Educating for Citizenship in Wales: Challenges and Opportunities

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ABSTRACT

Envisaging the school of the future is an opportune moment to challenge assumptions in relation to the construction of a curriculum appropriate for Wales in the twenty-first century. While the need to consolidate basic standards of literacy and numeracy is not in dispute, this article will argue that a broader view of education can be constructed around the requirements of educating for active citizenship. Despite the potential for dynamic change, diversity and improvement that models of education for citizenship are perceived to present, there are strongly influential factors that militate against such an inclusive concept within the Welsh educational context. These are discussed as dimensions that have to be balanced to meet the challenge of promoting citizenship as democratic participation. The article follows up Dewey's point that young people will not understand themselves as democratic citizens simply by learning about democracy, by discussing institutional and pedagogical approaches that can develop the competences and attitudes conducive to active citizenship. The maintenance of Welsh cultural and linguistic heritage needs to be balanced against acceptance of the diversity and fluidity of Welsh identities. The encouragement of a critically reflective approach and active learning can lead to greater civic and political participation. Accepting these challenges, educational establishments can become the stimulus for the development of an inclusive practice of citizenship appropriate and relevant for a twenty-first-century multicultural society.

Introduction

Since the devolution of secondary legislative powers to the Welsh Assembly Government, a distinctive Welsh education policy has gradually emerged. While many of the changes – such as scrapping of league tables and Key Stage 1 SATs – have been welcomed within the teaching profession, questions can still be posed over whether the fullest opportunity is being grasped to maximize the potential of primary and secondary education for the benefit of pupils in Wales. There has been the suggestion that the policies advocated in *The Learning Country* (NafW, 2001) convey more of an impression of amelioration, rather than the step-change in thinking that will be needed if the vision is to be achieved (Egan, 2001). Envisaging the school of the future is an opportune moment to challenge assumptions, particularly in relation to the construction of a curriculum appropriate for Wales in the twenty-first century. While the need to consolidate basic standards of literacy and numeracy is not in dispute, there is a broader view of education that encompasses a vision of a future Wales and is worthy of consideration. In this respect, Egan (2001) considers some fresh thought could be given to the importance of citizenship, and the fundamental importance of the Cwricwlwm Cymreig. Phillips (2000: 151) also considers whether the current curriculum reflects the future needs of Wales, and in particular whether it will sufficiently prepare Welsh pupils for active participation in a new political culture.

It is appropriate that educating for citizenship in the twenty-first century is given closer scrutiny in the context of Welsh education given the background of extensive academic and political debate that has been stimulated by changes in the social structure of European societies (Turner, 1993: 1). In addition to the theorizing of changing notions of citizenship, a definition of citizenship as a set of *practices* (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society (Turner, 1993: 2) has implications for education in its broadest sense. In line with this definition, this article will develop previous considerations of the practicalities of both preparing pupils for 'active' citizenship in the twenty-first century, and also countering negative trends such as voter apathy.

One approach, that takes the current National Curriculum as a starting point, is to suggest that the content of individual subjects can be creatively interpreted to focus on fundamental aspects of citizenship (Phillips, 2000: 159; Daugherty and Jones, 1999). Alternatively, there is the view that a policy of *educational citizenship* would be valuable in emphasizing the *process* of learning, rather than the product as characterized by the National Curriculum. With

such a policy embedded in every lesson and becoming the core of the child's learning experience, the citizen-learner would increasingly be able to make critical decisions within a moral context, and develop autonomy, balanced with a sense of obligation to community and agentive social justice (Griffith, 2000: 18).

