

Civic Participation and Education for Citizenship

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What is an education for active citizenship? What role can youth participation in local government and local communities play in developing such a citizenship education? How can schools and higher education help to facilitate these initiatives through developing programmes of active learning in the community or service learning. Finally, how can the study of politics, which includes service learning, provide the key element of an education for citizenship and what role can the PSA, in partnership with other organisations, play in such a development?

In this paper I would like to examine these questions and argue for the importance of a citizenship education which is based on the study of politics and which includes the opportunity for service learning or active learning in the community, because it encourages civic participation as well as the development of civic virtues and political knowledge. I will briefly examine the concept of citizenship and argue that a civic participation model of citizenship, based on the ideas of civic republicanism, is a preferable ‘third way’ model of citizenship in comparison to the liberal-individualist and communitarian models, because it both requires both civic participation and civic virtue and because it is consistent with a defense of negative liberty. (This is further argued in Annette,1999a) I will then consider developments in the ‘modernising of local government’ and the “renewal of local democracy” and I will argue that citizenship education which includes youth participation in local and community politics can play an important part in the development of a more deliberative democracy in the UK. I would then like to review some of the recent research literature concerning both citizenship education and service learning in the UK and the USA. (cf. Annette,2000) In conclusion, I would like to argue that the study of politics is central to an education for citizenship and that the Political Studies Association, through its new specialist group on Citizenship Education and Service Learning, should become more involved in the debate about the nature citizenship education and service learning, not only in schools but also in higher education.

What is active citizenship? Professor David Marquand in a reassessment of social democratic politics has written that , “ the civic republican tradition has more to say to a complex modern society in the late twentieth century than the liberal individualist one; that the protagonists of ‘active citizenship’ are right in laying stress on duty, action, and mutual loyalty...” (Marquand, 1997,p.50) Critics of the social democratic conception of citizenship as, outlined by T.H. Marshall in his famous essay, “Citizenship and Social Class” (1950), argue that his while he

recognised the importance of the notion of social rights, he did not sufficiently emphasise the importance of civil rights and especially political rights. There is a growing criticism of liberal/social democratic politics which is, for example, represented by John Gray in his analysis of post- social democratic politics combined with his identification with communitarian liberalism, and by David Willetts, the conservative theorist and politician, who has argued for a 'civic conservatism'. Elizabeth Frazer in a recent reflection on the political meanings of community and communitarian politics has noted the limited conception of politics underlying many communitarian thinkers. (Frazer,1999b) More recently, Michael Sandel, Benjamin Barber and other 'communitarian' writers have identified with the political language of civic republicanism with its emphasis on civic virtues and civic participation. In a number of recent articles and in his inaugural lecture as Regius professor of modern history at Cambridge University, Quentin Skinner has outlined a republican conception of freedom which is critical of the negative conception of liberty and its history as outlined by the late Isaiah Berlin. What is important in the civic republican conception of freedom, according to Skinner, is that the idea of negative liberty or the absence of restraint is identified with the idea of political liberty and citizen virtue. The main threat to freedom for republican theorists from James Harrington to Adam Smith is the 'corruption' of civic virtue which can lead to a decline in citizen participation. According to Skinner, modern contractualist liberals are indifferent to the conditions which are necessary for the maintenance of liberty. (Skinner,1999 and Daggar,1997) What is important to note here is that for the civic republican, the defense of liberty is best achieved through the development of civic virtue and civic participation. Rights require both responsibilities and civic participation.

One of the major challenges facing civic republicanism is that it traditionally identified citizenship with being a male property holder. The creation of a shared political identity underlying citizenship should also allow for multiple group identities based on gender, race, ethnicity, social exclusion, etc., It may be that the civic republican politics of contestability, as recently argued for by Philip Pettit (Pettit,1997), may provide a more pluralist basis for citizenship in contemporary Britain than traditional republican politics. Equally recent theorists of liberal democracy like Eamonn Callan also argue that an education for citizenship must hold a constitutive ideal of liberal democracy while allowing for religious and cultural pluralism. (Callan,1997) A more differentiated but universal concept of citizenship. (Lister,1998) , which encourages civic virtue and participation while maintaining individual liberty and allows for

cultural difference, will create a way of understanding citizenship that is appropriate for an education for citizenship and democracy.

