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# 1

## Citizenship Education and Cultural Diversity in France and England

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In 2002 over five million people in France voted in the first round of the presidential election for the candidate of the far right *Front national*, Jean-Marie Le Pen, and other candidates with an explicitly xenophobic agenda. The political success of the far right was attributed to feelings of insecurity fuelled by the media. From the mid-1990s, the French media featured urban violence associated with the presence of minorities (Wieviorka, 1999). Such representations included the televised shooting to death by the police of Khaled Kelkal on 29 September 1995 and fictionalized accounts such as Mathieu Kassovitz's film *La Haine*, produced in the same year, which portrays the anti-social activities of marginalized youth. In Britain, although voter support for far right parties is much less than in France, the institutional racism which pervades the police force and other aspects of British life, including the education system, was highlighted in the Macpherson Report (1999) into the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence on 22 April 1993. Racism and political support for racist agendas are a continuing rather than declining feature of French and British society and a danger to democracy (Osler and Starkey, 2002).

In both England and France 1999 saw moves by government to introduce new programmes of education for citizenship in schools which are aimed at reinforcing democracy in a tolerant society. The French programme is based on Republican values, particularly human rights, and emphasizes the unacceptability of racism and discrimination. The programme for England, subject to inspection from 2002, emphasizes democracy and active engagement with society. It is thus more pragmatic and less concerned with core principles. The introduction of the new French programme for education for citizenship was completed in the 1999/2000 academic year, being introduced into the

final year of lower secondary school (*collège*) and the first year of high schools (*lycée*).

The programme for England is based on a report (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998) known as the Crick Report, and consists of an outline programme of study (QCA/DfEE, 1999), followed by preliminary guidance (QCA, 2000) and schemes of work for key stages 3 and 4 (QCA, 2001, 2002). In France, a working party, the *Groupe Technique Disciplinaire, éducation civique* developed guidelines and a programme of study for the *collège* which were published in 1996. The new programme of study was introduced to year 7 (*6e*) in September 1996. It reached the final class of the *collège* in September 1999 and the *lycée* in the same year. Schools and teachers were provided with detailed official guidance (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de la Recherche et de la Technologie, 1998) and, in line with French educational traditions and expectations, a number of educational publishers (e.g., Belin, Bordas, Hatier, Hachette, Magnard) produced text-books with materials based on the programmes of study for each school year. Our present study is of these documentary sources rather than of actual practices in schools.

## **National contexts**

A new programme of citizenship education is being introduced into English schools at a time of constitutional reform, which includes the introduction of the 1998 Human Rights Act which incorporates the European Convention on Human Rights into UK law; the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and a Welsh Assembly; and a new settlement between Britain and Northern Ireland also involving devolved government. The first indications of further devolution to regional level can be seen in the creation of an assembly and elected mayor for London. These political and constitutional developments are encouraging debate about the meanings of nationality, national identity and citizenship and the extent to which individuals and groups from both majority and minority communities feel a sense of belonging to the nation and State.

Until the 1988 Education Reform Act and the introduction of a national curriculum in the 1990s, the British government had no direct control over the content of the curriculum in English schools. Some initiatives to promote citizenship education were taken by local education authorities, individual schools and by teachers' associations such as the Politics Association (Davies, 1999). Following an

unsuccessful attempt in 1990 to introduce citizenship education as a cross-curricular theme, in 1997 the then Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, set up an Advisory Group on Citizenship which reported in 1998.

The national programme of citizenship education for English schools proposed by this group in its final report (the Crick Report) has three main strands: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998). Citizenship education is being introduced partly in order to counteract a widespread feeling of disinterest in the political process and in community life as expressed by a record level of abstention in elections. The report states:

There are worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life. These, unless, tackled at every level, could well diminish the hoped-for benefits both of constitutional reform and of the changing nature of the welfare state (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 8).

This concern is particularly for the young and their apparent apathy is seen as a threat to democracy itself. This assumption has been echoed and reinforced by both politicians and the media (for example see *The Express*, *Daily Mail* and *The Birmingham Post* on the day of the publication of the Report 23 September 1998). The Crick Report quotes the Lord Chancellor as saying:

We should not, must not, *dare not*, be complacent about the health and future of British democracy. Unless we become a nation of engaged citizens, our democracy is not secure (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 8).

In fact the report itself draws attention to the high abstention rate amongst young people, though in the 1997 general election this was only marginally below the average (32% compared to 29%). Given this focus on the apparent political and social apathy of the young, another aim of the citizenship education proposals is to encourage self-confidence and social and moral responsibility (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 40).

Between the publication of the Crick Report and the new statutory order for citizenship education, the Macpherson Report (1999) of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry was published. This report highlighted the

institutional racism which pervades the police force and other aspects of British life. By implication, the education service is also tainted with institutional racism (Richardson and Wood, 1999). Nevertheless, the report identified the key role which schools can play in challenging racism. The Government's response, in the form of an Action Plan from the Home Secretary, identified citizenship education as the key curriculum area which would be able to make a significant contribution to the challenging and elimination of racism (Home Office, 1999: 33).

