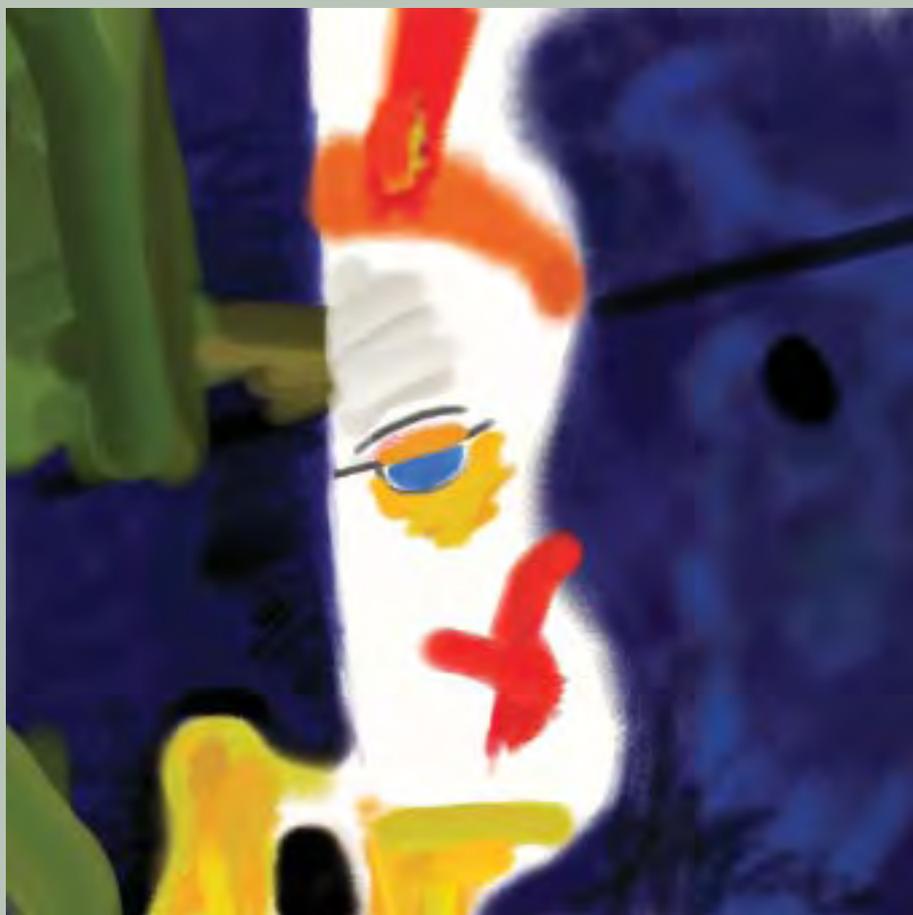


Changing Citizenship

Democracy and Inclusion in Education



Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAUW	American Association of University Women
ACHPR	<i>African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights</i>
AFP	Agence France Presse
AP	Associated Press
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BNP	British National Party
CGG	Commission on Global Governance
CRC	United Nations <i>Convention on the Rights of the Child</i>
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DFID	Department for International Development
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EC	European Commission
<i>ECECR</i>	<i>European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights</i>
<i>ECHR</i>	<i>European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms</i>
EDC	Education for Democratic Citizenship
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HRA	Human Rights Act
<i>ICCPR</i>	<i>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</i>
<i>ICESCR</i>	<i>International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights</i>
ICHRP	International Council on Human Rights Policy
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEA	local education authority
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MP	Member of Parliament
NASUWT	National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NCSL	National College of School Leadership
NGO	non-governmental organization
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
OHCHR	Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PLASC	Pupil Level Annual School Census
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
RACA	Raising African Caribbean Achievement project
RRAA	Race Relations [Amendment] Act
SAT	Standard Attainment Test
SEN	special educational needs
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
TLRP	Teaching and Learning Research Programme
<i>UDHR</i>	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCHR	UN Commission on Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WSF	World Social Forum

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Introduction

Education has a critical role to play in enabling us to respond to the processes of globalization. It is important that people have the chance to understand the links between their own lives and those of others, both globally and locally. Across the world, in established democracies as well as in newly democratized states, there is renewed interest in education for citizenship and human rights. The challenge facing curriculum planners, school leaders and teachers is to provide young people with appropriate experiences which allow them to make sense of international politics and interdependence while at the same time enabling them to feel that they can make a difference and participate in shaping our common future.

Education in democratic states has always been, either explicitly or implicitly, about strengthening democracy. Education has been viewed as a way of preparing young people to understand the society in which they live, how it functions, and to contribute to it in various ways. In other words, it has long been about preparing the young for their future roles as citizens. The emphasis has been on preparation to exercise future democratic rights, including the right to vote, in a responsible manner. For those who were not expected to take up positions of responsibility or power, the school subject of 'civics' emphasized responsibilities and respect for those in power, and was designed to encourage a sense of uncritical patriotism. In contrast, the education of elites has laid considerable stress on preparing the young for their responsibilities as future leaders. Education for democratic citizenship is based on the premise that all can contribute to shaping society's future, starting in the present.

