CHAPTER 2

Literature review:

Young children, citizenship and citizenship education

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 I gave an overview of citizenship and citizenship education in order to contextualise my inquiry. In Chapter 2, I first offer a literature review, which provides a summary of empirical studies related to aspects of citizenship, citizenship education, democratic identity and young children. I comment on the possible meaning, the potential issues and tensions and the strengths and weaknesses that arise from existing studies (Boote & Beile, 2005), relevant to this study. I also comment on some of the current debates concerning citizenship education to young learners in the global and South African context.

In the next sections I outline theories related to the core and associated concepts of this research topic as well as the participants of my study and discuss their relatedness. I employ my understanding of these concepts and theories as part of a research framework, culminating in the construction of a conceptual framework (Lester, 2005:457). The information presented in the conceptual framework assisted me to direct my study and guided the interpretation of data, which enabled me to explore and interpret the life experiences and understandings of the nine-year-old learners as citizens of the democratic dispensation of South Africa. The learners' life experiences and understandings informed me on their democratic identities and their citizenship. The acquired understandings and identities assisted me in extending my own conceptions of citizenship education.

A formidable body of theoretical knowledge exists on concepts like citizenship, education for democratic citizenship, national identity and related issues such as human rights and citizenship as well as diversity and citizenship. Accessible studies also deal with the historicity of citizenship education as I already did in Chapter 1. In my search for information to answer my research questions, I began to suspect that the existing literature might lack empirical validity, especially

with the focus on citizenship and citizenship education related to the young child. The more I understood the complexity of the multiple concepts and their interrelatedness, the more I found literature on issues of citizenship, democratic identity and citizenship education. However, most of this literature focuses mainly on citizenship issues in general and not on empirical research relevant to nine-year-old learners' life experiences and understandings of their citizenship in the context of a democracy, and specifically in the context of the South African democracy.

I have limited the review to the domain of citizenship and citizenship education as defined in Chapter 1 and have highlighted issues directly applicable to my case study. Having extensively reviewed the relevant literature, I indicate what has been accomplished by my inquiry and what still remains to be done in terms of gaps I found, thus indicating how this study will address such gaps (see Chapter 6.4). In the next section I give an account of significant empirical literature.

2.2 Young children, citizenship and citizenship education

Currently, widespread interest in citizenship education exists on an international level and research has been published on children as citizens (Wilde, 2005). John (2000:9) reports that most of the research done relates to the achievements of the aims of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and resulted in the *Children in Charge* series, which includes the following volumes: *Children in Charge, Children in Our Charge, A Charge Against Society* and *The Participation Rights of the Child.* The series is based on a world conference held in 1992 on the theme ‘Children in Charge’. The series is deliberately called *Children in Charge*, in order to emphasise the stance that children are important role players in society. *The Participation Rights of the Child* is based on the participation, provision and protection aspects of the child, viz. the aims of the Convention.

According to John (2000) many researchers and practitioners around the world have focused on the participation aspect of citizenship. Against this background it is noteworthy that the most current addition to the series is *Children as Citizens. Education for Participation,* edited by Holden and Clough (2000). This work concentrates on the primary and secondary school child's educational experiences in terms of citizenship, largely in European settings. It demonstrates, through a variety of approaches, the ways in which children are being facilitated in developing a sense of individual freedom, balancing this against their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy. In the subsequent

two sections I give a brief summary of recent research projects done in the global and local contexts, highlighted for their relatedness to issues of citizenship and citizenship education as well as identity issues related to citizenship. I commence with a discussion of studies in the global context.

2.2.1 Studies on citizenship in the global context

A study done in Britain on Jewish primary schools (Short & Lenga, 2002:52) highlighted the aspects of the diversity dimensions of citizenship education in Britain. From the study it was clear that in these sample Jewish schools, the emphasis of citizenship education was on teaching learners to respect other people as a challenge to racism. This finding is of significance, for racism also occurs in South Africa as a result of distrust between young people (Scholtz, 2005). This study emphasises the fact that citizenship is a complicated matter, especially in a diverse society.

In Scotland, education for citizenship is not regarded as a separate subject but is integrated in a cross-curricular way. The objective is that education for citizenship will be a curriculum component for learners of all ages. Cowan and Maitles (2002) studied the example of the Holocaust Memorial Day and its impact on the teaching of Holocaust issues in the primary schools in a local authority in Scotland. Their research showed that remembering the Holocaust is seen as a powerful way of writing its lessons into Britain's national conscience in a time in which victimization, racism and intolerance continue. The researchers' intention was to convince the Scottish Executive to encourage teachers and schools to introduce Holocaust education and to learn from Britain's experiences. According to Cowan and Maitles (2002:377-378), there is significant evidence from their study that where the Holocaust was more centrally placed on the educational agenda of schools, it had an important impact on the development of an educated citizenry. Is there a lesson for us in South Africa to learn from this study? Do all schools use our national Youth Day as an opportunity to inculcate the principles and values of our democracy, as we are also a diverse nation with citizens subjected to intolerance?

The 15th annual conference of the European Early Childhood Education Research Association (EECERA), held at Dublin in 2005, adopted the theme: 'Young Children as Citizens: Identity, Belonging, Participation'. Delegates from 36 countries attended and many research projects were presented. Early Childhood Education focuses on the age group 0-9 years. The themes that emerged

from the presentations, related to my topic, are: the influence of politics, policy, and governance on young children as citizens, young children's experiences of democracy, equity, rights and responsibilities, and the place of values in early childhood education. Other themes were innovative teaching approaches to facilitate active citizenship, including participation and belonging, and aspects of citizenship and identity such as the construction of the identity of the European citizen and the identity of young children crossing borders. In most cases there is evidence of empirical research and methods used, for instance interviews with children and child-generated artefacts, observation of children's behaviour and the recording of children's narratives. Although it is interesting to take note of the research methodology and the confirmation of the core concepts and themes already identified, none of the research addressed the issue of exploring young children's experiences as citizens, especially those of nine-year-old children. To my mind these presentations confirmed what I already know, viz. that the concepts related to children, democratic identity and citizenship education are many and intertwined.

In Australia a civic and citizenship education curriculum was introduced in all Australian schools in an attempt to prepare their young children for effective participation in the complex, evolving society of Australia in the 21st century (Howard & Gill, 2000). Howard and Gill (2000) conducted an empirical study that investigated the perceptions of young children regarding their constructions of power and politics. Resulting from this study, the authors argue that children's lived experiences as members of families, schools and the wider society provide understandings that must be taken into account if children are expected to really appreciate the principles and purposes that underpin democratic practices. This insight became the thrust of my research approach. Howard and Gill concluded that children do not only need a citizenship curriculum that is predominantly knowledge-based with information about the structures and processes of government. They need opportunities to consider issues of rights and responsibilities, fairness and justice and the mediation of competing claims. They need to investigate what power is, who has power, why they have it and how they got it. Adults should use every opportunity in the classroom, school and at home to help children understand democratic principles and purposes. In this way children will develop social skills, an essential quality for a participatory and a truly civil society. Like South Africa, Australia is also a relatively young democracy with a diverse society; however, there is a difference regarding citizenship education. In Australia civic courses had already been introduced in primary schools as early as 1904. Despite this, the Aboriginal people as a minority cultural group have struggled for

years to obtain full citizenship rights. What can we as South Africans learn from the Australian example regarding citizenship education?

The following internationally conducted study relates closely to my topic, although the unit of analysis was 14-year-old children in 24 countries and my case study is the nine-year-old learners in the South African context. I give a brief discussion of this study. During 1999 the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), conducted a large-scale empirical Civic Education Study in 24 member countries. The IEA Civic Study involved 90 000 14-year-old students in *old* and *new* democracies in a comparative framework with the rationale to research the growth of civic knowledge and attitudes of 14-year-old students. The main focus of the research was on their civic knowledge, civic engagement and civic attitudes to obtain a picture of how young people are initiated into the various levels and types of political community in which they are likely to become members (Torney-Purta, 2001:281). The IEA study revealed a relatively positive picture of the average 14-year-old across the countries as someone who has considerable knowledge about basic democratic principles and moderate skills in analyzing civic-relevant information, subscribes to the basic 'narrative of democracy', intends to vote, believes that other activities traditionally associated with adult citizenship are less important than environmental or community group participation and is already a member of a political culture shared with adults in the country (Torney-Purta, 2001:290).

Australia participated in the international IEA Civic Education Study of Fourteen-year-olds, and published a report titled *Citizenship and Democracy. Australian Students' Knowledge and Beliefs* (Mellor, Kennedy & Greenwood**,** 2002). According to this report four in five Australian students believe it is important to be a good citizen and value helping others. However, while they supported the notion of democracy they reported to be somewhat disengaged from the more conventional forms of civic participation. The report reveals insights into the recent developments of civics and citizenship education initiatives in Australia. Academics like Woods, Macintyre and Lepani (in Mellor *et al.*, 2002:8) describe the life of future citizens as characterised by profound changes at the core of people's existence. This would seem to call for citizens who are active and participative in all of society's processes, committed and knowledge-rich. Underpinning the process of citizenship would be common values that provide meaning and purposefulness in a changing environment. These writers see the challenge for civics education as the preparation of young people to constantly transform the world so that it is personally meaningful and socially beneficial. The Australian

government and academics see civics and citizenship education as one way to prepare their young people to contribute to the future in a positive way, a future vision for Australia as an affluent nation. As proof of the sincerity of the policy makers towards civic education in the state of Victoria, the Education Department of this state contributed 35 million dollars for the implementation of a values programme in all schools in 2004 (Tudball, 2003, personal communication).