In the light of the expectation that citizenship education should challenge racism, the conclusions drawn by the Crick Report may not be well founded. It is not self-evident that voting behaviour is an accurate indicator of political interest or engagement and other evidence suggests increasing levels of political activity, broadly defined, amongst young people in England (Roker et al., 1999). It is true, however, that young people from certain ethnic minority groups have shown higher abstention rates than their peers (CRE, 1998). One explanation may be the experience of institutional racism and social exclusion, as indicated by higher unemployment rates in these same groups, rather than low levels of political interest or engagement. Thus the very premise of the programme may risk defining young people, on flawed evidence, as less good citizens than the adult population. In this perspective the programme itself may, ironically, contribute to a feeling of exclusion.

Citizenship education has traditionally been high on the political agenda in France, having its roots in the need to consolidate national support for the Third Republic when democracy was restored in 1871. The first statement of the curriculum of compulsory primary education published in Article One of the Jules Ferry law of 28 March 1882 put *instruction morale et civique* even before reading, writing and literature in terms of national priorities (Costa-Lascoux, 1998). Government concern that young people in France should receive an education that helps them to become good republicans persists to the present day. For instance, the introduction of education for citizenship to the *lycée* in 1999 was hailed as a major plank of the reform for the 21st century of this prestigious sector of French education (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de la Recherche et de la Technologie, 1999).

Citizenship education from its origins has always been intended to help integrate a diverse population into a single national culture defined as Republican, in other words based on the principles of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* and on human rights. Its basis is the conviction that the State is responsible for transmitting basic values and that these values are those of the public sphere. Families will also bring up

children to respect certain values, but the State makes it very clear that these so-called private values must be relativized by reference to public values. There has always been an inherent tension between French citizenship education and families whose background is not necessarily Republican or French. On the one hand, students from such families may feel excluded from a form of citizenship education which defines French identity in limited or narrow terms (Osler & Starkey, 2000). On the other hand, citizenship education based on liberal values may be perceived as threatening to the authority structures of certain communities when these are based on hierarchy and tradition (Levinson, 1999).

Citizenship education in France is thus crucial to the whole notion of state schooling. The school is the Republic's primary institution for socializing its citizens. Indeed, it is the school, through its curriculum, that is entrusted with the mission of defining what it means to be a citizen and of ensuring that there is a common understanding of the rights and obligations of citizenship. The basis of state education in France is initiation into a common culture through a single curriculum. It does not recognize difference, but rather starts from the premise that, within the Republic, all citizens are equal. Inequalities are deemed to stem from family background and therefore are irrelevant to the school, which is part of the public sphere.

The view of successive Republican governments, which finds expression in the education legislation in France, is based on the premise that there is a danger of society fragmenting into ghettos or ethnic minority or religious communities, referred to as *communautés*. Such a tendency would undermine the very basis of the French State which is to integrate all citizens into a single Republic founded on common universal values, namely human rights and the rule of law. However, the reluctance to recognize community identities has engendered conflicts and difficulties for schools, as with the various headscarf affairs since 1989 (Gaspard & Khosrokar, 1995; Starkey, 1999). The polemic, initiated by the decision of the *Conseil constitutionnel* on 15 June 1999, that signing the European Charter of Regional Languages would be unconstitutional, is also testing the limits of this view of a one and indivisible France (Girard, 1999).

The venerable *instruction civique et morale*, dating from the 19th century, was replaced, in the 1976 Haby reform of the *collège unique*, with *éducation civique*. However, it had no timetabled lessons and therefore disappeared from view (Nembrini, 1997). From 1981 the new Socialist government worked to reformulate civic education with an

explicit underpinning of human rights education (Best, 1984). Detailed official instructions, programmes of study and timetable allocations were published by ministerial decrees in 1985. The programme of study was gradually introduced to successive year groups, reaching the secondary school in 1990. In spite of this long tradition of citizenship education, the introduction of a carefully constructed programme of study based on modern pedagogical principles is only about a decade ahead of England.

## **Methodology**

We examine the citizenship education programmes for the secondary school in both countries using two of the 18 framing questions from the comparative study of civic education initiated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). This ambitious study, covering 24 countries in its first stage report, is concerned 'to explore and clarify how civic education is actually conceptualized and understood within each participating country' (IEA, 1995). The rationale for the study emphasizes fears for the future of democracy similar to those expressed in the Crick Report:

The absence of a sense of social cohesion or a sense of belonging to the civic culture has been noticed in many societies. The personal commitment by individuals to shared identities that transcend ethnic, linguistic or other group affiliations and which contribute to social cohesion has weakened in many areas of the world.

