East and West in Citizenship Education: encounters in education for diversity and democracy

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Abstract

This article is made up of a set of interrelated pieces of work that emerge from the 9th citizED conference that was held in Tokyo in 2013. A symposium at that conference was organised on the theme of ‘comparative approaches on citizenship education: east and west’. We present here 4 individual contributions from Daehoon Jho, Shigeo Kodama, Walter Parker and Libby Tudball as well as an introduction and concluding remarks by Mitsuharu Mizuyama and Ian Davies. Throughout we have been keen not to present stereotypical reflections and are struck as much by the similarities and overlaps between authors as well as the differences. We hope that by sharing these ideas we will celebrate diversity and contribute to thinking and practice in specific countries, as well as raising the possibility of cross national collaboration and perhaps generating further reflections about the possibility of global standards for citizenship education.

Introduction

The theme of the 9th citizED conference, held in Tokyo in July 2013, was ‘East and West in Citizenship Education: encounters in education for diversity and democracy’. It was decided that a symposium should be convened in order to allow for reflections that would add to the insights gained from the key note presentations and individual papers. The principal presenters at that symposium are the authors of the four individual pieces that follow this introduction. Although we deliberately organised matters so that the symposium would be jointly chaired by someone from the ‘east’ (Mitsuharu Mizuyama) and someone from the ‘west’ (Ian Davies) and that there would be 2 presenters from ‘west’ (Walter Parker and Libby Tudball) and 2 from the ‘east’ (Shigeo Kodama and Daehoon Jho) we wished to avoid any sense that we accepted stereotypical labels or that these individuals would be speaking for a whole country or region. In essence we asked individuals to speak for themselves about a set of common questions and in this introduction and later in the conclusion we provide some very general considerations about the experience of listening to our experts and the questions that were presented from the conference floor. We are grateful to all the presenters who enriched the conference by their penetrating academic insights and their warm collegial collaboration.

We encouraged each contributor to think creatively and freely about what was meant by the title of the conference and we also asked them to consider the following 6 questions:

* What are the principal reasons for the development of citizenship education in your country;
* What is done in educational contexts, formally and in other ways in schools and elsewhere to promote citizenship education in your country;
* What do you think are the most important elements of citizenship education in your country;
* Is it sensible to think of citizenship education in the east as being different from citizenship education in the west (and if so in what ways);
* What (if any) elements of citizenship education should apply across the globe;
* What do you see as the future of citizenship education: will there be a global standard, a national approach, a regional approach or something else?

Of course, as social scientists we are pattern-making people and interested in establishing categories to help clarify our understanding about what education is, and how it works. But we are aware of the need to tread carefully. The organisers of the conference deliberately included a map of the world on the cover of the programme that showed, perhaps strangely to someone who is resident elsewhere, Japan in the centre. This, of course, means that, geographically, the USA is based in the ‘east’ and China in the ‘west’. There are other possible characterisations. We are aware of the economic and cultural considerations that have allowed for characterisations of Orientalism (Said 1977) that would clearly place the USA and China under different labels (even when the limits of that category are limited principally, by Said, to the ‘middle east’). We wanted to make sure that the national labels that we have used so far are treated appropriately. China is not Japan; the USA is not the UK and those people who reside in the ‘east’ or ‘west’ are not necessarily ‘eastern’ or ‘western’.

The challenges of these sorts of recognition are connected to social and political issues about identity and belonging with necessary awareness of the reality of diversity, the need to celebrate its existence and its strengths as well as the search for commonality and recognition of the challenges of creating a harmonious and just global society. In scales of intercultural competence (which are for some rather controversial) a positive recognition of difference is usually regarded as being ‘better’ than a determination to achieve uniformity. The Council of Europe’s seemingly glib but perhaps fundamentally meaningful slogan (‘all different, all the same’) captures some of the complexities of discussing work in this area.

Finally, it is perhaps also important to add that the symposium offered opportunities for a form of comparative research or at least of comparative reflection. The researchers and professionals who were present at the conference were already aware that in very general terms, there are 3 approaches to comparative education. Firstly there is a sense in which ‘we’ need to learn from ‘them’. From a western perspective that seems to be illustrated by the following:

Western liberalism may survive but it is no longer immune from serious self questioning... other non liberal societies, like the East Asian countries, seem to be proving that modernisation is not identical with Western liberalism. There are other, perhaps more powerful ways to become modern (Grant 1985, quoted in Kennedy 2004, p.9).