David Marquand, in his argument for civic republicanism, states that voluntary service is not an important feature of active citizenship. Here I believe he places too much emphasis on formal political participation and does not recognise fully enough the importance of the associations, institutions and practices of civil society. In the USA an increasing number of political scientists, for example Robert Putnam, are noting the decline of 'social capital' with a decrease in voluntary activity and a growing concern about the vitality of civil society. (Putnam 1995, 1996 and forthcoming ; Skocpol and Fiorina,1999; Wuthnow,1998) The evidence in the UK is complex and a recent study indicates that 'social capital' is still strong but may indicate a decline in public 'trust' (Hall,1997). A 'strong democrat' like Benjamin Barber argues for the importance of civil society in maintaining a participatory civil society and calls for the maintenance of public spaces for civic participation. In a comparative survey of attitudes towards citizenship in both the UK and the USA, Professor Ivor Crewe and his colleagues state that, "There is now ample evidence that electoral turn-out, attention to political and public issues in the media, involvement in election campaigns and demonstrations are all strongly and consistently related to motivations that are reinforced through participation in informal groups and voluntary associations." (Ivor Crewe,et.al., 1998,) According to Barber, "We live today in Tocqueville's vast new world of contractual associations-both political and economic- in which people interact as private persons linked only by contract and mutual self-interest, a world of diverse groups struggling for separate identities through which they might count for something politically in the national community." (Barber, 1998,p.) For Barber, the fundamental problem facing civil society is the challenge of providing citizens with "the literacy required to live in a civil society, the competence to participate in democratic communities, the ability to think critically and act deliberately in a pluralist world, the empathy that permits us to hear and thus accommodate others, all involve skills that must be acquired." (Barber,1992,p.128) As we will see later, Benjamin Barber and other political analysts see education for citizenship and service learning as a key factor in maintaining civic virtue and civic participation. Equally, Robert Wuthnow sees civic participation in civil society as an important way in which people increasingly develop both civic virtues and public spiritual and moral values and engage in what the liberal Jewish theorist Michael Lerner has termed the 'politics of meaning'. (Wuthnow, 1996, 1998 ; Lerner, 1997)

What is the role of local political participation in an education for democracy in the UK? According to J.S.Mill local democratic government not only creates the opportunity for political participation but it also provides the basis for an education for citizenship. Gerry Stoker has written that, “ Local government should not be defined by its task of service delivery; rather it should be valued as a site for political activity.” (Stoker,1996,p.194) While recent research has highlighted the problem of addressing the ‘democratic deficit’ in the UK nationally, there is also a growing literature which considers the ‘crisis of local democracy’ in the UK (King and Stoker,1996; Pratchett and Wilson,1996; etc.) Recently the Local Government White Paper, “Modern Local Government: In Touch With the People “ (DETR,1998) called for a democratic renewal which includes electoral reform, enhancing political participation, improving political management and extending local authority and community leadership to promote the economic, social and environmental ‘well-being’ of local areas. (DETR,1998 and cf. LGA,1998) I would like to briefly explore how enhancing political participation and extending local authority and community leadership can provide an important opportunity for an education for active citizenship and can make a contribution to the renewal of democracy on the local/community level. The main challenge facing such developments is whether local political authorities are willing and able to move beyond a politics of consumer satisfaction and public consultation to a more deliberative and participatory democratic politics. Lawrence Pratchett has argued for “ a new democratic polity which not only improves the effectiveness of existing practices but also draws upon different components of direct, consultative, deliberative and representative democracy to create a new democratic order.” (Pratchett, 2000,p.9) This new democratic politics would include referendums, consultative activities, and deliberative participation. There is an increasing interest in the activities of deliberative democracy which have been advocated by the Local Government Association and follow on from the work of the Commission for Local Democracy,1993-1995 and the ESRC research programme on “Local Governance”,1992-1997. The evidence indicates that local governance now includes a growing repertoire of approaches which encourage public participation. (Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker, et.al,1998) and innovations in local democracy have included referendum, focus groups, citizens juries, visioning, etc. (cf. Barber, 1984; Fishkin, 1991; Stewart, 1994; Barnes, 1999; Young, 2000, etc.) and the use of ICT for direct democracy,(cf. Budge,1996; Bellamy and Taylor,1998; Tsagarousianou,et.al.,1998; Hague and Loader,1999; etc). As Pratchett notes, these activities in themselves can not establish a