Similarly, a democratic practice of 'mainstreaming' citizenship within the whole school has been advocated as having the potential, not only for improvements in learning for the individual child, but for regeneration of the educational environment. The concept of 'mainstreaming' is taken from the most recent approach to equal opportunities legislation and practice within the context of the European Union, and is an approach that seeks to 'integrate' equality into all policies, programmes and actions (Rees, 1998). As such, it implies stepping back from the way things have always been done and thinking anew. By starting afresh, rather than being an 'add-on' policy, it affords the opportunity to rethink assumptions, and therefore represents a paradigm shift in conceptualizing equality within the context of employment and service, and product delivery (Rees, 1999: 165–6). Translating 'main-streaming' to the education sector, and applying it to citizenship, could generate a similar paradigm shift, as it would entail scrutinizing the structures, procedures and practices of schools and, indeed, the whole system of state education, to ensure practices consistent with democratic citizenship were operationalized. Just as citizenship in practice permeates all aspects of social, economic and political life, 'mainstreaming' would ensure that it was also included in all aspects of the teaching and learning environment. Thus, there would be traditional learning through teaching of citizenship theory as a specific subject and the inclusion of citizenship within other subjects in the curriculum, and there would also be social learning from role models for citizenship behaviour who may or may not be within the school environment. In addition, practical learning would take place as pupils had opportunities to practice citizenship within the school as a democratic environment. Overall, 'mainstreaming' would necessitate an educational culture that supported the development of active citizenship, and the establishment of the school as a democratic learning organization (Turnbull and Muir, 2001: 432–3). It follows Dewey (1934) in his key point that people will not understand themselves as democratic citizens simply by learning about democracy; rather, schooling itself needs to become a democratically organized system of communal life.

Yet, despite the potential for dynamic change, diversity and improvement that education for citizenship is perceived to present, there are strongly influential factors that militate against such an inclusive concept within the

Welsh educational context. These will be discussed as issues relating to the dilemmas envisaged in delivering citizenship education in Wales. These are not seen as either/or dimensions; rather, as dimensions that have to be balanced to meet the challenge of promoting citizenship as democratic participation.

Single subject / cross-curricular framework

Even within the Home Countries there are different emphases, resulting in different approaches to educating for citizenship within formal education. In Scotland citizenship is not approached as a curriculum subject, rather, it is a matter for the ethos and management of the school, with the emphasis on the way in which young people act as participative members of an active democracy (McGettrick, 2002). In Northern Ireland, more than in any other country, education for citizenship is about inclusion and cultural diversity (Collomb, 2002). The approach in England has been to introduce citizenship as a statutory 'subject' at Levels 3 and 4 since September 2002, while in Wales it features as the community understanding aspect of the Personal and Social Education (PSE) framework.

In comparing the different approaches in England and Wales, problems can be envisaged if citizenship is dealt with as a 'subject' additional to an already over-prescribed curriculum, or part of a cross-curricular framework as in Wales (Turnbull, 2002). Garratt (2000: 328–9) outlines difficulties with both situations. When it is treated as a 'subject', there is the potential hazard of teachers' professional socialization into subjects inhibiting the genuine and effective assimilation of citizenship across curriculum. On the other hand, Garratt also identifies numerous articles that have documented the marginal status of the cross-curricular themes within the academic curriculum.

While the announcement that the PSE framework will have a statutory position in the Welsh curriculum by September 2003 is positive in its potential to raise the status of educating for citizenship, there remain barriers to achiev-ing the full benefit of an inclusive citizenship education. Firstly, schools in Wales have the additional cross-curricular framework of Cwricwlwm Cymreig to consider, with each subject having to integrate knowledge and understanding of the cultural, economic, environmental, historical and linguistic characteristics of Wales. Phillips (2000: 154–5) suggests the establishment of Cwricwlwm Cymreig was a remarkable development, given that for most of the period since 1944 Welsh cultural aspects had been relegated within education. Cwricwlwm Cymreig can be contrasted with the

alternative cross–curricular framework that had been suggested in the early 1990s, namely community understanding. As the precursor to the current community aspect, Phillips believes this to have been a remarkably radical document, demonstrating the degree of institutional educational autonomy in Wales during the life of the Conservative government. Cwricwlwm Cymreig was a product of cultural restoration that views identity and a sense of citizenship in terms of cultural heritage and nationhood. Community under-standing also recognized the vitality of Welshness as an important means of collective identity, but contained a broader notion of community, and a universal concept of citizenship. The relative value in terms of preparing pupils for citizenship of the twenty-first century can be debated further (see below), but, in view of the potential for 'slippage' (Ball and Bowe, 1992) between the policy intent and the teaching practice, a first consideration can be whether Cwricwlwm Cymreig and the PSE framework overlap, and in doing so dilute the potential value of each other.