The topics of the Student Questionnaire of the IEA were based on the three broad domains as representative of the knowledge base of civic education. They were democracy and citizenship, national identity (including democratic identity) and international relations, and social cohesion and diversity. Underpinning this study was a conception that civic education is a complex activity involving a variety of cognitive, conceptual and attitudinal strands. According to Mellor *et al.* (2002) it is the theoretical underpinning of the project, rooted in the research literature that best reveals the images of civic education. For the IEA Civic Education Study, civic education is entrenched in the 'public discourse and practices of the society' (Mellor *et al.*, 2002:10). Drawing on ecological developmental psychology (Bronfenbrenner in Mellor *et al.*, 2002) and situated cognition (Lave & Wegner in Mellor *et al.*, 2002), the project constructed a model of civic context in which the student is at the centre, influenced by both micro and macro systems.

The significance of the model as given by Mellor *et al.* (2002:10-11), is summarised as follows. At the micro level influence is exerted by 'carriers' or 'agents' with whom individuals come into contact – family, schools, peers, neighbours but also by elements in the broader society such as the media. The IEA study was primarily interested in two carriers – school and peers. At the macro level, which is represented by the outer part dimensions of the model, are the institutional influences – the symbols, stories and values of national and local importance, including the international position of the country. There is an important interaction between the carriers and these outer dimensions of the model – carriers both participate in and also help to construct the public discourse around these dimensions. They then become significant mediators of the discourse for the individual students. The theoretical framework that underpins this model is constructivism, as citizens are seen as constructors of different discourses of citizenship; and out of this participation emerges their own particular view of themselves as citizen (Mellor *et al.*, 2002:11).

The significance of the IEA Civic Education Study is a rich set of data revealed by the 24 case studies and published as *New Paradigms and Recurring Paradoxes in Education for Citizenship: An International Comparison,* edited by Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta and Schwille (2002). Research findings are that citizenship education is potentially everywhere in schools; learning civic knowledge, extracurricular activities, hidden curricula, peers and relations between teacher and children. From a policy perspective, five key policy areas were identified where comprehensive civic reform is needed. They are the curriculum, pedagogy and learner participation, school organization and learners' rights, school response to factors outside the school and systemic reform (p17). Key areas which may be relevant to my study are curriculum, pedagogy, learner participation and learners' rights.

The fact that South Africa is not a member of the IEA and was therefore not used as a case study in the IEA research project, makes the IEA revise of note as background to my research. Regardless of the fact that South Africa is not a member of the IEA, the following questions came to mind: Would the 14-year-old students in the South African context construct citizenship differently and what would account for this? How would South Africa’s scores compare with those of long-established democracies and with those of recently established democracies similar to South Africa? The IEA Civic Education Model seems to be a useful model but can we, as South Africans, apply the IEA model and its theoretical framework in our context without the knowledge of how our learners see themselves as citizens? If I compared the findings from the experiences of the 14-year-old learners to those from the experiences of the nine-year-old learners – what would I learn? The developmental age of the learners of my case study directed me to appropriate methods of data collection that differed from the multiple-choice questions used in the IEA study. Subsequent to the IEA study, many other publications saw the light, such as those by Kerr (2004) and Wilde (2005).

Another study which related to my research project was undertaken by Hine (2004) in Britain. Hine (2004) published a report on exploring children's understanding of the three dimensions of citizenship identified by the report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (DfEE, 1988) under the leadership of Crick; it is generally referred to as the Crick Report (in Hine, 2004:5). The three dimensions are social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy. This research project was conducted as a complementary research to the national Evaluation of the *On Track* pilot project, which was funded by Britain's Home Office Research. This project aimed for the provision of early and multiple interventions for children and families in areas of high

deprivation and high crime in England and Wales to deliver services with the intention of reducing the risk of children's becoming involved in anti-social and criminal behaviour. According to Hine (2004) the policy context of citizenship in Britain was that a Commission on Citizenship was established in 1988 by the Conservative Government, which adopted as its starting point an understanding of 'active citizenship' as defined by Marshall (in Hine, 2004:3). The Commission reported that welfare should be widened to include what people could do for each other in their local community and what they could expect from the State, and emphasized volunteering as a civic virtue. The report also recommended the incorporation of citizenship in all programmes of education in schools, adult education and professional education. In 2001 the Active Community Unit within the Home Office introduced a biennial survey on the idea of 'active citizenship' (Hine, 2004:3). This survey brought the concept of citizenship to the attention of the government, which was interested in active citizenship concerning electoral participation and youth crime. Research showed that young people are becoming increasingly uninterested in politics and less inclined to view voting as a civic obligation (Hine, 2004:3).

Hine (2004:7) states concern about the little evidence of research on the three elements of citizenship and the distinct lack of research around these themes in relation to younger children in particular. The Home Office research involved 269 children aged between seven and fifteen and was conducted in seven pilot areas. The methodological approach of this project was to perceive children as 'people' and 'citizens' in their own right and therefore the researchers used focus groups to present the children's voices. The results showed that young children have sophisticated reasoning and understandings of complex issues (including political issues), with their biggest complaint that they are not listened to. The children indicated that they complied with rules and detected unfairness easily. They reported very limited involvement in formal voluntary activity, yet undertook informal 'helping' activities in the community on a much larger scale. In addition, the children showed interest in and unexpectedly high levels of knowledge of political issues and how government works, although much of it was tinged with cynicism related to national and local politics (Hine, 2004:iv). Insights gained from this research project were the knowledge that citizenship education has been at the heart of a major debate and policy review in England over the past decade (*see also* http://www.nfer.ac.uk/research-areas/citizenship/) and similarities of the context of this project to the commentary of politicians and educationalists about the South African child and his citizenship. In addition, I learned about the methodology employed by Hine (2005) and the way in which the learners' voices are represented in an attempt to provide a proper

reflection of the variety of their views and responses. The participants of my case study are also young learners and I too employed focus group interviews and aimed to present the learners' understandings of their citizenship as clearly as possible. In the next section, I examine empirical research on citizenship in the local context.

2.2.2 Studies on citizenship in the local context

I found limited empirical-based research on the topics of citizenship, citizenship education and democratic identity related to young children in the South African context. In 2002 a school-based report was published on research done on exploring the way educators, learners and parents think and talk about values in education (Department of Education, 2002a). The research was commissioned by the Department of Education and served as an important resource for the implementation of the new national curriculum, which included values and citizenship. Values are an important component of citizenship and citizenship education in the global and South African context. Very young children (5 to 6 years) were included as participants of this research. A key finding of the research was that values are changed by dialogue and critical engagement, rather than by prescription. In addition the research findings emphasised that human rights and democracy in classrooms are important components of the new curriculum. With the report on this research initiative the hope was expressed that it would contribute to the growth of democracy and peace in South Africa (Department of Education, 2002a). The significance this research report has for my study is the finding that young children understood abstract values and that they regarded values as important.

In an article ‘Citizenship and children's education rights in South Africa’, Vally (2005) attempts to understand citizenship and children's human rights in the context of poverty and inequality in South African society. It reviews some of the policy texts pertinent to Early Childhood Development, particularly Education White Paper 5 on Early Childhood Education and White Paper 6 on Special Education. The article deals with the discrepancy between the existing normative framework of society and its reality. It seeks to do this through a discussion of the 'glossy rhetoric' of education policies and legislation informed by human rights, social justice and a democratic citizenship discourse. According to Berry and Guthri (in Vally, 2005:31) nearly 60% (11 million) of all children in South Africa live in poverty on less than R200 per month. Vally (2005:32) states that for these children, the part of the South African Constitution that proclaims that every child has the

right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care and social services, is often only a hollow promise. Many stakeholders of Early Childhood Development perceived that Education White Paper 5 and White Paper 6 heralded a new dawn for young children in South Africa. However, they did not implement models that could effectively uplift the education and the socio-economic situation of young children (Vally, 2005:35-36).

Against the given background, Vally (2005:36-43) examines citizenship in South Africa through a legislative and policy approach by investigating the relationship between citizenship and the Constitution of South Africa (1996) as well as human rights and democratic citizenship. A founding principle of the Constitution is common citizenship and the equal enjoyment of rights including freedom of belief, religion and opinion, expression, assembly and association. A range of socio-economic rights including education and the rights of children are emphasized. One year after the first democratic elections the White Paper on Education and Training announced a new curriculum for South Africa emphasizing a ‘common citizenship’ and the objective of educating ‘responsible citizens in a culturally diverse, democratic society’. A specific outcome of this new curriculum is active participation in the promotion of a democratic, equitable and just society. Another outcome is that learners will be guided to exercise their responsibilities and rights as citizens. Also relevant to the preparation for citizenship was the initiative of the Values in Education document in 2000 and the publication of the ‘Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy’ (already reported on), which articulates a framework for values in education, which is both attentive to citizenship and strongly focused on the Constitution.

