allowing Muslim women to wear the headscarf at school ...etc (Ansari, 2004, pp. 313,323,354-355). The second is through a state practice of actively sponsoring new ‘faith’ schools, devised for Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh children (in addition to pre-existing Jewish and Christian schools). For some parents, religious character schools (aka ‘faith’ schools) are the only way of protecting their children’s religious or cultural identity.

On the other hand, these schools have attracted substantial criticism.

Amartya Sen (2006) for instance has argued that the segregation of society on the basis of inherited tradition or religion is an opponent of individual freedom not a friend. In our normal lives, he claims, people have multiple identities and associations not just one, and we see ourselves belonging to multiple groups. Consequentially, instituting 'faith' schools is not multiculturalism, but 'plural monoculturalism'. Sen contends that "in the downplaying political and social identities as opposed to religious identity, it is civil society that is the loser, precisely at a time when there is a great need to strengthen it" (Sen, 2006, p. 83). Thus, discussions of citizenship particularly in England often involve ways of addressing concerns of the individual citizen, as well as the co-cultures they belong to.

Dealing with religious and cultural diversity

Overlapping boundaries

This study does not make a rigid distinction between religion and culture, especially because historically they are often observed together. Geertz (1973, p. 89) contended that culture can be described as "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life". Geertz distinguishes religion from culture by positing that religion is "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a

general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz, 1973, p. 90). To Geertz, religion is a system of culture, thus culture and religion provide people with 'symbols' or models by which they can organize their lives. In other words, religion and culture are sources of knowledge that influence our values, beliefs, practices and the institutions that shape the society we live in.

Another point to consider regarding beliefs, religion and culture is often pointed out by sociologists and historians who explain that religion can only be understood properly if it is situated in a cultural context and when lifted outside its context it is often misunderstood (Rapport & Overing, 2000, p. 92). What is considered to be an acceptable or a modest way of dressing in the United States or England today might be perceived differently by citizens from the same nation 50 years ago. Additionally, a British Pakistani Muslim parent might insist that a school should allow his or her daughter to wear a *salwar kameez*¹⁷; whereas, another parent from Afghanistan might consider a certain type of *chadri*¹⁸ to be equally significant in expressing and articulating their cultural identity or religion. Moreover, for a particular group, either forms of dress could be considered a compulsory expression of their religion or culture.

¹⁷*Salwar kameez* is traditional loose-fitting apparel often worn in South-Asian countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh by Muslims, Sikhs as well as Hindus.

¹⁸ *Chadri*, which is also known as burqa, is a garment that covers a body from head to toe, including the face.

Political use of rigid categories

Historically, the British government has shown that the privileging of ethnic identity over religious identity can be quite legalistic. For instance, in the past, Jews and Sikhs were consigned anti-racism protections under the law that denied Muslims and Buddhists the same protections because of how religion and ethnicity was understood and legally categorized (Abbas, 2005, p. 163). Consequently, up until the end of 2003, British Muslims, from the standpoint of the law, were in a vulnerable state where they were not deemed to be protected as an ethnic or cultural group, nor were they protected from religious discrimination as Catholics in certain parts of Britain (Modood, Triandafyllidou, & Zapata-Barrero, 2006, p. 43). Nevertheless, in 2006, efforts were made to close a loophole that previously meant that while people were protected against discrimination based on colour, nationality or ethnic origin and so on, they were not protected against discrimination on the basis of religion.

"An Act ...to make provision about discrimination on grounds of religion or belief..."

Equality Act (2006)

Part 2

It might be worth noting that the words 'religion' or 'belief' are used in the aforementioned Equality Act to describe its scope. This explicit announcement might illustrate a response to accommodate a reality that Britain today exhibits in its diversity. In all, it is worth recognizing that beliefs, religion, ethnicity and culture have overlapping boundaries. In addition to this, through our categorizations and the positioning of the 'Other' in our conceptual understanding, which is reflected in our legal frameworks, and in our institutions and practices, we have the power to deny rights, protections and opportunities to large

segments of people within the society.

Diversity and attitudes towards the 'Other'

It has been previously pointed out that institutions such as schools (which were earlier responsible for the formation of religious identities) were absorbed by the nation-state, and thereafter sought to develop a new type of identity: a nation-state conscious community. Although, the nation-state paradigm aimed at creating a distance between the individual and their religious, ethnic and cultural identities, this did not completely happen, at-least not in the British context. Instead, what has been observed in Britain is a form of secularism that continues to recognize the national, public role of religion or at-least one religion: Christianity. This is visible when one looks at the types of schools that are available for parents to select for their children. For instance, 25.3 % (4,690) of all state primary schools in England and 5.8 % (220) of all state secondary schools in England are Church of England schools (Archbishops' Council, 2009). In addition to this, about half the previous number, 2,315 schools in England and Wales are designated as Catholic schools (CES, 2007). Compared to this, there are only thirty or so Jewish schools and a hand full of Muslim, Hindu and other religiously affiliated schools.

Given that religion has played a key role in British history, in schools in particular, and since one of the key reasons for introducing Citizenship in the National Curriculum was to deal with issues of xenophobia and religious/cultural difference, one could ask: Are there some ways of perceiving citizens who have a different religious or cultural heritage than ourselves more constructive in

dealing with difference? Conversely, are there some ways of perceiving citizens who have a different religious or cultural heritage than ourselves more detrimental in dealing with difference? For instance, scholars such as William E. Connolly (2005) and John Hick (1963, 1990) have proposed ways of perceiving the 'Self'/'Other', that could be useful in framing such a dialogue. Chapter 5 will take a closer look at these theories and the framework they provide for discussion and analysis. The next section explores a key discourse which has implications for both citizenship, education and according to some scholars, exhibits a potent 'cultural' transformation agenda.

Education under Neo-liberalism's shadow

Neo-liberalism as a historical occurrence in the last several decades has come to dominate as a global political agenda and therefore permeates a variety of societal discourses, including education (Leppard & Bovill, 2006; Hall S. , 2011; Hursh, 2005; Stevenson N. , 2010; Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2012; Avis, 2011; Lingard & Sellar, 2012; Tomlinson S. , 2005; Lall, 2012). In the realm of education it has particular consequences that scholars continue to struggle with. Later chapters will investigate in what ways citizenship educators grapple with such a notion. However, this section hopes to provide some backdrop to such a discussion by examining some of the literature associated with this discourse.

At the end of World War II, the Keynesian welfare state model, in its different forms, was pursued by many Anglo-European democracies, including the United Kingdom (Hursh, 2005, p. 4; Small, 2011, p. 258). Having endured an atrocious war, which took the lives of more than 60 million people, the political winds stirred

government leaders to acknowledge that the state had a pivotal obligation to give back to the families of those who had experienced so much loss. Now societal goods like education and healthcare were increasingly perceived as entitlements not just for the elite, but for the working class that had risked their lives for the nation state. It made sense that a rebuilding and a redistribution effort were required by the state; after all, it was the state that had taken its subjects and citizens to war in the first place. In such a paradigm of the welfare nation state, the values of equality, democratic decision making, and the public management of societies' resources were held to be the most credible path forward. Henceforth, the state was not just perceived as the bulwark for individual rights, but a provider of social services needed to realise those rights to the fullest. However, over time, particularly after the societal unrest of the 1960s-70s and the rise in inflation, the social and economic policies of countries like the United States and UK began to shift to a new social paradigm: neo-liberalism (Wilkins, 2012, p. 163; Hursh, 2005, p. 3).

Any paradigm that seeks proliferation requires legitimacy; and legitimacy requires a public narrative. At the height of the Cold War a particular alternate narrative began to immerge. Such a narrative held that if Anglo-European polities were going to show the dominance of their mixed-project of capitalism and democracy against the perceived threat of Communism, profits needed to grow. Thus, a victory over Communism had to, at the very least, be an economic one. Neo-liberals argued that unlike the state, the marketplace is not just a democratic, but also an efficient solution for the management of resources in society (Hursh, 2005, p. 4). If classical liberalism emphasized the role of the

state as the guardian, protecting individual freedom, neo-liberalism accentuated the creation of a workforce of individuals that would optimize the economy (McGregor, 2009, p. 345).

Eventually with the rise of *Reaganism* in the United States and *Thatcherism* in the UK, neo-liberalism would get its day in the sun. Now the market, which in the eyes of neo-liberals was both efficient and democratic, would need to expand; and the government which was inefficient, would need to shrink. Filled with the zest of neo-liberalism, political leaders drove policies such as the deregulation of the economy, trade liberalization, opposition to organized labour and the dismantling of the public sector - including education (Hursh, 2005, p. 4; Stevenson N. , 2010, p. 347; Tomlinson, 2005, p. 27; Lall, 2012, pp. 5-6). For instance, one pivotal moment in the educational policy of England where this could be observed was with the Education Reform Act of 1988, which attenuated the powers of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs), while encouraging many schools to 'opt out' and seek grant-maintained status. The Act facilitated the introduction of the 'market' into educational provision, while neatly wrapping it in the neo-liberal rhetoric of 'choice' (Doyle, 2006, p. 296). For neo-liberalism, the state was not a provider, but the enabler of services for the individual (Stevenson, 2010, pp. 346-47). Thus, the state could be streamlined. Such a proposition would also accumulate profits for private entities, which would manage and dispense these educational services. Neo-liberals argued that the industrial economy was of the past, and a knowledge economy required an advanced set of market skill sets and technological competencies, which of course meant education needed to be reformed (Stevenson, 2010, p. 345; McGregor, 2009, p. 345). In 1976, in a speech at Ruskin College,

UK Prime Minister Callaghan argued that the “education system was not providing industry and the economy with what it required in terms of a skilled and well-educated workforce” (Hursh, 2005, p. 5). The new paradigm held that, for the knowledge economy, which replaced the industrial economy, what was needed was not a citizenry that demanded entitlements from the state, but individuals who could choose the development of skill sets in order to obtain a better job.

Over the years, although conservative governments both in the United States and the UK carried the flag of neo-liberalism, it was also to some degree reflected in the ‘Third Way’ thinking on education, which sought to combine the neo-liberal programme with a less dominant social in/exclusion concern (Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2012, p. 642; Small, 2011, p. 262; Lall, 2012, p. 8). Here, New Labour would glean from the ideas of Anthony Giddens, who argued for collaborations between public and private organizations to provide ‘choice’ for the poorest (Stevenson, 2010, pp. 346-47; McGregor, 2009, p. 345). The New Labour academies programme is another form of the neo-liberal educational apparatus where schools are further removed from public control and enter into partnerships with private sponsors (Wilkins, 2012, p. 11). Here, under-performing schools were encouraged or compelled to convert to academies, which were sponsored by private entities such as a business, faith group, or charity (Wilkins, 2012, p. 12; Hursh, 2005, p. 10) . Thus, ultimately it wasn’t a surprise that the academies programme was supported, tweaked, rebranded under the ‘Big Society’ rhetoric and continued with the Conservative-Liberal Democrat government in 2010. In addition to this, the coalition government augmented the academies programme with ‘free schools’, which were pseudo-

private-public entities that even parents were invited to setup. These free schools would be free from local authority control, yet funded by the public none the less (Avis, 2011, p. 429).

Although neo-liberals articulate the rhetoric of 'market neutrality' and 'self regulation', critics point out that this is far from reality, where neo-liberal reforms often include close intervention in the school in the form of standards, testing and reporting (Hursh, 2005, p. 11). Although neo-liberals express the rhetoric of 'merit', scholars contend that one critique of the injection of neo-liberal dogma in education is that child development becomes reduced to standardized tests, competition for examination scores, and teachers become 'curriculum deliverers' who have "to prepare repacked information that needs to be absorbed by students in order to pass standardized tests" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 347). Additionally, although neo-liberalism asserts the rhetoric of 'choice', research has shown that the process of selecting and applying to schools favours middle-class families with significant social capital and purchasing power, and where working class families for a variety of reasons aren't able to choose more selective schools, thus, 'choice policies' increase class segregation in schools (Hursh, 2005, p. 8; Leppard & Bovill, 2006, p. 394; Tomlinson, 2005, pp. 57, 78). Furthermore, research has also shown that 'choice policies' further disenfranchise racial and ethnic citizens, by offering white parents a legitimate way of avoiding schools with a high number of minority students (Tomlinson, 2005, pp. 186, 189). This is because 'choice' is often dictated by powerful private suppliers, the monopolization of the marketplace, purchasing power, dominant fashions and tastes, and the consumer, which replaces public authorities, democratic

decision making, transparent processes, and the ethical language of inclusion for a diverse citizenry.

In addition to this, the most serious critique of neo-liberal education and the most relevant to this study comes from scholars who contend that far from being a purely economic or social project, neo-liberalism also seeks cultural transformation, where shows like *X Factor* and *Who wants to be a Millionaire?*, which have a viewership of millions are a spectacle of the neo-liberal culture (Stevenson, 2010, p. 352). Today, the public discourse, as well as that of education has become so dominated with the language of markets, targets and tests that it is diminishing the possibility of other languages, as a consequence narrowing the educational field to other possibilities (Stevenson, 2010, p. 342; McGregor, 2009, p. 347). Over the years, neo-liberalism has managed to alter the societal conversation with its rhetoric. If the welfare state seeks to highlight the importance of the 'just society' with a social conscience, neo-liberalism emphasizes the free society with individuals who seek to maximize their self interests. If a market is held to be neutral and perfect, then, an individual's situation in society has more to do with their own doing, not someone else's design. Thus, scholars argue that such a hyper focus on the individual marginalizes civic responsibilities and concerns (Small, 2011, p. 261; Hursh, 2005, p. 4; Stevenson, 2010, p. 352). The neo-liberal rhetoric holds that human beings are naturally rational or independent consumers capable of 'choice', who seek to maximize their self-interests, and even if they are not, if neo-liberalism prevails, critics argue that they will be (Small, 2011, pp. 259-263).

The paradox in all these developments is that we are

simultaneously sponsoring two opposing agencies in our societal structures. On the one hand, we are actively creating an 'individual focused' consumer with our neo-liberalism agenda and when we see the political apathy in our young persons, we are injecting a dose of 'citizenship education' in our schools to counter the symptoms. On the one hand, we are endorsing an agenda that dilates private forces in our public institutions and emphasizes a hyper focus on self-interest; while on the other hand, we are seeking to teach our children about how to be 'active citizens' by volunteering in our communities and creating transparent democratic student councils in our schools. On the one hand we are expressing concerns about the lack of social cohesion within our citizenry, while on the other hand we are supporting processes that result in greater segregation in our schools. That being said, now that we have a better understanding of the discourse of education under the shadow of neo-liberalism, it might be useful to explore the discourse on racism and education, which also has significant relevance to citizenship and the kind of society we are shaping.

Racism and education

The post-WWII era ushered in a shift in the discourse on race, cultural diversity and education. With the continuous arrival of many labourers from the West Indies, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, the presence of 'blacks', despite the economic boom of the 1960s was perceived to raise problems within the education system in England. The educational responses to minorities and immigrants were reflective of views of wider society, where the presence of these groups was seen as impeding the learning of

white children; consequently, the DES¹⁹ repeatedly advised education authorities on the issue of immigrant children learning English with a focus on assimilation (Gundara, Jones, & Kimberley, 1986, pp. 12-13; Tomlinson S. , 2008, p. 28). In addition to this, in 1963, the Education Minister, Edward Doyle stated in parliament that no one school should have more than 30% immigrants (Skellington & Morris, 1992, p. 36). The DES Circular 7/65 was issued, which recommended dispersal. These pronouncements and policies confirmed what many white parents believed that 'blacks' were a problem in schools and a barrier to education and that they needed to be assimilated into 'British culture' (Cole M. , 2004, p. 43). Despite such efforts, the assimilationist approach to dealing with difference would not yield the desired results. By the 1970s, racial murders of blacks would increase; additionally, with the rise in violent clashes between 'blacks' and 'whites', political leaders began to understand the need to address the fact that racial discrimination was a source of political consternation and social unrest (Tomlinson S. , 2008, p. 67). Ultimately the assimilationist approach to dealing with minorities would be revised in the late 1970s, with the public recognition of a diverse society. By 1977, the DES would propose a more inclusive model in the government document 'Education in Schools', where it would state that: "Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one, and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society" (DES, 1977, p. 41). Additionally, in the same year the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration would outline the poor performance of Afro-Caribbean children recommending an inquiry into the education of ethnic minority

¹⁹ Department for Education and Skills (United Kingdom)

groups. This would result in the establishment of a committee led by Anthony Rampton. In 1981, the Rampton report would affirm that the primary explanation of Afro-Caribbean underachievement was due to widespread racism within the teaching profession (Short, 1992, p. 173). Although the report would confirm what Afro-Caribbean parents had been saying, it would be discredited in the media and Rampton would be eventually sacked by the minister of education (Cole M. , 2011, p. 118). Thereafter, the government would issue another report, which would expand to cover other ethnic minority groups.

The Swann report, *Education for all*, (DES, 1985) would confirm some of the findings of Rampton and also make suggestions for children in schools to be educated for living in a diverse society with equal opportunities, highlighting the importance of accommodating the needs of minorities, as well as advocating that if children were taught about each other's cultures, this would help to vitiate 'prejudice', especially in 'white' children (Cole M. , 2011, p. 118; Tomlinson S. , 2008, pp. 73,83; Jackson, 1995, p. 274). In addition to this, Short (1992, pp. 173-4) has contended that the Swann report explicitly acknowledged the link between racism, (existing and prospective student) teacher's views and their teaching.

"if a student [teacher] demonstrates by his [sic] actions or behaviour during taught studies or teaching practice, deep-seated and openly racist views about ethnic minority groups which materially affect the way he teaches and which do not appear to be open to reason or change through training, that should be an important element in assessing whether he or she is temperamentally suitable to enter the teaching profession."

Swann Report
(DES, 1985, p. 569)

Furthermore, the report asserted that criteria by institutions in selecting student teachers are extremely important, and that prospective student teachers should have an outlook that “is a positive attitude towards the diversity of British society today” (DES, 1985, p. 568). By the 1980s, such a shift in thinking compared to previous decades, would allow for the discussion of two contending approaches that would dominate this discourse, that being of multicultural education (as promoted through Swann) and education-for-antiracism, where the latter, would encompass many of the critiques of ‘multicultural education’ of not doing enough to deal with racism. One critique of Swann was that even though it acknowledged the linguistic diversity in England, it rejected bilingual education (except as a transition), and relegated the teaching of minority languages to the home or minority community (Modood & May, 2001, p. 307). Similarly, although Swann supported schools with Anglican, Roman Catholic or Jewish affiliations, Muslim schools were rejected (ibid). Another critique of Swann and ‘multicultural education’ was that although it encouraged the teaching of other cultures to deal with prejudice and intolerance, it’s portrayal of these cultures (and religions) essentializes them, thereby reinforcing many stereotypes (O’Brien, 2009, pp. 195-196). Most significantly, ‘multicultural education’ with its focus on individual ignorance and prejudice ignored the embedded, institutional nature of racism (Jackson, 1995, p. 274; Fyfe & Figueroa, 1993, p. 40). The discussion of personal verses institutional racism is a salient aspect of the discourse on racism and education, particularly because according to the antiracist position, racist viewpoints support and legitimate unequal distributions of power between groups; thus challenging and changing societal structures should be a key goal of education. It was further contended that the danger of

the personal approach to racism leads one to focus on intentional racism, so it is seen as a fringe phenomenon consisting only of activities of groups like the National Front (Jones M. , 1985, pp. 223,275). Against this, critics of the antiracist position pointed out that the preoccupation with social institutions and practices to illuminate distinction, homogenizes the different groups (ibid). That said, for education-for-antiracism proponents, there would need to be at the minimum a public acceptance of institutional racism to begin to deal with the problem. The 1990s would bring such a declaration.

In 1993, the tragic murder of Stephen Lawrence in London, and the police cases which mishandled the investigation would lead to the Macpherson enquiry. The report based on the inquiry indicated that, "racism in general terms consists of conduct or words or practices which disadvantage or advantage people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. In its more subtle form it is as damaging as in its overt form" (Macpherson, . C. W.; Great Britain, 1999, p. 321). Moreover, it can be intentional or unintentional or due to ignorance, yet inflict harm to the victim(s). Macpherson would focus on the outcomes and effects of such prejudice, rather than intentions, and thereafter assert the existence of 'institutional racism' in the UK (Parsons, 2009 , pp. 250-1; Gillborn, 2007, p. 21). The report defined institutional racism as:

"The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people".

Macpherson, C. W., & Great Britain
(1999, p. 321)

Soon after, the report would trigger legislation and guidance to mitigate 'institutional racism'. In 2000, the Race Relations (Amendment) Act would be passed and impose a duty on public authorities and governing bodies of schools to assess the impact of policies, monitor and publish monitoring data to promote racial equality (Parsons, 2009 , p. 253). To ascertain compliance with RRAA, the DfES-funded studies (Parsons, et al., 2005; Parsons C. , 2008) would rate schools on a four point scale, where 19 out of 81 were regarded as likely to be fully conforming with the requirements of the Act, 33 in the next category and 29 would be deemed to have a long way to go (ibid, p. 256). Thus, critics have argued that although the RRAA would inspire some changes in the status quo, without real and consistent political support for antiracism, institutional will, and adequate funding, such legal pronouncements would prove to be insufficient to eliminate racism in education. Consequently, more than thirty years after the *Rampton report*, scholars argue that racism in education remains a challenge (Cole M. , 2011, p. 119; Gillborn, 2008, p. 160; Parsons, 2009 , p. 257).

Decades after Rampton, Swann, Macpherson, RRAA, the issue of racism remains an obstacle for many children of minority heritage in society. Although higher percentage of Indian, Chinese, mixed white students reach the expected level in English and mathematics than their peers, "a lower percentage of Black African, Black Caribbean, and Pakistani students reach this level" (Cole M. , 2011, p. 119). Although educational and achievement of Gypsy and Traveller students have been a concern for

decades, recent data shows that children with such backgrounds are most at risk of leaving school without any qualifications and are less likely than other groups to transition to secondary school (Bhopal, 2011, p. 318). Thus, challenging personal and institutional racism has preoccupied scholars from both education-for-antiracism and multicultural education camps. This study agrees with the view that both positions offer something valuable to deal with difference and that citizenship education could be one beneficial platform to learn about and deal with racism/difference (understanding both, the personal and institutional dimensions). Later chapters will expand this discourse even further specifically as it relates to teachers and citizenship. Chapter 3 will open a critical discussion about the interplay between views of the 'Other' and the effects on social practices (including pedagogical ones) as a key dynamic of citizenship. It will argue that such dynamics were a phenomenon of the world's earliest democracy, and a continuing occurrence, which has taken on newer forms today. Thus any prescribed conception of citizenship, which is absorbed in societal institutions, including pedagogical ones, would need to adequately respond to challenges of 'Othering' and dealing with difference. Chapter 4 will continue to critically examine the different conceptions of citizenship and what they mean for citizens of different religious/cultural heritage. Chapter 5 will explore personal ways of perceiving the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' and their implications for the kinds of citizenry we hope to shape. For now, to lay some further context to our discussion, it might be beneficial to consider some of the past research that has looked at perspectives on citizenship.

Some studies related to views of citizenship

There remains a considerable gap in qualitative studies which specifically explore the views of citizenship educators on citizenship, especially in regards to how these adopted conceptions deal with religious and cultural difference. This is specifically relevant to England, since the teaching of 'citizenship' as a subject of the National Curriculum became a statutory requirement in 2002. There has been much debate in terms of the approach and outcomes of citizenship education. A review of literature revealed that while several studies in the past have focused on approaches to citizenship education, very few studies have looked at how citizenship is understood by teachers themselves. In England, Chris Wilkins [(1999) , (2001)] reported on post graduate 'student teachers' in England to explore their views on citizenship with a focus on attitudes towards race. It was argued that racism remains a significant part of the UK society, and there is little explicit encouragement for schools to challenge it.²⁰ Although, the findings are beneficial in understanding some attitudes towards race, it appears that the questions are generally focused on ethnic racism; moreover, views on cultural and religious difference are largely peripheral to the study. That said, one key aim of my study will be to focus on perceptions religious and cultural difference within the framework of citizenship.

Another interesting study related to the field was reported by Walkington & Wilkins (2000), which examined post-graduate student teachers linking an individual's broad world-view with their

²⁰ Parekh proposes an approach where cultural studies are based on a largely anthropological examination of the external features of 'other' cultures, often through the medium of religion.

classroom practice.²¹ The authors contended that an individual's social and political attitudes and the values that underpin them strongly influenced their notion of citizenship. The study acknowledged that an individual's views are based on a wide range of sources and certain patterns do emerge in the study. For instance, the research argued that contextual factors (curriculum policy or diffuse sociological context) intervene to affect teachers' practice. While this study reported on some revealing views of teachers in regards to citizenship, here again, a focus on religious or cultural difference was not central to the study. Nevertheless, their findings were quite beneficial to the field. Firstly, the study contended that "anti-racism should be a key focus for citizenship education" (Wilkins, 2001, p. 18). Second, it was also discovered that teachers believed that citizenship education also implies the teaching of moral education. Considering that more than eighty-two percent of teachers felt that "[a]n important part of the teacher's role is to teach children right from wrong", it would be interesting to further explore what specifically that would entail (ibid).

In 2004, Davies, Fülöp, & Hutchings examined the perspectives of teachers in England and Hungary in regards to citizenship with a focus on enterprise. The data was collected through interviews from approximately 40 teachers from each country. The authors highlighted the fact that certain teachers opposed 'enterprise' in education: "Among the Hungarian teachers there was more than twice the degree of opposition to enterprise than was shown by teachers from England" (2004, p. 376). Accordingly, the authors of

²¹ Here, the report was a result of two studies: Wilkins (1999) and additionally 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted with primary school teachers who had chosen to work overseas with the UK charity: Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO).

the study cautioned that a broad-based citizenship education (which includes a focus on economic citizenship), could be marginalized if such conceptions are left unchallenged. That said implicit in the findings is the notion that teachers' views influence their practices in the classroom. Continuing such an exploration, Chapter 3 will probe deeper into the scholarly literature related to the views of educators and how they can influence practice in the classroom, specifically how views of the 'Other' can disenfranchise pupils with certain backgrounds. That said, aside from studying the viewpoints of teachers, some researchers have investigated the perspectives of the curriculum designers of citizenship.

Kiwan (2005) examined the notions of citizenship held by persons involved in the policy and curriculum development process as well as a variety of stakeholders related to citizenship education in England. The research revealed that 2/3 of the participants interviewed referred to political views of David Blunkett and Sir Bernard Crick²² as being of central importance (Kiwan, 2005, p. 128). The study further contended that while there is a range of factors that precipitated the current citizenship education initiative, "interviewees' emphasised the significance of individuals, rather than societal factors" (ibid). Additionally, the aims/outcomes of citizenship education (as perceived by the interviewees) does not mention dealing with religious or cultural diversity; even though "Race equality, human rights" is ranked 10th in the order of frequency (Kiwan, 2005, p. 140).

²² David Blunkett, the former home secretary, was a past student of Bernard Crick.

In all, these research studies contribute substantially to improving our understanding of the current state of affairs in regards to citizenship and education particularly in England. However, there still remains a stubborn, sizable research gap in qualitative studies dedicated to understanding the perspectives of citizenship held by citizenship educators in England and the conceptions that inform them. Consequently, this research seeks to bridge that gap, at-least in some useful measure. Firstly, it seeks to understand the views of the citizenship educators in the context of plural Britain. This is relevant because it is they who are directly involved in both interpreting the curriculum and teaching it to pupils. A distinctive feature of this study is that it utilized both the traditional qualitative approach to research, as well as the q-methodology²³ as part of its toolset to obtain a wider understanding of the subject matter. The deployment of the latter effectively enabled the exposure of the shared perspectives of citizenship educators that the traditional methods would perhaps have overlooked. In addition to this, this study will add to previous discussions by examining different visions of citizenship that offer conceptual ways of perceiving and dealing with religious/cultural difference in society.

²³ Q-methodology was invented in 1935 by the British scientist William Stephenson. Today it is used in a number of interdisciplinary approaches in the study of viewpoints or attitudes. The q-methodology will be discussed in greater detail in the methodology chapter.

Chapter 2: Methodology, a Research Journey

Introduction

Citizenship as a societal construct is both contested and multi-dimensional in character. Integral to it are notions of rights and duties, of community, of identity, of religion, of culture and education. Within the framework of the modern nation-state, schools are assigned a key role in delivering citizenship education in order to produce a future generation of citizens who would possess the civic knowledge and skills needed to successfully participate in the societies in which they live. According to the European Commission, all EU states have integrated some form of 'citizenship education' into their primary and secondary curriculum²⁴. This is perhaps because it has become imperative for the general welfare of these societies to insure that such a concept is properly understood and applied in order to support a well functioning democracy.

Citizenship education implies inculcating certain beliefs and values, awareness of certain rights and responsibilities, and perhaps proper ways of engaging in society. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to examine the shared perspectives of educators regarding citizenship, since they are the ones who are directly involved in the process of 'citizenship making'. Additionally, it seemed meaningful to investigate how these perspectives relate to the dominant conception of citizenship adopted by the curriculum²⁵, and particularly, this study sought to critically analyse

²⁴ Forty-seven member states, including the United Kingdom, are a signatory of the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education, whose members agree to co-operate with each other and through the Council of Europe in pursuing the aims and principles of the present Charter (Council of Europe, 2010, p. 12).

²⁵ As mentioned in a previous chapter, Citizenship as part of the National Curriculum is a statutory foundation subject for pupils aged 11-16 in England. Therefore the methodological approach in this research sought to focus on citizenship educators who interact with such pupils.

the focus and implications of such perspectives (and the conceptions of citizenship that inform them), so that we may have some sense as to what types of citizens are being fashioned in schools. It is hoped that the knowledge discovered from this research will have some valuable contributions for both the understanding of citizenship itself and perhaps towards approaches or practices of citizenship both from a pedagogical and societal point of view.

The research aim

To re-iterate, this research project aims to study and critically examine perspectives of citizenship held by citizenship educators²⁶ and the conceptions of citizenship that inform them. Additionally, because the subject of citizenship includes a number of dimensions, and given Britain's transformation into a multicultural and multi-faith society with far-reaching implications for citizenship, this study concentrated on one particular feature, which is to understand existing attitudes and approaches towards dealing with religious and cultural difference in the sphere of education in England.

What is methodology?

Methodology can be, in a basic sense, a theory of how one should proceed in research; however, this research project adopts a somewhat expanded definition of the term. Tuchman (1994, p. 306) posits that:

²⁶ In this study, the term “citizenship educator” will refer to school teachers in England who provide teaching on citizenship topics within subject classes such as (History, PSHE, Religious Education, Citizenship Studies ...etc) and to citizenship coordinators who may directly teach and oversee the content of such lessons for other teachers within the school. The scope of this project is limited to teachers from Key Stages 3 & 4 (secondary schools) in England. Citizenship is a statutory National Curriculum subject in England at Key Stages 3 & 4.

"I do not use the term methodology in its current sense of 'application of a specific method,' such as analysis of documents or participant observation. Rather, I use methodology in its classic sense: the study of the epistemological assumptions implicit in specific methods. I thus assume that a methodology includes a way of looking at phenomena that specifies how a method 'captures' the 'object' of study."

Methodology in this study included the entire research approach; such a description includes the theoretical frameworks that inform the research, assumptions about what is considered knowledge, discussions on methods and techniques, and also critiques of them. Bearing this in mind, the methodology of research is often curtailed by the 'paradigm of science' that informs the researcher's understanding of some fundamental questions: Where does our knowledge of the world come from? What constitutes what a researcher perceives to be true? What are the limits to this truth? And how does one go about studying the world in which we live?

Paradigms of science

Tomas Kuhn in his celebrated essay *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), contended that science has within it 'paradigms' for perceiving and studying the world. Kuhn points out that before quantum theory was developed by those such as Einstein and Planck, light was believed to be a transversal wave movement. Prior to this, in the seventeenth century, the dominant view was Newtonian optics, according to which, light was made up of material corpuscles (Corbetta, 2003, p. 10). These paradigms of science are like a collection of beliefs accepted by the community of scientists of a given discipline, and they are often founded on previous acquisitions of that discipline (Seal, 2006, p. 10). This corpus of knowledge is in turn used to direct

research through identification of suitable research techniques. However, sometimes these paradigms change, like when Ptolemy's earth centred universe was replaced by Copernicus's sun-based universe. Additionally, scholars like Paul Feyerabend have argued that the history of science shows that there is no single scientific method. Consequently, a case is made for a diversity of methods to be used to obtain knowledge:

"The world we want to explore is a largely unknown entity. We must, therefore, keep our options open...Epistemological prescriptions may look splendid when compared with other epistemological prescriptions...but who can guarantee that they are the best way to discover, not just a few isolated 'facts', but also some deep-lying secrets of nature" (Seal, 2006, p. 10).

Despite such views, scientists and researchers often operate within the specific paradigms of their discipline, although recently there has been increasing interest in academia for adopting interdisciplinary approaches in research.

Positivism

One of these recent paradigms of science is Positivism. A thinker who is said to be influential within this tradition is David Hume (1711-76). Hume held that all knowledge about the world originates in our experiences and is derived through the senses (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 6). Therefore, evidence is based on direct observation and should be collected in an objective way. Although, Positivism over time accumulated within it a variety of interpretations, there are some general beliefs that it endorses (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 6):"

- The methods of the natural sciences are appropriate for the study of social phenomenon
- Only those phenomena which are observable can be counted as knowledge
- Knowledge is developed inductively through the accumulation of verified facts

- Hypotheses are derived deductively from scientific theories to be tested empirically (the scientific method)
- Observations are the final arbiter in theoretical disputes
- Facts and values are distinct, thus making it possible to conduct objective enquiry”

Positivism has been adopted by many scientists, specifically, those who work in the field of natural science. However, such a paradigm has been critiqued in a variety of ways by those who operate in the field of social or historical science. One of the earliest challengers of positivism was Marxist theory. Although Positivism asserted that society and culture could be studied using the tools of natural science, in an objective and quantitative way, an alternative paradigm soon gained ground, which articulated that social life was in many ways subjective and socially constituted. Such a paradigm is referred to as interpretivism.²⁷

Interpretivism

Seal (2006, p. 13) contends that what distinguishes human beings from organic and inorganic matter is that they consciously act, in a way that has meaning for them. One particular paradigm of science that gives emphasis to such a notion is interpretivism. In such a paradigm, all knowledge or reality is contingent upon human practices which are formed from the interactions between human beings and transmitted within a social context (Klenke, 2008, p. 21). In other words, knowledge and meaning are always acts of interpretation; therefore, no objective knowledge can be independent of the thinking and reasoning of human beings (ibid). Charles Taylor asserts that interpretation is essential in social sciences:

“Common meanings are the basis of community. Intersubjective meaning

²⁷ Also often used synonymously with constructivism.

gives a people a common language to talk about social reality and a common understanding of certain norms, but only with common meanings does this common reference world contain significant common actions, celebrations, and feelings. These are the objects in the world that everybody shares" (2006, p. 13).

Such a philosophy sees knowledge as temporary, changing, and constructed within a social and cultural context. Moreover, it perceives the world as complex and multi-layered. Thus it draws on multiple fields of knowledge (psychology, philosophy, political and social science...etc) to understand it. Those who prefer the interpretive paradigm in science tend to favour the qualitative method for research. Such a methodological approach stresses the exploration of the 'lived experience' of people in order to understand something about the world. The next section examines such an approach to research.

Research approach

Miles & Huberman (2008, p. 10) contend that qualitative data with its emphasis on "people's 'lived experience'" is "fundamentally well suited for locating the meanings people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives: their 'perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, presuppositions' and for connecting these meanings to the social world around them". Overall, analysis of the data searches for, as Taylor suggests "common meaning", as well as greater comprehension of the subject matter. Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 316) explain that "qualitative researchers seek to identify significant concepts and to explore their relationships". They are more interested in understanding what is going on than they are in testing hypothesis. Since this research sought to uncover and critically analyse perspectives of citizenship, the suitability of the interpretivist paradigm of science

and a qualitative approach seemed best suited to achieve the goals of this study.

Furthermore, within the rubric of qualitative research, grounded theory²⁸ formed the basis for uncovering categories, properties and relationships between them in regards to teacher's views on citizenship. Strauss & Corbin (1998, p. 11) describe this as "a nonmathematical process of interpretation, carried out for the purpose of discovering concepts and relationships in raw data and then organizing these into a theoretical explanatory scheme".

In this study, data collection and analysis were coalesced into an interwoven cyclical process where the practice included going back and forth from data from informant teachers, to theories, to analysis, to historical, conceptual and theoretical sources and back to analysis again. Interview data were collected through face to face semi-structured interviews with thirty-five citizenship educators across England between 2010-2012. Here, all interviews were digitally recorded, then transcribed to text and managed using qualitative research software.²⁹ Through the research process, the data from the interviews were coded, and recoded using open, axial and selective coding. Additionally, the interview responses were carefully edited to insure the anonymity of the informants. Furthermore, some of the selections presented from the interviews have been edited for grammar and clarity.

²⁸ Qualitative research is an approach to qualitative inquiry as described by those such as Strauss and Corbin (1998, 2008). Within qualitative research, grounded theory is a methodology originally developed by Strauss and Glaser (1967) for the purpose of building theory from data.

²⁹ NVIVO (a qualitative analysis software package) was used to assist with the management, coding and analysis of the interview data, since using an established research tool can also assist in increasing the validity of the data.

The interviews were augmented by another qualitative research technique, the q-methodology³⁰, which provided the study with shared perspectives³¹ of teachers. This method was also valuable in understanding the shared priorities teachers placed on different values and beliefs; furthermore, the q-method is particularly useful in uncovering any common ground if it existed. In other words, the goal of the q-method is to take the many viewpoints by the informants and “boil them down into a few ‘Social perspectives’ ” that represent smaller subgroups that share common ideas (Webler, Danielson, & Tuler, 2007, p. 6). Thus, these shared perspectives discovered in the research could be likely to be found in society at large. That said, since this study reflects the qualitative approach to research, therefore the results are principally indicative not representative.³²

Theoretical framework

Creswell, (2009, p. 176) contended that qualitative researchers often use a theoretical lens to inform their studies. My theoretical lens was informed by principal citizenship theories from a variety of thinkers that frame historical traditions such as liberal citizenship, conservative citizenship, social-democratic citizenship, multicultural citizenship, civic-republican citizenship, cosmopolitan citizenship, as well as some peripheral notions. Additionally, this

³⁰ Q-methodology was invented in 1935 by the British scientist William Stephenson.

³¹ In this chapter, when I refer to the term “shared perspective” or “viewpoint”, I am referring to the same notion.

³² The results of a qualitative research should not be regarded as statistically representative, but indicative or illustrative, which can form a good basis for the creation of hypothesis to be tested in further research. In addition to this, qualitative research is useful in identifying themes and concepts and relationships in the data, which is often noted as a known weakness of traditional quantitative survey based studies.

research also draws from thinkers such as of William Connolly (2005), John Hick (1963, 1990) and Martha Nussbaum (2007), who offer models for perceiving and dealing with difference, specifically religious and cultural difference. Subsequent chapters will pursue a closer examination of these conceptions of citizenship, as well as ways of perceiving the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' and what this means for the kinds of citizens we are shaping.

Semi-structured interviews

Kvale (1996, p. 101) proposed that "individual interviews vary according to content, such as seeking factual information, or opinions and attitudes, or narratives and life histories". In this study, semi-structured interviews were used as a suitable technique to gather the viewpoints of educators who teach citizenship in schools across England. The semi-structured interview format provided a sample of the 'lived experience' of the teachers, and was eventually used to isolate some of the shared views, concerns and practices amongst teachers. Additionally, within the interviews, the citizenship educators were asked one selection choice-based question to gauge their association with a particular view on difference, which was a useful seed for discussion as well as comparative purposes.³³ Furthermore, all the informants were interviewed in their natural school setting. During the course of this study, data that was collected through interviews and textual sources was continuously coded and analyzed using the Corbin & Strauss (2008) approach to

³³ A handout with the question in Appendix 3 was given to citizenship educators. A detailed discussion of the content and the conceptual framework involved is covered in Chapter 5. There we shall examine how scholars such as William E. Connolly (2005) and John Hick (1963, 1990) have proposed ways of perceiving the 'Self'/'Other', that could be useful in framing such a discussion.

qualitative research. The next section discusses the sampling method for attaining informants.

Sampling method

Since the primary research approach for this study is qualitative, theoretical sampling was used to identify informants. Corbin & Strauss (2008, p. 145) state that a researcher begins with a target population, but this can change. New data was constantly coded³⁴ with previously collected data to uncover concepts³⁵, categories and their relationships. Such a process utilized in a generic sense to denote theoretical constructs derived from qualitative analysis of data, is referred to by Corbin & Strauss (2008) as grounded theory. For this research, purposive and snowball sampling was used within the framework of theoretical sampling to identify informants for the study.

In purposive sampling, one defines a set of criteria of selection and looks for specific characteristics in the informant. Sarantakos (2005, p. 164) states that “the important criterion of choice is the knowledge and expertise of the respondents, and hence their suitability for the study”. For instance, the selection criteria in this study aimed to select citizenship educators in England, who were teaching citizenship topics in Key Stages 3 or 4 (students age 11 to 16), where citizenship education is a statutory requirement. Additionally, instances of snowball sampling included where teachers would connect the researcher with other citizenship

³⁴ Coding is a process of qualitative research where researchers extract concepts from raw data and develop them in terms of their properties and dimensions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 159).

³⁵ Concepts are words that stand for ideas contained in data. Concepts are interpretations or the products of analysis. Categories are higher-level concepts with shared properties used to reduce and combine data (ibid).

educators either directly or through a civil society organization contact or a school administrator. Some local authorities had citizenship/PSHE/RE or education advisors who also assisted in contacting teachers. Aside from this, since several schools published the names and/or contact information of their citizenship educators on their school websites, this was also useful in getting in touch with teachers. That said, a diversity of perspectives was sought, accordingly the interview schedule was continuously amended to allow for the exploration of concepts discovered through the analysis and to obtain an assortment of views.

Corbin & Strauss (2008, p. 143) describe theoretical sampling as a method of data collection based on concepts (themes) derived from data, where the purpose of theoretical sampling is "to collect data from places, people, and events that will maximize opportunities to develop concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions, uncover variations, and identify relationship between concepts". For example, some of the initial teachers indicated that they believed citizenship educator perspectives would be quite different in schools in rural areas away from London. Also similar comments were made about citizenship educators teaching in religiously affiliated schools. Since many of the teachers who made such comments did not have such contacts, snowball sampling would not work in these cases. However, the research could target citizenship educators with such attributes to glean from their views. In certain cases local authorities and schools in provincial areas were contacted to locate such citizenship educators. Thus, the interview schedule would be continuously amended by discoveries in the field. According to Corbin & Strauss (2008, p. 144) what makes theoretical sampling

different from other methods is that it is responsive to the data making it open and flexible.³⁶

Introducing q-methodology

Another key element of the research approach aimed to utilize the q-methodology³⁷ to ascertain a constellation of 'shared perspectives' on citizenship. The q-method is a technique for revealing shared viewpoints on a particular topic and is a useful way of assessing the different views of the participants about their preferences for particular outcomes. The q-method, like other qualitative techniques shares the principles of seeking meaning through the subjective understanding of participant's viewpoints; however, these viewpoints emerge from informants' "sorting activity rather than being arrived at through the researcher's process of analysis and classification of themes as in other qualitative methods" (Shinebourne, 2009, p. 95). For this reason, the q-method "reduces (though it does not eliminate) the ability of the person doing an evaluation to impose their biases about what the different perspectives are and what their content is" (Webler, Danielson, & Tuler, 2007, p. 3). The q-method has been used in a variety of fields including political science, sociology, psychology and education. For instance, Anderson, Avery, Pederson et al (1997) conducted a study entitled: *Divergent Perspectives on Citizenship Education: a Q-Method Study and Survey of Social Studies Teachers*, which revealed a unique set of

³⁶ British sociologist T. H. Marshall (1893–1981) in *Citizenship, Class and Social Development* contends "Methods, like concepts, can only be perfected in use, and they must be constantly revised and refurbished in the light of experience" (1964, pp. 15-16).

³⁷ The q-methodology has existed since 1937 and there have been thousands of Q-studies in many countries that have shown this approach to be sound and reliable (Peritore, 1990, p. 17). The q-method is used to study elements such as subjectivity, opinion, belief, motives, goals and attitudes where it is used to describe a population of viewpoints without requiring a large number of subjects (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005, p. 3).

shared perspectives of social studies teachers in the United States.