Secondly, the format of the PSE immerses education for citizenship as the community aspect alongside other related aspects, particularly 'social', 'moral' and 'environmental'. Phillips (2000: 158) considers this has advantages in terms of curricular coherence and planning, although in terms of providing a focus on a particular educational policy England may have advantages over Wales in having citizenship education as a designated 'subject'. Nevertheless, in both cases, there remains the need to convince teachers of the merits of promoting citizenship education in the widest sense (Phillips, 2000: 158). Both the terminology of the PSE framework and the shared format for the aspects can result in a passive rather than active citizenship agenda (see below), and a lack of promotion of the potential for an inclusive and dynamic educational culture that citizenship education presents.

Thirdly, even given the radical perspective that Phillips considers the Welsh curriculum initiatives represent, an alternative view is that all reforms of recent years have focused on standards and structures. While these are important, 'they have almost nothing to say about whether the system can help students become capable of meeting the more complex demands that will be made on them in the future' (Bayliss, 1999: 7). The RSA project on Redefining the Curriculum found that the traditional model is ill-adapted to respond to the unprecedented pressure from economic and social change, and that the knowledge society is challenging a curriculum model centred on the trans-mission from teacher to pupil of a quantity of information. The report on the project records views from concerned individuals and organizations that express disillusionment with the ability of the present curriculum to engage

many young people, a belief that it is of declining relevance and usefulness as the world beyond education changes, and express the growing difficulty of convincing some students of its value and relevance. The conclusion is drawn that real transformation can only be secured by reforming the curriculum so that it is competence-led, instead of information-led. A framework of competences to underpin a new curriculum is suggested under the following headings:

- Competences for Learning
- Competences for Citizenship
- Competences for Relating to People
- Competences for Managing Situations
- Competences for Managing Information

<div align="center">(Bayliss, 1999: 18–9)</div>

Two points are relevant to the arguments being put forward in this article. Firstly, with 'competence' defined as 'the ability to understand and do', the RSA framework presents an agenda for learning that is more active than passive. Secondly, the presence of 'citizenship' as one of only five categories highlights the perceived relevance of the competences associated with this category. In fact the report is underpinned by a vision of the development of every young person into a 'successful, active citizen'. It is a vision that does not place citizenship as an implicit philosophy, not much debated within schools and hard to explain to students, but rather makes explicit how, in practice, the unique abilities of every pupil can be fostered on a individual basis much more than under the present system.

The past / open-ended democratic future

As Cwricwlwm Cymreig is concerned with integration of knowledge and understanding of the cultural, economic, environmental, historical and linguistic characteristics of Wales it is, by implication, concerned with cultural transmission of features of Welsh life past and present. This is an extremely valuable feature of Welsh education based as it is within a rapidly changing wider social and economic context. However, it is this very climate of change that makes it necessary to develop a flexible approach to the education of future citizens, not only in relation to being prepared for changes in patterns of work, but also to empower them with the knowledge and skills to participate in, maintain, and possibly defend, the valuable features of a social and political

system. Since democratic societies need to be in a state of permanent transformation (Harland, 2000: 61) reflection on past events and specific knowledge about current political arrangements can be only part of education for citizenship. Rather, the encouragement of participation needs to run alongside the acquisition of knowledge. Harland considers that we need to foster attitudes, motivation and a willingness to participate even more than specific knowledge about current political arrangements.

Here we return to Dewey's point that young people will not understand themselves as democratic citizens simply by learning about democracy; school-ing itself needs to become a democratically organized system of communal life (Dewey, 1934).

From this perspective, if the balance of citizenship education is seen as instilling values and knowledge about British political traditions rather than encouraging students to become active citizens, it is open to criticism (Frazer, 1999). Griffith (1998: 220) poses the question: 'Should the child be given an education that prepares her to enter comfortably and acceptingly the existing society (an autarchic model of citizenship) or should she be educated to question the tenets of the *status quo* so she may contribute to the change and development of the existing society (a critically reflective model of citizenship)?' If the object of citizenship education is seen to be a move beyond the acquisition of facts and maybe the learning of skills, towards more demanding matters to do with process, critical reflection and experience (Harland, 2000: 60), then a focus on the nature and *practice* of active citizenship is more likely to prepare young people to meet the demands of a complex and changing world (see below), thus raising the status of the PSE framework encourages the prospect of an improved balance with Cwricwlwm Cymreig in keeping the needs of preparing pupils for an unknown and challenging future while retaining the valuable aspects of cultural and historical development.