From a human rights approach, Vally (2005:41) observes the link between the right to education and other human rights as well as the interrelationship between education and democratic citizenship. At the most basic level, economic and social rights have both direct and indirect effects on democratic citizenship in that they ensure necessary conditions for citizens to exercise their civil and political rights. Although there is enthusiasm for education amongst the poor, various social and economic relations and factors influence and prevent the overcoming of deprivation, despite progressive legislation and our Constitution that guarantees the right to basic education and democratic citizenship. These factors, according to Vally (2005), are issues of human rights violation at schools and the understanding that protecting human rights should take into account that the most pervasive and chronic forms of distress are a consequence of economic, social and political structural circumstances that affect groups as well as individuals. This view of collective rights is

opposed to the liberal conception of rights based on the notion that those who succeed in society do so because of their own individual attributes and those who fail to do so because of their deficits and weaknesses. This view is possible because the philosophical foundations of the dominant human rights discourse sees human beings as individuals instead of social beings (Vally, 2005).

In the article Vally (2005:43-44) reports on a recent children's participatory process facilitated by the Alliance for Children's Entitlement to Social Security (ACESS) where children's voices were collected. The ACESS established that the most common concerns of vulnerable children are hunger and the inability to pay school fees. In conclusion Vally (2005:45) argues for the establishment of a strong social movement to co-ordinate the struggle against the inconsistency between policy and the reality of the South African society related to the young child. Although the empirical component of the article lacks clarity concerning the methodology employed, like the description of the case and the questions put to the children, the article is relevant. It describes a similar context pertinent to my study with the aim of understanding the life world of the children of South Africa. I also studied the new national curriculum (Department of Education, 2002c) against the background of the Constitution (1966) and human rights in my attempt to understand the experiences of the participating nine-year-old learners of my case study.

Another study related to the South African context was presented at the Childhoods conference in 2005 in Oslo. At this conference Smith (2005) reported on the results from a cross-cultural study conducted by the Research Forum on Children's views of Citizenship, which involved children from South Africa. The rationale for the study was to explore children's perspectives about what constitutes good citizenship and influences nation-building. It was part of an international study of six societies in various stages of democratic development, who each face a variety of economic, social and political challenges: Australia, Brazil, New Zealand, Norway, Palestine, and South Africa. The study aimed to explore children and young people's understandings of citizenship, rights and responsibilities in their own countries and in an imagined country. Researchers from Childwatch International worked on the project and collected the data in 2004. Samples of a hundred children and young people were recruited in these countries from schools and marginalized groups and included two age groups (8-9 years and 14-15 years), equal numbers of boys and girls as well as children from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. With a focus group protocol, the children were motivated to share their understanding and experience related to citizenship in a spontaneous way, using prompts from skilled focus group leaders. The researchers explored with

the participants in the focus groups, how they understood citizenship, rights and responsibilities and what it meant to be a 'good' citizen in their country. Secondly the focus groups asked the children to think about life and being a citizen in an imaginary country.

According to Smith (2005:7-8) children in this international study showed a lack of understanding of the abstract concepts related to citizenship and especially of the concept citizenship itself. The children nevertheless showed deeper understanding of what symbols on a flag meant for an imaginary country (Smith, 2005:7-8). Results from this study showed that children from South Africa had difficulty in differentiating between rights and responsibilities. They perceived responsibilities to be being obedient to authority in home, school and community. Smith (2005:7) states that the concern ‘to do as adults tell them to’ is very likely an issue in an African culture, which has a different view of the role of children in families and society. Another result from the South African children was their wish to be protected against dangers like rape and criminal violence. A further significance of the research reported by Smith (2005) is the results and the description of the methodology employed. In my study I also utilized the idea of the learners' imagination through the role-play data collection 'instruments' such as *If I were the president…,* and *If I were Mr. Mbeki…* . In addition, I found focus group discussions informative in terms of self-reporting when collecting data.

In the following sections I identify theories from a range of theoretical sources relevant to the key concepts as determined by my research perspective to construct a conceptual framework. I present the interrelatedness of theories and concepts as well as their relationship to my research problems in a conceptual framework, which assisted me in developing a deep understanding of my research topic and justifying my theory-making process. I report on contributions made by scholars to citizenship and citizenship education in general and in specific relation to young children. Then I discuss significant theories focusing mostly on the facilitation of citizenship to young learners in a democracy. Subsequently, I elicit a theory to assist me in viewing the young child as a learner and a child citizen. With each section I offer my employment of the concepts and theories.

2.3 The conceptual framework: A tool for explanation and justification

The previous sections demonstrated my understandings that myriads of theories, concepts, abstractions and relationships associated with citizenship and citizenship education and the young

child exist. From the literature it is evident that there is a lack of some kind of universal language, pedagogically and politically, in describing terminology like *citizenship*, *education for citizenship, democratic citizenship education, education for democratic citizenship, learning democracy and democratic identity.* Martin (2003:2) agrees with this observation. In addition, there are many theories on how children might gain insight in the abstract notions of citizenship and democracy.

I commence by describing the concepts and theories foundational to my research project. The concepts are citizenship, democratic identity, citizenship and democracy, citizenship education and global dimensions of citizenship education. The core concepts of my research title are discussed in Chapter 1.4. The theories I employ are: Dewey's theory on building a learning community, the theory of compassion and imaginative action as reported by Waghid, the postcolonial and the transforming society theory; each informs the focus of this study in a unique way.

2.3.1 Citizenship

Banks (2004:1) characterizes citizenship as a ‘fluid, complex, dynamic, and contested concept in the nation-state’ related to the ‘citizen's own identity, especially in a diverse society, which is multiple, open, and dynamic’ (Figueroa, 2004:226). Savage and Armstrong (2004:8-9) identify two different perspectives regarding the definition of citizenship. One perspective is the 'transmission of cultural heritage' as the inculcation of certain shared values such as a commitment to democracy, respect for authority, and the acceptance of political responsibility. Children have to learn a common core of knowledge and the shared knowledge and values will hold society together. Almost the opposite of the cultural transmission perspective is the 'informed social criticism' perspective and individuals who hold this perspective view citizenship as assisting individuals examine and critique current and past traditions. They believe that the improvement of society depends on citizens who are willing to confront injustice and the tensions that accompany a pluralistic society.

Views of citizenship depend on the abstract relationship between citizenship and the nation-state that differs from country to country (Castles, 2004) and on the relationship between citizenship and society as a whole (Figueroa, 2004:223). To Green (2005:viii), citizenship is not assumed or enacted by an individual in isolation. It is about how we relate to other individuals, to groups within our society and to other societies. Citizenship is essentially about belonging and feeling secure and

about exercising one's rights and responsibilities.

Osler (2005:12-13) regards citizenship as status, feeling and practice. The legal status of a citizen is currently determined as relating to a particular nation-state and the legal rights mostly associated with citizenship are those of living, working and voting in a particular country. The citizen is protected by the state through laws and policing and in return the citizen contributes to the costs of collective benefits by paying taxes. Citizenship as feeling involves the degree to which individuals feel they belong (Osler, 2005:12-13); however, the degree to which they identify with a particular state may vary. Although governments and communities promote feelings of national identity to promote nation-building, through national holidays and sporting events, individuals are likely to vary in the degree to which they feel part of the nation. If individuals feel that they are not accessing services on the basis of equality they may feel excluded and the sense of belonging, which is a prerequisite for participative citizenship, is missing. Based on research with young people aged 10 to 18 years in the city of Leicester (Osler & Starkey, 2005b), it was noted that often the feeling of identity and citizenship in this diversely populated city is situated in local communities. Yet, according to their research, teachers and students were reluctant to endorse the use of the national symbols, such as the flag in school contexts. For many, these symbols were perceived with discredited imperialism, an exclusive nationalism or uncritical patriotism (Osler, 2005:12-15). A 'Flag for every school' project was launched in South Africa during 2005, but the idea was rejected by Non-governmental organisations. Citizenship is also practice (Osler, 2005:16). The research done at Leicester showed that young people more willingly participated in campaigning activities or fund-raising activities concerning people in their neighbourhoods or people in other parts of the world than in formal politics. With these kinds of activities the youth of Leicester felt they could make a difference.

Osler (2005:17) identifies two traditions of citizenship. The liberal tradition of citizenship stresses the rights of citizens. The civic republican tradition stresses the obligations of citizens to participate by undertaking service to the state or standing for office. Efforts have been made to bridge the often seen tension between the two traditions in a coherent synthesis. One effort may be an inclusive approach to citizenship – not only status and practice but also the feeling, the affective dimension that will enable us to engage young learners in understanding citizenship.