Citizenship is changing. There is growing consensus that education for national citizenship is an inadequate response to growing global interdependence and that it is becoming increasingly important that everyone is prepared to participate in an increasingly globalized world. The challenge is to enable citizens to participate at a time when many people feel powerless and we are uncertain how to shape the future agenda. This sense of powerlessness and helplessness is magnified by our increased awareness of inequalities and injustice across the world.

Changing Citizenship is a response to this educational challenge. Within the globalized and multicultural communities that characterize today's

societies, the concept of citizenship is pivotal. Educators, politicians and the media are using the concept in new contexts and giving it new meanings. While not wishing to deny its complexity, we believe that fundamentally citizenship is about making a difference. It is about working with others in the quest for the good society.

We are concerned not only with the status of citizenship, but also with citizenship as a sense of belonging. Citizenship can unite a diverse population, but the term is often used in ways that are exclusive. For example, in many countries, refugees and migrants are presented in popular and political discourses as groups who stand in opposition to citizens. We are interested in how citizenship can be practised in a variety of contexts to promote human rights and equality. We propose the concept of education for cosmopolitan citizenship as a means of understanding citizenship as it is experienced in diverse communities and in multicultural settings, whether these be local, national or global. We argue that education for cosmopolitan citizenship, informed by human rights, is appropriate for all schools, whether or not there is visible diversity in the community. Such education can strengthen democracy and contribute to the process of globalizing social progress and justice.

Part 1 of *Changing Citizenship* addresses processes of globalization and their implications for citizenship education. Citizenship is a concept at the intersection of many theoretical frameworks. *Changing Citizenship* therefore draws on a range of disciplines including sociology, political science, philosophy and human rights law. Chapter 1 examines various concepts of citizenship, considering their strengths and limitations. It explores the relationship of citizenship to nationality, cosmopolitanism, identities and belonging. In Chapter 2, we examine human rights as the principles underpinning democracy and development, exploring the role of education in achieving these goals. Chapter 3 examines children's status and rights as citizens, considering the contribution that children can make to debates about education and improving schools.

In Part 2, we examine, in Chapter 4, the right to education and the related concepts of rights in and through education. Drawing on our research into exclusion from school, we consider how schools might be made more accessible, acceptable and adaptable to diverse groupings of children. Chapter 5 examines learning for cosmopolitan citizenship as a way of enabling young citizens to recognize their common humanity and build a more inclusive society. We propose a model of citizenship learning and identify features of a programme of education for cosmopolitan citizenship, looking critically at the citizenship education programme for England. If the school curriculum is to be effective it needs to be aware of and to build on young people's learning in families and communities. Chapter 6 draws on our research with young people to explore their

identities and sites of learning for citizenship beyond school. In Chapter 7 we discuss how antiracism is essential to an inclusive democracy, examining European policy frameworks and the ways these are applied at national levels in Britain and Sweden.

Part 3 examines how the school as an institution needs to change in order to ensure education for citizenship and democracy. Chapter 8 looks at the features of democratic learning and provides case studies of primary and secondary schools which have taken steps to build a school community based on human rights and democratic participation. Often teachers express concerns that children's rights are emphasized with little thought being given to responsibilities. In Chapter 9 we examine the relationship of rights and responsibilities, concluding with a set of pedagogic principles. In the final chapter, we examine the changing discourses of school leadership, drawing on the voices of headteachers to consider their role in education for citizenship and diversity and as citizens. Those school leaders who have made a commitment to equality and diversity provide us with valuable models of leadership as citizens and for citizenship.

PART 1

Changing Citizenship

1 Cosmopolitan Citizenship

Ugandan rebels burn family alive

Over 300 people were killed when the notorious Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) made a surprise attack on a camp for displaced people near Lira, in northern Uganda. The LRA surrounded the camp shortly before nightfall. They overcame the camp's defence forces, using grenades and powerful weapons. Residents who took shelter in their homes were burnt alive. 'They came running, surrounded the camp and starting setting huts on fire' said Molly Auma, a 26-year-old mother of three. She was shot and had her right-hand fingers blown off by a grenade. Samuel Ogwang, a 30-year-old shopkeeper, told [the] Agence France Presse (AFP) news agency that his wife had been killed and three of his children wounded. 'My parents were burnt alive in one of the huts. I buried 10 of my relatives yesterday before I brought these children to hospital'.