Similarly my research employed the q-methodology in order to gather and analyse the relevant data about teachers and their views, since this was most appropriate for the research aims. The q-methodology is a technique for studying human subjectivity and McKeown & Thomas (1988, p. 12), in describing this method, note that subjectivity here means nothing more than a “person’s communication of his or her point of view”. Relevant to this study was to find out the teachers’ point of view on citizenship, since they are the ones directly responsible for teaching citizenship to pupils in England. It is worth noting that the q-methodological perspective is less about “who said what about X?” and more about “what is currently being said about X?” and that shared perspectives in society show consistency over time (Simon & Stenner, 2005, p. 86). For this reason, the q-method does not require large sample sizes of informants (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 45; van Exel & de Graaf, 2005, p. 3). Therefore, the study does not reveal how many citizenship educators adopt such shared perspectives in England (which would require a larger national study). However, according to Brown (1980) an important notion behind the q-methodology is that only a limited number of distinct shared perspectives exist on any topic and can be found through this methodology (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005, p. 3).

Furthermore, researchers stress that the results of a q-methodological study can be used to describe a population of viewpoints, “which can be very helpful in exploring tastes, preferences, sentiments, motives and goals, the part of personality that is of great influence on behaviour but that often remains largely unexplored” (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005, p. 2). In

addition, what is significant about the shared perspectives generated through the q-method study, is that it can be said that these viewpoints exist in the society at large; moreover specific to this research, they have implications for framing the content and the practices related to citizenship education in schools, and articulating the teachers' view of the types of civic resources and institutions that citizens need to improve their quality of life. Furthermore, these shared perspectives provide a reflection of the types of citizens that are desired by citizenship educators. The next section describes the general process undertaken for the q-method aspect of the study.

Q-method process

The initial stages of the process involved critically mining the discourse³⁸ of citizenship in order to uncover features, beliefs, values, and aims related to citizenship. This process revealed that there are in fact a number of conceptions of citizenship: liberal citizenship, civic-republican citizenship, conservative citizenship, communitarian-liberal, often referred to as multicultural citizenship, social-democratic citizenship, and cosmopolitan citizenship, as well some less popular views and ideologies for perceiving and arranging society. These conceptions of citizenship were informed by a variety of sources, including philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, historians, textbook writers, various public figures and critics who often discuss and debate the ethics, problems or feasibility of such ideas. As mentioned previously, within such a discourse, there exist certain prominent traditions of conceptualizing citizenship. For instance,

³⁸ Discourse in a basic sense means a discussion of a subject. It can also refer to a corpus of literature, practices and institutions related to a particular subject.

the civic-republican conception of citizenship consists of beliefs and values that are distinguishable from those of the conservative conception or cosmopolitan citizenship. Interestingly enough, the National Curriculum on Citizenship, according to many scholars has been modelled on the 'civic-republican' conception of citizenship, which itself draws certain ideas from the liberal citizenship tradition (Jochum, 2005; Arthur, 2001).³⁹ To suit the purpose of this study, which is situated in the context of England, statements were selected from the prominent conceptions of citizenship (liberal, conservative, civic-republican, etc), as well as some less popular views for perceiving and arranging society to create a *concourse*⁴⁰ for the q-method. This involved writing down statements, along with the conceptions they were associated with from these different sources on individual sticky notes and spreading them across a wall. For instance, Figure 1 displays a *concourse* of two statements. Here, each row contains a *statement* and which *conception* of citizenship it is informed by.

Figure 1	
Conception	Statement
Liberal Citizenship	Society does not have a preordained order that consigns each person to a fixed status. Rather, every individual is free to find his or her own place in society. For example, an individual does not have to accept the judgement of the established church to determine what is in his or her own best interest. ⁴¹

³⁹ Bernard Crick has explicitly pointed out the importance of the civic republican conception of citizenship and how it was inspired by the ancient Athenian democracy. In another chapter, the idea of citizenship in ancient Athens and its implications are discussed in greater detail.

⁴⁰ In q-method, *concourse* refers to “the flow of communicability surrounding any topic” Brown (1993). The *concourse* is a term used in q-methodology to refer to the collection of all the possible statements. The *concourse* should contain all the relevant aspects of the discourse.

⁴¹ McNaughton, N. (2009). *Edexcel Government and Politics for A2: Ideologies*. London: Hodder Education, p. 2.

<p>Social-Democratic Citizenship</p>	<p>Some individuals are born with disadvantages that cannot be overcome by their own efforts. A moral principle suggests that they are entitled to equal life chances. Equality of opportunity is mainly promoted through universal education, but also implies proactive redistribution to level the field, the removal of artificial obstacles and other social problems that could hold some individuals back.⁴²</p>
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The concourse of statements included items from: textbooks, academic books and articles related to citizenship, as well as extracts from the writings and speeches of political figures and other public sources. The goal was to compile a diverse set of ideas to cover the topic, however eventually, “it is up to the researcher to draw a representative sample from the concourse at hand” (van Exel & de Graaf, 2005, p. 4). After going through a diverse set of sources, as previously mentioned, the concourse was reduced by filtering out duplicate statements. Some statements had some overlap with other statements, but a unique form of articulation, reasoning or conclusion, therefore they were retained. Furthermore, some academics from the University of London, who had backgrounds in Politics, Sociology, History and Cultural studies, were contacted to review the concourse and provide feedback. In addition to this, feedback from actual citizenship teachers during a pilot-study was used to improve the clarity and simplicity of the concourse of statements. With feedback from professors and a pilot study of teachers, the concourse was reduced to a q-sample (or q-set) of sixty statements.⁴³ This q-sample included a generally balanced

⁴² Rawls, J. (1971). *Theory of Justice*: Cambridge. As cited in (Heywood, 2007, p. 26).

⁴³ According to van Exel & de Graaf (2005, p. 5) the q-sample or q-set “often consists of 40 to 50 statements, but less or more statements are certainly also possible”. According to Cross (2004) “The Q sort is usually a self-directed process. To carry out a study there needs to be something for the participants to rank. This usually consists of between 10 and 100 items (the ‘Q set’)”. According to McKeown & Thomas (1988, p. 28) q-samples are always representations of communication contexts and do not include all communication possibilities.

number of statements from prominent conceptions of citizenship, which also aligned themselves with the focus of this study by attempting to respond to the following questions⁴⁴:

- What is citizenship (values, beliefs)?
- Who is a good citizen (ideal)?
- What is the relation between citizenship and culture/religion?
- How should a citizen perceive individuals and groups in society?
- How should a citizen deal with individuals and groups in society?

Sixty statements from the q-sample were printed on individual cards where each statement had a numerical identification associated to it (See Figure 2).

Figure 2: example card containing a statement on citizenship

33	Constitutional democracies respect a broad range of cultural identities, but they should guarantee survival to none. ⁴⁵
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All the interviews generally took place at the school where the Citizenship Educators (CEs) taught.⁴⁶ During the interview process, the q-sample (sixty statements on citizenship) was individually sorted by each of the CEs. To achieve this, the participants were asked to fill 60 empty slots in a Quasi-Normal Distribution chart ranging from -5 to +5 with a number associated to each statement (See Figure 3 on next page). A statement placed in the '-5' column reflected a statement with which they most disagreed, and a statement placed in the '+5' column reflected a statement with which they most agreed. The CEs were instructed that the study was not interested in some official

⁴⁴ These questions helped filter out any statements that were not in line with the core focus of the study.

⁴⁵ Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. p. X.

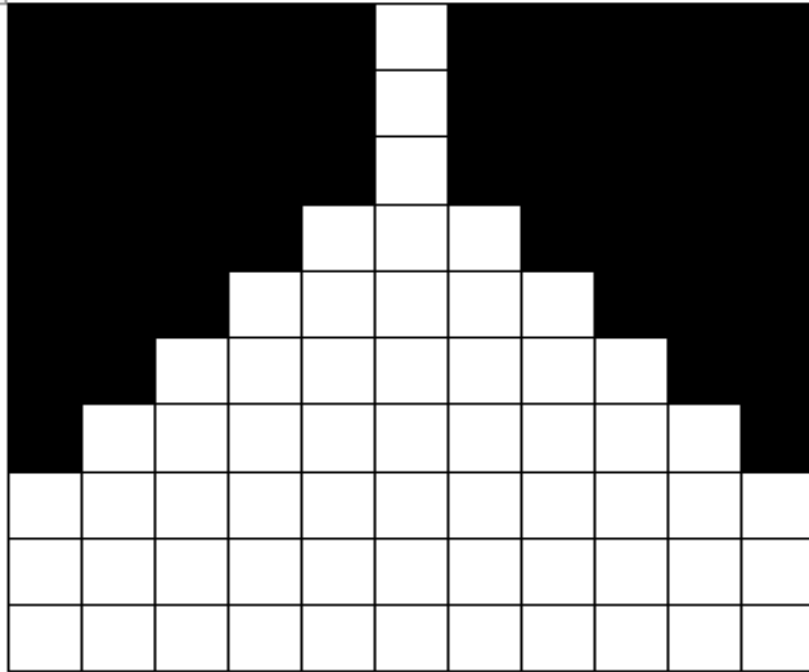
⁴⁶ There was one case where the interview began at the school and upon their request, had to be completed at the residence of the teacher. The participant's comfort level and safety was an important consideration for the research methodology.

perspective, but rather their personal opinions and beliefs. They were informed to think about what they consider to be important aspects of good citizenship: what values, beliefs and ideals they agreed and disagreed with. After the sorting was done, teachers were asked to give some thoughts about the sorting they conducted, specifically to comment on the ones with which they strongly agreed or disagreed.

What I found particularly useful with this method was that it invites the participants to relate different values and beliefs to each other. I found this to be important because a participant can for instance say that agree with two different beliefs on citizenship, but at the end of the day, without this method we may not know which ones are most 'how they think' or the ones they 'most agree with'. Then the method asks them to share their thinking where they could present their reasoning and even share examples if they wish. Several teachers enjoyed this activity and some indicated they would love to do this with their students; especially because the method stimulates the participants to think about their beliefs/values and how these beliefs/values relate to one and other. After the process, some teachers even indicated that they learned something about themselves.

Figure 3 : Form filled by participant teachers

Participant View Distribution Chart



-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

←
Least like how
I think
OR
Most Disagree
with

Most like how
I think
OR
Most Agree
with →

Q-Analysis and interpretation

The data obtained from all the informants were initially analysed using a specialized software package.⁴⁷ There are various analysis methods available; however, researchers maintain that it makes little difference in the outputs obtained (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 49).⁴⁸ Furthermore, q-method specialists and researchers suggest looking for a solution that meets the criteria of simplicity, clarity, distinctness and stability (Webler & AL, 2009, p. 31; Danielson, 2007, p. 65; Schmolck, 2011).⁴⁹

After such a q-analysis was conducted, three factors⁵⁰ or shared perspectives on citizenship emerged that satisfied the previous recommendations (These findings will be examined in detailed in a later chapter)⁵¹. One way to understand this is that the q-analysis reveals clusters of teachers around a shared perspective (LeCouteur & Delfabbro, *Repertoires of Teaching and Learning: A Comparison of University Teachers and Students Using Q Methodology*, 2001). In this study, three such clusters or shared perspectives were discovered. These shared perspectives on

⁴⁷ PQmethod is a commonly used software package for analysing q-study data.

⁴⁸ Data was analysed using a factoring routine feature that the software provides, this being principal component analysis (PCA) and followed by Varimax rotation. Additionally, researching past studies revealed PCA with Varimax was commonly used with q-method.

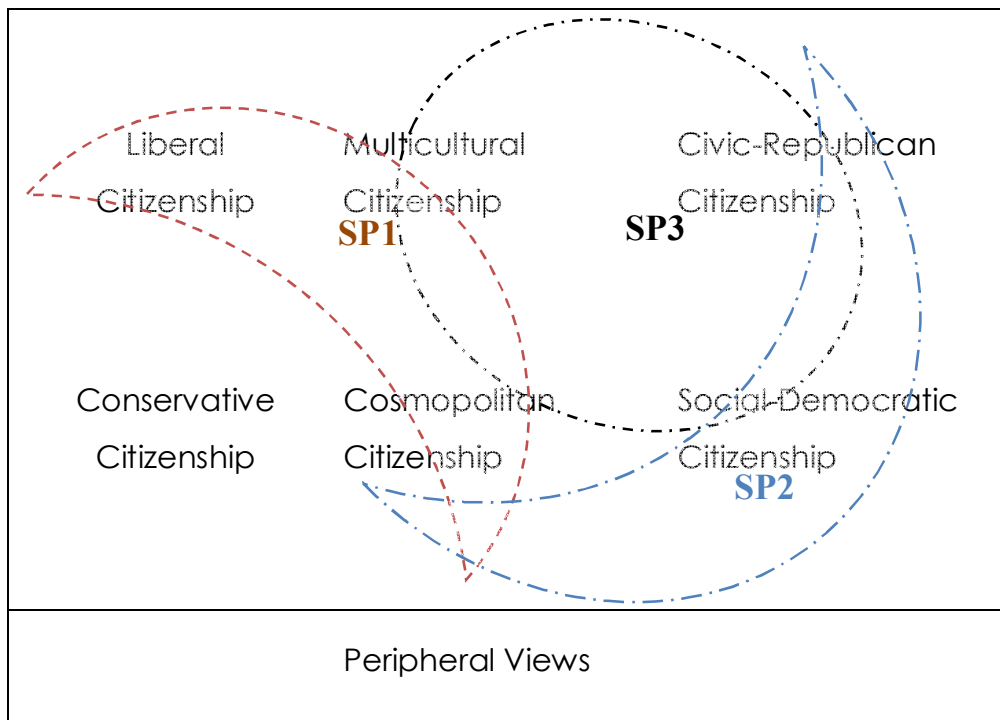
⁴⁹ 1) Simplicity: All else being equal, fewer factors are better as it makes the viewpoints at issue easier to understand. 2) Clarity: The ideal factor solution is one in which each sorter loads highly on one, and only one, factor. One should try to minimize the number of people who load on multiple factors and people who do not load on any factor. 3) Distinctness: Lower correlations between factors are better, as highly correlated factors are saying similar things. 4) Stability: As one compares the results of using different numbers of factors one may note certain groups of people tend to cluster together. This is an indicator that those individuals really do think similarly (Webler, Thomas, et al., 2009, p. 31; Danielson, 2007, p. 65; Schmolck, 2011).

⁵⁰ "Persons significantly associated with a given factor, therefore, are assumed to share a common perspective" (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 16).

⁵¹ Each factor in the q-method findings is referred as a 'viewpoint' or a 'shared perspective'.

citizenship will be referred to as SP1, SP2 and SP3.⁵² Figure 4 illustrates a possible way of visualising these shared perspectives.

Figure 4



These shared perspectives that teachers associated with could have been formed using ideas solely from one conception of citizenship (e.g.: liberal citizenship), or they could also be formed using ideas from a combination of two or more conceptions as seen in Figure 4. Simon & Stenner (2005, p. 82) state that the most important aspect of the q-study will be the factor arrays. The factor array is a table that shows the degree to which each factor⁵³ agrees or disagrees with a particular statement

⁵² Viewpoint (SP1) or Shared Perspective-1 refers to SP1 and so on.

⁵³ Factor is the q-method term with basically means a unique shared perspective.

originating from a particular conception of citizenship. The range is between -5 and +5. If a statement receives a +5 for a shared perspective, then the citizenship teachers who associated to that perspective strongly agree with it. On the other hand, a statement receiving a -5 or a negative score implies a disagreement with that belief or position on citizenship.

A suggested way to interpret a shared-perspective is to look at the statements that receive the highest and the lowest scores by that shared-perspective. This shows to what degree each shared-perspective agrees/disagrees with a particular statement. For example see Figure 5:

Figure 5

Factor Array by Statements			-5	←	→	5
Stmt No.	Citizenship Conception	Statement	SP1	SP2	SP3	
33	Civic-Republican Citizenship	Constitutional democracies respect a broad range of cultural identities, but they should guarantee survival to none. ⁵⁴	-2	2	-4	

Here, teachers who formed the SP3⁵⁵ viewpoint strongly disagreed (-4) with Statement 33, while SP2 teachers show some agreement with this position (+2), and SP1 teachers display some disagreement with the statement. One thing to note is that when the citizenship educators were given the 60 cards containing the

⁵⁴ Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. p. X.

⁵⁵ As mentioned previously SP3 is Shared Perspective-3.

different ideas, beliefs and aims on citizenship; they were not told anything about the source (who said a particular statement), nor which particular conception of citizenship the statement originated from. Each card only contained the statement and the associated identification number. Thus, the teachers were free to prioritize the cards in terms of what they liked and disliked and sort them in the form represented in Figure 3 previously.

In addition to this, the results from the q-analysis were linked to the citizenship educator interviews in Nvivo. In other words, each teacher profile in Nvivo was assigned the attribute of which shared perspective they associated with (eg SP1, SP2 or SP3). Such a link enabled the generation of illustrative examples from interviews of why certain teachers who associated with a particular shared perspective strongly agreed or disagreed with a particular statement from the q-method. For example, one could run a query in Nvivo that requests a display of the interview data of all citizenship educators who associated with SP2 and to filter this set with those who commented on statement 24. Now, the explanations that the teachers gave for their high priority sorting could also be reviewed. Out of these results, a text selection was made by the researcher to illustrate the views of citizenship educators and offer an analysis. As it will be shown in Chapter 4, this process was repeated for statements from viewpoints SP1, SP2, SP3, as well as statements where there was common ground between all three viewpoints to illustrate the analysis with examples.

Benefits and limitations of the q-method

As conveyed previously, the goal of the q-method is to take the many individual views of the informants and produce from them

few shared-perspectives of teachers with common views. In such a process participants selected and prioritized statements in a way that makes sense to them and a common or unique set of responses emerge as a result. Unlike in a survey method, in a q-study respondents are asked to rank statements in the context of each other. This is an important feature because it reveals the relative importance of different aspects of a person's viewpoint which is needed to frame a cohesive perspective (Webler, Danielson, & Tuler, 2007, p. 4). In addition, it helps to clarify areas of agreement and disagreement, allowing the participant to step back and think about the larger picture of how all these beliefs and concerns fit together.

As mentioned before, however worth emphasizing, a q-method enables the study of elements such as subjectivity, opinion, belief, motives, goals and attitudes where it is used to describe a population of viewpoints without requiring a large number of subjects (Peritore, 1990, p. 239; van Exel & de Graaf, 2005, p. 3; McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 36). The sample for this method is not random, but purposive or theoretical looking for diversity in views in regards to informants (ibid).

The q-method is sometimes criticized for an inability to generalize to larger populations; however, no matter how small the samples of people, their perspectives are valid (Anderson & Avery, 1997, p. 338). Furthermore, using the q-method in conjunction with another qualitative tool, semi-structured interviews helps in validating the findings, and allows the study to draw conclusions with greater confidence (Fox, 2006, p. 72). Overall, thousands of studies since 1937 have shown the method to be robust and reliable (Peritore, 1990, p. 17).

Ethics of social research

Ethics is considered to be a fundamental aspect of the research process for academia today. Important to it are principles of sincerity, responsibility, informed consent, confidentiality and integrity. The purpose of acting ethically has many aims, one of which is for the protection of the individuals involved and society in general. Professional organizations like the British Medical Association, colleges, and universities issue strict guidance for researchers in this regard. Macfarlane (2008, p. 2) has noted that these codes are interested in controlling unethical conduct: "Invariably, codes and guidelines produced by these various parties tell researchers what they must not do ". The researcher must then use proper judgement, and values such as respect, sincerity and reflexivity when dealing with the informants in the study. One of the codes applicable to any kind of medical research or research conducted with a human subject is the 'Nuremberg Code'. And according to research practitioners, the 'heart' of the Nuremberg Code is the principle of "voluntary consent" (Macfarlane, 2008, p. 2). Informed by such a principle, this study as a part of its methodology, utilized a verbal and written informed consent with the informants (Appendix 5). The participants were given a description of the project and what their participation entailed. A discussion with the participants took place before the interview was scheduled, where any questions raised by the participants were answered. In addition to this, the discussion was repeated upon arrival at the interview site on the interview date. Furthermore, informants who participated in this research were given a copy of an 'informed consent form', which described the aims of the study and how the data collected

would be used. The participant read and signed the form before the interview and both kept a copy for their records (Appendix 5). The participants were informed that their participation was entirely voluntary and they could discontinue any time during the interview if they wished. Additionally, the interviews were audio recorded.

Another key aspect of ethical research deals with integrity in research. The researcher should avoid actions such as plagiarism and fabrication in their work. Plagiarism is "the appropriation of another person's ideas, processes, results, or words without giving appropriate credit", while fabrication is "making up data or results and recording or reporting them" (Israel & Hay, 2006, p. 113). This study aimed to achieve the highest standard to protect the ideas of the authors referenced. The general goal here was that all references would be properly cited within the text and the bibliography. Also, all the findings would be reported as clearly and accurately as possible.

Additionally, protecting the confidentiality of the informants can be an important aspect of social research. Informants may wish to have their identity remain confidential. For this reason, the research has the obligation to respect such a wish. Participants were informed that their real names would not appear on any formal publication. Overall, the study aimed to utilize responsible judgment in dealing with all of its data sources.

As mentioned before, all the teachers who participated in this research were involved in teaching citizenship at the Key stage 3

or 4 level in England.⁵⁶ These teachers associated with a variety of different cultural and religious backgrounds, as well as personal and professional experiences. Their religious self-identifications included Jewish, Muslim, Roman Catholic, Church of England, and other Protestant traditions; additionally, several of the teachers indicated that they had no religious associations. One way of achieving a diverse selection of candidates was by contacting teachers from different geographical areas with varying levels of ethnic diversity. The census 2001 - Ethnic Diversity Index provided the means to achieve such a selection. Thus, the participants were situated in areas of England which included a variety of ethnic diversity concentrations. Additionally, the selection diversity was further enhanced by contacting teachers who taught at a variety of types of schools (community schools, foundation schools, independent schools, religiously associated, etc).

Several teachers indicated that they had dual roles in their schools where they taught citizenship topics in classes, as well as acted as the Citizenship Co-ordinator for the school, where they guided other teachers in regards to citizenship topics. Furthermore, a number of teachers had concurrent roles of teaching Religious Education and Citizenship or Physical, Social, Health Education (PSHE) and Citizenship.⁵⁷ In terms of the educational background of the Citizenship Educators (CEs), as a

⁵⁶ General details of teachers, the types of schools and the geographical areas of England where they taught are included in the Appendix.

⁵⁷ According to a Department for Education and Skills (DfES) report (RR416), the first cross-sectional survey described that schools employ a variety of delivery methods in implementing citizenship education. Here, it was commonly reported by school leaders that such teaching (90 per cent of it) occurs through citizenship topics in Personal, Social and Health education (PSHE). However, other delivery methods included cross-curricular approach where citizenship related topics were taught in subjects such as religious education, history, geography and English (Kerr, D. et al., 2003, p. iii).

group, they had degrees in an array of subjects such as history, theology, science, health, technology, sociology, geology-geography, and political science/international politics. Furthermore, some had formal citizenship related training, but most did not.⁵⁸

One of the challenges in the process was to identify and obtain voluntary informants for the study who were citizenship educators. Teacher-support related organizations were contacted for their assistance; however, unfortunately they did not yield much help. Also, citizenship educators were contacted through online channels (e.g. websites, etc). This was also not helpful to any significant degree. On the other hand, many local and borough authorities were helpful in contacting informants. A number of local authorities had an education or Citizenship/RE or PSHE/Citizenship advisor that assisted in contacting these teachers. Sometimes civil society organizations who worked with schools were also supportive in linking with citizenship educators.

All teachers who participated in the study chose to be interviewed at the schools where they taught citizenship. All interviews were audio-recorded and each citizenship educator was given a copy of the consent form with a description of the project. The interviews lasted on the average of 1.5 to 2 hours. This included the time for the semi-structured interview and the completion of the q-method, usually split during the day unless the teacher wanted to do them together. The teachers were able to take a break whenever they desired one. In some cases,

⁵⁸ According to the DfES report (RR416), which is based on a national study of citizenship teachers in England, the majority of teachers (71 per cent) had not received any training or development in relation to citizenship education.

the interview was divided into two parts where teachers took a break to teach a class. On a few occasions, this process took longer and multiple trips to visit the teacher were under-taken. Most of the teachers were incredibly forthcoming with information. Some also shared materials that they used in the classroom. Some lessons on citizenship topics were also observed in the schools. Most teachers created their own materials to teach the class. There were also some cases where a private software package on citizenship was used in teaching the subject.

The time constraints of the teachers were another key challenge for this study. Some teachers refused to participate in the research, indicating that they were already overburdened in their school work and did not have additional time to spare. Additionally, the fear of misrepresentation was another concern of some of the teachers. Certain teachers, particularly with religious affiliations refused to participate, with trepidation that their responses would be used to malign their faith group in the public forum. In these cases, it was often a challenge for the researcher to gain the trust of the informant. In addition to such cases, several independent⁵⁹ school teachers who were contacted did not agree to participate indicating that they did not have to comply with the National Curriculum (and teaching citizenship). In all, these were some of the major challenges faced during this research study. Yet even despite the challenges faced during this research, the project was able to proceed and the findings were enlightening as the later chapters will reveal.

⁵⁹ Independent schools educate about 8% of pupils in the UK (Home Office, 2007, p. 67). In these schools parents pay for 100% of the cost of tuition.

Chapter 3: Ancient Athenian Citizenship, the 'Self' and the 'Other'

Introduction

“We have grown noticeably more silent about being an Athens of example now that we are no longer a Rome of power “
(Crick, 2000, p. 32) in *Essays on Citizenship*

Bernard Crick highlighted the importance of learning from the past, specifically drawing attention to the ‘active’ nature of citizenship in ancient Athens. Citizenship, as Crick explained, has “its origins specifically in ancient Greece and is a key part of our civilization” (Crick, *Essays on Citizenship*, 2000, p. 4)⁶⁰. Such an understanding is embedded in the civic-republican conception of citizenship, which inspires the citizenship curriculum in England (Jochum, 2005; Arthur, 2001).

Today ‘active citizenship’, which is an integral tenet of the civic-republican conception of citizenship, seems to have become a buzz phrase in relation to education in England (and beyond). However, one could probe a bit further and also ask what exactly did this ‘active citizenship’ bestow for most of the people in ancient Athens and Greek society as a whole? Critically examining the nature of citizenship within this context may help us to further understand how the concept of citizenship is both understood and used today, especially if it arguably forms “a key part of our civilization”. In this inquiry, I will center the discussion of citizenship on certain focal points. First, the praxis of citizenship cultivates certain shared beliefs, views and ideals in society. Second, a crucial (pedagogical) link could be made between the beliefs and practices of citizenship, where such shared beliefs and views, in a Durkheimian sense, serve to socialize people

⁶⁰ Scholars contend that the model for the civic-republican conception of citizenship can be traced back to the ancient Athenian democracy (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006, p. 658).

towards regulating certain behaviours and practices in society. Third, although citizenship in one of the world's oldest democracies exhibited many virtues, it was not without its faults and perhaps examining some of its deficiencies could help us understand the limitations of the civic-republican tradition which it inspires today. Such an exercise could be useful in both broadening our understanding of citizenship and provide some insight in how to deal with the feature of difference in society.

Ancient Greeks and ideals of citizenship

Much like today, the ancient Greeks held certain ideals of citizenship. One particular Greek who attracted Bernard Crick's attention is Aristotle. Aristotle, who wrote quite systematically about citizenship, was born in Stagirus in 384 BCE (Ostwald, 1962, p. xi). For some time, he lived and studied in Athens at Plato's academy. Later on, he founded his own school in Athens called the Lyceum. Aristotle taught and composed several philosophical treatises including his views on political and social theory. Although, Aristotle wrote about citizenship, he was not an Athenian citizen himself. This is a crucial point, because, as will be discussed later on, being a 'citizen' in Athens and being merely Greek were not perceived to be the same in terms of identity and societal status.

Here, one identity was perceived to have considerably more rights and privileges than the other. Even so, Aristotle wrote extensively about citizenship, politics, ethics and the links between them. In *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle declares, "The true student of politics, too, is thought to have studied virtue above all things; for he wishes to make his fellow citizens good and obedient to the

laws" (Aristotle, 1999, p. 29). In other words, the study and practice of ethics, with a focus on virtue is paramount for Aristotle's view on citizenship. For Aristotle, the essence of citizenship is not merely casting a ballot, but much more. This is because the definition of 'politics' during his time was a great deal wider than how the term is understood today. For the ancient Greeks, society and the state were identical. So much so, that the Greek language does not even have a word other than "polis" to express society (Ostwald, 1962, p. xxiv). In ancient Athens, a modern concept such as 'the separation of church and state' did not exist, so for the citizen of Athens, religion, politics, ethics and the social life were all intertwined. As a consequence, for Aristotle, concepts such as ethics and politics were not separable entities, but had to be engaged simultaneously.

In his work titled *Politics*, Aristotle asserts that polis (the city-state) exists not merely for the preservation of order or the protection of property, but rather for the sake of 'the Good life' or 'Happiness' (Aristotle, 2005, p. xi). Moreover, this idea of 'Happiness' and the pursuit of it is a formulation which Aristotle describes most systematically within his book on ethics, known today as *Nicomachean Ethics*. For this reason, it is not surprising when scholars contend that for Aristotle, the study of politics is subordinate to the study of ethics (Aristotle, *Politics* (Translated by Benjamin Jowett), 2005, p. xvii). In both *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle explains that the ideal polis is not just an alliance; rather, it consists of a structure of rulers and ruled, whose final common purpose is the encouragement of "excellence" among all citizens (Manville, 1990, p. 44). Such a goal is ensured by justice, which belongs to and not separated from the polis (ibid). Aristotle describes justice as a principle whereby the polis or the

association of citizens distributes honors and rewards to its members, according to each man's due or particular contribution (Manville, 1990, p. 44). In other words, for Aristotle, all people are not equal or have equal rights as it is understood today, but rather each according to the capabilities he or she possesses has a role to play in society and must be rewarded by the quality of their work. In such a society, justice defines each member in the whole, protects them and requires that each person should cultivate a commitment to practices or institutions which will lead to "Goodness" or "Happiness" (Manville, 1990, p. 44).

A salient feature of the Athenian polis is the distribution of rights and authority amongst the citizens. The ancient Greek historian Thucydides, declares through the speech of Pericles,

"It is true that our government is called a democracy, because its administration is in the hands, not of the few, but of the many; yet while as regards the law all men are on an equality for the settlement of their private disputes, as regards the value set on them it is as each man is in any way distinguished that he is preferred to public honours, not because he belongs to a particular class, but because of personal merits ; nor, again, on the ground of poverty is a man barred from a public career by obscurity of rank if he but has it in him to do the state a service"

Thucydides, ., & Smith, C. F. (1919), Book 2 XXXVII
History of the Peloponnesian War

Here, Pericles emphasizes the values of equality, public honours based on merit and the active nature of citizenship as principal features in the Athenian democracy. However, it must also be understood that while Aristotle and Pericles described such ideals of citizenship in ancient Greece, the reality was a bit more nuanced. While such ideals articulated that all citizens should be perceived as equal and treated with justice, but what needs more clarification is perhaps the question of who exactly was

considered a citizen? And who was not? And how were those who were perceived as outsiders or the 'Other', treated by the insider group of Athens?

Realities of Athenian democracy

For classical Athenians, Citizenship was *kalon kai semnon*, Greek for "worthy and sacred", (Manville, 1990, p. 3). Here Manville (1990, p. 5) asserts that for the classical period in Greece it is difficult to talk about a purely passive meaning of "politeia" or Citizenship. He explains that politeia appears in texts as the conditions and rights of a citizen, but also as the daily life of the citizen. As a result, citizenship in this context was not just a legal status, as in many democracies today, but acutely linked to certain actions (an idea which is also promoted by Bernard Crick). Furthermore, during this time, the 'state' is another translation of citizenship; because at this time the state is not seen as an independent formal institution aloof from the individual, but intimately connected to the citizens themselves. In the ancient Athenian democracy participation in political affairs was a duty of every citizen:

"An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character"

Thucydides, ., & Jowett, B. (1930), 2.40
Thucydides

In this context, someone who abdicated their "worthy" and "sacred" responsibilities of citizenship by retreating to the private life was labelled as "idiotes" or an idiot (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 149). Again, there was no secular division of the religious life from the political and social, as it is understood in modern societies. In

classical Athens, citizens could be expected to participate in the assembly, courts and the army, and also Athenian cults, festivals and worship. In other words, religion was not perceived as a private and personal matter, but a civic practice. This left little room for foreign religions within the polis. Foreign cults and gods had to be approved by the state. Interestingly enough, this becomes a problematic issue for a citizen such as Socrates who is accused of introducing a new religion to the youth of Athens. For this crime, he was eventually put to death by a jury of citizens.

Citizens of Athens would be expected to attend, to speak and to vote in the popular assembly or to serve (after the age of thirty) as a juror in the law courts (Manville, 1990, pp. 8-9). Citizens had the right to stand for elected offices and to own land in Attika. Some privileges of citizenship in classical Athens included receiving public distributions for services provided and maintenance for hardships. That said, the chief obligation of the citizen was to obey the laws of the polis and the penalty for not doing so was loss of one's rights and privileges within the law (Manville, 1990, p. 9). Athens established institutions where the citizen could participate in the "sacred" and "worthy" life on a regular basis. One of these institutions is the 'Ekklesia' or the assembly.

In fifth century Athens, the assembly (Ekklesia) of citizens usually met on a small hill known as the Pnyx, close to the Agora and the Akropolis. At that time, Pnyx could accommodate up to 6,000 people (Powell, 2001, p. 291). The assembly created a democratic space where the citizens of Athens could debate proposals and cast their vote, but it is likely that no more than 6000 citizens out of the thirty to forty thousand citizens attended any particular meeting (Christ, 2006, p. 50). Citizens of the assembly would meet

four times a month to create laws. There, the assembly could vote on any issue on deliberation and their vote was final. Ideally any citizen could be admitted into the assembly at the age of eighteen or twenty (Osborne, 2000, p. 143) and assemblymen were chosen by lot.

As outrageous as it may sound to people today, for ancient Athenians, lot or sortition was a democratic device for selecting citizens for service for all offices, except those which required some specialized experience or skills, like military commanders (Mulgan, 1984, p. 540). Although the election is a more commonly used democratic institution today, in the ancient Athenian democracy, the lot was believed to be a more suitable democratic device that citizens employed to articulate their commitment to equality. Sortition (Lot) was perceived to be more just than elections in most cases, because unlike sortition, the election, which was also used in certain cases, did not allow the whole citizenry to share in the rewards and honours of public office. Also the election could deny equally qualified citizens of an equal chance of being selected for office (ibid). The lot, on the other hand, had several advantages, such as being a means of reducing conflict, discord and competition; furthermore, it mitigated to a certain extent private interests from having excessive influence over particular officials (Beyer, 1959, p. 246; Mulgan, 1984, p. 552). Moreover, it was believed that the lot could produce a sample set of citizens, which were typically representative of the citizen body as a whole. Accordingly, the 'lot' was used more frequently than the election. In addition to the assembly, selecting citizens for service to the council (which assisted the assembly), courts and a variety of prestigious positions like the ten archons, (who had important legal and religious

duties, such as collecting legal evidence, presiding over courts and organizing religious ceremonies), were all selected by lot (Mulgan, 1984, p. 541).

Theoretically, such practices encouraged any citizen to participate in the democratic life in places like the assembly, where they were free to speak, debate and to propose an alternative motion or an amendment to an existing motion (Rhodes, 2006, p. 57). For these reasons, Ancient Athens was less of an indirect or representative democracy like we often see today, where professional career politicians who when elected to office will vote on a citizen's behalf, rather, it was a direct democracy, where ideally all those who were deemed to be citizens could participate in a variety of ways.

In addition to the assembly (Ekklesia), a smaller body, the council (Boule) of five hundred members would meet daily in the Bouleuterion⁶¹ and would direct the work of the assembly (Camp, 1986, p. 91). They would prepare legislation and propose issues for the assembly to debate and vote on, meet and greet foreign diplomats, and oversee the appointment of tax collectors (Williams J. K., 2005, p. 59). Ideally, the council was chosen by lot, so citizens from the various tribes of Athens over the age of thirty would be able to serve in this body (regardless of wealth or educational background). That said, considerable evidence indicates that most often, this body would be filled with the "elite" citizens of Athens, not the thetes, which were the large poor class of citizens. Furthermore, bribery was not uncommon and a surviving list of members of the council seems to show that

⁶¹ Located in the Agora of Athens, it is a building which was created to accommodate the members of the Boule.

wealthy families were, statistically speaking, somewhat overrepresented (Powell, 2001, p. 303). Aside from having access impediments to the council, the thetes were also exempted from other citizen activities. For instance, all citizens, except thetes were liable for service in the hoplite army or cavalry. Another illustration of how the duties of citizenship in Athens were not the same for everyone has to do with taxes. Direct taxes (eisphorai), which were levied from time to time, were restricted to citizens of a certain wealth (Manville, 1990, p. 10).

The elite citizens of Athens were also obligated to perform liturgies, which were public services for the state at their own expense. These services included manning triremes (ancient warships), putting on plays at the Dionysia (which was considered both a religious and a civic practice), and other expenses related to the proper performance of religious festivals (Osborne, 2000, pp. 26-28).⁶² The large poor class, the 'thetes', were not the only people who were exempted from certain civic obligations such as liturgies. It can be noted that at this time some elite citizens were likely to be exempt from this key civic duty, such as major officeholders, including the nine archons and the ten generals (Christ, 2006, p. 151). Considering that Pericles was a general for sixteen years, he would have enjoyed powers and privileges that many of the citizens of Athens did not possess in their life time.

The jury was another institution where the citizen of Athens could be 'active' in their democracy. However, not all citizens could be eligible jurors; there was a criterion of being over 30 years of age

⁶² Interestingly enough, these plays which the elite citizens of Athens sponsored as religious liturgies highlighted certain cultural values, beliefs and practices that reinforced treatment of various groups of people within the polis. This cultural dynamic will be examined in greater detail a bit later in this chapter.

to participate. If one did manage to fulfil this criteria, then one could take part in an institution which was a principal element of the Athenian democracy. Plato's *Apology* reveals certain characteristics of an Athenian jury. They were usually large (in the hundreds) and selected by lot (Todd, 2005, p. 65). Moreover, both the randomness and a size of the juror pool were used to make it difficult to bribe them. To call them a 'jury' is perhaps misleading, because the Greek 'dikastes' could equally well be translated as 'judge' and they acted more like modern judges in the sense that they determined the outcome of a case and passed sentences with their vote (Todd, 2005, p. 65). However, unlike modern courts, they were not a professionally trained judiciary, but the voice of a segment of the citizen body. Even so, the wealthy often took advantage of this situation, by employing those who were experts in the art of rhetoric to write a speech that would swing a decision of the large uneducated jury in their favour.

As revealed thus far, some of realities of Athenian life do not perfectly reflect the image of citizenship that Pericles described in his famous speech, nor did it entirely align with Aristotle's vision, which was based on the pursuit of excellence and justice. This is because although citizenship was esteemed in Athenian society, not all citizens had the same standing, therefore could not be 'active' on an equal basis. Even more importantly, most people residing in Athens were not even considered citizens at all and therefore could not reap its privileges, nor could they participate in the democracy on equal terms.

In seventh century BCE, there were one foreigner and at least two slaves to every pair of citizens in Athens (Ferguson, 1910, p. 7). In mid-fifth century BCE, Athens had about 40,000 male citizens and

20,000 male metoikoi or metics (non-Athenians, foreigners), and about 140,000 women and children; slaves may have numbered 300,000 throughout the city-state; for a total population of half a million people, of whom fewer than 10 percent had voting privileges as citizens (Williams J. K., 2005, p. 61). In terms of number, the largest group of people in society were slaves. Most of these slaves were brought from the East, beyond the fringes of the Greek world, to provide the labour needed to maintain the city and serve the Athenian democracy (Osborne, 2000, p. 40). However 'equal' citizens might have considered each other during this time, their public view of the 'Other' was not the same. This raises a crucial question: if many of the people in Athens: the women, children, slaves and non-Athenian foreigners were not classified as a citizen, who exactly was a citizen?

Who exactly was an Athenian citizen?

Only native Athenian males who had reached the age of eighteen and had two lawful Athenian parents could be designated the identity of the citizen in the ancient democracy (Manville, 1990, p. 8). This meant that the citizens of the polis were in fact a small group compared to the overall population. In other words, the non-citizen or the outsider-group was everyone else. The 'Other' or the non-citizen included foreigners (xenoi), resident aliens (metoikoi), slaves (douloi), as well as Athenian women and children (Manville, 1990, p. 11). Moreover, because these groups were not perceived as being part of the insider group, the rights, opportunities, protections and freedoms of these people were greatly curtailed. For instance, the xenoi, were Greek trading partners or allies, who provided some form of service to Athens, including military service (Mitchell, 1997, p. 13; Cohen, 2000, p. 52).

Despite this, *xenoi* were not allowed to marry Athenian women, had to pay a special trade tax in the marketplace, and had limited access to Athenian courts (Manville, 1990, p. 11). Another group of people, the *metoikoi* were seen as resident aliens, who had to be sponsored by a citizen, pay a yearly tax, perform military service, but had distinct disadvantages in the courts compared to the citizen (Manville, 1990, p. 11). Yet, despite such disadvantages, these groups fared much better than those considered to be slaves. Within the Athenian democracy, slaves were items of property and could be bought, sold, bequeathed, used for sex and unlike citizens under Athenian law they could be tortured for testimony (Manville, 1990, p. 12). Athenian women also did not fare well in the world's oldest democracy. They could not own property, enter into contracts, take independent action to marry or divorce; however, through their guardian (a husband or a father who was a citizen), they could be protected under the law (Manville, 1990, p. 13).

In all, these various minority groups, i.e. the women of Athens, the young-people of Athens, fellow Greek residents and particularly the slaves, who may have lived in Athens or provided some essential service to the welfare of the city-state, however were culturally perceived as being somehow different and inferior in some way or fashion. And such a shared perception allowed the regulation of exclusive cultural practices, where they were commonly disenfranchised in a variety of ways, consequently denied equal citizenship like the adult male residents of Athens, who having the proper hereditary lines were considered full citizens. The subsequent sections will undertake a closer examination of public images of those considered to be the 'Other' and the implications of this, within the ancient Athenian

democracy.

Citizenship and framing the 'Other'

In ancient Greece, poetic literature and poets wielded immense cultural power. Within this context, "muses" were thought as gods or spirits that possessed divine knowledge and the poet, who the muses inspired, was believed to be an authoritative conduit of this divine knowledge (Ledbetter, 2003, pp. 30, 53). When the poet spoke, it was no ordinary speech, but rather it was believed that the muses endowed him with their own power. The tales in the Iliad and Odyssey might be considered fiction or fairytale literature today, but for the ancient Greeks they were real and sacred sources of authority.

In *Apology*, Socrates⁶³ proclaims that he was on a divine mission to interrogate three groups of people, who during his time held prominent societal power: politicians, craftsmen and the 'wise' poets. Socrates critically challenged the traditional view that the poets were sources of time-tested wisdom and that poetry was suitable for the moral instruction of the youth, who would one day become citizens of Athens (Ledbetter, 2003, p. 93). As a consequence of this, is it not surprising that in the *Republic*, Plato (using the mouth of Socrates) bans most forms of poetry in his ideal state in order to protect the citizens from direct moral

⁶³ For Socrates, and his student Plato, the essence of citizenship was not based on what local practices of a polity determined but a 'natural' right accessible to all human beings. Thus the seed for what would be known as cosmopolitan citizenship can be traced back to Socrates who perceived all human beings, Athenians and foreigners alike as the citizens of the Cosmos – "I regard you as all related, all akin, all fellow citizens - by nature, not by convention. For like is by nature akin to like, but convention, a tyrant over mankind, ordains many things by force contrary to nature" (Plato; Taylor, C. C. W., 1976, pp. 337a-8a). In another discussion, Socrates states: "Wise men say, Callicles, that heaven and earth, gods and men, are held together by so the bonds of community and friendship and order and discipline and righteousness, and that is why the universe, my friend, is called an ordered whole or cosmos and not a state of disorder and licence" (Plato; Hamilton, W. , 1971, p. 508a).

corruption and psychological damage, for Plato perceives that such literature fuels the non-rational parts of the soul and its status as “mimesis” prevents it from providing knowledge (Ledbetter, 2003, p. 2). In other words, Plato's concern is not so much about poetry as an art form (as we perceive it today), but rather the power of the poet and poetic literature in Athenian culture, that had reached a sacred status, which justified certain beliefs and practices within society, and could not be questioned. Furthermore, those that did question such knowledge, such as Plato's teacher Socrates, were severely rebuked and even put to death.

For Plato, the embedded beliefs and views within the poetic corpus were used to justify and endorse non-ethical forms of behaviour, which brought harm to the citizen and the city-state as a whole. Plato's concerns about poetic literature perhaps also stems from the fact that since there was no state system of education or instruction for children in Athens (Golden, 1984, p. 311; Jaeger, 1946, p. 309), ancient Greek poetic literature or “myths” were significantly influential in inculcating certain beliefs and morals, and in socializing certain norms of Greek life (Vandiver, 2002).⁶⁴ Such poetic literature also culturally reinforced the status of certain groups of people in society, such as women, young people, slaves and foreigners.