Waghid (2005:323, 2003), a philosopher at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa, expands

Osler's ideas and distinguishes between a liberal and a communitarian understanding of what it means to be a citizen. According to Waghid (2005) a liberal conception interprets citizenship as entailing a set of rights and corresponding obligations or duties enjoyed by people as equal citizens of a political community on the one hand. On the other hand people are obligated to uphold the rule of law and not to interfere with others' enjoyment of their rights. Waghid's critique of this understanding of liberal citizenship is that the teacher and the learner cannot be equal, for there is a difference in authority between them. According to Waghid, the communitarian conception of citizenship is about citizens working (participating) together in shaping the future society, which aligns with the perception of Parry (in Bulmer & Rees, 1996:23) on citizenship. Parry associated his ideas on citizenship with the philosophy of Marshall, when he describes citizenship as depending on the welfare of the community and therefore a mutual relationship between citizen and community exist. Delanty (in Waghid, 2005:324-325) developed a schema from which Waghid highlights three strands of the communitarian concept of citizenship participation.

The first strand of this theory, based on work done by Taylor (in Waghid, 2005:324), is not just about participation in the political community, but also about the recognition of minority groups' cultural identities by the dominant cultural community. For the minority to participate they need to become citizens of the dominant culture and in the pursuit of achieving this goal may risk becoming marginalized. The second strand is a conservative communitarian view of citizenship and concerned with creating a sense of responsibility, identity, and participation at micro levels of society, such as within the family, in schools, and in enforcing laws. This conception of citizenship stresses participation and social regeneration as a civic responsibility. Waghid's critique of this view is that the state is excused from the responsibility for society and the establishment of conditions for citizenship education. The third strand is civic republicanism as a communitarian view of participation that emphasizes the associational character of citizenship. It involves commitment to and participation in public life above the social struggles of individuals.

According to Waghid (2005:325), Kymlicka's vision of 'communitarian democracy' has given the idea of civic republicanism a more concrete form. This conception of citizenship promotes the values of commitment, tolerance, responsibility, accountability, and public participation (values that allow a democracy to flourish). However, it denies what is personal and private (Waghid, 2005:325). For Waghid, this conception also creates a culture of consensus as a prerequisite for public participation. Waghid believes that this conception of citizenship frames the education in

South Africa, which means for example, consensus on what counts as good or not so good education. Such an understanding of education would mute different opinions and undermine educational disagreement and challenge. In Section 2.3.5.2 of this chapter I elaborate on Waghid's theory of compassion and imaginative action as the answer to citizenship education, which attempts to compensate for the limitations of a communitarian conception of citizenship.

In this research project I employed citizenship according to the liberal conception of citizenship as a set of rights and corresponding responsibilities or duties enjoyed by children as equal citizens of a political community on the one hand (The Constitution, 1996; Martin, 2003). The rights of children include their legal status as citizens, their right to identify with the South African democracy and their right to feel secure and safe. On the other hand I employed the communitarian concept of citizenship in the sense that children have to practice citizenship by participating as a specific social group in the political community, through participation within the family, the school and the community. I perceived the associational character of citizenship, but not above the social struggles of individual children. In *Children as Citizens, Education for Participation*, Holden and Clough (2000) argue that children want to participate in making the world a better place. Furthermore, I perceived children as citizens within the democratic and diverse nation-state of South Africa who have to endorse and maintain the democratic ideals or values such as justice and equality in sustaining the democracy (Ministry of Education, 2001). However, I employed facilitation and the search for knowledge about general politics, including political processes and policies as well as critical thinking skills to enable each individual citizen to meet real and potential threats to the democracy (Wilde, 2005:50). Child citizens need to be facilitated not only to participate for the good of the community but also to uphold democratic principles and processes. In addition, I regarded the state responsible for the well-being of the child in the broader society and the institution of conditions for participation and meaningful citizenship education, a prerequisite for citizenship already identified in the 18th century (Castles, 2004).

Banks (2004:4-5) discusses citizenship from the perspective of citizenship in plural societies. He refers to scholars such as Kymlicka (2004) and Ong (2004) who state that citizens within democratic and diverse nation-states endorse the broad ideals of the nation-state. These ideals are justice and equality, and citizens are committed to the maintenance of these ideals by acting against practices that violate these ideals such as social, racial, cultural, and economic inequalities. For Griffith (in Holden & Clough, 2000:16) the core of citizenship is communal responsibility

manifesting through a moral concern for social justice. Yet, Murphy-Shigematsu (2004:303-329) argues that becoming a legal citizen in a diverse nation-state like Japan does not necessarily mean inclusion into the mainstream of society and its institutions. The racial, cultural, language and religious characteristics of a citizen often influence the acceptance by the dominant group. Osler (2005:13) recommends that citizenship based on universal human rights as included in the key text of the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, can be foundational to inclusivity and identity in a diverse society. Ladson-Billings (2004:100-120) and Castles (2004:17) agree with Banks' (2008:4) perception that citizenship in a diverse nation-state is about the complexity, interactivity, and contextuality of the cultural, national and global identification of the individual. According to Banks (2004:8), there is a need for a balance between these identifications and attachments (see Figure 2.1).

The identification of a citizen with a nation relates to the concept of feeling (Osler, 2005). Jones and Gaventa (2002:17) refer to citizenship as a master political identity. Statements such as ‘children have to develop a new South African and democratic identity’ (Ministry of Education, 2001) and ‘learn about the “new” patriotism’ (Ministry of Education, 2001) can be an indication that the new curriculum may overemphasise the aim to inculcate patriotism. On the other hand, learners will only participate in transforming South Africa into a prosperous and peaceful nation if they experience the feeling of belonging. I employed Bank's observation that the identity of learners is complex and has to be nurtured in a balanced way through citizenship education. In addition, I have employed the concept of the identification of the citizen in a diverse democratic nation-state in an attempt to answer my research question focusing on how the learners of my case study perceived their democratic identities. I have illustrated the concepts and their interrelatedness to democratic identity graphically in Figure 2.1 (adapted from Banks, 2004:8).

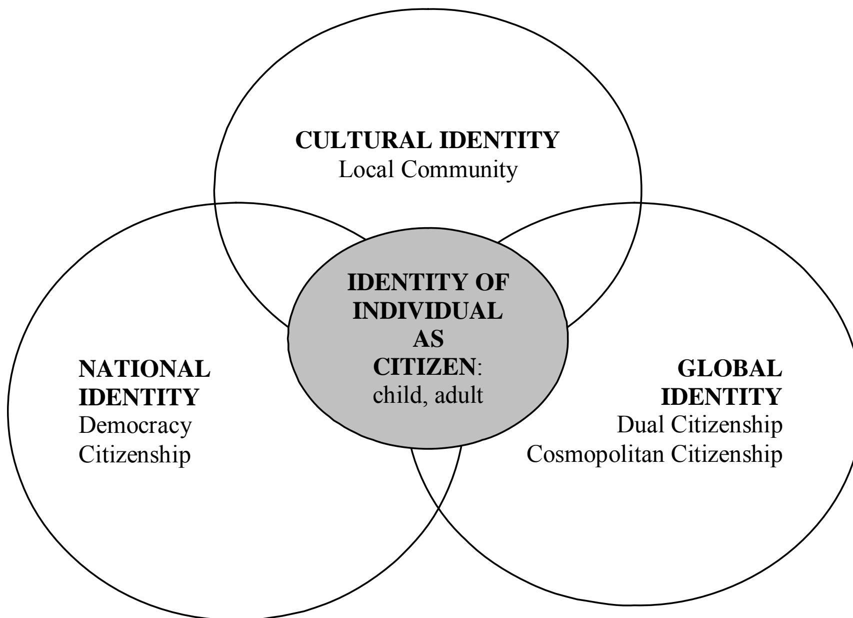

Figure 2.1: Interrelatedness of concepts regarding democratic identity

2.3.2 Citizenship and democracy

In a democratic nation-state the concepts of citizen, citizenship and democracy are interconnected, as revealed in titles such as *Learning Democracy and Citizenship. International Experiences* (Schweisfurth, Davies & Harber, 2002). Without participating in the discourse that democracy is recently under threat (Osler, 2005; Starkey, 2005), I focused on the links between the concepts of citizenship and democracy by referring to the liberal vision of the Member States of the Council of Europe that foresees societies that are 'free, tolerant and just' and that such societies can only be established on the basis of democracy (Starkey, 2005:25). Dewey (in Covaleskie, 1994) also endorsed this view as 'there is no social life that can allow for greater human development than democracy'. In a democracy 'freedom, pluralism, human rights and the rule of the law' are enhanced and Member States in particular are expected to have effective legislation in place to promote equality of rights. However, Vandenberg (2000:3) considers the concepts democracy and citizenship essentially controversial and put 'contestedness' at the core of these concepts as a post-liberal argument. He refers to long-standing processes of exclusion and secrecy in democratic governments.