Passive / active

Education for citizenship had fallen into disfavour in the past due to its focus on knowledge of the structures and practices of the state, and for being 'education *about* citizenship, rather than education *for* and *through* citizenship' (Hammond and Looney, 2000: my italics). Social changes have evoked a changed perspective, and one response to concerns over moral and civic decline was the commissioning of a report into citizenship education by the Secretary of State for Education for England and Wales. The recommendations

of the final report by the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools (the Crick Report) were fully accepted by the secretary of state, and resulted in education for citizenship becoming a new and compulsory subject for pupils in England from 2002. However, what is of significance is a vision far more than the promulgation of an additional subject to the curriculum, stated as:

> 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 on 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. (QCA, 1998: 8)

There are two aspects to this ideality that relate to how citizenship education features on an active–passive dimension, and which Crick put more succinctly at a later date: 'plainly citizenship is not meant to be just another subject but something that will permeate the ethos of the whole school. . .' (Crick, 2000: 8). Again, following Dewey's concept, viewing pupils as citizens of schools can mean their active engagement in decision making, and an appreciation of the learning to be gleaned from the creative use of projects that both contribute to school life, and provide valuable experiential learning opportunities for pupils.

There are, of course, factors that are crucial to the success of such engagement of pupils. First, there needs to be an absence of tokenism, which is a criticism that can be voiced particularly against school councils. Second, there needs to be a recognition by teaching staff that experiential learning by participation in projects needs to be structured, supported and have integrated time to develop reflexivity. In this way, citizenship projects fulfill a broader educational aim of encouraging pupils to take more ownership of their own learning.

An illustration of the dependence on teaching, rather than the development of independent learning, can be seen in the results of a research project that aimed to define key aspects of *quality* in learning and teaching. Interviews with teachers and pupils from ten south Wales comprehensive schools conclude that pupils are expecting too much contribution from their teachers. 'That they need every possible relationship and pedagogic support from teachers is understandable, but this needs to be carefully constructed so as to reveal and

harness pupils' own effort, ownership and self-confidence in their own development' (Morgan and Morris, 1999: 134–5). This dependence on teaching can be related to wider social perceptions of what teaching and education should be. Griffith (1998: 219) considers there is a shared perception within factions of society as a whole as to what constitutes a good teacher (and hence an effective pedagogy) and that this 'has hardly shifted from the 1950s archetype of a fair but formal Miss or Sir, authoritative, didactic, and certain. Similarly, the shared perception of what constitutes a good education is to do with a knowledge-based rather than a social-skills based (citizenship) curriculum.' It can be speculated that such a public perception of what represents good teaching and education is likely to generate a pupil expectation of too much contribution from teachers, which can then be a precursor to a 'passive' or even apathetic culture – a culture that educational citizenship with its advocacy of independent learning has the potential to affect.

An example of how project work can provide an opportunity for independent learning and achieve the outcomes of the PSE framework is given in Table 1. In this particular instance, the students involved set up and ran a peer support project to achieve the outcomes for GNVQ Advanced Level Health and Social Care. While some knowledge-based input and skills training was provided by myself, as their teacher, the emphasis was on the autonomy of the students, acting with the background support of myself and other members of staff. The students were encouraged to make their own group decisions, which frequently involved heated debate and disagreement. My role in these situations was not to allow matters to fester, but to urge the students towards their own resolution when disagreement occurred. While the Attitudes and Values, Skills and Knowledge, and Understanding associated with the PSE framework can be identified, there was also the implicit expression throughout the whole process of deeper issues concerned with individual rights and responsibilities, equal opportunities, tolerance and individual values. The school provided a multicultural and multi-ethnic context in which practical matters of facilitating equal access for pupils of different age, gender and first language had to be worked out.