⁶⁴ “Myths do many things...Among the most obvious functions that they fulfil is; myths often explain, justify, instruct, or warn...Explanatory myths may explain why things are as they are...Myths that provide justification for social rites and institutions are very frequently called, charter myths. Myths may also instruct their audience in how their audience ought, or more frequently, ought not to behave. Myths very frequently instruct through presenting horrible warnings of what is likely to happen to people who transgress the boundaries of proper human behaviour.” (Classical Mythology. Lecture 2: What is Myth?, 2002). Aristotle in *Politics* states “Men model the gods’ forms on themselves, and similarly their way of life too” (Rosen & Wolff, 1999, p. 10).

Originally, bards would travel from village to village to disseminate this perceived "divine" knowledge or myths. However eventually, Greek literature was given an institutional space and visualized in the form of theatrical productions for the populace to consume. In Athens, theatrical productions were subsidized by the democratic state by its elite citizens and state officials were in charge of choosing each year's play (Osborne, 2000, p. 136). Accordingly, what one finds, is that the praxis of citizenship in ancient Athens was culturally linked to and influenced by the values and beliefs embedded in this poetic literature, which was disseminated both through the oral form (travelling Bards) and the visual production (theatre⁶⁵). Hence, to better understand the nature of citizenship in ancient Greece, one has to perhaps ask: what views of the 'Other' were represented in these myths?

Shared views of women

"Oh Zeus, whatever possessed you to put an ambiguous misfortune amongst men by bringing women to the light of day? If you really wanted to sow the race of mortals, why did it have to be born of women? How much better it would be if men could buy the seed of sons by paying for it with gold, iron, or bronze in your temples and could live free, without women in their houses. . ."

Hippolytus in Euripides's tragedy of the same name
(Cantarella, 1985, p. 91)

Inspired by muses, poets were conduits of divine knowledge. So when poets such as Euripides or Hesiod wrote about the nature or the status of women, such a pronouncement carried considerable weight in classical Greek society. In one piece, Hesiod wrote that the first woman was Pandora, who was created by the command of Zeus, the father of Gods and men. As the tale

⁶⁵ During the 6th century, the whole of the Agora (civic centre and market place of Athens) was used for a variety of theatrical events. Moreover, as early as the 5th century, the theatre of Dionysos, south of the Acropolis, was used for athletic as well as theatrical events (Camp, 1986, p. 46).

goes, Pandora was given a jar and told to keep it closed. Out of curiosity, she opens the jar and unleashes evil into the world. The myth of Pandora's jar reflects ancient Greek ideas about women and has introduced a phrase that is still in use today: "opening a Pandora's box", which means to take an action (that can cause potential evils) which cannot be corrected. Hesiod's view of the first woman being intrinsically linked to evil is a theme that travels far in ancient Greek society. In another instance, Hesiod cautions his readers to beware of the nature of women: "Zeus who thunders on high made women to be an evil to mortal men, with a nature to do evil" (Peradotto & Sullivan, 1984, p. 80). Even seventh century writer Semonides described women as "the worst plague Zeus made" (ibid).

The acceptance and proliferation of views about women, and other groups of Athenian residents were not without consequence. Scholars have noted that during the classical period, at a time when democracy was flourishing, and the adult males of Athenian decent were regarded as citizens, the women of Athens on the other hand, were perceived as a lower order of beings, neglected by nature in comparison with man, both in point of intellect and heart (Katz, 1992, p. 77). Such a view deemed women to be incapable of taking part in public life, naturally prone to evil, and fitted only for the propagation the species or at the very least gratifying the sensual appetites of men (ibid). Moreover, during the fifth century, the practice of the exclusion of women from the public sphere and their confinement to the home, in company of female friends, was widespread in Athens (Katz, 1992, p. 73). It was a time when women were compared to female horses, where mares fell into two groups: those kept in the stable, *trophiai*, and those let out to pasture,

phorbades; the latter term came to be applied to women who were not kept at home, referring to prostitutes (Powell, 2001, p. 351).

Some research suggests that the earliest evidence of the face veil comes from Athens where vase-paintings show women escorting each other outdoors, using a shared veil to ward off glances (Powell, 2001, p. 371). This fact might seem ironic today, considering recent debates of face veils in Europe (i.e. hijab worn by some Muslim women), which is perceived as being a strictly non-European or foreign cultural import. Regardless, in classical Athens, an indication that a woman had been out doors for a prolonged period, such as a tanned face, would suggest that she worked out doors, was poor and of low class and could be derided (Powell, 2001, p. 371). Therefore, it is not surprising to learn from Aristotle that Athenian women were different then Thracians and other barbarian women who worked outdoors doing farm work. Aristotle also noted that in the Greek context "female and the slave are by nature distinct", yet in non-Greek lands, "among barbarians, the female and the slave have the same rank" (Politics 1252b). In all, to avoid being mistaken as slaves, some Athenian women even used makeup to whiten their skin; this could be produced from white powder scraped from lead left to corrode in vinegar (Osborne, 2000, p. 144).

Despite the overall restrictions on Athenian women, there were however, some rare occasions when women were seen outdoors such as public festivals or funerals. Otherwise, the common perception was that a woman in public was seen as a temptress and a woman who entered the men's room (andron) to eat and drink in masculine company was assumed to be a prostitute

(Osborne, 2000, pp. 144-145). That said, there was one space where it was culturally acceptable for Athenian women to wield some power. Athenian women were often masters of the household (oikos), where they managed the domestic duties, such as raising their children and managing the slaves. An Athenian woman had slightly more rights than a slave, especially if she was married to a citizen, where she could use the court system to address legal issues, such as property disputes, but a man (usually husband or father) had to represent her in court (Williams J. K., 2005, p. 72). Furthermore, even if a woman could use the court in a limited way, she had no right to testify in a trial, since in the court, only a citizen's testimony could be accepted (Johnstone, 2003, p. 252). Women, children, or slaves had no such right. In addition to access limitations to the courts, there were other cultural limitations that some Athenian women were subjected to. Some citizens arranged for their daughters to live with another citizen as his pallake, and negotiated the terms of the union (Roy, 1997, p. 17). This was not a marriage. "The range of status covered by the word was however so wide that a pallake might be simply a slave-woman kept by a master for his sexual pleasure and discarded" as he saw fit (Roy, 1997, p. 17). In all, women in ancient Athens were generally perceived as the 'Other', different than the citizen, and consequently had to endure numerous injustices in the world's oldest democracy.

Shared views of slaves and young people

"Zeus, of the far-borne voice, takes away the half of a man's virtue, when the day of slavery comes upon him"

Odyssey of Homer,
translated by S. H. Butcher (1999)

The ancient Greeks had a way of thinking which would categorize all sorts of things into pairs of polar, either/or opposites, which were treated in practice as “incompatible (not A and B) and exhaustive (either A or B)” (Rosivach, 1999, p. 142). Either something was X or Y, either something was man or woman, “Greeks” or non-Greeks. Inevitably, the Barbaroi (Barbarian) was not only something non-Greek, but could never hope to become Greek, because it was by nature inferior to a citizen, like a plant or animal.

“Hence, as the poets say, ‘It is proper that Greeks should rule non-Greeks’,
on the assumption that non-Greek and slave are by nature identical”
Aristotle, *Politics*, Book 1⁶⁶

The ancient Greeks did not see these people as a diverse community of nations and tribes, but as one single monolith group, which was wholly different than them. Such a view made it psychologically easier for Athenians to wage war against them, to take their land, to buy and sell them as property. Classical Athens went to war often and it was common practice to enslave barbarians. Poetic literature described the barbarians to be like domesticated animals, fit for enslaving, especially for the service of Athenian citizens (Rosivach, 1999, p. 143). According to Xenophon, human beings were amenable to reason, but only training appropriate for wild animals will secure the obedience of one's slaves (ibid, p. 149). A slave could be flogged, tortured, and even put to death. The Greek statesman, Demosthenes, in *Against Timocrates* (167) proclaims “the biggest difference is that the body of a slave is made responsible for all his misdeeds, whereas corporal punishment is the last penalty to inflict on a free man” (1935, p. 481). This customary way of perceiving the

⁶⁶ Translated by Tervor J. Saunders as cited in Rosen, M., & Wolff, J. (1999). *Political Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 10.

barbarian continued with the Romans who did not see, for instance, the ancient Britons as free humans like themselves, but as barbarians who could be subjugated. Thus the irony here is that, even if modern thinkers like Bernard Crick, who have claimed ancient Athens as “a key part of our civilization” (Crick, 2000, p. 4), ancient Athenians perceived the ancient Britons as barbarians.

Edith Hall (1989, p. 2) argues that the Athenian empire was built on two pillars. The first was the democratic constitution which encouraged and sometimes violently imposed democratic systems on its allies and dependencies. The second was slavery, the economic basis for the empire. To justify and regulate such a praxis, distinctions were drawn between Athenians themselves and barbarians. In *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*, Hall (1989) describes how language was used in defining the Greek's perception of other peoples. Moreover, such innovative descriptions constructed conceptual boundaries, which estranged different peoples, dividing Greeks from non-Greeks. Furthermore, Hall explained that although oppressive behaviour which resulted from the Greeks' sense of their own superiority took similar forms to the racial discrimination of modern times, biologically determined ethnic inequality though occasionally apparent was not central to the Greco-Roman world-view. Hall instead proclaimed that the Greek worldview could be characterized by terms such as “xenophobia”, “ethnocentrism” and “chauvinism”, as a doctrine declaring superiority of a particular culture and legitimizing its oppression of others.

The corpus of Greek literature constructed the barbarian with

certain characteristics and values in order to show the Greek superiority over them. For instance, poets like Aristophanes projected them as extravagantly “luxurious” and “effeminate” (Hall, 1989, p. 96) . In *The Suppliants*, Aeschylus described them as “despotic” and “unjust” (Hall, 1989, pp. 172-173). In *Rhesus*, and in *Helen*, they are characterized as “stupid” or “unsophisticated” and Aeschylus portrayed them as “lawless” and “savage” (Hall, 1989, pp. 122,193). If one bears in mind, that tragedies such as these would be performed regularly in Athens as citizen sponsored events, the viewing would have served to normalize the shared perceptions of the barbarians amongst the population as a whole.

As indicated previously, the citizen was an adult male with both parents of Athenian origin. Accordingly, the citizen and the slave were by nature unequal, but what about children and young people? It has been cited that shared views about children and slaves regulated certain institutional practices in Greek society that allowed citizens to utilize them in sexual relationships. Golden (1984, p. 309) explains that *Pais*, a common Greek term for both child and young person (male and female), was also used to denote a slave of any age, as were certain of its derivatives. Within this context, children and slaves were felt to share common characteristics, such as intellectual incapacity and exceptional susceptibility to desire, pleasure, pain and were liable in custom and law to physical violence, often in a disciplinary context. Such relations between a citizen and a young person were usually not a reciprocated sentiment of equals, but rather the pursuit of the lower status by a higher status (Golden, 1984, p. 310). In this context, Golden (1984, p. 309) contended that Athenians elites institutionalized homosexual acts where the *Pais* would submit to

his lover who is an older free man and most probably an Athenian citizen, until this young person is married, at which point his status changed⁶⁷ (1984, p. 319).

It is important to understand within this context, male-male relationships were not just tolerated, but they were seen as being important for the pedagogy of the younger man, who would one day become a citizen (Kaplan, 1997, p. 51). As reciprocation for the pleasure the older man (erastes) would obtain from such a relationship, the younger man would be given gifts or education on civic virtue (Kaplan, 1997, p. 52). Such pederastic practices are not just reflected in poetry, prose and philosophical literature of early Greek society, but also in vase paintings. Golden (1984, p. 313) noted that "Women on the vases often appear to enjoy sex. But passive homosexual partners show no sign of pleasure; they have no erection and usually stare straight ahead during intercourse". Just as it was for women and slaves, the shared views of the *Pais*, served to institutionalize particular cultural practices that extended the rights and privileges of the citizen, while severely limiting the rights of the 'Other'.

What about non-Athenian Greeks?

As described previously, the ancient Greeks had a way of thinking which would categorize all sorts of things into pairs of polar, either/or opposites, which were treated in practice as incompatible" (Rosivach, 1999, p. 142). Since being a citizen meant having Athenian parents, and being an adult male, then,

⁶⁷ Golden explains that at this point the *pais* has not necessarily given up homosexual activities, the crucial difference is that sexual relations with other full Athenian citizens are no longer carried on as a *pais* or with a *pais*. The young husband begins to produce *paides* (group of children and slaves), as well as to control *paides* as a master.

merely being Greek or anything else was not perceived to be sufficient. As we have seen, such a vision of the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' created an insider/outsider duality in society, where the 'Other' was different and inferior in relation to the Athenian citizen. Not only this, but such an outlook justified the disenfranchisement of women, children, and numerous people from the East, who were extracted as slaves. Yet it did not stop there, the Athenian democracy would eventually pursue a path which would lead to the persecution and subjugation of Greek city-states neighbouring Athens. With the creation of the Delian League⁶⁸, the Greek ally states would eventually be forced to become subjects of the Athenian polis, which transformed the Athenian city-state into a colonial empire (Sienkewicz, 2007, p. 180).

The ancient Athenian democracy, as Moreno (2007) contends prodigiously relied on the constant importation of energy resources like grain from lands as remote as southern Russia, and this trade was ultimately managed by powerful politicians, wealthy proprietors, and rulers. To obtain such energy sources, the Athenian democracy would wage a series of non-defensive wars on its neighbours, acquiring their land and resources, killing some, enslaving a portion of them and forcefully expelling thousands of people from their native homeland (Low, 2008, p. 16). One example of this practice is exhibited with Euboea, where Athenian citizens expropriated the land from the locals and distributed it to 4000 of their own citizens. These territories played an important role as a producer of grain from 506BCE and were Athens' main

⁶⁸ Delian League began as a confederacy of Greek states, mainly maritime, organized by the Athenians in 478 BCE against a perceived threat of a Persian invasion. However, as the league grew in power and wealth, it eventually became an instrument of Athenian aggression against other Greek and non Greek cities (Sienkewicz, 2007, pp. 169-170).

granary from 446 to 411 BCE (Moreno, 2007, pp. 77-81).

Other instances of Athenian aggression included forcefully depopulating overseas territories including, in 446 BCE, the polis of Histiaea, where the population was removed to Macedonia; in 416/15 BCE, the polis of Melos, where all citizen males of military age were executed, and all women and children enslaved; in 365/4 BCE, the polis of Samos, the whole population was expelled from their lands; in 427 BCE, the Athenians divided a segment of Lesbos, and handed the ownership of land from 20,000 Lesbians to just 3,000 Athenians (Moreno, 2007, pp. 317-718). These are just some of the historical examples where the world's oldest democracy committed acts of heinous belligerency towards other Greeks. It has been argued that the ultimate purpose of these projects was not to settle or to feed the Athenian poor, but instead to provide abundant lands and resources for the Athenian elite (Moreno, 2007, p. 141). What is interesting is that Athenian citizens considered it immoral and sometimes even illegal to do such acts with those whom they considered as citizens of Athens, but the perceived 'Other', which included the women, young-persons, slaves and even other Greeks in these cases, were subject to lesser humane treatment.

Moving beyond 'active citizenship'

The final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship chaired by Professor Bernard Crick contended that citizenship is a political tradition going as far back as ancient Greece, which has meant involvement in public affairs "by those who had the rights of citizens" (QCA , 1998, p. 9). Such an explanation, must however be augmented to highlight that the contemporary understanding

of 'politics' is much narrower than how the Greeks envisaged it. And that for the Athenian democracy, being a citizen included the political, as well as the social, religious and cultural dimension. Hence, when one critically examines the past, it seems appropriate to suggest that the discourse on citizenship should not strictly be limited on the individual rights or civic-participation dimension (which is the hallmark of the civic-republican conception of citizenship), since such a discussion often conceals significant features within a culture which also have an impact on citizens. Even if one accepts that 'active citizenship' as civic-republicanism highlights, is a key trait of the ancient Athenian model, one must also understand that this was far from being the egalitarian or "equality for all people" model that is envisioned by many democratic polities today. As it has been shown, in classical Athens, the citizen body included only a small group of people, the elite adult male men of Athens. Moreover, it excluded large portions of the population such as women, children/young-persons, slaves, and resident allies, who may have been Greek in identity like Aristotle, but were not perceived as being equal to the adult males who were born in Athens and had the proper bloodlines.⁶⁹

In such a model, citizenship defined rights and responsibilities, instituted egalitarian democratic devices like selection by lot; however, hidden within the culture were institutions/practices that designated insider and outsider groups within the society and which ultimately legitimized the disenfranchisement of many

⁶⁹ The tradition of citizenship based on 'bloodlines' was continued even in modern Europe, in places like Germany, Austria and Luxembourg (Krotoszynski, 2006, p. 132). Up till 2000, "for a child to be born a German citizen, one of his parents must be German" (ibid, p. 133). Since then, it has been posited that language testing in Germany has been used in the politics of exclusion (Hansen-Thomas, 2012).

people. The insider groups were considered the citizens, but also within them, there were classes of status and privileges and duties (often based on wealth and position). In addition to this, the outsider group or the 'Other' was disenfranchised through a number of cultural practices. The virtual 'Othering' in Greek society was perpetuated by the poetic-literature, which was the media of its time, and which had a sacred authoritative status in society. Moreover, such a cultural device served as a significant ideological/pedagogical apparatus, which was used to socialize the masses into understanding which groups of people were included or excluded in the club of citizenship.⁷⁰ Thusly, understanding the views of the 'Other' in relation to the 'Self' becomes significant in the praxis of citizenship.

An Athenian citizen was often a man who with sufficient freedom from work was able to engage in public affairs - religious, political and military (Jameson, 1978, p. 124). The Athenian man could afford to be an 'active' citizen because large portions of the populations were extracting the raw materials, resources and providing the labour to support the few who were part of this citizen class. In other words, while citizens of Athens were active in places like the assembly and the courts, the women were managing the home and the slaves were preparing the meals, tending the farms, manning the shops, performing as

⁷⁰ In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Pierre Bourdieu et al contend that: "In any given social formation, the PA [pedagogic action] which the power relations between the groups or classes making up that social formation put into the dominant position within the system of PAs is the one which most fully, though always indirectly, corresponds to the objective interests (material, symbolic and, in the respect considered here, pedagogic) of the dominant groups or classes, both by its mode of imposition and by its delimitation of what and on whom, it imposes" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 7). In addition to this, Bourdieu posits the notion of cultural reproduction which refers to the ways in which social institutions (including pedagogical or symbolic) perpetuate social and economic inequalities across generations through the influence of values, attitudes and practices (Giddens, 2006, p. 710).

accountants, cashiers, bailiffs, prison attendants, executioners, criers, work-men in the mint, and even as police-soldiers, serving a variety of functions for the benefit of the citizen body (Beyer, 1959, p. 246). Even today, being an 'active citizen' in certain respects is a privilege not everyone can participate in. Research shows that most people who volunteer in England for instance, who are the "civic core", are likely to be "middle-aged, well-educated and based in prosperous areas" (TSRC, 2011).

Additionally, in ancient Athens, even if the women, the slaves, the young-persons and other Greek residents contributed actively in various ways to make the Athenian society successful, they were not afforded the legal or the cultural status of equal members of society who deserved the honours or justice that citizens received. When Pericles in his famous speech said that in the Athenian democracy, "each man is in any way distinguished that he is preferred to public honours, not because he belongs to a particular class, but because of personal merits; nor, again, on the ground of poverty is a man barred from a public career by obscurity of rank", one has to be cautious not to assume that this pronouncement included everyone or even most people in the ancient democracy.

With that said, it is important to note that even the ancient Athenians for a period in their history recognized that some citizens needed more support than others to fulfil their civic obligations. An example of this can be seen with regard to jury service. Since not everyone could afford to take time out for such a service, in the fifth century, reforms instituted pay for jury service and public office, thereby enabling a greater number of poor citizens to participate fully in public affairs (Sienkewicz, 2007, p.

180). Although this practice did not endure, it showed a key public recognition of the fact that assigning merely rights and duties for the citizen, was not sufficient to enable all citizens to participate in a democratic society.⁷¹

For those such as Bernard Crick, learning from the example of the ancient Athenian democracy may be beneficial for the understanding of citizenship in contemporary societies. It has been argued by some that 'active citizenship', which is a key tenet of the civic-republican conception of citizenship, is essential for England today. Crick, for instance, has contended that "More republics fall by apathy than by malice. Think of the fall of Weimar and the election of Hitler when so many good Germans stayed at home" (Crick, 2002, p. 49). Although Crick might be prudent in contending the importance of 'active citizenship' as shown by the Athenian example, which protected equal rights for citizens and promoted the importance of participation in the civic life; Even so, it is essential to acknowledge the fact that such a conception of citizenship did not prevent large portions of the population to be disenfranchised and even persecuted in the harshest sense. Thus, it seems sensible to acknowledge that any critical investigation of citizenship must in my view also include an enquiry of what kind of 'Other' is constructed and the implications of this dynamic in society. The next section proceeds further in this direction.

Citizenship, teacher's views and 'Othering'/racism

At this point, I wish to reemphasize a notion I articulated earlier in

⁷¹ Today, those who critique the liberal and civic republican conceptions of citizenship often argue that rights by themselves are not sufficient for equal citizenship. This idea will be discussed further in later chapters.

this chapter, that the praxis of citizenship cultivates certain shared beliefs, views and ideals in society. This also includes beliefs and views of those perceived as the 'Other'. Second, a crucial (pedagogical) link could be made between the beliefs and practices of citizenship, where such beliefs, views, ideals, in a Durkheimian sense, serve to socialize people towards regulating certain behaviours and practices in society. Thus, the interplay between views of the 'Other', and the effects on social structures and practices including pedagogical ones, as a key dynamic of citizenship was not just a phenomenon of the world's earliest democracy, as we saw previously, but continues to operate in different forms today. In the ancient Athenian democracy, the 'Other' was often those not deemed to have the status of 'citizens'. Yet today, the processes of 'Othering' disenfranchise not just non-citizens⁷², but also those who are deemed to be citizens on paper, yet are not able to 'actively' participate in society as equal citizens due to an insider/outsider duality constructed within the citizenry. This crucial understanding has been implicitly and in other cases explicitly articulated by scholars who research racism/antiracism in education. The last few decades of research in Britain has identified certain factors which contribute to the 'Othering' of citizens with a minority background, through racism in education:

- Neo-liberalism (as discussed in Chapter 1)
- Pejorative public imagery of minorities, leading to their exclusion in societal institutions including education (Alexiua & Sordéb, 2011, p.

⁷² According to UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Searching for Citizenship*, there are more than 12 million people worldwide who are considered Stateless, meaning they do not have citizenship in any nation. Statelessness can happen due to a number of reasons including discrimination (UNHCR, 2013). This means they have no right to a passport or even healthcare, housing and employment. In addition to this, UNHCR reports there are more than 45 million refugees worldwide or people who have fled their country to escape persecution or are victims of armed conflict or violence.

50). (Jones M. , 1985, p. 227), (Gillborn, 2008, p. 152), (Tomlinson S. , 2008, pp. 4-5), (Jackson, 1995, p. 273), (Bhopal, 2011, p. 317) (Poynting & Mason, 2006, p. 365).

- Lack of political leadership and support for teachers to fight racism in education (Gillborn, 1995, pp. 62-63,177), (Tomlinson S. , 2008, p. 4), (Parsons, 2009 , p. 262), (Modood & May, 2001, p. 307), (Osler & Starkey, 2002, pp. 148-151), (Bhandal, 2007, pp. 5-6,33), (Gillborn, 2007, pp. 14-15), (Tomlinson S. , 2008, p. 4), (Gillborn, 2008, pp. 8,14), (O'Brien, 2009, p. 198), (Cole M. , 2004, p. 35), (O'Brien, 2009, p. 196), (Short, 1992, pp. 175-177), (Cole M. , 2011, p. 49), (Osler A. , 2011 , p. 5).
- Exclusion of minorities in curriculum guidance and pedagogical literature (Ling Yin, 2007, pp. 189-190), (Harris & Clarke, 2011, p. 160), (Osler & Starkey, 2001, p. 293), (Hicks, 1981, pp. 14-15), (Stevens, 2009, p. 413), (Jackson, 1995, p. 279), (Davies & Issitt, 2005, p. 389).
- Teachers views of minority groups (Gillborn, 2008, p. 8), (Harris & Clarke, 2011, p. 173), (Cole M. , 2004, p. 45), (Gundara, Jones, & Kimberley, 1986, p. 43), (Short, 1992, pp. 173-177), (Tomlinson S. , 2008, pp. 38-40), (Stevens, 2009, p. 413), (Gillborn D. , 2006, p. 89).

First of all, scholars explain that many societies including Britain tend to view the world in an ethnocentric way where their cultural norms are used to judge other cultures which are different. The result of this is that other cultures are perceived as odd, strange, or less normal or less natural. A racist vantage point goes further to suggest that the world is composed of 'races' some inferior and some superior (Hicks, 1981, p. 14; Jones M. , 1985, p. 232). Despite the prevalence of these viewpoints, most scholars contend that 'race' is not a product of nature, but in fact a man-made production. Contemporary scientists have shown that 'race' is in fact a social construct (of historical contexts), not a biological one. That such a notion originated in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to justify the social order of England and

other European countries ruling the subject territories and populations of the global south (Cole M. , 2011, p. 2; Giddens, 2006, pp. 485-6; Gillborn, 2008, p. 2). Furthermore, the DNA of native Britons is not statically unique to the island, but in fact has traces of centuries of migrants (ibid). Colour of skin as an identifier is thus purely a contextual notion.

"In the US, for example, any physical marker of African American ancestry is usually taken as sufficient to identify a person as 'Black'; that same person, however, could board a flight to Brazil and, on disembarking, would find that they were viewed very differently by most Brazilians because the conventional categories in that society are markedly different to the 'commonsense' assumptions in North America"

Gillborn, D. (2008, pp. 2-3)
Racism and education: Coincidence or conspiracy?

Even so, the public perception of racism as being based on skin colour is a legacy of the British colonial era, and its continuing significance today, with new hybrid forms which include culture and religion as a basis for discrimination (Cole M. , 2011, pp. 3,48; Gundara, Jones, & Kimberley, 1986, p. 22). Modern racism is based on the idea that cultures are closed, and that certain cultures like that of Anglo-Saxon Europe are superior to that of others: biologically, economically, linguistically and/or morally (Alexiua & Sordéb, 2011, p. 50; Tomlinson S. , 2008, p. 5). Although the colonial era is of the past, public perceptions in the media discourse and popular literature still tend to condition people using tropes of cultural and racial superiority that disenfranchise black and Asian British citizens who are the descendants of colonized peoples (Jackson, 1995, p. 273; Hicks, 1981, p. 14)⁷³. In the 1970s, the public imagery of the black Afro-Caribbean Rastafarian males were demonized, in succeeding decades black males were regarded more culpable for gun and drug

⁷³ This issue was also raised by citizenship educators during the interviews and will be expanded further in later chapters.

crimes, and in the 2000s, Muslims became the new 'Other' to be further demonized (Tomlinson S. , 2008, p. 4).

That said, Gillborn (2007, p. 21) explains that racism "is used not only in relation to crude, obvious acts of race hatred, but also in relation to the more subtle and hidden operations of power that have the effect of disadvantaging one or more minority ethnic groups". The sources for the construction of 'black children' as a problem for the education system through the 70s and 80s was projected through the media as well as official sources like the Scarman Report of 1981 that sought to fix in the 'mind of white society' that young black people (especially male) were trouble, thus such a view was carried into the classroom where black children were perceived as not only disruptive but violent (Cole M. , 2004, p. 44). Today, certain groups of citizens and their cultures continue to be projected in the media and official sources as in the case of Muslims as 'evil' or a 'fifth column', as well as Gypsy and Travellers as outsiders or non-contributing members of society; consequently, these views continue the risk of permeating into the classroom in the form of daily bullying, vituperations and racism (Poynting & Mason, 2006, p. 365; Bhopal, 2011, p. 317). Scholars highlight that one effect of the Othering (regardless of intention) is that particular minoritized groups who are positioned as the 'Other': black pupils, pupils of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Gypsy/Traveller heritage continue to suffer in terms of their educational achievements at the end of their compulsory schooling (Gillborn D. , 2008, p. 69; Bhopal, 2011, p. 318; Gillborn D. , 2006, p. 89). These groups therefore are at risk of not likely to be enabled to become 'active citizens' in the fullest sense through the education they receive.

Another factor cited by scholars as contributing to 'the Othering' of certain citizens in education is the exclusion of minority groups in curriculum guidance and pedagogical literature. This could be achieved by marginalizing them and their cultures, their contributions and concerns or by completely ignoring them and antiracism, as is often done. This of course has a negative impact on children's learning about themselves in relation to pupils with other backgrounds/heritage. The Crick Report (*Education for Citizenship*) was criticized for instance for treating minority ethnic communities as a 'homogenous mass', who are assumed to look outside the UK for their true homeland (Gillborn D. , 2006, p. 93). Additionally, Figueroa (2000, p. 47) asserted that in prescribing the programmes of study for citizenship education (key stages 3 and 4) which includes rights and responsibilities of a citizen, consumers, employers/employees, the justice system, diversity and mutual respect, voluntary work, the economy, the local and the global community. Moreover, the guidance on skills teaching includes enquiry, communication, participation, and researching, yet through this discourse 'antiracism' is hardly mentioned. Therefore, the sheer act of omission inculcates certain pedagogical pathways; unless of course individual citizenship educators choose to add focus on this matter. In addition to this, Osler (2001, p. 293) explains that within the *Education for Citizenship - QCA 1998* report,

"there is an implied process of assimilation or integration which requires more effort on the part of minorities than for white British citizens, who, for their part, only need to learn to 'tolerate' ethnic minorities. This not only implies a deficit model of 'minority' cultures which are somehow less law-abiding (and possibly less democratic?) than those of whites, but is also symptomatic of a colonial approach to black British communities which runs throughout the report".

All these issues are concerns for education-for-antiracism

proponents because empirical evidence suggests that content choices have an impact on how students perceive themselves and the 'Other', and this ultimately impacts their achievement and performance in the classroom (Harris, R.; Clarke, G., 2011, p. 160). Moreover, content choices can improve social interaction between pupils of different backgrounds (ibid). Yet very little has been achieved in this direction.

In addition to this, a study that compared textbook pedagogical literature in England, Canada and Australia revealed some interesting tendencies. First of all, it was contended that generally textbooks in all three contexts emphasized forms of citizenship that 'submerge citizen empowerment' while focusing on orthodox agendas (Davies & Issitt, 2005, p. 389). Additionally, while Canadian textbooks explicitly included international and global material, Australian text books focused more on the home nation (ibid). While textbooks from England were more concerned with the promotion of broad social values like being cooperative and positive in the face of problems, Australian textbooks focused on skills for better understanding society (ibid, p. 390). Furthermore, textbooks from Canada and Australia placed an explicit emphasis on concerns of minority communities and diversity. This does not mean English textbooks did not discuss diversity. The findings indicated the key issue here was approach. English textbooks tended to focus on issues of general communities, encouraging greater awareness of religious practices and 'the role of individuals in making friends', while a critical exploration of power in society and antiracism were mildly covered (Davies & Issitt, 2005, p. 403). In general, these findings corroborate much of the literature on education and racism (which was discussed in

Chapter 1), accordingly one could cogently posit that such acts of exclusion or the peripheralization of minority identities, their concerns (including racism,...etc) and the lack of a critical look at societal structures in the pedagogical material contributes to their overall exclusion in education.

Another critique of curriculum guidance and pedagogical material comes in the area of language. According to the government figures, minority ethnic pupils speak more than 240 different languages and dialects across the country, and in inner London about 50% of the pupils speak languages other than English as their first language at their homes (Govaris, 2010, p. 38). That said, scholars cite that although curriculum guidance (for the foundational stage in England) promotes the rhetoric of inclusion and a culturally diverse provision, these materials are only available in English, and no minority languages are even acknowledged (Ling-Yin, 2007, p. 188). Although such guidance often articulates the importance of multiple identities and the multilingual nature of society, the voice of parents and multilingualism is obscured. Although such literature highlights the importance of cultural diversity, it does little to discuss the differences with ethnic groups.⁷⁴ Therefore, the effect of these pronouncements, omissions, and over all categorizations serves to privilege uniformity through language and culture of the dominant group (Ling-Yin, 2007, pp. 189-190). Such concerns are frequently highlighted by scholars of education:

“Knowledge taught in schools is a form of cultural capital and is a social construction that reflects the values, perspectives, and experiences of the dominant ethnic group. It systematically ignores or diminishes the validity and significance of the life experiences and contributions of ethnic and

⁷⁴ This was also argued by Gillborn and Osler in regards to the citizenship education guidance as mentioned previously in this chapter.

cultural groups that historically have been vanquished, marginalized, and silenced" (Gay 2004, p. 41, cited in Harris, R.; Clarke, G., 2011, p. 160).

In addition to these critiques, Gutmann (1987, p. 256) argues that "democratic education continues after school not only for children but for adults who learn from books, plays, concerts, museums, newspapers, radio, and even television". In this regard, Hick (1981, p. 17) explains that the phenomenon of racism has been institutionalised in Britain so much so that education, press, and popular literature articulates a civilising mission and racial paternalism. For instance, children story books like *Tintin in America* with the front cover depicting Tintin tied to a post with a fierce Native American brandishing an axe serve to reinforce existing prejudices about 'other' cultures (ibid). In *Reel Bad Arabs* (2006), Jack Shaheen analyzes how Hollywood films, including that of Disney (which are often used by parents and educators as pedagogical tools) have historically denigrated minorities like those of a Middle Eastern background. According to sociologists and educationalists the repeated proliferation of these pedagogical imagery are not without consequences. They institutionalize and give normalcy to acts of 'Othering', which overtime becomes convention. That said, content choices, acts of omission, and pejorative imagery of certain religious/cultural groups is not the only way in which these citizens are minoritized.

The exclusion of minority cultural/religious citizens in pedagogical content is one factor. However, these materials have to be selected and interpreted by teachers, whose perspectives can play a key role in inculcating or challenging views/practices that disenfranchise citizens in the classroom, but whose effects go much beyond. In Chapter 1, we discussed the government's

Swann Report, which contended the views of teachers have a strong link to practices in schools and the achievement of students with a minority background. Even though the report posited that explicit racism was a marginal occurrence, the effects of unintentional racism can be as damaging to students (Short, 1992, p. 175). Here, research also shows that the views of teachers towards 'Other' minority groups can be a cause for concern. Although the Swann Report (DES, 1985) expressed the importance of shaping a diverse society with equal opportunities, and the importance of teachers' views and fighting racism, recent research reveals slow progress in how teachers feel about working with minority ethnic students (Pearce, 2012, pp. 455-6). Moreover, Gillborn (2008, p. 8) states,

"How many times do they need to be told that White teachers see Black kids as more likely to cause trouble than excel in class? All those countless studies show that – whatever the teachers tell themselves – White teachers tend to be systematically more controlling and have lower expectations of Black students?"

In addition to the prevalence of the imagery of male racial/ethnic minority students, the perception of female students is also a source of concern. Asian female pupils are likely to be perceived as 'passive' and 'benign', and this reflects their supposed cultural subordination; additionally, white girls of Caribbean origin are more likely than other students to be seen as 'bossy' and 'loud' (Cole M. , 2004, pp. 45-46). In addition to this, the imagery of a hard-working Indian and Chinese student is often appropriated to disprove charges of racism against any or all minorities, as well as comparisons are made with other underachieving groups to cast the latter in a light of deficiency or even as 'dangerous' (Gillborn, 2008, p. 152).

Studies as far back as the Rampton report articulated the

stereotyping of West Indians by teachers led to their constant failure to motivate them (Gundara, Jones, & Kimberley, 1986, p. 43). That said, decades of research in this discourse frequently emphasized that teachers' views, their expectations, the treatment of pupils and the outcomes of pupils were linked; moreover, in cases where teachers hold negative stereotypes of racial/ethnic minority children, they tend to have low expectations of them, which in turn, can become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Stevens, 2009, p. 414; Tomlinson S. , 2008, p. 38; Gillborn D. , 2006, p. 89).⁷⁵ A repeated occurrence in this discourse was the interplay between perspectives of the 'Other', which influence practices, which then disenfranchise certain groups of citizens. Furthermore, in this circular and symbiotic relationship between perspectives and practices, these practices then serve to sustain the perspectives of the 'Other' to pass to future generations. So even if we proclaim on paper at-least in the legal sense, that all citizens are equal, as long as our societal practices and our social structures do not change; we continue the cycle of denying active citizenship to large portions of the population.

Here, scholars also cite that one occurrence can challenge such a predicament; if teachers are provided knowledge and training on the diversity of co-cultures in society and antiracism. This is crucial because it can be used to challenge stereotypes that are dispersed in the public discourse, as well as critically examine the structures in society that deny opportunities and protections to large portions of the citizenry. Studies like the Rampton report have articulated the lack of understanding by teachers of their

⁷⁵ According PISA research findings, about 30 per cent of students from disadvantaged backgrounds are "resilient" or best performers of all students in a similar background internationally. The findings show the more "motivated" these students are, the greater their odds to be "resilient" (OECD, 2011 , pp. 1-2).

pupils' distinctive cultural heritage. And culture or diversity cannot be valued if it is not properly understood.

Ideology is, as Jones (1985, p. 227) describes how unjustified practices can appear justified by serving a distorted representation of social reality and in doing so promote the interests of one group in society to the detriment of those of other groups. Ideology (racism being one form of it) appears when “our prejudice in favour of the customary practices and conventional wisdom of our home form of life lead us to prefer a rationalisation of those practices and beliefs to genuine critical reflection on their justifiability...” (Jones M. , 1985, p. 230). Until 1999, Gillborn contends anti-racism was frequently depicted in Britain as a dangerous ideology associated to the so called “looney left” of socialist councils (2007, p. 14). As mentioned previously in Chapter 1, Swann's multicultural education promoted the teaching of ‘other cultures’ to deal with intolerance, but ignores the structural and institutional nature of racism (O'Brien, 2009, p. 196). Moreover, although there has been acknowledgement of ‘institutional racism’ in recent policy statements, acceptance and commitment to the principles is still lacking. In 2003, British Home Secretary, David Blunkett proclaimed that ‘institutional racism’ was a slogan that let individual managers ‘off the hook’ (Cole M. , 2004, p. 35). Cole (2004, p. *ibid*) contended that the denial of ‘institutional racism’, by political leaders like David Blunkett (who also is the chief proponents of Citizenship education) contributes to the societal lethargy towards education-for-antiracism. As Osler (2011 , p. 5) summarizes:

“Political consensus on the need to tackle institutional racism was, in any

case, short-lived. Some 10 years later, there is evidence, both in government and in key institutions, of widespread denial of the ongoing impact of institutional racism on British society".

Wherefore, the general view of scholars is that citizenship and social inclusion is often articulated in statements of principles, but in terms of implementation, there isn't sufficient political conviction to deal with the challenge of racism and offer equity to minorities in education, thus the achievement gap for racial/ethnic minority children in education will not close anytime soon (Bhandal, 2007, p. 33; Gillborn D. , 2008, p. 14; Parsons C. , 2009 , p. 262; Gillborn D. , 2006, p. 84).

It has been suggested more than once that in 1997 when the Advisory group to 'discuss citizenship and the teaching of democracy in our schools' was setup, it stressed the importance of 'active citizenship' through teaching pupils about 'personal responsibility' and 'duties to others'; however, racial equality was omitted from the discussion of citizenship (Gillborn D. , 2006, p. 92). Therefore, as articulated previously, the effect of such pronouncements and omissions serve to support the 'Othering' of racial/ethnic minority groups that is subtle, yet powerful nonetheless. That said, I would like to suggest that any conception of citizenship that seeks to address the factors that contribute to the 'Othering' of certain citizens both at the pedagogical level and at the wider cultural level in society would need to respond to mitigate these factors in an honest and committed way. This chapter has shown that certainly the 'active citizenship' slogan of civic-republican citizenship needs to be at the minimum revisited and is not by itself sufficient to deal with the key concerns outlined by many researchers.

The next chapter will critically examine how the different conceptions of citizenship propose dealing with many of the challenges we face as citizens. Moreover, it will illustrate what shared perspectives of citizenship, educators are adopting, which glean from these conceptions. All this will help us to be able to better understand the kinds of citizens we are shaping, as well as have a greater awareness about which citizens we could be potentially disenfranchising through our shared perspectives and views of the 'Other'.

Chapter 4: Shared Perspectives of Teachers on Citizenship

Introduction

This chapter aims to report on and critically analyse the “shared perspectives” of citizenship held by citizenship educators and the conceptions of citizenship that inform them. Although the citizenship educators who participated in this study were teaching in schools across England, many of the concepts and issues they tackled in the classroom are in fact being discussed and debated by academics, researchers, politicians, and a variety of citizens who reside both within and beyond the geo-political borders of England, Britain and Europe.

Specifically, this chapter will examine the findings from the application of the q-methodology, which revealed that the participants correlated with three distinct shared perspectives on citizenship; additionally, these teachers drew from beliefs, values and aims originating from a range of ‘conceptions of citizenship’⁷⁶ to form these shared perspectives. In addition to this, we will discuss the limitations and critiques associated with these conceptions of citizenship in perceiving and dealing with contemporary realities. Finally, the chapter will illustrate the places where teachers exhibited commonality in their views.

Teacher backgrounds

Before discussing the findings, it might be helpful to point out some rudimentary characteristics about the participants to lay some context for the discussion. All the teachers who participated in this study were involved in teaching citizenship at the key stage

⁷⁶ These conceptions of citizenship include liberal citizenship, conservative citizenship, social-democratic citizenship, civic-republican citizenship, and cosmopolitan citizenship and so on.

3 or 4 level in various areas of England.⁷⁷ A diverse pool of candidates was obtained by contacting teachers from different geographical areas with varying levels of ethnic diversity (See the Appendix 2 for general details of the teachers).⁷⁸ The citizenship educators who participated in the study associated to a variety of religious identities including: Jewish, Muslim, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and other Protestant traditions; additionally, several of the teachers indicated that they had no religious associations. The cultural/ethnic heritage of these men and women included White English, Welsh, Pakistani, Punjabi, Indian, Irish, Bangladeshi, Ghanaian, mixed-race, etc. Moreover, the schools where the teachers taught also included a variety of structural forms (community schools, foundation schools, independent schools, etc).

Many teachers indicated that they had dual roles in their schools where they taught citizenship topics in classes, and took the role of Citizenship Co-ordinator for the school, where they guided other teachers in regards to citizenship lessons. Furthermore, a number of teachers had concurrent roles of teaching Religious Education and Citizenship or Physical, Social, Health Education (PSHE) and Citizenship. In terms of the educational background of the Citizenship Educators (CEs), they cumulatively possessed degrees in an array of subjects such as history, theology, science, health, technology, sociology, geology-geography, and political science/international politics. Additionally, some of the teachers had formal citizenship training, but most did not.

⁷⁷ General details of teachers, the types of schools and the geographical areas of England where they teach are included in the Appendix.

⁷⁸ Please refer to the methodology chapter for details. This section is merely to reiterate and highlight some of the key features of the process before the findings are analysed.

Review of q-method procedure

As noted previously in the methodology chapter, an integral element of this research was the use of the q-methodology, which was utilized to find and analyze data about teachers and their views on citizenship. Relevant to this study was to find out the teachers' *point of view* on citizenship, since they are the ones directly responsible for teaching citizenship to pupils in England.

During the interview process, the q-sample (sixty statements on citizenship) was individually sorted by the citizenship educator. To achieve this, the participants were asked to fill 60 empty slots in a Quasi-Normal Distribution chart ranging from -5 to +5 (See methodology chapter). A statement placed in the '-5' column reflected a statement with which they most disagreed, and a statement placed in the '+5' column reflected a statement with which they most agreed. The citizenship educators were instructed that the study was not interested in some official perspective, but rather their personal opinions and beliefs. They were informed to think about what they consider to be important aspects of good citizenship: what values, beliefs and ideals they agreed and disagreed with. After the sorting was completed, teachers were asked to give some thoughts about the sorting they conducted, specifically to comment on the ones with which they strongly agreed or disagreed.

After the q-analysis was conducted, three factors⁷⁹ or *shared perspectives* on citizenship emerged that satisfied the previous

⁷⁹ "Persons significantly associated with a given factor, therefore, are assumed to share a common perspective" (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 16).

recommendations.⁸⁰ In other words, the analysis revealed that citizenship educators notably correlated with one of three distinct shared perspectives on citizenship.⁸¹ These shared perspectives on citizenship will be referred to as *SP1*, *SP2* and *SP3*.⁸² As explained previously, these shared perspectives that the teachers associated with could be formed using ideas from different conceptions of citizenship. Simon & Stenner (2005, p. 82) state that the most weighty aspect of the q-study will be the factor arrays. The factor array is a table that shows the degree to which each factor⁸³ agrees or disagrees with a particular statement originating from a particular conception of citizenship. The range is between -5 and +5. If a statement receives a +5 for a shared perspective, then the citizenship teachers who associated to that perspective strongly agree with it. On the other hand, a statement receiving a -5 or a negative score implies a disagreement with that belief or position on citizenship. The subsequent sections will examine each of the shared perspectives to understand what beliefs, values, and ideals, they agree/disagree with in terms of citizenship.

