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Careers Education and Citizenship:

an inclusive agenda

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Introduction

This is one of a series of occasional papers produced by the Department of Career & Personal Development over the past few years. This paper is different to the others, however, in that the conference which gave rise to its publication, was part of a joint project between ourselves and VT Careers Management who have also generously sponsored this publication. This conference, bearing the title of the publication, was hosted in London in the summer of 2003 and brought together teachers, careers advisers, personal advisers and academics with an interest in the inter-face between careers education and guidance and citizenship education. The essays contained in this occasional paper were either the basis of a keynote address or a seminar and we believe well worth bringing together in a single paper for the purposes of wider dissemination.

These are interesting times in respect of curriculum change. Careers education and citizenship, to which we could add PSHE and work-related learning, increasingly appear to occupy much of the same conceptual ground as well as share some of the same 'curriculum floor space', suggesting that collaboration and some measure of integration are required for pragmatic as well as for conceptual reasons. Each curriculum strand also illumines and informs the other since all are interwoven with how young people adjust to, learn about and prepare for various life roles – citizen, consumer, voter, worker, sibling, peer, parent, neighbour, volunteer etc. It just may be that holistic perspectives on life roles, cultural capital, gender and community may be a means of offering more inclusive relevance to all young people in the contemporary world.

This paper is a contribution to the beginnings of this debate as to how this may be achieved. It helps to clarify what is distinctive about careers education and citizenship education while examining the common ground that exists between them – which, with new thinking in careers work, may be more substantial than could have been anticipated even 10 years ago. We hope that this paper will encourage dialogue concerning how work in and between careers education and citizenship education can be fruitfully explored in the future.

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Citizenship: Challenges for Educators

James Arthur

Why Citizenship Education?

> *'The increasingly complex nature of our society, the greater cultural diversity and the apparent loss of a value consensus, combined with the collapse of traditional support mechanisms such as extended families, mean that there has never been a greater need for schools to address the task of introducing young people to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and the values on which concepts of law and justice rest'.*
>
> Citizenship Foundation (1994: 59)

Introduction

Teachers are invariably concerned with more than the acquisition of knowledge and skills for they also have a commitment, whether explicit or not, to the acquisition of desirable values. Values here refer in their most general sense to that which is good and worthwhile, particularly desirable qualities of character such as honesty, integrity, altruism, justice, respect, and so on. Whilst teachers are likely to agree that their aim is to free pupils to think for themselves they are less sure of the formative role they exercise on the civic, moral and social development of their pupils. Teachers know that in order to educate their pupils they must first have an idea of what they are aiming to do, of what education is. Teaching is not a neutral activity and teachers still help shape some of the values and virtues that their pupils learn in school. Values are essentially about dispositions and consist of cognitive and affective dimensions and consequently often lack a behavioural element. Citizenship education is about action and may be said to be about the activation of values and dispositions. This again presupposes what human nature is and what human beings ought to become – 'good ' citizens? This in turn will depend on our assumptions, beliefs, experiences, convictions and our limitations. However, what pupils 'might become' is obviously still both a controversial and contested subject for teachers and members of society in general.

Notions of citizenship are rightly contested for they depend on different ideas about how society should be governed and organised. Recent research on what teachers perceive to be 'good citizens' found that they overwhelmingly felt that a 'good citizen' is one who exhibits social concern and tolerance for others and has a marked disposition towards moral behaviour and community involvement (Davies, Gregory and Riley 1999: 57). Citizenship is an extremely complex concept and consists of a range of legal, moral, social, political and cultural elements. In educating someone for membership of a society we are effectively nurturing a sense of what that person should become. Today, the central political issue in education is how we educate pupils for a pluralist society in the traditions of civil society while simultaneously preparing them to participate in the shaping of that society. Citizenship education appears to have become a major device for implementing this aim, but it needs to be recognised at the outset that it is a complex enterprise with new challenges and questions being posed for every teacher.

Citizenship education in the late 1990s reached the top of the political agenda as a result of a number of civic and social concerns. A range of research data appeared to confirm what many had already assumed or suspected: that there are deteriorating social and cultural conditions in England and that political and voluntary participation in the affairs of society was in decline. It was found that community networks were breaking down and that there was less trust of and responsibility to our neighbours and even less trust in the institutions of society itself. This breakdown in social norms was especially marked among the young and manifested itself in anti-social behaviour, increased truancy and exclusions from schools, high teenage pregnancy levels and increased alienation from the political processes of democratic society. Moral and civic values appeared to be lacking in school pupils and there was much discussion of a 'social recession' or 'deficit in civil society'. There appeared to be a growing 'litany of alarm'. Citizenship education was recognised once again as a possible solution to these social ills; once again, because it was

not the first time that it had been considered necessary as a result of a perceived decline in moral direction in the young and a perceived weakening in the social institutions of society.

Frederick Swann's *Primer of English Citizenship*, published in 1918, as 'a plain guide to right action' (p. vii) was a response to the aftermath of the First World War. The book was concerned with building the moral character of the young and represented very much a sort of new religion, a kind of rational secular morality. There is a strong link between the advocacy of citizenship education and a perceived decline or crisis in the moral standards of society. This was why the first pressure group for citizenship education was formed in 1934 called the Association for Education in Citizenship. In reality though it can be argued that citizenship education is not and never has been a new curriculum initiative - it has been around for as long as the State has had formal responsibility for the provision of schools. Consequently, every school in England up until the late 1950's was responding in some way to the educational goal of developing 'good' citizens. The importance of citizenship as a legal status was clearly reinforced in the British Nationality Act 1981 which linked this status with membership of the political entity of the UK. However, Gilbert (1996: 60) warns us not to focus on the legal status of the citizen but instead stresses democratic participation, which is a view of citizenship education which he believes engages the interest and commitment of young people and motivates them to participate in decision-making. Citizenship therefore becomes a practice rather than a status. Which is why Kerr (1999: 25-26) reminds us that the definition of citizenship education together with the location of it, the approaches we adopt, who is involved, how it is resourced and what outcomes we expect are all questions that need to be discussed.

In the 1990s there were also concerns about how young people saw themselves as members of society and as part of the nation. In one research project comparing French and English children's notions of citizenship it was discovered that French children freely spoke of their emotional attachment to their country and that what made them proud to be French was French civilisation and history (Broadfoot *et al* 2000). In contrast English children were much more diffident in attitude and spoke about the sporting prowess of the English, their ability to speak English and not being poor as evidence of their superiority over others. Clearly, French children had a high level of pride in their national identity and culture and the idea of them being citizens was very much an everyday matter. French schools have always had a statutory duty placed on them by the State to produce citizens who understand and respect the constitution and the values of freedom, equality and solidarity. In England there has been no consensus on what citizenship education meant and it was recognised that without a broad based working definition it would be impossible to introduce it into schools. There was also a feeling among some that citizenship education already occurred in schools through the indirect transmission of values, which the school ethos provided, and therefore much was in any case being done to build the moral and social character of pupils.

Penny Enslin (2000: 149) understands citizenship to comprise five related features: 'First, citizenship bestows on an individual the status of **membership** of a territorially defined political unit in which reciprocal rights and responsibilities are exercised on equal terms with fellow citizens. Second, citizenship confers **identity** on an individual, an awareness of self as a member of a collective…. This identity includes, third, a set of **values**, usually interpreted as comprising a commitment to the common good…. Citizenship in a democracy involves, fourth, a degree of **participation** in the life of the polity…fifth, **knowledge and understanding** of political and legal principles…' Enslin believes that all five features of citizenship have important implications for education, particularly in the promotion of democracy. The specific promotion of identity and values were identified as problematic and less clear in their connection with education. Nevertheless, usage of citizenship concepts in schools is often muddled that has led some to believe that any precise definition is almost impossible. Citizenship education is therefore an emerging concept, but we can clarify a number of clear strands within it. First, citizenship education is concerned with three levels: the local community, national citizenship and international citizenship. All three levels are essential components of citizenship education. Second, citizenship education is a combination of approaches which could be summarised as:

1. **education *about* citizenship** - knowledge of the political system operating in England, the UK and Europe;
2. **education *for* citizenship** - the development of skills and values as a means to encourage active citizens;
3. **education *through* citizenship** - emphasis on learning by doing through experiences in and out of school.

There is obviously a great deal of overlap between these three expressions of citizenship in schools, but citizenship education is the term used by the government's Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy which produced a final report in 1998. This advisory group was chaired by Professor Bernard Crick - a staunch supporter of citizenship education in schools, and it produced a broad definition of citizenship together with a framework and approach for schools. The working definition used was based on T. H. Marshall's classic definition which has become the starting point for all subsequent discussions on the topic. He distinguishes three phases of citizenship - namely the civil, the political and the social. Marshall firstly emphasised the civil rights necessary for freedom and identified the law courts as the characteristic institutions for safeguarding them. Secondly, he emphasised the rights to participate in the exercise of political power and the characteristic institution identified is the elected assembly. Finally, he emphasised social rights as concerned with the welfare state with the characteristic institutions being the social services, health and education. Marshall was writing at the same time as the welfare state was being built and therefore he believed that the extension of political rights led to the extension of social rights through redistribution. Consequently, many of the assumptions of Marshall, such as full employment and the stable nuclear family, are no longer modern realities for many. All the members of Crick's Advisory Group agreed that citizenship education consisted of the same three interrelated areas, but they refined their definition along the following lines:

Social and Moral Responsibility

Here, the Advisory Group held that, central to any definition of effective, or, more precisely, good citizenship is an individual's sense of social and moral responsibility. As a result, pupils must be encouraged to develop their understanding of the moral values which should shape and guide their actions within a pluralist and democratic society. This social and moral responsibility finds its reflection in behaviour that is just and fair. Examples of this could include the mutual respect and consideration that pupils have for both themselves and those around them, whether within the classroom, school or wider community. Further, it is expressed in behaviour appropriate to the context in which pupils find themselves. Respect for authority within both the school and wider community is an important aspect of this. Pupils would also learn through this aspect of citizenship a sense of what is right and wrong and an informed understanding of the choices available to them and the consequences of such choices. In practice, the Advisory Group explains that it should result in pupils who are aware of the choices open to them, able to come to informed decisions and to accept responsibility for such choices.

Community Involvement

The Advisory Group defined 'community involvement' as positive involvement in and service to the life and concerns of both the school community and the communities beyond it. These, it suggests, can be at local, national or global levels. For the Group, positive involvement is not necessarily political; it can be reflected in participation in non-partisan groups, such as voluntary bodies, working with public authorities, fundraising or in negotiating with others to achieve a desired and desirable end. This end, it makes explicit, must in some way benefit or improve the community with which it is concerned.

Political Literacy

Here, the Advisory Group define political literacy, in part, as an understanding of the institutions of representative government and the various methods through which opinion can most effectively and healthily be expressed. But the term 'political literacy' is for them not restricted merely to an understanding of political knowledge; it is intended to include knowledge of and preparation for 'public life' in a more general sense. Preparation for public life involves knowledge of effective negotiation and compromise, and responsible decision making based upon the realities of contemporary economic and social problems. Employment, taxation and the allocation of public resources all fall within the Group's definition of political literacy. Such political, economic and social issues should, it suggests, be discussed from local, national and global perspectives.

In summary, the Crick Report identified a series of concepts and values, which it believed, underpinned citizenship education, which included:

a) equality and diversity
b) law and human rights
c) the common good
d) rights and responsibilities
e) power and authority
f) freedom and order
g) conflict and co-operation
h) individuals and society
i) democracy
j) the rule of law and justice

The government response to the advisory group's recommendations was both positive and multifaceted. First, in the revised 1999 National Curriculum New Labour has given a renewed emphasis to the civic, moral and social aims of the school curriculum in its Statement of Values, Aims and Purposes which accompanied the new Subject Orders. The 1988 Education Reform Act had simply stated that the aims of the curriculum in all publicly-funded schools was the 'spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development' of pupils. The curriculum was seen as basically intellectual and moral in character and an academic curriculum was formulated which included most of the traditional subjects as a hierarchy of disciplines. The new statutory statement goes much further and includes the development of children's social responsibility, their community involvement, the development of effective relationships, the knowledge and understanding of society, their participation in the affairs of society, their respect for others and their contribution to the building up of the common good, including their development of independence and self-esteem. Second, a new area of the curriculum was to be statutory required from September 2002 in all secondary schools - namely citizenship education and a Citizenship Order was incorporated into the National Curriculum.

The Citizenship Order

The Citizenship Order itself details the requirements that are to be met in all publicly funded schools throughout England. It sets out the programmes of study, the attainment targets and end of key stage descriptions in addition to reserving judgement on the way in which attainment will be assessed until such time as when it has been decided exactly how assessment will be carried out. At Key Stages 3 and 4, the programme of study breaks down into three distinct areas:

a) knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens;

b) developing skills of enquiry and communication;

c) developing skills of participation and responsible action.