Countries find themselves with increasing numbers of adolescents who are disengaged from the political system, partly as a result of pessimism about finding employment. Polite expressions of opinion within traditional channels, such as writing letters to the newspaper, have little appeal among youth, many of whom distrust government deeply (Torney-Purta et al., 1999: 14).

We selected Core International Framing Questions 2 and 3 from the IEA study. These deal respectively with National Identity and Relations between Nations on the one hand (Figure 1.1) and Social Cohesion and Social Diversity on the other (Figure 1.2). We applied these questions to the documentary evidence of the published programmes of study, the official guidance to teachers and, in the case of France, to textbooks. We highlight similarities and significant differences between the programmes in the two countries and note some potential weak-

Figure 1.1 Framing Questions on National Identity and Relations between Nations

- What expectations are there about acquiring a sense of national identity or loyalty?
- How important is sense of belonging to the nation, to communities, to traditions and institutions?
- What symbols are introduced?
- What documents (e.g. constitution), role models, historical events, ideals are considered important for citizens to know about?
- What supranational structures and international organizations and sub-national (e.g. ethnic or religious groups) are considered important enough to have a place in the young person's awareness, identity or loyalty?
- Are either supranational or subnational groups thought of as presenting a threat to national identity or loyalty?

nesses in what are essentially carefully constructed and well thought out programmes of study.

In carrying out our research we were particularly concerned to explore the extent to which the programmes of study may be said to be inclusive of all those who may be attending school in France and England, particularly those from minority groups. Our analysis is original in that France is not included in the IEA survey and the chapter on England (Kerr, 1999) was drafted before the publication of the programmes of study.

Given that educational institutions in England and France tend to reflect the social structures of the ruling strata of society (men dominating in decision-making groups; little formal representation of

Figure 1.2 Framing Questions on Social Cohesion and Social Diversity

- What do young people learn about those belonging to groups that are seen as set apart or disenfranchised (e.g. by ethnicity, race, immigrant status, mother tongue, social class, religion, gender)?
- What groups are viewed as subject to discrimination in contemporary society?
- How are instances of past discrimination dealt with?
- Are differences in participation rates or leadership roles (e.g. men and women; minorities) discussed or ignored?
- Is there tension in the society between perceptions of the need for social cohesion and the need to recognize cultural, social, political or economic situation of groups?
- How is conflict between groups or between groups and society dealt with?
- Are attitudes of respect and tolerance between groups encouraged?

ethnic minorities), we have paid particular attention to the extent to which the perspectives of minority groups are included in citizenship programmes. By definition, citizenship is an inclusive concept and the exclusion of minority perspectives would be a contradiction which might vitiate its effective implementation as a school subject.

### **Citizenship education and national identity**

In this section we examine the documentation for England in the light of the framing questions in Figure 1.1. The programme of citizenship education in England developed from the outline programme of study and the principles contained in the Crick Report (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998) to a brief formal list of skills, knowledge and understanding to be achieved and attainment targets to be met (QCA/DfEE, 1999). The Crick Report defines some extremely ambitious goals:

We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build upon and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 7–8).

The Report makes references to the changing constitutional context in which citizenship education is being introduced, arguing that by the end of compulsory schooling at age 16 pupils should

know about the changing constitution of the UK, including the relationship between the two Houses of Parliament, the changing role of the monarchy, shifting relationships between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and Britain's relationship with the European Union and the Commonwealth (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 51).

Although British citizenship is presented here as inclusive of national and regional differences between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and throughout the report an inclusive approach to the various nations which make up the UK is sought, the Report, nevertheless, falls

into the trap of presenting certain ethnicities as 'other' when it discusses 'cultural diversity'. Certainly the general intention is to be inclusive:

a main aim for the whole community should be to find or restore a sense of common citizenship, including a national identity that is secure enough to find a place in the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities and religions long found in the United Kingdom. Citizenship education creates a common ground between different ethnic and religious identities (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 17).

Unfortunately, this spirit of inclusion does not extend to visible ethnic minorities who, it is suggested, cannot necessarily be relied upon to conform to the laws, standards, customs and conventions of our democratic society:

minorities must learn and respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority – not merely because it is useful to do so, but because this process helps foster common citizenship (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 18).

Thus the report assumes that visible ethnic minorities (here it is referring to black British citizens who are able to trace their ancestry from outside Europe, rather than white ethnicities such as Welsh or Scottish) need somehow to change in order to realize a common citizenship. 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. Such communities, it seems to suggest, have even more need of citizenship education than the majority because they are less familiar with and accepting of 'laws, codes and conventions'. It is argued elsewhere (Osler, 1999, 2000) that the report thus appears to be flawed by institutionalized racism.