Shared Perspective-1

One of the fundamental ways that the three perspectives differentiated themselves from each other was in the way that they perceived the nature of the “human being”. The liberal conception of citizenship contends that (Statement 2):

⁸⁰ In q-methodology, each factor in the findings is referred as a ‘viewpoint’ or a ‘shared perspective’.

⁸¹ One way to understand this is that the q-analysis reveals clusters of teachers around a shared perspective (LeCouteur & Delfabbro, 2001). In this study, three such clusters or shared perspectives were discovered.

⁸² Viewpoint (*SP1*) or Shared Perspective-1 refers to *SP1* and so on.

⁸³ Factor is the q-method term which basically refers to a unique shared perspective.

Human beings are self-seeking and largely self-reliant creatures, governed by reason and are capable of personal development, particularly through education. Human beings are born fundamentally equal. Although we may have different powers and potential, we do inherit equal rights. Individuals have a fundamental right to freedom and liberty entails responsibility. This responsibility implies that the actions of an individual should not harm others or curtail the individual's own freedom.⁸⁴

For the teachers who espoused shared perspective SP1, there was a strong agreement with the belief expressed by Statement 2, which received a factor score of +4 out of 5. The emphasis on the individual, his or her freedoms and rights was important for teachers that correlated with this viewpoint. Regarding Statement 2, one teacher commented:

"It identifies the fact that we are relying on ourselves, and governed by reason, [-] But ultimately we're born equal and it's up to us, that we can make something of ourselves."

Citizenship Educator
(31-P2-12-16)⁸⁵

SP1 placed a strong emphasis on the individual to achieve things in society - "*we are relying on ourselves*". Other perspectives, as we shall see later on, will emphasize other ways of conceptualizing the self and also factors that support or hinder a citizen's ability to participate in society. In addition to this, teachers who espoused viewpoint SP1 strongly identified with Statement 29:

Society does not have a preordained order that consigns each person to a fixed status. Rather, every individual is free to find his or her own place in society. For example, an individual does not have to accept the

⁸⁴ Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 73.

McNaughton, N. (2009). *Edexcel Government and Politics for A2: Ideologies*. London: Hodder Education, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁵ "31-P2-12-16" refers to reference information related to the data collection. The first number 31 refers to a unique identifier for a citizenship educator. The second number is an identifier to the file of content. The third item is 12-16, which refers to the line numbers associated to the data.

judgement of the established church to determine what is in his or her own best interest.⁸⁶

SP1 Teachers loaded on this statement at +4 out of 5. Here again, teachers who correlated with viewpoint SP1 perceived individuals in society as having considerable mobility. One teacher indicated:

"I know we still have an upper class and a middle class or perceptions of both in the country [-] you know, you can be in the gutter one day, [and] you can be at the top the next day [-] I still believe that most people are born with the opportunity to make the very best of their lives"

Citizenship Educator
(18-P12-766-771)

Additionally, to justify their views, teachers were constantly linking their beliefs, values and views to experiences in their life or to experiences of people they knew.

"Part of that reflects my own experience, I grew up with a very poor family, but I had the freedom and [...] ideal opportunity as well, to choose what I had positively to move within the society, to find my own place. And that my status wasn't fixed as poor, and at the bottom of the pile. So I don't believe we are born with a fixed status and I also think that when you think an orthodoxy within society is wrong, you got to be bold enough and able to challenge it, and to stand up against it"

Citizenship Educator
(19-P1P2-962-968)

Other teachers in this viewpoint also acknowledged a variety of crucial influences that affected a person's societal status like class, origin and culture; however, they ultimately came back to a similar conclusion. As one teacher explains:

"I think you can change in society, I think you can go up or down, my father was born in a very, very poor family. He managed to make himself very, very rich by hard work"

Citizenship Educator

⁸⁶ McNaughton, N. (2009). *Edexcel Government and Politics for A2: Ideologies*. London: Hodder Education, p. 2.

Again, the element of individual agency was repeatedly highlighted in viewpoint SP1, where these teachers indicated that because they were able to overcome obstacles in their life, often citing their own personal experiences or people they knew who were able to do so, that other citizens should also be able to change their societal status (while acknowledging influential societal structures that impeded change or mobility, such as "class" or "church"). Viewpoint SP1 also contended that one is not obliged to accept the status quo. That an individual can decide what is best for them, and that the church, the government or the school's view might in certain cases oppose their thinking. Furthermore, these teachers believed that the right and freedom to choose was significantly important for citizenship. Interestingly enough, the teachers who associated to the other two perspectives (SP2, SP3) conveyed less of an inclination to believe that hard work by itself had such an instrumental role in changing one's position in society.

Social mobility

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), social mobility reflects the extent to which individuals move up (or down) the social ladder (OECD, 2010, p. 182). According to SP1, society is fluid and social mobility is very much achievable. However, in critically examining viewpoint SP1 and its implications, one could ask to what extent this can be measured with the data available. The UK has a less admirable social mobility record compared to many of the other developed countries (OECD, 2010, p. 181). According to their 2010 *Going for*

growth report, “Mobility in earnings, wages and education across generations is relatively low in France, southern European countries, the United Kingdom and the United States. By contrast, such mobility tends to be higher in Australia, Canada and the Nordic countries” (ibid). These findings do not necessarily mean that *Shared Perspective-1*, is misinformed about social mobility, nor does it imply that individual citizens do not possess significant choices in terms of the power to shape their future. It does however suggest that there could be some essential socio-economic factors that limit or hinder choices for a large group of citizens, specifically those who live in poverty. The same OECD report goes further by revealing that “Education is a key driver of intergenerational persistence in wages”, and that “Socio-economic background has a considerable influence on students’ secondary education achievement and thereby on intergenerational wage persistence.”

According to the charity *Save the Children UK (STC)*, UK is the fifth largest economy in the world, where in 2009, the wealth of the UK’s thousand richest people rose by a third, to more than £333 billion, yet 4 million or one in four children still live in poverty, and where 1.7 children live in severe poverty (STC, 2009). Here one could ask what such a situation means in terms of choices for those citizens affected by severe poverty. STC explains that families in Britain, living in severe poverty, who struggle to survive on less than £12,000 a year, must often choose between heating and eating (STC, 2010). STC also stresses that there is a tangible link between a child’s success in school and their socio-economic situation, where “A pupil on free school meals is only a third as likely to succeed at every key stage at school compared to their

better off classmates. The gap in development starts to emerge between children as early as age 22 months" (ibid). What concerns many citizens in Britain, is that these trends may continue to get worse in the future. The Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS), the UK's leading public finance think-tank reported that the number of children in absolute poverty⁸⁷ will rise by 500,000 to 3 million; furthermore, by 2020, it is estimated that almost one in four children⁸⁸ will find themselves in relative child poverty (Ramesh, 2011).

Such societal developments raise some significant questions regarding citizenship. Specifically should citizenship only be concerned with individual rights and duties? Is duty a private voluntary affair for the citizen or does the state (an institution that is ideally constructed to serve the citizens it represents) bears principle responsibility to guarantee some minimum societal conditions for the citizens to flourish? These are difficult questions that must be addressed by any legitimate conception of citizenship today. Furthermore, putting social mobility aside, one could also ask in this discussion, how citizenship should deal with large groups of people, who might not be able, due to a variety of reasons, to be as 'active' as others; for instance children, people with disabilities, elderly and certain cultural/religious minority communities. These citizens may also require special rights, protections, or resources to achieve their life goals. Thus, whose shoulder does this responsibility or duty fall on?

⁸⁷ Absolute poverty is referred to the lack of the minimum resources needed, such as food, healthcare and shelter to survive, and relative poverty is where the poor lack what is needed by the majority in a society to live a decent life (Zgourides, 2000, p. 94; Giddens, 2006, p. 378).

⁸⁸ 3.3 million young people.

A shared-perspective is not just characterized by teachers' agreements on specific beliefs, but also by beliefs, views and ideals teachers strongly disagree with. Consequently, it can be observed that viewpoint SP1 strongly opposes Statement 14 (-3), which originates from a socialist position on citizenship:

All means of production and distribution should be publicly owned and run by the state. Possibly some small private enterprise could be allowed⁸⁹ (McNaughton, 2009, p. 82).

Regarding this statement, one citizenship educator commented:

"Have you seen what the state has done to us? Joking aside, [-] the idea of Stalin and the five year plan [-] how really it didn't work for humans, it didn't work and I disagree that we should actually do that."

Citizenship Educator
(8-2A-141-143)

Furthermore, some teachers revealed that although they did not trust the 'free market' approach to arranging society, they opposed what they considered as ideas associated to 'communism'. Such an internal conflict was articulated by a teacher who indicated:

"I am a big fan of [the] free market economy. Communism, all means of production and distribution is publicly owned by and run by the state. The state is not particularly good at running things, in terms of efficiency. We've just heard about the student loan company, this morning, which we discovered is not particularly efficient. I think I like the free market economy. [However,] I am not suggesting that the free market economy is the answer either, [- because] we have seen that with the privatisation of the railway industry, and maybe the ownership of it in private hands has led to negligence and cost cutting unnecessarily. But I don't believe in the communist model"

Citizenship Educator
(13-P12-1201-1211)

Teachers of viewpoint SP1 either lacked confidence in the state's

⁸⁹ According to the text book, this is one of a number of common ownership ideas informed by socialist citizenship. It is not all inclusive. That said, teachers were presented the idea to see if they agreed or disagreed, not the source or any label or category associated to the statement.

ability to manage resources efficiently or preferred some mixture of government and private institutions, but were not always certain of what that combination would look like.

That said, one interesting difference between all three perspectives has to do with Statement 58, which reads:

Universalistic individual rights have precedence over obligations and the state, and group rights are secondary to individuals (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 18).

SP1 strongly disagreed with this statement (-4). Overall, the key belief here was that people should be treated as individuals with obligations to society, but ideas of group rights were perceived with caution. When probed further, whether certain groups of people in society should be given special rights to achieve their life goals, for example, learning resources for languages such as Welsh or Urdu, one position was that the state should support such services provided they were open to everyone, and not just the group that requested it:

"Providing its open to other people as well, the Welsh language that is part of UK's cultural identity, that's part of the Welsh national identity, I think it is important that it is continued [-] I believe that the state should impart funds [for the] restoration of Westminster Abbey, because it is a national thing. So I believe that the state should be upholding aspects of our national identity."

Citizenship Educator
(33-P1P2-1061-1069)

In general, the issue of which public services the state should provide can be contentious. Add to that the challenge of dealing with a whole array of cultural rights in the form of offering 'special services' (e.g., Welsh or Urdu language learning services), which might only be requested by some groups in society; and to make

these available to all citizens might be a costly matter, rendering it at times unpopular for the majority to support. What complicates such an issue further is that there might be services, like guide dogs for the blind or special education that can only be used by specific groups in society.

Historically, because the liberal conception of citizenship did not have a sufficient answer for these types of questions, even when considering the needs of religious or cultural minority communities, this has often meant for them either assimilation, segregation, expulsion or even annihilation (Marger, 1991, 2011, p. 96; Heyes, 2002; Kymlicka W. , 1995; Young, 2007, p. 251).⁹⁰ This also meant that resources were usually allocated for the benefit of the majority (in power) (Kymlicka W. , 1995). The teachers who espoused viewpoint SP1 were quite sensitive to individual rights as being the centre-piece of citizenship. Not surprisingly, viewpoint SP1 strongly opposed Statement 5, which originates from the communitarian conception of citizenship:

“A person is constituted through the community. Individuals are shaped by communities to which they belong and thus owe them a debt of respect and consideration. Individualism should be opposed.” (Heywood, 2007, p. 316)

Viewpoint SP1 strongly opposed such a notion with a -4 loading. Generally, this shared perspective expressed a strong awareness of the tension between individual and group identity, and noticeably disassociated from the latter.

⁹⁰ Heyes (Identity Politics, 2002) “Critics have also charged that assimilation (or, less provocatively, integration) is a guiding principle of liberalism”. Marger (1991, 2011) cites some examples: the deportation of Chinese from the United States in the nineteenth century, the destruction of native groups by white settlers in North America, South Africa, Latin America and Australia, the subjugation of Jews in Germany in the 1930s, and the campaign of Serbs ethnically cleansing Muslims in Bosnia and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

One statement with which the SP1 viewpoint strongly agreed was Statement 3 (+5), which was inspired by *The Future of Multi-ethnic Britain, Reporting on a Report* (Parekh, 2001, p. 694):

We are a community of communities, we are also a community of individuals. We like to make our own choices and jealously guard our freedom against unwanted interferences. Obviously, we are and cannot avoid becoming members of different regional, civic, religious, cultural and other communities. Often, we are born into a religion and most of us continue to retain at least some ties with it. We are, however, not imprisoned within or defined by these communities, and we are free to leave and criticize them.

In one instance, this view suggests that individuals participate in communities, but at the same time they reserve the right to leave them if they choose to. Thus, the statement acknowledges the communitarian aspects of society, but it also refuses to relinquish liberal foundations for the sake of these communities or associations. Drawing from such an understanding, viewpoint SP1 envisions communities as a form of fluid groups or clubs that one could enter, leave and return to again if they chose to. As one SP1 teacher explains,

"we can leave or come back to them as we see fit or whenever. You're never held rigidly [-where] you are a member of this community and that's it. You can be a member of lots of communities or you can be a member of a few communities."

Citizenship Educator
(15-P2-22-24)

The SP1 point of view also liked the fact that individuals could criticize these communities:

"it is about freedom and it is about understanding, this idea of diversity, that we shouldn't any longer be just individuals in a tiny group [-or] we stick with that group, [-or] we don't mix with any other group, so we have no knowledge of any other groups because that is where you get that distrust and fear and prejudice [-] I can see the flaws in the Catholic faith, I shouldn't be stoned for it either. [-] I believe that people have the right to

be able to stand back and say – ‘Well, I no longer want to be part of that, and these are the reasons why’, and not be pilloried or punished for that.”

Citizenship Educator
(18-P12-754-761)

Such sentiments were a recurring theme in the SP1 teachers' responses for whom, the individual's right to criticize their communities and to exit them if they so wished was paramount. This applied more specifically to membership of religious communities since freedom of religion in conjunction with the secular compromise is perhaps one of the most valuable legacies in the history of Europe. The secular compromise was an innovative political solution as a way out of the Wars of Religion.⁹¹ Such a principle contends that the state cannot and should not coerce a particular religion on anyone, nor should the state interfere with someone's religion, so long as they weren't breaking the law. As John Locke eloquently explained:

“God has ever given any such authority to one man over another, as to compel any one to his religion. Nor can any such power be vested in the magistrate by the consent of the people; because no man can so far abandon the care of his own salvation, as blindly to leave it to the choice of any other, whether prince or subject, to prescribe to him what faith or worship he shall embrace. For no man can, if he would, conform his faith to the dictates of another”.

Locke, J. (1689,1870, pp. 5-6)
Four letters on toleration

Freedom of religion is now a well-established principle in many societies today. Britain for instance, gives sanctuary to thousands of cultural and religious refugees from all parts of the world. Within such a spirit of liberty and individual consent, Shared Perspective-

⁹¹ The various polities of Europe, during the 16th and 17th centuries fought the Wars of religion or a series of wars waged in Europe following the Protestant Reformation. This era lays the context for John Locke and others to propose a secular compromise in Europe (Taylor, A secular age, 2007; Bhargava, 1998).

I assigned significant value to choosing a community (specifically a religious one), but also to the right of citizens to leave such a community. This was perhaps one of the key ideas of Locke's letter of toleration, in which a church is a 'voluntary' association, where compulsion has no place.

That said, critics of liberalism ask: what kind of community is left if citizens are constantly entering and leaving, or criticizing and returning again? Are communities like fitness clubs, where people can switch every three to six months, or is there a deeper commitment required for the effective functioning of a community? Secondly, critics also ask: why should a citizen only be perceived as an individual being⁹² who must assign the nation-state as the most principal aspect of their identity? The reality is that for many people, religious identity provides for them a sense of belonging, purpose and meaning, which the secular national identity⁹³ cannot replace and has not replaced. The issue that secular societies face is that, such a religious or cultural identity makes demands for public recognition; that it isn't sufficient for many to be able to practice their faith largely in private, but to do so in public space with dignity and respect. As a consequence, such critiques have paved the way for the construction of communitarian conceptions of citizenship which nevertheless glean certain ideas from liberal citizenship. These conceptions, however, actively attempt to deal with such issues with two discrete deviations: the communitarian conservative conception of citizenship, and the communitarian liberal conception; the

⁹² As opposed to social beings which are bound by religious, cultural, and other community associations and the demands such associations entail.

⁹³ Here an argument can be made that in the case of England, the Church of England still forms a significant part of what it means to be 'British'.

latter often described as multicultural citizenship.⁹⁴ By now, one should have a respectable idea as to what Shared Perspective-1 entails. Table 1 below summarizes how viewpoint SP1 correlated to particular statements on citizenship. Also, here we get a sense of how viewpoint SP1 compares with SP2 and SP3 in its agreement or disagreement to various beliefs, values, aims originating from different conceptions of citizenship.

Factor Array by statements: SP₁ (Table 1)

Stmt No.	Citizenship Conception	Statement	-5 ← → 5		
			SP1	SP2	SP3
2	Liberal Citizenship	Human beings are self-seeking and largely self-reliant creatures, governed by reason and are capable of personal development, particularly through education. Human beings are born fundamentally equal. Although we may have different powers and potential, we do inherit equal rights. Individuals have a fundamental right to freedom and liberty entails responsibility. This responsibility implies that the actions of an individual should not harm others or curtail the individual's own freedom. ⁹⁵	4	2	2
29	Liberal Citizenship	Society does not have a preordained order that consigns each person to a fixed status. Rather, every individual is free to find his or her own place in society. For example, an individual does not have to accept the judgement of the established church to determine what is in his or her own best interest. ⁹⁶	4	1	-1

⁹⁴ These conceptions will be discussed in greater detail in future sections of this chapter.

⁹⁵ Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 73.
McNaughton, N. (2009). *Edexcel Government and Politics for A2: Ideologies*. London: Hodder Education, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁶ McNaughton, N. (2009). *Edexcel Government and Politics for A2: Ideologies*. London: Hodder Education, p. 2.

14	Socialist Citizenship	All means of production and distribution should be publicly owned and run by the state. Possibly some small private enterprise could be allowed. ⁹⁷	-3	-1	-1
58	Liberal Citizenship	Universalistic individual rights have precedence over obligations and the state, and group rights are secondary to individuals. ⁹⁸	-4	-1	-1
5	Communitarian Citizenship	A person is constituted through the community. Individuals are shaped by communities to which they belong and thus owe them a debt of respect and consideration. Individualism should be opposed. ⁹⁹	-4	-2	0
3	Liberal/Communitarian Citizenship	We are a community of communities, we are also a community of individuals. We like to make our own choices and jealously guard our freedom against unwanted interferences. Obviously, we are and cannot avoid becoming members of different regional, civic, religious, cultural and other communities. Often, we are born into a religion and most of us continue to retain at least some ties with it. We are, however, not imprisoned within or defined by these communities, and we are free to leave and criticize them. ¹⁰⁰	5	0	0

⁹⁷ Ibid. , p. 82.

⁹⁸ Isin, E., & Turner, B. (2002). *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*: Sage, p. 18.

⁹⁹ Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 316.

¹⁰⁰ . Parekh, B. (2001). The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, reporting on a report *The Round Table*, 362 (691–700), p. 694.

Shared Perspective-2

One distinguishing feature of SP2 is that this viewpoint places a high level of agreement with statements related to social-democratic and cosmopolitan citizenship. For example, these *SP2 teachers* believe that issues like HIV and global warming cannot be managed by nation-states alone. They require an important shift in thinking related to citizenship and an active engagement with the world. Here, citizenship is

“is a way of viewing the world that among other things dispenses with national exclusivity, dichotomous forms of gendered and racial thinking and rigid separations between culture and nature. This thinking is guided by the argument that problems such as HIV, ecological questions and poverty are increasingly globally shared problems. So a political community should be based on overlapping or multiple citizenships connecting the populace into local, national, regional and global forms of governance.”¹⁰¹

Such a belief is embodied in Statement 20, to which SP2 strongly agreed (5+), while the other two perspectives loaded as (+1). Teachers holding viewpoint SP2 passionately articulated the belief that citizenship is an understanding which requires adjustment to the current context in terms of the global nature of the world today:

“How can you ever think of yourself as just me here in England, you know, that's all I have to worry about. Okay - and it's quite a shift for me, because when I was growing up, you know, my dad was in World War II and his concept of identity and citizenship would be very different to where I am now because he would just think of the UK”

Citizenship Educator
(02-P2-33-36)

These SP2 teachers emphasized the fact that ideas of citizenship are not static and that what might be relevant during the “World War II” era may not always be appropriate for today’s citizen.

¹⁰¹ Statement 20 in the q-sample. (Stevenson N. , 2003, pp. 5,39).

These teachers kept highlighting the belief that citizens have global obligations and need to work with people beyond their traditional national borders.

In addition to this, the SP2 viewpoint strongly associated with statements 4 and 28. These statements emphasize that the central value for citizens should be social equality and that inculcating this value encourages freedom, cohesion and personal development:

Statement 4: The central value for a citizen should be equality, especially social equality, since it is an essential guarantee of social stability, cohesion, and that it promotes freedom, in the sense that it satisfies material needs and provides a basis for personal development¹⁰²

Statement 28: Some individuals are born with disadvantages that cannot be overcome by their own efforts. A moral principle suggests that they are entitled to equal life chances. Equality of opportunity is mainly promoted through universal education, but also implies proactive redistribution to level the field, the removal of artificial obstacles and other social problems that could hold some individuals back.¹⁰³

Statement 28 was inspired by philosopher John Rawls who offers some interesting food for thought, in his *Theory of Justice* (1971). Imagine for a moment that certain parties had to decide what a just society would look like. But no one knows before they are born whether they will be born rich or poor, "no one knows his place in society, his class position or social status; nor does he know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence and strength, and the like" (Rawls, 1971, p. 137). Now based on such an understanding, how would you design the just society; not knowing that you could be born wealthy or poor,

¹⁰². Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 99.

¹⁰³ Rawls, J. (1971). *Theory of Justice*: Cambridge. As cited in (Heywood, 2007, p. 26).

healthy or with disabilities, as a male or female, with an influential family or as an orphan? For Rawls, a moral principle suggests that a just society would adopt a proactive redistribution of resources to level the field, through the removal of artificial obstacles and other social hurdles that could hold some individuals back. In such a view, equality of opportunity is mainly promoted through equal provision of education for all citizens; however, it also encourages the just society to look for other ways of equalizing the field so that all citizens can have a fair chance to succeed.

Shared Perspective-2 strongly agreed with the thinking in Statement 28 (+4), while the other two perspectives displayed milder approval. There was a deep awareness amongst *SP2 teachers* that a number of people could not participate as full citizens without some assistance. For them, a moral imperative is that those citizens who have a bit more than others must help those who do not. Teachers with viewpoint *SP2* repeatedly stressed 'equality of opportunity' especially in education, which means arranging society in such a way that institutions help those who are less fortunate by equalizing the field. One way, is perhaps through providing children from backgrounds of poverty with a quality education that they might not necessarily receive otherwise. The OECD report previously cited warned about insufficient social mobility in the UK, and linked the correlation between intergenerational poverty and poor educational resources. The OECD is not alone in offering such an assessment. Research reported by the Sutton Trust¹⁰⁴ revealed that social mobility has not improved in UK in 30 years compared to other

¹⁰⁴ UK-based charity that works on education issues with the aim of promoting social mobility through education and seeks to combat educational inequality.

developed countries (SuttonTrust, 2007).

Particularly in England, there are several factors of concern. In November 2003, a confidential report¹⁰⁵ was given to ministers which warned, "There are significant concerns in the research literature about the extent to which quasi-markets can contribute to the development of a two-tier system which results in an increase in stratification of students by social class" (The Guardian, 2005). Such a position was also echoed by John Bangs, Head of Education at the National Union of Teachers: "It [the report] clearly shows the real danger of creating a two-tier system with those with the means to choose going to the best schools and everyone else being left behind" (ibid). Thus, viewpoint SP2 concerns about equality of opportunity were justified to a great extent by certain realities in contemporary society.

In terms of equality, another issue raised by SP2 teachers was that of fairness in pay and opportunities for men and women.¹⁰⁶ One teacher commented:

"I think there should be equality whether it's men and women getting the same pay, or same opportunities or whatever. Social equality, it's a difficult one because there should be equality, but people aren't always equal."

Citizenship Educator
(08-P2A-50-52)

¹⁰⁵ PwC is an acronym for PricewaterhouseCoopers, which is a global privately-owned professional services firm that conducted the research and produced the report. Initially, ministers had refused to release the report by PwC, but a copy was obtained by the Guardian under the Freedom of Information Act.

¹⁰⁶ The place of women in Britain has been a continuous struggle. For instance, until 1857, it was next impossible for a woman to divorce her husband. Despite the developments in the legal codes, there was a double standard for men and women where women could not divorce on the grounds of adultery alone, but men could (Griffin, 2012, p. 10). It wasn't until 1923 that women could obtain a divorce in the same terms as men (Pilcher, 2002, p. 14). Additionally, women could not vote in general elections till 1918; even then it was only women over 30 (ibid).

In 2008, the Chartered Management Institute and Computer Economics Limited and Remuneration Economics (CELRE)¹⁰⁷ research reported that men and women still do not receive equal pay for their work and that “Women across the UK will have to wait 187 years before their take home pay outpaces men” (Petroom, 2008). Additionally, research indicates that there is a substantial full-time, hourly pay gap for women (16-59) from ALL ethnic groups relative to white men, and for all minority group men (16-64) except for Indian men (Platt, 2006, p. 43). In this regard, the situation of women in Britain, particularly of those with a minority ethnic identity is concerning, where Pakistani women have the highest pay gap among women at 28 per cent, this compares with the pay gap among white British women of 17 per cent (ibid). Thus today, dynamics of gender and ethnicity serve to disadvantage female citizens, especially those with a minority background.

SP2 citizenship educators raised some imperative concerns about practices in society that needed to be addressed through citizenship. They acknowledged that the nation had come a long way, but insisted that society needed to go further, that real obstacles existed in society that prevented such progress:

“I do think that equal opportunity does not obviously exist socially, especially in a country that still [has] a very distinct class system, and we haven’t managed to alleviate that or remove those sorts of boundaries, and it does disadvantage people within the system.”

Citizenship Educator
(03-P2-72-75)

¹⁰⁷ CELRE is a consultancy that specialises in the publication of salary surveys and pay data in the UK.

Another teacher referred to the fact that pupils do not often get into the top universities based on merit:

"I definitely agreed that there are some people who are born with disadvantages and [-] I think some people need definite help [-] if we continued looking at it from a traditional perspective, we would have no pupils [or] perhaps very few pupils [who], based on complete merit, would go into Oxford and Cambridge. [-] Obviously the playing field isn't level and therefore we need to sort of help."

Citizenship Educator
(30-P2-83-90)

Such perceptions of teachers can be supported to a certain extent by research that has revealed that admissions to top universities such as Oxford are more likely for pupils attending fee-paying schools, rather than the state-maintained schools, which most children in England attend (Sutton Trust, 2007). Also the research goes on to suggest an unequal playing-field:

"Basically put, a student in a state school is as likely to go on to a leading university as a student from the independent sector who gets two grades lower at A level" (Sutton Trust, 2007, p. 3)

In all, issues such as these, which contribute to an unequal playing-field in society, and which are barriers for certain groups of citizens are a serious concern for Shared Perspective-2.

Active citizenship

As discussed in a previous chapter, a key mantra of civic-republican citizenship is promoting the notion of active citizenship. In regards to this view, SP2 (as well as SP3) displayed strong agreement with Statement 48 (4+):

Citizenship is less a legal status than a role which the citizen assumes as a full member of his or her political community (e.g. nation-state). A citizen must take an active role in formal politics and informal politics. A citizen

must be willing to take active steps to defend the rights of others in a political community and promote common interests.¹⁰⁸

For these teachers, the recognition of inequalities, which existed in society, was essential; however, equally significant for them was a belief in a high level of engagement by the citizen to improve their community and society at large:

"What does citizenship mean to me? I said you could assume that it is talking about your nationality, which passport you hold, but I take it to mean really that it is about being an active citizen and taking part in the communities."

Citizenship Educator
(05-P12-1257-1260)

In such a shared perspective, citizenship was perceived less as a legal status, and more as behaviour, where a person is performing certain actions in society, which included informal or formal politics. Thus, the simple act of voting as well as participating in one's community was considered imperative by this viewpoint.

Disagreement with conservative citizenship

Viewpoint SP2 displayed a strong opposition to several ideas originating from the conservative conception of citizenship. One example is Statement 24(-4):

"Values are exclusively defined within, and dependant on, cultures and civilizations. There is no common ground of shared values either with respect to human rights or regarding good governance. The post-Cold War international system is a 'clash of civilizations'."¹⁰⁹

Such a belief was inspired by Samuel Huntington's renowned

¹⁰⁸ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, pp. 82-83.

¹⁰⁹ Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster. New York: Simon & Schuster. As cited in (Archibugi, Held, & Kohler, 1998, pp. 300-301).

hypothesis which predicted that the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world will be people's religious and cultural identities.¹¹⁰ The *SP2 viewpoint* strongly disagreed with this statement. This might be because SP2 perceived culture as overlapping and that people around the world shared considerable "common ground." One teacher stated:

"I don't see the world as a sort of a clash of civilisations and it is not something that I fundamentally agree with. I think wherever you live in the world, we all have the same sort of fears and we have the same hopes. I don't agree with this idea of universal civilisations fighting one another and so on"

Citizenship Educator
(04-P12-1041-1045)

Another teacher indicated that all human beings have some common values imbedded within them:

"Even countries that are very different in their setup, we share values of family and love and basic values like that, where we can work from, where we can make a start."

Citizenship Educator
(11-P2-111-113)

There was a belief within this viewpoint that 'the clash of civilizations' notion was neither useful nor productive for citizenship.¹¹¹ In addition to the previous view, there was a strong opposition to Statement 41 (-4):

The domination of our national Parliaments and the EU machinery is partly responsible for the acceptance of subsidised immigration, and for the attacks on customs and institutions associated with traditional and native

¹¹⁰ Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

¹¹¹ Regarding the supposed "clash" those such as John Hick, William E. Connolly and Martha Nussbaum contend the 'clash' is not between cultures and religions, but rather "within". For instance, Nussbaum explains that such a clash is "within virtually all modern nations—between people who are prepared to live with others who are different, on terms of equal respect, and those who seek the protection of homogeneity, achieved through the domination of a single religious and ethnic tradition." (Nussbaum, 2007, p. preface). The next chapter will examine such a proposition in greater detail.

forms of life. One should not promote transnational institutions over national governments, accepting and endorsing laws that are imposed from on high by the EU or the UN (Scruton, Speech by Roger Scruton, Antwerp, 23 June 2006, 2006).

Teachers of SP2 contended that such an idea stood against working together with other countries:

"if Germany is polluting their water, it's going to go through France and a lot of other people are going to suffer. So we have to promote transnational institutions."

Citizenship Educator
(02-P2-50-51)

Thus a reoccurring theme for Shared Perspective-2 was the importance of working with institutions like the European Union and the United Nations, thus SP2 teachers expressed that there were many problems that required collaboration at multiple levels. The issue of working with transnational institutions becomes particularly relevant in contemporary politics, where in 2011 the Tories faced a record resistance from members in their own party, who rebelled against the wishes of UK Prime Minister Cameron in regards to working with the EU (Watt, 2011). Additionally, according to a Guardian/ICM poll, 49% of voters would vote to get Britain out of the EU, against just 40% who prefer to stay in (Clark, 2011). While one group perceives that the EU for instance has provided economic opportunities and stability to Britain for a number of years, the 2008 economic crisis and the consequences that followed left some wondering whether staying with the EU really did provide the benefits that outweighed the challenges presented by such an alliance.

In addition to this, conservative citizenship, places a strong emphasis on moving power from higher levels of government to

local institutions. Blond (2010) argued that the political crisis in Britain, which can be observed through the lack of voter turnout, can be mitigated by devolving power to local areas. If citizens had a greater voice in how to shape their society, this would increase political participation. Even if this appears like a sensible strategy to examine, such rhetoric is not always followed with consistent practice, where historically, what has happened is that power is often shifted from local authorities to private bodies, as can be seen with the introduction of academies and other similar types of schools. In this way, the local authority, which is a democratic mechanism for sharing resources, is replaced by pseudo-private-public schemes. This is a phenomenon which seems to have continued over time, where opposing parties have supported market based approaches to education. For instance, the Education Reform Act of 1988 served as a crucial moment in the educational policy in England, since it curtailed the powers of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs), while encouraging many schools to 'opt out' and seek grant-maintained status.

The Act facilitated the introduction of the 'market' into educational provision, with the rhetoric of choice (Doyle, 2006, p. 296). This has been criticized by some scholars. For example, S. J. Ball has argued that in an education market, the strategic processes of choice systematically disadvantage working class families (ibid, p. 297). For such reasons, any prudent conception of citizenship has to consider and evaluate the correct balance between the local, national and global and also the degree to which private organizations that are not directly answerable to 'all citizens' play a role in managing the resources of society. Table 2 displays how viewpoint SP2 compares with viewpoints SP1 and SP3

in its agreement or disagreement to various beliefs, values, and aims originating from different conceptions of citizenship.

Factor Array by statements: SP₂ (Table 2)

Stmt No.	Citizenship Conception	Statement	-5 ← → 5		
			SP1	SP2	SP3
20	Cosmopolitan Citizenship	Important to citizenship is a way of viewing the world that among other things dispenses with national exclusivity, dichotomous forms of gendered and racial thinking and rigid separations between culture and nature. This thinking is guided by the argument that problems such as HIV, ecological questions and poverty are increasingly globally shared problems. So a political community should be based on overlapping or multiple citizenships connecting the populace into local, national, regional and global forms of governance. ¹¹²	1	5	1
4	Social-Democratic Citizenship [or] Socialist Citizenship	The central value for a citizen should be equality, especially social equality, since it is an essential guarantee of social stability, cohesion, and that it promotes freedom, in the sense that it satisfies material needs and provides a basis for personal development. ¹¹³	2	4	2
28	Social-Democratic Citizenship	Some individuals are born with disadvantages that cannot be overcome by their own efforts. A moral principle suggests that they are entitled to equal life chances. Equality of opportunity is mainly promoted through universal education, but also implies proactive redistribution to level the field, the removal of artificial obstacles and other	2	4	2

¹¹² Stevenson, N. (2003). *Cultural Citizenship: cosmopolitan questions*: Open University Press, pp. 5,39.

¹¹³ Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 99.

		social problems that could hold some individuals back. ¹¹⁴			
24	Conservative Citizenship	Values are exclusively defined within, and dependant on, cultures and civilizations. There is no common ground of shared values either with respect to human rights or regarding good governance. The post-cold war international system is a "clash of civilizations". ¹¹⁵	0	-4	-4
41	Conservative Citizenship	The domination of our national Parliaments and the EU machinery is partly responsible for the acceptance of subsidised immigration, and for the attacks on customs and institutions associated with traditional and native forms of life. One should not promote transnational institutions over national governments, accepting and endorsing laws that are imposed from on high by the EU or the UN. ¹¹⁶	-1	-4	-2
48	Civic-Republican Citizenship	Citizenship is less a legal status than a role which the citizen assumes as a full member of his or her political community (e.g. nation-state). A citizen must take an active role in formal politics and informal politics. A citizen must be willing to take active steps to defend the rights of others in a political community and promote common interests. ¹¹⁷	1	4	4

¹¹⁴ Rawls, J. (1971). *Theory of Justice*: Cambridge. As cited in (Heywood, 2007, p. 26).

¹¹⁵ Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster. New York: Simon & Schuster. As cited in (Archibugi, Held, & Kohler, 1998, pp. 300-301).

¹¹⁶ Scruton, R. (2006). Speech by Roger Scruton, Antwerp, 23 June 2006. *Brussels Journal*. Retrieved from <http://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/1126>.

¹¹⁷ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, pp. 82-83.

Shared Perspective-3

Amongst the liberal and civic-republican conceptions of citizenship, there is a belief that the government and society should be fashioned in such a way that it establishes secularism as a prevailing principle. Such a notion suggests that the government, as John Locke once argued, should keep a distance from the activities of the church and the church should not interfere with the government (1689,1870, pp. 4-6). Furthermore, with the confluence of secularism and the notion of the nation-state, such a paradigm emphasized that a person's ethnic, cultural, tribal, and religious identities or heritage should take a back seat to one's commitment to the state and the national identity. In such a framework, the public space is to be regarded as a neutral one, which gives no preference to a particular aspect of identity, whether it is religious, ethnic/cultural, and tribal or any other non-national group affiliation. While such a framework has been intuitively functional in influencing the shape of many democratic societies today, for the communitarian conception of citizenship, it falls short in many respects.

As Amy Gutmann (1994, pp. 6-7) explains, citizenship is based on regarding people as unique, self-creating and creative individuals, but people are also cultural beings, and the cultures they bear depends on their past and their present; such a reality is ignored by conventional liberal and republican understandings of citizenship. In such a view, the traditional liberal approach negates identity by putting people into a homogenous mould that is untrue to them (Taylor C. , 1994, p. 43). One example of this can be seen by looking at the census practice of many nation-states like the US and UK. In the US in the 1960s, the people for

whom the mono-ethnic term 'Hispanic' was used saw themselves, for instance, as Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Cubans, Mexicans, and Spaniards. The *UK National Census* of 2001 did not have categories for people of a number of national and ethnic groups, for example, those from Arab (Iraq, Syria, etc), Persian, and Turkish backgrounds - such identifications were conveniently bucketed under the 'White British' or 'Other White' category. The exclusion of gypsies/traveller communities is another example of a 'difference-blind' secular society. "Consequently", Taylor argues that "the supposedly fair and difference-blind society is not only inhumane [because it is suppressing identities] but also, in a subtle and unconscious way, itself highly discriminatory" (Taylor C. , 1994, p. 43). For such reasons, the notion of identity stands firmly in the centre of citizenship and any serious conception of citizenship would need to deal with the identity needs of the majority as well as that of minority co-cultures in a fair and practical way.

Identity and citizenship within the secular nation-state

Critics of the liberal and civic-republican citizenship point out that today we live in a society where there is no longer a single 'church', as during the time of John Locke (when he crafted the secular compromise), but instead in addition to churches, we have mosques, temples, gurdwaras and so on. Additionally, although modern polities claim to follow the secular nation-state framework, where a citizen's tribal, ethnic, religious and cultural identities must be jettisoned in public spaces, in reality, these polities have often made a number of accommodations that transgress the secular conception of the nation-state. Britain has, for instance, an established church, namely the Church of England, and a monarch who is the head of both the state and

the established church. Also, this nation is one of the few, if not the only democratic country in the world with non-elected religious representatives who have reserved seats in Parliament. Additionally, this 'secular' state has sittings each day in both the House of Commons and House of Lords of the parliament, which begin with prayers from the Christian faith and where there is currently no multi-faith element within such a practice. Yet Britain is not the only secular country to make such exceptions to the secular nation-state paradigm.

In the US state of Hawaii, the local language has an equal status to English in schools and in courts, where the state has made an accommodation to respect the aspiration of a small minority of citizens who wish to preserve the ethnic language of their ancestors (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 12). In 1972, the Supreme Court in *Wisconsin v Yoder* prohibited the state from applying a compulsory school attendance requirement to Amish children where the effect would be the destruction of the Amish religious community (Carper, 2009, p. 433). In all, accommodations such as these are being made in many democratic societies, obviating the secular nation-state principle, to deal with religious or cultural claims of its members.

This is because the traditional nation-state paradigm is struggling to respond to some modern realities. As Kymlicka explains, in this world that we live in there are about 184 independent states that contain 600 living language groups, and 5000 ethnic groups (Kymlicka, 1995). Clearly there are more languages and ethnic groups than there are nation-states. In fact, there are very few countries where all of the citizens share a single language and an

ethnic group. In England, as per the 2011 census, and Britain at large, there is a sizeable Indian (2.5%) population, Pakistani (2.0%), African¹¹⁸ (1.8%), White Irish (0.9%), Bangladeshi (0.8%), Chinese (0.7%), Arab (0.4%), and Gypsy or Irish Traveller (0.1%). In terms of religious identity, many of these citizens also identify with a Muslim background (about 4.8%), which makes Muslims the largest religious minority group in the country, followed by Hindus (1.5%), Sikhs (0.8%), Jews (0.5%), and Buddhists (0.4%). Additionally, about 25.0% of the population have no religious affiliation at all.

To add to this, massive migrations due to wars, international conflicts, global climate change and a variety of other reasons are creating large populations of refugees around the world, some of whom make their way to England. The UNHCR reports that the poorest people in the world are refugees. They explain that more than 45 million people are now displaced worldwide due to conflicts - a growing number (UNHCR, 2013). "That's one person every four seconds", states UN High Commissioner for Refugees, *António Guterres* - "So each time you blink, another person is forced to flee" (BBC, 2013). Take for example the Iraq war, in which Britain was a key participant, created more than 4 million refugees (National Geographic, 2010). In Sudan, more than 1.6 million people were displaced since 2003 due to conflict (ibid). The Libyan war in 2011, in which NATO has participated, has also resulted in sizeable displacements. Yet the vast majority of refugees are hosted by developing countries - 80%, due to restrictions on immigration maintained by most prosperous countries (UNHCR, 2011).

¹¹⁸ According to the Census 2011, this does not include 'Caribbean/Black' and 'Other Black'.

Even so, Britain attracts hundreds of thousands of migrant workers, 78% of which come from outside the EU (ONS, 2011). However, a number of the migrants come to Britain seasonally to work in farms throughout the countryside. These workers are mostly from Eastern Europe employed on low wages. Moreover, while all of these immigrants may contribute to the British economy, they are not always treated in non-discriminatory terms. This is perhaps because such migrations augment the existing population, creating copious demands on the nation-state paradigm and thus require a practical yet equitable solution for all people concerned.

According to critics, the liberal and civic-republican conceptions of citizenship have consistently failed in dealing fairly with many issues related to minority groups, migrant populations and diversity in general. In consequence, alternate ways of re-configuring society based on such changes have arisen largely from the discourse of communitarian citizenship. Specifically, when such diversity-conscious ideas are piloted and put into practice, they have often been referred to as Multicultural Citizenship (MCC) or Multiculturalism. In such a conception of citizenship, pressuring minority groups to relinquish their group identities or their cultural heritages is not a realistic option. As Charles Taylor puts it:

“People may see their identity as defined partly by some moral or spiritual commitment, say as a Catholic, or an anarchist. Or they may define it in part by the nation or tradition they belong to, as an Armenian, say, or a Quebecois. What they are saying by this is not just that they are strongly attached to this spiritual view or background; rather it is that this provides the frame within which they can determine where they stand on questions of what is good, or worthwhile, or admirable, or of value. Put counterfactually, they are saying that were they to lose this commitment or identification, they would be at sea, as it were; they wouldn't know anymore, for an important range of questions, what the significance of

things was for them"

Taylor, C. (1989, p. 27)

Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity

MCC promotes the notion of accommodation to different groups in society, instead of coerced segregation or assimilation; and supports pluralist culture versus monochromatic culture. Specifically one salient interpretation of this tradition, sometimes referred to as the *communitarian liberal* strand, advocates individual rights, but also demands the recognition of a set of minority rights, which have been largely ignored (Miller, 2005). Historically, this has meant that minority communities have had to coalesce publically and make collective demands to the state.

The Sikhs in Britain were one of the first post-Second World War communities to collectively organize for their cultural needs (Modood, 2007, p. 9). For instance, in the 1960s, when a Sikh bus driver returned to his duty with a turban on his head, he was promptly dismissed by the Wolverhampton Transport Authority for violating the driver's dress code (Mandair, 2001, p. 165). In response to this perceived denial of a fundamental cultural/religious practice, Sikhs organized protests, and then appealed to various levels of government, and finally a Sikh threatened to commit suicide. One consequence of this chain of events was that an accommodation was made for the Sikh drivers. Overtime, the Sikh community in England were able to obtain a number of concessions and protections for their religious/cultural rights through collective pressure and civic engagement, e.g., to get admission in certain schools without having to desist from wearing a turban or having the right to drive a motorcycle without a safety helmet. However, while the Race

Relations Act of 1976 offered protection to Sikhs and Jews, by recognizing their 'ethnicities', faith groups such as Muslims remained outside the remit of this legislation (Abbas, 2005, p. 40).