The order emphasises that 'teaching should ensure that knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens are acquired and applied when developing skills of enquiry and communication, and participation and responsible action'. In short, it maintains that the knowledge about citizenship is best acquired through the skills of citizenship.

Although ostensibly there is much overlap between the content of the programmes of study at Key Stage 3 and 4, the main difference is found in approach. Broadly speaking, the programme of study at Key Stage 3 is descriptive, whereas that at Key Stage 4 is analytical. This stems from the obvious need to enable the pupils to acquire the raw knowledge at Key Stage 3 before they can reasonably be expected to analyse it at Key Stage 4. The programmes of study boil down to an understanding of the legal rights and responsibilities of individuals and of the apparatus which defines, enforces and protects such legal rights, as well as the way in which such rights have been and can continue to be abused. These include an understanding of what representative government means and the machinery through which representation can be enacted. The role of the media in this process is considered at both Key Stages as is an appreciation of the role of the United Kingdom within a European and global context. The only main points of departure in content between the two Key Stages concerns a study of labour relations and finance and the economy at Key Stage 4.

The Order also sets out the way in which education about citizenship is attained as a result of education through citizenship. Those aspects of the programme of study that achieve this are: developing the skills of enquiry and communication, and, developing the skills of participation and responsible action. This ensures that teaching and learning methods focus on the active as opposed to what had previously been more passive methods of simply acquiring knowledge. At both Key Stages 3 and 4 the education through citizenship approach is largely similar, with more intensive intellectual involvement being expected at Key Stage 3 than at Key Stage 4. In the enquiry and communication aspect, for example, pupils are called upon to 'think', 'justify' and 'contribute' at Key Stage 3, whereas at Key Stage 4 they are expected to 'research', and 'express, justify and defend'. In the skills of participation and responsible action section of the programme of study, the key words of 'imagine', 'negotiate' and 'reflect' are exactly the same.

In considering both the aims of the National Curriculum and the Citizenship Order it can be seen that citizenship education focuses both on political and social literacy. The government is effectively urging a 'civic morality' and placing emphasis on putting aside personal interests for the sake of the community. New Labour seek to balance the social good of the community against the good of the individual and at the same time emphasise the role of 'mediating institutions', such as churches and trade unions, in addition to schools, in the belief that society as a whole is educative. The aim is to strengthen the democratic and participative spirit within each individual and therefore motivate them to contribute positively to the wider society. Much of New Labour's rhetoric is based on a communitarian approach to education which emphasises inclusive language like 'One Nation'. Nevertheless, there is also an emphasis on pluralism which is the recognition of the worth of difference and the right to maintain a multiple identity, whilst enjoying the rights of a full citizen.

Teaching Citizenship Education

Since citizenship education is now a statutory subject of the National Curriculum, schools need to incorporate it into the life of the school. There are a number of different teaching approaches to citizenship education and according to the DfES it is for each school to determine what is most appropriate to them. Both the formal curriculum and the ethos of the school will necessarily contribute something to citizenship education. Three basic approaches can be identified and are briefly illustrated here among the many variations in the planning and delivery of citizenship education. They are:

a) Cross Curricula Citizenship Education:

Some teachers have argued that the existing subjects in the school curriculum already address the requirements set out in the Citizenship Order. There is much in this argument and when you combine it with the general aims of the National Curriculum it is clear that all existing subjects have an obligation to promote aspects of the citizenship programme. Every subject area can effectively contribute to citizenship education and each subject leader in a school will no doubt consider, in the light of this new citizenship subject and the requirements of the National Curriculum, how best they can provide their pupils with the opportunities in their own subject area that will enhance citizenship education. In the case of history, English and geography the National Curriculum specifically specifies what they should contribute to citizenship education. Nevertheless, there are limitations to this approach not least the fact that they way subject departments are organised in secondary schools can so easily prohibit cross-curricula collaboration and planning. In addition, the links between subjects and citizenship can appear tenuous.

b) Citizenship as a school subject:

Citizenship education can and is taught as a separate school subject in many schools. What the content of this subject is varies from school to school, but will no doubt be based on the programme within the Citizenship Order. This timetabled arrangement for citizenship education allows specifically designated teachers to teach citizenship as a discrete subject. It also allows the subject aims and methods of citizenship education to be developed. The main obstacles to this arrangement are often pressures on the school timetable together with few qualified staff able and willing to take this area forward.

c) Citizenship through the whole school:

The kind of ethos operating in any school will have a significant influence on the type of citizens that the school is nurturing. Citizenship education is learnt and cultivated in part through the school ethos which is the context for the development of worthwhile values. Any coherent whole-school approach to citizenship education will involve as many elements of the school community as possible, including parents and the wider community. Citizenship education is reflected and promoted within the whole life of the school since the school is a micro-community how it is run and the relationships between teachers and pupils will have a significant influence on the effectiveness of citizenship education. Whole-school events such as mock elections or 'Democracy Days', school councils, community projects and much more besides are all part of building a health and positive school ethos.

Overall, all three teaching approaches described are complimentary and necessary for the teaching of citizenship education.

Some Relationships to Careers Education and Guidance

Preparation for life and the world of work is one of the primary aims of the Education Reform Act 1988 for all State schools in England and Wales. There is therefore a clear relationship between the economy and the job preparation function of schooling. The aim more or less is that the school should teach its pupils in such a way that they grow into young workers who have the values, attitudes and personal

qualities required by employers. This is not a new aim in British education for since the growth of industrialisation there has been an obvious need for a workforce trained in terms of future adult work: a workforce comprising adults who could read simple instructions, understand verbal commands; give and receive information and who exhibited habits of regularity, self discipline, obedience and trained effort which were all articulated in the Board of Education's *Elementary Code* (1904, p. viii). Teachers were expected to: '… implant in the children habits of industry, self-control and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties'. New Labour is explicit about these same needs in its Green Paper *Schools: Building on Success* (2001) and in its White Paper *Schools: Achieving Success* (2001). In the section on *Education with Character* in the former it is stated that employers want new employees who have the attitudes and habits of mind which exhibit motivation, flexibility, creativity and entrepreneurship. Clearly, the formation of citizenship, in this view, should fit with the needs of the emerging economy. It does appear to be the case that the policy is to produce certain types of character endowed with certain forms of stable behaviour and habits for the world of work. So what are the specific virtues of character that are required by economic life in a democratic society? More importantly, does the economic system encourage or discourage the formation of a good citizen?

In the National Curriculum (1999) a rationale is given for promoting financial capability, enterprise and entrepreneurial skills, and work-related learning. The National Curriculum (NC: 1999: 24) states the explicit intention to prepare 'confident and knowledgeable consumers' and says: 'Enterprise can be associated with a set of attributes, skills and attitudes that enable people to create and thrive on change. Enterprise education enables pupils to develop confidence, self-reliance and willingness to embrace change. Through participation in mini-enterprises pupils can practise risk management, learning from mistakes and being innovative'. Entrepreneurial activities are viewed in terms of certain human characteristics of 'tenacity, independence, innovation, imagination, risk-taking, creativity, intuition and leadership'. The document then explains how pupils should learn 'through work', 'about work' and 'for work' to help in the 'transition of young people to adult and working life'. Preparation for participation in the capitalist system is a clear objective of schooling. Indeed, it could be said that the very selection and emphasis given to the subjects in the National Curriculum, mathematics, communication technology, science, etc are clearly designed to achieve economic ends. New Labour's emphasis on the virtues of enterprise education was built upon the 1990 National Curriculum Council cross-curricular document on the theme of *Education for Economic and Industrial Understanding 4* (1999: 5), which was concerned with ethical issues in economic understanding including developing in the young attitudes of 'concern for the use of scarce resources', a 'sense of responsibility for the consequences of their own economic actions' and a 'sensitivity to the effects of economic choices on the environment' together with a 'concern for human rights, as these are affected by economic decisions'.

New Labour has approved of work experience in schools and established a Committee 2001 to review how young people's (between the ages of 5-19) understanding of business and enterprise can be improved under the chairmanship of Sir Howard Davies, chairman of the Financial Services Authority. His report, *Enterprise and the Economy in Education* (Davis 2002) recommended that schools should make greater efforts to train Britain's next generation of entrepreneurs. Davies recognises that in English secondary schools, Business Studies is already a subject that many children study and that most schools have compulsory work experience schemes for all of their pupils. Whilst pupils experience the world of work through placements in industry and commerce, Davies felt that only about 30% of them experienced 'entrepreneurship'. Work experience no doubt influences their attitudes to work and affects their character development. For example, many children believe, irrespective of school teaching, that the measure of success of an individual is pecuniary gain derived through competition between individuals. This raises the question of whether economic competition between individuals is a good thing? It depends to some extent on whether the individual who succeeds does so for selfish reasons and whether in so doing another individual is considerably worse off. Do schools balance this by emphasis on measuring success through socially useful actions directed at the welfare of others? Davies encourages the development of 'enterprise capability' or 'enterprise learning' in schools, but he also notes that 'social enterprise' and 'civic

entrepreneurship' are also important. Civic entrepreneurship is defined in the Report as activity carried out for social reasons, but using the sort of entrepreneurial behaviour more commonly associated with business start-ups. Social enterprise is likewise a non-profit making business with social aims. Citizenship education, together with other subjects in the school curriculum, was identified as the key to promoting different kinds of entrepreneurship. However, Davies said little, if anything, about the moral dimension of entrepreneurship, except some references to being responsible for the environment.

Whilst preparation for the world of work, including teaching about enterprise capability, is a legitimate aim of citizenship education it needs to be sensitive to economic circumstances and their impact on individuals. In the 1970s and 1980s Britain experienced a deep recession which created millions of unemployed people. During this period it was common for employers and politicians to blame youth for some of this unemployment – it was often claimed that they lacked proper attitudes to work and indeed that they lacked character. Blaming the victims of a recession has developed the idea that individuals are responsible for their own misfortune. Indeed, some modern economists focus increasingly on the study of individual motivation in which each individual makes rational decisions based on self-interest within a framework of the free market. This approach makes little allowance for concepts of moral character in business or for the impact of the market on individual circumstances.

What are the virtues that employers want – they range from a sense of good humour to a willingness to learn. They might include motivation, technical skills, communication and numeracy skills, an ability to respect others, to be clean and tidy, social skills, and other key transferable skills. Education today is often seen to be strictly interested in utilitarian ends and concerned with competencies – product and outcomes rather than with growth and development. Employees who fail to turn up on time to work; who require supervisors to oversee them because of their lack of initiative and quality in performance; who use inappropriate behaviour with customers; who use office facilities for personal use i.e. postage, e-mail, telephone, internet, photocopying, office supplies – basically those who indulge in on-the-job theft, and those who do not tell the truth, accept bribes, and do not admit mistakes. Certain virtues are identified as necessary for success in employment and their absence can and does lead to dismissal.

It does seem to be possible to equip young people with the education and training to earn a living for themselves as well as enable them to lead good human lives as citizens. An education for living as well as for a livelihood is needed. Therefore, some balance needs to be given to Tony Blair's idea, reported in *The Times* (6th July 1997), that it is about 'how to learn more in order to earn more', - it is also about living well. We are not simply economic creatures whose sense of worth and purpose in life is defined by our capacity to secure material well-being. We are not not what we do for a living or what we buy, nor are we completely driven by self-interest to maximise our own utility. This reductionist view of human nature can have a powerful and an essentially negative impact on citizenship education from an early age. Applied to education in schools it can result in a view that anything that does not prepare children for making a living, or becoming a consumer, is a waste of time. The government appear to have an interest in wanting to shape the development of children's character to meet prescribed economic goals. Investment in education and particularly the justifications for citizenship and character education contained in the Green and White Papers of 2001 cannot be based simply on reference to economic and material advantage, or the development of instrumental values, it must also improve the quality of human life. In fairness to government policy, it is important to consider the range of statements contained in the goals of the National Curriculum to understand that New Labour's view of character is complex and incomplete. Consequently, there is a need for greater clarification of government policy on character education, particularly how it links and connects with citizenship education and the many reports and statements the government have commissioned and issued on the moral economy of schooling.

The fear is that the power of the market might undermine character, for in an advanced consumer society, like Britain, the market can encourage a view of human life as a series of consumer choices. As we become richer we increasingly seek to buy the 'services' we desire which perhaps undermines our general

sense and expectation of civic duty. It often seems that unless we have entered into some contractual relationship that gives rise to duties, we have no other clear sense of duty to come to the assistance of another person. The idea of endless consumer choices, including buying basic human services from others, is often given graphic illustration by the shift in our use of the terminology from 'life' to 'lifestyle' with suggests that there is nothing of substance that defines who we are. Schooling cannot advance such a view of human nature without losing its claim to genuine citizenship education.