Despite the declaration of the 'new democratic order' in South Africa in 1994, one has to note that South Africa is not a country with a long-standing democratic tradition or a democratic culture. Although there are achievements of the 'new' South African democracy, the high levels of violence,

the lack of tolerance, and the limited mutual respect and understanding of different groups for each other, are still part of daily life. A democratic culture can only be successfully established on the precondition that the hearts and minds of South Africans are won over to the case for a true democracy (Steyn, De Klerk & Du Plessis, 2006:2). A true South African democracy built on democratic values was foreseen at the Saamtrek conference in 2001 (Ministry of Education, 2001).

Democracy requires the commitment of all its citizens to sustaining the democratic way of life, and that citizens should understand the costs of its potential loss. Accordingly, democracy has a responsibility towards its citizens in terms of equal provision of services and protection. As the culture of democracy can be achieved through education (Starkey, 2005:24), many governments are putting school programmes for education for democratic citizenship in place, which Gomes and Hofisso (2003:55-64) refer to as Democracy Education. According to Starkey (2005:26), education for democratic citizenship contributes to the construction of a free, tolerant and peaceful world and also promotes action and participation against the forces undermining democratic institutions. Education for democratic citizenship includes human rights education, which places particular emphasis on the rights of women and children and forms the democratic basis for social interaction (Gomes & Hofisso, 2003:56; Osler, 2005).

In this research project I perceived the citizenship of the nine-year-old learners of my case study to be constructed only in a democratic dispensation. In the South African democracy there is evidence of democratic values to sustain the young learners' commitment to the democratic ideals of justice and equality (Ministry of Education, 2001; Department of Education, 2002c). However, there is also evidence that in the South African democracy there is unequal provision of services and protection of its citizens, including the children. This situation may jeopardize the learners' perception of their citizenship and commitment to democracy and all it stands for.

2.3.3 Citizenship education

Since the mid-1990s growing numbers of individuals and organizations have been participating in debating citizenship education to introduce citizenship, using broad statements to describe citizenship education. Earlier writers such as Wringe (1984) describe citizenship education and political education as synonyms. Other writers see political education as part of citizenship education (Alexander, 2002; Moodley & Adam, 2004). In Northern Ireland citizenship education is

promoted as Education for Mutual Understanding through the teaching of History (McIver, 2003). History is one subject that can help children to acquire a historical consciousness (promoted by Foucault in Rossouw, 2005a) that allows for thinking about changing the world to a better place (Ministry of Education, 2001:40-42); hence a feature of citizenship. Citizenship education in diverse democratic nation-states is referred to as education for democratic citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2005a) or as democratic citizenship education (Waghid, 2005; Banks, 2004). These concepts are being used alternatively in the literature. In the context of my study I prefer to apply the concept *citizenship education*, which includes education for democratic citizenship, as I am working with children in the milieu of the school in democratic South Africa when exploring their experiences as child citizens.

Current debates on citizenship education are focused on the tensions between diversity (the need of an individual) and the education of democratic ideals (the need of the nation-state). Kymlicka (2004:xiv) agrees that any desirable form of education has to have two strands: a ‘recognition of diversity’ dimension that acknowledges the positive contribution of each group's identity, language and culture; and a ‘social equality’ dimension, focusing on equal opportunities, in part by acknowledging and rectifying historic injustices. However, Kymlicka (2004) expresses the concern that the politics of recognizing the diversity may erode the politics of the redistribution of economic welfare to minority groups. Ong (2004:53) elaborates on Kymlicka's contribution and states that the assimilationist notions of citizenship education are challenged by the demands of diversity. The demands for cultural acceptance and the affirmative action mechanisms to increase demographic diversity in major institutions and areas of public life have shifted the focus of citizenship from the political practice based on shared civic rights and responsibilities to a protection of cultural difference in many nation-states like South Africa. This approach of protecting cultural differences is strengthened by new waves of immigrants coming into countries. Banks (2004:3) argues for a balance between unity and diversity. Only in this way can marginalized, ethnic, cultural, and language groups acquire commitments to the overarching values of the democratic nation-state.

Citizenship education needs to address young learners' *identities*. The aspect of the different identities of a citizen has already been discussed in 2.3.1 of this chapter. Banks (2004:6) describes the identity of an individual in a diverse nation-state as multiple. Richardson (2005) relates identity to concepts of equality and diversity. Ladson-Billings (2004:7) adds to the identity debate by arguing that learners from diverse cultural, racial, and ethnic groups have to understand their own

cultural identities to function in cultural communities other than their own. The recent unrest in France where mostly young people from minority groups rose up against the assimilationist approach to citizenship education is a manifestation of the complexity, interactivity and contextuality of the issue of identification (De Lange, 2005a). In the South African context there is a discourse that identity has to be scrutinized away from the terminology based on ethnicity and divisions of 'black' and 'white' or 'we' and 'they' to an all-inclusive 'we'. I concur with Malan (2005) and Jansen (2005) who suggest that this change has to start at school.

Stubbs (1995:1-5) sees attitudes and values as having a central place in citizenship education. These values have to be developed over time and through discourse to consider what constitutes a nation's character or identity. The chosen values will assist in educating 'a good citizen' in 'a good society, through active participation in working towards a just and democratic society in a healthy environment.' In order to participate, citizens need to develop certain skills like critical thinking, decision-making, problem-solving and cooperation when working with reliable, valid and relevant knowledge and understandings in the context of real experiences. For Stubbs (1995) this has to be implemented through a comprehensive approach to teaching and learning. Knowledge and understandings, skills, attitudes and values need to be integrated through classroom programmes and participation in class, school and community organization, projects and events.

Banks (2005:4) recognises the knowledge, skills and attitudes children need to make reflective decisions, to communicate and to participate as citizen actors in making their nation-states more democratic and just. Children need to master social science knowledge, to clarify their moral commitments, to identify alternative courses of action, and to act in ways according to democratic values. In contradiction to this, Banks (2004:10) sees citizenship education facing a dilemma in nation-states worldwide because the lessons taught in school about democratic values such as justice, equality, and human rights are contradicted by social practices such as institutional racism and inequalities. He refers to South Africa as 'one of the most striking examples of this phenomenon'. What effect does this statement have on my study? I have to take cognisance of Bank's perception when analysing the learner's experiences of the democratic dispensation in South Africa.

Associated to citizenship education are the concepts of responsible citizenship and active participation. Holden and Clough (2000:13-28) promote a curriculum for participatory citizenship

education to assist children to become active citizens in a democracy. Holden and Clough (2000:19-20) refer to Hart's (1992) model of the various levels of participation teachers and others can use when working with young children and in providing authentic efforts in encouraging participation. A respect for democratic processes is a basic principle underpinning Hart's approach, because he argues that teachers cannot teach about democracy if their classrooms are models of autocracy (Holden & Clough, 2000:20). Education for participation involves a values-based framework, such as assisting children in acquiring the skills necessary for making responsible decisions and responses. Such a values framework is endorsed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989 – Articles 12 and 13) where children are given the right to seek and impart information, to express their thoughts and feelings, to have these listened to, and to partake in decisions affecting them. The principles underpinning the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) include learning about social justice and global responsibility. Education for participation thus becomes 'education for values-based participation' (Holden & Clough, 2000:13-28). Revell (2005:44-45) promotes the idea of active citizenship as the most distinctive feature of citizenship education. Revell (2005) states that it is not education about citizenship, but a commitment towards fostering active citizenship that is at stake. Being an active citizen implies that young children will exercise their rights, will know how to participate and will indeed participate. In the primary classroom active citizenship means that children should be given every opportunity to participate, not just in the work they are set but in the running of a democratic classroom like deciding on class rules and forming agendas for a school council.

According to Revell (2005:44-45), 'it is impossible to deal with citizenship education without dealing with controversial issues'. These are political and social issues like racism, asylum seekers, human rights and political activism. If children are given the opportunity to explore such issues they will be far better prepared to deal with them when they are older. By dealing with the issues in an open and calm manner the teacher is providing a safe environment for these issues to be discussed. In this way they will learn the skills of objectivity. Children will have a forum in which they can talk and discuss global events of their concern. To what extent do we deal with issues of concern and controversy in our schools and with young children? Green (2005:viii) identifies teamwork, leadership, negotiating, critical reflection and presentation skills as the skills needed for responsible citizenship and active participation. Dialogue, interaction, understanding and the ability to adopt complex approaches to difficult issues go hand in hand with reading, listening, writing and speaking, viz. the basic language skills young learners have to master.

The concepts democracy and education are coupled with citizenship education through statements made by various scholars as already discussed in Section 2.3.2 of this chapter. Gutmann (2004:79-80) argues that civic equality (excluding stereotyping), toleration and recognition are essential characteristics of a democratic approach to education in diverse nation-states, but argues that it can never be entirely realized. Gonçalves e Silva (2004:206-207) states that all citizens in diverse democratic societies must work for the betterment of the whole society, and not just for the rights of their own racial, social, or cultural group. She stresses the point that education must play an important role in facilitating the development of civic consciousness. John (2000:10) argues for an educational system that, through its policies, practices and materials, recognizes children as full participants in the process of an education which perceives values, emotions, identity, gender differences and an informed consciousness about rights, as interlocking issues. This curriculum has to include children's moral and social development to produce competent citizens in a democracy.

