This paper is taken from

***Citizenship Education in Society***
***Proceedings of the ninth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network***

London: CiCe 2007

**edited by Alistair Ross, published in London by CiCe, ISBN 978-1899764-90-7**

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***Ross, A. (2007) Active Citizenship and Identities – Towards a Fourth Phase for CiCe, in Ross, A. (ed)*** Citizenship Education in Society***. London: CiCe, pp 1-12.***

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This paper does not necessarily represent the views of the CiCe Network.

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained herein.

**Acknowledgements:**

This is taken from the book that is a collection of papers given at the annual CiCe Conference indicated. The CiCe Steering Group and the editor would like to thank

- All those who contributed to the Conference
- The rector and the staff of the University of Montpellier III
- Andrew Craven, of the CiCe Administrative team, for editorial work on the book, and Lindsay Melling and Teresa Carbajo-Garcia, for the administration of the conference arrangements
- London Metropolitan University, for financial and other support for the programme, conference and publication
- The SOCRATES programme and the personnel of the Department of Education and Culture of the European Commission for their support and encouragement

# Active Citizenship and Identities – towards a fourth phase for CiCe

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***Abstract***

*This keynote paper sets out aspects of the relationship between citizenship education and society. Such a relationship must have at its core the idea that citizenship must be active: it must involve citizens being engaged with their fellow citizens, operating in a democracy, proceeding to undertake social change, performing politically – doing something. The paper links what is meant by active citizenship, and education to achieve this, with perceptions of the particular role of our universities in achieving this, possibly working with other social groups and communities - all within he context of developing an understanding of human rights. The paper also maps proposals for CiCe over its fourth phase, from the autumn of 2008.*

Our conference has the aim of focussing on the relationship between citizenship education and society. Such a relationship must have at its core the idea that citizenship must be active: it must involve citizens being engaged with their fellow citizens, operating in a democracy, proceeding to undertake social change, performing politically – doing something. I want to address a series of linked issues:

- What do we mean by active citizenship, and education to achieve this,
- What is the particular role of our universities in this,
- How might we work with representatives of social groups to achieve active citizenship, with NGOs and representatives of different and diverse communities, and
- How does active citizenship address issues of diverse identities and of rights.

And in addressing these four issues, I will also map our proposals for CiCe over its fourth phase, in the three years beginning in the autumn of 2008, which we are now actively planning and consulting about, and which we will be submitting to the Commission in about eight months time.

Citizenship education: what are its purposes and aims? We might begin by turning to a pioneer writer on citizenship, Aristotle, who set out the purposes of education in *The Politics:*

> In modern times there are opposing views about the tasks to be set, for there are no generally accepted assumptions about what the young should learn, either for their own virtue or for the best life; nor is it yet clear whether their education ought to be conducted with more concern for the *intellect* than for the *character* or *soul* … It is by no means certain whether training should be directed at *things useful in life*, or at those most *conducive to virtue*, or at

This paper is part of *Citizenship Education in Society: Proceedings of the ninth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network*, ed Ross A, published by CiCe (London) 2007.
ISBN 978-1899764-90-7; ISSN 1470-6695

Funded with support from the European Commission SOCRATES Project of the Department of Education and Culture. This publication reflects the views of the authors only, and the Commission cannot be help responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained in this publication.

> *exceptional accomplishments*. (*The Politics*, Book VIII, Chapter ii (1337a33), emphasis added)

I start with the basic assumption that citizenship education must be for all pupils, and it is intended to make all of them aware of citizenship as 'a thing useful for life', and its practice 'conducive to virtue'. It follows that we are not concerned - as we may be in many other aspects of the curriculum - in grading or ranking pupils as more or less successful citizens. The exigencies of contemporary society mean that we cannot afford a single 'failed citizen', and that all must succeed. 'Exceptional accomplishments' in citizenship will be necessary for some, but not all, members of society, but education toward such contributions lies beyond the consideration of core citizenship education for all.

Citizenship is the relationship between the individual and society, between the self and others, and our curriculum must reflect this: it must help the individual understand both their own identity and the nature of society, and, most importantly, how to manage the complex relationship of rights and responsibilities that exist between the two. This opens the way for a vast range of exhilarating and stimulating work, drawing from the whole canvass on contemporary political and social debate.