There is an implicit recognition of the multiple identities which may be held by British citizens. Yet there is the hint that the realities of 'national identity' and 'common citizenship' may in fact be fragile. While there is no direct suggestion that any subnational group may, in

fact, be a threat to a common British citizenship, the report argues that:

these matters of national identity in a pluralist society are complex and should never be taken for granted. We all need to learn more about each other. This should entail learning not only about the United Kingdom – including all four of its component parts – but also about the European, Commonwealth and the global dimensions of citizenship, with due regard being given to the homelands of our minority communities and to the main countries of British emigration (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 18).

While issues of ethnicity are prominent in the report, it does not address these in relation to inequality or differences in power. In fact there is no discussion of any differences in the participation rates or leadership roles of citizens. Race and racism, either institutional or interpersonal, receive no mention. Similarly there is no discussion of the different experiences of citizenship, or leadership between men and women. On questions of gender the report is curiously silent.

The absence of reference to racism is remedied, to a degree, in the National Curriculum booklet for Citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4 (QCA/DfEE, 1999) and in the initial guidance for teachers. The former has a box on the cover, revealing a few words from an anonymous piece of writing apparently by a pupil. The one word that stands out is 'racism'. Thus the cover of the official publication makes a clear link between citizenship and racism. That said, there is little help provided for teachers wanting to explore the implications of this link. The initial guidance suggests that there should be 'consideration of local issues (such as particular manifestations of racism and its removal)' (QCA, 2000: 5), though no example is given of how schools might help to remove such local manifestations of racism. The guidance also recommends seven 'headings' for organizing the study of citizenship and the first of these is 'human rights (including anti-racism)' (QCA, 2000: 20). Again, no example or further explanation is provided.

The Crick Report developed learning outcomes for Key Stage 3 (Years 7 to 9) and anticipated that young people would study the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. The context for this learning is expected to be concepts such as *discrimination*, *equal opportunities*, *tribunal*, *ballot*, *trade unions* for the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and *prejudice*, *discrimination*, *xenophobia*, *pluralism*

in the section mentioning the other two human rights instruments. Human rights as a concept is also linked to *overseas aid, development and charity* (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 49–52).

The mention of specific human rights instruments disappears in the definitive programmes of study, replaced by a more general formulation ‘the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society’ (QCA/DfEE, 1999: 14). The initial guidance provides no further elaboration or help for teachers.

The framing questions in Figure 1.1 ask about the ‘documents, role models, or historical events’ which might be used to illustrate the elements of the programme of study. In the Crick Report there is little in the way of documents or symbols suggested to reinforce a national identity. The documents cited are the international human rights texts. Indeed, no other documents are mentioned.

If there is a hint at possible role models, it comes in the form of quotations inserted in the booklet of the programmes of study (DfEE/QCA, 1999: 13). These comments about the nature of citizenship, in addition to one by Bernard Crick, are from Doreen Lawrence, Terry Waite, Betty Boothroyd and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. One could imagine some stimulating work on citizenship being developed from the study of the lives and struggles of these figures.

There is the suggestion that the programmes of study for History ‘can also lead into consideration of the international, sustainable development and the human rights aspects of our learning outcomes’, though no examples are given (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 52). The programmes of study for History in the National Curriculum for England, first introduced in the early 1990s, have been criticized for their over-emphasis on British history, for privileging a narrow British identity; and for an inadequate emphasis on the study of other cultures and peoples in their own right and from their own perspectives (Booth, 1993; Davies, 1993; Figueroa, 1993). The history curriculum has been further criticized for failing to acknowledge the critical contribution which colonial peoples made to processes of industrialization in Britain or to explore processes of inequality, oppression and exploitation (Pankhania, 1994). A number of writers have highlighted how the National Curriculum as a whole fails to exploit fully multiculturalism (Figueroa, 1999). It remains to be seen whether teachers can indeed use the current history framework to promote inclusive notions of what it means to be English or British or to promote these learning outcomes for Citizenship.

The institutions referred to in the programmes of study include parliament, the criminal and civil justice systems, the European Union,

the Commonwealth and the United Nations. The Crick Report also included 'the changing role of the monarchy' but along with other national institutions which retain a powerful role in British society, such as the Established Church, and the armed forces, the monarchy is omitted from the programmes of study. There is no reference to national symbols such as the Queen, the national flag and the national anthem. In this sense, neither the Crick Report nor the programmes of study are prescriptive of a national identity.

We now examine the documentation for France in the light of the framing questions in Figure 1.1. References to elements of the programme of study are taken from the official guidance, translated by ourselves (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de la Recherche et de la Technologie, 1998). There is great stress on national identity and indeed nationality within the French programmes of study. At the start of secondary school (6e) there is consideration of personal identity, but only in relation to the State (for example, birth, marriage and death certificates, driving licence and passport). There is a particular emphasis on entitlement to French nationality and a detailed description of current nationality law. The section on nationality is closely linked to knowledge of six main national symbols, representing common national values. The symbols are: the Phrygian hat, the national day (14 July), Marianne (personification of the Republic), the flag, the national motto, and the national anthem. The same topics exactly have already been covered at primary school and are revisited at the end of the lower secondary school (3e) in a more detailed consideration of the meaning of citizenship, including European citizenship.