more deliberative democracy but as part of a wider reform package they can provide the basis for the realisation of such a deliberative form of democratic politics. (Pratchett, 2000 and cf. Prior, Stewart and Walsh,1995; Stoker, 1996) One of the key issues underlying the development of a deliberative democratic politics is not only the problem of the levels and forms of participation but also the problem of social exclusion. To what extent do these new forms of deliberative democratic politics address the need to take into account an identity politics based education, class, gender, race, and ethnicity? Another important question on the local level of governance is the question of how we define political participation and what should be the role of the voluntary and community sectors in local democratic politics?

At present there are a number of research projects being undertaken to examine these forms of deliberative democratic politics on both the local/community level and on a wider comparative and national level. As part of the ESRC research programme on 'Democracy and Participation' the research projects by Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker , "The Locality Effect: Local Government and Citizen Participation", and that by Barnes, et.al. on "Power, Participation and Political Renewal", will provide some important research data on both the strengths and weaknesses of the new strategies for citizenship participation and a study of their impact of locality and community politics. The Barnes,et.al. study is interesting because it will also evaluate "community development projects working both with locality and identity groups". The 'politics' of urban renewal , the growing importance of the 'voluntary sector' in community renewal and the growth of ESF and SRB funded community development groups in the UK, provide another focus for studying 'political' participation in the UK. The concept of "community leadership" is based on the a partnership between local government and voluntary and community sector organisations and groups. (cf. Clarke and Stewart,1998; LGA,1999) This partnership involves the creation of new forms of consulting and involving local people (Skelcher, 1996; Craig, et.al., 1999; cf. recent research work supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the work of the Community Development Foundation).The role of capacity building for democratic participation within ESF and SRB community regeneration projects is important not only for economic, social and environmental development but also for providing an education for citizenship and for participation in local deliberative democratic politics. The 'modernising of local government' in contemporary Britain provides an important opportunity to link the development of an education for

citizenship in schools and the creation of new forms of participatory politics for young people in local governance.

What about young people and the ideal of active citizenship? Several studies indicate a relatively high level of voluntary activity among young people. The study done for the Commission on the Future of the Voluntary Sector (CFVS), alongside studies done by the Trust for the Study of Adolescents, the National Centre for Volunteering, and recent research done by Roker, et.al., for the National Youth Agency (Gaskin, Vlaeminke, Fenton,1996 ; Gaskin, 1998 and Roker, et.al., 1997 and 1999a and 1999b) provide evidence of support for volunteering among young people. Indeed the CFVS study indicates that young people see the voluntary sector as a more meaningful arena for political action than the more formal political process. The Demos Real Deal project also found serious cynicism among young people about politicians and formal politics. (cf. Bentley and Oakley, 1999; cf. Wilkinson and Mulgan,1995 and Wilkinson, 1996) and this is supported by a study by the British Youth Council (British Youth Council,1996) which indicates that mistrust of government and the legal system has grown among the young is increasing. It is debatable whether or not this reflects a generational change (Parry,Moyser and Day, 1992) or a life-cycle explanation (Jowell and Park, 1998). The evidence appears to show that young people, while having an antipathy to politicians and formal politics, do see civic participation as a meaningful political activity. It will be interesting to see whether the evaluation of the government's new scheme, the Millennium Volunteers, will provide evidence of changed civic or political attitudes. It is not clear how the government, which believes in joined-up political thinking, will link this scheme with its proposals for citizenship education. According to David Blunkett, the Millennium Volunteer Scheme will help to create a sense of citizenship which will counteract the "alienation, disaffection and individualism" that young people experience. It is important to note that the Millennium Volunteer Scheme will provide not only the opportunity to provide models of best practice for youth participation projects but that it could provide the basis for useful research.