The goal is the development of the citizen: while many politicians would settle for a passive citizen (who votes, subscribes to the state and obeys the law), many others – including perhaps most here – would hope to empower active citizens, who critically engage with and seek to affect the course of social events, interacting with other social actors and groups. We need to address the critical distinction been active citizenship and passive citizenship.

Our particular role as one of the European Commission's Erasmus Programme Thematic Networks is clear. The principal task of Thematic Networks is to provide a lead to European Universities in a coordinated approach to the themes of citizenship education and the development of identities. Sharing our various ideas of curriculum, teaching and learning, course structures and processes, we contribute to the development of a common European Higher Education Area. In such an area there will be a common understanding of what university education in these areas means, what we can expect our graduates and postgraduate students to understand, know and do in their future professional lives, whether they be working with children and young people in schools and preschools, or working with them in informal settings, or in other professional contexts.

This role, which we have had since our inception when we began planning CiCe ten years ago, will continue as we enter into CiCe's fourth phase. The first strand of activities in CiCe 4 will revolve around this consolidation and strengthening of Citizenship Education and Identities in University education. We will continue doing this, we propose, through continuing these important conferences, which act as an essential forum for the exchange of our professional practice, research-based evidence and ideas. We also propose to take a lead in surveying and identifying good practice, in engaging in dialogues with policy leaders in higher education. A working group will produce a material directed towards a wide policy readership. The Conference

Proceedings will also continue, adding to our accumulated stock of knowledge of citizenship education and identity development in Higher Education.

Universities have always had a critical role in the development of a body of knowledge in any theme or discipline. Modern Universities, since their inception in the ninth century – Magnaura in Constantinople, Karaouine in Fez, and al-Azhar in Cairo, all founded within a few years of each other – have been the institutions charged with the definition, accumulation, storage and transmission of knowledge. The next University to be founded, in 1088, was the University of Bologna, appropriately the location where the European Higher Education Area was launched as the Bologna Process eight years ago. A doctor from Bologna University, Placentius, came here to Montpellier in 1160 to begin teaching just ten years after the University of Paris was recognised. Montpellier is one of Europe's most ancient higher education establishments. The statutes given to the University of Montpellier in 1220 put the schools of medicine, literature and theology under the direction of the local bishop. Pope Nicholas IV issued a Bull in 1289, combining all the schools into a university. Such an ancient University town is an ideal location to plan our future development in contributing to the future role of higher education in our theme of identities and citizenship education.

The European dimension to our work is also particularly appropriate to this University: Paul Valery, after whom Montpellier III is named, was a writer, poet, speaker and intellectual figure in early 20th century European society. Elected to the *Academie Française* in 1925, he was France's cultural representative to the League of Nations, and a prominent European, translating English essays, giving the keynote address at the 1932 German national celebration of the 100th anniversary of the death of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and a member of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon.

Citizenship education has attracted considerable attention in many countries over the past decade. There has, for example, been some considerable discussion on what has been termed 'the democratic deficit'. In many democratic states the level of participation in elections appears to be falling from election to election, and it is claimed that the percentage of young people voting also tends to be less than that of older people. This criticism might perhaps be more muted in future, not least here in France. Low voting figures challenge the legitimacy of political institutions, and the authority of politicians. Membership of political parties in many parts of the world is declining, and younger people – if they are interested in politics at all – are asserted to subscribe to 'single issue' political groups, around, for example, environmental concerns or global poverty. Much of the policy pressure or developing citizenship education has come from politicians anxious that their mandate is evaporating.

Many in the citizenship education movement would want to achieve rather more than simply high levels of voting in elections. They would wish to develop educational processes that empowered active citizens – individuals who will critically engage with, and seek to affect the course of, social events. Active citizenship is, very broadly, about doing things, while passive citizenship is generally seen as related simply to status, to the act of being. The distinction between active and passive citizenship has been debated in the past couple of years, and though there is as yet no firm consensus, the model

suggested by Kennedy (2006) may be helpful to us at this stage. Kennedy distinguishes four forms or levels of activity in citizenship.