It was not until the *Rushdie Affair* in the late 1980s that the Muslim community was galvanized civically to engage for their specific needs through public demands (Modood, 2007, pp. 9-11). This episode spawned a number of pragmatic and radical Muslim leaderships in Britain, like the UK Action Committee on Islamic Affairs (UKACIA), which later broadened into the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) (ibid). As these groups began to organize, they primarily focused on four issues: the first was getting the Muslim community to have its own voice in local and national government. Second, they appealed for legal protections to address religious discrimination and incitement to religious hatred. Third, they sought socio-economic state interventions to help severely disadvantaged Muslims (Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and other Muslim groups in Britain). Finally, there was an aspiration that the state recognizes and allocates resources for Muslim schools as they did for Catholic, Anglican and Jewish institutions. In all, the aspiration for the state to recognize the uniqueness of a person and his or her religious/cultural identity is something that is part of the cumulative desire for multicultural citizenship. Modood argues that Britain, unlike France and Germany, was on the whole quite responsive towards many of these aspirations. However, the events of 9/11 had a detrimental impact on the multicultural movement; nevertheless, the aspiration of various minority communities for equal membership has continued to be expressed.

Later sections will look at the teachers' perspectives on multicultural citizenship. But before we review the teachers' views, it might be helpful to look at some of the recent concerns about contemporary society and culture that inform some of these views.

A culture of suspicion

The BBC has described Britain as a “surveillance society” and has reported that there are up to 4.2 million CCTV cameras in Britain - about one for every 14 people (BBC, 2006). In such a surveillance culture, internet service providers are legally required to collect personal details of users like their web history, email, internet phone calls for 12 months under an EU directive from 2009 (although, countries like Germany and Sweden have challenged such invasions of privacy¹¹⁹) (Trenholm, 2009). Phillip Blond in his book *Red Tory* (2010, p. 1) maintained that “something is seriously wrong with Britain”. He explained that Britain is experiencing a crisis of multiple dimensions: social, economic and political. One of the pivotal concerns Blond highlights is that Britain is draped in a “culture of suspicion”¹²⁰, a fact corroborated by the House of Lords enquiry entitled ‘*Surveillance*’ (2009). Thus, Blond (2010, p. 23) states that:

“We imprison more people than anyone else in Western Europe; we have created the largest DNA database in the world, containing the genetic information of not only convicted criminals but over a million innocent citizens, 100,000 of whom are children. Then there is the notorious *Investigatory Power Act of 2000*, a piece of legislation that has allowed nearly 800 government departments and public bodies to intercept our

¹¹⁹ UK’s Human Rights Act 1998, Article 8 – “Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence...” This right is also acknowledged by European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) – Article 8.

¹²⁰ According to UK’s House of Lords (2009) enquiry, *Surveillance: Citizens and the State*, Britain has constructed an extensive surveillance system in the name of terrorism, crime and improving administrative efficiency.

mail, tap our phones and look at our emails".

In 2000, only nine organizations including the police could invoke such powers, but by 2008, 792 organizations, including local councils drew on such powers (Kakabadse, 2009, p. 3). By contrast, British peers found that privacy is an "essential prerequisite to the exercise of individual freedom" and the House of Lords (2009) indicated that such surveillance can be used for "malignant purposes" (ibid).

Such a concern was accentuated when the *News Corporation* scandal broke in mid-2011; it revealed that citizens needed protection not just from governmental privacy abuses, but corporate abuses as well. The nation and the world were shocked to discover that the police were investigating the fact that as many as four thousand people may have been possible targets of the *News of the World*, whose employees were illicitly hacking into the voicemail messages of a variety of citizens, including politicians and crime victims. Such a breach of trust and privacy led to parliamentary hearings and the prosecution of a number of individuals. Another example of corporate malfeasance was reported in August of 2012. In this case, Google Inc. one of the world's largest internet search engine companies, was accused of 'violating user privacy' and had to pay a \$22.5 million fine (largest in the history of the US Federal Trade Commission) (ABC News, 2012). Although Google claimed the violation to be unintentional, David Vladeck, the FTC director of the Bureau of Consumer Protection, told reporters: "A company like Google, which is a steward of information for hundreds of millions of people has to do better," (ibid). Such a fine would be paid to the US government, yet these are but some examples of corporate

abuses that transcend the boundaries of the nation-state, and affect citizens everywhere.

It has been argued by some that the post-9/11 era has led to the acceptance of many of these intrusive practices in society. However, such an obstacle to civil and privacy rights is increasingly felt by minority communities (e.g. Muslims, the Irish) who are treated as 'suspect communities' and targeted with discriminatory intrusions (The Guardian, 2010; Hickman, 2011). For instance, in 2006 it was reported that the Department for Education urged universities to monitor "Asian-looking" and Muslim students if they suspected them of extremism (Dodd, 2006). In 2010, it was reported that more than 200 'spy cameras' were installed in the mainly Muslim areas of Birmingham, which caused much public outrage (Birmingham Mail, 2010; BBC, 2011). Even after public apologies were made by the authorities, measures such as these have left minority communities feeling vulnerable to the stereotypical whims of the majority in society (ibid).

Overall, the MCC critique of liberal and civic-republican conceptions of citizenship is that they have ignored or failed to adequately address such issues, thus denying opportunities, rights and protections to vulnerable minority groups, who at times fall prey to the majority. It is in this area that multicultural citizenship seeks to bridge the gap by moving beyond the individual rights focused model of citizenship. Furthermore, it is in this context that viewpoint SP3 held by citizenship teachers becomes significant.

Religion and culture is important for citizenship

Shared perspective-3 (SP3) strongly agreed with several statements related to the communitarian liberal¹²¹ conception of citizenship. One such example is Statement 47:

“The state cannot and should not remain neutral between competing visions of how to live a good life. Politics should embrace religious identities. Religious belief is comparable to other ethno-cultural forms of belonging, and therefore should take its place alongside them in a legitimate politics of recognition. The state should give equal and even-handed support to various religions, such as in faith-school policies or [in] the allocation of seats in the House of Lords.”¹²²

Today Muslims make up about 5 percent of the population; they are the largest religious minority group in England and Britain at large. However in Parliament they hold disproportionately fewer seats as MPs. In 2010, eight Muslim MPs were elected to 650-member House of Commons (Hasan, 2010). However, there should be more than 20 to reflect the number of Muslims in Britain (Gilliat-Ray, 2010, p. 250). Additionally, in the House of Lords, there were 9 and would need at least another 18 to reflect their weight in the population (ibid). Indeed, Muslim communities in this country struggle on most social indicators: including disproportionate rates of unemployment, poor health, poor housing conditions, disproportionate number of Muslim children are experiencing high levels of poverty; higher proportion of working age adults are without any qualifications; and Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils at GCSE level are falling below the national average (Open Society Institute , 2005, p. 11). Additionally, Muslim citizens also face a growing threat of

¹²¹ Also known as Multicultural Citizenship.

¹²² Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*: Oxford : Clarendon Press ; New York : Oxford University Press.

Modood, T. (2005). *Multicultural Politics*: Edinburgh University Press.

Hundal, S. et. al. (2007). Multiculturalism and citizenship: responses to Tariq Modood, from http://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-europe_islam/response_madood_4630.jsp.

disenfranchisement through Islamophobia and institutional racism (Runnymede Trust, 1997; Allen & Nielsen, 2002; Esposito J. L., 2011). These types of concerns require serious engagement for viewpoint (SP3), which strongly agreed with Statement 47 with +4, in contrast to some disagreement (-1) shown by the SP2 viewpoint and SP1 teachers were neutral (0) on this matter. SP3 teachers believed that by having a fair representation of all religious/cultural groups in the decision making institutions of democracy would enable minorities to better articulate their specific concerns and attain their aspirations:

“We are in a multicultural society now, so politics and politicians should support minorities [-] that means [-supporting] faith schools and [allocating minority groups] seats in the House of Lords [-], because you've got this diverse community, then that should be reflected in the politics.”

Citizenship Educator
(34-P1P2-831-835)

Another statement that *viewpoint SP3* strongly agreed with was Statement 25 (+3), while SP1 (-1) and SP2 (-1) displayed some disagreement with this statement.¹²³

“Some communities or groups of people might refuse to see themselves as individuals or as individuals only, and press for communal or what are clumsily called collective rights. Again, since different communities might have different needs, they demand different rights, powers and opportunities. To rule these out in the name of a narrow definition of equality is not only to provoke resistance but also to deny them justice.”

Parekh, Bhikhu
A Commitment to Cultural Pluralism,
UNESCO conference (1998)

Here again there is a plea for rights and support for minority groups and communities who are often visibly disenfranchised and who have conveyed that the playing field is not always fair to

¹²³ This statement was edited.

them. Shared perspective-3 emphasized the fact that for millions of people, religion plays an important part in forming a person's identity and to deny this even in a secular society was rejecting a large number of people who are citizens. As one citizenship educator highlighted:

"Certain religious people are experiencing a crisis, having [been] denied their rights. I think if the government supports these religious groups and the government is a super power, I don't think they will be facing difficulty [-] [For instance, Political leaders] were thinking whether they should ban the *niqab*.¹²⁴ They should understand that it's part of [a Muslim woman's] religious identity and it's compulsory, and does not pose any harm."

Citizenship Educator
(29-P2-11-23)

In general, SP3 teachers articulated that if a practice is important for an individual's identity, and such a practice did not pose any harm, then the government should support it or at the very least not oppose it.

Cultures overlap

Another place where shared perspectives of citizenship distinguished themselves was in their understanding of culture. Statements 17 and 52 illustrate positions on culture and citizenship where SP1 and especially SP3 teachers exhibited strong agreement.

Statement 17:¹²⁵ Culture in the broadest sense, is the way of life of a people. It shapes values, norms, and assumptions through which individual identity is formed and the external world becomes meaningful. Culture is the core feature of personal and social identity, giving people an orientation in the world. The recognition of cultural difference underpins, rather than threatens, social cohesion.

¹²⁴ Niqab is a cloth that covers the face which is worn by some Muslim women.

¹²⁵ Viewpoint SP3 strongly agreed with Statement 17 (+5) and SP1 also had considerable agreement (+3).

Statement 52:¹²⁶ We believe that all cultures have enough overlap in their vocabulary of values to begin a conversation. I'm using the word "conversation" not only for literal talk, but also a metaphor for engagement with the experience and the ideas of others.

Culture or religion from these standpoints is perceived as less of a conscious choice, and more as an attribute of identity that defines a citizen, their heritage, their aspirations, and their knowledge of communicating with the world. In addition to this, teachers affirmed that culture could be a source of happiness, and that it brought "meaning" to their lives. Moreover, it was perceived as a kind of glue that connected them to others in their community.

"I just love having that sort of background [part Irish], that culture, that kind of identity. [-] we all had enough of Guinness [-a popular Irish drink]. I think you can celebrate culture and celebrate your background and you have come from here and you are an individual, but it's still part of your heritage and I think it's got to be embraced rather than pushed aside, I think you can just be a mixture, you could be a melting pot or anything."

Citizenship Educator
(12-P2-44-51)

Teachers from these perspectives (SP3, as well as SP1) understood that dealing with cultures that were different from theirs, sometimes required an adjustment in behaviour, as a way of supporting the right to expression:

"Being confident of [our own] culture ought to help us embrace the fact that others have a belief system or a cultural system which is their expression. And if I visit friends who culturally remove their shoes at the door because they walk into their home which is a sacred ground, then I likewise will do that, or if it is to cover my head, [as] I walked into their temple."

Citizenship Educator
(13-P12-1071-1079)

Here one could easily ask: aren't instances of societal conflicts the

¹²⁶ Viewpoint SP3 and SP1 strongly agreed with Statement 52 (+4 for both).

manifestation of larger insurmountable boundaries between cultures? SP3 teachers did not think so. These teachers insisted that cultural differences should not be seen as a threat, but should be embraced. Regarding Statement 17, a teacher indicated:

"I think a lot of people look at other cultures and see them as a threat, because they don't understand [them]. And you get some mixed versions of what a belief is and you immediately think that they are out for world domination or something like that. So they don't understand necessarily."

Citizenship Educator
(08-P2A-60-71)

There was an understanding among SP3 teachers that often the cause of tension between cultures was ignorance. Despite such a deficiency, these teachers agreed that there is enough overlap in cultural assets between groups to build bridges of conversation and cooperation:

"Everybody wants to go to school, everybody wants to learn and better themselves" (ibid).

Amongst SP3 (as well as SP1) teachers there was a strong emphasis to recognize cultural differences as well as commonality between groups, which in their view would strengthen social cohesion. Shared perspective-3 (+4) and even (SP1: +4) strongly agreed to the position in Statement 52. Regarding Statement 52, there was a belief that there is enough commonality between people from different groups that could serve as an opportunity rather than as a hindrance to improve relations. As one teacher explained:

"Cultures have an overlap in their vocabulary. [-] There are things in common within all cultures and you should use those similarities to form [a] dialogue, to learn to understand each other better. There are some differences, but we are all human, all major religions talk about loving each other, talk about supporting each other, talk about doing things to help each other [-] Every society has a law: don't kill each other, don't

steal from each other, [and] don't cheat each other. So with all these things in common, we can take and build on [them]."

Citizenship Educator
(33-P12-888-895)

As discussed previously, one statement that SP2 (+4) and SP3 (+4) strongly agreed with originated from the civic-republican conception of citizenship. Statement 48 puts forth that:

"Citizenship is less a legal status than a role which the citizen assumes as a full member of his or her political community (e.g. nation-state). A citizen must take an active role in formal politics and informal politics. A citizen must be willing to take active steps to defend the rights of others in a political community and promote common interests."¹²⁷

Regarding this statement one teacher explained,

"I would probably see citizenship more as an activity rather than being granted a passport from the queen, in Britain, as it happens to be. You can be a citizen of Britain, but that can take a passive role; active citizenship is where we play an active role in our society at whatever level we are comfortable with. And I played an active role but at different levels and at different times, I know I am coming to an age where I want to spend more time with my family and take a less active role. I think that's okay too and I think I have done my bit and I will continue to but in a different way."

Citizenship Educator
(13-P12-1176-1183)

That said, although viewpoint SP3 agreed with the importance that the civic-republican tradition of citizenship placed on 'active citizenship', such a shared perspective had disagreements with various ideas seeking to consign an inferior position to one's cultural or religious identity in society. As such, the SP3 viewpoint strongly opposed Statement 33 (-4), Statement 35(-4), Statement 59 (-4), and Statement 60 (-3):

[Statement 33] Constitutional democracies respect a broad range of

¹²⁷ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, pp. 82-83.

cultural identities, but they should guarantee survival to none.¹²⁸

Statement 35: People whose conceptions of the good categorically excludes political participation, for instance religious believers who hold that trafficking with secular world compromises their faith, cannot be regarded as full citizens.¹²⁹

Statement 59: In an ideal world, cultural identities, while important to people's lives, should have minimal bearing on their citizenship, because they should be transcended through political engagement in a culturally and religiously.¹³⁰

Statement 60: The common goods of society have to be politically determined, because citizens have different perspectives on questions of common concern. They should not be derived from ethnic identity or other pre-political understandings.¹³¹

Here again, SP3 teachers were not alone, even SP1 expressed some reservations towards these statements. In regards to Statement 33, there was a concern amongst these teachers that democracies should do more than just respect a range of cultural identities. SP3 teachers perceived a dominant culture in society and were concerned that minority cultures could face assimilation in such a situation. Statement 59, addressed the notion of the religiously neutral public square and that people's religious and cultural identity should have minimal bearing on their citizenship. This proposition was intensely rejected by SP3. As one teacher explained:

"Yeah, it is basically saying in an ideal world, a culture and religion should all be neutral in the public sphere. And /or it should be subsumed in an increased national identity. So this idea that a national identity can be defined as one thing, I disagree with it totally, because of the fact that we are all different. We all have different personalities, different views, different opinions, and we all come from different backgrounds. This

¹²⁸ Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. X.

¹²⁹ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, p. 58.

¹³⁰ Laborde, C. (2008). *Critical republicanism: The hijab controversy and political philosophy* Oxford University Press, p. 2.

¹³¹ Honohan, I. (2002) *Civic republicanism*. London: Routledge, p. 214.

statement is almost saying that culture, religion, [and] belief systems don't matter, when it comes to national identity. They do, because actually traditionally, it is the faith and belief systems that have actually influenced the law. Law came about through faith systems. It didn't come about through somebody just coming up with some, you know, wild fantasy that: we need to have this law that nobody should steal. It came from faith systems. It came from culture and traditions. So to then totally put that aside and say that has nothing to do with the law of the land, and has nothing to do with national identity, it just seems futile. It just seems really silly because actually the cultural identities [and] religion, it all contributes to legal systems."

Citizenship Educator
(16-P12-1076-1089)

Shared perspective-3 contended that minority groups were very keen on the 'active citizenship' principle of civic republicanism, however they also highlighted the importance of religious/cultural identities in the public sphere, and perceived a need for minority groups to have greater access to democratic institutions than they currently had. This would enable them to better articulate their needs and concerns, as well as place them in the position to have a more equal role in the co-authoring of society.

Global responsibilities

A key tenet of cosmopolitan citizenship is contained in (Statement 53):

A citizen should adopt a global consciousness that emphasizes that ethical responsibility should not be confined by national borders or to a specific cultural group. The real challenge isn't the belief that 'other people' don't matter at all; it's the belief that they don't matter very much. It is important to understand that we have obligations towards strangers. This requires knowing that policies that I might have supported because they protect jobs in my state or region are part of the answer (Appiah K. A., 2007, pp. 153,168).

SP3, as well as SP1 citizenship educators strongly agreed with this perspective, where both viewpoints loaded on Statement 53 with a +4 rating. Teachers in these viewpoints kept emphasizing the link between their individual actions and the effects they had around

the world:

“if I choose to have my office cleaned by somebody, then I have the responsibility to ensure that they receive a fair wage for it. If I choose to invest in shares in British aerospace then I have the responsibility to ensure that my investment is not funding fighter jets to be used in Malaysia or Indonesia, Indonesia actually against the East Timor, for example. So what I choose to do here in my life does affect other people albeit perhaps indirectly.”

Citizenship Educator
(13-P12-1034-1040)

Another teacher added:

“And just seeing things like trade and things like holidaying and stuff. You holiday in a place where you don't necessarily think about its people. And holidaying in that place affects those people, do they like it or not, do they – enjoy having foreigners there, you know, every so often. Is the trade that you have with these countries, is it fair, is it oppressing them or not, that kind of thing.”

Citizenship Educator
(24-P2-90-94)

Teachers also perceived the fact that although many people may not disagree with such a cosmopolitan statement, making it a priority or acting on it, is a matter that entails a higher level of commitment:

“I love the bit in the middle. The challenge isn't the belief that other people don't matter, it's the belief that they don't matter very much and I think that's what I see in my daily life all the time. I think that's where I act with children in a school like this, particularly, they do appreciate that they have some responsibility to others, but very often it's just saying you have that responsibility and that's it.”

Citizenship Educator
(25-P2-63-68)

For these teachers the idea of empathizing with strangers was seen as being a key element to understanding citizenship:

“I think we need to be able to empathise with other people and step into their shoes and try to imagine what it feels to be like them, especially strangers, and that my actions have an impact on other people, even if I don't know them.”

Citizenship Educator

Overall, the SP3 perspective gravitated towards the beliefs and values from both multicultural citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship and sought some sense of balance between them. However, these conceptions are not without concern and criticism.

Concerns about multicultural citizenship

Critics of multicultural citizenship (MCC) point out some legitimate concerns. Conservatives like Roger Scruton argue that the deficiency of liberalism, on which MCC is founded, is that it fails to address the problem of social unity (Miller, 2005, pp. 103-4). While liberal and multicultural citizenship look to the state to perform this unifying function, conservative citizenship sees the community and tradition as a source of authority and a source of social unification. In regards to the importance of tradition, Edmund Burke, a conservative political theorist of note in the late 18th century, once stated:

“[O]ne of the first and most leading principles on which the commonwealth and the laws are consecrated, is lest the temporary possessors and life-renters in it, unmindful of what they have received from their ancestors, or of what is due to their posterity, should act as if they were the entire masters; that they should not think it among their rights to cut off the entail, or commit waste on the inheritance, by destroying at their pleasure the whole original fabric of their society; hazarding to leave to those who come after them a ruin instead of an habitation—and teaching these successors as little to respect their contrivances, as they had themselves respected the institutions of their forefathers. By this unprincipled facility of changing the state as often, and as much, and in as many ways, as there are floating fancies or fashions, the whole chain and continuity of the commonwealth would be broken. No one generation could link with the other. Men would become little better than the flies of a summer.”

Burke, Edmund (1729–1797)

Reflections on the French Revolution¹³²

¹³². Rosen, M., & Wolff, J. (1999). *Political Thought*. Oxford: Oxford Univ Press, p. 326.

Traditional institutions and practices have a history (in many societies) of providing people with the shared space for regular worship, social interaction, the practice of charity and a shared sense of purpose that is needed for communities to bind together. They provide each new generation with a connection to the wealth of knowledge and institutions from the past. So why do critics oppose such a conception? If one were to consider the notion that perhaps the idea of traditions is not really the core issue here, one might venture to ask if the concern here might have something to do with how traditions, community, or culture is perceived.

For instance, some questions that are often asked today are: is a community a homogeneous entity that the citizen interacts with?; and, do traditions originate from a single source of authority, like the church or the Christian faith, for instance? In light of modern realities, where many contexts are in fact inhabited by multiple cultures, communities and sources of authority, liberal citizenship and MCC point out that the conservative idea of citizenship, when it suggests that it supports 'community' and 'tradition' to achieve the unifying function, it usually promotes a single homogenous sense of tradition, culture and community, which is in favour of the dominant one. Consequently by doing this, it consistently fails to deal fairly and adequately with contemporary realities such as the existence of multiple religious/non-religious identities and cultures within many nation-states, including the UK. Nor does it have anything to say about protecting or supporting the aspirations of minority groups within society.

Additionally, sociologists contend that modern 'identities' are

multifaceted and do not always pivot themselves on religious symbols. For instance, a British Syrian-Christian may have cultural associations and shared social practices that are more in common with a British Syrian-Muslim than with a British Anglican or another British person with a Christian background. Additionally, there are a rising number of non-religiously affiliated citizens in Britain that cannot be expected to rely on religious authorities and traditions for their life goals. Therefore, any unifying function whether state supported or not, would need to address fairly the reality of a growing diversity in society. This is because today many citizens are not just members of single cultural or religious groups, but simultaneously of several communities.

A liberal critique of multicultural citizenship points to its exclusive emphasis on the celebration of specific cultural identities which can undermine common national or political identity. Additionally, communities may adopt hierarchical structures internally, which may be morally offensive: sexist or racist for instance, thereby undermining equal citizenship (Miller, 2005, p. 106). It has, on more than one occasion, been reported that certain Muslim and Christian schools in the UK were distributing or teaching anti-Semitic and/or homophobic materials to pupils (BBC, 2010; The Guardian, 2012). Although, such reports have highlighted that these practices were not widespread, these occurrences nonetheless are a cause of concern for those who may wish to support multicultural initiatives, but are not willing to protect beliefs and practices that use the cover of multiculturalism to proliferate intolerance or hatred.

In addition to this, the existence of Anglican schools, Roman

Catholic schools, Jewish schools, and most recently, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu schools as a whole are perceived by some as a mechanism that might contribute to the segregation of communities instead of their integration.

Amartya Sen (2006, p. 5) insists that communal identity is not just a matter of self-realization, but also of choice. Furthermore, all choices have constraints and are made with the limits of what is feasible. Even if one is seen as French or Jewish or Brazilian, one has to decide what exact importance to attach to that identity over the other categories to which one belongs. For example, a Bangladeshi Muslim is not just a Muslim, but also a Bangladeshi, typically proud of their language, literature, and other aspects of their identity. For Sen, dividing identities only in religious terms does more harm than good, specifically in a diverse society. Sen who opposes such religious-character or religious-ethos schools, argued that “It is unfair to children who have not yet had much opportunity of reasoning and choice to be put into rigid boxes guided by one specific criterion of categorization, and to be told: ‘That is your identity and this is all you are going to get’” (Sen, 2006, p. 118). Critics who reject such a viewpoint, bring up the fact that such religiously affiliated schools are perceived by many communities, including minorities, as the key mechanism by which they can retain their religious values and culture in a space in which the dominant culture supports things they don’t like, and which they perceive as being a negative influence on their children. Even so, Sen insists in opposing any MCC implementation to citizenship, which fails to respond to a need to discuss ‘our common humanity’ (ibid, 119).

Since none of these positions offer a wholly convincing alternative for many people, the relevant question thus remains, how can all communities, including minority communities enable their children to learn about, and celebrate their own specific cultural backgrounds on the one hand, and at the same time protect their children from the values, associations and social habits of the other cultures, which they perceive to be harmful.

To these concerns, Kymlicka and Banting (2006) offer the following proposition in support of multicultural citizenship. They contend that there are several ways in which MCC can be put into practice that can protect and even enhance national solidarity. First, MCC can help to combat stereotypes and stigmatizations that currently erode feelings of solidarity across racial/ethnic, religious, and cultural identities. Western countries have a long history of colonialism and racism that have created deep rooted feelings of prejudice and fear and require a “destigmatization” strategy. Second, MCC should support “nation-building” policies that include language training programs, citizenship education, shared celebration of national heroes and holiday, and so on. Third, MCC should be integrated into the national narrative: “Indeed, multiculturalism can come to be seen as one of a nation’s defining and distinguishing characteristics. Multiculturalism arguably plays this role in Canada. Affirming multiculturalism has become part of what it means to ‘be Canadian,’ and, more specifically, part of what it means to be a ‘good Canadian.’” (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006, p. 301). These are some of the key concerns and responses that have been put forth regarding MCC that highlight the strengths and weaknesses of such a conception of citizenship in dealing with present realities.

Table 3 shows which statements of citizenship were important to Shared Perspective-3 and compare it with viewpoints SP1 and SP3.

Factor Array by statements: SP₃ (Table 3)

Stmt No.	Citizenship Conception	Statement	-5 ← → 5		
			SP1	SP2	SP3
47	Multicultural citizenship	The state cannot and should not remain neutral between competing visions of how to live a good life. Politics should embrace religious identities. Religious belief is comparable to other ethno-cultural forms of belonging, and therefore should take its place alongside them in a legitimate politics of recognition. The state should give equal and even handed support to various religions, such as in faith-school policies or the allocation of seats in the House of Lords. ¹³³	0	-1	4
25	Communitarian Citizenship	Some communities or groups of people might refuse to see themselves as individuals or as individuals only, and press for communal or what are clumsily called collective rights. Again, since different communities might have different needs, they demand different rights, powers and opportunities. To rule these out in the name of a narrow definition of equality is not only to provoke resistance but also to deny them justice. ¹³⁴	-1	1	3
36	Multicultural citizenship	Public institutions should not and cannot simply refuse to the demand for recognition by citizens. Full public recognition as equal citizens may require two forms of respect: (1) respect for the unique identities of each individual, regardless of gender, race, or ethnicity, and (2) respect for those activities, practices, and ways of viewing the world	1	0	3

¹³³ Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*: Oxford : Clarendon Press ; New York : Oxford University Press.

Modood, T. (2005). *Multicultural Politics*: Edinburgh University Press.

Hundal, S. et. al. (2007). *Multiculturalism and citizenship: responses to Tariq Modood*, from http://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-europe_islam/response_madood_4630.jsp.

¹³⁴ Parekh, B. (Producer). (1998). *A Commitment to Cultural Pluralism*. UNESCO. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001107/110756Eo.pdf>.

		that are particularly valued by, or associated with, members of disadvantaged groups (which can include cultural or religious groups, and also women...etc) ¹³⁵			
48	Civic-Republican Citizenship	Citizenship is less a legal status than a role which the citizen assumes as a full member of his or her political community (e.g. nation-state). A citizen must take an active role in formal politics and informal politics. A citizen must be willing to take active steps to defend the rights of others in a political community and promote common interests. ¹³⁶	1	4	4
17	Multicultural citizenship	Culture in the broadest sense, is the way of life of a people. It shapes values, norms, and assumptions through which individual identity is formed and the external world becomes meaningful. Culture is the core feature of personal and social identity, giving people an orientation in the world. The recognition of cultural difference underpins, rather than threatens, social cohesion. ¹³⁷	3	2	5
33	Civic-Republican Citizenship	Constitutional democracies respect a broad range of cultural identities, but they should guarantee survival to none. ¹³⁸	-2	2	-4
24	Conservative Citizenship	Values are exclusively defined within, and dependant on, cultures and civilizations. There is no common ground of shared values either with respect to human rights or regarding good governance. The post-cold war international system is a "clash of civilizations". ¹³⁹	0	-4	-4
59	Civic-Republican Citizenship	In an ideal world, cultural identities, while important to people's lives, should have minimal bearing on their citizenship, because they should be transcended through political engagement in a culturally and religiously neutral public	-2	1	-4

¹³⁵ Gutmann, A. (1994) *Multiculturalism*: Princeton University Press, pp. 7-8.

¹³⁶ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, pp. 82-83.

¹³⁷ Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 316-317.

¹³⁸ Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. p. X.

¹³⁹ Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster. . New York: Simon & Schuster. As cited in (Archibugi, Held, & Kohler, 1998, pp. 300-301).

		sphere, and/or subsumed by an inclusive national identity. ¹⁴⁰			
60	Civic-Republican Citizenship	The common goods of society have to be politically determined, because citizens have different perspectives on questions of common concern. They should not be derived from ethnic identity or other pre-political understandings. ¹⁴¹	-1	0	-3
43	Civic-Republican Citizenship	Only individuals exist in the eyes of the state. It is individuals rather than groups that integrate and at no time should the action of integration contribute towards the constitution of structured communities. The integration of immigrants must be in accord with the secularism of the state: the latter respects religions, philosophies and beliefs but gives them no special support. ¹⁴²	-1	0	-2
52	Cosmopolitan Citizenship	We believe that all cultures have enough overlap in their vocabulary of values to begin a conversation. I'm using the word "conversation" not only for literal talk, but also a metaphor for engagement with the experience and the ideas of others. ¹⁴³	4	2	4
53	Cosmopolitan Citizenship	A citizen should adopt a global consciousness that emphasizes that ethical responsibility should not be confined by national borders or to a specific cultural group. The real challenge isn't the belief that "other people" don't matter at all; it's the belief that they don't matter very much. It is important to understand that we have obligations towards strangers. This requires knowing that policies that I might have supported because they protect jobs in my state or region are part of the answer. ¹⁴⁴	4	2	4

¹⁴⁰ Laborde, C. (2008). *Critical republicanism: The hijab controversy and political philosophy* Oxford University Press, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Honohan, I. (2002). *Civic republicanism*. London: Routledge, p. 214.

¹⁴² Jennings, J. (2000). *Citizenship, Republicanism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary France*. *British Journal of Political Science*, 30, 4,, 575-597, p.583.

¹⁴³ Appiah, A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York W. W. Norton, p. 57.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* , pp. 153,168.

Common ground between all three perspectives

Permeability of cultures

Sociologists point out that one way of perceiving cultures is as closed systems¹⁴⁵, each with their own distinct values and beliefs insulated from the outside environment; here the thinking is that “words like ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ make sense only relative to particular customs, conventions, cultures” (Appiah K. A., 2007, p. 15). In such a view, the culture of one group of people may clash or conflict with that of another due to such differences.

When such a perspective is coupled with politics, it leads some to conclude that there is no way out of such a conflict, except through the annihilation of one group or the assimilation of the other. Nevertheless, there is another understanding that contends that cultures are actually open systems, never fully closed but dynamic and permeable, constantly exchanging and sharing ideas and forms of living (Geertz, 1973). This point of view asserts that there is enough common ground, whether that stems from a common biology of needs or from an overlapping set of values or beliefs between societies or cultures everywhere, so that at the very least a productive conversation is possible (Appiah K. A., 2007).

The findings from this research are inclined to be persuaded of the ‘common ground’/‘open systems’ understanding of cultures, since the data revealed shared perspectives between men and women teachers with different religious/cultural heritage. This

¹⁴⁵ The view of perceiving language and culture as a “closed system” is often advanced by the Structuralist school of social science. Another school of thought argues that culture and language are open systems, which is as known as post-structuralism (Murdoch, 2006, pp. 5-10).

understanding also seems to tally with historical developments. The results of the research revealed that each of the viewpoints (SP1, SP2, SP3) contained teachers who had a variety of religious and/or cultural associations, as well as several with no religious association. The cultural/ethnic heritage of these men and women citizenship educators included White English, Welsh, Pakistani, Punjabi, Indian, Irish, Bangladeshi, Ghanaian, mixed-race, etc. In terms of religious associations of teachers, these included Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Jewish, Muslim, etc. Yet despite these differences, the findings revealed agreements amongst them on an assortment of ideals, values and beliefs on citizenship.

Common 'Likes'

Amongst the three shared perspectives of citizenship held by the teachers, there were a number of statements where *all three shared-perspectives* displayed strong agreement or disagreement towards a particular idea or belief. Statement 22 was one statement originating from the cosmopolitan conception of citizenship, to which all three viewpoints of the teachers illustrated strong agreement (SP1: +5), (SP2: +3), and (SP3: +5). This view suggests that all human beings have "equal moral worth and that [the belief in the] equal moral worth [of human beings] generates certain moral responsibilities that have universal scope" (Brock, 2005, p. 4). Between all these shared perspectives, there was a deep conviction that their citizenship actions and obligations were not just limited to their local communities, but rather that such a notion extended beyond their national borders. As one citizenship educator explained:

"I do think we have global responsibilities, [-and] I believe a lot in the

accident of I could have easily been born in, wherever. The fact that I happened to be born in the UK is one thing, but that doesn't mean that people who found themselves in much more difficult situations, where I can't just say, I don't care about them because that's not me. I don't think that's a valid response. So I agree that we have obligations to those people we don't know and that we need to do whatever we can to support them or at the very least we have to make sure that we don't actively cause them harm or damage."

Citizenship Educator
(07-P1P2-859-867)

These teachers perceived that some of their actions had global ramifications. For instance, driving a car has implications that are not bound by national borders, thus pollution is not just a local problem. Similarly, it was repeatedly pointed out by teachers that due to the 'accident of birth', they could very well have been born in far worse circumstances than they were in; this understanding for them was an incentive to help those who were in worse conditions than themselves. As one teacher stated,

"We have got the capability to do something about it, just like if we were born there, we'd want other people to help us out."

Citizenship Educator
(12-P2-60-61)

For these teachers this meant that citizens should take responsibility for others, through political action or doing things like giving money to the right charity, working on fair trade, and recycling. A number of teachers related the value of giving and charity work as something they acquired from their religious tradition though not always. Teachers, who perceived a religious link between charity and citizenship, indicated that this was a way from them to practise their faith and express their identity. Additionally, some teachers indicated they had relationships with schools overseas to articulate this belief:

"We have links with some schools in the Northwest Frontier of Pakistan and couple of schools in India as well, and in South Africa. [-] Our kids then

raised some money through a sponsored work to give to a rural school in South Africa. [-Students] realize that they had a lot more, so we do that [support charity work]. The earthquakes, when it happened in Balakot in Pakistan, we have teachers that had come from there and told [us] about the flooding that happened recently and said that they had lost 14 children in their school due to the floods, our kids then raised money for that. So they do have a connection I think, and more so with South Asia, but then even with Africa they felt that there was a link there somehow."

Citizenship Educator
(24-P2-33-44)

Despite the egalitarian nature of cosmopolitan ethics, which places an emphasis on every human being having equal moral worth, such a position critics cite could be interpreted in a narrow sense, where citizens of a state reject the view of state citizenship (Heater D. , 2002, p. 73). In other words, cosmopolitanism if narrowly interpreted could promote the abdication of a citizen's obligations to their nation-state and encourage them to favour strangers over their compatriots. However, on this point one could ask, isn't it possible to clutch two different identity allegiances in any realistic sense? For critics of cosmopolitan citizenship, patriotism and cosmopolitanism are incompatible conceptions. Furthermore, the strict communitarian critique of cosmopolitan citizenship argues that people need shared spaces and shared practices in which they regularly interact to retain any real sense of community. However, in response to this, Appiah notes that identity is multi-faceted, and cosmopolitanism does not reject local identity, but celebrates the fact that there are "different local human ways of being"¹⁴⁶. Furthermore, shared space and practices as we have seen, does not require a physical presence. For instance, 'the Arab Spring' through its inception was in numerous instances managed and proliferated via virtual communities on blogs, Facebook and Twitter, where individuals

¹⁴⁶ Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan Patriots. *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 621.

and virtual communities from all over the world crossed national boundaries to support a common aspiration for freedom and self-rule. As intellectuals like Archibugi, Held, and Kymlicka have suggested, it need not be one or the other choice, but rather that a strong multicultural state can enhance and compliment cosmopolitan ethics and affiliations. This outlook was echoed by the citizenship educators in the findings of this research. One statement that all viewpoints strongly agreed with was Statement 56 (SP1: +3), (SP2: +4), and (SP3: +3):

Few decisions made in one state are autonomous from those made in others. A decision on the interest rate in Germany has significant consequences for employment in Greece, Portugal and Italy. A state's decision to use nuclear energy has environmental consequences for the citizens of neighbouring countries. All this happens without the affected citizens having a say in the matter. Thus, citizenship should support the attempt to create institutions which enable the voice of individuals to be heard in global affairs, irrespective of their resonance at home. Democracy as a form of global governance thus needs to be realized on three different, interconnected levels: within states, between states and at a world level.¹⁴⁷

Here, the teachers emphasised things like the interdependency of the world today, and that economies around the world are interconnected, and our international exchanges have implications across borders.

"I think increasingly we do live in a global society, no question about that. And the actions [of] one country certainly do have impacts on other countries and other people. You can see that happening now at the moment in Libya. [-] So, what does happen in one part of the world certainly has an impact on other parts. [The world is] inter-connected."

Citizenship Educator
(21-P2-35-40)

Statement 56 of cosmopolitan citizenship argues the citizens

¹⁴⁷ Archibugi, D., Held, D. (1995). *Cosmopolitan democracy: an agenda for a new world order*. Oxford: Polity Press. As cited in

Archibugi, D., & Held, D. (1998). *Re-imagining political community: studies in cosmopolitan democracy*: Polity Press, p. 204.

should create and support institutions that give the individual voice the ability to be heard in global affairs. Here, one approach to dealing with the increased global challenges and interdependency is through state-based actors, which is identified with the liberal tradition of citizenship (Hayden, 2005, p. 8). However, nation states are increasingly realizing that they are not able to solve global problems with the traditional state based solutions. Cosmopolitan citizenship offers a way out by proposing working and connecting with people beyond traditional state-based actors (although states can support such institutions) and encouraging the creation of a global civil society of institutions (e.g.: transnational network of non-state actors, especially NGOs such as Greenpeace, Médecins Sans Frontières, etc) that seek to support developments like good global governance, transparency and accountability in governmental and multilateral institutions, access to basic resources to improve quality of life and justice for all human beings, not just for those citizens who reside within one's national borders.

Additionally, one teacher stressed that it was fundamental for every individual to have a global voice, especially when armed forces are sent for wars and the lives of ordinary citizens are put at risk. In such cases there should be greater civic deliberation and engagement:

"One country's decisions do affect another's. And then if we did understand people's cultures and economies, a little bit more, we'd perhaps understand, why they're doing certain things.[Regarding military action in other countries,] I think sometimes we need to wait to be asked, we don't wait to be asked. And I think that's maybe part of the problem. I think sometimes governments just make decisions like that, like taking military action without looking at it's own citizens as well, and thinking well, there are links here and how is that going to affect what happens in our own country, I don't think they always consider the backlash or maybe that's what they want, I don't know, I don't know how these things work

necessarily. But I just feel like sometimes we need to be asked before we go and jump in”

Citizenship Educator
(24-P2-138-148)

In line with such a view, citizenship educators found common ground on another belief that has special significance to Britain. One tradition that is historically important to the people of this island is the idea of authority by consent, the *Magna Carta*¹⁴⁸ being one of the earliest expressions of such an aspiration; however, such a sentiment was rearticulated with the 1689 Bill of Rights, which forbade the sovereign from taxing the people, raising an army, or establishing court without the consent of Parliament which represented the people of this land (Bragg, 2006, p. 258). Informed by such a belief, Statement 11 which gleaned from liberal citizenship was also essential in the teacher’s views:

“Any form of government established must have expressed consent of the people”.

As one teacher explained:

“ We have a right to vote, we have a right to question it [the government], we have a right to demand changes from it.”

Citizenship Educator
(03-P2-35-36)

Thus, these teachers frequently emphasized that for a society to function in the best way, the rulers must be chosen by the people, instead of being forced upon them.

¹⁴⁸ Magna Carta dating as far back as 1215CE is considered to be one of the most celebrated documents in English history. Later centuries would interpret it to guarantee people’s rights such as to be tried by a jury through the law of the land, instead of some arbitrary punishment of the ruler (Linebaugh, 2008, pp. 11,28).

Common 'Dislikes'

In addition to the commonalities that the three viewpoints shared in regards to the statements that they agreed with, the analysis revealed that there was also some agreement on statements that they strongly disliked. For instance, Statement 10 expresses how authority in society should be established. All three shared perspectives strongly disagreed with Statement 10 (SP1: -5), (SP2: -5), and (SP3: -3):

True freedom is not in individual liberty or democracy, but in the unquestioning submission to the will of the leader and the absorption of the individual into the national community.¹⁴⁹

Here again, the teachers in all three viewpoints felt that questioning leadership is the right and responsibility of citizens. The alternate path, they perceived as being harmful to "freedom". As one teacher explained:

"Well I mean the first thing that kind of springs out of me there is Hitler. You know, people should submit to the will of the leader? I think that's really frightening, I really do. Cause that was how the German people subsumed themselves to this kind of hero figure, I think it's really frightening."

Citizenship Educator
(14-P2-13-15)

Another teacher offered a more recent example in support of the urge to resist submission:

"We know that there are dictatorships. You can see what's happening in the Middle East for example at the moment [referring to 'the Arab Spring' movement] If they [believed in] submission to the will of the leader, then we wouldn't see those uprisings going on. We know the peoples value's [-] are not being respected, they are not being enshrined in law or so on, I think as a citizen, you need to be challenging those all the time, so that the will of the people, the good of the people, is essentially at the forefront of your mind in the way that you go by your business."

Citizenship Educator
(21-P2-168-174)

¹⁴⁹ Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 30.

In all, these teachers, from the three viewpoints discussed above, contended that one should be regularly questioning authority as a citizen. Another assumption/belief that all three shared perspectives strongly disagreed with was one contained in Statement 7 (SP1: -4), (SP2: -4) and (SP3: -5); one which deals with how human nature is perceived:

Humankind is born with original sin and must therefore remain severely flawed in character (McNaughton, 2009, p. 40).

As we have discussed earlier in this chapter, the way citizens perceive human nature has a bearing on what kind of rights they think they ought to have, what kind of responsibilities they must fulfil and towards whom, and how society should be structured. Some teachers struggled with the belief (in Statement 7) because it was a key tenet of their religious identity; however, overall, all three perspectives strongly rejected it. The idea that human beings are born with a clean slate, that they have the ability to reason and have the capacity to change was regularly repeated:

"I think everybody's got the capacity to change and make a difference, in that, presuming everyone is flawed from the start, isn't really a good thing to focus on."

Citizenship Educator
(01-P1P2-845-847)

Another teacher asserted:

"How can you look at a baby and think it has been born in sin, you know. To me, I'm sorry, I find that an awful thing to say. In a way it's also a cop out, isn't it? [...to say that] 'they are flawed', I don't believe that. I think everybody is born equal and it's what we make of it."

Citizenship Educator
(08-P2A-134-138)

Another teacher, also with a Christian background, pointed out that this is an extreme view:

"I don't know where this has come from, I can see it coming from Evangelical Christians. As a worshipping Catholic in a Catholic school, I was Head of RE¹⁵⁰, I would teach and believe we were born with the original sin washed away in baptism. And that the point of faith is forgiveness and to be forgiven, therefore, I do not believe that human beings remain severely flawed in character. Therefore I strongly disagree with that, because I think that is bad theology and it's probably right-wing evangelical: '[that] damn everyone to hell, from St Augustine onwards'; but I just don't agree with that, that's all."

Citizenship Educator
(13-P1P2-1188-1197)

Some teachers indicated they disagreed with this view, but they kept their views private (at least in the classroom). For instance, one citizenship educator (with a Roman Catholic affiliation) indicated that because their personal interpretation was different than The Church's official view on this matter, they would not voice their personal view on this topic in the classroom, especially if they were teaching in a Catholic school:

"I know that's what the Catholic Church teaches but I think to put such a negative characteristic on a person before they have made any other impression on you I just think it's really dangerous, to be judgmental or not, I don't agree with it. [Interviewer: 'Okay, would you openly say that in a class though?'] No. Not in a Catholic school, no. And in fact I will avoid the question and I'll tell them [students] that's what the Catholic Church teaches, I will never say that I agree with it or disagree with it. I will avoid the question."

Citizenship Educator
(12-P2-11-18)

As stated previously, all three viewpoints strongly disagreed with the position on Statement 7, although some indicated they would

¹⁵⁰ RE refers to religion education.

not disclose their view to the students, especially if they were in a school with a particular kind of religious association. One potential implication of this, is that the 'religious ethos' of a school can and perhaps does determine to some extent the parameters of what could be discussed or taught in citizenship education.