Table 1
School–based peer support project:
Potential Personal and Social Education Learning Outcomes at Key Stage 4

Pupil action	Attitudes and values	Skills	Knowledge and understanding
Work as a team to agree the parameters project.	Be committed to practical involvement in the community. .	Communicate effectively their feelings and views in a wide range of situations.	Identify a set of values and principles by the which to live.
Seek support and advice from staff on how the project could best work in practice.	Be disciplined and take responsibility for actions and decisions.	Ask for help, support and advice.	Know the relevant opportunities available to them in education, training and employment and know how best to use the careers service.
Research sources of funding to equip project room. Seek publicity in the wider community to support fund raising.	Be ambitious, adaptable and open to new types of learning and technology in a changing world .	Adapt to changing. situations. .	Know how democratic systems work and understand how individual citizens, public opinion, lobby groups, and the media can contribute and have an influence and impact.
Set the aims, objectives and code of practice for the project. Produce promotional materials to advertise the project in school.	Value cultural diversity and equal opportunity and respect the dignity of all.	Make decisions and choices effectively.	Know how to review their learning and set priorities for develop –ment and targets for improvement.
Identify the factual information needed to give advice to fellow pupils. Develop their own understanding of health and social care issues.	Take responsibility for keeping the body safe and healthy and have a responsible attitude towards sexual relationships.	Administer basic first aid.	Know the pattern of drug use (including alcohol and tobacco) in their community and beyond and know where to get informa- tion, help and advice.

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Pupil action	Attitudes and values	Skills	Knowledge and understanding
Obtain information leaflets from health and social care agencies.			Know the causes and effects of stress and the ways in which it can be managed. Understand the risks involved in sexual behaviour which might allow the transmission of sexually transmitted infections including the HIV virus. Understand the effect of loss and change in relationships, for example, in divorce and bereavement.
Access skills training for mentoring and support of fellow pupils.	Show care and consideration for others and their property and be sensitive towards their feelings.	Listen attentively in different situations and respond attentively.	Know how to form supportive and respectful same sex and opposite sex relationships.
Agree a rota of on-duty times ensuring a balance of gender and language differences. Resolve any practical difficulties and maintain a personal commitment to scheduling.	Have respect for themselves and others.	Work both independently and co-operatively. Resolve conflict with a win/win situation.	Know how to recognize and manage anger, frustration and aggressive feelings.
Regularly reflect and debrief on individual mentoring, and the function of the project as a whole.	Value their own achievements and success and be committed to lifelong learning.	Use a range of techniques for personal reflection. Make moral judgements and resolve moral issues and dilemmas. Appreciate, reflect on and critically evaluate another person's point of view.	Recognize and know how to challenge expressions of prejudice and stereotyping. Be aware of factors involved in making moral judgements.

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The wide-ranging learning potential of school-based project work in this example can be equated to the value identified for 'active learning in the community' (Mitchell, 1999) or 'service learning'. Annette (2000: 82) describes 'service learning' as being:

> an educational method which provides a structured learning experience in civic participation which can lead to the development of the key skills necessary for being an active citizen. It also facilitates the acquisition of political knowledge and the ability to engage in reflective understanding which leads to personal development and civic virtue.

In making the case for service learning, Annette (2000: 89) argues that since there is already evidence of high youth civic participation, yet at the same time increasing political disaffection and alienation, this should indicate that education for citizenship should be about active learning which can lead to greater civic and political participation.

Thus there are two aspects within the 'active' dimension that encourage productive educational outcomes in relation to citizenship, and which are supported by research findings: first, that participation in school decision-making can foster civic behaviour, and, second, that when teachers use instructional strategies involving active learning, greater student co-operation and helping behaviour has occurred. In reviewing research activity in these aspects, Baessa et al. (2002: 207) conclude that they argue persuasively for a link between active, decentralized classroom environments and democratic behaviour of students.