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Citizenship, 'Subject Building' and the Rethinking of 'Subject'

Tony Breslin

Summary

This paper seeks to explore some of the challenges faced by Citizenship, and those charged with making Citizenship Education a success, as it settles into the National Curriculum as a Foundation Subject. Elsewhere, the author has argued that Citizenship can be a means of raising achievement and an engine of school transformation (Breslin and Dufour, 2004). Here, he considers the lessons that Citizenship can offer to the wider curriculum and makes some suggestions about how that curriculum will need to change and why, if Citizenship and a broader new family of subjects are to achieve their potential.

A personal tale (and public story) about subject identity

I entered teaching in the late 1980s with a degree in Management Sciences and a PGCE in Integrated Humanities, an odd autobiographical introduction to a paper such as this you might think but before I offer a rationale for such a disclosure let me share a little more:

- I was joining a profession that was about to be asked to deliver a National Curriculum in which neither of my entry qualifications figured or were ever likely to;
- The entry qualifications that I carried did not, in many peoples' eyes constitute 'subjects', never mind school subjects, in the understood sense of the term;
- The subject that I had discovered through, and dug out from these qualifications, Sociology, did not figure in the National Curriculum so no clear career trajectory was obvious for this particular probationary teacher.

Indeed, the absence of not just Sociology but the broader social sciences from the new, and of course first, National Curriculum had a series of consequences, and not just for the teaching of these subjects themselves. First, many school based teachers of the social sciences moved across into Further Education where, at the time, salaries and conditions of employment were comparatively more attractive than in the secondary sector as schools shifted towards curriculum models that reflected the new requirements. Second, many of those who remained supplemented the teaching of a few periods of A level or a GCSE option group in Sociology, Economics or Politics with an involvement in the emergent post TVEI vocational curriculum: delivering CPVE and later GNVQ, managing work experience and, of course, supporting Careers Education and Guidance. Third, as the new curriculum settled, or struggled, into place, entering teaching without a National Curriculum subject at the heart of one's degree or PGCE course became increasingly more difficult; the supply line that had produced many a curriculum progressive and the occasional staff room radical (or militant if you prefer) shuddered to a halt.

And, here, of course is the pertinence to Citizenship. In meeting the requirements to enable the teaching of Citizenship as a Foundation *Subject* of the National Curriculum schools face a number of challenges, each either accentuated through the history of the last fifteen years or so or reflective of the experiences of the once young teacher who is now the author of this paper. Thus:

- Schools are dealing with subjects, for instance, like Management Sciences or Integrated Humanities, that do not have the academic heritage of those that have long dominated our school curriculum;
- Schools are struggling to get to grips with how Citizenship, as a National Curriculum subject might differ from its immediate predecessor, Citizenship, the Cross Curricular Theme;

- Curriculum managers are trying to work out, and articulate in curricular terms, the distinction between Citizenship and other areas of the social curriculum, notably PSHE;
- Heads have a sense that Citizenship is not just about classroom teaching but about whole school ethos issues and mechanisms for processes such as pupil participation;
- There is an apparent skills shortage in terms of who might teach this new subject;
- There is genuine confusion about how, or indeed whether, Citizenship should or can be assessed;
- There is no real sense of where Citizenship sits in relation to the wider policy debate and, in particular, with regard to the so-called standards agenda.

Against this background, I want to use this paper to argue for a particular, multi-tracked approach to how we deliver Citizenship within the school curriculum. Here, I want to make a number of points, namely, that:

- In introducing Citizenship we are not simply introducing a new subject, but a different *type* of subject and one that, in form *and* content, is still at the development stage;
- In moving from the status of Cross Curricular Theme to Foundation Subject, Citizenship has moved from being '*less* than a subject' to being '*more* than a subject';
- Citizenship has much to offer the wider curriculum and other emergent strands within it, such as Thinking Skills and Enterprise Education, and much to learn from other areas that have struggled with the concept of subject identity in the past: PSHE, Careers Education and Guidance and the wider vocational field for instance.

Moreover, at a time when the Secretary of State is suggesting that a focus on teachers' subject specialism offer a key means of strengthening classroom practice and professional morale, I want to assess the implications of this analysis on an area like Citizenship; a subject in the building and a subject like no other.

Citizenship and the issue of definition

Although in the academy subjects vouch for their academic integrity through demonstrating their complexity, at school level most longstanding members of the timetable club have some sort of notion of what they are about, or at least specialists in other subjects assume that the complexity only resides in their own subject. Moreover, at GCSE and A level, the specification (often aligned to a long established text book in its umpteenth edition), articulated through a set of past papers, is omnipotent and the key content long established. This is not the case in Citizenship and nor should we expect it to be at this stage in its life.

The challenge, though, for Citizenship is not simply that a dominant examination specification has yet to emerge (it may be that one will not) but that Bernard Crick's proposal of a 'light touch' curriculum requirement (DfEE, 1998) (which makes the subject compulsory but (rightly) leaves the development of teaching programmes to schools and teachers responding to their students needs) for a new subject has led to either a plurality of practice or, more bluntly, to widespread confusion on the ground.

This would matter less if we were clear about what we mean by Citizenship. Here, Crick is straightforward. Citizenship Education, through his three reports (DfEE, 1998; FEFC, 2001; Home Office 2003), has three components or strands:

- Social and moral responsibility;
- Political literacy;
- Community Involvement.

And the QCA has translated these into a range of issues that students should be taught about (knowledge and understanding) and a clutch of skills that they ought to be encouraged to develop that fit neatly on a couple of photocopier friendly sheets of A4 paper (DfEE, 1999). Job done.

Of course, as in the academy, the reality is more complex; partly because of long standing associations with the term and with any form of political education and partly because of its current usage. Thus, with regard to the former those of the left are inclined to view 'citizenship' as at best conformist and conservative in outlook while some on the right (in spite of the genuine breadth of Crick's committee) still fear the political indoctrination of the young. The latter problem, the debate about the meaning of the "c" word itself, is the greater challenge though.

Here, the issue is about the competing definitions of Citizenship that have currency both in the civic bureaucracy and on the street. Thus, as recent talk about Citizenship 'lessons' and 'tests' for newcomers to the UK has served to emphasise, the power of the term is partly in its ambiguity: Citizenship as excluding rather than inclusive; Citizenship as nationality rather than empowerment; Citizenship as legal status rather than legal awareness. Nobody has caught this tension in the term better for me than a post 16 student I interviewed a year or so ago.

The scene is a HND Banking and Finance block release class at a specialist vocational college on the edge of the City of London. The class is made up of 17 and 18 year old students from Tower Hamlets. All but one of the 18 students are from minority ethnic groups. They are being interviewed because the college forms part of one of the twenty local development projects, trailing Citizenship programmes arising from the second Crick Report (FEFC, 2001) into the provision of Citizenship Education programmes among 16-19 year olds.

> *Interviewer (the author):*
> So what do you think of this new Citizenship stuff that you're doing then?
>
> *Student (the solitary white member of the group):*
> Well (rather forcefully), I didn't like the sound of it at first.
> (Pause)…I thought it was goin' be about whether me mates were goin' to be allowed to stay in the country or not.

None of this has, in marketing jargon, done the Citizenship 'brand' any good and perhaps explains the tentative teacher reaction to the availability of GCSE short courses in Citizenship Studies. After all, 'failing' in Citizenship carries a different baggage than probably any other subject. If Citizenship is to be about "individuals engaging in society" (Citizenship Foundation, 2003), then, whatever the value and purpose of rigorous assessment (Breslin, 2003), anything that may be caricatured as a "test" may not be the best place to start.

Citizenship as a different type of subject

A couple of years ago a deservedly eminent headteacher, in the knock about of a friendly seminar, said to me "you can't teach citizenship in forty-five minutes Tony, you'll bore the kids to death". "That may be true", I conceded, "but boredom hasn't stopped us doing it in Maths, English, History, Geography or anything else you care to mention". My point was that we are in danger of asking questions of Citizenship

that we ought to be asking the whole curriculum; questions about the packaging and delivery of areas of knowledge and types of skill. But my adversary had a point too. You can't do justice to Citizenship simply through teaching it in forty-five minute lessons alone. Community Involvement, to take one of Crick's strands, requires just that: the involvement of learners out in the community and the engagement of the community within the school's boundaries. Likewise, the development of a genuine political literacy requires more than, in Don Rowe's phrase, "the old civics" (Rowe, 2002). Thus, a mock election with student hustings, a particular model of voting and a series of campaigns, the involvement of students on a school council (School Councils UK, 2003) or the participation of students on the governing body as associate members (DfES, 2003) is likely to do more to build an understanding of how democracy works (or doesn't) than a trip through a traditional British Constitution textbook. The textbook (and the lesson), though, necessarily retain a place and for two reasons.

First, we need the space provided by the lesson and the core factual knowledge offered through the textbook, or a comparable resource, to underpin the learning that we want to take place, learning that must occur if, following Crick, we are serious about a desire to "…change the political culture of the country" (DfEE, 1998). Fulfilling this objective is about delivering a curriculum that is content rich (even if occasionally content dull) rather than content free: skills and process have their place, especially as the learner progresses from initial learning about democracy, to rehearsing democracy and to applying of democracy itself. And so it is for the other concepts in the empowered citizen's toolbox: justice, equality, meritocracy, enterprise and so on. But it is a developing knowledge and understanding about these concepts, underpinned and embedded by chances to rehearse and apply them, that enables the development of the real social, political, legal, economic and financial literacies that prepare and mark out the effective citizen: *soft* skills, if you must describe them that way, but *hard* knowledge without a doubt.

Second, we need the lessons, the textbooks and that other definer of a real subject, a place on the timetable, for political reasons. If Citizenship is to be recognised a having a presence and pertinence by heads, middle managers, classroom teachers, inspectors, parents and students, a timetable berth and what one might loosely term the paraphernalia of the subject, is imperative. In the infrastructure of the school, the subject has a specific construction and Citizenship, or any other area of learning, ignores this at its peril. Subjects have teachers, departments, lessons, books, identities, assessment regimes (or at least examinations) and, perhaps critically, a budget. In most schools the theme or skill or dimension has little if any of these. And there is some pedagogy here too. Research into the success of cross-curricular approaches underlines the fact that within a subject based curriculum, 'non-subjects' struggle to be conceptualised as coherent bodies of knowledge and skill by learners and teachers alike (Whitty et.al., 1994). The epitaph for the Cross-Curricular Themes, those late progressive additions to the grammar school timetable that was the National Curriculum in the early 1990s, is that to be everywhere is, too often, to be nowhere at all.

Towards a multi-track approach to delivering Citizenship

Let us summarise then: Effective Citizenship Education requires that students learn about social, political, legal, economic and financial processes and concepts and that this learning is reinforced through rehearsal and application. Here, the textbook and the lesson can provide the precursor to 'doing' Citizenship or might be used to assess the experience of doing Citizenship, but used alone, it amounts to little more than a sterile lesson about democracy or market economics or justice. However, the school election, or mini enterprise project or mock trial if left as a stand alone activity is unlikely to feed into a broader development of what might be termed Citizenship Literacy. It is this combination of process and product, skill and content, classroom lesson and extra-curricular activity that identifies Citizenship as a new kind of subject, one distinguished by a *combination* of delivery approaches that might include:

- A set of clearly identified and 'on the timetable' Citizenship 'lessons' which serves to provide a basic introduction to the skills and knowledge of effective Citizenship and, as noted above, a political presence in the life of the school as a real subject;
- A set of identified modules, activities and assignments delivered through other curriculum subjects that build on and out from this core;
- An events programme that might include regular in and out of school off timetable days that might include visits to courts, council chambers and workplaces and school based days around themes as diverse as anti-racism, human rights, local regeneration and charitable enterprise;
- A clearly identified set of Active Citizenship opportunities open to each year group and spanning volunteering programmes, environmental projects, school council and governing body participation and peer mentoring schemes.

Within such a multi-track framework, which I have argued elsewhere schools should draw together through a Citizenship Manifesto (Breslin, 2001), questions such as whether the school should deliver Citizenship through a cross curricular approach *or* as a discrete subject are simply put to one side. The choice is a false one, for through the anchorage points provided by the discrete core and the events programme, successful cross-curricular delivery becomes possible. Thus, in a multi-track model, teaching about the suffragettes in History or migration patterns and experiences in Geography or considering racism within a novel in English become aspects of Citizenship provision precisely because they work off or relate to reference points in the core Citizenship programme. Thus, Citizenship learning is reinforced at different (but identified) points across the curriculum but only because it has been specifically initiated in the core in the first place.