There are a number of ESRC research projects whose findings may assist us in establishing an understanding of how young people perceive themselves as engaging in political participation. These studies raise a number of key questions about how we define such terms as 'youth'

(Coles,1995 and 1995), ‘the political’, ‘participation’ and ‘non-participation’, ‘youth citizenship’, etc. The ESRC youth research programme ‘Youth, Citizenship and Social Change’ includes, for example, research projects on “Negotiating Transitions to Citizenship” (Loughborough University-Professor Ruth Lister, et. al.), “A Longitudinal Study of Young People as Social Actors” (Trust for the Study of Adolescence-Dr. Debi Roker, et. al.) and “Emergent Citizens? African-Caribbean and Pakistani Young People in Birmingham and Bradford” (University of Birmingham -Dr.C.Harris, et. al.) . The project at Loughborough University is especially interesting as it will allow the young people involved to provide insights into what they understand their rights and responsibilities to be and what they conceive an ‘active citizenship’ to mean. Within the ESRC research programme ‘Democracy and Participation’, there is one research project, “Explaining Non-Participation: Towards a Fuller Understanding of the ‘Political’” (University of Birmingham-Professor David Marsh, et.al.), which specifically analyses youth participation. What is important about this project is that it will explore how young people conceptualise/ understand the ‘political’ and analyse their reasons for participation and non-participation. This study will examine politics on the local and community levels which is the main public space where young people engage in politics and in framing their conceptions of politics and citizenship? Both the Loughborough and Birmingham studies will also take into account variance according to class, education, gender and ethnicity. There is some recent research which has examined the role of young people in disadvantaged communities in area-based urban regeneration initiatives. (Fitzpatrick,, et.al., 1998) The Fitzpatrick, et.al. study published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has reviewed the use of ‘youth forums’ and argued that while youth participation is limited, it has a positive impact on how some adults view their capacity for participation in decision making. The increasing use of youth forums and youth parliaments by local authorities provides an important opportunity to evaluate their impact on youth political participation and examine the conceptualisation of the ‘political’ and of “citizenship” by the youth who are involved in them. While recent research by Ivor Crewe, et.al.(1991) and Dean and Melrose(1999) provide a framework for examining attitudes in the UK towards citizenship and there is growing research on the nature and forms of political participation (Parry,et.al.,1992; Schlozman, et.al,1994; Seyd and Whiteley,1996, etc.), much more research is needed to more fully understand the complex political attitudes of young people in order to establish more effective forms of political participation for them. Research in this area also needs to go beyond the limited conception of politics that can be found in the literature of political socialisation. It will also be

important to consider what will be the effect of an education for citizenship, which includes the study of politics and the attainment of 'political literacy', will have upon youth political participation.

What about active citizenship and citizenship education? The "Crick Committee' Report Education for Citizenship and the teaching of Democracy in Schools" (Crick,1998) has resulted in the recently published Secretary of State's proposals for the national curriculum. The Secretary of State, David Blunkett, has established the teaching of citizenship and democracy in schools through a non-statutory entitlement for PSHE and citizenship education at key stages 1 and 2 and as a statutory entitlement for key stages 3 and 4 which includes service learning or active learning in the community as a statutory entitlement. (Secretary of States Proposals,1999,p.iv). While education for citizenship briefly appeared in 1990 as a cross-curricula theme, the evidence for its development in schools since then is uneven. (Davies,et.al., 1999) David Kerr in his NFER report on the findings of the first phase of an international study of citizenship (Kerr,1999a) demonstrates that while there are a large number of examples of best practice in PSE and citizenship education in schools, its development faces some deep-seated obstacles. He also argues persuasively that there is a need for much greater research into the practices and learning outcomes in these areas. There are a number of research initiatives involving the NFER which include the two phase international comparative study of citizenship education, which is linked to the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and funded by the DfEE. There is also a review of citizenship education in 16 countries sponsored by the QCA. (Kerr,1999b). Recent Demos 'newthink' studies by David Hargreaves and Tom Bentley recognise the importance of citizenship education in schools and demonstrate the need for an open and contestable approach to moral reasoning. (Bentley,1998; Hargreaves, 1994) It should be noted that the civic republican conception of citizenship, as argued by Skinner and Pettit, requires citizens to be able to engage in "dialogic reasoning" in the public sphere as well as to identify with citizen virtues (cf. White,1996; Beck,1998; Alton,1998). Ivor Crewe and colleagues' research indicates that nearly 80% of pupils aged 15-16 said that they engage in little or no public discussion either at school or after school. Don Rowe and colleagues at the Citizenship Foundation have been involved in a number of interesting projects in critical thinking concerning values and citizenship. The NFER research needs to be supplemented by much

more research into the learning outcomes of various initiatives among students in schools in PSHE and citizenship education.