Citizenship identities: self / other

A sense of citizenship as part of individual identity is an aspect of the wider debate over citizenship that has been evolving within the context of social and economic changes, both local and global. An urge to define individual and collective identity has become apparent against a background of global capitalism and the demise of statism. As a worldwide movement, Castells (1997: 2) notes this as 'the widespread surge of powerful expressions of collective identity that challenge globalization and cosmopolitanism on behalf of cultural singularity and people's control over their lives and environment'. Within the United Kingdom, Fevre and Thompson (1999) discuss how issues of national identity have recently become a matter of growing public concern, and in

particular pose the question of whether prevailing notions of Welsh nation-hood are broad enough to accommodate the diverse form of social life contained within territorial borders. The most serious flaw they find in the work of some social theorists is not their neglect of the variety of national identities, but the assumption that it is the job of social theorists to distinguish *right* from *wrong* identities amongst those that naturally occur.

An important part of educating for citizenship is generating an under-standing of how citizenship identity evolves, and how its construction is influenced both by the cultural influences of the 'home' nation and compar-ison with others perceived to have a different identity. Roberts (1999: 112) notes an interesting feature of ethnic identity in the Welsh context in that the history of the relations between Wales and England, and recent population shifts and economic restructuring, have produced a 'fractured and fragmented' Wales (citing Cloke and Milbourne 1992: 367). Nevertheless, there is the increasing suggestion that the main boundary marker of Welsh identity is the Welsh language, and that it is associated with exclusive and authentic claims to Welsh identity. Williams (1999) discusses the suggestion that the Welsh language does not have the potential for social closure since, as a boundary marker, it is a permeable one. Anyone wishing to learn Welsh can do so and therefore share in the benefits in-group membership confers. In Williams's view this is a notion that oversimplifies issues of language and identity, as it obscures issues of age, 'race', locality, ability and migration.

> In Wales to be authentically Welsh is still largely to be white, and increasingly to be Welsh-speaking. A notion of multiculturality is not demonstrably present in Welsh cultural life or in popular conceptions of Welshness, so that the construction of a black Welsh identity is fraught with difficulty. (Williams, 1999: 89)

Again there is the question of balance – this time between maintaining and sustaining the Welsh language as a marker of both cultural heritage and individual identity, while not allowing a concentration of effort in this respect to obscure other valid and evolving expressions of Welsh identity. Just as with the previous reference to democratic societies needing to be in a state of permanent transformation (Harland, 2000: 61), the social aspects that impact upon individual identity are also subject to change. From interviews with respondents in Bangor, north Wales, Thompson and Day (1999: 45) conclude that 'despite initial appearances, Welsh national identity is not pre-given, but is very largely constructed and produced by people as they develop and express their understanding of situations, events, and other people as they arise'.

Similarly, Roberts (1999: 127) finds that the social boundaries contributing to local identities are never fixed but continuously lived and interpreted. Such reconstructions are not performed without reference to perceptions of the social identities of other groups. Thus 'Valleys Welshness' is keenly aware of its relations with the 'British Welshness' of the coastal and border areas, and the 'Welsh Welshness' of the rural hinterland.

Yet it is this very variety and fluidity of Welsh identities that provides opportunities for exploring and developing an understanding of citizenship identities within the territorial borders of Wales. The first opportunity lies in developing an understanding that identity is a source of people's meaning and experience, that for any given individual there may be a plurality of identities, and that such a plurality can be a source of stress (Castells, 1997: 5). In relation to Welsh citizenship, for young people of both Welsh and other ethnic origins, citizenship education can assist self-definition by debating issues around 'Am I Welsh?', 'Am I British?', 'Am I European?'. Secondly, is the issue that citizenship as a concept implies a relationship between the individual and the community, and the recognition that successful relationships are interactive and reciprocal (Harland, 2000: 62). Harland further suggests that 'keeping citizenship alive, open-ended and geared towards active partnership with the full spectrum of the community requires a bold approach to curriculum planning . . .' Both the challenge and the opportunity in the Welsh educational context is the implementation of a citizenship education that interacts within the school community, that reaches out to the local community, and affords the student both knowledge and interaction with 'other' Welsh identities and communities.