And just as there is an interdependency between the discrete core and the cross-curricular, the events programme and the Active Citizenship opportunities provide real opportunities for young people to rehearse and apply the concepts and skills that they are being introduced to. Moreover, there is a healthy voluntarism about this. Every child should learn about volunteering and about the school council, and every child should have the chance to participate in volunteering programmes or stand for election to represent their peers but no child should be obliged to do both or either. Nonetheless, those that do take up specific opportunities to 'do' Citizenship are likely to develop:

- Knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens;
- Skills of enquiry and communication;
- Skills of participation and responsible action.

In short, they are likely to be the most successful in meeting the requirements of the National Curriculum Citizenship which is framed in terms of these three domains at both Key Stage 3 and 4. And here is an interesting irony about the Citizenship Order. It establishes a National Curriculum subject that may be outlined or seeded within core curriculum time and traditional curriculum activity but which is significantly delivered in spaces traditionally thought of as extra-curricular: the journey from *less* than a subject (as Cross Curricular Theme) to *more* than a subject (as Foundation Subject) is confirmed.

Perhaps for this reason, when we come to look to OFSTED for guidance on how Citizenship might be approached (OFSTED, 2001), we find that Crick's 'light touch' translates into something vaguer still, such that:

- No single approach to delivery is recommended;
- No single approach to assessment is required;
- No specific time allocation is suggested.

A different type of subject indeed but one that may offer some idea as to how other areas of the curriculum might develop in due course.

Citizenship, curriculum change and the 'new subject family'

I want to begin to draw this paper to a close by asking some questions about the conventional curriculum in secondary schools, especially the Key Stage 4 curriculum. Here, the GCSE dominates with the majority of young people sitting between eight and ten GCSEs in a variety of subjects, most of them long term residents of the school curriculum.

As a former GCSE Chief Examiner, and with an eye to the work currently being undertaken by Mike Tomlinson and his colleagues (DfES, 2003) and other leading figures in this field (Hodgson and Spours, 2003), I want to contend that the multiple GCSE curriculum is an exercise in curricular narrowness rather than in curricular breadth. The form of the examination (in cahoots with the longstanding shape of the school timetable) defines the range of teaching approaches that may be adopted and serves to homogenise these approaches across subjects; never mind Citizenship in 45 or 90 minute lessons: what of art, technology, science, PE? Rather than constituting a broad curriculum, the eight-ten GCSE model represents eight-ten variations on a theme and at the cost of a range of other areas of learning, for example:

- Genuinely vocational education programmes;
- Programmes and approaches that nurture thinking skills, problem solving and working with others;
- Community involvement programmes;
- Business and enterprise awareness programmes.

Moreover, I want to suggest that some of the most innovative pedagogy and curriculum innovation over the past twenty-five years has emerged from these areas: TVEI, GNVQ, various peer tutoring frameworks, community regeneration focused mini-enterprise projects and so on. However, these programmes have often found themselves at the fringe of the school rather than at its core and taken the form of:

- Provision targeted at those defined as academic low achievers;
- The basis for activity week and summer school courses;
- After school and extra-curricular programmes.

Further, where these and other innovative non-subject or quasi-subject programmes have made it onto the school curriculum, they have normally arrived as a gatecrasher at the PSHE party, with worksheets but without budgets, responsibility points or any significant amount of delivery time. Thus, development work around records of achievement, some of the best aspects of Careers Education and Guidance and Economic and Industrial Understanding and a whole range of pastoral provision have been left to squabble over the same hour or so on the timetable with the form tutor "picking up the tab" and teaching the victor from the bunch. Unsurprisingly, many schools have attempted to shoehorn Citizenship into the same spot. Unsurprisingly, the four early studies on the delivery of Citizenship as a Foundation Subject of the National Curriculum (CSV, 2003; Kerr et.al, 2003; OFSTED, 2003; QCA, 2003) are in agreement that these are the schools that need to rethink their Citizenship provision. The implication is that they need to consider more deliberately the process of 'subject building'(Kerr, 2003). Citizenship as the latest guest in the great PSHE sleep over just won't work. Nor will it enable PSHE to fulfil the key function that it has in any genuinely broad and balanced curriculum.

Here is the opportunity for the kind of approach to Citizenship outlined in this paper to begin to open up a new kind of space in the school curriculum. Post 2000, and especially at Key Stage 4, the National Curriculum is no longer the school curriculum but a core of it. Moreover, a range of pressures (Tomlinson, the specialist schools agenda, the push towards building inclusion, the tendency of the five GCSE A-Cs indicator to be stuck around fifty percent nationally, the granting of performance table points values to a wider range of qualifications) all suggest a rethinking of the school curriculum away from the current 'GCSE only' approach.

Any re-modelled curriculum is still likely to have GCSE (or any successor qualification) as its staple diet but not as its sole ingredient. However, a number of subjects (especially the creative and technical) may take the opportunity to refashion themselves around new qualifications and different types of programme of study. Consider the space that a six-seven GCSE framework would open up for what I shall call a new family of 'subjects' that might take the multi-track approach required for Citizenship, and include:

- Careers Education and Guidance;
- Enterprise Education;
- Personal and Social Development;
- Service Learning;
- Work Related Learning.

Of course, it might be contended that, like Management Sciences or Integrated Humanities, these are not really 'subjects' but 'areas of learning' (and there is a hint of this in the initial Tomlinson documentation). I want to resist this and argue for a rethinking of what we mean by *subject*. To the probable horror of those who might shout "dumbing down", I want to argue that we should not simply conceive of the school subject as an academic discipline recast (and actually dumbed down from the university seminar to the school classroom) but as a legitimate area of "learning for living", as articulated by Bill Law elsewhere in this set of papers (Law, 2004). As Law points out "the whole idea that what they (the students) learn in classrooms is supposed to help them in their lives would come as a big surprise to many of our young men and women". If the validity test of a learning for living curriculum, or any component of such a curriculum, is that the students "…see how they will use the learning in their lives", then good Citizenship Education is already passing the test with flying colours as the initial studies cited above already make clear. Indeed, Citizenship practitioners are modelling how "learning for living" might be done within school settings; *more than a subject not less.*

The double edge of subject specialism

The Secretary of State's commitment to subject specialism (DfES, 2003) and, in particular, his concept of working through teacher based subject associations has many positives. As a long term subject association activist I am bound to say that teachers' subject associations involve many of the leading practitioners (examiners, textbook writers, classroom innovators) who drive classroom practice forward; voluntary clubs of genuinely *advanced skills* teachers committed to improving teaching and learning.

However, for those in the Citizenship field and other members of the new subject family outlined above, a focus on subject specialism can be double edged. The nature of teaching in the secondary sector, especially over the past decade is that, most teachers have as their first subject loyalty a traditional National Curriculum subject. Teachers of Citizenship are also, and often primarily, teachers of Geography, History, English and so on. In short, as any Citizenship Coordinator who calls a departmental meeting when the other departments in the school are meeting will verify, teachers of Citizenship are often the loan signings of the school world. Here, the programme to train in excess of one hundred and fifty new teachers on

PGCE programmes as Citizenship specialists each year and the recent launch of a National Strategy for Teachers' Continuing Professional Development in Citizenship are welcome moves but, again, serve to emphasise that Citizenship is still early in the subject *building* phase. If the shift towards subject specialism encourages teachers to work more animatedly and confidently *across* subject boundaries, Citizenship and other members of any new family will benefit. If, by contrast, subject specialism strengthens the subject ghettos mapped out in the staffroom seating plan, the Citizenship Coordinator, the Careers Coordinator and the individual "looking after" GNVQ will still sit together, but as a consequence of social exclusion rather than strategic choice.

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Careers Education and Citizenship: For Tinker, Tailor, Worker, Citizen!

Bill Law

Careers work is an increasingly significant area of contemporary curriculum: it has always drawn less upon concerns for classroom tests, measurable outcomes and public examinations; and more upon concerns for how learners use their learning in their lives. The significant idea is learning-for-living. And it is currently getting valuable support from leading-edge thinking on human behaviour. That work shows how, as a species, we don't learn in order to do well at school; we expend the energy in order to know what to do in our lives. Learning is for knowing how to make the moves which get us what we need. The thinking has been developed to the point where it can now offer a strong boost to careers work.

Learning for living

Ideas for learning-for-living have been around for some time; but philosopher Richard Rorty (1999) has developed them by drawing on recent advances in evolutionary thought. They have been expanded by philosopher Daniel Dennett (2003), using state-of-the-art game theory. He shows how we, as a species, have achieved the autonomy to choose and decide by evolutionary degrees. Such freedom, he argues, depends on the way we each base action on a growing and complex map of where we are, of who else - as well as what else - is around, and of how we each occupy our space.

Rorty's and Dennett's work is strongly supported by neurologist Antonio Damasio (1999). He uses clinical observation and brain scanning to develop a detailed account of how we each use internal narrative – each our own 'movie in the brain' – which helps us respond to life's dilemmas and problems.

All of these ideas are important parts of how we are getting to know ourselves as a species. Careers work would be foolish to ignore them. They have been incorporated into thinking for Connexions and education-for-citizenship (Law, 2001; 2004).

But none of these writers is putting forward a narrowly pragmatic account of learning. Learning is understood to be for both use and pleasure. And both 'use' and 'pleasure' are appreciated in layered, subtle and wide-ranging terms.

Neither can they be caricatured as simple-minded 'there's-a-gene-for-it' authors. These ideas are about how we learn from experience. And that includes not only experience of our physical environment, but also of other people - in a culture and with a history.

You can see, then, how it all suggests an important contemporary 'take' on curriculum. In the 'learning-for-living' view, the outcomes of learning are not best understood as measured standards, but as what people are able to do in their lives. This means thinking of how learning is used in life roles - as worker, consumer, investor, partner, friend and citizen.

Thinking about curriculum in this way takes us a long way towards explaining students' reactions to schooling. 'Boffs' and 'nerds' are, in this view, not the species norm, but an aberration. Lack of learning-for-living helps to explain lack of motivation, underachievement and girl-boy differences at school. Most significantly, it helps to explain why we forget learning we never use, even when we have passed the test – actually, especially when we have passed the test. Ignoring, rejecting and junking knowledge offering no further payoff has survival value.

The whole idea that what they learn in classrooms is supposed to help them in their lives would come as a big surprise to a good many of our young men and women. But we can do something about that. And, if we do it well, it will strengthen the position of careers work in curriculum for decades to come.

What we know of career development

But it is going to take a lot of rethinking. At its centre is the question, 'how does learning in one setting (like a classroom) ever get to be used in another setting (say, on the street)?' Whatever we record as 'learning outcomes', if students cannot clearly link the learning to their lives, then careers work doesn't work.

So what sort of rethinking is needed? Before we got immersed in the vocabulary of delivery and accountability, we worked from a vocabulary of explanation: we used knowledge of why things happen to shape our understanding of what we can do about them. That understanding has developed into a broad, deep and dynamic account of 'learning-for-living'.

It is comprised of six roughly-distinguishable clusters of ideas. (A fully referenced account of the thinking can be found in Career-learning Network, 2003a.) The ideas are set out in Table 1. Each offers an explanation of what goes on in career development. And that is what helps us to understand what to do when they go badly.

A test of their validity is the extent to which the ideas remind practitioners of what they do in their work. If the ideas have any credibility it will be because they are useful in that work – in something like the way the Table 1 suggests.

Table 1: what goes on in career development and how we work with it

	what goes on	working with it in guidance and curriculum work
1	information is gathered	'you might have enough to go on, about yourself and the what's happening... or you might feel that you are still in the dark'
2	feelings 'well up'	'the feelings you have about your life can help you... but they can also get out of hand'
3	attachments to others are forged	'you might be okay with the way other people have their say about your life... or you might not be so sure'
4	culture is internalised	'a strong upbringing gives a person deep beliefs and values, perhaps you want to live with them... or maybe it's time to move on'
5	learning progresses	'you've been learning about life since you were a toddler, maybe it has all helped you... but it could be holding you back'
6	purpose is sought	'there is supposed to be a point in work, and you might be convinced about that... but you might have your doubts'

What we know of career we also know of citizenship

Which of the role terms - 'worker', 'consumer', 'investor', 'partner', 'friend', 'citizen' - is basic to all? It is an open question. (That may be because nobody dares ask it; it threatens territorial claims.) But both 'worker' and 'citizen' are strong contenders. Much of what we do in all the other roles can count as work. (Indeed, there was a time when careers education offered help in all.) But you could just as easily argue that 'worker', 'friend', 'consumer' and 'investor' have political components. And that would make them all count as part of a programme of education-for-citizenship.