The first of these is conventional political activity – the level at which those concerned with the democratic deficit would have us act – in engaging in voting, in belonging to a political party, and in standing for office. This is a minimalist level of action, but these kinds of traditional conformity are nevertheless participation, and participation with a view to changing civic society.

The second form of activity lies in social movements, in being involved with voluntary activities - either working as a volunteer with agencies, or collecting money on their behalf. This form of participation in civil society (as opposed to the former civic action) is essentially conformist and ameliorative in nature: it is action to repair rather than to address causes, or even to acknowledge possible causes.

These, and the previous conventional form, constitute what is sometimes derided as the 'voting and volunteering' approach to citizenship education.

The third form consists of action for social change, when the individual is involved in activities that aim to change political and social policies. This would range from such activities as letter writing and signing petitions to working with pressure groups and participating in demonstrations, pressure groups and other ways of trying to influence decision making. This form would also have various illegal variants, such as taking part in occupations, writing graffiti and other forms of civil disobedience. Common to both legal and non-legal forms of activity is a conflictual model of civic and civil change.

This level of activity – together with the previous voluntary activity – involves those social partners with whom educational institutions must work – the pressure groups, the voluntary associations, the NGOs.

Through the participation at this conference of a number of representatives of such associations and groups, we intend to develop a dialogue that will enable those of us in higher education to work with them in developing active citizenship. We plan to build on this in the next phase of CiCe, developing further and deeper links with NGOs, examining how we can work with them, in the development of our courses and in their delivery, using their expertise and experience to develop understanding, tolerance and respect for human rights. A group will work with our National Coordinators to produce guidelines, and we will hold further Regional Conferences to disseminating this.

Returning to the forms of active and passive citizenship in Kennedy's typology: the fourth active form is of enterprise citizenship, an essentially individualist model of citizenship action, in which the individual engages in such self-regulating activities as achieving financial independence, becoming a self-directed learner, being a problem solver and developing entrepreneurial ideas. This is very much an economic model of citizenship activity, and individualistic in its range.

Kennedy also distinguished two forms of passive citizenship. The first of these is concerned with national identity, where the individual understands and values the

nation's history, and the symbolic and iconic forms of the nation – in its institutions, the flag, the anthem and the political offices. This kind of passive citizenship is commonly taught through transmission models of education, through civic education and the hidden curriculum of unspoken mores, structures and assumptions.

A second and variant form of passive citizenship is seen in patriotism, a more extreme national identity that includes military service and unconditional support for one's country against any claims of other countries. This form of passive citizenship would inculcate values of loyalty, and unswerving obedience, and stress the value of social stability and hard work.

But these distinctions are not necessarily clear-cut, and various analyses show strong cultural variations in what might be considered as appropriate forms of 'active' citizenship. In some non-European countries many of the attributes of passive attributes, concerning accepting status, are seen as elements of active citizenship, to be encouraged and developed. This may depend on the particular historical development and configuration of the state: in some countries (perhaps particularly in Europe) there is a greater perception that citizenship and national identity may now be seen as social constructs, and that active citizenship may embrace a diverse range of relevant political scenarios in which to be a 'politically active citizen'.

To develop active citizenship education is not a task we in Universities can do on our own. We need to do it collaboratively, with other social actors. But we also need to do it with other educational players, particularly in the schools and pre-schools of our societies. The Commission has proposed that the Thematic Networks should work with other phases of education, and we should see ourselves as part of the life-long learning process. We will be focussing on life-long learning for citizenship, particularly through linking with the Comenius programme for schools. The new programme seeks to establish much larger and more durable Comenius networks, and citizenship might be a focus of some of these. We will build links with Comenius citizenship education networks and adult education Grundtvig networks, supporting, encouraging, and learning from them. There may be Comenius networks directly linked with CiCe, and a number of CiCe institutions have volunteered to lead groups of local primary and secondary schools into projects in parallel to CiCe 4. This will be a significant strengthening and proliferation for us, and we will debate and disseminate good practice with these partners in life-long learning.