Wood (2000:31-45) brought the dimension of change to active participation. She advocates an early years curriculum where children are assisted to attain essential social and interpersonal skills, including skills of conflict resolution, skills of collaboration and negotiation. In enabling children to make choices and decisions they have to be able to consider the influence of their decisions on others (adults and peers) and to carry out their choices and decisions. Children have to be able to listen, understand, participate and accept differences. Accordingly, they have to act through negotiation and cooperation and learn to compromise, because these skills are needed in a democratic community. Through action they can work for change and future perspective. They can participate in school councils and community projects where they learn skills of participation in the context of controversial environmental issues (Holden, 2000:46-62; Clough, 2000:63-77). Comparing the implications of citizenship education reported on in this section to the descriptions of education, especially the statement made by Gartrell (2004:69) as, 'education is about learning to live together in peace and solving problems cooperatively and creatively', there seems to be no difference between the two concepts.

In this study I will explore the experiences of the nine-year-old learners of my case study as citizens against the background of my employment of citizenship education. In order to prepare the child citizen for citizenship in South Africa as a diverse, democratic nation, citizenship education has to focus on the following components:

- Knowledge that will assist the learners in understanding themselves and other citizens in the present political context of the South African democracy, including the Constitution, which is foundational to the South African democracy (1996). The knowledge relates to the dimension of political literacy as identified by the Crick Report (in Hine, 2004:4-5). Political literacy encompasses social, economic and cultural literacies coupled with the capacity for participation in all aspects of society: political, economic, social and cultural (Hunter & Phillips, 2002:iv).
- Skills to participate actively and responsibly as citizens in a diverse nation-state like South Africa. These skills include critical reflection, leadership, negotiating, skills in dialogue, collaboration, interaction, understanding and the ability to adopt complex approaches to difficult issues. These skills go hand in hand with reading, listening, writing and speaking as the basic language skills. In addition, child citizens need skills such as the ability to identify alternative courses of action and to act according to democratic values.
- The attitudes and values child citizens need are a moral commitment to the democratic ideals and values as embedded in the Constitution (1996) and described in the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (Ministry of Education, 2001). These values are foundational to the national curriculum (Department of Education, 2002c) and relate to the dimensions of moral and social responsibility as well as community involvement as identified by the Crick Report (in Hine, 2004:4-5). To have a democratic identity is prerequisite to a commitment to the democratic values.

Knowledge, skills, values and attitudes are the thrust of the National Curriculum Statement (Department of Education, 2002c) as a product of the 'new' democratic dispensation of South Africa. The relationship between the identified components of citizenship education and the inclusion of these components in the national curriculum of South Africa substantiate my rationale that all education has to be citizenship education to sustain democratic South Africa.

Supplementary to the statements about and descriptions of citizenship education, citizenship education has to be seen within the global context. In 2002 the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, representing over 40 member states, recommended that European governments ‘make education for democratic citizenship a priority objective of educational policy-making and reforms’ (Council of Europe, 2002:2 in Starkey, 2005:25). In the subsequent section I elaborate on

the relationship between citizenship education and globalization and comment on the relevance of global citizenship for this study.

2.3.4 Citizenship education and globalization

Since the late 20th century processes of globalization have affected all nation-states (Fazal, 2000; Waghid, 2001; UNESCO, 2003). World migration and the political and economic aspects of globalization are challenging nation-states and national borders. Globalization threatens to undermine the key characteristics of the nation-state, already dealt with in Section 1.4 of Chapter 1. Where there are diverse and mobile populations with affiliations in more than one state, the crucial link between the nation and the citizen may be undermined (Castles, 2004:19-21). Kymlicka (2004:xv) states that the legal acceptance of the idea of dual citizenship by immigrants that wish to maintain strong links with their country of origin are accepted in many Western democracies, but are opposed by people who are concerned that it may displace the search for a more just and inclusive nation-state.

Ong (2004:49-70) argues that the cosmopolitan citizen (transnational individuals) sees education as an instrument for achieving economic goals and not as being for the benefit of national citizenship and learning about the disadvantaged minorities within the nation-state. The willingness of USA institutions of Higher Education to enrol foreign students of Asian elites when pursuing international degrees, challenges traditional Western liberal values and norms such as democracy, equality, and pluralism. Ong sees citizenship education as being replaced or supplemented by the focus on enhancing skills of individuals and not as 'preserving democratic ideals' of the nation-state.

Osler (2005:3) sees education for national citizenship as inadequate for the flexible and changing world, for the dual and cosmopolitan citizen, especially in classrooms where there are recently arrived children from other parts of the world. In the classes where I did my research there were newly arrived children who could not speak any of the 11 official languages of South Africa. Osler (2005:4) proposes the concept of cosmopolitan citizenship as a useful framework for developing new programmes for citizenship education. She promotes global education as the answer to education policy-makers' response to the challenges of globalisation. Young and Commins (2002) promote global citizenship as an acknowledgement of our responsibilities to both each other and to

the Earth itself.

How does global citizenship relate to the nine-year-old children of my case study? I encountered a few learners who had just arrived from countries in Africa but could not communicate with them since they only started to learn English. Some of the other learners had never travelled beyond Pretoria, but they were indirectly influenced by global trends through mass media such as television.

Apart from the theories associated with the concept of citizenship education already discussed, there are distinct theories related to the facilitation of citizenship education to enhance democratic citizenship. In the following section I report on the theories promoted by Dewey and Waghid and comment on their relevance to this study.

2.3.5 Theories promoted by Dewey and Waghid related to citizenship education

The theories of Dewey and Waghid are foundational to my research project. This section discusses Dewey's theory on building a learning community, and the theory of compassion and imaginative action as reported by Waghid. Each informs the focus of this study in a unique way.

2.3.5.1 Dewey's theory on 'building a learning community'

John Dewey (1859-1952) promoted 'Learning communities and Democratic schooling' (in Mac Naughton & Williams, 2004:225-238; Saltmarsh, 1996). As a philosophical pragmatist, Dewey called for a democratic, child-centred, and social reform-oriented education in the USA (Covaleski, 1994) and stated that schools had an obligation to train good citizens for a democratic community, a society where school and society are aligned in terms of aims and practices (Dewey in Handlin, 1959:23; Dewey in Mooney, 2000:1-19; Dewey in Palmer, 2001:179-181). According to Mac Naughton and Williams (2004), Dewey argued in his *School and Society* (1899) and *Democracy and Education* (1916) that education and democracy are closely linked and that education should be used for progressive social change. He insisted that the child's own experiences must form the basis for the curriculum and not the routinization, memorization, and recitation of the classical curriculum. In his laboratory school established at the University of Chicago (USA), the development of a democratic social community in the school was core with the articulation of and

commitment to participatory democracy. Central to this capacity of building a democratic community of learners is communication. Through communication meaning is created and shared. Through communication it is possible to understand how others think about and understand the world in order to build a shared understanding of what is valued and valuable for a group. He promotes a curriculum based on life itself, on such human characteristics as socialising, constructing, inquiring, and creating. Scholars like Saltmarsh (1996), Retallick, Cocklin and Coombe (1998) and Smith (1999) employed Dewey's theory and his notions of democracy in their work. Gartrell, in his latest publication on teaching social-emotional skills (2004:68-69), sees the goals of guidance as democratic life skills.

Alexander extended Dewey's theory of building a learning community with his concept of 'Citizenship schools' (2002). Alexander advocates citizenship schools in Britain in his book *Citizenship Schools. A practical guide to education for citizenship and personal development* (2002) as the foundations of a learning society. The concept citizenship schools provides a whole school and lifelong learning approach, based on building a learning community where citizenship is experienced as well as taught. In citizenship schools young people are treated as citizens in a democratic learning community with the emphasis on active citizenship. In this type of school, children are equipped with more power over their own lives by valuing their own abilities, learning to participate effectively in collective decision-making processes. According to Alexander (2000), this will lead to a more positive and powerful influence on society and on the future and result in a positive relationship between education, society and the democracy.

Alexander (2002) argues that constitutional changes to the way in which decisions are made at all levels, such as education, society and politics, will be inevitable. Citizenship schools will help children to develop skills to cope with the aftermath of the twentieth century, in the form of global climate change, multiple environmental crises, population growth, global inequality, mass migration and families under stress. These schools cannot be based on a rigid blueprint, but must be developed by members of the school community (parents included) working together in a spirit of co-operation, participation and mutual respect. Alexander (2002) identifies essential elements of a citizenship school as a democratic constitution and ethos, an empowering curriculum, active participation in decision-making at all levels, and a new learning culture based on a democratic constitution with the support of local education authorities and central government.