Citizenship and the foreigner

The topic of immigration is also one that is often fiercely contested in the media and in the public sphere and is considered by many as a primary source of the transformation of Britain into a multicultural society and its contemporary problems. Thus, views on immigration can be important in understanding how citizenship is perceived and deals with the religious/cultural 'Other'. In recent years, the British National Party (BNP) has denounced multiculturalism as a national catastrophe and campaigned for an end to "non-white" immigration. In 2004, the BNP constitution stated, "Both the state and the citizens should promote the preservation of the national and ethnic character of the people and should be wholly opposed to any form of racial integration between British and non-European peoples. Therefore, a citizen should be committed to stemming and reversing the tide of non-white immigration" (BNP, 2004). Statement 9 was a reflection of such a position, to which all three shared perspectives of citizenship educators expressed strong opposition (SP1: -5), (SP2: -5), and (SP3, -5). Although the BNP has changed its language, its 2011 constitution continues to have a tacitly discriminatory position on immigration. It reads:

"We are pledged to stemming and reversing the immigration and migration of peoples into our British Homeland that has, without the express consent of the Indigenous British, taken place since 1948, and to restoring and maintaining, by legal changes, negotiation and consent, the Indigenous British as the overwhelming majority in the make up of the

population of and expression of culture in each part of our British Homeland.”

The date that demarcates the immigrant from the “Indigenous British”, according to the BNP constitution (2010), is significant because, mass non-white immigration into Britain began from the late 1940s onwards. Initially black people from the West Indies and non-white maritime workers from South Asia, the Yemen and Somalia, arrived and settled in Britain's port towns and cities. From as early as the mid-nineteenth century, companies had recruited largely colonial non-white subjects as cheap labour in growing seaports such as Liverpool, Cardiff, London and Hull (Lewis, 1994, 2002, p. 54). Then as the Second World War began, Churchill called to arms the five hundred million citizens of the British Empire and its Commonwealth to protect Great Britain against the Nazi threat (Bragg, 2006, p. 254). The War was not fought by Britain alone; people from diverse ethnic/cultural/religious backgrounds came from around the world with their resources as well as their lives to defend the island nation. After the war, on 22 June 1948, the *Empire Windrush* arrived at Tilbury in London, carrying with it hundreds of men from the West Indies (BBC, 2002). Thus began the post-WWII migration of non-white people to Britain. In subsequent decades, these migrants, as the ones before them, began to create communities and append “British” to their existing identities. In 1948, the *British Nationality Act* (BNA) asserted that British identity was not determined by a single race, ethnicity or language but by the citizenship that came from being a colonial subject, granting the eligibility of full British citizenship rights to those who were members of the British Empire and the Commonwealth. Moreover, although these rights (for non-white Commonwealth immigrants) and the inclusive vision of citizenship

that the 1948 BNA projected were effectively repealed by legislation in the sixties and seventies, the desire to reconceptualise British citizenship in an inclusive way is still evoked today.

Thus, it is in this historical context, that a closed attitude on immigration is rejected by the citizenship educators from all three shared perspectives. Referring to Statement 9, as one teacher put it:

"I mean, Britain has just had a history, you know, of thousands of years of immigration. Who is to say who is the right immigrant and who is the wrong immigrant? It's just baloney."

Citizenship Educator
(02-P2-72-75)

All three shared perspectives in general deemed immigration as a positive process rather than a negative one, specifically, because it, as some teachers suggested, aided in the understanding of international issues. Also, many teachers perceived Statement 9 as bigoted:

"Okay, basically that's racism, xenophobic, prejudice, discriminatory, so I definitely wouldn't agree with that statement."

Citizenship Educator
(03-P2-104-105)

Some teachers articulated that adopting such a view could harm social cohesion:

"It focuses on colour and colour is irrelevant. I think religious and cultural identities do matter, but I think that attitude led to the Balcans [conflict], where tribalism, as I see resulted in war. [The thinking here was:] 'Because you are not one of us and we will kill you!' [The] same [happened] in Rwanda, between the Hutus and the Tutsis. I just think, as a morality, it's very dark and I worry about our social cohesion, because we now have so many different groups within society who cannot agree, because [of] where they have come from and what they are. It makes it extremely

difficult to find cohesion in the society. But the idea of repatriation, based on colour and stemming the tide based on colour, I think it is [a] very dark agenda [...] and it is quite menacing, I am not with that at all."

Citizenship Educator
(19-P12-1015-1021)

Teachers also connected the idea of immigration to a view of culture; where they saw culture as changing and fluid with immigrants' diverse backgrounds contributing to its transformation. There was an opposition to the idea of dividing people in to boxes based on colour, which they understood to be damaging to citizenship. Interestingly even though many teachers revealed inclusive attitudes towards immigration, recent policy practices exhibit a more exclusive approach, which is articulated through a number of measures including reduction and caps on non-EU immigration (BBC, 2010).

Private persons cannot be true citizens?

One of the essential features of civic-republican citizenship is the *active* nature of the citizen within it. This is often linked to how citizenship was conceived in the ancient Athenian democracy [as seen in Chapter 3] and then later to a lesser degree among the Romans who espoused indirect democracy, where citizens elected representatives who were mandated to vote on their behalf. For one classical republican, Cicero, human beings were social creatures and political activity was superior not only to private life, but also to philosophy or the pursuit of learning, which was justified only if there was enforced absence from politics (Honohan, 2002, p. 33).

The civic-republican understanding of citizenship criticizes the

liberal tradition which allows for a private citizen (who has rights and protections afforded to him or her by the state), but does not obligate the individual to be engaged in society through formal or informal politics to be a citizen. Civic-republican citizenship asserts that moral character is not a private matter, but a public one where one should seek the knowledge of public affairs to be engaged and that freedom is not just about having rights in one's private domain, but responsibilities to the wider community (Pettit, 1998). Such a view is, for instance, articulated in Statement 35:

People whose conceptions of the good categorically excludes political participation, for instance religious believers who hold that trafficking with secular world compromises their faith, cannot be regarded as full citizens.¹⁵¹

This was another statement with which all three viewpoints showed strong disagreement; however viewpoint SP3 displayed the strongest disagreement (-4), while SP1 (-1) and SP2 (-2) did so to a lesser extent. The common thinking amongst teachers was that such a statement had a restrictive element to it and that no one should be excluded; especially because there could be genuine reasons for not participating in public affairs. One teacher indicated that at some point in their life they were more active than they are at present. There was an understating that people might not be able to participate for a variety of reasons: age, physical or mental disabilities or illnesses, economic limitations, religious obligations, etc. Furthermore, one teacher indicated that all people should be treated fairly, even if they were bad citizens:

“This is a little bit controversial, [-] because I don't agree with a lot of what's going on in the world at the moment with the leaders [and what they are doing] and Osama bin Laden being shot this week. And it's that

¹⁵¹ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, p. 58.

sort of thing [-] I mean, yes, he was a terrible man, he did awful things. And like, you know, I don't condone anything, that Osama Bin Laden did. But was it right, that he was treated differently from everyone else? It was 'OK' to go in and shoot him? You know, I wouldn't defend anyone that necessarily promoted doing bad things, but at the same time, it doesn't make you - not a citizen. So, it was possibly a bit controversial, but yeah, that's how I felt, people are still citizens even if they're bad ones."

Citizenship Educator
(31-P2-91-100)

Another teacher cited an example of citizens being prevented from carrying out an adoption due to their personal views:

"Yeah, so there was a case recently, there was a couple in Derby, [-] and they wanted to foster children. And one of those questions the social worker asked is about their views on homosexuality. And they said, they would be very uncomfortable, with homosexuality. [Following this] council said they weren't fit to be foster parents."

Citizenship Educator
(21-P2-321-327)

The teacher explained that "If it is your moral belief, if it is your religious belief, but it might contradict what other people in the wider community might see as acceptable, it doesn't make you less [of a] citizen."¹⁵² Many teachers often perceived a citizen as a person in society, beyond the legal sense of holding a passport. Teachers constantly brought up the view that they did not like restrictions of what kind of person is considered a citizen. As previously indicated, some teachers pointed out that even a bad citizen, a guest worker or a refugee should not be treated unfairly.

A theme that was constantly repeated was a perception of the citizen (in the moral sense), that a citizen is a person who cares about something beyond him or herself, whether it was taking part in his or her family, community or at other levels in society

¹⁵² Citizenship Educator interview reference (21-P2-302-304)

and even at the global level. This raises an interesting question: should political and/or civic participation be an essential requirement for citizenship? Simply put, does voting and volunteering equate to citizenship? In ancient Athens, as we have seen in a previous chapter, the civic principle was an essential feature of the culture, where those who did not participate in the affairs of the city-state, were referred to as “idiots”. However, political apathy today is a common theme of many democratic societies including England. Furthermore, research also shows that most people who volunteer in England, who are the “civic core”, are likely to be middle-aged, highly educated, professional, and based in prosperous areas (TSRC, 2011). Does this mean that those who are not economically prosperous or not as educated, or those who cannot volunteer because they can barely make ends meet, cannot be considered equal citizens? What about those persons who cannot fully participate due to legal barriers in society? The ancient Athenian society marginalized large groups of people as non-citizens because they were women or young persons or slaves or foreigners. Thus, many were prevented from being active citizens on an equal basis.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, in Britain too, many groups, including those from the minority religious/ethnic population, continue to be disenfranchised in varying degrees. Are they to be considered second class citizens? Although, this nation today has overcome many of the challenges that were faced by the democracy in ancient Athens, some would argue that it still has a long way to go. The conception of citizenship that seeks to be a just model for this nation must respond to the previous questions in a way that satisfies not just the majority groups in society, but also

those who are disenfranchised, so that all persons can have the opportunity to be active citizens in any way that they desire.

History informs us that people can be disenfranchised in a number of ways. Private enterprise, for instance can serve as an instrument for promoting creativity, competition for quality or it can be a tool to negate open, fair, inclusive and democratic structuring of society. Some of the statements the teachers had to consider, dealt with organizing society based on the neo-liberal¹⁵³ view. The next section examines the teacher's views on the matter.

Citizenship and neo-liberalism

Stuart Hall (2011) traces the historical development of the banking crisis 2007-2009, which for him exposes the deep problems of the neo-liberal model. During the 1970s and 1980s, neo-liberalism¹⁵⁴ was often associated politically with the New Right conservative movement, and championed in the British context by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and in the US by President Ronald Reagan. The neo-liberal way of thinking, contends that the role of government should be minimal, especially in the marketplace. Additionally, as Hall explains:

Mistakenly, neo-liberalism says, the welfare state (propelled by the commitment to egalitarianism, working-class reaction to the Depression and the popular mobilization of the Second World War), saw its task as intervening in the economy, redistributing wealth, universalizing life-chances, attacking unemployment, protecting the socially vulnerable, ameliorating the condition of oppressed or marginalized groups and addressing social injustice. It tried to break the 'natural' [sic] link between social needs and the individual's capacity to pay. But its do-gooding,

¹⁵³ The neo-liberalism outlook is also associated to libertarianism by some thinkers; however the primary focus of neo-liberalism is on economic arrangements in society.

¹⁵⁴ It has been defined as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).

utopian sentimentality enervated the nation's moral fibre, eroded personal responsibility and undermined the over-riding duty of the poor to work.

Hall, Stuart
The Neo-liberal Revolution (2011, p. 707)

It might be relevant to point out here that part of the thrust of the "active citizenship" mantra of civic-republican citizenship was to counter the perceived loss of moral fibre which eroded 'personal responsibility' that the post-WWII Social-welfare state had allegedly fostered. Hall continues:

It [Social-welfare state] imposed social purposes on an economy rooted in individual greed and self-interest. But this represented an attack on the fundamental mechanisms of competitive capitalism. State intervention must never compromise on the right of private capital to 'grow the business', improve share value, pay dividends and reward its agents with enormous salaries, benefits and bonuses (ibid).

If the social-democratic conception of citizenship puts emphasis on the transparent and shared control of the common goods of society, neo-liberalism especially in its extreme form refuses to accept that 'society' even exists. As Margret Thatcher famously stated, "There is no such thing as society" (Hall S. , 2011, p. 707). Instead she contended "There is only the individual and his (sic) family" (ibid).

For such reasons, some critics of neo-liberalism see it not just as a misguided economic conception, but a threat to democracy. In this regard, Chomsky argues that excessive privatisation is antithetical to democracy itself. As he explains:

"Privatization of 'services' (water for example) is both for corporate profit and for undermining democracy. In both cases, virtually by definition. Thus such privatization removes matters of crucial public concern from the public arena, where the public can in principle play a role (and sometimes does), to private tyrannies from which the public is in principle excluded. That's an attack on democracy, by definition"

Chomsky, Noam
Privatization of Services, the "Free Market" & Democracy (2005)

Hall contends that the neo-liberal epoch has continued (with some fine-tuning) by all of the recent ruling parties in Britain, including the Tories, New Labour and most recently with the Coalition (Tories & Liberal-democrats). For the Coalition, this has meant three forms:

- (1) straight sell-off of public assets;
- (2) contracting out to private companies for profit;
- (3) two-step privatization 'by stealth', where it is represented as an unintended consequence (Hall S. , 2011 , p. 720).

That said, teachers' thoughts were elicited with regard to the neo-liberal view, which has been adopted by Conservative citizenship. One of the cards (Statement 31) that the teachers had to sort contained such a notion:

"Services such as education, law and order and healthcare should be transferred to the private sector and left to market forces" (McNaughton, 2009, p. 17).

Interestingly enough, all three perspectives of teachers (SP1: -4), (SP2: -5), and (SP3: -3) strongly disagreed with such a belief. Teachers in these viewpoints had a strong conviction in public education, as well as concerns about the effects of extensive privatization on culture:

"No, no, no. I'm a teacher. I mean I believe in state education. I can't believe in market forces for that. And it just means that even more people can't afford it and get left out [-] You know, you are actually creating a generation of people who can't even afford to get married or have children until they are in their 30s because they are paying off debts. And then there is a lot of people who won't even go to university, because they don't want to be lumbered with the debt. And if you take that down even further, you will have a lot of people that don't go to secondary school, because they can't afford to pay. It's just baloney, it's ridiculous."

Citizenship Educator
(2-P2-80-90)

Teachers constantly linked public services to democracy, shared responsibility and the ability to monitor these services and the

universality of access that public services provided, which was unlike private endeavours. For instance, as one teacher explained: “We've got mutual obligations and we've got mutual dependencies. Its nonsense to say that the poor, the disadvantaged, the vulnerable are sponging off the rich. The rich become rich on the back of the efforts of the poor and dispossessed.”¹⁵⁵ Teachers also stressed concerns about linking education with profit making:

“Market forces aren't fair and services such as education, law and order, and health care are basic rights I believe [in]. And I don't believe that the market will be able to deliver them fairly. And I don't believe that they should be privatised, I respect someone's rights to take a private option if it is available and if they can afford that, [which] is absolutely fine.”

Citizenship Educator
(07-P1P2-890-896)

Another teacher expressed concerns about private schools becoming sectarian:

“From my experience of private schools, there are lots of advantages obviously with smaller class sizes etcetera. But [-] the idea now that in this Big Society, in the new government to say that anybody can set up an independent school, that scares me a little bit. Because then you would have people who will say well these are the values that I want to teach in the school. And you wouldn't be able to then say well those are wrong or that you are cushioning your children, are you putting them into [a] little bubble. And people already say that about faith schools. So if you had sort of faith schools that were sect schools if you like. It would become [a] little bit scarier actually because those children would just be in little bubbles and not quite know how to deal with people in outside society really.”

Citizenship Educator
(24-P2-210-219)

Regarding Statement 31, another concern articulated by teachers was that shared services help those who are less fortunate, which would be at risk with privatization:

“Mrs. Thatcher would have been a great believer in this and I loathe Mrs.

¹⁵⁵ Citizenship Educator interview reference (14-P2-49-51)

Thatcher's political mores, really. The idea that [-a public service] is going through difficulties, so you close it down and everything is dependent on the market, everything is money and value, [-] I think its nonsense. I believe in public services like public transport, which is affordable, which is accessible, etc. And the idea that this bus goes through the country for the old people that can't afford a car, it is not making money, so it goes. [This] is no real society. Everything market? No."

Citizenship Educator
(19-P12-1077-1085)

Although the citizenship teachers in all three shared perspectives strongly disagreed with the excessive privatization of education, their representatives or the ruling governments from different parties over the last few decades have chosen policies, which support a steady shift towards greater privatization. Most recently, the introduction of 'free schools' (using the rhetoric of localism), in addition to the already existing academies and independent schools continue to cause concern to many teachers. However, at a more macro-level, governments continue to bail out corporations with hundreds of billions in revenues (tax money collected from citizens), yet often failing to respond to pleas by citizens for much stronger controls in the marketplace and the prosecution of leaders involved in the financial meltdown of 2007-2008, which effected millions across the globe.

A golden rule of cosmopolitan citizenship

"The golden rule" as Appiah puts it, is a principle that can be found in different cultures around the world (2007, pp. 60-63). The ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius (551 BCE – 479 BCE) in his famous *Analects (15:23)* stated "Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you". Such an attitude was the essence of Statement 49.

"What you do not wish done to yourself, do not do to others". This

proposition suggests that we should take other people's interests seriously, weighting as equal, (those within and beyond our national borders, our religious or cultural groups). We should learn about other people's situations, and then use our imaginations to walk a while in their shoes.¹⁵⁶

In *Cosmopolitanism*, Appiah shares the proposition that we can have different sources and different reasons for agreeing on values and practices. We need not all have to draw on the same cultural or religious symbols. An atheist and a theist can find common ground on a number of issues without having to agree on the justifications. "Indeed, our political coexistence, as subjects or citizens", Appiah explains, "depends on being able to agree about practices, while disagreeing about their justification. Appiah explains that for many long years, in medieval Spain under the Moors and later in the Ottoman Near East, Jews and Christians of various denominations lived under Muslim rule. This *modus vivendi* was possible only because the various communities did not agree on a set of universal values" (ibid, p. 70).

One recent example of such a collaboration was during 2003, as the Iraq war began so did protests, where hundreds of thousands of citizens from a variety of backgrounds - religious/cultural affiliations and organizations took to the streets around the world in opposition to the military intervention. This included everyone from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to the Socialist Workers Party. Furthermore, according to the Guinness World records on Feb 13, 2003, the largest anti-war rally occurred in Rome, Italy, where a crowd of 3 million people gathered together

¹⁵⁶ Appiah, A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York W. W. Norton, pp. 57-63.

to protest against the US's threat to invade Iraq (Glenday, 2011, p. 76).

The cosmopolitan ethic expressed by the 'golden rule' was reflected in Statement 49 and the q-method revealed that, all three shared perspectives on citizenship ranked Statement 49 with (+5 out of 5). As one teacher explained:

"It's kind of a religious teaching, it's citizenship teaching, it's equality, it's respect, it's just everything, it's kind of what I stand for, it's the fact that if you can empathize with someone rather than sympathize, [-] I always tell the kids imagine yourself in those shoes for that day and how would you be?"

Citizenship Educator
(12-P2-36-39)

The previous teacher as well as others with a religious background, some Christian, others Muslim connected this view to their religion. Additionally, overall teachers constantly drew on their theist or non-theist sources of identity and came to similar conclusions about the importance of empathy to strangers conveyed in Statement 49:

"I think citizenship, the actual subject, promotes treating other people well and being a good citizen; obviously as a Muslim, you should treat others as you treat yourself."

Citizenship Educator
(29-P2-33-34)

Another teacher linked Statement 49 to a philosopher:


"I can't say definitively, but [the statement] sounds well like John Stuart Mill, in his writings on the government, it may not be, [but] sounds very much like him, particularly 'walk a while in their shoes', [-and] learning about other people's situations [-], I think [this] is very important, trying to see their life and their point of view [-] I think it opens up our eyes and it changes our perspective"

Citizenship Educator
(13-P12-1100-1112)

Through the interviews, many teachers repeatedly emphasized the value of empathy or the idea of walking in other peoples' shoes as being vital for citizenship. However, it was also acknowledged that this was easier said than done. In general, dealing with difference was a paramount challenge acknowledged by many of citizenship educators. It was further acknowledged that this issue becomes a problem when religions or cultures are positioned as rival competing systems with no common ground. Here one could ask what if there was another way to conceptualize, talk about, and deal with difference. The next chapter will examine faith in a diverse world.

Below, Table 4 shows the statements where the three shared perspectives displayed commonality in terms of their agreement and disagreement to specific beliefs on citizenship.

Factor Array by statements: Common Ground (Table 4)

Stmt No.	Citizenship Conception	Statement	-5  5		
			SP1	SP2	SP3
56	Cosmopolitan Citizenship	Few decisions made in one state are autonomous from those made in others. A decision on the interest rate in Germany has significant consequences for employment in Greece, Portugal and Italy. A state's decision to use nuclear energy has environmental consequences for the citizens of neighbouring countries. All this happens without the affected citizens having a say in the matter. Thus, citizenship should support the attempt to create institutions which enable the voice of individuals to be heard in global affairs, irrespective of their resonance at home. Democracy as a form of global governance thus needs to be realized on three different, interconnected levels: within states,	3	4	3

		between states and at a world level. ¹⁵⁷			
22	Cosmopolitan Citizenship	Each human being has equal moral worth and that equal moral worth generates certain moral responsibilities that have universal scope. In addition to local obligations, to our friends, neighbours, relatives, we have obligations to those whom we do not know, and with whom we are not intimate, but whose lives touch ours sufficiently and we believe what we do can affect them. Thus, all of us have some global responsibilities. ¹⁵⁸	5	3	5
21	Conservative Citizenship	Citizenship should focus on the national community. So this means one must promote a highly restrictive approach to immigration to prevent the diluting of common culture. ¹⁵⁹	-5	-4	-5
7	Conservative (Fundamentalist) Citizenship	Humankind is born with original sin and must therefore remain severely flawed in character. ¹⁶⁰	-4	-4	-5
11	Liberal Citizenship	Any form of government established must have expressed consent of the people. ¹⁶¹	3	5	3
10	Fascist Citizenship	True freedom is not in individual liberty or democracy, but in the unquestioning submission to the will of the leader and the absorption of the individual into the national community. ¹⁶²	-5	-5	-3

¹⁵⁷ Archibugi, D., Held, D. (1995). *Cosmopolitan democracy: an agenda for a new world order*. Oxford: Polity Press. As cited in

Archibugi, D., & Held, D. (1998). *Re-imagining political community: studies in cosmopolitan democracy*: Polity Press, p. 204.

¹⁵⁸ Brock, G., & Brighouse, H. (2005). *The political philosophy of cosmopolitanism*: Cambridge University Press, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, p. 104.

¹⁶⁰ McNaughton, N. (2009). *Edexcel Government and Politics for A2: Ideologies*. London: Hodder Education, p. 40.

¹⁶¹ McNaughton, N. (2009). *Edexcel Government and Politics for A2: Ideologies*. London: Hodder Education, pp. 1-10.

Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 23.

¹⁶² Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 30.

9	Conservative Citizenship (Far-Right)	Both the state and the citizens should promote the preservation of the national and ethnic character of the people and should be wholly opposed to any form of racial integration between British and non-European peoples. Therefore, a citizen should be committed to stemming and reversing the tide of non-white immigration. ¹⁶³	-5	-5	-5
31	Neo-liberalism/ Conservative Citizenship	Services such as education, law and order and healthcare should be transferred to the private sector and left to market forces. ¹⁶⁴	-4	-5	-3
35	Civic- Republican Citizenship	People whose conceptions of the good categorically excludes political participation, for instance religious believers who hold that trafficking with secular world compromises their faith, cannot be regarded as full citizens. ¹⁶⁵	-1	-2	-4
49	Cosmopolitan Citizenship	"What you do not wish done to yourself, do not do to others". This proposition suggests that we should take other people's interests seriously, weighting as equal, (those within and beyond our national borders, our religious or cultural groups). We should learn about other people's situations, and then use our imaginations to walk a while in their shoes. ¹⁶⁶	5	5	5

¹⁶³ BNP. (2004). Constitution of British National Party.

¹⁶⁴ Heywood, A. (2007). *Political Ideologies: 4th Revised edition: An Introduction*. : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 17.

¹⁶⁵ Miller, D. (2005). *Citizenship and National Identity*: Polity Press, p. 58.

¹⁶⁶ Appiah, A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York W. W. Norton, pp. 57-63.

Chapter 5: the 'Self' and the 'Other'

Introduction

Bernard Crick, a cardinal figure behind the introduction of citizenship in the National Curriculum, had declared that citizenship carries four meanings: first, it is correlated to rights and duties as related to a state; second, it can refer to a belief; third, it can refer to an ideal; and fourth, it can refer to an “educational process” (Heater D. B., 2004, p. Forward). As valuable as such a definition may be for this discussion, I would contend that it could benefit from a crucial amendment to include perceptions of the ‘Self’/‘Other’ as a significant dimension of citizenship.

This chapter's theme will build on previous chapters to illustrate the ways in which visions of the ‘Self’ in relation to the ‘Other’, have a substantial link to the kinds of citizens and society we are shaping. These visions of citizenship include the exclusivist, inclusivist and pluralist ways of perceiving and dealing with religious/cultural difference. Additionally, the chapter will explore how some of these visions of citizenship can to a considerable extent lead to the construction of insider and outsider groups within the society. In a previous chapter, we learned that in the ancient Athenian democracy, the insider group of the society, those who were known as citizens, did not include large segments of the population - Athenian women, young people, slaves and foreign residents.¹⁶⁷ Although, these groups provided a variety of services to the city-state and contributed to the economic wealth of the citizenry, they were denied rights, opportunities and protections that a citizen possessed. Consequently due to a number of social/cultural practices, these outsider groups or

¹⁶⁷ Allies and trading partners, often from Greek lands, who were residents of Athens, but were not considered citizens.

'Others' could not pursue a life of freedom, happiness and dignity as those perceived as being part of the insider group in society. In other words, perceptions of the 'Self'/'Other' mattered a great deal in one of the world's oldest democracies, as they do today. In a previous chapter, we learned that each of the three shared perspectives of citizenship held by citizenship educators (CEs) had something to say about which segment of society deserves the most attention and support.

The current chapter will add to previous discussions by examining different ways of perceiving and dealing with religious/cultural difference. Here the discussion will glean from the work of scholars such as John Hick, William E. Connolly and Martha Nussbaum who describe different visions of citizenship that provide useful ideas for discussing, understanding and dealing with different co-cultures or religions in society.

Based on this, we will explore the views of the citizenship educators and attempt to understand what groups in society they believe to be excluded or disenfranchised. Moreover, through the analysis of the concerns of these teachers, we hope to better understand what these teachers perceive to be barriers in dealing with difference. Finally, the chapter will report on what these teachers recognize to be the goals and strategies to counter the 'Othering' and to improve social cohesion in society.

Visions of citizenship

Faith in a diverse world

William E. Connolly (2005) and John Hick (1963, 1990) have theorized ways of perceiving the 'Self'/'Other', that could be useful in understanding and dealing with religious and cultural difference. Within this discourse, Hick contends that the exclusivist, inclusivist, and pluralist ways of perceiving the religious 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' have vital implications in the way we engage with those who are different to us and the kind of society we are shaping. Connolly takes such a notion further by contending that such visions of citizenship apply not just to those people with a religious identity, but also to those who interact with others in society without the use of a system of religious symbols.

Connolly (2005), first of all, asserts that the modern state has not been able to sever the relationship between religion and the citizen. Once Aristotle argued that man was a social and political animal, that by nature he depended on and sought to cohabit with others. Today, such a notion is amended to add another dimension to humankind, that they are social, political as well as believing animals, in the sense that they cultivate a belief-system with or without the aid of religious symbols.

Connolly explains that a multicultural world requires a broader model of looking at 'faith'. In describing existential faith, he proposes that it can be understood as "an elemental sense of the ultimate character of being" (Connolly, 2005, p. 25). In such a view, faith is perceived to be ubiquitous to life, and people

persistently embrace a variety of faiths. Here Connolly contends that faith has to be understood in a broader manner, where it can be both theistic and non-theistic. This means that individuals like Mohammed, Jesus, Spinoza, Buddha, Moses, Nietzsche, Einstein, and John Rawls are all inhabited by existential faith, and that “each investment [by them] makes a difference to the public doctrine enunciated by each and how life is lived in relation to that doctrine” (Connolly, 2005, p. 27). Connolly endorses an understanding of faith where faith is “ubiquitous, relational, and layered into body-brain-culture circuits, for good and ill” (ibid, p. 28). Such a broader understanding of faith has a horizontal and vertical dimension.

The *horizontal dimension* is beliefs about issues such as divinity, morality, and salvation as professed and refined through comparison to alternative beliefs advanced by others (ibid). The *vertical dimension* of faith is where the doctrinal element is articulated in ways that express feelings, habits of judgment, and patterns of conduct below direct intellectual control (ibid). In such an understanding, all citizens, whether they follow a formal religion or not, have existential faith, which they carry with them in all walks of life. Moreover, they draw on these values, beliefs and views to make choices about citizen action at “multiple sites”. Citizenship from this angle is not just something that happens at the ballot box, but in places like communities, at churches, at temples, at mosques, on Facebook and even at home. In other words, whether one espouses a religious or a non-religious identity, as a citizen, these backgrounds inform our choices as citizens. Furthermore, these choices affect not just those who share our religious or cultural backgrounds and convictions, but those who

do not. So how do we perceive and deal with the 'Other' as citizens? The following sections will look at different visions of citizenship, which offer ways of perceiving the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other', and which consequently have a substantial link to the kinds of citizens and society we are shaping.

Exclusivism

John Hick (1963, 1990) explains that the exclusivist way of perceiving the religious 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' has certain features. Such a vision of citizenship perceives religions as counterpoised rival systems of belief and practice, where one particular tradition claims exclusive access to Truth/Salvation/Liberation. For instance, take the following creed, which was for centuries a key dogma of the Catholic Church, "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*" (outside the church, no salvation) and "the corresponding assumption of the nineteenth century Protestant missionary movement: outside Christianity, no salvation" (Hick, 1990, p. 421). The *exclusivist* vision finds some way of positing "superiority" over the 'Other' to perceive an advantage for a specific group.

Additionally, the exclusivist position can be found in a variety of religions. An exclusivist view could proclaim that the Jews are the only "chosen" people of Yahweh or that salvation can only be attained through Jesus alone or an exclusivist Muslim may avow that it is only through accepting Islam that one finds paradise. Thus, the exclusivist is fully convinced that theirs is the only true religion, and articulates this in practice by tasking themselves to show the superiority of their own creed and the consequent moral superiority of the community which associates with it (Hick, 1990,

p. 419). Furthermore, such a view ultimately nullified all pathways outside one's identity circle as illegitimate and inferior.

Connolly takes Hick's conception further by adding that one does not need to be a Christian, Muslim or Jew to adopt such an exclusivist position, and that even a non-God believing individual can be exclusivist. For Connolly, whether one is the Dalai Lama, Einstein or John Rawls, one embraces a vision of citizenship entrenched in faith that could be described as, for instance "exclusivist".

Today exclusivism is often portrayed as a religious phenomenon. However, in addition to Connolly, a number of thinkers have highlighted that a non-theistic belief system or a non-religious belief system can be equally exclusivist. An exclusivist non-theist may assert that all religion is irrational and that it is at odds with science, or that all religion is an obstacle to liberty. As Hitchens, in *God is not Great* (2007) succinctly summarises: "Religion poisons everything".

Scholars have highlighted that there are similar equally rigid attitudes and views about the 'Other' that can be found among religious as well as exclusivist non-religious citizens. Colin Slee contends that, "We are witnessing a social phenomenon that is about fundamentalism" (Jeffries, 2007). He argues that "Atheists like the Richard Dawkins of this world are just as fundamentalist as the people setting off bombs on the tube, the hardline settlers on the West Bank and the anti-gay bigots of the Church of England. Most of them would regard each other as destined to fry in hell"

(Ibid). Public intellectuals like Hitchens and Dawkins may position the science influenced view of the world as opposing the religion influenced view of the world; however, this does not have to be the case. John Gray (2011, p. 61) insists that science and religion do not need to be positioned in a state of opposition, and that they each serve different human needs: religion the need for meaning, and science for control. One can learn truths from both sources, and one does not need to project them in opposition to one another.

Despite this, an exclusivist vision of citizenship justifies its superiority claims of the 'Self' over the 'Other' appropriating language, whether it is from sources such as science or culture/religion. In other words, the exclusivist outlook can be supported by a system of religious or non-religious symbols. Yet, while the exclusivist views can be found among people from a variety of cultures and religions, they are not the only way of thinking about the 'Other'.

Inclusivism¹⁶⁸

The official declarations of the Catholic Church like the council of Florence (1438-45) proclaimed that:

"No one remaining outside the Catholic church, not just pagans, but also Jews or heretics or schismatics, can become partakers of eternal life; but they will go to the 'everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels,' unless before the end of life they are joined to the church" (Hick, 2005).

Such pronouncements, as Hick explains were replaced by the second Vatican Council in the 1960's, which officially recognised that salvation can occur within other religions. Thus, Hick and

¹⁶⁸ Though John Hick's writings are primarily restricted to religious exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism, I extend his ideas using the work of William Connolly.

Connolly stress that the exclusivist outlook is not the only orientation towards difference that one can have. As Hick (1990) states that an "exclusivist" view in Christianity, which advocates that there is no salvation outside (the Church or Christianity), could be replaced by an inclusivist view that "God's forgiveness and acceptance of humanity have been made possible by Christ's death, but that the benefits of this sacrifice are not confined to those who respond to it with an explicit act of faith" (Hick, 1963, 1990, p. 165).

Hence, the *inclusivist* vision of citizenship encourages a viewpoint where the "superiority claims" of one's religious or cultural heritage can be de-emphasized by the ecumenically minded within each tradition. In this view, the Jews might say that every people in its own different way is chosen by God and has its own special vocation within the divine plan and a Muslim could express that paradise is not just for Muslims to partake. This does not mean that the inclusivist outlook expects one to reject one's religious heritage. Espousing such a vision of citizenship does however require a perceptual adjustment where one encourages an interpretation of one's symbols, sacred texts, and doctrines that make attempts to de-emphasize the superiority claims over the 'Other', who's religious or cultural symbols it does not share.

Despite this, the absolutists in all of these traditions would find it challenging to disassociate themselves from their superiority claims. In response to this, Hick argues that the "a priori" presumption of each of the faiths as having superior access to the Truth is undermined by several facts. If historical evidence reveals anything, it is that there have been considerable acts of violence

and injustices committed by people who associate with a variety of backgrounds such as Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist. Additionally, there have also been acts of monumental sacrifice, generosity, and service to humanity committed by those with such a heritage. Thus, both Hick and Connolly assert that to reject exclusivist thinking means to accept that the potential for evil exists inside one's religious/cultural identity circle.

That said, critics posit that although the inclusivist position envisions greater acceptance or tolerance towards the 'Other', a conceptual hierarchy still remains, where one places one's own religious/cultural identity above all others. Thus, a Christian might contend that while God is revealed to Christians as personally incarnate, God is also self-revealed in 'lesser ways' within other religious traditions. An inclusivist Buddhist may hold that although one can learn virtues in many faiths, ultimately nirvana or liberation or the fundamental truth is 'only' possible through the Buddhist path. Furthermore, an inclusivist non-theist could hold that religion can be a source of truth, where one can learn such things as good values and good conduct in society; however, ultimately, it is science not religion that leads to the Truth. In the plane of perception, the inclusivist vision of citizenship moves towards greater acceptance of the perceived outsider, without completely relinquishing the superiority claim of one's 'Self' in relation to the 'Other'.

Pluralism

In addition to the exclusivist and inclusivist visions of citizenship, there is another perspective, pluralism – a vision which has been incisively articulated by scholars such as Hick, Connolly and also

Martha Nussbaum. Such a position places an even greater importance on the values of civic tolerance, empathy and the equal dignity of human beings. Hick (1990, p. 428) lays the clearest foundation of his theory by evoking the concepts of noumenal and phenomenal as articulated by Emmanuel Kant. The core idea resurrected here is that it is impossible for any human being to have a pure experience of the noumenal (i.e. the world in itself), and therefore any experience of the world is always to some degree a creation of the mind (Hick, 1963, 1990, p. 118).

Although Kant was primarily concerned with “the psychological contribution to our awareness of the world, but the basic principle can also be seen at work on the physiological level. Our sensory equipment is capable of responding to only a minute proportion of the full range of sound and electromagnetic waves-light, radio, infrared, ultraviolet, X, and gamma- which are impinging upon us all the time. Consequently, the world as we experience it represents a particular selection – a distinctively human selection – from the immense complexity and richness of the world as it is [itself]” (Hick, 1963, 1990, p. 118). From this, Hick concludes that all experience, including religious experience is “experiencing as” humanly experience and thought. The *Real an sich* (i.e. the Real in itself) and “the Real” as it is experienced by the various communities and cultures of the world is not exactly the same. To Hick, all human beings have perceptions of and are responding to the Real (God, Truth, etc) through their system of religious or cultural symbols and their belief-systems, but such an understanding is always incomplete or limited in some way.

Thus, the pluralist position rejects the traditional view that if a particular religion is accepted as true, all others must be false. A pluralist position encourages an outlook of religion as a human phenomenon and that Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and other belief-systems are all part of the wider history of the heritage of humanity (ibid, p. 110). The pluralist perspective sees something of vital significance taking place all over the world within the context of different historical traditions (not just inside of one's religious or cultural identity). It is a vision of citizenship¹⁶⁹ which perceives the 'Other', who is outside of one's own religious/cultural group or belief system, to have an equal possibility of attaining Truth/salvation/liberation or eternal life through their religious or cultural symbols. Furthermore, there is a rejection of the view that "evil", flaws, imperfections and errors exist only outside one's religious or cultural tradition.

Some recent research has shown that a pluralist vision is shared by many who come from a variety of religious backgrounds. In 2008, a Pew research survey in the US revealed that Hindus (89%), Muslims (56%), Jews (82%), Buddhists (86%), Protestants (66%), Mormon (39%) and Catholics (79%) believed that "Many religions can lead to eternal life" (Pew, 2008). The same study also revealed that of the people polled, Muslims (60%), Protestants (64%), Jews (89%), Buddhist (90%), Hindu (85%), Catholics (77%) and Mormon (43%) believed that "There is more than one true way to interpret the teachings of my religion" (ibid).

The pluralist vision of citizenship requires a kind of orientation or

¹⁶⁹ Here I am conflating the ideas of Hick and Connolly to contend that inclusivist, exclusivist and pluralist visions of citizenship are adopted by those with or without religious backgrounds.

reorientation that was posited by Copernicus's sun-centred astronomy, where one perceives their position not to be at the centre of the universe. Despite such an adjustment in one's outlook, as Connolly explains, pluralism does not mean that one should reject one's religion or culture, nor does it promote the amalgamation of different religions or relativism. Pluralists should and often do struggle for things that are important to them. Connolly contends that the pluralist position requires a bicameral orientation to citizenship, which means to keep a foot in two worlds, straddling two or more perspectives to maintain tension between them. First, one adopts a faith, doctrine, creed, ideology or philosophy as a committed citizen in the world. Second, there is an engrained sense that one should "exercise presumptive receptivity towards others when drawing that faith, creed, or philosophy into the public realm" (Connolly, 2005, p. 4). It is a persistent respect for the diversity of the human condition. Moreover, there is a rejection of the view that "evil", flaws, imperfections and errors exist only outside one's group, religion, culture, or belief system. It is a vision that sees the humanity in the stranger and regards this stranger as equal, who has as much of a right to their religious or cultural symbols as you do to yours.

So why does all this matter? The next sections will further contextualize these visions of perceiving the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' and how perceptions have implications in society at large. Specifically, we will look at some exclusivist views of citizenship and how they influence the creation of insider/outsider groups in society. Thus in reserved forms, they manifest themselves by disenfranchising groups of people in society and in their extreme cases they lead to acts of violence which are inflicted on

the 'Other'. Later sections will inspect what citizenship educators believe to be causes of the 'Othering' that they encounter. Moreover, the research findings also revealed what citizenship educators understand to be beneficial aims and strategies for dealing with difference.

Implications of 'Othering'

The superior 'Self' and the flawed 'Other'

On July 22, 2011, a 32 year old man, the son of a nurse and diplomat pursued a violent rampage murdering more than 70 people, including civilian men, women and children in Oslo and Utoya Island, in the not so distant nation of Norway. Before embarking on his mission to execute his victims, he emailed his manifesto detailing his worldview and plan of action to 7000 of his Facebook friends (Boston, 2011). His manifesto, entitled "2083 - A European Declaration of Independence", Anders Breivik lays out a plan to cleanse Europe of Muslims and "the multiculturalists" that support them. Describing himself as a "crusader", a "Christian, and above all a "patriot", he claims that his actions are "moral" and serve to preserve his shared culture and national sovereignty (Breivik, 2011, p. 4). Breivik legitimizes his perspective by affirming that he is not alone, but part of a larger community, which transcends the nation-state borders of Europe and rallies his fellow crusaders with a higher purpose:

"Myself and many more like me do not necessarily have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ and God. We do however believe in Christianity as a cultural, social, identity and moral platform. This makes us Christian"

Breivik (2011)

2083 – A European Declaration of Independence

Breivik's manifesto reveals a distinct yet shared outlook of perceiving one's 'Self' in relation to the position of those who are considered to be the 'Other' that is central to understanding a key dimension of citizenship. Scholars have long contended that an absolutist and exclusivist way of perceiving one's religious or cultural identity *in relation* to the 'Other' can be found in persons in all societies. The exclusivist vision of the 'Self'/'Other' proclaims that "evil" or what is deplorable or inferior, in terms of beliefs, values, or culture is always outside one's own religious or cultural heritage or Self-perception. Overlapping such a notion is the absolutist outlook, where an individual or group asserts that their understanding of truth is free from error; therefore all other truths are inferior or erroneous in some sense when compared to one's own religious/cultural sources of truth. Someone who adopts an absolutist view of the world is not divorced from reason, but exhibits a tendency of putting reason on hold when gauging the 'Other': their beliefs and values or their overall way of life.

Anders Breivik is of course not the first to garb himself with the cloth of religion, culture or patriotism. "Patriotism", particularly in regards to the paradigm of the nation-state, is a word that carries a dense set of evocative meanings for people today. Thus, Martha Nussbaum¹⁷⁰ (2007) contends that often patriotism is evoked by people with different visions of citizenship. The inclusivist and pluralist vision of citizenship encourages, to various degrees, the "ability to respect others who are different, and to see in difference a nation's richness", while exclusivists see diversity as a threat to the nation's purity or its 'ethnoreligious

¹⁷⁰ As previously mentioned, this study is informed by the work of those such as William Connolly, John Hick, and also Martha Nussbaum who have all contributed to the discourse on dealing with difference.

homogeneity' (2007, p. 15). Moreover, Nussbaum explains that often the exclusivist form of citizenship reflects the tendency to seek domination as a form of self-protection. For instance, a close examination of Breivik's manifesto reveals a construction of a single exclusivist idealised European identity, which is Christian in character, and which is presented as being under the threat of domination by certain outsider groups (Breivik, 2011, pp. 4, 29). Moreover, Breivik positions himself and his friends as defenders of "Christian culture and heritage" against the 'Other': Muslims, non-European immigrants, feminists, Multiculturalists and Marxists (Breivik, 2011, pp. 29, 391,778,1157).

That said, the rhetoric of constructing fear of the 'Other', which is seeking to 'dominate us', is of course, not a new occurrence. In the early part of the twentieth century, extreme right wing British politicians such as Arnold Spencer Leese (1878-1956), evoked such fears in regards to one minority group of Britain, by raising the fear of a "Jewish plot for world domination" (Goodwin, 2011, p. 23). Furthermore, academics insist that the irony of Breivik's manifesto is that it has many similarities with, or is perhaps a virtual copy of a 'jihadist manifesto'¹⁷¹, whose authors Breivik perceives as part of the wicked 'Other'.

For such reasons, Nussbaum explains that the struggle between these visions of citizenship is not unique to a particular geography or a particular religious or cultural group. Such an outlook can be found in people in all societies, where one position proposes the clash of cultures or civilizations, while the other contends "a clash

¹⁷¹ Boston, W. (Producer). (2011). "Killer's Manifesto: The Politics Behind the Norway. *Time Magazine*.

within virtually all modern nations—between people who are prepared to live with others who are different, on terms of equal respect, and those who seek the protection of homogeneity, achieved through the domination of a single religious and ethnic tradition.” (Nussbaum M. C., 2007, p. preface). Wherefore, as Nussbaum explains, the clash isn’t between cultures, but between those persons in society that refuse to live in harmony with those who are different from them. Moreover, it can also be contended that there are degrees of exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism, and not everyone who espouses the exclusivist or absolutist view resorts to violence. Yet, what is significant about this discussion is that these views of perceiving the ‘Self’ in relation to the ‘Other’ have implications in society, specifically when they construct an insider/outsider duality, which can disenfranchise large groups of people and deny them equal opportunities and protections that citizenship ideally seeks to promote. The next section will investigate exclusivist views within Britain, and the ‘Othering’ of people closer to home.