Active citizenship, it is now suggested, moves necessarily beyond the confines of the nation state. The idea of multiple citizenship has been possible for the past half century, and the idea of nested citizenship was developed by Derek Heater (1990). Writers such as Stuart Hall (1996, 1997) suggest that individuals do not have singular identities, but a repertoire of different identities: the individual uses these, individually or in combination, contingently on where they are, whom they are with, and the particular social setting in which they find themselves. Jagdish Gundara (2006) cites examples of young people's multiple identities, arguing that they contribute to meeting the challenge of how 'experimental democratic education can guarantee social integration in highly differentiated contexts'. Some of these identities are related to geographic location (often

nested one within another), other identities could be seen as membership of a group, and yet others are relationships (such as friend, or parent).

Identities are thus contingent. The identity or group of identities selected for presentation is a response to the group(s) that constitutes the audience, to the location of the encounter, and to the history and events that preceded it. There are two contemporary examples. The social constructionist position holds that some of these identities are more likely to be 'primary' identities than others, and there are conditions in which some supra-national identities (such as European) are more likely to be primary than local identities. The categorisation of groups and identities is not necessarily always deep and fundamental – putting oneself into a group does not mean wholly aligning oneself with all others in the group. In many cases feeling a sense of identity with others may be rather transient.

The processes of schooling often include children creating categories for groups of their peers who become 'the other'. Such distinctions have been observed as based on ethnicity and race, gender, class and sexuality. Social shaping is not always profound for young people: individual adolescents often resist being categorised, asserting that, far from being distinct members of particular youth sub-cultures, they saw themselves as 'normal' and as individuals, and their badges of youth identities were heuristic and casual. Identities are thus not always primary, and recognising this can be useful in considering multiple nested identities related to place and territory. We will also continue to address these issues in CiCe 4, addressing issues such as citizenship education for those with special educational needs, in informal settings, and identities and intercultural dialogue.

What are the key elements or components of an active citizenship education programme, and how might these be differentiated within the curriculum? Three elements can be distinguished in any effective citizenship education programme: values and dispositions, skills and competences, and knowledge and understanding.

First, and perhaps fundamental, is the identification and demonstration of certain values and dispositions - though the identification of these values, and the extent to which they are agreed to be universalistic (or even universalistic in contemporary times) is not unanimous. These key values might, for example, include the upholding of human rights; ideas of social responsibility and obligations towards others, particularly in relation to equity, diversity and minorities; certain legal values, particularly those concerning the rule of law, democratic processes and various (contested) notions of freedom; and humanistic values of tolerance and empathy for others. These values require a certain critical edge: scepticism tempered with self awareness, self criticism and an awareness of consequence. We must qualify the conception of tolerance of the substantive values of others (whether religious, ethical, or political doctrines) with the need to maintain particular procedural values necessary to freedom - respect for truth and reasoning, open-mindedness, and willingness to compromise. Toleration is not just accepting difference, but welcoming diversity, though not exploitation, racism or the suppression of opinion. As Crick and Porter put it (1978), having an open mind does not mean having an empty mind.

The ubiquity of these values does not imply that curriculum planning is not required: on the contrary, to articulate and live these values requires whole school planning of an exceptionally high order, moving from the didactic to the dialogic, so that all members of a community understand and subscribe to them, a constant programme of induction, so that new members of the community (students, teachers, all non-teaching staff) are introduced to the practice of these values, and a continuing programme of self-critical questioning, to ensure the maintenance and possible extension of these values.

The second group of key elements comprise the skills and competences necessary to be a citizen. These include the skills of enquiry, of rationally seeking to establish processes, causes, and the bases for action; sophisticated skills of communication, which include being able to consider and respond to the views of others, being able to persuade, and being capable of being persuaded; skills of participation, which include an understanding of group dynamics and of how to contribute to the social development of civic action; and skills of social action.

Both these groups of key elements – values and skills – are necessary for active citizenship, as described in the preceding section. The third group, of knowledge and understanding, are necessary for passive citizenship, but also underpin active engagement. These include both a conceptual understanding of key concepts of politics and society, but also knowledge of particular institutions and their procedures, local, national and international. It can be argued that an understanding of the underlying principles of the role of the law, of the nature of representative democracy, the powers of and restraints on government, and some awareness of the premises of the economy, society and the environment are necessary for the educated citizen.