These are boundaries that only curriculum developers and political apparatchiks need to find - for timetabling and accountability purposes. Normal life doesn't need such obsessiveness. People just move on, and what they do - as worker, citizen, consumer, partner, friend and citizen - moves with them. So, when you choose a job you are choosing much more than a job; and people know it – however intuitively.

If that is so, then what we know of career will help us understand what to do about citizenship.

(1) information. Take for example what we know about using information. If a career decision is not to be an impulse or a whim, people need enough information to go on. The DOTS account of information uses four headings: 'D' for decision, 'O' for opportunity, 'T' for transition and 'S' for self', They are set out in Table 2 (with key ideas from other areas of career-thinking).

Table 2: what goes in career and citizenship and key ideas for programme development

what goes on	key ideas
information	opportunity / self / decision / transition
feelings	act or be still / approach or avoid fight or flee / hide or help
attachments	feedback / modelling / expectations impressions / support / contacts
culture	shared narratives / role-assignment insider-outsider-location
learning	sensing / sifting / focusing / understanding
purpose	survival / fulfilment / contribution

In conversational terms DOTS poses questions: 'who am I?' (S), 'where am I?' (O), 'what will I do?', (D) and 'how will I cope?' (T). It maps a process of linking one answer with another, leading to a conclusion along the lines 'that's for me!'. (Don't worry too much about the way this sound like 'falling in love'! For reasons explained soon, some career choices are – for good or ill – like falling in love.)

All of this thinking can also be applied to citizenship. What one citizen will embrace as political or voluntary action - 'that's for me' - another will avoid. And, while access to citizenship-action may not be structured by formal qualifications, it is, nonetheless, structured. At its simplest, some people will be seen – indeed, will see themselves - as a better 'fit' for some kinds of voluntary work than for others.

But, at a deeper level, the same socially-stratified characteristics apply to citizen roles as apply to work roles. Members of different social groups engage in different settings for citizenship, and engage in them in different ways. (As it happens, 'falling in love' also has some of these socially-stratified characteristics.)

In these ways DOTS raises issues for who-gets-to-do-what in working life - and it can do so in citizenship. And you see how the ideas enfold upon themselves: who-gets-to-do-what is a political issue, which - itself - influences the terms in which the issue is addressed. Gender politics has long understood this; we all need to.

It is potentially very exciting: DOTS information can provoke citizenship concerns for young men and women, parallel to those in career. And learning how to deal with them is every bit as valuable and engaging. And so, citizenship programmes which leave out DOTS-framed learning – including information about self and opportunity - leave out too much.

(2) feelings. Nonetheless, though DOTS is necessary to an understanding of career, it is increasingly regarded as insufficient. One of the reasons for this is that information is always loaded with feelings. In particular, career-related information may well be associated with frustration or success, disappointment or hope, fear or joy - it is infused with feelings.

Table 2 sets out some instinctively-based emotions. Emotions are immediate in their effects, they by-pass information-processing capacities with urgent commands - 'do something, and do it now!'. Sometimes such instincts serve us well, but they can also hurt us. They may, for example provoke over-reaction, misdirected effort or sheer panic. These are states-of-being not entirely unrelated to either working or political life.

But we should be fair: the thesaurus of human affect is wider-ranging, and more subtly differentiated, than Table 2 suggests. Nonetheless, many of the words people use to describe their deepest, most subtle and most abiding feelings can be linked without distortion to these instinctive reactions. This is another respect in which we are getting to know ourselves as a species.

But career-development thinking has paid more attention to deeper and more sustained feelings than to transient emotions. For example, ideas about self-esteem, values, life-themes and motivation-for-work, belong to this part of our understanding of career. It is where thought and feeling are interwoven, forming a layered and dynamic story - not just about how we stand in the world – but about how happily we see ourselves there, and - not just for what we can do - but for what we want to do about it.

We are frequently urged to become more emotionally intelligent, as though emotion can point to solutions that thinking will not find. Sometimes. But in both career and citizenship, we must also enable students to find action which is both useful and sustainable, by becoming more intelligently emotional.

(3) attachments. It is the interplay between information and feelings which gives Damasio his point about the need, in making sense of what goes on, for narrative (also see Edwards, 2003). And, in that story, feelings and emotions often assert themselves because one person's point-of-view comes into conflict with another's. It is one of the reasons why attachments are so important in understanding career development

Other people's influence is not necessarily entrapping. And - almost by definition - work means doing things with, for, and in response to other people. Family, peers, colleagues and customers, in a range of social contacts, populate that social setting. It indicates one of the ways in which we must look 'out there' for explanations of what goes on in career.

But citizenship – again, almost by definition – also means doing things with, for, and in response to other people. And explanations of how it works must also compel us to look 'out there'. The very stuff of

citizenship is constituency, pressure-group and affiliation. Like career, citizenship may depend on what you think is important, but it depends at least as much on who you think is important.

In career development this kind of understanding suggests the value of increasing the range of such encounters – meeting more people widens the range of possibilities for action that can be imagined. A citizenship programme which does not engage ways in which political horizons can be widened would be failing its students

(4) culture. But groups have cultures – and culture is a dynamic in career development. This is because group membership refers not only to family, peers and other social contacts; it also draws on ethnicity, social-class, religion, gender, 'clan' and age-related cultures.

Cultures express beliefs and values. They are usually about what people should, and should not, do; what should be changed, and what should be left alone; who are 'insiders', and who are beyond the pale. They often have to do with who-gets-to-do-what. There are political as well as undoubted career-development dynamics here.

The key characteristic of any culture is that it is internalised: its stories, music, humour and icons become embedded in identity. They are part of the answer to 'who am I? - identity can mean working out what it is to be 'black', 'religious', and 'young'. Where a person draws on a narrow cultural tradition, its beliefs and values can feel like God's own truth. The thought has been expressed as 'habitus' – habitual ways of going about things, rooted in one's inhabitance of a culture.

Habit is bad news for flexible engagement in either citizenship or career. And so the influence of culture is impossible to ignore in any serious programme of help. Being able to move on means being enabled to add to cultural capital – for both career and citizenship.

(5) learning. There are various inter-weavings of nature and nurture in this account of career development. And making the links between information, feelings, attachments, culture and career all rely on learning. Moreover, significant career learning occurs over extended periods of time. Much of what is acquired in this way is expressed as a continuing inner conversation. That learning conversation is about what is going on, and what can be done about it. Some of it is barely articulated; some of it deeply intuitive.

Where this learning is useful, it expands horizons, extending the bases for action. Some learning does not do this; and is discarded. But that is not the worst case: some learning mimics usefulness, yet – perversely – it actually hinders dealing with life's problems and dilemmas. Such unconstructive learning often occurs informally, and is based in local cultures; the learning of stereotypes is among the most telling of examples – with significant relevance to both career and citizenship.

Career-development thought therefore needs a characterisation of constructive career learning. It is centrally expressed as 'learning verbs'; they are set out in Table 2, and refer to gathering information, sorting it into useful order, attending to what is important and turning that into a useful account of causes and affects.

The learning verbs are arranged in a progressive sequence. This means that faltering at any stage halts or distorts the process. Symptoms of faltering include confusion, dependency and impulsiveness – all recurring features of both sad career development and sad politics.

But, where learning is broadly-enough founded - in information, feelings, attachments and cultures - then both career and political change-of-mind become possibilities. Changing-one's-mind and bringing about change-of-mind in others will lie close to the heart of any effective programme for citizenship.

(6) purpose. All life-relevant learning can usefully be framed with the idea of life-role: a person in a particular position (say a shop), in contact with other people (say customers) carrying out a particular task (say selling). More conversationally, learning for life means enabling people to know what to do when 'being there', 'with those people', 'doing that'. Learning-for-living is, then, not learning for its own sake, but learning for a purpose. Speaking of ourselves as a species: being clear about purpose in expending energy has survival value.

Career-development is, then, directed at a major part of what we each mean to do with our lives. These working purposes cluster around three centres-of-gravity: (i) for getting things the way you want them, so that you and your loved ones are okay; (ii) in self-fulfilment – for finding personal acknowledgement or self-realisation; and (iii) outward looking - for bringing some new and valuable 'good' into the world. Are motivations for citizenship so very different? Motivations for politics certainly are not.

This way of thinking about what people do can, of course, be applied to any aspect of life - spending, resting, loving and enjoying, as well as working and being a citizen. It can, then, help to explain how dissatisfaction in any one area can be compensated in other ways; which is what people are doing in achieving work-life balance. Citizenship activity may be part of the achievement of that balance. And, for too many of people, criminality can be a way of compensating for failure when complying with socially-acceptable roles.

Looking at the matter from another direction, a key implication of learning for purpose requires that learners recognise life-role relevance in what they learn. The evidence on the transfer-of-learning - mentioned at the beginning of this chapter - suggests that, unless specific links are made in the 'classroom' then transfer will not occur. If their lives are to remind students of their learning, then learning must remind them of their lives.

Learning-for-living therefore suggests a new test of validity: not that students enjoy lessons; nor that they record outcomes, nor that they pass exams. The test is that they see how they will use the learning in their lives. It means more than just getting students to set down learning on checklists, records and profiles; it means providing opportunities to rehearse, adapt and practice their use. This is altogether a tougher call, requiring a special kind of learning environment, which includes links with community (Career-learning Network, 2003a).

Which way now?

And now, careers work is at a crossroads: one way will enable transfer of learning, the other will not.

In one direction, the drive is to consolidate careers work. It leads to establishing careers education as a separate subject, with an intellectually respectable body of knowledge, its own framework of learning outcomes, specialist teachers and public examinations. There are hints (see OECD, 2003) that people, currently influential in policy, favour this direction.

But policy preferences have not invariably proven a sustained guide to appropriate and effective curriculum action. And learning-for-living suggest a more radical approach. Furthermore, underpinning this dilemma is a perennial but crucial discussion of curriculum values. It predates, and will outlive, 'here-today-and-gone-tomorrow' policy imperatives (see Career-learning Network, 2003b).

We need a choice. The alternative to consolidation is for wider integration with curriculum. This is what learning-for-living suggests - unifying careers work, education-for-citizenship and other life-role-related learning. We have examined the rationale:

- few students approach work wholly rationally, most draw on experience - its feelings, attachments, points-of-view and allegiances;
- 'getting a job' is but one way for people to find what they need; there are others - in shops, at home, on the street and in group solidarity;
- what cannot be specifically linked to all of these realities will not transfer to students' lives – and will not be used;
- conventional subject slots can't accommodate the reflection, practice and integration needed to figure out the pros-and-cons of life's moves; to do that, we need more curriculum and community space than conventional timetabling can accommodate;
- learning-for living – including careers work – is an increasingly significant catalyst for curriculum-wide change; and, from that wider perspective, the last thing we now need is another subject.

There are radical programme-development implications here (set out in more detail in Career-learning Network, 2003a). Edge-of-the-timetable personal, social and health education is far too frail a vehicle to carry all of this freight.

However, this is not an argument that all careers coordinators should go for out-and-out integration. There are some bread-and-butter matters – mainly to do with finding and using information and working on application procedures - which only specialist help can offer.

But this is not an adequate justification for claiming 'subject' status. Anyway, does the claim also acknowledge that education for citizenship, ...for enterprise, ...for consumers, ...for householders, ...for parenting, ...for financial management and ...for health care, should also have subject status. Madness lies that way.

And careers work mortgages a more promising future if, on this basis, it goes only for consolidation. But striking a balance must be a local decision – based on an up-close appreciation of student-, institutional- and community-readiness. It will be different in different localities. There can be no policy for this; it must be based on a credible education professionalism. And, in that respect, career-development thinking has much to offer.

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Careership, Citizenship and Inclusion - a perspective on schools

Anthony Barnes

This paper examines the current identity, scope and value of careers education and guidance in schools. It explores how careers education and guidance needs to change in the context of major policy thrusts in relation to citizenship education and inclusion. It investigates the linkages between careers education and guidance, citizenship and inclusion and makes the case that it is time to re-visit the notion of 'careership' in order to develop a new careers education and guidance culture in schools made stronger by its engagement with the ideas of citizenship and inclusion.

The identity, scope and value of careers education and guidance

The identity of careers education and guidance has a marked tendency to change when the educational landscape alters. Thus careers education was a quasi-subject for most of 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s, with the advent of the National Curriculum, it became a 'cross-curricular theme'. In most schools in recent years careers education and guidance has been organised mainly within personal and social education and supplemented by enrichment activities such as work experience. Now the landscape of the 'personal development curriculum' is changing again and careers education and guidance is seeking a new identity in relation to developments such as personal, social and health education (PSHE), citizenship and inclusion.