Exclusivism closer to home

As we have seen with the case of Breivik, the ‘Othering’ of groups of people can occur within the citizenry itself, where certain citizens because of their religious, cultural or political background are perceived as a threat, consequently not deemed to be equal to the insider group. Such a phenomenon of exclusion takes on numerous forms. One form can be observed through the overt practices of the far-right in Britain. The second form is less overt, and is woven into institutional practices, but contains various degrees of exclusion of the ‘Other’ none the less. The following sections will explore the perceptions and the effects of the

'Othering' which may be articulated most explicitly through the views and practices of the far-right, but also manages to permeate in various degrees through the more mainstream aspects of society.

Since the 1970s, the expression of prejudice has changed and whereas in the past racism was more blunt and explicit, new forms of racism endorse egalitarianism and focus on highlighting cultural differences (Wood, C; Finlay, WM., 2008, p. 708; Giddens, 2006, p. 495). Historically, the policies and practices of exclusivist groups in Britain have had negative consequences for minority communities in general, whether they are immigrants or those with a long heritage - Roma, Jewish, or Muslim in Britain (Goodwin, 2011, pp. 4-6). These projected outsider groups are constructed through the public discourse¹⁷², where they are often positioned as being defective or less normal in some way or even tainted with an 'evil' association, rendering them separate from the insider group who are perceived as legitimate heirs of a particular society. Associated with this perception may be a sense of normality or superiority over the 'Other'. Now, the 'Other' can be more easily targeted, humiliated, disenfranchised and in the worst cases become a recipient of violence. Some examples of such practices can be found by exploring the discourse of social movements like the Racial Volunteer Force (RVF), EDL and

¹⁷² There is considerable research that looks at how different mainstream media groups construct the 'Other' in Britain, and support negative images of the 'Other' for instance: (Media & minorities: The politics of race in news and entertainment., 2006) , (Reporting Islam: Media representations of British Muslims., 2002). That said, the media is not homogeneous, and though not all are lead by exclusivist ideologies, overall a large number contribute substantially to the 'Othering' effect.

political parties like the BNP.¹⁷³

In 2005, some supporters of the RVF were imprisoned after conspiring to incite racial hatred, by encouraging violent methods, through anti-Jewish articles such as 'Roast a Rabbi', bomb-making instructions and praise for Soho bomber David Copeland, who received a life sentence for murder, after targeting the homosexual community and ethnic minorities in London (BBC, 2005). In 2009, more than 100 Roma¹⁷⁴, including small children were forced to flee their homes after a assault for a number of nights by a crowd, which was reported to have gathered outside their homes shouting racist slogans, smashing windows and kicking in doors in Belfast (Amnesty Intl, 2009). Soon after, newspapers reported on a text and email sent by Combat 18¹⁷⁵:

"Romanian gypsies beware beware
Loyalist C18 are coming to beat you like a baiting bear
Stay out of South Belfast and stay out of sight
And then youse will be alright
Get the boat and don't come back
There is no black in the Union Jack
Loyalist C18 'whatever it takes'."

The Guardian

¹⁷³ Although the exclusivist example presented here included groups like the BNP and EDL, as Nussbaum, Connolly and Hick explain, such an outlook can be found in people from societies everywhere. Nussbaum for instance, gives the example of the Hindu right in, *The Clash Within* (Nussbaum M. C., 2007).

¹⁷⁴ According to Open Society Institute more than ten million Roma (traveller community) live in EU, yet no ethnic group in Europe suffers more social exclusion, discrimination and poverty (Open Society, 2010).

¹⁷⁵ According to reports, graffiti in the area appeared with slogans of 'Combat 18', a group which has been implicated in numerous vicious attacks on immigrants in Britain.

Jun 21, 2009¹⁷⁶

In 2011, the Madinah Mosque in Luton, England was vandalized with its windows broken, and a spray-painting of an image of a swastika and the words "EDL" (Guardian, 2011). A month prior to this, in Nottingham, an EDL member was involved in an incident where a pig's head was placed on a pole outside the possible site of a mosque and nearby on the pavement, a spray-painted message warned, "No mosques here. EDL Notts" (ibid). These incidences fit into a larger pattern of behaviour that has a real and also virtual presence on the internet. On September 3, 2011, at a demonstration in London, EDL leader Stephen Yaxley-Lennon aka "Tommy Robinson" gave a speech, which has been widely shared on the internet. In it, Robinson states:

"Every single Muslim watching this video on Youtube, on 7/7 you got away with killing and maiming British citizens, you got away with it. You had better understand that we have built a network from one end of this country to the other end, and we will not tolerate it, and the Islamic community will feel the full force of the English Defence League if we see any of our citizens killed, maimed or hurt on British soil ever again."

EDL Leader Tommy Robinson

September 3, 2011

What is interesting about such public pronouncements by the far-right is that they employ similar strategies of constructing the 'Other'. Scholars have described two linked perception processes by which an exclusive vision of the 'Self' and the 'Other' is constructed through the "accentuation effect" and "essentialism" (Wood, C; Finlay, WM., 2008, p. 709). The "accentuation effect" is the tendency to perceive outsider groups as homogenous and

¹⁷⁶ McDonald, H. (2009) 'Romanian gypsies beware beware. Loyalist C18 are coming to beat you like a baiting bear'. The Guardian.

distinct from insider groups (ibid). Additionally, “essentialism” is the tendency to depict members of groups as sharing some important, essential qualities on the basis that they share a culture (ibid). The problem with essentialising groups is that, often selective attributes of a few people within the group are used to paint the broader group with such qualities. What's more, such outlooks fail to acknowledge the common ground of shared beliefs, values, hopes, aspirations and ways of living that often exists between different individuals, groups and cultures.¹⁷⁷ Additionally, they also fail to recognize that the insider group is not free from “evil” or flaws. Instead, the ‘Self’ or the insider group is constructed as more patriotic, more normal, more indigenous to the country or morally superior in some way than the ‘Other’. What is critical to note here is that once constructed in the public sphere these exclusivist views are often used to justify the disenfranchisement of or the infliction of violence on the ‘Other’ (Nussbaum M. C., 2007, p. 164).

Although, political formations such as the EDL and BNP publically reject violence, their exclusivist discourse places Muslims, Liberals, Marxists and feminists as the outsider group:

“London’s diversity is Britain’s danger. The Multi-Cultural nightmare of Britain is the sea in which the terrorist can swim. The era of the liberal Consensus is over. The time when deluded and apathetic liberals, New Left fascists, tolerance freaks and diversity Nazis, sycophantic vicars and various other white witless female version of Charles Dickens Mrs Jelly by were listened to is over. They should all now be despised for the utter idiots they all are and for the danger they have placed us all in.”

BNP Leader (Lee Barnes)
(Wood, C; Finlay, WM., 2008,

¹⁷⁷ In a previous chapter, the findings of this study revealed three distinct shared perspectives of citizenship educators, as well as some common ground between the shared perspectives. Keep in mind these citizenship educators were informed by an assortment of religious and cultural identities.

These movements contrast their self-projection as “Christian” and embodiments of “authentic” national identity with their rejection of the outsider group as nefarious to British culture, values and way of life (Goodwin, 2011, p. 67). What is more interesting is that, much like Breivik in Norway, the BNP discourse often positions itself as a defender of “Christian culture and heritage” against the ‘Other’: Muslims, immigrants, liberals, Multiculturalists and Marxists (ibid). In 2006, BNP writer, John Maddox claimed that Christianity “is at its eleventh hour in Britain”, and that since 1960s mass immigration had led to a “collapse of received values”, resulting in a clash between “Christian civilization” in a political, social, spiritual and theological struggle against the unholy alliance between “atheistic liberalism and Muslim expansionism (Woodbridge, 2010, p. 36)”. The early twentieth century tactic of exclusivists like Arnold Spencer Leese (founder of the Imperial fascist League in 1929), who sought to evoke fears of a Jewish plot for world domination, is now mimicked by BNP pronouncements of a Muslim plot for domination. For instance, in a speech, Griffin asserted that Asian Muslims were trying to conquer the UK, by “seducing and raping white girls” and that Islam is a “wicked, vicious faith” (The Guardian, 2006; The Independant, 2009). Academics who have studied such exclusivist rhetoric in the public discourse state that:

“If readers of these articles had not considered that all Muslims (as opposed to just terrorists) might pose a threat to Britain, reading these articles will at least supply a new set of resources to see Muslims as essentially the same in their motives. This is no new phenomenon, of course: Said (1995) has illustrated how over the centuries, ‘Orientalism’ in all its forms has tended to portray ‘Arabs’ as a unified category with an essential character. Here we see it being constructed step-by-step in far-right political propaganda to foster enmity and fear towards Muslims” (Wood, C; Finlay, WM., 2008, p. 720).

In the views of practitioners and educators of citizenship the BNP (similar to other exclusivist groups), as part of their 'Othering' strategy, through the proliferation of their homogenising and essentialist public messages have increasingly permeated into the mainstream and consequently have implications in the broader society.

Permeation of 'Othering' in the mainstream

In recent years, the BNP has sought to attract more of the middle class to broaden its base, increasing the use of the "Christian" trope, which has borne some fruit. The BNP constituency has increased considerably over the years (between 1992 and 2010), where the number of BNP votes in general elections increased from 7000 to more than half a million, and where the number of candidates grew from 13 to over 300 in the same period (Goodwin, 2011, p. 10). Additionally, in June 2009, during the European Parliamentary elections, BNP gained two seats in the European Parliament, invoking fears of Islam in its campaign literature and often booked halls for its campaign meetings under the name of the "Christian Council of Britain" (Woodbridge, 2010). Moreover, a leaked BNP membership list revealed 12,000 members, including police officers, who are banned from being in the BNP, teachers, church leaders from different denominations including (Church of England), and soldiers, all from 200,000 neighbourhoods in Britain (Biggs & Knauss, 2011; BBC news, 2008; Telegraph, 2009). Despite the growth of the EDL and BNP following, one can argue that this does not represent mainstream perceptions in the country. However, what is observable is that some of the exclusivist views of the 'Other' have managed to

permeate into the mainstream of society. In Chapters 1 and 3, we discussed the existence of “institutional racism” in Britain, particularly in education and how children with minority heritage continue to be at risk of being denied equal citizenship. Yet exclusivist views of the ‘Other’ are not just circulating in the education system.

In 2009, a British survey asked voters a variety of questions related to their attitudes on a range of political and social issues (YouGov/Channel 4). According to the survey, BNP agreed with several exclusivist and discriminatory attitudes. More than 70% of BNP voters agreed that government should encourage immigrants and their families to leave Britain (including family members who were born in the UK). Similarly, 43% of UKIP voters, 31% of Conservative, 19% of Labour, 16% of Liberal Democratic Party voters also agreed with this position.¹⁷⁸ Additionally, about 60% of BNP voters believed that most crimes in Britain are committed by immigrants. Likewise, 34% of UKIP voters, 26% of Conservative, 15% of Labour, 13% of Liberal Democratic Party voters also agreed with this view. That said, exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants are not the only manifestation of the Othering.

About 50% of BNP voters endorsed the view that when employers recruit new workers, they should favour White applicants over non-White applicants. Also, 22% of UKIP voters, 15% of Conservative, 12% of Labour, 8% of Liberal Democratic Party voters also agree with this position. In terms of racial views, about

¹⁷⁸ Considering the dominant parties in Britain are Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democratic Party, this is no small number of people who espouse such a view.

30% of BNP voters disagreed with the view that there is no difference in intelligence between the average Black Briton and the average White Briton. Even so, 17% of UKIP voters, about 17% of Conservative, 11% of Labour, 11% of Liberal Democratic Party voters also disagreed with this position.

In regards to Islam, about 80% of BNP voters believed that even in its milder forms, Islam is a serious danger to western civilisation.¹⁷⁹ In like manner, 64% of UKIP voters, about 50% of Conservative, 37% of Labour, 32% of Liberal Democratic Party voters also agreed with this position. Overall, such exclusivist views of the 'Other', whether they were about immigrants or of British minorities (people of colour, religious or cultural minorities, and so on) often manage to penetrate into the mainstream, thus, cannot be ignored.

The exclusivist vision of citizenship may kindle discriminatory attitudes towards the 'Other'. Often these views mean the disenfranchisement of groups or the denial of rights, protections or opportunities that are available to the insider group¹⁸⁰. For instance in 2004, the BBC conducted a study where "identical" CVs with names of six fictitious candidates were given traditionally White, Black African or Muslim names and sent to 50 corporations (BBC, 2004). A quarter of applicants with "White" names like Jenny

¹⁷⁹ Such views are of course not a new revelation. The seminal Runnymede Trust report on Islamophobia (1997, 2004), which appropriated the term as an "unfounded hostility towards Islam, and therefore fear or dislike of all or most Muslims". The report further contended that Islamophobia was institutional in Britain, where exclusive views of Islam, contributed to this new type of racism, which is not just based on the physical skin colour of an individual, but a group identity like culture or religion. These closed views of Islam included viewing Islam as monolithic, separate, inferior, manipulative, non-normal...etc.

¹⁸⁰ Please refer to Chapter 1 and 3's discussion on 'institutional racism'.

Hughes and John Andrews received interview offers, where as “Black” candidates had a 13% success rate and Muslims had a 9% success rate. The results showed that ethnic or religious minorities still face discrimination in the job market. Asians in general face considerably higher levels of unemployment than Whites - in one study, unemployment levels ranged 13% for Indians, 33% for Bangladeshis compared to 8.8% for Whites (Bell, 2012, p. 213). According to another study, Pakistani men's unemployment rate is twice that of white British and Pakistani women's unemployment is also about double (McGrath-Champ, 2010, p. 147). Research from the Citizenship Survey revealed that about half of the people in England think racial and religious prejudice is getting worse (Great Britain, 2008).¹⁸¹ Results such as these are not completely unexpected; since equal access to opportunities is only one of the challenges faced by citizens with a minority background. Data shows that the number of “White” people stopped and searched under the Terrorism Act 2000 increased by 118 per cent, while the increase for “Black” persons was 230 per cent and for “Asian” people, 302 per cent (Open Society Institute , 2005, p. 20). In all, what can be observed is that the ‘Othering’ of people in society is not just an issue linked to far-right groups; exclusivist views in general have serious consequences for certain minority groups and can be observed to some extent in the social and cultural institutional practices in wider society.

The following sections will investigate the views of citizenship educators and attempt to understand what groups of people they believe to be excluded or disenfranchised. Additionally, an

¹⁸¹ 2005 Citizenship Survey indicated that 48 per cent of people believe there is more religious prejudice than 5 years ago and 52 per cent in 2008-09 and 46 per cent in 2009-10.

analysis of the concerns of these teachers revealed what elements in society they perceive to be contributing to the 'Othering', as well as what they believe are barriers to good citizenship. Finally, the chapter will report on what these teachers recognize to be the goals and strategies to counter the 'Othering' and promote social cohesion in society.

Teachers' recognition of 'Othering' in society

Concerns regarding media representations

We have seen previously in this chapter, the rising tide of exclusionary views towards 'Other' groups or specific co-cultures in society, which, in turn influence attitudes and practices towards them. The accounts of citizenship educators also revealed such concerns, specifically in regards to the media. With these teachers, one recurring theme was that the practices of the media were often a barrier to good citizenship. For instance, several citizenship educators stressed that "the media" often influences the morals and habits of people in a negative way. As one teacher insisted,

"I don't think the media does society any favours, because they're very quick to jump on stories [-] I think they've got massive power and I think that does [have an] effect."

Citizenship Educator
(31-P1B-314-319)

Teachers also indicated that the media often influenced social norms through the repetition of certain messages:

"I do feel [-] that the more media that we are bombarded with, and told that certain things are normal and that's the way that it should be, the more you become or you feel that you should become like that."

Citizenship Educator
(24-P2-114-116)

Research about the media, to a considerable degree corroborates what many of these teachers were observing. Sociologists have insisted that media productions are instrumental at influencing public views, whether they are based on truth or fabrication.¹⁸² For instance, when polls in the USA showed that 'majorities' believed Saddam Hussein was implicated in the attack of 9/11 in 2001, this was not because the US citizenry 'was stupid or inattentive', but precisely because they were listening to political and opinion leaders who were fostering such ideas (Lewis, J.; Inthorn, S.; & Wahl-Jorgensen, K., 2005, p. 30). In *Citizens or Consumers?*, scholars assert that the concept of the citizen is being replaced by that of the consumer, where "journalism offers little room for the voices of citizens, generally focuses instead on the activities of the powerful" (Lewis, J.; Inthorn, S.; & Wahl-Jorgensen, K., 2005, pp. 5-9). This study analysed more than 5,658 television news stories in Britain and the USA. Here they found 4,398 references to citizens or public opinion, where journalists speak about or on behalf of public opinion ("83% - come from reporters themselves, rather than from experts (10%) or politicians (4%) " and where 95% of the claims about citizens or public opinion contain no supporting evidence (2005, pp. 134-135). Moreover, the researchers contend that:

"When we think of the volume of public relations and advertising produced by the business world telling us what to do, the fact that only 0.5% of references to public opinion on the news involves us telling business what to do, suggests a very one-sided conversation indeed"

Lewis, J., Inthorn, S., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2005, p. 136)

Citizens or consumers?: What the media tell us about political

¹⁸² Pierre Bourdieu highlights the notion of cultural reproduction or the ways in which schools and other social institutions [e.g.: Media] perpetuate social and economic inequalities across generations through the influence of values, attitudes and habits (Giddens, 2006, p. 710). Media representations may be held directly responsible for group divisions and inequalities; however, Bourdieu and others have contended that 'art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously, and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences' (Bourdieu P. &., 1993, p. 2).

participation.

In addition to the previous research, a longitudinal study of British media over the last two decades revealed that 60% of press articles and 34% of broadcast stories come wholly or mainly from one of these 'pre-packaged' sources (PR and wire services¹⁸³) (Lewis & al, 2006, 2008). Furthermore, the findings revealed that the main source for PR material is the corporate/business world, which is more than three times more successful than NGOs, charities and civic groups at getting material into the news (ibid).

It is often forgotten that the media, which was intended by Enlightenment theorists to be a check and balance on the government, has increasingly become an instrument of dominant forces in society who cater to narrow interests. In Britain, eighty per cent of the news media is concentrated in four conglomerates: the Mirror Newspaper Group, the Associates Newspapers (owned by the Rothermere family), United Newspapers and Rupert Murdoch's News International (Jones, 1991, p. 237). Additionally, sociologists have observed specific trends in the global media order (Giddens, 2006, p. 619):

- Media corporations do no longer operate strictly within national boundaries
- Increasing concentration of ownership
- A shift from public to private ownership and control
- Growth of corporate media mergers
- Diversification of media products [not necessarily controlling interests] expand into fields such as music, news, television, internet, so on.

So why is any of this a concern? Gutmann (1987, p. 256) argues

¹⁸³ Researchers found that 19% of newspaper stories and 17% of broadcast stories were verifiably derived mainly or wholly from PR material.

that “democratic education continues after school not only for children but for adults who learn from books, plays, concerts, museums, newspapers, radio, and even television.” If the wealthiest citizens in society have the greatest influence on cultural production, and culture influences the beliefs and values of a citizenry, than such a trend is problematic for a democratic society.

Such a sentiment was shared by several citizenship educators. For instance, the larger issue for citizenship educators was not that corporations should not be able to use the media to market their products. The concern of citizenship educators was that there was often an imbalance in terms of the voices heard through the media; that an emphasis on materialist values and a shifting of societal priorities by these media projections (which were often linked to certain political/corporate agendas) was not beneficial to most citizens, particularly with regard to how resources are distributed in society:

“There is this kind of feeling that we are being terrorized constantly and therefore the individual’s rights are not being met. So [-] the debates about banning Hijabs or Niqabs, etc impinge on individual’s rights [-] This idea that we all are being terrorized, therefore we need to have, you know, loads of money into the military and loads of money put into armour and nuclear weapons etcetera [-] it just means that [-] those little things that do matter to people are being pushed aside, I don’t think that’s right.”

Citizenship Educator
(24-P2-248-254)

There is perhaps an element to this discussion of the media that is often over looked. A shared concern amongst several teachers was that the media portrayals often discouraged young people from being good citizens:

"If you look at the media, say for example, what they churn out. Instead of hearing what people have done, positive things that citizens have done, we tend to hear a lot of negative stories. And those are some things, that I think anyway, for young people, it does put them off, because young people feel as a group, a social group, they're portrayed in all sorts of negative ways, and so, it doesn't give them that incentive to do good things."

Citizenship Educator
(22-P1-425-431)

Another view shared by teachers was that often media messages can also make a situation worse by isolating pupils with certain backgrounds adding to the 'Othering' effect.

"The media, newspapers, the news, [-] they are highlighting and exacerbating the situation, which may not even be there. And [in] the current climate the way Muslims are perceived, that's a huge barrier. [-] [And] depending on who they are, especially if they are young individuals, they get very demoralised. They feel demoralised and it makes them feel isolated."

Citizenship Educator
(34-P1P2-497-510)

Citizenship educators often shared concerns regarding the power of the media in influencing people's views (often in a negative way), and some also proposed ways of dealing with this situation. One suggestion was to critically analyze media messages within citizenship education:

"I think the media is one of the biggest factors [that deters people from being good citizens] because most people access so few media outlets; it's just the same media they get over and over again. You get the same pictures and the same stories told over and over again. I think unless people have the time and the ability to know where else to look, to get alternative viewpoints then they don't get these different viewpoints[-]. So I think that warps people's views of how things actually are. [-] We try to do lessons where we do look at alternative forms of media and try to look at media influence [-], try to get pupils to think [-] more deeply about the information that they are receiving. But if it is just a couple of lessons in school where they are getting that, in comparison to the hours and hours where they are getting bombarded by the radio, TV, the internet, it is quite small in comparison."

Citizenship Educator
(1-P1P2-366-385)

Citizenship educators indicated that it was a challenge to counter the messages that students received from the media because the time allocated for citizenship lessons is often much smaller than the time the pupils are exposed to the media. For this reason, a number of teachers also believed that the media should be obliged to take a greater role in citizenship making, by being more accurate in their reporting, by sharing positive stories, and supporting citizenship campaigns:

“So the role of the media should be to portray [-] more positive stories. The role of the media at the moment is very sensationalist and kind of obsessed with scandal. [-The organization:] "38 degrees" [has] a really fascinating way of mobilising people, mainly online, to say positive things and get involved in different campaigns. [-] That is a very positive use of the media to create good citizens or to stimulate good citizenship.”

Citizenship Educator
(35-P1P2-622-629)

Additionally, there was an understanding amongst several teachers that what they could do individually was not enough and that they needed the support of the government in mitigating the 'Othering' of certain groups of people in the media:

“The government should certainly play a part, they should make sure that not only Muslims, but other minority groups, be it refugees, or Jews or Christians, they shouldn't be made to look negative in the media; and also the accuracy of the reports as well, there needs to be some kind of system that you have to go through to check how true it [the media report] actually is.”

Citizenship Educator
(34-P1P2-769-775)

Many teachers expressed that the government should oblige the media to be more responsible and accountable about what they produced, and some stressed that government should respond to a concern to protect minority groups from media attacks:

"I think there should be more legislation against slandering, I think, the media gets away with a lot. Media has a big part to play in shaping people's views about particular groups. Like I said to you before, I think they could be positive tools in informing people and teaching people and getting rid of people's ignorance about particular groups. [-] Companies, big newspaper companies [should] face big consequences, if they are making [-] false claims."

Citizenship Educator
(30-P2-115-123)

Overall, as we have seen many citizenship educators perceived the media to be often a barrier to good citizenship. According to these teachers the media often A) influences poor morals and behaviours; B) constructs inaccurate and negative public imagery of certain groups of people (contributing to the 'Othering'), and often supports a climate of exclusion for these groups; C) shifts priorities in society (thereby shifting resources), from what is important to most citizens. Furthermore, apprehensions about media imagery also correlated with another concern expressed by many citizenship educators, which is the prevalence of intolerance towards certain groups in society.

Concerns of intolerance and inequality

Teachers expressed the importance of religious/cultural heritage and the value it brought to their lives and the lives of their pupils. However, they were also aware of the rapidly changing cultural character of society and the challenge such a development posed for citizens who must decipher how best to deal with these changes. As one teacher stated:

"British culture is changing so much that [pupils] would come up against lots of people [who are] different from themselves and may not understand these things. [Also] challenges like, just understanding what laws are around, understanding the political system, which is confusing [-] at times."

Citizenship Educator

So if culture is changing, does this mean citizens should accept all new people and their cultural baggage? Several different positions have been constructed in response to this question. There is at least one school of thought, led by thinkers like Roger Scruton that has argued that the civilization [not civilizations] of Europe is distinct and is based primarily on the spiritual inheritance of Christianity (Scruton, 2012). Scruton argues that “All of us feel the power of the second commandment, Love your neighbour as yourself. And when I say neighbour, I really mean neighbour, the person who is adjacent to you” (ibid). In response to this some argue, what about people who are distant from us, whose lives we affect through things like our pollution, our wars or our commerce, do we not have any commitments or obligations to them? Furthermore, what about those who are citizens of Europe, but have a cultural heritage that is not necessarily Christian?

Scruton's position was to a large extent rejected by 25 European Union (EU) member countries who democratically voted for the constitution in June 2004, to adopt a more inclusive vision of the European Union, which was perceived to be multi-cultural and secular. There was an explicit rejection of the idea of inserting the words “God” or “Christianity” in the EU constitution, so that the constitution is more inclusive of Muslims, Jews and other co-cultures of Europe, (Byrnes & Katzenstein, 2006). Thus, Scruton's viewpoint is only one approach to understanding “love thy Neighbour”. There are of course other ways of interpreting such a concept, and one particular understanding places emphasis on the cosmopolitan nature of citizenship: accepting the distant stranger. As we discussed in the previous chapter, scholars such as

Anthony Appiah have contended that one does not have to be forced to choose one or the other; cosmopolitans see identities and associations to be multi-layered where one can engage with communities at the local level, as well as national and global levels. Furthermore, the idea of expanding one's sense of community was repeatedly emphasized by a variety of citizenship educators. As one teacher explained:

"I will give you an example about using the Parable of the Good Samaritan, within a lesson, where we are talking about, who is our neighbour and what Jesus says about it. And looking at the wider scope of [-] citizenship in terms of saying that everyone is our neighbour ultimately, it's not just the person who is living next door to you. So, we read the text and we try to decipher what its saying and you know, we discuss it and then, you know, ultimately everyone understands that the message is that anybody anywhere in the world could be your neighbour."

Citizenship Educator
(30-P1C-382-387)

As those such as Hick and Connolly have argued, the inclusivist or pluralist visions of citizenship do not ask one to give up their religious or cultural heritage, but, on the contrary expand one's understanding of community, identity or culture to accommodate others. As another teacher asserted:

"I am an observant Jewish woman [-] And traditional non-fundamentalist faith is very important in the 21st Century when so many people are running to religions of heightened difference, religions which say 'I am right and you are wrong', 'I have exclusive claim to the truth and either you follow me or I will kill you' essentially."

Citizenship Educator
(35-P1P2-218-230)

As in the previous case, teachers who adopted the inclusivist or pluralist visions of citizenship often emphasized the importance of good behaviour or ethics for the citizen¹⁸⁴, while simultaneously strove to de-emphasize, in various degrees, the superiority claims

¹⁸⁴ See quote by Citizenship Educator (30-P1B-43-59) reported earlier in this chapter.

of their own traditions. Despite such efforts, as teachers indicated, the inclusivist and the pluralist visions of citizenship are not always attractive to many citizens and often they had to deal with this in the classroom:

“So even in school, we have had objections from families [-], that they don't want their [children] to be attending RE lessons because they're exposed to another world view or another belief system and they see that as a threat [-] One or two parents have withdrawn their [children] from [trips to different religious spaces] because they do not agree with the idea that if you're in a Mosque or a Gurdwara - 'Why should my child feel as though she has to be forced to cover her head', 'it's her choice, why does she have to cover her head when she is going to these buildings?' [-] So we face those kinds of challenges as well. But in our role, we're there just to ensure that students are taught the values of freedom, they're taught the values of justice, and they are taught the values of equal rights and these things are very important to have in order to ensure a peaceful society.”

Citizenship Educator
(27-P1A-255-268)

As the previous example illustrated, several teachers had to deal with parents who espoused exclusivist or just plain intolerant views. This was often a challenge for them since the messages the pupils received from their parents (and other role models) in society did not always agree with what the citizenship educators wanted their students to learn in order for them to be better citizens. Several teachers repeatedly shared concerns about what they perceived to be the prevalence of intolerant attitudes, which they felt was distressing some of their students and society at large. Minority groups and co-cultures like that of Sikhs, Muslims, traveller communities (Roma, gypsies), immigrant guest workers, as well as women, and people with a homosexual background were often identified as being cast as outsider groups within society:

“I've heard people facing Islamophobia, [and] people who are from Gypsy backgrounds, [and] people in the past who have been discriminated against because of their race, because they were black, you know.”

Citizenship Educator
(30-P2-94-97)

There was a concern among some teachers that even if minority groups made an effort to join the larger community, it wasn't always reciprocated by the larger group. As one teacher explained:

"I think as we've talked in terms of migrant communities [guest workers, refugees, etc] for example. I think it's very difficult to be a good citizen if the community that you're trying to be a part of, doesn't want anything to do with you. So, for those migrant workers, being a citizen is about fitting in with the community."

Citizenship Educator
(25-P1-556-563)

Teachers highlighted that often there seemed to be little awareness in their community of the changes brought about by the constant flow of new arrivals and the social adjustments and accommodations required from those already settled here. In addition to this, there was a shared concern amongst certain teachers that exclusivist views prevalent in society towards foreigners, women and other minority groups were influencing their students:

"There [are] boys, and they tend to be boys, who've grown up on a farm in the middle of nowhere in [-] [They] have very little experience of any sort of culture, beyond a farming heritage. And they certainly initially, they don't like overseas pupils. They don't like pupils who come from the town. And they're all very-very narrow-minded. They're certainly encouraged in some instances, in particularly racist attitudes. They're very homophobic, they are terribly misogynistic."

Citizenship Educator
(25-P1-498-507)

As in previous examples, citizenship educators regularly articulated that their students were often negatively influenced by elements outside the school, citing parents at times, as well as other influences like exclusivist organizations and role models in

society. Furthermore, some teachers also confirmed what scholars have been reporting, that contemporary forms of intolerance and discrimination, often go beyond race and actually target individuals and groups with specific religious/cultural associations. As indicated earlier in the chapter, since the 1970s, the expression of prejudice has mutated, where past racism was more direct and explicit, new forms of racism, are less explicit and are often linked to exclusivist attitudes towards certain religions/cultures (Giddens, 2006, p. 495; Wood, C; Finlay, WM., 2008, p. 708). As one teacher stated:

“Racism is being dealt with; there's been lots of topics about it. There's a history of people dealing with racism; [However,] now we've got a much bigger challenge, which isn't to do with race. It is to do with tolerating views or faith practices or cultural beliefs.”

Citizenship Educator
(16-P12-861-865)

Teachers indicated that they discussed issues of tolerance within the rubric of citizenship education. However, many of them relayed that they were constantly battling three external foes in this effort: the media (as discussed previously), poor role models in society (certain parents or family members, EDL, etc.) and government priorities in various instances.

“In [teaching] citizenship, I think the most important side of it is to actually remove the prejudices towards other religions, which a huge amount of students I come across in teaching have. [-This area] is not very multi-cultural, and they haven't been exposed to a wide variety of different religions or beliefs, and they haven't really been exposed to a lot of different cultures. So it is quite challenging within a school [-] to kind of actually give them the knowledge and allow them to start re-assessing their pre-judgments basically, which usually come from, you know, family or other sources; which is very difficult, because you are challenging there not just the child's opinion, you are challenging something that is kind of part of an institution.”

Citizenship Educator
(3-P1-352-362)

Several teachers expressed, as in the previous case, that when they challenged an exclusivist view of a student, they were also indirectly challenging their sources, which could be the parents or someone in the family or a person of influence in the wider community. Some teachers articulated the influence of EDL and BNP on parents and students which they perceived as counter-productive to social cohesion. Despite this, teachers expressed that often ignorance played a role in causing tensions and sometimes parents displayed a need to blame “Others” for their problems:

“We are aware [that] some children come from households where, I've heard on sort of, you know, on sound intelligence if you like, that one or two of the parents are members of the English Defence League or work for the British National Party. And so therefore, you might get a hint [- in] some lessons where we are talking about some issues to do with multiculturalism and immigration et cetera. And I [have] heard some pupils saying that, 'maybe it's *their* fault that, you know, that they are having these problems', 'why are they bringing their problems here?' 'and why can't my dad who has been born and brought up in Britain have a greater right to this job than somebody who just arrived from Turkey or Pakistan or whatever it is?' So, you might have that sort of viewpoint come across.”

Citizenship Educator
(27-P1B-268-280)

There was also a belief amongst some teachers that poor economic conditions in society or the financial situation of citizens sometimes exacerbated relations between groups of people.

“For me, when you got inequalities [-], that's where conflicts can happen. We can see that. We know that where there is [-] financial hardship, that's when people almost bring up their animalistic tendencies and people act almost tribal like. And when we've got social equality where the poverty is reduced and where everyone has an equal basis and so on, that's where you do get more social cohesion, you get understanding, you get a society that is more cohesive [-], working, functioning as it should function.”

Citizenship Educator
(21-P2- 99-116)

In addition to this, there was however, a more pervasive concern amongst many teachers, where they believed that ignorance or

lack of awareness about the heritage of co-communities living in England was often perceived to be antithetical to citizenship. The next section will seek to better comprehend such an anxiety.

Concerns of the lack of knowledge in the citizenry about co-cultures

In addition to cases of intolerance, teachers indicated that the lack of knowledge about co-cultures amongst citizens, contributed to the 'Othering' of these groups of people. This is because such a gap in knowledge is often filled by stereotypical and inaccurate images associated to outsider groups in society.

"I think a lot of people look at other cultures and see them as a threat, because they don't understand [them]. And you get some mixed versions of what a belief is and you immediately think that they are out for world domination or something like that. So they don't understand necessarily."

Citizenship Educator
(08-P2A-60-71)

Teachers frequently brought up the prevalence of stereotyped images of groups of people that often contributed to the exclusion of these groups as outsiders. Additionally, teachers indicated that these derogatory perceptions also contributed to anxieties between insider and outsider groups.

"I think there is the perception in Britain at the moment, for example, with Muslims being perceived as terrorists, as Muslims taking over Britain, we hear about the EDL marches that are going on and so on. I think in that sense, then perhaps culture, different cultures, different religions have perhaps brought some animosity between, I'll say, the indigenous community within Britain certainly [-] I think it can be overcome. I think through understanding and I think there has to be a change in mindsets on both sides."

Citizenship Educator
(21-P1- 544-562)

Another teacher contended that people will always have a fear

of the 'unknown'. Such fears are irrational, but they can be remedied with education and understanding about co-cultures in society:

"I think one of the difficulties in society, it doesn't matter whether it is Britain, London, wherever we are, I have seen it all over the world. [-] The more we know about other cultures, the more we can embrace them and celebrate difference. I think celebration of difference, it is breaking down the ignorance, [-] breaking down our own ignorance and our own fear, fear of the unknown, which is an irrational fear. I think that's where education and understanding can help."

Citizenship Educator
(13-P1- 518-529)

Additionally, for several teachers, it wasn't just enough to teach about difference, but to equip pupils with the moral knowledge, political knowledge, and social skills, to deal with contentious social and cultural issues in a responsible and ethical manner, and by using the traditional channels of democracy and by resisting violence.

"I think misunderstanding each other is a major problem. [-] So you [have] got younger people in communities getting very frustrated that they're being misunderstood. So you have the young Muslim guys up in Bradford who just got furious and sick of being kind of targeted [-]. [So] it does create conflicts and contentions between different people. And if you don't allow young people to find out the skills and tools on how to deal with that situation in a more participatory,[and] responsible way, then obviously you will end up in situations like riots and things like that because that's the only way they feel they can express themselves."

Citizenship Educator
(3-P1-695-702)

Many teachers also believed that education in citizenship should be given more importance in the curriculum or at least as much as science or mathematics or business studies, since practical issues in all of these fields ultimately affect the citizenry. Citizenship, for these teachers, provided pupils with the moral and civic knowledge to properly apply scientific and business knowledge in a manner which was fair to all individuals and

groups of citizens in society. As one citizenship educator explained:

“When you are thinking about the scientist, when he has an ethical dilemma, or the surgeon deciding whether he should risk the patient’s life or not, the mathematician when he decides whether they should bend the statistics in order to you know; that moral grounding and the ability to articulate yourself and [the] respect other diversity, you need that before you can become a successful professional out in the world.”

Citizenship Educator
(11-P1A-586-594)

Overall, the discussions with citizenship educators revealed a concern about the lack of knowledge about people who have different, yet co-equal cultural heritages within society. In the views of several teachers, such a lack of knowledge, often leads to misunderstandings, which feeds intolerance or bolsters conflict amongst citizens. In response to such concerns, the next section investigates what citizenship educators recognize to be goals and strategies to counter the ‘Othering’ and to improve social cohesion in society.

Dealing with ‘Othering’

Creating/Maintaining safe spaces for citizenship learning

“It is up to us, as educators, to show our students the beauty and interest of a life that is open to the whole world, to show them that there is after all more joy in the kind of citizenship that questions than in the kind that simply applauds, more fascination in the study of human beings in all their real variety and complexity than in the zealous pursuit of superficial stereotypes, more genuine love and friendship in the life of questioning and self-government than in submission to authority. We had better show them this, or the future of democracy in this nation and in the world is bleak.”

Martha Nussbaum
(2000, p. 84)

Earlier in this chapter, we engaged with discussions by those such

as John Hick, Martha Nussbaum and William E. Connolly, who have contended that the exclusivist position often rests on the belief that one's religious or cultural system has exclusive access to Truth/salvation/liberation...etc and that evil/flaws exist only outside one's identity circle. Such views can be challenged to some extent with knowledge. Knowledge in the different histories and heritage of different cultures/societies could help to de-emphasize the superiority claims of absolutist perspectives originating from people in all parts of the world. Such knowledge would also serve to illustrate shared hopes, aspirations, and ways of living, which can be useful for social cohesion at the local and global level.

Likewise, combating ignorance, intolerance and misunderstanding was a goal outlined by several citizenship educators. Additionally, these teachers expressed a need to create safe spaces where their students could learn about, discuss, analyze, critique, and articulate matters related to citizenship. The school could be configured to provide such a safe space for pupils, which may not be available outside in society or in their home. Furthermore, many teachers held that citizenship education could disclose multiple ways of seeing the world, which in turn could be helpful in dealing with the problems and challenges that pupils are facing or will face once they have completed school.

"I think it is a massively valuable thing to see other people and other cultures and different ways of doing things. I think it teaches people that there isn't always one answer."

Citizenship Educator
(1-P1P2-401-403)

In addition to being exposed to multiple ways of seeing the world

and multiple ways of solving problems, several citizenship educators believed that such a knowledge or awareness could break down barriers between a diverse range of people, as well as mitigate the processes of 'Othering', which rely on stereotyping groups of people, portraying them as inferior or less normal than the insider group:

"[Citizenship education makes] people aware of the experiences and the lives of other people, other than themselves and I think it breaks down a lot of barriers, I think it provides a forum for discussion and debate, I think it blurs the line between the students and the outside, 'I'm here, but that's all going on over there and it's nothing to do with me', So it kind of dissolves that barrier and makes them, hopefully if you are doing it right, feel part of what's going on around them."

Citizenship Educator
(6-P1A-382-390)

Also, some teachers emphasized that disagreements on issues should be accepted. Several teachers expressed that it was important to create a safe atmosphere for interaction, dialogue and disagreement; since such an environment may not exist outside the school. In such a space, students could make mistakes, without serious consequences or harm to themselves or others:

"I think by accepting that people can have different associations and different points of view, but [also] I suppose by dialogue and try[ing] to interact with people, and understand people, rather than just dismissing [them], as if to say, well, you are wrong and I am right. So accepting that we [might have] conflicting views."

Citizenship Educator
(1-P1P2-327-331)

For these teachers, the school should provide a safe place to question, discuss or disagree with things happening around them. Additionally, the school ideally can be the best place to learn the skills and knowledge to be tolerant and empathetic citizens:

"A school, I think this is perhaps the best place for dialogue to take place because this is where young minds are quite influenced. And perhaps before that prejudice has been built up to an extent where reasoning is going to be far more difficult and dialog is going to be far more difficult. So I think it's the job of the school, the job of the teachers to see both sides of the arguments. [-] I think if people are shouted down and sort of marginalized, that's where you can create tension, create problems."

Citizenship Educator
(21-P1-598-609)

Another, repeating theme was that in addition to 'embracing' difference, inculcating tolerance and dialogue, such a space should value ethics and engage with science in a responsible way. For several teachers being religious and moral were not always the same. Thus for several teachers inculcating ethics and the responsible use of scientific knowledge was an important aspect of citizenship. One teacher contended:

"A belief system or philosophical system associated with a religion possibly can provide people with an enlightening experience, which guides them in a structure of morals or values that they bring to their life, definitely. It doesn't necessarily mean that they are moralistic, or you know, ethical people, but it will provide a structure for them. And science offers, sort of a factual basis of belief that will provide, statistical information to support arguments or support knowledge. And if you have knowledge then you have more awareness."

Citizenship Educator
(3-P1-233-239)

One element of ethics encourages citizens to critically examine themselves and the environment in which they live. In terms of environment this can mean critically analyzing political, social, religious, and cultural institutions in society in order that one may improve them. For several teachers this meant inculcating their students with the desire, the knowledge and skills to examine societal issues in a critical way, not merely accepting what they were told by anyone:

"I think the most important thing is to get pupils to be critical and to not just accept everything that they get told because I would say in the citizenship

lessons, you shouldn't accept what I am telling you, as your citizenship teacher, just like I am saying you shouldn't accept what you read in the media. I think it is just for them to be aware that, sometimes people have other agendas and that you need to make your own decisions, that you need to weigh up the evidence and come to your own conclusions."

Citizenship Educator
(1-P1P2-473-479)

Teachers frequently emphasized that a key element of citizenship was to question and sometimes disagree with the views and practices of the groups and co-cultures they belong to, especially if it meant improving the plight of others:

"When I disagree with my church; in terms of church, I would be thinking more in terms of specific doctrine; the specific things that I didn't accept. So, I'm a believer, for example in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. It's not something that's particularly talked around the Church of England; it's very much a Roman Catholic idea. So, I don't agree with what my church teaches about that. But for a high churchman, I've always been pretty much in favour of ordination of women, clearly that's something my church still has a problem with. But I 'm quite happy to ignore them if the need arises."

Citizenship Educator
(25-P2-103-109)

Teachers explained that sometimes challenging the norms of the society is not appreciated by many people. Even so, a number of teachers frequently stressed the importance of empowering their pupils to express critical opinions and challenge aspects of society that they felt were unfair or harmful. As one teacher stated:

"I think that more people would have felt empowered to have not felt that they had to conform to society's dominant norms [-] and maybe they would have not lived out their life in the way they chose to in the past. You know I'm thinking of [-] people who were homosexual in the 60s and 70s and even 80s people have lived lives where they have hidden and they've not lived out their true lives, because they didn't feel empowered. I think citizenship is a vehicle for empowerment for children and young people. That's where they learn to accept everybody is just as equal as them [-]. Because you give them the skills, you then help them articulate their own views more, then they can engage with people if they need to about certain personal issues, but also they can go out and find people with commonalities. They can find communities, subcultures relevant to

their lives."

Citizenship Educator
(11-P1A-572-583)

Generally teachers believed that the students should be exposed to different views and co-cultures, as well as to be able to openly and critically discuss them in the classroom. However, learning about difference was not enough; several teachers indicated that they, together with society at large, needed to make efforts to create a social climate, which encouraged the 'belongingness' for everyone, regardless of their background.

Creating/Maintaining a climate of belongingness for everyone

The inclusivist and pluralist visions of citizenship (in different degrees) seek to create a climate of belongingness for everyone, so that every man or woman regardless of their religious or cultural heritage can participate in society as equals, and with dignity. Such viewpoints recognize that a person's heritage is not just a superfluous attribute of their identity, but many people may require their religious or cultural heritage to pursue their ideal of freedom, happiness and purpose. Furthermore, several teachers held that people will always have differences, and that has to be accepted to a certain extent, since even with the differences, people have enough commonality to create a shared space for everyone. Furthermore, if diversity is understood as being normal, then all people should feel like they belong to society, regardless of their religious or cultural heritage. Such an understanding when articulated in the practices of the school and society at large could challenge the 'Othering', which is supported at times by elements in the media or by certain political or societal figures. As

several teachers perceived it, when there is a climate of 'belongingness', citizens feel more encouraged to participate in that society. As one teacher stated:

"I think it is really important that everyone feels that they can take part in the society to really feel the sense of belonging to it. If you feel that you are being ignored or even discriminated against then you are not going to want to take part. You will even perhaps not just feel that you don't belong to that community, but perhaps also have negative feelings towards that community. [-] I think in today's modern world, [citizenship education] is more important than ever before."