Alternatively, there may be a sense in which citizenship education is essentially a western concept and western set of practices. As such it is, within this model, appropriate for western advice to be given to others whose democracies are perceived as being less well established and whose school systems and processes are in need of alteration if citizenship education were ever to become a reality. In what was probably the final piece of writing he completed before his death in 2008 Bernard Crick (architect of citizenship education in England and who was hugely influential on the international stage) seems in the foreword to a book written by Japanese colleagues to suggest that things are changing in Japan under western influence and that more is anticipated:

From the time of the Greeks and the Romans in the old European republics (the spirit of what we now called civic republicanism) citizenship education has been as important in the culture of the western world - now permeating outwards throughout the world....There is still some way to go in breaking from long ingrained habits and overly rigid traditional teaching. This problem is not unique to Japan by any means….. I truly believe that Professor Ikeno's book will mark a breakthrough in political education in Japan (Crick 2011)

Finally, some have suggested that there is no simple sense of ‘better’ or ‘worse’ but rather an opportunity to learn about ourselves and others. Whether or not this would lead to a more uniform international consensus or a more diverse array of national practices is not something that may be simplistically established:

Unlike essentialist or dichotomous thinking (black/white, civilized/uncivilized) of past eras, hybridity in a global age is based on egalitarian pluralism that rejects broad divisions and blurs distinctions. It also represents marginalities that are common to the human condition within and across all groups (Merryfield and Duty 2008, p.84).

It is in the context of these highly complex, controversial and sensitive matters that our 4 experts have taken the opportunity to present their thoughts.

Citizenship Education in Japan: Focusing on the Context of Multipolar World in the Post-Cold War Era

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Background

The subject of the conference that led to these contributions is ‘East and West in Citizenship Education’. Of course, I understand that the meaning of the “East and West” is geographic—by the former, we mean Asia and by the latter, we mean Europe and North America. However, in the Japanese context, this subject becomes more complex. In Japanese political culture, we have two kinds of meanings of East and West. During the Cold War, ‘East’ meant the Communist world represented by the Soviet Union and ‘West’ meant the capitalist world represented by the United States of America. In Japan, this Cold War dichotomy strongly influenced not only international politics but also domestic politics, including the politics of education.

 And during the post-Cold War era from 1990 to the present, ‘East’ has come to mean the non-Westernized world. This implies that the ‘East’ represents a problem that needs to be overcome. However, this type of thought could restore the old-type trap of “Orientalism.” Therefore, I will examine ways to avoid this trap. To do this, I will introduce the concept of the multipolar world as presented by Chantal Mouffe, a political theorist from England. According to Mouffe (2008), a multipolar world order recognizes multiple understandings of democracy and human rights and allows for the agonistic coexistence of different social regimes and different kinds of democratic systems. According to this viewpoint, the Japanese political and social structure of education after the Cold War is seeking a specific type of democracy not reducible to either a ‘Western’ type or ‘Eastern’ type.

The social structure of education in post -WW2 Japan



Figure 1: the enrolment and advancement rates in post-world war 2 Japan

Figure 1 shows that enrolment in upper secondary schools (in Japan, high school for 15- to 18-year-olds), has gone up from 50% in 1960 to over 80% in 1970, and to over 95% after the 1990s. From the 1950s to 1990s, as Japan prospered economically, secondary public high schools expanded to include almost all students in Japan. In the post-Cold War era, the social structure of education in Japan, which was in the development phase, has attained maturity. I believe the time is now ripe for citizenship education.

There have been structural changes in school curricula in post-WW2 Japan. The period from 1945 to 1958 was the era of progressivism. In this era, problem-solving curricula were dominant and government regulation was not strong. From 1958 to 1992, systematic principles and discipline-centred curricula were dominant and government regulation was very strong. The period from 1992 to 2008 was of “pressure free education” (*yutori*). During this time, the Japanese government re-introduced a problem-solving curriculum and government regulation was partly relaxed. From 2009 to the present, the period has been that of post–“pressure-free education.” I think it is at this point that citizenship education through curriculum innovation is required to overcome the dichotomy between the discipline-centred curricula of the development era and the problem-solving curricula of the current pressure-free education era.