The impact of this can be seen in the changing balance between the three major elements which make up the rationale for careers education and guidance. Careers education and guidance has always had a role in helping to improve:

- the life chances of disadvantaged young people
- the choices that all young people make as they progress through the education system
- the readiness of young people to enter the labour market and their ability to get jobs and make a success of working life.

We are currently experiencing a phase in which the social inclusion rationale for careers education and guidance is dominant. We expect careers education and guidance to improve the achievement of all young people and especially those from socially excluded groups.

Ideas taken from citizenship and inclusion have the potential to transform careers education and guidance further although it is not clear yet whether citizenship and inclusion will successfully take root in schools in the face of competing policy priorities. In the past, careers work has often been slow to change, partly because of inertia and lack of capacity in schools. It is important, however, in the new educational climate of which Connexions is a part that careers work becomes more ambitious.

Citizenship

The word ending itself helps us understand some of the connotations of citizenship. '-ship' is a suffix forming nouns denoting a quality or condition, status or honour, tenure, a skill in a certain capacity or the collective individuals of a group. As Dadzie (1999) comments, 'notions about citizenship have changed

and will continue to change over time and that there are many different views of what citizenship could or should involve' (p.63).

The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority's (2000) guidance for schools on the importance of citizenship argues that:

> *'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. It promotes their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities; and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions.'*

This guidance also explains that schools must provide a curriculum which covers these three interrelated parts of citizenship:

- knowledge and understanding about becoming an informed citizen
- developing skills of enquiry and communication
- developing skills of participation and responsible action.

This requirement only came into force in September 2002 and the notion of citizenship education is still contested in some quarters. The Institute of Directors' response to the Government's 14-19 proposals (TES, June 2003), for example, argued that citizenship had the potential to become a 'flabby' subject and a drain on teaching time. They believe that pupils should have the opportunity to study British history instead which could instil a 'sense of commonality and loyalty to the UK'.

Careership

Although most people will have a personal understanding of 'citizenship', the term 'careership' is much less well known. It was strongly promoted by the CBI over a decade ago in their influential report 'Towards a Skills Revolution' (1989) and further developed in *Routes for success - Careership: a strategy for all 16-19 year old learning* (1993).

In the first half of the 1990s, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) exerted a strong influence on Government education policy in relation to career- and work-related learning and guidance. The CBI argued that the principles and strategy of careership apply to young people below 16 through to those approaching retirement. They identified four key elements:

- the opportunity to gain relevant qualifications and to develop core skills
- the opportunity to maintain a careership profile incorporating action planning as well as a broad range of achievement
- access to independent careers education and guidance
- financial incentives to empower and motivate people to take up education and training

This view of careership was strongly influenced by the New Right - free market thinking of the times. Although the debate has moved on in respect of issues of social equity and justice, it is relatively straightforward to update the elements of a possible strategy for careership. The proposed transformation

of 14-19 education, for example, is dominated by a desire to ensure that all young people have access to relevant and appropriate qualifications, including 'key skills'. Progress File could take the place of the careership profile and schools in partnership with Connexions Services could take responsibility for ensuring access to independent careers education and guidance. Educational maintenance allowances (EMAs) could be the alternative to the training credits proposed by the CBI! At the heart of 'careership' was the idea of the self-managed career. Personal career development is too important to leave up to organisations or employers. Has the time come to revive the idea of careership by linking up with the citizenship agenda and social inclusion agenda of Connexions? Is 'careership for all' an idea whose time has come?

Careership and Citizenship

Many definitions of 'career' implicitly focus on heroic individualism seeing 'career' as the individual's pursuit of the successes and rewards of work. Until recently, there has been relatively little recognition of the fact that a career is also a person's engagement with society through the organisation of work (Collin & Young, 2000). If this is accepted, what does it mean in practice? It means that work has social value and people are expected to choose kinds of work which contribute to the well-being of others.

One of the proponents of work as a 'good' for the self and society is John Quicke. In *A Curriculum for Life: Schools for a Democratic Learning Society*, he argues:

> *'In a democratic society, the hope is that all citizens will have jobs which are worth doing, both in terms of their own interests and desires and the interests of society as a whole.'*

Quicke adds:

> *'To advocate work as a creative, meaningful, self-fulfilling and socially productive activity requires us to see it as a virtuous activity rooted in the identity of people as moral beings…'*

He suggests that we need to create a new 'work ethic' for the 21st century:

> *'A worker who subscribes to the work ethic is self-motivated and will not need to be coerced or enticed into doing a 'good job', since it is intrinsic to his or her self-identification as a moral being that the work done is socially necessary and carried out in accordance with certain standards… What hopefully will be in terminal decline is a version of the work ethic where duty is emphasised rather than rights, coercion and control at the expense of freedom of choice, and employment as opposed to a wider definition of work.'*

The difficulty of implementing such a vision of the work ethic is explained by Suzy Harris in '*Careers Education: Contesting Policy and Practice*'(1999). She sets out to show that careers education can only properly be understood in relation to the political, social and cultural contexts through which it has been conceived, contested and reconstructed from the 1960s to the present day. She argues that careers education is a contested concept - there is no agreement about its meaning which changes with changing political, social and cultural contexts. Its meaning tends to be defined by the government rather than practitioners. Careers teachers have different conceptions of careers education and their views do not always match up with their practice. She poses a number of important questions:

- If the current dominant careers education paradigm is 'preparation for life', what does this actually mean in practice and how do different groups conceptualise this?
- Is careers education about giving young people the skills to become critical 'citizens', or to become a 'good citizen' or a 'good worker'?

- Is careers education primarily about helping young people make informed choices about their opportunities, or making sure they leave school with the skills to be 'employable'? Or is careers education primarily about helping young people to 'play the game' and accept the differentiated, structured trajectories open to them?
- What notion of citizenship underpins careers education?

Careership and Inclusion

The general teaching requirement in the revised National Curriculum documentation for all subjects emphasises three principles:

- setting suitable learning challenges;
- responding to pupils' diverse learning needs;
- overcoming potential barriers to learning and assessment for individuals and groups of pupils.

In relation to careers education and citizenship, this means that schools need strategies to ensure that provision:

- is accessible to all pupils, for example, by providing opportunities for all pupils to give their views on matters which affect them deeply, e.g. the careers programme, Connexions, the work of the school council
- is sensitive towards, celebrates and promotes respect for diversity
- is relevant to the needs and interests of boys and girls, pupils with special educational needs and all social and ethnic groups.

Just as citizenship does not impose a requirement on all citizens to become active citizens, careership should not require everyone to make their careers in the dominant labour market. Yet everyone should have access to this kind of career if they want it.

Overarching frameworks

In their response to the revised National Curriculum (CBI, 1999), the CBI strongly supported the introduction of citizenship as a statutory foundation subject at Key Stages 3 and 4. They further argued that it should provide a framework within the curriculum for the interrelation of personal and social development, political and economic citizenship and careers education. Searching for a consensus on which 'subject' could provide an overarching framework for these interrelated areas of personal development learning is one of the hot potatoes of curriculum design. Should careers be part of PSHE or work-related learning? Should we invent a 'Connexions curriculum' to get over the difficulty? Territorial disputes are very unproductive - that is why most schools are pragmatic and skirt round the difficulty by describing their programmes with names like 'Outlook', 'Viewpoint' or a cocktail of letters (PSCE, PSVE, etc.).

Bill Law (2002) has also expressed concern about careers work conceding command of its language:

> *'Words signpost experience. For example, Helena Drysdale argues that language is not just a neutral tool for communicating , it is our way of setting out the way things are. That is why, when one way of talking is replaced by another, something is always lost in translation.' (p.31)*

So, while it is important to draw out the explicit links between careers and citizenship, careers and PSHE, careers and work-related learning, etc. there are dangers in subsuming the identity of careers work in any one of these curriculum areas. Connexions by encouraging a more holistic and integrated approach to personal development in the curriculum recognises that people's career decisions are naturally influenced by what else is going on in their lives and vice-versa. However, it is essential to be able to differentiate between those elements which are being integrated and to ensure that there are leaders and champions for each of the parts.

Occasionally, careers teachers will say that the word 'careers' is the problem and that student motivation and staff understanding would be improved by abolishing the term. Whatever difficulty the careers teacher is trying to overcome by suggesting this, the solution is not to do away with the 'C' word. 'Career' is a rich, complex and, yes, problematic concept but it is a relevant, valid and versatile term for describing and analysing different facets of individuals' experiences of work in their lives. To that extent, it is a 'self-managed' concept. Without it, what we do in this curricular slot could be described as work studies, work readiness, preparation for employment, skills for working life or some such formulation. Of course, careers work needs to embrace objectives such as these. Only 'careership' captures the essence of what 'careers education and guidance' is or should be about.

One of the underpinning values of careers education and guidance is that everyone is entitled to lifelong career development. In other words, they should have the possibilities of choice and opportunity. They should be equipped with the skills and understanding to enable them to 'tell their own stories', i.e. to project it forwards and to make sense of it in retrospect. They should be able to define satisfaction, success and reward in relation to their working lives in whatever way they choose.

'Career', therefore, is inextricably linked to what we mean by citizenship. A citizen, for example, should be protected from exploitation - whether it be from slavery, child labour or low pay.

A citizen should also choose work which not only promotes personal well-being ('proper selfishness') but also contributes to the well-being of others. This explanation that work should have social value explains why society attempts to eradicate criminal careers ('anti-careers' as Alheit calls them) and sets conditions on access to opportunities (e.g. American presidents are not allowed more than two terms of office as a check on the possible abuse of power!)

A citizen should have the possibility of a career. Not everyone can have paid employment which promote personal growth and development at the level of 'self-actualisation' in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The continuing demand for low-level jobs in the labour market (e.g. shelf stacker, cleaner) means that many people are at best only likely to satisfy basic needs (food, shelter, etc.) from the work they do.

However, every citizen has the right to feel positive about their contribution to society through their work. This is not as straightforward as it sounds. Some criminals may well argue that their chosen work has social value. During periods of high unemployment, individuals may cope by entering 'sub-careers' or 'surrogate careers' below the dominant labour market (Alheit, 1994). However, Quicke (1999) argues that we should do more to recognise the individual as a reflexive, critical and creative agent. In this light, careers work is not just about utilitarian considerations such as getting a job but is linked to a higher purpose in which choices of work are acts of creative self-expression. His vision embraces the inclusion agenda:

> *'..work as creative effort is and will always be a necessary and desirable social activity, even if it is unpaid and regarded as a leisure activity.'*

The position of young people with learning difficulties and disabilities is also important in this respect. The aims of careers education and guidance are inclusive. They are the same for young people with special

needs - what is different is how far they may be able to progress, their rate of progress and the means that are needed to help them get there. Some will be able to hold down jobs in the open labour market, others may need to seek sheltered employment and others still will only experience work in the home or the day centre (e.g. making a cup of tea, filling the washing machine, answering the door). Nevertheless, the presumption of society is that all young people should have access to relevant and appropriate choices and opportunities. They should not be hidden away out of sight and forgotten. They have the same right as anyone else to try and make sense of what is happening to them in their lives. The key challenges are:

- helping students to develop and maintain a positive self-concept
- dealing with unrealistic aspirations
- reducing the deficit of experience
- making careers information more accessible
- making careers information more relevant
- overcoming barriers to choice
- providing support to parents
- ensuring effective inter-agency co-operation
- changing the external environment (Are real choices available?)

'Added value'

Another interesting facet of the CBI's approach to citizenship is the idea of 'added value' (1998).

> *'At the heart of good citizenship is the need to 'add value'. In the world of work this means that what matters is not just performing a task but going beyond acceptable performance to improve one's own contribution and the whole process - in other words, to make a difference. The same could be said of family life, voluntary work, cultural activity. What matters is not just that young people can add value, it is that they do add value, understand it, experience it, and want to carry this attitude into all areas of life.'*

This is a definition of one aspect of economic citizenship (the role of individuals as consumers is another) which CBI argues should be as integral to the subject as political citizenship. In many ways this is an attractive proposition. Employability is the capacity to add value to a business through your work.

In its response to the revised National Curriculum, the CBI is less assured when it makes the case for explicitly integrating careers education within the framework for citizenship. It is justified on the grounds that 'informed career planning will be essential in preparing for the flexible labour market of the future' (p.2). Citizenship might actually involve people being prepared to debate and challenge the supremacy of the flexible labour market! There are much stronger arguments for connecting careers education with citizenship. Young people, for example, need to know and understand their rights and responsibilities as workers. In many societies in the Indian sub-continent, the Middle East and the Far East, informed career planning is about shouldering a collective responsibility to do what is expected by your family and country rather than to act on the principle of unbridled individualism.