In this discussion on identities, on rights, and on the components of citizenship education, we are drawing on a relatively recent research basis. As in any area of higher education, we need to be concerned with the production and generation of new knowledge, not just its transmission. It was for this reason, to develop a firm research capacity and basis for our work, that we have an important research strand, including our student conferences. We shall develop and extend our research infrastructure work, with research student training programmes, and examine the possibilities for a more substantial and extensive European Doctorate programme in this area.

These three elements of active citizenship education will all contribute to young people's development of their identities, adding to their repertoire from a very early age: and these have an implication for their sense of to whom they 'belong', and hence for their conception of civic identity. T H Marshall (1950) suggested that citizenship is essentially about the establishment and the exercise of rights. Citizenship is a process of belonging to a political entity that gives its members the protection of particular rights. He proposed three stages in the development of the rights of citizenship – citizenship gave civil rights in the eighteenth century, political rights in the nineteenth century, and social rights in the twentieth century. Civil rights included the right to property, privacy, and to freedom of expression; political rights extended voting rights from the richer male property owners to the poor and to women; and social rights include education, health care, and social security. But rights are being extended in the 21st century, as we discover new inequalities and lack of rights: John Urry (1995) has produced a list of new

rights, yet to be obtained for all, including the rights of cultural citizenship (a culture's right to preserve its identity), minority citizenship (a minority's rights to residence and equivalent rights to the majority), ecological citizenship (the right to a sustainable environment), cosmopolitan citizenship (the rights to relate to other cultures and societies), consumer citizenship (rights of access to goods, services and information), and mobility citizenship (the rights of visitors and tourists). From a citizenship educationist's perspectives, these newer rights present opportunities for young people to actively work and achieve in citizenship activities, rather than simply passively learn about (or be taught about) rights won long ago.

In terms of the extension of rights, we are now concerned particularly with the rights of not the majority, but of the minorities. These can be any kind of minority – the poor, the young, the elderly, and the dispossessed. John Rawls' conceptions of a distributive justice are useful here: writing on education, he suggested that

> To provide genuine equality of opportunity, society must give more attention to those…. born into the less favourable social positions … to redress the bias of contingencies in the direction of equality. In pursuit of this principle greater resources might be spent on the education of the less rather than the most intelligent, at least over a certain time in life, say the early years of schooling…
> … resources for education are not to be allotted solely or necessarily mainly according to their return as estimated in productive trained abilities, but also according to their worth in enriching the personal and social life of citizens, including the less favoured. As a society progresses, the later consideration becomes increasingly more important. (Rawls, 1971, pp 100)

In past times, identities may well have been more absolute and fundamental. We can see a particular example of this in the history of an area close to here in southern France, where the different identity of one particular group from the prevailing norm led to some horrific consequences. Just over 100 kilometers from here there lived the Cathars, between 800 and a thousand years ago.

As is typical with such 'othered' groups, the very name Cathar is one given to them by outsiders: they had no official name for their movement, preferring to refer to themselves only as *Bon Hommes* and *Bonnes Femmes.* Also known as Albigensians, their doctrines resemble those of the Manicheans of first few centuries AD. Much of our existing knowledge of the Cathars is derived from their opponents, the writings of the Cathars having been destroyed because of the doctrinal threat they posed to Christian theology. The first known Occitan Cathars appeared in Limousin between 1012 and 1020. Several were discovered and put to death at Toulouse in 1022.

Cathars formed an opposition to the Catholic Church, and raised a continued protest against the claimed moral, spiritual and political corruption of the Catholic Church. The theological underpinnings of the Cathar faith were considered destabilising to the mores of medieval society. For instance, they rejected the giving of oaths as wrongful, and this was seen as anarchic in a non-literate society where most business transactions and were based on the giving of oaths. Sexual intercourse and reproduction was considered undesirable. Informal relationships were considered preferable to marriage. Killing was

abhorrent, and they abstained from all animal food except fish. War and capital punishment were condemned, an abnormality in the medieval age. Such teachings brought condemnation from civil and religious authorities as enemies of Christian belief and social order.