The sections on the details of acquiring French citizenship seem to be addressed essentially to those who may not have it automatically, in other words those whose parents are not French and who were born outside France. It is clear that the expectation is that citizenship is a function of nationality which is in turn defined by commitment to officially recognized shared symbols and values. This is a top down or vertical view of citizenship. The concept 'citizenship' does not have to be linked to nationality. Indeed belonging to a community, the essence of citizenship, is experienced primarily at local level through horizontal relationships with equals (Osler and Starkey, 1999: 212).

Secondary school students are expected to study certain key documents, particularly legal and constitutional texts. In the 6e the pro-

gramme of study starts with the formal *règlement intérieur*, the text that governs behaviour and procedures in the school, thus demonstrating that pupils are in a rule-bound institution. In this school year there are two other national texts and two international. It may be surmised that the preamble to the Constitution of the Fourth Republic (1946–1958) is studied for several reasons:

- it reaffirms a national commitment to human rights in the face of intolerance and discrimination
- it refers back to a French tradition of human rights developed at the time of the 1789 Revolution
- it is maintained in the constitution of the current Fifth Republic and therefore stresses continuity of commitment to these principles.

The other key national document is a letter from the Minister of Education to teachers dated 1883 setting out the key importance of civic and moral education based on universal principles. These universal principles are set out in the two international texts, namely the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child of 1989. The clear implication is that French national values are universal. The principle is evident, but the experience of the way these universal values are embedded or not in the institutions of the French state, including schools, will be perceived differently by different categories of pupil. There is evidence, for instance, of differential treatment by employers, the police and even schools according to perceived origins (Bataille, 1999).

The study of aspects of the French constitution and of international human rights texts, including the European Convention on Human Rights continues to underpin each year of the secondary programme of study. Towards the end of lower secondary school, pupils study the European Union, introduced as a progressive supra-national institution which is and is likely to continue to be of positive benefit to France.

The programmes are quite clear about their nature and purpose, namely to provide:

education for human rights and citizenship, through the acquisition of the principles and the values which underpin and organize democracy and the Republic, through knowledge of institutions and laws, through an understanding of the rules of social and political life (Ministère de Education Nationale, 1998: 37).

This explicit statement that respect for and knowledge of human rights is a major goal of citizenship education is repeated in different forms in the official guidance. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is designated as a 'reference document' for each of the four years of lower secondary school and the whole text, or extracts, are reproduced in text-books.

The emphasis on human rights is thus considerably more developed in the French programme than in the English where the formulation is:

Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. It helps them to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights (QCA/DfEE, 1999).

The Crick Report and subsequently the initial guidance for teachers produced in England place human rights in a legal, rather than a social or political framework (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 49; QCA, 2000: 20).

### **Concepts of community**

The IEA framing questions in Figure 1.1 are primarily about national identity, but they also introduce the notion of communities, whether these be at sub-national or supra-national level. One particularly interesting point of comparison between France and England is found in the way programmes of study approach the concept of community.

The Crick Report gives strong emphasis to the local community, in particular ways in which pupils can learn about citizenship through volunteering. The report argues that:

The curriculum should enable ... an awareness of community and cultural diversity. It should help them see where and how they fit into the community. It should enable them to understand their community, its history, what part it has played in national life etc. (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 19).

Crick contends that a key role of citizenship education is to promote political literacy at national, and especially at local or community level. This can perhaps counteract what are perceived as dangerous levels of apathy among the young. Citizenship education should encourage:

An active and politically-literate citizenry convinced that they can influence government and community affairs at all levels (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 9).

Lack of involvement appears to be explained in terms of lack of knowledge or skills, rather than with any disillusionment in political processes which may have arisen through structural disadvantage, or through observation of the behaviour of certain politicians and other public figures.

Perhaps surprisingly, given the considerable tradition in England of developing schools as learning communities, the community of the school is not given weight as a site through which pupils may learn about citizenship. This may be for a number of reasons. The pastoral role of English schools and the sense of community which they seek to offer, although relatively strong, may have been perceived as distinct from the curriculum. The committee which drafted the report was not made up primarily of educationists, and it may have perceived its role in relation to formal teaching rather than whole school issues. It is also the case that another parallel process was underway to produce curriculum recommendations on Personal and Social and Health Education (PSHE) which has traditionally been closely associated with the pastoral system in schools (see DfEE, 1999). The Crick Report was therefore drafted in a context where a new curriculum area of citizenship education was being developed, which at secondary level at least, was determined to form a new separate identity from the more established subject of PSHE. There is just a passing reference to the community of the school, where in quoting from a submission from the British Youth Council the report suggests that:

Schools Councils [can] provide practical first-hand experience of decision-making and democratic processes (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 19).