One of the benefits of linking careers education and citizenship is to focus attention on values (e.g. work ethic). Until recently, the dominant paradigm in careers work encouraged by CBI initiatives, the Skills Task Force and more recently the proposals for work-related learning at Key Stage 4, has been equipping young people with the skills which the labour market needs. Skills will remain important, but by concentrating on 'career thinking' and 'career building', we will be able to help young people to

clarify their own values and to be more pro-active and more creative in shaping their own careers and the careers available to others. Many will say that it is naïve to believe that careers education and guidance can do this for significant numbers of people. For the foreseeable future, the old determinants of labour market, social class, education, gender, ethnic background will continue to control the career experiences of most people. Gothard and Goodhew (1987) noted that as long ago as 1976, Watts and Herr suggested that careers work could be an agent of 'social change'; but more often than not the rhetoric of careers education often seems to reflect a commitment to the non-directive and individual change approaches and that most programmes in practice are probably closer to the social control model. How much has really changed in the intervening years?

A common framework of aims for careership education and citizenship education

Careership development is the process of individual learning, growth and change that enables young people to promote their own well-being and the well-being of others through their working lives. It involves the accumulation of work-related skills, values, achievements and experiences to improve individuals' opportunities, choices and the management of their own careers.

Citizenship development is the process of individual learning, growth and change that enables young people to engage positively in social and civic life as active and participating citizens. It involves the accumulation of citizenship skills, values, achievements and experiences to improve individual's capacity to act independently, exercise their rights and responsibilities and make a social contribution.

A curriculum which promotes citizenship and careership will enable and empower young people to:

Careership		Citizenship
• clarify and explain their developing values, interests and priorities in relation to careers and work	Self and social orientation	• clarify and explain their developing values, interests and priorities in relation to active citizenship
• learn about the world of work	Knowledge and understanding of systems and structures	• learn about citizenship
• benefit from the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of careership now and in the future	Access, participation and preparation	• benefit from the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of citizenship now and in the future

Activities

The box below outlines some key opportunities at Key Stages 3 and 4 for linking careers education and citizenship and suggested career ideas for young people with a particular interest in citizenship.

Opportunities at Key Stage 3

- mentoring of Y6s into Y7 by older peers
- Progress File
- the right to work
- contemporary issues - e.g. child labour, slavery, low pay, men's and women's experience of work, stereotyping, respect for diversity
- The Real Game
- voluntary work, special event days
- meet and work with visitors

Opportunities at Key Stage 4

- work experience
- rights and responsibilities of employers and employees
- enterprise - e.g. Changemakers, Transition Teams
- contemporary issues - e.g. young offenders, bullying, prejudice and discrimination, stealing at work, industrial democracy, economic policy, European and global dimension, sustainable development
- representation of careers and work in the media

Career ideas for students who like Citizenship

- human and legal rights-related, e.g. solicitors, barristers, police, traffic wardens, social workers, trading standards officers, environmental health officers, journalists
- central and local government-related, e.g. MP, constituency agent, researcher, civil servant, councillor, teacher, librarian
- economy-related, e.g. economists
- EU-related, e.g. MEP, translator, interpreter

Conclusions

Careership and citizenship are two sides of the same coin:

- Career and citizenship learning contribute to young people's emerging sense of self, i.e. who they are now and who they could become. How we see ourselves in relation to the world of work and civil society is important for how our personalities develop and the lives we lead.
- Career and citizenship learning have life-role relevance. They help to prepare young people for their roles as workers and citizens which are linked to their other major life roles, i.e. as spouse, parent, family member, community member, etc.

- Career and citizenship learning help young people to develop generic and transferable life skills, i.e. personal organisation, communication, networking, negotiation, teamwork, decision-making, problem-solving, information-handling, planning.
- Career and citizenship learning espouse the same underlying moral and social values: that individuals have duties and responsibilities as well as rights, that access to opportunities and the treatment of people should be based on equity, fairness and inclusion, and that relationships between people should be based on trust, honesty, justice and truth.

Careership like citizenship is a challenge as well as an opportunity and a right as well as a responsibility for individuals in society. Economically advanced countries need to and are able to extend the privileges of careership to all their citizens.

Careership education and citizenship education benefit individuals, institutions, communities, society and the economy. Individuals with the commitment, confidence and skills to manage their careers and become active citizens contribute more to the well-being of their families, communities and the wider society of which they are a part. An economy which promotes career and citizenship development generates talent, raises skill levels, improves the work ethic and increases access and participation. Society benefits by helping its young citizens to shoulder their responsibilities and contribute through their work to the development, inclusivity, cohesiveness and strength of society. It is for these reasons that careership and citizenship should lie at the heart of the curriculum rather than be consigned to the periphery.

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Citizenship for all: engaging Muslim girls in the career education process

Vivienne Barker and Barrie. Irving

Introduction

This paper considers ways in which cultural diversity can impact on our understanding of citizenship and 'careers'. To illustrate this, attention is focused on the career education needs of Muslim girls in their final years of compulsory schooling. Consideration is given to the influence of culture, family and community in relation to the choices that are considered 'appropriate' for their gender.

A rationale for differentiated provision is presented, and an overview of the 'Muslim Girls' Careers Education Pack' (Irving et al, 2002) is provided. We consider wider issues that highlight the challenges faced by schools, career educators and the wider community in developing and delivering careers material for Muslim girls.

Citizenship and social inclusion

> *"Citizenship is more than a statutory subject. If taught well and tailored to local needs, its skills and values will enhance democratic life for us all, both rights and responsibilities, beginning in school and radiating out"*
>
> (Crick, cited by DfES, 2003).

The introduction of citizenship as a statutory inclusion in the English national curriculum sees a reintroduction of a social aspect to education that has been missing for too long from compulsory schooling. As Faulks notes, the emphasis on education has tended towards individual self development and preparation for the labour market, whereas he argues that education also needs to '…build civic responsibility and sense of sociability' (2000:115). Whilst Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) could be seen to have largely filled the existing gap, there is much evidence to suggest that in many schools this subject is considered secondary to the dominant formal academic curriculum.

Citizenship is comprised of three main ideas (DfES, 2003):

- **Social and moral responsibility**

  Pupils learning – from the beginning – self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, towards those in authority and to each other.

- **Community involvement**

  Pupils learning about becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their neighbourhood and communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community.

- **Political literacy**

  Pupils learning about the institutions, problems and practices of our democracy and how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge – a wider concept than political knowledge alone.

What stands out clearly here is the importance attached to the place of citizenship in the creation of an inclusive and democratic society in which all individuals are encouraged to feel a part. It is anticipated that, through the exploration and examination of a wide range of contemporary topics and issues, students will develop a critical understanding of what it means to be an active member of a civilised world. Moreover, they will develop the skills and knowledge required not only to gain awareness of their responsibilities and obligations to each other and those in authority, but also an understanding of their role as active citizens. Thus, this will enable them to take a full and active part in creating and shaping the social and political values that should underpin a civilised nation.

So will the teaching of citizenship in schools have any real and lasting impact on social exclusion? Whilst broad in nature, the Citizenship Foundation and *me too* (2002) identify that **justice** and **equality** are two core concepts of the citizenship curriculum. Further, it is suggested that the instilling of appropriate values and an understanding of responsibilities at an early age will continue with students into adult life, leading to feelings of greater social attachment. However, if Irving and Marris are accurate in their assertion that:

> *"Social exclusion . . . is an inevitable product of a society in which inequitable processes, and unjust assumptions, are embedded within social, political and economic institutions and manifested in many of their practices."*
>
> (Irving and Marris, 2002:139)

This raises the stakes in relation to what citizenship will need to focus on if it is to contribute to a state of *actual* social *inclusion*. Giroux poses a question of fundamental importance for those involved in the teaching and development of citizenship, which can equally apply to careers education , asking, "are schools to uncritically serve and reproduce the existing society or to challenge the social order to develop and advance its democratic imperatives?" (1992:15).

This appears to be the $6 million dollar question! Yet when we look more closely at the current citizenship guidelines and the advice given in the 'Crick Report' (QCA, 1998), ongoing engagement with controversial social and political issues is regarded as an essential component (Crick, 2000). This takes us beyond simply 'learning about' democracy and 'contentious' social activities. It encompasses the concept of 'learning to', providing students with opportunities to *critically* reflect and act on the way things are. Students are therefore encouraged to examine how injustice and inequality is constructed, and explore how they might actively challenge this, and contribute to change, in the political and social arena at a local, national and international level (DfES, 2003).

A critical approach to justice and equality[1] emphasises the need for openness and 'responsible action' on the part of all. Providing students with opportunities for critical intellectual and democratic engagement will serve to enhance their understanding of 'sensitive topics' that impact on their individual and collective rights and liberties, and those of others. Moreover, scope is thus provided for controversial issues to be explored and acted on in a 'responsible' manner. To be effective, such philosophies of 'responsible' citizenship will have to openly underpin practice and policy within the *whole* institution, and be allied to an extension of democratic participation for *all*. Through discussion, debate and democratic participation, schools may begin to turn the illusion of active citizenship into a reality. The absence of 'given' learning outcomes presents creative educators with a range of *real* possibilities to work within the curriculum guidelines (QCA, 2000), yet develop programmes of study that are innovative and of significant social importance.

Linking careers education to citizenship learning

The 'official view' of careers education produced by the Department for Education and Skills in the National Framework for Careers Education and Guidance in England (2003) defines it as helping:

[1] See Irving and Marris (2002) for further discussion.

> *"young people develop the knowledge and skills they need to make successful choices, manage transitions in learning and move into work"(p.6).*

Three aims are highlighted at key stage 4, supported by learning outcomes, which focus on students gaining the skills and knowledge that will enable them to:

- Understand themselves and the influences on them
- Investigate opportunities in learning and in work
- Make and adjust plans to manage change and transition

These recommended learning outcomes include the acquisition of knowledge, skills and understanding to " .. explain the term 'career' and its relevance to their own lives" (p16), with an example activity of "discussing perceptions of 'career' in relation to different age groups and contexts" (p16). There is therefore scope in the curriculum for considering 'career' in the contexts of culture/ religion and community, yet the term itself appears to have been constructed in relation to a young person's 'progression' in learning and work, with careers education providing the required skills and knowledge. A number of opportunities are identified whereby careers education can be linked with issues that will also be addressed within citizenship.

It would be fair to say that some confusion is evident when it comes to reaching agreement on a definition of careers education (Harris, 1999). Ruff (2001) identifies the potential for careers education to go beyond simply preparation for continuing 'learning and work' by recognising the importance of individual growth and development within communities:

> *"The social/cultural imperative for careers education and guidance is to promote the goals of social inclusion, social justice, equal opportunities and community citizenship." (p.103).*

Accepting this broader definition is of key importance for careers educators as it gives recognition to the fact that, for some students, entry into the formal labour market or continued engagement in education and/or training provision may not be realised. Within the context of 'race' equality, a broader focus that not only considers these issues in the workplace or college, but also explores ways in which discrimination serves to impact on opportunity and choice as a result of socio-cultural factors can only be regarded as beneficial. It also fits more comfortably with the view that careers education has a role in preparing young people for their 'pathways through life', whichever routes they may choose (Irving and Raja, 1998). This links to concepts of citizenship that recognise the value and worth of all citizens, whatever their position in life, and could be achieved by relating particular aspects of careers education with activities undertaken as part of the citizenship curriculum. For educators committed to the promotion of 'race' equality in all aspects of social and political life, *real* opportunities to facilitate critical enquiry and options for change are presented.

Whilst the citizenship curriculum is not prescriptive in relation to the promotion of multiculturalism or 'race' equality, it is recognised as an important theme. As Crick (2000) observes:

> *"there is room for considerable difference of stress: and anti-racism, human rights and global citizenship are not merely mentioned as the leading examples of this, but also as themes that can permeate many or most parts of the curriculum, not only in citizenship itself but throughout the school" (p.6).*

This provides the space and opportunity for schools *and* careers educators to begin to make the links between what each 'subject' is seeking to achieve. Moreover, at Key Stage 4, two of the five careers education learning outcomes in the 'Understand themselves and the influences on them', state that

students are to be able to recognise and respond to influences; and consider how stereotyping and discrimination can be challenged. This fits comfortably with the assertion by Ruff that,

> *"Provision needs to help individuals develop the skills and knowledge to access and make best use of the opportunities open to them, according to their own needs and desires, but within a positive context of recognition and regard for the aspirations and concerns of the students' family, culture and community" (2001, pp.103-104).*

For many members of Britain's ethnic minority communities, the pursuit of aspiration and opportunity cannot be divorced from the wider goals of cultural equality and their religion, culture, family and community (Arthur, 2002). If careers education and citizenship is to rise to this task, there will be a need to ensure that the curriculum and delivery methods are culturally sensitive, engage with the students lived worlds, and reflect diverse expectations and needs (Irving et al, 2003). Furthermore, if the ideal of an informed and active citizenship is to reach *all* members of the wider community, it will be important to ensure that issues of concern to members of both 'white' and 'non-white' communities are exposed, critically explored and appropriately addressed. This is not to deny the reality of racism that permeates the lives of many of Britain's ethnic minorities but it is an attempt to identify how and why racism, along with other potential sites of discrimination (such as gender and social class) might occur, and be challenged.