Dewey's association of democracy and education relates to my view that citizenship education can only flourish in a democracy. His ideas, elaborated by Alexander (2000), that a democratic social community in the school is core where learners are perceived as citizens, relate to the ideas of scholars like Holden and Clough (2000) who argue for a citizenship education that will provide authentic efforts in encouraging citizenship. Revell (2005) too perceives that learners have to practice citizenship in the everyday management of a school. Dewey's argument that children's own experiences must form the basis for the curriculum is noteworthy. Dewey emphasises communication and Alexander active citizenship as important skills, which link to the skills of dialogue and participation, already identified as concepts for employment in this study.

Dewey's perceptions that democracy and education are related, that education should be used for social change and his commitment to building a learning community relates to statements made by Banks (2004) and to a ‘reforming society’ position on early childhood (0-9-years) curriculum, mainly influenced by Freire (in Mac Naughton, 2003:176-180). Mac Naughton (2003:176-180) argues that a reforming society position focuses on the individual child and conservative cultural values based on diversity and ethnocentricity. Each child has to be observed with an anti-bias lens. The reforming society position asks for a changing of practices to create a more democratic society so that children develop who they are and know how they fit in the world. For the purpose of my study I recognize the possible influence of the reforming society position on early childhood, as children (living in the era of the 'new' South African democracy) are regarded as agents of reform (Department of Education, 2002a).

Although I commend the contributions of Dewey and of Alexander to citizenship education, their theories were constructed for the American and British contexts. A theory that relates to citizenship and citizenship education of the young child in the South African context is the theory of compassion and imaginative action, elaborated by Waghid (2005). I report on this theory and how it relates to my study in the subsequent section.

2.3.5.2 Waghid's expansion of ‘compassion and imaginative action’

Waghid (2005:323-342), a professor of philosophy at a South African university, expands the communitarian concept of citizenship participation through the notion of compassion and imaginative action. He states that the lack of recognition of voices and differences in a diverse

society is central to the debate about democratic citizenship education. In South African schools, learners from different backgrounds are beginning to deliberate about matters of public concern such as crime, homelessness, unemployment, poverty, lack of food, absence of good prospects and job discrimination. These deliberations require young people to deal with the issues in public and private life and to make practical judgments based on their perceptions of others' distress, sufferings and injustices. Waghid argues towards a radicalisation of democratic citizenship by making an argument for compassionate and imaginative action, especially in the South African context. This theory will produce active democratic citizens who can one day enter and play a meaningful role in the public realm. Waghid (2005:331) explores the idea of compassionate and imaginative action having the potential to extend some of the fundamental dimensions of democratic citizenship education, by reshaping our understanding of deliberative argumentation (dialogue) and the sensitive recognition of differences and otherness (listening and responding).

In his article, Waghid (2005) refers to the work of Nussbaum and Arendt and their promotion of the need in education to give voice to those who are different and vulnerable, as well as to the work of Habermas and Young on dialogical action. His argument (2005:331) evolves around the different concepts of citizenship education, already dealt with in Chapter 1. According to Waghid, a democratic conception of citizenship education makes it possible for students at university to engage in deliberative conversation and to articulate their personal stories. The recognition of difference and inner voice has to take into account that the circumstances and conditions in which a person lives and who the person is will have an effect on the narratives. I apply these ideas to nine-year-old children because they are a vulnerable group of citizens of the South African populace.

According to Waghid (2005), students at university and learners at school cannot only be taught the conventional modes of deliberative argumentation and sensitivity for differences. They have to be taught what it means to act with compassion and imagination. Waghid deliberates on how to teach understanding for compassionate and imaginative action: One has to be willing to forgive, which means some respect for the other person including a kind of friendship, a closeness, a compassion for the other. Compassion can be the condition for acting upon and deliberating about matters like recognizing each other's vulnerabilities and treating others in a just and humane manner.

An emotion like compassion is the most important emotion to cultivate in preparing young people to engage in deliberation and just action in public and private life. Waghid quotes Nussbaum

(2005:334) who understands compassion as painful emotional judgment that has at least two cognitive requirements: the belief that the suffering of others is serious and not trivial and that people do not deserve to suffer; and that the possibilities of the person who experiences the emotion are similar to those of the sufferer. Students and teachers ought to go beyond moments of deliberative engagement like greeting, rhetoric and narratives. They have to deliberate rationally about the two requirements while at the same time acting compassionately by cultivating a concern to be just and humane.

Waghid (2005) suggests strategies to engender compassionate and imaginative action. One is to cultivate an ability to imagine the experiences of others and to participate in their suffering. Another strategy is to introduce young learners (at elementary level) to stories, rhymes, songs and imagination (like thinking about life without people). However, according to Waghid (2005), how can historically privileged White persons imagine the unbearable circumstances of an informal settlement? Give up their homes? Similarly, Black students can be exposed to the inner voices of White students if they want to tell their experiences, but White students might not want to be considered as bearing the responsibility for racist discrimination legislated by a past government that promoted White minority rule.

Waghid acknowledges these as difficult demands and states that compassionate action will only succeed if learners ‘know’ the reasons why they have to reconcile. He refers to Greene (2005:338) for the answer. Imaginative action (as distinct from compassionate action) as a strategy may be helpful if students at school look at things imaginatively. Imaginative action awakens an awareness of the many voices and multiple realities of others. Imaginative action is a mode of philosophical activity that requires students to engage thoughtfully with the other to make independent, interpretive judgments in the end. This imaginative (dialogical) action creates the potential for connection to the lives of others who might be suffering without requiring that they must take part in the suffering. The idea is that students must question and search for possibilities of social justice and equality and act upon values.

An additional strategy is to cultivate an awareness of cultural differences in order to engender respect for one another, for mutual respect is an essential under pinning for compassionate action (Waghid, 2005:338). This focus needs to begin very early and as soon as a child engages in story telling about other nations and countries, different traditions, religions, and ways of thinking. He

suggests teaching primary children about the African myths and folktales and teaches them about the injustices perpetrated against Africans (p. 338) as part of a theme in life skills. They should study this in the context of the broader South African society, which is becoming increasingly diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, social class and religious differences and sectarianism (Waghid, 2005:338-339). Students can be provided with an intellectual awareness of the causes and effects of structured inequalities and exclusion based on prejudice in the South African society. They can be facilitated to expand their ability to think critically and ask questions about controversial issues that stem from race, gender, class, ethnic and different religions in the South African society and to challenge what they have been taught.

Waghid promotes imaginative action for civic reconciliation in South African schools and universities after decades of apartheid rule: 'Focusing on imaginative action in education may pave the way to a more expansive theory of democratic citizenship education' (Waghid, 2005:338). It means to act in a caring, just and trustworthy manner and engage imaginatively in dialogues. This approach will need teachers to develop their learners' capacity of listening to one another no matter how unimportant a particular point of view may seem. Learners need to understand others' reasons and to act justly on this understanding. Added to learners' capacity teachers have to teach the formal rules of dialogue and logical reasoning. In cases where logical reasoning does not fit well with the religious, genealogical, and mythic claims told by post-graduate students from South African countries like Lesotho and Namibia, the lecturer must build trust in the university classroom. Trust must be established between speaker and listener for civic reconciliation to take place.

For the purpose of this study I employed the theory of compassion and imaginative action with minor revision. Waghid refers mostly to the older learner, especially the student at university whereas the participants of my case study are nine-year-old learners. Waghid focuses on reconciliation as an outcome of compassion and imaginative action. The learners of my case study were born in the democratic dispensation of South Africa and therefore do not have the historical background of an older student. However, I acknowledged the influence of parents and other adult family members on the lives of the nine-year-old learners concerning the previous political dispensation and its effect on the lives of many people. In addition, the social world of the learners still reflects the past before the establishment of democracy in many ways and in this context reconciliation in a diverse nation will be a present factor of citizenship and citizenship education.

According to Waghid (2005) teaching compassionate and imaginative action to young learners may contribute to a different and more promising agenda for the education of democratic citizenship in South Africa. My insights are that compassion and imaginative action can be added to the repertoire of skills the child citizen needs for active participation in the South African democracy. Waghid's transforming of teaching and learning to compassionate and imaginative action links to the position of transforming society on early childhood education (Mac Naughton, 2003). A transforming society position on early childhood curriculum rests on the belief that educators can work with children and their families to create a better world (Mac Naughton, 2003:182-212). In this position, education can transform the individual into a morally, intellectually and politically engaged actor and transform society and its values to extend the possibilities for justice in public life (Giroux in Mac Naughton, 2003:182). Within this position, early childhood equips children with the knowledge to recognize and confront injustice and to resist oppressive ways of becoming. This position is underpinned by the ideological stance of critically confronting and engaging the world and by challenging power relations.