What specific structural changes are occurring in the post-Cold War era?

I will now explain the kinds of structural changes occurring in the post-Cold War era. The main actors of social change in the post-Cold War era are globalization and post-industrialization. In these days of globalization and post-industrialization, public education facestwo different social pressures. One is the pre-eminence of the market initiated by neo-liberalism, and the other is the rise of technocratic and bureaucratic control, which is defended by the old type of social democracy. It is at this point that anew kind of citizenship education is sought for the purpose of breaking down the dichotomy of neo-liberalism and old-type social democracy (Kodama 2010).

There are two kinds of citizenship to be considered in this context. One is “citizenship as volunteering” and the other is “political citizenship.” These two kinds of citizenship constitute a controversial issue in not only Japan but also other countries such as the US and the UK. For example, as Harry Boyte remarks, the Charter schools movement in theUS has been renewing lively cultures of civic innovation that involve parents, sometimes other community members, as well as teachers and students, in creating education (Kodama 2009).

Additionally, in Japan, a new type of public school, the community school, was implemented in 2004. In 2010, the Japanese national government issued its policy entitled *Vision for Children and Young People*, according to which “Education related to social development and social participation (citizenship education) will be promoted in order for children and young people to become independent as members of society and for them to adopt an attitude of becoming actively involved in society through the exercise of rights and obligations. Specifically, efforts will be made for schooling which enriches political education.”[REF NEEDED] These developments reflect similar concerns and initiatives as in England where the Crick Report emphasised community involvement and political literacy.

Defending politics in a multipolar world

　The key components of the new versions of citizenship education in the post-Cold War era are citizenship as volunteering and political citizenship.

In volunteering activities, young people do not have much time to think about the political meaning of their activity, and they do not necessarily possess political judgment or political action skills, which are indispensable factors of citizenship. To address this issue various academics and policy advisers including Bernard Crick and Harry Boyte focus on the significant importance of political citizenship for the public education reform in not only the US and UK but also Japan. This political character of citizenship is the key point that will allow us to overcome the dichotomy of ‘East’ and ‘West’ in citizenship education.

　Chantal Mouffe has written, “We should aim at the establishment of a pluralist world order, in which a number of large regional units might coexist, with their different cultures and values, and in which a plurality of understandings of human rights and forms of democracy might be considered as legitimate” (Mouffe 2008:466). In this argument, we see the shift from the universalization of the Western interpretation of democratic values to the multiple and plural interpretations of democratic values in the multipolar world order. It is through these multiple and plural interpretations of democratic values in the multipolar world order that we may go beyond the dichotomy of ‘East’ and ‘West’ in not only Japan but also other countries. Bringing the politics into citizenship is critical to revitalizing public education.

Civic Education in the USA: The Central Issues

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In every society, civic education in schools is entangled in national politics; everywhere it is, as Galston (2001, p. 217) said, “relative to regime type.” Civic education, therefore, is always local and contentious.

In the United States, three issues stand at the centre of this contention, each with a central concept: aim, authority, and autonomy respectively. Concerning aim, the issue is this: For what *type* of democratic regime do we aim to educate students? That is, what kinds of democratic political identity and corresponding virtues should the nation’s schools try to cultivate? Concerning authority: Who legitimately can decide the particulars of citizenship education in schools? In a theocracy or military regime, the clergy or the generals decide. But in a democracy there are contending forces, each clamouring for curricular influence. Who gets to decide—parents? educators? citizens? students? The third issue stems from conflicts that arise in liberal-democratic regimes between the common good and personal freedom. Should students be exposed to a range of beliefs and customs, including those that oppose their parents’ beliefs? Should students be taught to think independently as autonomous individuals? Liberal democracy may require it but parents may object.

The issues are related. The founders of the United States created a liberal democracy, which guarantees personal freedom in addition to majority rule. Parents cannot direct schools to cater to their own ethnic customs, religious beliefs, or political ideologies—not when doing so would harm or interfere with the customs, beliefs, and ideologies of other families. Citizenship education is intriguing from this liberal perspective not only because it aims to shape children into particular kinds of citizens, *but because it also aims to shape them into the kind of people who decide for themselves what shape they will take*. Accordingly, the teaching of critical thinking and toleration has been challenged on the grounds that children may then stray from the beliefs of their parents. Should schools be able to interfere in family life in this way? Does liberal-democratic citizenship education demand it?