Moreover, by recognising the way in which the identities of those from ethnic minorities may be constructed and enacted on the basis of their experiences of 'racism', gender and cultural affiliation, it will become,

> *"possible not only to address the consequences of oppression at an individual level, but also to identify, and therefore challenge, the structures that oppress people collectively, and accommodate their shifting sense of identity as they constitute themselves as members of diverse ethnic groups" (Irving & Marris, 2002, 141).*

Developing careers education for Muslim girls: meeting diverse needs

> *There has been no serious attempt to accommodate the modest religious needs of Muslim children in state schools* ***(Muslim Educational Trust, 1997:20)***

Whilst the above quote was a response to the Government's White Paper, 'Excellence in Schools', it could equally apply to the development of careers education in mainstream schools.

In relation to Muslims, there is much evidence to suggest that there has been a rise in Islamaphobia and anti-Muslim feeling (Runnymede Trust, 1997; Parker-Jenkins et al, 1998), further compounded as a result of the September 11th bombings in New York, and British and American stances on Iraq. This is also evidenced in the continuing dominance of a school curriculum that principally reflects a monocultural and Eurocentric view of the world (NIACE, 1997; Gundara, 2000). Archer (2002) notes that negative portrayals of Islam, concerns about a rise of fundamentalism, and the Western perception that Muslim women are denied any freedoms or choice:

> *"have further contributed to stereotypes of young Muslim women as heavily oppressed, suffering from 'wasted potential' and prevented from continuing in education/employment because they are expected and or 'forced' into arranged marriages on account of authoritarian, 'alien' cultural norms and practices" (p.361).*

This echoes the findings of Brah (1994) and Bhatti (1999) who identified how teachers and careers educators have been influenced by the acceptance of limiting stereotypes of Muslim women and the

perceived restrictions that will be placed on them by family. Along with the impact of racism on Muslim girls' access to opportunities, Brah writes,

> *"that low expectations and stereotyped perceptions of Asian girls, their aspirations, abilities and cultures on the part of educational professionals were seen by the women as a major obstacle to Asian girls' success in the labour market" (1994 pp.167-168).*

With particular regard to careers education and guidance provision for Muslim girls, research undertaken in England by Parker-Jenkins et al (1999) found little evidence to suggest that it actively accommodated or embraced the diverse needs of this group. Further, existing careers education appeared to operate in isolation of the wider family, community, religious and cultural context, from which many Muslims derive their sense of identity and belonging.

In response to these findings we have developed a careers education programme and materials (Irving, Barker et al, 2002) specifically for use with Muslim girls, which enables them to work together to consider their understandings of 'career' and address the different and complex ways in which Islam, culture, family and gender interact to impact on their career planning and decision-making. The Muslim Girls' Careers Education Pack was developed through the active involvement of Muslim and non-Muslims – careers advisers, a Muslim scholar, educators, teachers, parents, women in work and KS4/ post-16 students- who variously contributed to a process of identifying key areas of concern and relevance to Muslim girls; writing materials, for example Muslim women wrote personal experiences of 'career' for inclusion; reviewing materials to avoid oversimplification, misrepresentation of Islam and stereotyping; initial piloting leading to revisions prior to publication and finally, evaluation of the pack.

The pack contains:

- Notes for users of the pack - teachers, careers, Connexions and community workers, including suggested strategies for its use
- The careers education programme, consisting of lesson plans and supporting materials
- Personal profiles and photographs/overhead projector transparencies of Muslim women at work
- The Careers Guide for Muslim Parents and Family Members

The Careers Guide for Muslim Parents and Family Members, together with a number of exercises within the careers education programme offer schools a vehicle for starting a dialogue with Muslim parents and families about career, choices and opportunity. The pack aims to involve schools and parents in a process of forming a bridge between the cultural/religious traditions, values, attitudes, beliefs and obligations that may be supported within Muslim families and the educational experiences of their daughters in school.

In developing the Muslim Girls' Careers Education Pack, we have therefore attempted to move away from current practice that tends to reflect:

> *"an individualistic, 'culturally neutral', client centred approach towards careers education (which) could be regarded as less inclusive", towards an approach that "also responds to, and engages with, the cultural, religious and social milieu of students" (Barker & Irving, forthcoming).*

Changing accepted practice: delivering differentiated careers provision

One of the key citizenship learning objectives for students in KS4 is that they should learn about, "the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the UK and

the need for mutual respect and understanding" (DfES, 2003). This provides careers educators with an opportunity to engage *all* students in wider discussion about socially located issues, but also allows for discussion as to why differentiated provision may sometimes be beneficial. Therefore, "(F)or teachers, this implies the need for different forms of classroom intervention according to the local situation' (Citizenship Foundation and me too, 2002:10).

In 2003 an evaluation of the pack was conducted with teachers in both state and independent Muslim schools. In each school the teachers selected the session(s) to be used with Muslim girls and their evaluation was provided via a questionnaire and/or interview. These findings will be used to inform the future development of the pack contents. Drawing on this evaluation and discussions from our workshop at the recent 'Citizenship' conference (organised by the Department of Career & Personal Development and VT Careers Management, June 2003) a number of wider issues emerged concerning careers education provision that present challenges to those directly involved in careers education and potentially to those who are concerned with tailoring and delivering the citizenship curriculum in ways that overtly recognise and value the active involvement of *all* citizens in a pluralist society.

The first issue relates to concerns expressed that non-Muslim teachers would be unable or unwilling to deliver the materials as they may not have sufficient knowledge, understanding and experience of Islam to represent the faith accurately and answer questions raised in sessions. There was added concern voiced by some Muslim teachers that stereotypical views of Muslims may, albeit inadvertently, be conveyed to Muslim girls by some non-Muslim teachers.

The issue then is how the school and community can support and enable teachers who are engaged in and committed to a diversity of provision in careers education and PSHE, where cultural/religious and ethnicity issues, attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours are being considered.

It also has resonance in the citizenship curriculum where issues concerning race and diversity are featured and may present similar challenges for teachers of citizenship. As The Citizenship Foundation and *me too* note:

> *"Teachers can feel uncertain of their own knowledge of different cultures and religions and may feel it is better to say nothing than unwittingly to cause offence".(2001 p4)*

Further research in this area is needed including exemplars of good practice. Areas for further study identified through this small scale evaluation include the extent to which non-Muslim teachers feel that they can work effectively with these materials through adopting a facilitating role; the limitations associated with this; how these might be addressed, for example, identifying resources and developing networks in the school and community that could support their work. There may also be benefits to be gained by non-Muslim teachers through engaging with the religious/cultural dimensions of Muslim students' lives that could inform both subject teaching and pastoral care practice. For example, a Head of Year who adopted a facilitating role when delivering a series of the sessions felt motivated and challenged to find out more about Islam and the way that it impacts on the Muslim girls'views in the school concerning education and their futures.

A second key issue arising from the study is how the pack is introduced into the school. This was not seen as problematic in schools with a high Muslim population, however, where Muslim girls were in a minority some teachers were concerned that if delivered only to Muslim girls, it would make the girls feel 'singled out' and others 'left out'. Indeed, partly to counter this, one careers educator suggested using the pack with *all* ethnic groups working together by adapting the sessions for non-Muslim students to enable them to begin to consider the meaning of their own culture(s) and religion(s) in relation to their career planning. However the issue of separated provision for minority groups remains.

Gundara (2000) cautions against separate curricula as these do not assist in reaching a goal of a truly intercultural education based on common and shared values. However, we are suggesting that within a multicultural school, the provision of an intercultural core careers education programme would be enhanced by sessions specifically for students who identify with a particular group (e.g.Muslim girls). Thus providing them with an opportunity to share experiences and concerns **as members of this group**; relate these to their 'other' identities and to career planning.

The evaluation indicated that Muslim girls who took part in the sessions were enthusiastic, interested and able to relate the contents directly to their personal experiences. These girls appear to have benefited from a learning environment in which they were given appropriate materials, time and space in which to share and consider in some depth their different and common experiences of being a Muslim girl within the context of career planning, which may be more difficult to accommodate within a mixed group of Muslims and non-Muslim students.

We suggest that this approach to careers education supports schools in which the organisational culture embraces and supports equality and difference, and rejects 'colour blind' policies and practices. This would include staff, parents and pupils in understanding that all pupils are equally valued and that different individual and group needs will be recognised and met in the most appropriate ways. The issue then is one of the commitment of schools to adopting diverse approaches by providing both integrated and differentiated careers education sessions.[2]

Towards cultural inclusion in citizenship and careers education

The Citizenship Education Order, as Arthur and Wright (2001) note, is based on New Labour policy which seeks to encourage a 'communitarian' approach to education, whilst also supporting the value of recognising difference in a pluralist society whereby individuals can '..maintain a multiple identity while enjoying the rights of a full citizen.'(2001:12). If this is to be effectively delivered in the areas of citizenship and education, then 'difference' needs to be recognised, valued and 'catered for' through the democratic process, not only in the political sphere, but also through schools practising an ethos of actively seeking to include students who identify with groups which, in the past, have experienced 'citizenship' and 'career' in a state that is '..inherently racialised and gendered'(Faulks 2000:28).

Thus, the achievement of a state of social and democratic inclusion for members of ethnic minority communities cannot be made conditional on the acceptance of citizenship 'on our terms' (i.e. those of the majority culture), or narrowly defined concepts of 'career' that only apply to formal learning and work. These standpoints imply, at best, a devaluation of minority cultures that are then presented as inferior or marginal to the effective functioning of a civil(ised) society. As Young (1990) highlights:

> *"groups have distinct cultures, experiences and perceptions on social life with humanly positive meaning, some of which may even be (sic) superior to the culture and perspectives of mainstream society" (p.166).*

Further, the recognition of multiple identities which may be equally or differentially valued by an individual, requires that we do not make assumptions or 'force' choices to be made between these. For example, a Muslim girl may not identify with particular aspects of 'muslimness' when considering career or citizenship. This is a criticism that Faulks (2000) presents of Young's (1990) concept of a 'differentiated citizenship', based on the identification of group rather than individual rights and providing group-differentiated rights, on the grounds that this requires us to make a choice between our multiple identities, each of which may be equally valued and yet also held in tension. Providing the option of **voluntary**

[2] For further discussion of these issues see Barker,V and Irving, B A (forthcoming 2004) Career education for Muslim girls: meeting culture at the crossroads, in B A Irving & B Malik (eds) *Critical reflections on careers education and guidance: promoting social justice* London Routledge Falmer.

participation in a differentiated careers education programme would recognise group differences whilst also accommodating individual agency.

It is therefore beholden on educators and career professionals, not only to acknowledge and recognise difference, but also to actively gain greater understanding of a diversity of groups and of the complex nature of the relationship of individuals' multiple identities as members of these groups through the promotion of dialogue as a means of overcoming any possible cultural divide, ignorance or misunderstanding. The creation of a learning environment in which *all* pupils experience a sense of belonging, feel truly valued, and are able to participate fully is of paramount importance. Yet such an environment does not have to mean that 'the same size *will* fit all'.

Within the context of careers education, a radical re-think of current approaches will be necessary. By developing strategies that seek to learn from, engage with, and include, members of ethnic minority communities, a sense of shared purpose and trust might be established. We feel that the careers education material we have developed acknowledges the diverse experiences of Muslim girls by being located within an Islamic context. It is culturally sensitive, contributes to the individual agency of Muslim girls by providing opportunities for family involvement, and seeks to avoid any pre-judgement of future decisions that might be made. Moreover, it encourages dialogue with ethnic community members, and goes some way in bridging existing divides. Parker-Jenkins et al (forthcoming):

> *"what is being argued for here is a right for all ethnic groups to be equal and different, to participate in the majority world, but not at the expense of their own collective sense of being, as reflected in their cultural and/or religious affiliations."*

Further information about the Muslim Girls' Careers Education pack is available from Vivienne Barker (v.f.barker@cant.ac.uk)

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