What is the purpose of civic education? Melanie Phillips, the jeremiah of contemporary social democracy, recently criticised proposals for citizenship education in her editorial entitled, “The indoctrination of Citizen Smith, Jr.” (The Sunday Times, 7.3.99,p.17). She paints a picture of Bernard Crick as the dark figure behind David Blunkett who is attempting to indoctrinate young British citizens. This is surprising in that in the recent Crick Report and the earlier Hansard study of political education, Bernard Crick, along with Alec Porter and also Derek Heater, saw education for citizenship not as a form of political indoctrination but instead as involving critical thinking and political literacy. She goes on to write that, “Even more strikingly, it wants teachers to promote a particular form of democracy called active citizenship....This is not so much political literacy as political activism.”(Phillips,1999,p.17) In this essay I have been arguing that contrary to Melanie Phillips civic participation, which includes more formal political participation, is an essential duty for a citizen in a democracy and that an education for citizenship must provide the means to encourage young people to engage in participatory politics. The studies referred to above offer a number of ways in which citizenship is taught, from greater political discussions to community service learning, which will lead to greater political efficacy among students. Elizabeth Frazer in her recently edited volume of the “Oxford Review of Education” (1999, vol. 25,nos.1&2) on citizenship education and in a paper presented to the PSA on citizenship education, has identified the problematic relationship between education for citizenship and the study of politics. In the PSA essay she identifies ‘six kinds of antipathy to politics’ which lead to a hostility to political education. She is critical of those proponents of citizenship education who are more concerned with instilling values and knowledge about British political traditions than in encouraging students to become active citizens.(Frazer,1999a) I will argue that an education for citizenship which increases civic participation among young people, especially through service learning in the community, also importantly develops civic virtue, political literacy and can indeed lead to spiritual and moral values. There is also the question of what could be a role for ‘youth work’ in developing and education for active citizenship. (Williamson,1997) According to David Kerr, “ Citizenship education is as much about the communities in which schools are situated and the nature of society, as about the school curriculum. All too often in the past this fact has not been sufficiently acknowledged.” (Kerr,1999a,p.26)

In order to best consider what will be the best ways to approach the teaching and learning of citizenship in schools much more research will be needed. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has recently published a volume which provides twenty-four national case studies of civic education (Torney-Purta, et al., 1999). There is a growing amount of research in the USA, Australia, etc. which examines teaching and evaluation of citizenship education (Bell, 1997; Kerry, 1997; Ichilov, 1998). Carole Hahn in her book "Becoming Political" (Hahn, 1998) uses both qualitative research based on focus groups and more quantitative data based on surveys in schools in England, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States. She examines comparatively both civic education and adolescent political attitudes. She writes that, "The purpose of this comparative study of citizenship education in five Western democracies was to identify similarities and differences in adolescent political attitudes and secondary school curriculum and instruction. It is hoped that through such a study civic educators might gain insights into how school policies and practices can effectively prepare youth for their roles as participating citizens in pluralistic democracies in an increasingly interdependent global society." (Hahn, 1998, p. 235) Her study supports the view that despite the effects of citizenship education, most young people have a low level of 'trust' in formal politics and political leaders. In the USA there have been a number of more detailed empirical studies which attempt to evaluate the learning outcomes of education for citizenship. Norman Nie, Jane Junn and Kenneth Stehlik-Barry designed and conducted the 1990 Citizen Participation Survey in which the authors attempt to assess the effect of levels of educational attainment upon political influence through networking and what they term 'cognitive proficiency' (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry, 1996). More recently, Nicholas Emler and Elizabeth Frazer have analysed the published research concerning the relative influence of education on political engagement. (Emler and Frazer, 1999) and confirm the correlation between levels of education and political participation in the UK analysed by Parry, Moser and Day, 1992. A more specific study of civic education has been recently done by Richard Niemi and Jane Junn who base their assessment of civic education on the 1988 'National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Civics Assessment. The authors examine the influences of differences according to race, gender, type of school, family backgrounds, etc and test a theoretical model to explain the cognitive process by which students learn about politics. The authors note that, "In light of these factors, it is unsurprising that our interpretation offers such a striking contrast to the conventional wisdom on the utility of the civics curriculum in

promoting knowledge about American government and politics. While Langston and Jennings suggested that their results did not support the ‘thinking of those who look to the civic curriculum in American high school as even a minor source of political socialization’, we argue that our analysis demonstrates that the civics curriculum has an impact of a size and resilience that makes it a significant part of political learning.” (Niemi and Junn, 1998, p.145)