**Issue 1: Liberal or Illiberal Democracy?** A politician working to restore peace in a genocide-ravaged county could worry that free and fair elections might eventually be held in the name of “democracy.” Her concern is that the men who are thereby elected would be the same racists and separatists who engineered the mass murder and plunder during the genocide. It would be a democratic government—*demos* (the many) and *cracy* (rule)—but it would ignore limits on its power and deny civil rights and liberties to members of the despised minority group. This would be an *illiberal* democracy. Popular sovereignty made manifest in free and fair elections is the critical attribute of democracy, but more is required of a *liberal* democracy. As Crick (2008) wrote, liberal democracy is a hybrid—a “fusion of the idea of the power of the people and the idea of legally guaranteed individual rights.” (p. 15)

**Issue 2: Who Has Legitimate Educational Authority?** Who is authorized in a liberal-democratic regime to decide how the next generation of citizens shall be educated? The U. S. Constitution reserves education policy to the states but does not resolve the matter further. Who or what will fill in the details of curriculum and instruction? This is left to local politics.

Parents are key players in curricular decision making, of course, and understandably they feel entitled to direct the arc of their children’s lives. Dewey (1956, p. 7) goes further: “What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy.” While this is an appealing assertion of collective responsibility for all children, not just our own, we must ask where are “we the people” in Dewey’s formulation? Where is the *citizenry* working together to create and maintain a free society within the constraints of constitutional law? The “enforcement of any moral ideal of education,” Gutmann (1999, p. 14) writes, “whether it be ideologically liberal or conservative, without the consent of citizens subverts democracy.” A liberal-democratic society, because it values rights and liberties, requires citizens to negotiate the curriculum across plural interests and beliefs. Dewey’s “best and wisest parents” are not of a single voice. They want different goods for their children and fear different harms. Deliberation and compromise are necessary because the issue is, as Brighouse (1998, p. 730) states, “the institutional *distribution* of authority over children” (emphasis added).

**Issue 3: Should Schools Teach Toleration and Critical Thinking?** Some readers will be surprised to learn that a controversy in the USA is whether public schools should aim to teach critical thinking and tolerance for minority beliefs and customs. It is surprising because both are usually considered unremarkable aims that are basic to education. Nevertheless, challenges arise regularly, and often from religious parents. The case of *Mozert v. Tennessee* (Mozert v. Hawkins County (TN) Public Schools. 827 F.2d 1058 (6th Cir. 1987)) served as a bellwether in 1980s. In *Mozert*, parents claimed that a tolerant, multicultural school policy was intolerant of their own “born-again Christian” views and undermined their right to freely practice their religion and pass it along to their children. They objected to their children being exposed in schoolbooks to non-Christian customs and beliefs.The court ruled that citizens had a compelling interest, which justified the burden being placed on these parents: “Public education must prepare pupils for citizenship in the Republic” (p. 1071), wrote the judge, which includes exposing children to diverse beliefs and controversial issues.

Should we conclude that a liberal-democratic regime has a morally compelling obligation to educate its citizens both to think critically and to tolerate one another—to live and let live? Yes. The reason is that a liberal-democratic regime exists to maintain individuals’ rights and liberties, which include their freedom to pursue happiness in whatever direction they choose, within the law: a life of faith and family, or not; a life of science and industry, or not; a life of baseball caps or *hijabs* or neither. This freedom leads to a proliferation of diversity in all directions, thus requiring a political culture of tolerant co-existence. Still, this diversity is not without constitutional limits, as the parents in *Mozert* learned. In a liberal democracy, some forms of diversity are more welcome than others.

Citizenship education encompassing the East and the West in the Australian context

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Introduction

My contribution explores current developments in civics and citizenship education in Australia, and argues that the new national ‘Australian curriculum’ encourages schools to encompass ‘the East’ and ‘the West’ in citizenship learning in the humanities, social sciences and other elements of the curriculum. While the civics and citizenship curriculum has a strong focus on students understanding governance, the organization of civil society and our liberal democratic traditions, they are also expected to explore the nature of citizenship, diversity and identity in contemporary Australian society. They should ‘reflect on Australia’s position, obligations and the role of the citizen today within an interconnected world’ (ACARA 2013a: 6). These goals are not focused on constructed global divides, whether they be east, west, north or south. Australians in fact look west, towards Asia, and even further west to Europe, rather than east as the traders did as they moved across Asia Minor and the Silk Road in the past, when notions of the East and the Orient were invented. Australian trajectories have been historically, demographically and socially different from other parts of the world. The binaries between East and West are less significant today, because Asian-Australians are frequently ‘dual citizens’ within our community, and the realities of this era of globalization and rapid flows of people, ideas and cultures have created shifts in our lens on the world.