I have acknowledged the relationship between citizenship, citizenship education and the transforming society position on early childhood. Dewey, Alexander and Waghid identified the association between citizenship, citizenship education and the transforming of the democratic society. Other scholars in the domain of citizenship and citizenship education, like Wood (2000), also emphasize this association when stating that young children have to bring about change and future perspective through action and participation. I need to state yet again that the philosophical paradigm of this study is interpretivism with the main focus on understanding and interpreting the nine-year-old learners' experiences as citizens of democratic South Africa although tangent points with the critical education theory emerged throughout this study. Critical education theory is built on the following assumptions about education (various authors in Mac Naughton, 2003): education is historically located, education is a social activity with social consequences and therefore concerns individuals and social outcomes, education is a political activity affecting the lives of people and education is fundamentally problematic. Critical educational theory focuses on challenging the socio-political and economic structures that prevent a more just society in which the notion of difference is respected. These socio-political structures include aspects such as race, class, gender and ability, as well as the effects of globalization and capitalism on these structures. Critical educators are therefore concerned with discrimination, oppression, marginalization and their diminishing effects on the possibilities of a child's becoming and the role critical knowledge can

play in challenging these structures (Mac Naughton, 2003:184-185).

In the previous section I have studied theories and concepts to come to some understanding of citizenship and citizenship education as well as theories concerning the facilitation of citizenship education of the young child citizen. As the concepts of citizenship, democracy and democratic identity are abstract notions and the learners of my case study are only nine years old, I questioned my assumptions and ideas such as: Will the nine-year-old learners of my case study be able to express their experiences about their citizenship since it is an abstract idea? What are the different perceptions about the young child and their 'learning' of citizenship? How do I perceive the young South African child in relation to their citizenship?

2.3.6 Theories related to the young child and citizenship education

A review of the literature indicated various theories relating to the perception of young children and their ability to 'learn' or construct their citizenship. The research project conducted by Johnson (2006) was underpinned by the cultural-historical and activity theory of Vygotsky (1978), which offers an interdisciplinary lens on human cultural and psychological activity. The study done by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Mellor *et al.,* 2002) relied on the theories of constructivism. The cross-cultural research project executed by Smith (2005) employed the theory of the Zone of Proximal Development by Vygotsky. The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (Ministry of Education, 2001) reflected on Kohlberg's theory of moral development. As citizenship is an abstract concept including cognitive skills I studied Piaget's cognitive theory (in Gordon & Brown, 2000). In the next section I report on my employment of the postcolonial theory as the most suitable theory for this research, focusing on the child and describe how the postcolonial theory is related to the transforming of society theory.

2.3.6.1 Citizenship education and postcolonial theory

The postcolonial theory as part of the new sociology of childhood recently started to investigate images of the child and presents a view of the child from an African perspective (Mac Naughton, 2003). The postcolonial theory originated in three southern continents, namely Africa, Asia and Latin America, with the purpose of addressing the legacy of colonialism. As my case is situated in Africa I took note of this theory. A key concept in postcolonial theory that focuses on the

unmasking of power structures, 'that essentializes the diverse ways of viewing and living in the world', is related to the field of early childhood education (Viruru, 2005:7-29). Most postcolonialists view the child as part of a diverse society as one universal form. Drawing on the work of Young (2001), Cannella (1997) and other scholars, Viruru (2005) argues that adopting an activist position that seeks ways of recreating early childhood in ways that are more socially just and representative of diverse forms of knowing, is a powerful idea and relevant to the lives of young children. Mac Naughton (2005:5-6) agrees with activism in education and relates to Paulo Freire's [1921-97] work on developing a critical consciousness, a consciousness to transform reality towards action for social justice and equity.

However, postcolonial thought has had minimal impact on the field of early childhood education (Mac Naughton, 2005). For Viruru (2005:13-14), the discourse that continues to dominate the field of early childhood education and that has become another of colonialism's truths imposed on people around the world for their own good, is the idea that children develop in an universal, linear sequence. This means that all children undergo the linear sequence to achieve maturity and that appropriate intellectual and social behaviours are standardized, as promoted by the developmental theories. For Viruru (2005:13) these ideas make no room for seven- and eight-year-old children to engage in deeper levels of meaning as Tobin (in Viruru, 2005) has found in his research.

2.3.6.2 Citizenship education and the transforming society theory

Associated with the postcolonial theory is the theory of transforming society. A transforming society position on early childhood links the concept of citizenship education with the belief that educators can work with young children and their families to create a better world (Mac Naughton, 2003:182-212). In this position, education can transform the individual into a morally, intellectually and politically engaged actor and transform society and its values to extend the possibilities for justice in public life (Giroux in Mac Naughton, 2003:182). Within this position, early childhood (0-9-year-old children) can be equipped with the knowledge to recognize and confront injustice and to resist oppressive ways of becoming. This position is underpinned by the ideological stance of confronting and engaging the world critically. In the South African context, Asmal (in Department of Education, 2002a) regards children as able to act as agents for transforming South Africa into a non-violent democracy. The transforming society position on early childhood links the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education with the theories of Dewey, Waghid and the postcolonial

theory as presented in the conceptual framework that guided my understanding of the research topic. In Figure 2.2, I present the conceptual framework that directed this study. Figure 2.2 is a visual representation of my arguments based on concepts and theories and their relationship as dealt with in chapters one and two.

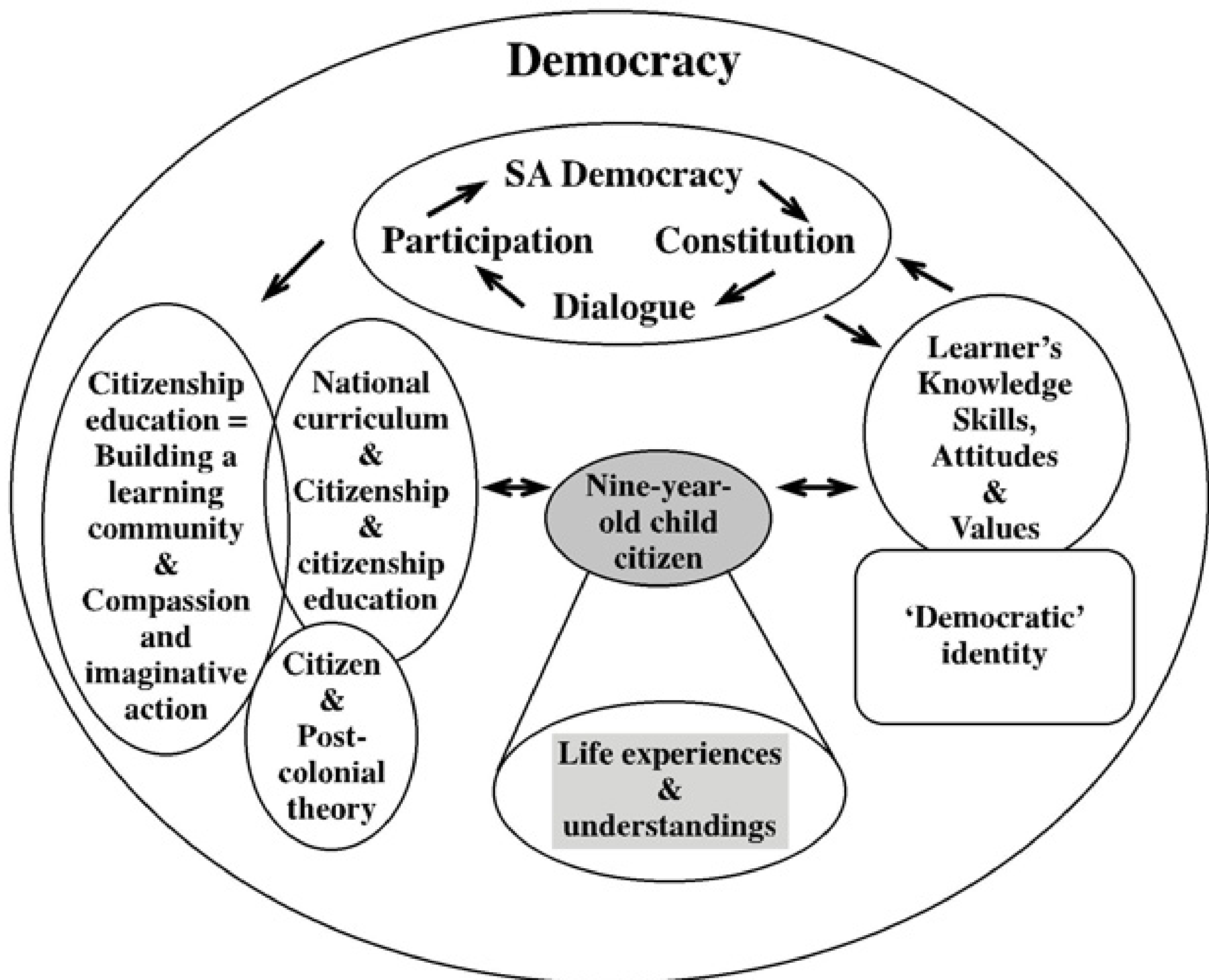

Figure 2.2: Conceptual framework

2.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I gave a review of relevant concepts and research on citizenship and citizenship education related to the young child. I described learning and teaching theories, thus how children learn about citizenship and theories on teaching citizenship in a democracy. I related my case throughout to the information and theories given to motivate the stance I hold. I showed how my investigation could help to understand the experiences of the children of my case and could possibly

contribute to existing thinking about young children's voices on citizenship. In the next chapter I discuss the methodological process of my inquiry and explain how I dealt with the research questions in an empirical manner.