In 1147, the Pope sent a legate to stop the progress of the Cathars. But Bernard of Clairvaux failed to convert them. A successor Pope, Innocent III, in 1198 again resolved to deal with them, first by conversion: but his legates had to contend with the Cathars, the nobles who protected them, the people who venerated them, and many of the bishops. Ten years later, a papal legate who excommunicated the noblemen protecting the Cathars was murdered on his way back to Rome. The Pope ordered a Crusade against them – the Albigensian Crusade - leading to twenty years of war against the Cathars and their allies in the Languedoc. The nobility of the north of France came south, as all land owned by the Cathars and their defenders could be confiscated. The town of Béziers, just 50 kilometers to the west of here, was taken on 22 July 1209. When the abbot-commander was asked how to tell Cathar from Roman Catholic he replied 'Kill them all, the Lord will recognise His own'. Twenty thousand were slaughtered, thousands more mutilated, prisoners were blinded, dragged behind horses, and used for target practice.

The siege of Carcassonne followed the massacre at Beziers, and the English noble Simon de Montfort was appointed to lead the Crusader army. All this was happening in the same decades as the University was being established here in Montpellier. The Inquisition was established in 1229 to uproot the remaining Cathars. Operating during the whole of the 13th century, and a great part of the 14th, it finally succeeded in extirpating the movement. Cathars who refused to recant were sent to the galleys, hanged, or burned at the stake. In 1244 over 200 Cathar perfects were burned in an enormous fire at the castle of Montségur. Hunted by the Inquisition, deserted by the nobles, the Cathars became more and more scattered, meeting surreptitiously in forests, and the Inquisition had grown powerful; many were summoned to appear before it. Most did not recant, and hundreds were burned. Repentant lay believers were punished: if they recanted they were spared, but had to sew yellow crosses on their clothing. After decades of not only severe persecution; but, perhaps, even more importantly, the complete destruction of their writings, the sect was exhausted. The last known Cathar perfect in the Languedoc was executed in 1321.

Minorities are particularly in danger of being swamped or obliterated by majority cultures. One of the priorities the Commission is setting for Erasmus Thematic networks in future is the 'preservation of rare knowledge'. In CiCe 4, we propose to take up this objective through examining how minority and 'rare' cultures need to have their identities and citizenship rights preserved in the development of Europe. Our planned activities in he area of minority cultures and identities will explore how these cultures and identities can be supported through citizenship education in universities and schools.

It is perhaps worth digressing to point out that many minorities are very resilient, and that cultures can be extraordinarily long lasting. We know the details and names of the Cathar families from the registers of the Inquisitors, Bernard of Caux, Jean de St Pierre, Geoffroy d'Ablis, and particularly Jacques Fournier, who became Pope Benedict XII. (Weis, 2000). He took his detailed records, the Fournier register, to Rome where they are

now part of the Papal archives. The names we find in Fournier's records, listed village by village – Maury, Esperte, Galliac, Azema, Belot, are the same surnames that are found in the French telephone directories for these villages, such as Ariège today. Some of the locals in the *Pays Cathare* region still identify themselves as Cathars, and claim to be descended from the Cathars of the Middle Ages.

The persistence of cultures and minorities is sometimes remarkable. The Cathars were identified at the time as a distinctive other. Their identity was reduced to a singular, and heretical, entity by the dominant culture of the day. We can find examples of such insistence on people – particularly 'others' as having a singular identity that subsumed all others, today. The example of the 'final solution' in the Nazi period is but one, and the far right across Europe today still identify minorities, migrants and settlers as having a single identity that marks them out.