The overall aim of civics and citizenship education is that students should become active and informed citizens, who can understand and participate in Australia’s liberal democracy, the region and the world. This paper briefly explains the ways civics and citizenship is represented within the curriculum and through other forms of learning in schools. It concludes with some thoughts about the future of citizenship education, and the ways it may intersect with elements including ethics, values and moral education; that have sometimes been seen stereotypically to reflect views from the East, but should in fact apply to student learning across the globe.

Civics and citizenship education in Australia

While there have been various iterations of civics and citizenship education across the states and territories in the past fifteen years, the Australian curriculum now positions ‘civics and citizenship’ in various ways; as a *subject*, aimed at equipping young citizens from year 3-10 with *knowledge* and *understanding* and appropriate *skills* to participate in local, national, regional and global contexts, and through connections to other elements of the curriculum. Explicit recognition is given for example, to our geo-political position and to socio-cultural and economic imperatives for students to understand our connections with ‘the East’, through the cross curriculum priority ‘Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia’ (ACARA, 2013b). This priority recognises that students need to understand influences of ‘the East’ amongst the local Asian population within our own communities, and across the diverse nations and cultures of Asia, to prepare them to engage in the Asian century. The growth of China, India, Indonesia and our increasing connections with Asia means that young Australians require knowledge and skills to enable them to live, work and learn in the region. Developing civic and political knowledge of Asia is now part of the push for students to develop ‘Asia Literacy,’ which is a policy imperative in Australia (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012).

 When the final version of the civics and citizenship curriculum is released in December 2013, it is expected to have a direct link to the Asia priority, although the new Federal government in Australia has signalled the possibility of a curriculum review. Teachers are also expected to implement the ‘General capabilities’ that are a key dimension of the Australian Curriculum. These include the need to develop ‘personal and social capability’, ‘intercultural’ and ‘ethical understanding’ (ACARA, 2013c). The *Melbourne Declaration on Education Goals for Young Australians* (MCEETYA 2008) asserts that ethical understanding assists students to become ‘confident and creative individuals and active and informed citizens’; through fostering the development of ‘personal values and attributes such as honesty, resilience, empathy and respect for others’, and the capacity to act with ethical integrity (MCEETYA 2008: 8–9). These dimensions of learning have sometimes been seen to be more in line with an ‘Eastern’ view of citizenship education emphasising values, being a good person, valuing nature and the development of morality (Lee, 2009). However, these notions are encompassed in the evolving Australian curriculum with recognition that, ‘Complex issues require responses that take account of ethical considerations such as human rights and responsibilities, animal rights, environmental issues and global justice’ (ACARA, 2013d). Understanding of ethical concepts and issues, reasoning in decision making and actions, and explorations of rights and responsibilities are surely desirable aspects of a curriculum for citizenship education in any part of the world. Linked to this is attention to the development of ‘intercultural understanding’ as ‘an essential part of living with others in the diverse world of the twenty-first century. It aims to assist young people to become responsiblelocal and global citizens’ (ACARA, 2013e).

Promoting citizenship education in broader ways in schools and communities

Many schools adopt whole schools approaches to citizenship education, to include modelling of democratic practice through student engagement and participation in school decision making and governance, opportunities for engagement in communities through authentic participation in local concerns or service learning, and an explicit focus on contemporary issues related to politics and the law at national, regional and global levels. These kinds of approaches will continue to be necessary to achieve cross-curriculum learning, which also has a priority focus on understanding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and Cultures. Students need to develop both civic knowledge and the capacity to put that knowledge to use, if they are to successfully develop general capabilities.

What should we share globally in our future development of citizenship education?