No doubt that is a challenge and opportunity that most schools in Wales would currently accept they are meeting. However, the concept of 'main-streaming' advocates a rethink of existing assumptions; the hardest part of 'mainstreaming' is *visioning* because it means imagining doing things differently – and it is also the area where there is least debate and progress (Rees, 1999: 177). A useful starting point in visioning would be a recognition of the stimuli that have promoted the education for citizenship agenda at a particular moment in time. It would entail moving beyond the localized UK agenda of concern about 'worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life, (QCA, 1998: 8), to an appreciation of Castells's analysis of a powerful worldwide movement to define individual and collective identity in the face of globalization and cosmopolitanism (1977: 2). It is against a background of these strong opposing tensions that citizenship identities need to be defined, and understanding generated to ameliorate the potential stress of

plurality of identities. This understanding would be able to accommodate and stimulate the recognition that, whatever citizenship is for the individual, it is a multi-layered concept that acknowledges local, community, national, international and global identities (Turnbull 2002: 129–30).

Conclusion

The world has moved far from an Aristotlian perception that work merely interfered with people's duties as citizens and distracted them from more virtuous pursuits, such as art, philosophy and politics (Arendt, 1958). The growth of capitalism has ensured the need to work and the needs of capitalism have influenced educational bureaucrats to the degree that 'schools and universities increasingly cater to the needs of business, inculcating work values and teaching work skills rather than educating citizens' (Beder, 2000: 218). This has never been more clearly expressed than in the recent statement from the Secretary of State for Education, Charles Clarke, in a speech to the CBI: 'Learning is important in its own right but if education is not properly relating to the world of work, it has failed' (Crace, 2002). This narrow utilitarian statement ignores the challenges presented to educationalists preparing students for a twenty-first-century society. The debate over changing notions of citizenship is indicative of the complexity of a world where even adults struggle with the rapid pace of change. There is also the challenge that the knowledge and technological basis on which a current educational system is based will quickly become out of date when today's students become adults. As a philosophy of education it ignores the essential element of establishing attitudes conducive to lifelong learning to enable students to continue to negotiate the complexity of the modern world.

The Welsh aspiration for education in the latter part of the twentieth century has taken a wider view than that of preparation for the workplace. It has been an aspiration that re-established the status of Welsh cultural and linguistic heritage following a time when it had been relegated within education. It has been an aspiration that, in producing community understanding in the early 1990s, demonstrated a degree of institutional educational autonomy during the life of a Conservative government. It continues to define a unique Welsh education agenda since devolution to Welsh Assembly Government.

However, a policy of subsidiarity alone will not necessarily ensure a stable civil society. The overall balancing act for Welsh education needs to be in

providing students with the literacy, numeracy and basic skills to ensure a vibrant Welsh economy, while not neglecting the development of a critically aware disposition and the ability to act autonomously. An education agenda constructed around educating for citizenship can achieve this balance. Ranson (1993) explains how active citizenship is a notion that bridges the needs of the individual and that of society: 'Citizenship establishes the ontology, the mode of being, in the learning society. The notion of being a citizen ideally expresses our inescapably dual identity as autonomous individuals and responsible members of the public domain' (1993: 341).

However, the opportunity that the development of independent learning that citizenship education represents is also a challenge both to a traditional didactic approach to teaching and to an educational climate geared to standardization, testing and performativity. It is not an approach that reprises the more laissez-faire aspects promulgated by 'progressive' educationalists in the 1970s. Rather, it is an approach that recognizes that an educational project that can give students ownership of their own learning, that is dynamic and exciting, that has relevance because the skills really are transferable to real life, and *at the same time* can establish basic skills, requires a much more demanding and inclusive pedagogy than an approach that has the imparting of knowledge at its core.

Additionally, an educational approach that puts educating for citizenship at its core involves moving pupils from 'tourist to citizens' in the classroom by recognizing that, although democracy may be taught about, it is rarely practised in most schools and classrooms (Freiberg, 1996). The nurture of the 'practice' of citizenship means the engagement of students in decision-making on aspects of their school life, and learning that citizenship is not just accessed by language or place of birth. Rather, it is mediated by a host of social variables such as age, gender, cultural capital, ethnicity and a host of other socio-economic factors which create differences between people (Turnbull and Muir, 1999: 44). Accepting these challenges, educational establishments can become the stimulus for the development of an inclusive practice of citizenship appropriate and relevant for a multicultural society in the twenty-first century.

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