This isn't just a European phenomenon. The Nobel prize winner, philosopher and economist Amartya Sen recently (2006) described his experience in 1947 as a child when he witnessed an unknown man stumbling into the garden of his parent's house, bleeding heavily and asking for water. This was in Bengal, sixty years ago this summer, when India and Pakistan were bloodily separating themselves into two nations, one predominantly Muslim, one predominantly Hindu. Sen called his parents, and his father took the man to a hospital, where he died of his injuries. The victim was a Muslim day-labourer, stabbed by Hindus during the riots. In 'Identity and Violence', published last year, Sen describes not just his horror but also his bafflement at the communal violence he witnessed at that time. Why should people who have lived together peaceably suddenly turn on one another in years of violence that cost hundreds of thousands of lives? How could the poor day-labourer be seen as having only one identity, that of a Muslim who belonged to an 'enemy' community, when he belonged to many other communities as well? Identity and violence attacks 'the fallacy of … forcing people into boxes of singular identity try[s] … to understand human beings not as persons with diverse identities but predominantly as members of one particular social group or community'

Human identities are not formed by membership of a single social group. Sen suggests this solitarist fallacy shapes much communitarian thinking, as well as Samuel Huntingdon's theory of 'clashing civilisations'. It involves the fallacy of defining the multiple and shifting identities present in every human being in terms of a single, unchanging essence. The idea that we can be divided in this way leads to a miniaturisation of humanity, with everyone locked up in tight little boxes from which they emerge only to attack one another. This is both false and dangerous. Huntingdon's crude theory has been used in the 'war on terror' to entrench the perception that Muslims are defined only by their religious identity, itself supposedly defined in 'anti-western' terms.

This leads to our final proposed area of work in CiCe 4: the need to include a global dimension and understanding in our work. We will work to understand and include ideas of global citizenship, and to learn and share with other educators, around the world, what ideas we can share with others, and what we can learn from them. We hope next year that a one year Erasmus Mundus CiCe Network will include non-European partners.

This will add an international dimension to our substantial European network. Europe has developed something distinctive and original in its evolution of citizenship and supra-national enforceable rights. This is a matter of considerable interest to the rest of the world: this proposal offers an opportunity to showcase educational innovation in this area. But equally Europe must not cut itself off from the rest of the world: many other countries have distinctive, useful and innovative approaches to issues of citizenship education and identity, and this proposal also offers us in CiCe a chance to learn from our peers in other countries of the world.

The variant forms of citizenship that I have discussed all imply a much greater sense of activity than passive citizenship, or even of conventional active political behaviour. And global citizenship education, as an aspect of this, must also be incorporated into active citizenship education, as separation appears to constrain both movements.

Schools as institutions need to become infused with democratic processes: this is equally true of classrooms. Traditional models of teaching as a transmission process, where the knowledge accumulated by the teacher and transmitted to the learner necessitates both a hierarchical power relationship, itself inimical to 'democratic' processes, and a denial of the identity and experience of the learner, whose previous understandings of and encounters with social life are overwritten by the teacher's narrative.

The content of what is discussed may in some ways make a transition to this form of discourse easier. Talking about identities – who do you feel you are, in this particular context – is, for example, an area in which it is very evident to questioner and respondent alike that the terms of the reply are the property of the respondent. There's no question that the answer given is 'correct'. The other suggested focus for the context of citizenship – the development of human rights – is equally an area in which divergences of views and opinions may be anticipated.

A dialogic classroom requires the development of a particular set of skills. Teachers need to manage discussions so that their students learn the skills of turn-taking, and of building on each other's experiences, points of view and arguments. Skills of decision-making, and of accepting the consequences of one's decisions, can be initiated at a very young age, and then refined and differentiated over time. A wide series of procedural values and rules need to inform such a classroom: the need to listen to others as well as to articulate one's own views, and to synthesise shared positions from these; the need to tolerate the substantive values of others; and a fundamental respect for truth and inquiry.

This remodelling of classroom interaction allows the valuing, understanding and acknowledgement of different experiences and points of view, and, it has been argued here, is necessary to meet the requirements of citizenship. We might conclude by turning to a pioneer writer on education, Aristotle, on the meaning of being a good citizen:

> … it is not possible to be a good ruler without first having been ruled. Not that good ruling and good obedience are the same virtue – only that the good citizen must have the knowledge and ability both to rule and be ruled. That is what we mean by the virtue of a citizen – understanding the governing of free men from both points of view. (*The Politics*, Book III, Chapter iv (1277a33))

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