Citizenship Educator
(05-P1P2 -1096 -1115)

In the accounts of the teachers, one learns that there are a number of ways in which one can create a space that supports the belongingness of all citizens. Certain teachers suggested that it was important to publically recognize some of the heritage of the different co-cultures of the students, so they can feel their identity is appreciated as much as anyone else:

"I realized now that there are students who feel quite neglected, in the sense of, they feel their faith, isn't given importance. [-] Perhaps what I'm trying to say is that the dominant religion in this country is Christianity. So, we do understand and know a lot about Christianity, perhaps more than we do about other faiths. And as the other faiths are really not as understood, perhaps because of the culture differences, the east and the west, ideas of you know, eastern cultures, Eastern religions as being different. [-] I think there is this tendency to feel ashamed about ones particular identity, that aspect of their identity. So, [pupils] should be empowered to feel that actually, I'm proud to be so and so. [-] it's about aspirations, holding [those] aspirations, because if you deny that one aspect of a young person's identity, you're invalidating that aspect of themselves and it's I think detrimental."

Citizenship Educator
(30-P1C-6-23)

As in the case of the previous teacher, several teachers understood the importance of appreciating the students' backgrounds as a way of empowering them and mitigating the 'Othering' of certain minority groups. Teachers also encouraged

the linking of schools [with pupils with different ethnic backgrounds] and exploring different co-cultures and searching for 'common ground':

"I think things like the 'who do we think that we are' week. I think that is really good, where pupils get to see their own background and where they are from but also how they fit into a wider context. [Also] I think anything where there is genuine linking between schools. I think quite a lot of stuff is quite superficial, [-] but I think some of the best stuff [is] where schools link with other schools in the same community that are ethnically different. I think that's some of the best stuff, because you have got a bit of common ground, because you are living in the same type of area, but then you can see that different way of life, different point of view."

Citizenship Educator
(01-P1P2-226-235)

Additionally, some teachers described the importance of recognizing and discussing topics about different religious/cultural heritages in the wider school, not just in the classroom, so that everyone can recognize the importance given to the value of diversity.

"We celebrate Multicultural Day. [-] We celebrate the various cultures in the school. We also have for example Diwali and other religious [festivals], you know, especially the minority ethnic groups, so that they feel valued and acknowledged, all the rest, they are respected and so we do all of that. We also, in terms of citizenship again, one of the things that we do quite well, within the school, is discussions. And so, with discussions, we have been able to discuss in a mature sensible way, realizing that other people have their opinions as well."

Citizenship Educator
(22-P1-305-311)

Charity activities were another method through which various teachers encouraged creating the belongingness for some outsider groups in society. This meant for several teachers inculcating a sense of empathy or compassion for those who were not necessarily considered citizens by law, but citizens [of

humanity] none the less.¹⁸⁵

“If you are in this country, you are a citizen in one sense; you may not be a British citizen in law. If people come here who are refugees, they have come here because this is Britain and they have not gone somewhere else. So if they are refugees, many people have come from dreadful situations, and you got to treat them as somebody who is part of the society because they are. They are here, they are part of the society and you got to treat them with respect, with understanding. And you got to see what your duties, as a nation, are to people, but also what limits and constraints you have.”

Citizenship Educator
(19-P1P2 -549-557)

As contended by the previous teacher, there might be limited resources that a nation has, but citizens needed to make an effort to help others as best as possible. Some teachers encouraged citizens to join civil society organizations to help those in need.

“Asylum seekers, economic migrants, [-] they could be just as involved in the community. So my synagogue runs a drop in for destitute asylum seekers, who feel very much part of the community, but they are destitute, because they are not afforded any rights. So they can't work, they can't really volunteer, they have no money whatsoever. So were it not for [-] communities of citizens who are supporting them, they would have no money.”

Citizenship Educator
(35-P1P2 -408 -414)

Again, teachers spoke about different ways of creating a sense of belongingness for everyone (both within the school and outside as well). Kymlicka and Banting (2006) have contended that institutions and policies in society have to collectively work to “combat stereotypes and stigmatizations that currently erode feelings of solidarity across ethnic and racial lines” (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006, pp. 299-300). For these thinkers “nation-building”

¹⁸⁵ As the previous chapter revealed several teachers espoused the views of cosmopolitan citizenship, which supports a wider understanding of citizenship that transcends the nation-state.

policies should include things like language training programs, citizenship education, shared celebration of national heroes and holidays, and so on (ibid). Several teachers who participated in this study embraced such ideas with varied levels of acceptance; nevertheless, it must also be noted that some did not perceive this as an integral part of citizenship.

Reflections on the views of citizenship educators

In this research, the aforementioned model of perceiving and discussing the 'Self'/'Other' was beneficial in better understanding the views of citizenship educators, who deal with a diverse society living in England, and whose citizenry has to engage with a more diverse world at large. During the interviews, the citizenship educators were asked one selection choice-based question to gauge their association with a particular view on difference, which was also a useful seed for discussion. Citizenship educators were given the following handout (Appendix 3) to review and describe the view they "most" associated with. The handout contained six statements: A to F. Positions A, B, and C contained descriptions for those who associate with a religious way of life and views D, E, and F refer to those who do not. The teachers were not told which statement contained an exclusivist, inclusivist or pluralist view of perceiving the 'Self'/'Other'. The descriptions were based on the framework described at the beginning of this chapter¹⁸⁶. Next, the teachers were invited to select a particular view based on the descriptions in front of them as well as share their thoughts. Table 5 shows which positions were

¹⁸⁶ The framework was based on the work of John Hick and William E. Connolly. Additionally, scholars such as Martha Nussbaum have also made significant contributions to this discourse. It was assumed that there are different degrees of exclusivism, inclusivism, and pluralism, yet the framework provided a way of initiating the discussion with the teachers.

inclusivist, exclusivist and pluralist. Table in (Appendix 4) displays the results of the selections, specifically which vision of the 'Self'/'Other' that each citizenship educator most associated with and the Ethnic Diversity Index¹⁸⁷ for the geographical area within England where they taught citizenship.

Table 5	
Selection	View of Self/Other
A	<u>Inclusivist position</u> for someone who associates with a religious way of life or identity.
B	<u>Exclusivist position</u> for someone who with a religious way of life or identity.
C	<u>Pluralist position</u> for someone who associates with a religious way of life or identity.
D	<u>Inclusivist position</u> for someone who <u>does not</u> associate with a religious way of life or identity.
E	<u>Exclusivist position</u> for someone who <u>does not</u> associate with a religious way of life or identity.
F	<u>Pluralist position</u> for someone who <u>does not</u> with a religious way of life or identity.

In all, two teachers most associated with the exclusivist and religious position, three with the inclusivist, five with the inclusivist and religious, nine with the pluralist, fifteen with the pluralist and religious, and one teacher who saw themselves somewhere (between the inclusivist and pluralist) and religious view.

One myth, which was quickly dispelled by the findings, was that citizenship educators with an inclusivist or pluralist view would not be found in rural areas or areas with low ethnic diversity (Appendix 4). On the contrary, several citizenship educators who

¹⁸⁷ The Ethnic Diversity Index for an area. According to Census 2001, if an area (e.g. County/Borough) had an ethnic diversity score of 0.62, representing a 62 per cent chance that two people drawn at random would be from different ethnic groups.

associated with the inclusivist or pluralist background taught in areas of England where the diversity index was low. This was perhaps because many citizenship educators indicated that their outlooks were shaped by their specific life experiences, in addition to the religion or cultural background in which they were raised. Many of these inclusivist/pluralist teachers indicated that during some point in their lives, they had travelled to areas which were quite different from where they were born. This was a similar finding to Everington, Ter, Bakker, & Want, 2 (2011, p. 248) who discovered that for a “significant number of the teachers, awareness and appreciation of religious and/or cultural diversity began when travelling or working abroad”. Aside from this, several citizenship educators expressed that they interacted with people with different co-cultures or religions at the university level. Such experiences they believed had a significant effect on their views.

“I was raised by a middle class family in England. The area [-] I grew up in wasn't very mixed, in terms of, I didn't really know awful lot about other cultures perhaps, when I was growing up. So I've had to take that into account that, that is something I had to learn as I grew older. Also the fact that in my life [-] I have gone and travelled around the world a bit. So I am interested in learning about other cultures and the fact that I have, does shape perhaps how I view the world.”

Citizenship Educator

(5-P1P2-96-102)

Selected 'F' (Pluralist non-religious view)

Such a theme was recurrent and revealed that for many teachers if they had not made an effort to travel outside of their local setting or actively sought to learn about other co-cultures, they would have not been exposed to such knowledge in their school or at home. Some citizenship educators indicated that they had friends or peer teachers who had a different cultural/religious heritage than themselves. This was a key source for them to learn

about religious/cultural difference.

Although as stated previously, teachers who participated in this study brought with them a diverse set of personal backgrounds including culture (Bangladeshi British, White British, Pakistani British, etc) and religion (Judaism, Islam, Roman Catholicism, Anglican, etc), this did not predetermine the outcome of their selection. In other words, just because they were Christian or Muslim or practiced no religion did not mean they were associated with a particular vision of citizenship. Teachers who gravitated with the inclusivist or pluralist positions, in different degrees, saw something of value in other traditions. One teacher stated that:

"I think because there is a lot of good in all religions. And perhaps not all religions, but most religions teach a way of life that has an ethical basis. It's a moral code, if you like. But obviously, as a Christian minister I believe the words from Christ, who said, the only way to the father is through me. So I believe salvation comes through baptism into Christianity."

Citizenship Educator

(25-P1-312-316)

Selected 'A' (Inclusivist and religious view)

In addition to this, a number of citizenship educators perceived the pluralist position as particularly important for contemporary society. As one teacher asserted:

"I am an observant Jewish woman and so the position I most associate with is 'C': 'Many religions can lead to eternal life, paradise, liberation, truth. My religion or religious identity does not have exclusive access to salvation. A person can learn good values and conduct in my religion and other religions and salvation or truth or liberation or paradise can also be attained outside my religion'. [-] I totally agree with that and the Masorti denomination in particular articulates a traditional non-fundamentalist Judaism. And traditional non-fundamentalist faith is very important in the 21st Century when so many people are running to religions of heightened difference, religions which say 'I am right and you are wrong', 'I have exclusive claim to the truth and either you follow me or I will kill you' essentially."

Citizenship Educator

(35-P1P2-218-230)

Selected 'C' (Pluralist and religious view)

Teachers highlighted different reasons for their particular orientations. For instance the previous teacher highlighted concerns about the dangers of exclusivist views to activate violence. Another teacher articulated the importance of ethical behaviour, which was in their view not limited to one religion. As one teacher stated:

“As a Muslim, I believe that my Islam is the one true religion, and but I also believe that being good can lead to salvation, but I'm not the one to judge someone, because I can't, I haven't got that knowledge about who is going to be safe and who is not, [-] I feel that's only God's role really. I can't say who will be saved and who won't be saved. [-] I think as a Muslim, my priority is to show through my conduct and good behaviour what is to be a Muslim.”

Citizenship Educator
(30-P1B-43-59)¹⁸⁸

Additionally, several teachers who agreed with the pluralist vision of citizenship indicated a change in one's views of the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' is possible. Here again specific life experiences led them to their position:

“As a person, I made a journey from probably C to F over about seven or eight years. Like I said, through reading philosophy and going to university and seeing how [-] what you think is the purpose of life and all that. You can achieve the same outcomes and reach the same goals from various starting points.”

Citizenship Educator
(11-P1A-204-208)
Selected 'F' (Pluralist non-religious view)

Several citizenship educators indicated that their views had gradually changed over time as they met people of different cultures and religions, or as they learned a different perspective at 'university' and through other life experiences, like the study of

¹⁸⁸ Teacher indicated that they perceived themselves somewhere between A (Inclusivist view) and C (Pluralist view).

'philosophy'. University was an interesting theme since two factors were conveyed in relation to it: that it was here where they were exposed to some critical or different perspective that influenced their thinking and/or they encountered citizens with different backgrounds than themselves. Here one could ask, why couldn't such culture learning experiences or encounters be attained in pre-university education or even in other societal institutions other than the 'university'?¹⁸⁹

A number of these citizenship educators found ways of de-emphasizing the superiority claims in their religious or cultural background after seeing commonality with those who had different co-cultures or religious heritage than their own. Those who associated with the exclusivist position had difficulty with this. Overall, these findings to a great extent supported the positions of Martha Nussbaum, John Hick, and William Connolly who have argued that the exclusivist or inclusivist/ pluralist views can be found in people who come from a variety of backgrounds, some religious and some not. Learning that citizenship educators associated with different visions of the 'Self'/'Other' in regards to citizenship was important in understanding the overall perspectives of the teachers. Furthermore, various teachers contended that these views of the 'Self'/'Other' were not cast in stone, that they had the potential to change, as it did for them through their life experiences.

¹⁸⁹ According to research, in 2000, UK was ranked third among OECD countries, with 37% of young people attaining a higher education degree. But in 2008, the number fell to 35% (Williams R. , 2010).

Limitations and opportunities in educating for citizenship

As discussed previously, the teachers who participated in this study, who taught citizenship were informed by a variety of religious and/or cultural identities, educational backgrounds, experiences, and visions of citizenship (inclusivist, pluralist, and exclusivist). Intuitively, such a situation provides the students with a valuable opportunity to glean from the teacher's experiences. However, another way of looking at this situation is that teachers will always be influenced by the biases of their backgrounds and experiences, when selecting, and emphasizing certain topics and positions in the classroom. Such a reality was acknowledged by most of the citizenship educators throughout the interviews. Several teachers contended that such a situation could become a limitation only if the teacher did not support critical thinking and acquaint students to a variety of positions when dealing with citizenship issues. Although most teachers indicated being critical was important, when asked to describe beliefs or practices detrimental to good citizenship, several teachers were critical of beliefs or practices which were outside their religious or cultural heritage. Self-critique was lacking in a number of cases, though not absent.

Another potential limitation that surfaced in the findings was that there was a lack of consistency between teachers in regards to the content and practices of teaching citizenship. This was not completely unexpected as we discussed in Chapter 1.¹⁹⁰ For instance, many teachers custom-made their content using a

¹⁹⁰ Past research on Citizenship Education has pointed out similar findings in terms of a lack of consistency in the content or delivery of Citizenship in schools (Andrews & Mycock, 2007, pp. 80-84).

variety of news media sources when teaching citizenship, a number of teachers used textbooks or content sources from the local authority, and civil society organizations like *Amnesty International* and the *Three Faiths Forum*. In addition to this, citizenship in some schools was taught as a 'stand-alone' subject, with a dedicated time slot, in other cases, it was taught for an hour a week or sometimes less. Furthermore, many teachers indicated that they had not received any formal citizenship training (although they desired it).

One reason such a variation could be a concern is if teachers are not giving teaching about difference adequate attention or if they are unknowingly contributing to the 'Othering' instead of challenging it. For instance, some teachers perceived the importance of informing students about what they understood as exclusivist, intolerant or extreme views that exist in society:

"I think the young people need to understand that people have extreme views and whether you are talking about Nazi Germany or whether you are talking about now a days, there are going to be extreme views. I think sometimes it's useful for the young people to understand what those views are and [how] they have come about. I suppose in a way you shouldn't hide them, because young people need to make their own decisions about them."

Citizenship Educator
(10-P1B- 27-31)

Some teachers indicated that they discussed such views to a certain degree, within the subtopic of identity, diversity or extremism, others indicated they were "discussed briefly, but it was not being timetabled or planned for."¹⁹¹ Additionally, a number of teachers who taught about citizenship and "extreme views", focused solely on extremism associated with certain

¹⁹¹ Citizenship Educator interview reference (01-PIP2-207-209)

religions, such as “Islamic extremism”:

“At the moment we have just been looking at Islam because, I have the up to date resources for it, if there was other resources available, I wouldn't just look at Islam, I'd look at the rest of them, but the resources we've got have DVDs and video clips and it's interactive, so it engages the student, so it's really not just focusing because its Muslim, it's because it's engaging for the students. If there was other material out there, then we would definitely use it.”

Citizenship Educator
(9-P1B-14-18)

Other citizenship educators indicated that they avoided discussing religion related topics in citizenship classes,

“We try to keep away from religion in depth in citizenship; obviously religion is discussed in depth in our religious education department.”

Citizenship Educator
(06-P1A-108-109)

There was an implicit assumption amongst a number of teachers that exclusivist views are only related to religious identities; therefore it would be addressed under the subject of religious education. Thus, one implication of such pedagogical approaches could be that extremism is unintentionally linked solely to “Islam” and/or religion does not have a credible place within the study of citizenship. These are problematic issues, since many sociologists have indicated that children inculcate values, views and beliefs, not just from “formal” teaching, which occurs in the school, but from the “hidden curriculum”¹⁹², which is embedded in such informal practices inside the classroom or within the school at large and that this informal teaching can support social inequalities (Henslin, 1995, p. 508; Giddens, 2006, pp. 702-704,1019).

¹⁹² Sociologists refer to this as the informal process of learning where young people learn things like obeying authority figures and adopting certain views and social norms (Henslin, 1995, p. 508; Giddens, 2006, p. 1019). The hidden curriculum also helps to perpetuate social inequalities and gender differences (ibid).

Despite such variations, most teachers held that citizenship should be taught on par with the other key parts of the National Curriculum such as mathematics, science or business studies. As we discovered in this study, many teachers argued that citizenship was as important, if not more important, than these subjects, since (according to the teachers) it gave their pupils the grounding to be ethical and responsible scientists, businessmen or mathematicians.

Through the course of the interviews, some distinct strategies emerged that teachers held to be beneficial in dealing with the challenges and concerns related to living in a diverse society. For instance, citizenship education should provide safe spaces to learn about, discuss, critically analyze and engage with the various co-cultures, beliefs, and practices that exist within the citizenry, in a forum of respect and tolerance. Additionally, there should be, according to certain teachers, a greater effort in schools and in society to create a climate of belongingness for everyone, so that all people regardless of their religious/cultural heritage can feel as they are equal and can contribute something to society. In other words, creating and maintaining spaces for all people in society to participate, thereby challenging the forces that support the 'Othering' of some groups of people. Many of the teachers conveyed that they obtained their knowledge about co-cultures in England from what their students or peer teachers or what their friends would share from their experiences. Thus, another crucial awareness amongst most of the citizenship educators was that more knowledge and training about the different co-cultures in society would benefit all

teachers, and especially those who deal with citizenship education. Such training could also mitigate the lack of consistency that citizenship education in England currently suffers from by providing all teachers access to a common set of knowledge, resources and guidance to effectively deal with the present and future reality of different co-cultures in society.

Closing annotations

In all, a core idea highlighted in this chapter is that the traditional way to see differences in religious and cultural identities, that they are rival systems of 'being' which are closed, and therefore there is 'a clash' between people of different religions/cultures. However, in this chapter, I contended that this is not the only option available to us. Sociologists and philosophers have long argued that cultures are not ever fully closed and there is always sufficient space for common-ground. The framework described in this chapter illustrates another way to conceptualize differences in identities where there are common ways of seeing the humanity in all of us, our aspirations for happiness and our quest for truth, while simultaneously embracing the uniqueness of our religious and cultural traditions.

Therefore, in my opinion, these visions of citizenship (exclusivist, inclusivist, and pluralist) should be explicitly, openly and consistently examined in the cultural, political and educational institutions of society in order that citizens may engage with them in a manner which seeks to improve the quality of life of all people. It is hoped the framework proposed in this chapter could be a useful tool in discussing and understanding difference, as an alternative to the traditional clash of cultures paradigm.

Moreover, it can perhaps be a way of talking about and putting emphasis on the common ground which exists between us, despite our cultural variations. Therefore, such an approach may strengthen our civic identities at a time when, as those such as Amartya Sen have noted, it is sorely needed.

In addition to this, we discussed that the views of the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' have a link to the kinds of citizens and society we are shaping. Inclusivist and pluralist visions¹⁹³ of citizenship in contrast to exclusivist positions to various degrees, seek to de-emphasize the superiority claims of the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other'. Exclusivist views of the 'Other', on the other hand, can play a key role in framing societal practices and institutions, which ultimately may deny rights, opportunities, protections and basic dignity to large groups of people, due to their religious or cultural heritage.

Furthermore, exploring the visions of the Self/Other in regards to citizenship was important in understanding the overall perspectives of the citizenship educators. It also brought to light many of their concerns about the issues they are grappling with in the classroom. Through these discussions, we learned of their concerns about intolerance and of their views on how to create safe spaces to understand, discuss, and appreciate difference.

¹⁹³ It bears emphasizing that the model proposed in this chapter describes inclusivist, exclusivist and pluralist visions of citizenship, which are not defined by rigid boundaries. It is assumed that there are degrees of pluralism, exclusivism, and inclusivism, which are not always easy to isolate. Even so, such a model is proposed as one alternative to the 'clash of cultures' model, and could be a useful way framing the discussion for citizenship, as well as strengthening civic identities.

Chapter 6: Rumination and Discussion

Citizenship is a constant struggle

T H Marshall (1964) offered an interpretation of history in which one could observe a progressive development of citizenship rights over the centuries. Marshall drew attention to the fact that pre-modern formations of citizenship were restricted to a small elite group. He further contended that in the eighteenth century, demands for citizenship emphasized rights needed for individual freedom (e.g. freedom of speech, equality under the law) and in the nineteenth century, citizenship came to include the right of parliament, which gave citizens the opportunity to become 'co-authors' of society's laws and institutions. The twentieth century, ushered in social rights like welfare, security and education (Marshall, 1964, pp. 72,74). Despite the major successes in the expansion of citizenship to entail a wider set of rights, institutions and protections, and for these mechanisms to be available to greater numbers of people, such noble ideals were not always put into practice (at-least not for everyone).

For instance, research has shown that even though there are very few legal barriers for women or people of colour in Anglo-American democracies like Britain, Canada and the United States, they are underrepresented in key media occupations and are often misrepresented in the media discourse (Hackett, 2006, p. 6). Within such a discourse, news coverage has a tendency to depict 'Black' British as criminals or welfare recipients, and whites as victims. Furthermore, patterns of language cast stereotypes and normalize 'white', while marginalizing others. In addition to the gender, ethnic (raced-based) 'Othering', sociologists have reported on (as discussed previously), a new racism (Giddens, 2006, p. 495; Wood, C; Finlay, WM., 2008, p. 708), which can

disenfranchise citizens based on a person's religious or cultural association.

However appealing it may seem, Marshall's thesis of the expansion of citizenship rights for greater parts of the population has been constantly challenged by less inclusive visions of citizenship, particularly in the new global order. In 2012, Dutch politicians in the parliament introduced legal bans on the ritual slaughter of animals, which would specifically curtail the religious/cultural freedoms of minority groups such as Muslims and Jews (Reuters, 2012). Since the Netherlands first introduced such a measure, which was passed in the House, and rejected in the Senate, other European countries including Estonia and Slovenia have introduced similar bans and restrictions. Here one side legitimizes their action under the rhetoric of "secularism" or "animal rights", while the other perceives it as an attack on their basic "freedom of religion". Although, Jewish and Muslim leaders challenged such gestures as "anti-Semitic" and "Islamophobic", the controversy continues (Haaretz, 2012). For many, trends such as these, as well as the German court's 2012 ban of circumcision, the Swiss ban on minarets, the French and Belgian restrictions on Muslim veils reveal a wider growth of exclusivism¹⁹⁴, and an attenuation of equal citizenship in Europe.

In addition to such developments, immigration and naturalization laws in Europe have seen a new course towards greater restrictions. For instance, Germany, Spain, Greece, Ireland, and Portugal consign preferential access to citizenship to co-ethnic

¹⁹⁴ (Oddone, 2012)

diasporas or descendants of former citizens who reside abroad (Bauböck, 2006, pp. 15-16)¹⁹⁵. In addition to this, polities such as Britain, Austria, France, and Netherlands have added further restrictions to their naturalization laws. For instance, the 1981 British Nationality Act created a secondary class of citizens. Categorized as “British Overseas Citizens”, they were not entitled to settle in the UK and their children could not inherit citizenship (Giddens, 2006, p. 504). Additionally, since the passage of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, naturalization now involves a language test (equivalent to ESOL¹⁹⁶, a much higher standard than the previous test), a test of ‘knowledge of life in the UK’¹⁹⁷ and a significant cost (ibid, pp. 574-575). Moreover, the Home Secretary can now deprive any person’s citizenship if he or she believes that the person has done anything seriously prejudicial to the vital interests of the UK or an overseas territory (ibid). Overall, such developments counter not just the Marshall thesis, but pose a threat to the institution of citizenship itself.

In all, the rise of exclusivist movements particularly in the Anglo-European context, the recent restrictions on naturalization and immigration, and movements to curtail the religious/cultural freedoms of specific minority groups in Europe, provide ample

¹⁹⁵ In the case of Germany, it could be argued that naturalization laws may have slightly broadened, yet are still restrained by factors around German “blood-lines”. The tradition of citizenship based on ‘bloodlines’ was continued even in modern Europe, in places like Germany, Austria and Luxembourg (Krotoszynski, 2006, p. 132). Up till 2000, “for a child to be born a German citizen, one of his parents must be German” (ibid, p. 133). Since then, it has been posited that language testing in Germany has been used in the politics of exclusion (Hansen-Thomas, 2012).

¹⁹⁶ “English for Speakers of Other Languages”

¹⁹⁷ This test includes questions like “What proportion of the UK were killed by the Black Death? ... Possible answers are a quarter, a third, half or three quarters” (TNT, 2012). Questions such as this even many historians might have difficulty answering. Thus, critics find the citizenship test to be both ‘out of touch’ and an apparatus to restrict citizenship.

evidence that ideas about citizenship are far from settled. The discourse of citizenship manifests a constant struggle, where rights, opportunities and protections do not necessarily expand in ever greater dimensions and for greater numbers of people, but may in fact contract.

Conceptual considerations

As we have seen citizenship is one of the oldest institutions in human history. In the context of the ancient Athenian democracy, this meant the recognition that those deemed to be citizens had certain rights and obligations to others within the citizenry. For Athenian citizens this meant possessing rights such as to be able to vote directly in the assembly, the right to a fair trial and the right not to be tortured. Despite this, over time citizenship would involve the recognition that 'individual rights' by themselves were not sufficient and that they required an enabling environment that would allow these rights to be accessible to all kinds of citizens. While the idea of equal rights recognized our commonality, the notion of equal opportunity recognized that citizens were also different and were in different places in society in terms of socio-economic strata, as well as physical and mental abilities; that the needs of men, women, the young, the aged and those with disabilities, were not always the same. Such an understanding meant that access to things like specific instruments of justice, participatory government, education and healthcare had to be considered when structuring society. Consequently, it is not a surprise that the discourse of citizenship, over time, began to expand and cultivate within it different

conceptions¹⁹⁸ of citizenship. These different notions proposed ways of perceiving who is and who is not a citizen, as well as establishing views of human nature, community, authority and ideas for organizing and managing resources in society based on such understandings.

However, what we have also seen is that although the rights, opportunities and protections of a citizen have expanded in many respects, this did not necessarily mean that all persons in society could partake in these freedoms. We saw how in the ancient Athenian democracy large segments of the population, including women, young persons, slaves, foreign residents were culturally deemed to be the 'Other', thus denied the life of a citizen. In the history of Britain, the abolishment of slavery, the woman's suffrage and the recognition of the specific claims of ethnic/cultural minority groups reflect a continuing struggle to expand citizenship to greater segments of the population.

The feature of identity particularly becomes important in this discussion, because the reality of today is that we are often faced with citizens with not just Anglican or Roman Catholic or Jewish heritage, but Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists as well as citizens with no religious association. One approach to encountering such a reality is to presuppose a 'clash' between these different groups. Another proposition, which was recognized by this

¹⁹⁸ It is important to reemphasize that these conceptions of citizenships are not static and that they are being discussed, debated and amended within the discourse of citizenship. Also the second point to note is that when these conceptions are actually articulated into practices and institutions in society, they take on multiple forms or instantiations. For instance, one tenet that liberal citizenship emphasizes is the importance of the separation of the church and state. Yet, such a notion takes different forms in France, US, and Great Britain. Also, multicultural citizenship practices in Canada, Great Britain and India may not always be the same.

research contended that people of different belief systems have overlapping commonalities and the clash is not so much between co-cultures in society, but rather between people who adopt particular visions of citizenship in perceiving the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other'.

Furthermore, views of who is a citizen or a patriot or part of the insider group in society are often constructed through the cultural discourse. In other words, particular visions of citizenship (inclusivist, exclusivist, pluralist), which are often shared through the public sphere, through the channels of the media, through social, educational and political institutions, ultimately shape the societies in which we live and how people who are different are treated. Therefore, it has been argued that perceptions of the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' is also fundamental in understanding how insider/outsider dualities can be constructed within the society, which then in turn deny freedoms, opportunities and protections to many. For such reasons, I previously introduced a definition by Bernard Crick, who affirmed that citizenship carries four meanings: first, it is correlated to rights and duties as related to a state; second, it can refer to a belief; third, it can refer to an ideal; and fourth, it can refer to an "educational process" (Heater D. B., 2004, p. Forward). As helpful as such a definition may be for this discussion, I contended that it could benefit from an essential amendment to include visions of the 'Self'/'Other' as a significant dimension of citizenship.

One way forward

The regularity of international stock market crashes: 1987, 1997, 2000, 2008; the escalation in global migrations, the rising divisions between the rich and the poor, the frequency of mass protests, the chronic wars for “freedom and democracy”, and the decline of political participation among citizens, particularly with regard to young persons, are some of the visible symptoms that disclose a poignant crisis in contemporary societies, from which England in particular is not immune. Furthermore, these phenomena are, as it has been pointed out, indicators of a larger dissatisfaction among many citizens and communities about their social, political or economic plight; moreover, it can be said that they are a manifestation of a growing discontent with how those with authority are managing society and its resources. As we have seen, there are of course, a number of conceptual frameworks of citizenship that offer themselves as potential solutions to the challenges we now face.

As a democratic society, if we had to choose a conception of citizenship to lead us out of this crisis, a conception that we could teach the present and future citizens of this nation-state in order to equip them with what they need to succeed in tomorrow's world, what would that be? Some have suggested the civic-republican tradition (which is the framework that presently guides the Citizenship curriculum in England), while others have argued for the adoption of conservative citizenship, cosmopolitan citizenship or multicultural citizenship, and so on. The proponents of each of these camps, as we have seen, have promoted their views and pointed out the flaws of their opposition in adequately dealing with the many challenges facing the nation and the

world at large. Aside from this, as we discussed in previous chapters, scholars have reported extensively about how the current approach to citizenship fails to satisfactorily deal with the issues of racism (including religious/cultural discrimination) which hinders the participation of many citizens.

That said, considering the fact that Citizenship as a national curriculum subject (for England) was conceived in order to deal with some imperative societal concerns: 1) youth apathy from mainstream politics and civic life (Andrews & Mycock (2007); Wilkens (1999); Wilkens (2003); Furnham & Gunter (1989); Kerr, McCarthy, & Smith (2002); Kiwan (2005); Osler (2001)) and 2) a wider concern about the rise in xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and how best to maintain civil peace and social cohesion (Runnymede Trust (1997); Werbner & Modood (1997); Torres & Mirón & Inda (1999); Wilkens (1999) (2005)). One could ask if there is a practical way forward from this debate that could satisfy many of these advocates of citizenship and democracy, at least at the level of education: a place where teachers are shaping the future generation of citizens, and equipping them with the knowledge, skills, resources and experiences that they need to live as synergetic, as well as, productive members of society.

This study would like to propose that there is in fact one strategy that could be pursued which could serve as a practical *modus vivendi* between all of the different groups who have a stake in dealing with the teaching of citizenship. As we have seen there are different conceptions of citizenship, for instance liberalism, civic-republicanism, or conservative citizenship. Each one of these

conceptions has beliefs, values and priorities that are important to a large group of citizens within society. As examined previously, Citizenship as a component of the National Curriculum models itself on the civic-republican conception of citizenship. Although civic-republicanism has several valuable features to offer, as we have discussed in a previous chapter, the critics rightly point out some significant deficiencies of this conception in dealing with a variety of challenges faced by this nation and its citizenry. Moreover, critiques were presented for other conceptions of citizenship as well.

Therefore, one possible alternate to the present course, could be a pluralist pedagogical approach on citizenship, where citizenship is understood and presented as a discourse of competing conceptions instead of a single monolithic proposition that often implies that there is one way of being a good citizen and organizing society. Here students would be explicitly exposed to the range of conceptions of citizenship that have been proposed or used in the past or are being discussed today. Such an approach supports critical inquiry where students would be invited to learn about, discuss, criticize and put into practice ideas in a safe space, such as the school. A proposition such as this contends that none of these conceptions of citizenship (e.g.: liberal, social-democratic, conservative, cosmopolitan) are free from error or limitations, and that each of these traditions may have within them something of value to offer all people within society. Adopting such an approach could ultimately increase the space for creativity, where the citizens in the classroom are not just learning about past/present conceptions of citizenship, but are encouraged to look for better, more effective, and more

just solutions for society's challenges. Such an approach could be a form of empowerment that could activate more young persons and ultimately parents to engage with citizenship.

Alternatively, the absolutist approach advocates that only one conception of citizenship is correct. In other words, there is only one way out of the pit of challenges that face us, and all other conceptions must be rejected. However, as we have examined in this research, such an approach is not necessarily improving the situation for this nation, at least not for a great number of people. Furthermore, if we as a democracy truly value choice and consent, then instead of making that choice for these young citizens, why not offer them the opportunity to make an informed decision for themselves.

The pluralist pedagogical approach to citizenship assumes that all these conceptions of citizenships may contain legitimate goals, concerns and critiques that should be at least discussed and evaluated. The results of this study in particular have revealed three particular shared-perspectives of citizenship held by teachers, each with a distinct vision of arranging society, as well as some areas of commonality between them.

Thus, this study supports the pedagogy of citizenship which seeks to “explicitly” teach present and future citizens about the virtues, concerns, critiques and implications of the various conceptions of citizenship (liberal, civic-republican, multicultural, cosmopolitan,...etc), as well as the different visions of citizenship (inclusivist, exclusivist, and pluralist) to stimulate awareness,

understanding and counter the 'Othering' of people in society.¹⁹⁹

The civic-republican tradition, the liberal tradition, the cosmopolitan tradition, and other models of citizenship, all have strengths and weaknesses that any student of citizenship should be aware of. Even if pupils eventually adopt a particular perspective of citizenship, at least through such a process, they will be aware of the issues that concern large segments of the population, who have different backgrounds or needs, including citizens who are part of minority communities, who are their fellow citizens nonetheless. Furthermore, such a proposition offers multiple ways of looking at the world in order to engage with it in a more holistic manner. It might be the case that one particular lens allows us to examine a problem in a way that might be useful for us at a particular time and situation, and may change in the future to cope with future realities. This proposition leaves room for the possibility that there might be better solutions that we have not yet discovered; that there might not be one conception of citizenship that meets the needs of a nation, but a combination of two, for instance. Therefore, such a proposition allows for change, amendment and adaptation.

What has been discussed thus far is that while there might be an explicit adoption of, for instance, the liberal or civic-republican conception of citizenship, 1) it is not a permanently static acceptance by the nation-state or by the individual citizens who may reside in these states. Citizenship is constantly contested in

¹⁹⁹ It is also hoped that by pursuing this approach both the antiracism education proponents as well as multicultural education proponents will find citizenship as a space where personal racism as well as societal structures and practices can be critically examined.

the public realm and may lead to the revocation of status, rights, opportunities and protections for many people in society. 2) The images of 'Self'/'Other' can be/are often used to legitimize the revocation of rights, opportunities or protections associated to specific groups of people within a society. Consequently, examining, understanding and openly discussing the various conceptions of citizenship (liberal, civic-republican, multicultural, cosmopolitan,...etc), as well as the different visions of the 'Self' in relation to the 'Other' is fundamental to formulate more inclusive citizenship practices. Furthermore, greater democratic control of public communications, (which is not dominated by narrow interests, but rather, by the diversity of the citizenry), is vital for a formation of citizenship that cherishes difference and social cohesion. 3) As affirmed previously, it would behove teachers, schools and society at large to create and support safe spaces where competing ideas of citizenship could be learned, discussed, debated and articulated.²⁰⁰ In all, it is hoped that such a strategy would provide citizens with a multitude of options to consider, thereby increasing their knowledge and capabilities and in doing so, also increasing their liberty, as well as their dignity.

²⁰⁰It is further recommended that these safe spaces for engaging with citizenship issues can eventually be created for parents, as well as all adults in society.

Appendix 1: Transcription Key

The interview responses were carefully edited to insure the anonymity of the informants. Furthermore, some of the selections presented from the interviews have been edited for grammar and clarity. The following syntax was used to help transcribe the text.

- “[]” - Interviewer’s words or comments inside brackets
 “[-]” - Truncated text

Appendix 2: Citizenship Educator Demographical Information

Age	Titles	Does-school-have-religious-character	Area Ethnic-Diversity-Index ²⁰¹	Gender	Region-in-England	Type-of-School
27	Citizenship Co-ordinator	No	0.05	Male	North West	Community School
52	PSHE and Citizenship Co-ordinator	No	0.83	Female	London	Community School
27	Citizenship Specialist teacher	No	0.07	Female	South West	Community School
32	Citizenship Co-ordinator	No	0.05	Male	South West	Comprehensive school

²⁰¹ According to Census 2001, if an area had an ethnic diversity score of 0.62, representing a 62 per cent chance that two people drawn at random would be from different ethnic groups.

31	Deputy Citizenship Co-ordinator and Specialist teacher	No	0.26	Female	East of England	Foundation School
43	Citizenship teacher	No	0.65	Female	London	Community School
24	Citizenship teacher	No	0.75	Female	London	Academy
51	Citizenship Co-ordinator	No	0.07	Female	North East	Community School
27	Citizenship teacher/PS HE Co-ordinator	No	0.24	Female	North West	Community School
40	Citizenship Co-ordinator	No	0.09	Female	South East	Community School
29	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Church of England school	0.68	Female	London	Academy
34	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Roman Catholic school	0.23	Female	South East	Voluntary Aided School
47	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Roman Catholic school	0.64	Male	London	Voluntary Aided School
55	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Church of England school	0.18	Male	North East	Foundation School
34	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Sikh school	0.46	Male	London	Voluntary Aided School
26	Citizenship teacher	Muslim school	0.65	Female	London	Independent School

25	Citizenship teacher	Jewish school	0.25	Male	South East	Voluntary Aided School
46	Citizenship Co-ordinator	No	0.28	Male	North West	Community School
56	Citizenship teacher/PS E Head	No	0.29	Male	North West	Independent / Free School
27	Citizenship teacher	No	0.28	Female	North West	Community School
30	Citizenship teacher	No	0.20	Male	Mid East	Community School
50	Head of Citizenship	No	0.34	Female	London	Community School
47	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Church of England school	0.07	Female	South West	Academy
38	Citizenship Co-ordinator	No	0.40	Female	North West	Community School
41	Citizenship teacher	Christian school	0.05	Male	West Midlands	Independent School
26	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Roman Catholic school	0.34	Female	London	Voluntary Aided School
32	Citizenship/ PSHE teacher	No	0.55	Male	West Midlands	Comprehensive school
56	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Church of England school	0.20	Female	East Midlands	Voluntary Controlled School
26	Citizenship teacher	Muslim school	0.62	Female	London	Independent School

33	Citizenship teacher/Projects	No	0.83	Female	London	Comprehensive school
39	Citizenship teacher	No	0.05	Female	Yorkshire & the Humber	Community School
32	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Roman Catholic school	0.09	Female	North East	Voluntary Aided School
27	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Roman Catholic school	0.10	Female	South East	Voluntary Aided School
25	Citizenship Co-ordinator	Muslim School	0.58	Female	London	Independent School
28	Citizenship teacher	No	0.69	Female	London	Community School

Appendix 3: Visions of Citizenship Handout (continued on next page)

FOR TEACHER TO REVIEW

Do you believe in a religious way of life or associate with a particular religion?

If YES, **Which position do you MOST associate with?** (A, B, or C)

If No, go to positions (D, E, and F).

- A. A person can learn good values and conduct through my religion and “Other” religions, but only through my religion can one achieve salvation, Truth, liberation, or paradise...etc. For instance, if I am a Buddhist, then I believe Nirvana or liberation is only possible through Buddhism...etc.
- B. My religion is the one true faith and ultimately a person can only learn what is good through my religion. My religion or religious identity has exclusive access to salvation, Truth, liberation or paradise. For instance, if I am a Christian, then I believe salvation is only possible through Christianity or if I am a Buddhist, then Nirvana or liberation is only possible through Buddhism...etc.
- C. My religion or religious identity does not have exclusive access to salvation or Truth or liberation or paradise...etc. A person can learn good values and conduct through my religion and “Other” religions. Salvation, Truth, liberation, or paradise can also be attained outside my religion.

If you do not believe in a religious way of life or associate with a particular religion, **which position, do you MOST associate with (D, E, or F)?**

- D. Religion can be a source of truth, where one can learn such things as good values and good conduct in society. A person can learn something good through religion; however, ultimately, it is in science not religion that leads to the Truth or truths. Religion can coexist with science in a harmonious way.
- E. Science has exclusive access to the Truth or truths. All or most religions are irrational or at odds with science. All or most religions are oppressive and an obstacle to liberty in society.
- F. My non-religious belief system does not have exclusive access to the Truth or truths. Science and Religion may reveal many truths about life. Religion is one of many sources of learning good values and good conduct in society. Religion can coexist with science in a harmonious.

Appendix 4: CE association to Visions of Citizenship

Gender	Ethnic-Diversity-Index for area ²⁰²	View of Self in relation to Other
Female	0.05	Inclusivist - D
Male	0.05	Inclusivist and Religious - A
Male	0.05	Pluralist - F
Male	0.05	Pluralist - F
Female	0.07	Pluralist - F
Female	0.07	Pluralist and Religious - C
Female	0.07	Pluralist and Religious - C
Female	0.09	Pluralist - F
Female	0.09	Pluralist and Religious - C
Female	0.10	Inclusivist - D
Male	0.18	Pluralist and Religious - C
Male	0.20	Exclusivist and Religious - B
Female	0.20	Pluralist and Religious - C
Female	0.23	Inclusivist – D
Female	0.24	Pluralist and Religious – C
Male	0.25	Pluralist – F
Female	0.26	Pluralist – F
Female	0.28	Inclusivist and Religious - A
Male	0.28	Pluralist and Religious – C
Male	0.29	Pluralist and Religious – C
Female	0.34	Pluralist and Religious – C
Female	0.34	Pluralist and Religious – C
Female	0.40	Exclusivist and Religious - B
Male	0.46	Pluralist – F
Male	0.55	Pluralist and Religious – C
Female	0.58	Inclusivist and Religious - A

²⁰² The Ethnic Diversity Index for an area. According to Census 2001, if an area (e.g. County/Borough) had an ethnic diversity score of 0.62, representing a 62 per cent chance that two people drawn at random would be from different ethnic groups.

Female	0.62	Inclusivist and Religious - A
Male	0.64	Pluralist and Religious - C
Female	0.65	Inclusivist and Religious - A
Female	0.65	Pluralist – F
Female	0.68	Pluralist – F
Female	0.69	Pluralist and Religious - C
Female	0.75	Pluralist and Religious - C
Female	0.83	Inclusivist/Pluralist and Religious – Between A and C
Female	0.83	Pluralist and Religious - C

Appendix 5: Informed Consent Statement/Form

Informed Consent Statement

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Malik Ajani. I am a graduate student at Royal Holloway, University of London. My PhD research is looking at the area of citizenship education in schools.

My research requires that all persons who participate in research studies give their written consent to do so. Please read the following and sign it if you agree with what it says.

I freely and voluntarily consent to be a participant in the research project to be conducted with Malik Ajani as principal investigator. The broad goal of this research program is to explore within the context of England, perspectives of citizenship educators about citizenship and citizenship education. Specifically, I have been told that I will be asked to answer various types of questions based on this topic. Time required may take approximately an hour and half.

I have been told that my responses will be kept strictly confidential, where no names of participants or names of schools where they teach will appear on the findings. I also understand that if at any time during the session I feel unable or unwilling to continue, I am free to leave without negative consequences. That is, my participation in this study is completely voluntary, and I may withdraw from this study at any time. My withdrawal would not result in any penalty and my name will not be linked with the research materials

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions regarding the procedure, and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been informed that if I have any questions about this project, I should feel free to contact Malik Ajani at Email: M.Ajani@rhul.ac.uk or Tel: 07785972563²⁰³.

I have read and understand the above and consent to participate in this study. My signature is not a waiver of any legal rights. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to keep a copy of the informed consent form for my records.

Participant's Signature

Please Print

Date

I have explained and defined in detail the research procedure in which the above-named has consented to participate. Furthermore, I will retain one copy of the informed consent form for my records.

Principal Investigator Signature

Please Print

Date

²⁰³ The email and telephone number above was only redacted in the publication of this research.

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