The noted British writer Rudyard Kipling (1889) wrote that … *East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet.* This often quoted line in the West, from his famous poem, could be interpreted as meaning that somebody from the West can never understand and connect with Eastern cultures or ‘Asia’, as the latter are poles apart from the West’ or Western cultures. In the Australian context and across the world, the relevance of these binaries should now be questioned. It is to be hoped that through their citizenship education programs, young people will develop personal knowledge and attributes relevant to their own lives in local contexts, as well as a commitment to a global sense of social justice, a more democratic world, transcultural humanity, and concern for matters of global interdependency, including peace and a movement to a more sustainable world. Civics and citizenship education can deepen local and global understanding in dispositional ways and encourage young learners to experience a dynamic and critical view of knowledge, in line with Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) commitment to three forms of citizenship, viz responsible, participatory and justice-oriented approaches. Critical citizenship approaches can develop students’ knowledge and understanding of key societal issues, and their ability to participate as active citizens in multiple communities in a globalising world (Kennedy, 2003; Tudball, 2005). In the Australian context, the achievement of these aims will depend on teachers successfully implementing the various elements of the new curriculum and in the global context, schools also need a commitment to these ideals for citizenship education.

A Blurred Image of a Good Citizen: Challenges of Citizenship Education in South Korea[[1]](#endnote-1)

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Background

Citizenship has increasingly become a contested arena in contemporary South Korea, a society where geopolitical confrontations and Confucian/Colonial legacies collide with globalization and multiculturalization.

Historical contexts of citizenship education in Korea

In the 1990s South Korea underwent a wide range of democratizing education reforms. Citizenship education was focused on reflective citizens who are able to make informed decisions about social issues and make relevant civic actions (Cha and Jho, 2012; Cha and Mo, 2008; Jho, 2006). Students are encouraged to situate subject matter knowledge within their own everyday life experiences; school teachers are responsible for encouraging every student to understand explicit and implicit meanings of social phenomena from various perspectives, effectively communicate his or her ideas with others, and ultimately participate actively in the real life political processes.

The Korean definition of citizenship education is closely coupled with three powerful contextual factors: *the Confucian philosophy, the legacy of the red complex* and *the micro-politics of civics curriculum*.

For Koreans, Confucianism serves one of the essential frames of reference. Notably Confucian morality admires values such as filial piety, respect for the elderly, allegiance to the nation, harmony and modesty. However, Confucianism is seen at times of contributing to authoritarianism and Kim (2010) provides a provocative argument that Confucians “do not hold the Republican conception of citizenship in which active participation in political life in itself is thought to bring about the most authentic realization of humanity” (p. 438; cited in Kennedy et al., 2013, p. 249).

The ‘*red complex’* essentially relates to the relationships with North Korea and broader perspectives on communism. In the name of citizenship education, students were indoctrinated into a set of anti-communistic and xenophobic values imposed by the military dictatorship. From the late 1990s, however, South Korean students were encouraged to think of the northerners as their brethren who were living poor but on their own way.

Finally, the micro-politics of civics curriculum also contributed to the shape of the Koreanized citizenship education. Although civics was officially understood as an integrative subject, the reality was the hegemonic rivalry among the four teacher certification areas: *History, Geography, General Social Studies (consisting of politics education, economics education, socio-cultural studies, and law-related education), and Morals (or Ethics)* (Jho, 2006, p. 25). This internal division of civics has created a prolonged battle over ‘*who wins more class hours per week, than the other rivals do*’.

Emerging tensions of Citizenship in ‘multicultural Korea’

Migration has fuelled debates about the three key features of multiculturalism in Korea: *the state-led, assimilationist multicultural approach*; *the stratification of citizenship*; and, *the superficiality of the government-initiated multicultural programs.*

In April 2006, the Roh Moo-hyun government unveiled two important multicultural policies—*the Plan for Supporting Social Integration of Biracial and Migrant People’* and ‘*the Plan for Social Integration of Marriage Immigrant*. The then Education Ministry quickly announced Korea’s new curricular paradigm where ethnic nationalism based on the myth of a single pure bloodline would be replaced by multiculturalism and tolerance. The degree of ethnic diversity in Korea is the lowest among other Asian countries and in this context multiculturalism is characterized by a *top-down, state-initiated effort at globalization* which may principally aim at assimilation and may be connected to a desire for global competitiveness.

This particular approach to multiculturalism is possibly creating *a new stratification of citizenship*, a system of differential social and legal status for Korean people (Seol, 2012; Seol and Skrentny, 2009; Wagner, 2009) and others. It is possible that experiences of integration are not entirely positive.