What about active citizenship, citizenship education and service learning? There is a growing movement of educators, students, community leaders, and politicians who are proponents of service learning as a key element in establishing a meaningful form of citizenship education. Professor Bernard Crick, chair of the advisory group whose report “ Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools” (Crick, 1998) led to the Secretary of State’s orders has recently indicated that he now more fully recognises the importance of participation in civil society and learning in the community as an important element of an education for citizenship and supports the Secretary of State’s decision to include service learning as an important element of citizenship education. Ian Davies in a recent study of citizenship education involving over 700 teachers has also noted that many teachers view involvement in the community as central for an education for citizenship in schools. (Davies, et.al.) Service Learning is an educational method which provides a structured learning experience in civic participation which can lead to the development of the key skills necessary for being an active citizen. It also facilitates the acquisition of political knowledge and the ability to engage in reflective understanding which leads to personal development and civic virtue. In the UK, the Community Service Volunteers (CSV), especially its Education for Citizenship programme under its Director John Potter, have been working in partnerships with schools, universities and local schools and communities in effectively establishing service learning programmes. A recent study for the CSV by Peter Mitchell, “Education for Citizenship: the Contribution of Active Learning in the Community” (Mitchell,1999) provides an argument for what Mitchell terms ‘active learning in the community’ (or service learning or community based learning). He sees the learning outcome of citizenship education as not only being an increased knowledge and understanding of civic rights and responsibilities but also employability and the ability to engage in lifelong learning. This raises another question of joined-up policy making about how the provisions for the New Deal and Lifelong Learning will be linked to the initiatives in citizenship education. In a previous essay I have argued for the importance of service learning within higher education and have argued for its linkage with post-Dearing key

skills in higher education and education for citizenship. (Annette,1999b) What is impressive about the work of the CSV's Education for Citizenship and its partners is that there are now a large number of examples of successful service learning programmes both within schools and also higher education institutions. According to John Potter," Learning through community service, therefore when carefully structured, promotes all three strands of citizenship education (values, community participation and political literacy). The approach is central, not peripheral, to the education agenda. Learning through community service does, however, require careful implementation by teachers who are clear about its purpose and proficient in its execution. It has to be linked with the whole and taught curriculum and be embedded within the explicit mission and purpose of the school." (Potter, 1999,p.17) In addition, a number of university service learning programmes associated with the CSV have formed the Council for Citizenship and Service Learning (CCSL), which promotes the development of service learning opportunities for students in higher and further education. (Annette and Buckingham-Hatfield,2000; Annette,1999b)

In the USA service learning based on the principles of experiential learning(Kolb,1987; Boud,et.al.1985;Weil and McGill,1996;Moon,1999), both in schools K-12 and in higher education, has been growing in importance since the 1970's. (cf. Bringle, R., Games, R and Malloy, Rev.E.,1999; Jacoby, B., 1996; and Zlotkowski, E., 1999) The National Society for Experiential Education (NSEE) is a national organisation which promotes service learning in both schools and in higher education (community colleges and universities) and the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) facilitates innovations in teaching and learning in higher education, including service learning, The University of Michigan's Center for Community Service and Learning publishes the "Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning", a leading journal in this area and the National Service-Learning Clearinghouse at the University of Minnesota, under the directorship of Dr. Robert Shumer, provides invaluable access to research and databases. The Corporation for National Service, which was founded as a result of President Clinton's Federal 'National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993, provides federal funding to support service learning in schools and higher education. More recently the AAHE, under the editorship of Edward Zlotkowski, has been publishing a number of volumes of theoretical analysis and case study presentations by leading academics in the USA who advocate service learning. This includes a volume edited by Joseph Erickson and Jeffrey B. Anderson, entitled "Learning With the Community: Concepts and Models for