There is an emphasis on rights and responsibilities, which might be construed as implying that citizenship is not an automatic right but must be earned. This raises questions about the citizenship status of those who for whatever reason are not able to take an active part in the community, for example, those with particular disabilities. There is no acknowledgement that experiences such as poverty or unemployment may themselves lead to social exclusion and prevent full participation in the community. The danger here is that those not deemed to be active citizens, taking on their share of citizenship responsibilities, may be stigmatized.

One recommendation in the Crick Report is for the establishment of Community Forums to assist involvement with the local community. These would include:

All those with an interest in citizenship education: community leaders, elected representatives, faith groups, the police, teachers, parents and governors, among others, as well as young people (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 26).

The notion of community leaders, however, is somewhat problematic. Such a designation is usually associated with ethnic minority communities. Majority communities are generally thought to be represented by *elected representatives* yet minorities are assumed to have (unelected) community leaders. This notion has colonial overtones, and certainly during Britain's imperial history the co-operation or appeasement of colonized people was often sought through negotiations with community leaders whose only legitimacy in many cases was attributed by the colonizer. Today in modern urban society, ethnic minorities are still often thought to have such 'community leaders', self appointed individuals, invariably male, whose viewpoints are sought by local government officials and who may be courted by politicians. They may sometimes claim religious authority as leaders of faith groups but often their legitimacy depends on their relationship with officials and politicians from the majority community. Such individuals are assumed to speak as the voice of a supposedly homogeneous minority ethnic community. However, the term has been dropped in the initial guidance and 'citizens advice bureaux' added (QCA, 2000: 18).

An understanding of national and ethnic identities and of the UK as a political entity and its relation with other nations such as the Republic of Ireland and the Commonwealth does, however require a study of colonial history and of independence struggles. It is unfortunate that in the existing curriculum, and in the draft proposals for the new history National Curriculum published alongside those for citizenship education, relatively little attention is given to world history. Colonial struggles are notable by their absence.

It is the question of community in the French programme of study which perhaps contrasts most starkly with the programme for England. At the beginning of secondary school, the school itself, as a community and rule bound institution, is the subject of the first few lessons. The emphasis, however, is very much on understanding the school as an institution: the different roles within the school and the

people fulfilling them; the facilities, such as the library; the system of governance through class and school councils; and the school rules. Early in the term elections are held for class representatives who have a formal role in representing the views of fellow pupils at the class councils (*conseil de classe*) and also on the governing body (*conseil d'administration*). Any pupil, whatever their nationality, can stand for election and vote, unlike the situation in public elections where voting rights are dependent on nationality.

There is a substantial section on local democracy, including the powers of local councils and a clear indication of who is eligible to stand for election and who can vote, namely French and EU member state nationals. A further local dimension is the environment and concern to protect local and national heritage defined in terms of: landscape; traditional customs and folklore; listed buildings; food and cooking; art and culture; prehistoric sites; historic quarters of towns and cities; industrial architecture; land and property owned by the local council. This is by definition a conservative agenda in a literal sense. The only suggestions of cultural diversity concern regional traditions of food and folklore and objects that may be held in local museums and art galleries. Many of these may link with a colonial past, though there is no indication in the programme of study or guidance that such links be made. Under this heading churches and, indeed, synagogues are regarded as historic monuments. More recently introduced places of worship, such as mosques, are omitted.

At subnational level, the work of political parties, unions, pressure groups and other associations is presented as a healthy element in a democracy. At the end of lower secondary school, pupils are expected to discuss and debate issues raised by these groups and consider ways in which citizens work through them to influence decisions in a democracy. What is entirely absent from the programme of study is a consideration of religious groups and structures, in spite of the fact that the Catholic Church, for instance, is still a powerful institution. There is no equivalent to the section of the English programme of study which refers to 'faith groups'. The very notion of 'community leader' is entirely foreign to the French Republican tradition and the suggestion that 'communities', in the sense of ethnic or religious groups, exist in France is strongly denied, and indeed resisted, by a number of mainstream political groups and well-known thinkers.

The missing religious dimension, a function of the State's constitutional commitment to neutrality in education (*laïcité*), is likely to limit the scope of discussions on a number of the issues raised by the programme of study, including women in society; genetic modification of

plants; and issues of social justice. Each of these three topics is potentially the subject of pronouncements by religious authorities whose views may be important to the families of some pupils.

Where the French and English programme of study overlap is in stressing the rights and the duties of citizens. For the French the list of duties includes: respect for the law and for public and private property; respect for the environment and for the freedoms of others, including tolerance; paying taxes; helping those in danger; being a responsible parent; participating in the political life of the country. Given the restrictions on standing for election and voting, this duty may well be very much easier to fulfil for some pupils than for others.