(www.bbc.co.uk, 22 February 2004; *The Guardian*, 23 February 2004; *Mail and Guardian online*, 16 March 2004)

This attack happened on Saturday 21 February 2004. Within 24 hours, international news agencies, including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and AFP began arriving at the scene, filming the camp and collecting evidence from survivors at the local hospital. By Sunday evening reports of the atrocities were being broadcast across the world.

Changing citizenship

Many citizens in the UK and in countries across the world were undoubtedly shocked and disturbed by these reports from the Lira camp in Uganda. The concerns of citizens, which are often focused on local and national issues, have expanded as local and national media report events in previously remote areas. The immediacy of the media coverage encourages citizens to feel implicated in some way in the lives of those whose story is being told.

This consequence of globalization suggests that approaches to citizenship need to be reconsidered. Citizenship is changing as citizens have greater opportunities to act in new international contexts. Citizenship involves making connections between our status and identities as individuals and the lives and concerns of others with whom we share a sense of community. We are increasingly able to make these connections and feel solidarity with others at local, national, regional (e.g. European) and global levels. There are now more ways of being a citizen than have perhaps previously been recognized.

The BBC report from Lira, Uganda, highlights a number of features that illustrate the context in which debates about citizenship and education are now taking place. First, it demonstrates the shrunken world of globalization. Within hours of the event, a BBC team had reached the remote refugee camp and started relaying an illustrated and edited report that was shown on the main TV evening news in Britain. The story, including eyewitness accounts, political background and visual evidence, was posted on the BBC website and transmitted on the BBC World Service. The BBC was not alone on the scene. Reporters from two other agencies, AFP and Associated Press (AP) were also collecting evidence. The electronic news media made available reports and pictures of these shocking events to people directly in their homes around the world. Newspapers and websites provided a fuller picture and background details for concerned citizens.

Second, news editors believed that BBC viewers in Britain would be interested in this massacre of refugees happening on another continent. The surviving witnesses are named in the report. Their personal tragedies are considered important enough to be of interest to citizens whose own lives are unlikely to be touched directly by these events, at least in the short term. This suggests that, as human beings, many of us have a feeling of connectedness to other humans in distress, or indeed in times of celebration, wherever they are located. Empathy, compassion and political action are not constrained by borders and boundaries. Feelings of concern and interest in the situation of other people on another continent derive from what we will refer to as a *cosmopolitan* vision.

Third, the background to this story illustrates issues of humanitarian law and human rights as the context in which we are writing about citizenship. The civil war between the government of Uganda and northern rebel groups has resulted in the displacement of over a million people. Such mass movements of people fleeing war have been a feature of the world in recent decades. Some of the victims of war become refugees, migrating across borders. A relative few reach richer countries, such as the UK, where they may seek settlement and possibly asylum. In Uganda, aid agencies, supported by funds from individuals and governments, supply essential food to camps for displaced persons. Ugandan non-governmental organizations

(NGOs) are also working to resolve the conflict. The Refugee Law Project, based at Makerere University, has interviewed hundreds of witnesses in an attempt to understand the causes of the conflict (Refugee Law Project 2004). The International Criminal Court in The Hague has started to investigate the LRA for war crimes. The LRA is said to have abducted some 20,000 children and brutally exploited them as soldiers and as sex slaves.

Thus, in the longer term, events in a remote African refugee camp may well have an impact on people in Britain. The instabilities caused by civil wars impact on global politics. Such conflicts hold back economic and social development. They result in large-scale migrations of populations, at first within the region and then beyond it, as workers and families seek safety in more stable and prosperous regions such as Europe.

Fourth, citizens have a capacity for action and may wish to respond to the massacre and the humanitarian situation in northern Uganda. In doing so they demonstrate a cosmopolitan mindset, showing concern for fellow human beings. Citizens have a range of options for action and potential intervention. They can inform themselves by accessing further details and analysis. They can use the information to express an opinion to the media, to an elected representative or to the Ugandan government. They can contribute to an aid agency working in Uganda. They can join or become active in a group campaigning for development and peace. All these options are open to young people as much as to older citizens. For example, there is a remarkable global campaign by a young Canadian, Ryan Hreljac, who created his own charity, Ryan's Well, to provide clean water to communities in Uganda, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Malawi, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Nigeria (Greenfield 2004: 8).

Finally, the full story of the conflict in Uganda includes the exploitation by the LRA of children as soldiers and sex slaves in ways that are gross violations of international human rights standards, particularly the United Nations (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)*. The significance of these standards in understanding citizenship is a major theme of this book.

Understanding citizenship

Citizenship is a site of political struggle. It is frequently defined as having two essential aspects, first a status and a set of duties and secondly a practice and an entitlement to rights. While these are certainly key elements, they do not take into account the fact that citizenship is probably most immediately experienced as a feeling of belonging. We suggest therefore that citizenship has three essential and complementary dimensions. It is a *status*, a *feeling* and a *practice*.