Service Learning in Teacher Education” (Erickson and Anderson,1997), which provides a useful framework for introducing service learning into teacher training. In a large number of teacher training programmes in colleges and universities in the USA there are innovative examples of the pedagogy of service learning in schools. Recent data from the ‘National Service-Learning Clearinghouse’ based at the University of Minnesota shows that the total number of students in secondary schools doing service and service learning in the USA is over 12.5 million and that the growth in the number of students engaged in high school service learning between 1984-1997 was 363 percent.(cf www.nic.sl.coled.umn.edu/who/status) In addition, there are more than 6.7 million students in universities and colleges engaged in service learning in the USA. Rahima Wade, a leading advocate of community service-learning in the school curriculum, writes,” Service learning is a comprehensive teaching strategy with great potential for bringing about positive outcomes for students, schools and communities.” (Wade, 1997,p.34)

While there is an existing literature which examines the practices of citizenship education both in the UK and comparatively abroad, there is still only a small amount of research which analyses the assessment methods and learning outcomes of citizenship education and especially service learning. In the UK there have been some initial research projects into student tutoring in schools which have evaluated learning outcomes in the development of cognitive development and the acquisition of transferable or key skills. (Goodlad,1995,1998; Topping and Hill,1995) There has, however, only been limited research into the learning outcomes of service learning resulting from recent pilot projects organised by the CSV.(Potter,1999) In higher education the HEFCE FDTL CoBaLT, or Community Based Learning and Teaching has begun to assess community based learning and its impact upon local communities. In the UK the Council for Citizenship and Learning in the Community (CCLC), the CoBaLT FDTL project and the CSV (Community Service Volunteers) Education for Citizenship programme are planning in partnership a research project into service learning and its outcomes both in schools and in higher education.

This is in striking contrast to the USA where there have been major research projects on evaluating the learning outcomes for service learning both in schools K-12 and also in colleges and universities. The National Society for Experiential Education (NSEE) and the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) both support and disseminate research in service

learning and the National Service-Learning Clearinghouse at the University of Minnesota provides a critical guide to research findings related to service learning both in K-12 schools and higher education. (cf. Giles,D.E., Porter-Honnet,E., and Migliore, S.,eds., 1991) What is also impressive is the increasing number of PhD's in the area of evaluating the learning outcomes of service learning (eg. Furco, 1997) which are listed on the National Service Learning Clearinghouse (cf. www.nicsl.coled.umn.edu/res/bibs/imps.htm).

There have been a number of studies in the USA which have attempted to analyse the correlation between service learning and a variety of learning outcomes. More recently, Janet Eyler and Dwight Giles of Vanderbilt University (USA) have been involved in an extensive research project involving over fifteen hundred students at twenty colleges and universities. This involves examining the variety of learning outcomes from service learning and also considering how differences in the types of service learning programmes influence learning outcomes. (Giles,D.E. and Eyler,J.,1994 and Eyler,J. and D.E. Giles,1999) This important research will be useful not only for reviewing educational practice but it will also provide a model for further research which attempts to look at the relationship between experiential learning, cognitive development and learning outcomes. A.W. Astin and colleagues at the UCLA Higher Education Research Institute have also been engaged in research into the range of effects of service learning on undergraduate students. (Astin, A.W. and L.J. Sax,1998 and Astin, 1999) In 1981 Dan Conrad and Diane Hedin reported on an Experiential Education Evaluation Project which was based on research in 1978 which was administered to 4,000 secondary school students in 33 programmes. The main findings indicated that experiential education programmes had a positive impact on student's psychological, social and intellectual development and that the opportunity for students to act autonomously increased the positive impact. In May 1998, Rand Education (a nonprofit research institution) published its findings on "Coupling Service and Learning in Higher Education: The Final Report of the Evaluation of the Learn and Serve America, Higher Education Program" ,which was sponsored by the Corporation for National and Community Service. The research findings measured impacts of service learning both for students and for communities and included in its conclusion an analysis of the value for money of the Learn and Serve America Higher Education programmes. The Rand survey involved 725 service learning students and 597 comparison non- service learning students with a total of 1,300 students participating in 28 institutions. According to the report, " Results reveal that students in service-learning courses

compared to those in similar courses without a service component report larger gains in civic participation (especially intended future involvement in community service) and life-skills (interpersonal skills and understanding of diversity).... A conservative conclusion is that participation in service-learning does not appear to slow or hinder student learning and development and carries some modest benefits, particularly in the area of civic and life skills. A less conservative conclusion is that service learning may carry stronger positive effects on certain students when specific elements are in place, especially strong links between course content and service experience.” (Rand Education,1998,pp.xvi-xix)