### **Social cohesion and cultural diversity**

This section addresses the second set of the IEA framing questions as set out in Figure 1.2. We have argued above that the Crick Report presents a very limited and limiting view of visible minorities in British society. The report implies that these citizens will need a special citizenship education if a genuine 'common citizenship' is to be achieved. This conceptualization of minorities is not, however, set in any broader social, economic or political context where questions of structural disadvantage and discrimination are recognized. Although the learning outcomes in the Crick Report include a reference to 'social disparities' it does so not within the UK context but when referring to the world community (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 50)

The Crick Report gives relatively little attention to issues relating to citizenship and the impact of 'race', ethnicity, home language, social class, religion or gender. There is one passing reference to equality of opportunity in the report:

(The curriculum) ... should also enable them to gain an understanding of the diversity of community and society and an awareness of equal opportunities issues, national identity and cultural differences (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 19)

The other explicit reference to exclusion or discrimination is as follows:

The curriculum should consider the factors that lead to exclusion from society, such as bullying, colour and other forms of 'difference'. It should make students aware of the difficulties such exclusion can have on the individual and society and of the reasons why

some people 'opt out' of the moral and social set up (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 19).

Thus the only reference to discrimination is set in the context of 'bullying' which may be interpreted as part of interpersonal interaction rather than anything related to structural disadvantage. Instances of past discrimination are not dealt with; instead, the move towards universal enfranchisement is presented as a successful and complete activity:

In modern times ... democratic ideas led to constant demands to broaden the franchise from a narrow citizen class of the educated and property owners, to achieve female emancipation, to lower the voting age, to achieve freedom of the press and to open up the processes of government. We now have the opportunity for a highly educated 'citizen democracy' (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 9).

Thus the document portrays the extension of the franchise as a kind of inevitable step forward, with no sense that citizenship rights have been struggled for. The notion that for some groups this struggle is on-going is completely missing. The emphasis is on the need for cohesion, the need to get minorities on board, and on the rule of law. Conflict is portrayed as an unfortunate problem, and there are no examples of positive outcomes arising from societal conflict. In this sense the document remains conservative.

On the other hand, the National Curriculum booklet contains a long section on inclusion. These are standard guidelines, repeated in identical terms for all curriculum subjects. The advice includes the following:

When planning, teachers should set high expectations and provide opportunities for all pupils to achieve, including boys and girls, pupils with special educational needs, pupils with disabilities, pupils from all social and cultural backgrounds, pupils of different ethnic groups including travellers, refugees and asylum seekers, and those from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Teachers need to be aware that pupils bring to school different experiences, interests and strengths which will influence the way in which they learn.

This advice is then amplified and exemplified. The following example addresses the needs of ethnic minorities.

Teachers should plan their approaches to teaching and learning so that all pupils can take part in lessons fully and effectively.

Teachers create effective learning environments in which:

- stereotypical views are challenged and pupils learn to appreciate and view positively differences in others, whether arising from race, gender, ability or disability ...
- all forms of bullying and harassment, including racial harassment, are challenged
- pupils are enabled to participate safely in clothing appropriate to their religious beliefs, particularly in subjects such as science, design and technology and physical education (QCA/DfEE, 1999: 20).

There is certainly a concern that the school as an institution should not place barriers to the full participation of pupils from ethnic minorities, such as restrictions arising from clothing or a hostile atmosphere in the classroom or playground. Reference is made in the initial guidance to further guidance provided by the ministry (DfEE, 2000).

In conclusion, although there is concern that the education service as a whole be inclusive and that appropriate guidance be made available, this is not integrated with the programmes of study for citizenship. It is left to schools and teachers to apply the advice to citizenship education or not.

The French programme of study for the final year of lower secondary school revisits the fundamental questions of the significance of living in a Republic. Throughout the secondary school the programme of study progresses from a sense of the individual and individual identity within society to a sense of collective citizenship within the nation. We examine the portrayal of social cohesion and social diversity by reference to one of the textbooks produced to support the teaching of this programme (Lauby, 1999). All quotations from the text-book have been translated by us.

Social cohesion is shown as being based on commitment to the fundamental principles of the Republic, freedom, equality and solidarity. The early pages of the book contain several colour pictures showing black people and minorities identifying with the national flag, and indeed proudly representing the nation. The multiethnic French football team's victory in the 1998 World Cup is portrayed as demonstrating the integrative capacity of the Republic.

The Republic is characterized as 'indivisible', which means that citizens are guaranteed equality before the law. However, it is explicitly recognized in the textbook that there is a gap between the principles and social reality. President François Mitterrand is quoted as saying in 1988: 'Mutual respect is the basis for the pact without which national

community would have no meaning. An unjust France is a divided France'. In other words national political action must focus on justice without which the principle of indivisibility is breached. Such a programme, according to Mitterrand, will aim to 'democratise society, combat exclusion, actively promote equal opportunities, educate young people' (Lauby, 1999: 15).