An extremely interesting piece of research in evaluating learning outcomes in service learning in secondary school students has been done by Richard Niemi, Mary Hepburn and Chris Chapman. (Niemi,Hepburn and Chapman, 1999) and is based on the 1996 National Household Education Survey (NHES:96) which was a telephone survey of 21,000 parents and 8,000 of their 6th-12th grade students. The particular report by Niemi, et.al. is based on interviews with 4,212 9-12th grade students and their parents. This report notes that although increasing, there is still only limited empirical data concerning the learning outcomes of service learning. (Conradin and Hedin,1991;Verba, Shlozman and Brady,1995; Wade and Saxe,1996; Youniss and Yates,1997 ; Melchior ,1997; Astin and Sax,1998; Eyler and Giles, 1999) In their report, they provide a comparative analysis of their findings with existing empirical studies. They note that there is an important difference between ‘community service’ and ‘service learning’, with the latter being linked to the school curriculum and is a structured learning experience. They note that there are few studies which link service learning outcomes with academic improvement.(cf. Shumer, 1994) They also raise the question about whether service learning has any long term effect upon political participation. Verba, et.al (1995) has found linkages between civic skills gained and adult political participation. Several other secondary school studies demonstrate evidence of civic participation. (Niemi,et.al,1999,p.5) Their findings confirm those of Shumer which is that the design of the service learning programme and especially the length and intensity of the experience increases considerably the positive learning outcomes of the students. (Niemi,et.al,1999,p.5-6; Shumer,1997) In evaluating the extent of participation in community service they note that levels of participation are very high and are holding steady with recent studies indicating 60% and 67% levels of participation. (Hodgkinson and Weitzman,1997; Wirthlin Group,1995) They also stress, however, that levels of participation do not necessarily indicate sustained participation. They examine the influence

of such variables as gender, ethnicity, parental education, type of school, family background and school policies towards participation. They describe their overall findings as “a mixed-bag” of results. They conclude that sustained service learning produced the greater effects and that service learning “appears to stimulate greater political knowledge, more political discussions with parents, enhanced participation skills and higher political efficacy but not more tolerance of diversity.” (Niemi,et.al.,1999,p.i) This summary does not do justice to the level of sophistication of the research methodology and the analysis of research outcomes which provides an impressive model for similar research in the UK. As indicated earlier (Kerr,1999a) there is a significant need for research into the evaluation of assessment and learning outcomes in all types of citizenship education in order to inform the policy making decisions of the QCA and the ‘educational judgments’ of OFSTED.

In conclusion, I would like to argue that the proposals for citizenship education in the UK should integrate active learning in the community with critical thinking about values and the learning of political knowledge. The introduction of citizenship education as a type of effective learning should involve experiential learning in the community and the ability of the student to engage in reflective practice. In order to substantiate the claims of service learning both in schools at key stages 3 and 4 more extensive research should be undertaken. The teaching of citizenship as a ‘subject’ should therefore include the approaches of “values in education”, “political literacy” and “experiential learning in the community. The evidence of high youth civic participation and at the same time increasing political disaffection and alienation should help to indicate that an education for citizenship should be about introducing active learning which can lead to greater civic and political participation for young people. The project by the government to ‘modernise local government’ and the work of the Local Government Association should include a consideration of the ways in which youth participation and their activities in the voluntary and community sectors can be integrated into a deliberative democratic politics on the local level.

As the civic republican conception of citizenship recognises, both civic participation and civic virtue are necessary for the protection of our liberties as citizens. The Political Studies Association (PSA) and its specialist group for “Citizenship Education and Service Learning” will actively promote the study and understanding of politics as central to an education for citizenship and encourage both service learning and the political participation of youth as

leading to a more deliberative democratic politics. We will liase with a range of other organisations which are promoting citizenship education and a more deliberative democratic politics and contribute to the development of an education for an active and participatory citizenship in the UK.

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