This statement, although coming from a politician standing for a left of centre party, is presented, and likely to be accepted, as a non-political statement of a Republican rather than a party political programme of action. This is in contrast to those presented explicitly by the textbook as 'enemies of the Republic', namely the far right, racist *Front national* party. The emphasis in the textbook, supported by numerous images, is of citizens actively engaged in the Republican programme of promoting justice. The cover of the book shows young people involved in a demonstration and there are a further nine photographs of demonstrations and strikes, all presented in a positive context. Active citizenship is linked explicitly in one section to demonstrations, political party membership and participating in strike action. Striking is described as 'one of the great social achievements of workers, it is recognized by the Constitution' (Lauby, 1999: 83).

There is a section on threats to the Republic which highlights the armed Corsican independence movement, racist politicians and, as in the English programme of study, voter apathy. On the other hand the Republic is portrayed as a 'melting pot'. France is described as 'a country of immigration'. People have come to France from all over the world and 'accepting the values and the symbols of the Republic they have integrated into French society. Their children have become French citizens'. However, it is also pointed out that only French nationals may vote and so 'citizenship is linked to the possession of French nationality' (Lauby, 1999).

In the textbook there is little to suggest that minorities may be subject to discrimination, except at the hands of far right political parties. There is a reminder of the 1940 Vichy law excluding Jews from any public office or job but this is not matched with evidence or discussion of current discrimination against minorities in housing, policing and employment (Dewitte, 1999). On the other hand there is acknowledgement of social exclusion and it is represented in the textbook by the homeless and the unemployed. Women's struggle for parity is given a section to itself and in one of the illustrations is clearly linked to the communist trade union movement.

Whilst individual members of minority groups are welcome as French citizens, the text-book also makes clear that any attempt to

develop a sense of community founded not on citizenship but on a sense of ethnic identity is totally alien to the values of the Republic: 'The Republic cannot accept an inward-looking communitarianism which is likely to endanger the unity of the nation'. Communitarianism in this sense is defined as:

a situation where society is split into inward-looking groups based on ethnicity, culture or religion. This often leads to the setting up of ghettos and sometimes to conflicts between groups. It is the opposite of the French Republic's principle of indivisibility (Lauby, 1999: 15).

This tension is demonstrated in the book by a picture of a large number of Muslims praying in a Paris street. The caption is 'exercising fundamental rights', clearly referring to freedom of religion. The commentary reads:

To be a citizen is to be able to exercise one's rights freely. Practising the religion of one's choice is a fundamental right. However, exercising this right implies not offending other people's religious convictions; there is no place for acts of worship in public places. Consequently all religions should have available properly appointed places of worship (Lauby, 1999).

This implies that those in the picture are at fault and should be inside. It fails to take into account the attitude of local councils which have frequently denied planning consent for mosques (Hamm and Starkey, 1998).

Compared to the English programme of study, the French programme is much more ready to take a positive view of political activity and recognize that social conflict can lead to progress. What it is unable to do is to accept notions of personal identity within the Republic, which relate to groups defined by ethnicity, culture or religion. Given that multiple identities are the norm in modern societies, to fail to accept the possibility of combining a group identity with a French and Republican identity appears to some pupils to be defining citizenship in terms that are too exclusive (Gaspard and Khosrokar, 1995).

## **Conclusion**

A comparison such as we have made puts national programmes of study for citizenship education into perspective and enables us to high-

light aspects that may potentially lead pupils following the programme to feel alienated rather than included. The French programme of study is declarative of its principles of freedom, equality, solidarity and human rights. These are presented as problematic only in that there is an on-going struggle for their implementation. Pupils are invited to join that struggle. There is a clear sense of national identity associated with the Republic.

The English programme of study, like the British Constitution, relies heavily on the implicit. There is no clear sense of an existing national identity. Indeed this is presented as something yet to be created (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998: 17). The very notion of citizenship is one that has been recently introduced and which also remains to be clearly defined. In any case it is implied that citizenship will develop through consensus rather than through struggle. Young people, it is suggested, will grow as citizens through volunteering rather than through participating in strikes and demonstrations for change. Involvement with the local community is as important as awareness of national issues.

Neither programme of study gives significant weight to the perspectives of minorities. The French programme of study roundly condemns racism but fails to explore it as an issue. The English programme of study recognizes both white and non-white ethnic groups. Indeed it expects understanding of diversity in society. It expects individuals to challenge prejudice and discrimination, but does not consider collective responses nor the possibility of institutional racism.

Perhaps the major conclusion that applies to both national programmes of study is that there is little evidence that minority groups participated in their formulation. Until national curricula and discourses on citizenship are responsive to minority as well as majority perspectives they are likely to remain to some extent exclusive.

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