Numerous ‘multicultural festivals’ (*tamunhwa chuk’je*) are taking place. It is possible that these multicultural festivals may be, for some, an agency of empowering social minorities, however, the meaning of ethnic culture found in those multicultural festivals more easily falls into that of a *cultural theme park* or a cultural expo, where individual consumers purchase a variety of cultural products for amusement.

Dilemmas of the civics curriculum in Korea

The contested meaning of citizenship under the ideological transformation of the society illustrated in the previous section provides a crucial context for what citizenship education should look like in schools. Since the 2007 curriculum revision, the national civics curriculum has responded to the central government’s will to utilize multiculturalism as a core ideology of integrating the nation’s people. Research suggests that curricular changes have been substantial enough to change the long-standing nationalistic tone of the curriculum (Moon, 2012; Moon and Koo, 2011; Sung, Park and Choi, 2013). The government-endorsed civics textbooks have become increasingly inclusive in terms of the issues of race, culture, and social minorities. However, the research equally maintains that the nationalistic narrative is still prominent in the social studies and civics textbooks dealing with the prospects for the inter-Korean reunification (Moon, 2012); and that the elements of multicultural education shown in the national civics curriculum is geared principally towards the promotion of global competitiveness (Moon and Koo, 2011; Sung, Park and Choi, 2013).

Overall, the multicultural curriculum approach taken by the national curriculum developers clearly captures what Banks (2007) coined *the additive approach*. For example, the social studies curriculum failed to go beyond adding several multicultural units to the existing discipline-based civics curriculum. According to the 2009 national curriculum, the nationalistic perspective is the strongest in ‘Korean History’ subject, whereas a multicultural tone of the textbook is relatively higher in General Social Studies and Ethics. Inconsistency is equally observed between the textbook units of a single high school subject such as ‘Society and Culture’.

Additionally, a new momentum has recently emerged to dampen the mood of multicultural education. The conflicts between Korea and Japan have been intensified on two issues: the territorial dispute on Tokdo in the East Sea (also known as Liancourt Rocks) and the compensation for the wartime sex slavery during Japanese colonial rule. There have been significant controversies over textbooks. In 2013, although it had been approved by the National Institute of Korean History (NIKH), liberal-minded media, politicians, historians, and civil organizations have criticised the neo-conservative writers of the *Kyohaksa* Korean History textbook for justifing the Japanese colonial rule and Park Chung-hee’s military dictatorship, while underestimating the sacrifice of independence activists and pro-democracy fighters. The Education Minister has ordered not only *Kyohaksa* but all of eight Korean History textbook companies to correct or modify “erroneous facts” and “contentious political expressions”, right or left.

Research shows that in these contexts teachers tend to become self-conscious about their instructional behaviours. They think that the practice of teaching beyond the textbook regarding North Korea, that is, any scientific, reflective approach to the inter-Korean relations would create an impression on his or her students that “the teacher has a favorable opinion about North Korea” or even “the teacher is a pro-North leftist”. Likewise, a teacher’s attempt to revisit the territorial dispute with Japan over Tokdo from a third party perspective would arouse suspicion that “the teacher is a pro-Japanese collaborator”.

The above suggests that there is an urgent need for a cross-cultural and post-colonial approach towards citizenship education. International citizenship educators and researchers should take a critical look at the elusive meaning of a good citizen and the pedagogical meaning of citizenship education in differing contexts.

Concluding remarks

The comments by each of our experts stand in their own right. They are not representatives of anything or anywhere but speak only for themselves. As such, what follows is simply a series of our reflections about what they have written. We are struck generally more by the connections between pieces than by the differences. There are clearly traditions influenced by capitalism, Marxism, Maoism and Confucianism but it is not possible to divide our speakers into simple categories. What might be more fruitful is to ask a series of questions that can be answered within and across those expansive traditions. We have identified many questions (of which only a few are shown below in very simplistic phrasing) that may be asked about the current state of citizenship education and how it might and should develop:

* How does the individual interact with the collective
* What is the relationship between harmony and critique
* What emphasis exists between rights and responsibilities
* what role is to be played in citizenship education by moral considerations (values clarification, guidance and/or imposition)
* what form(s) of politics are we most concerned with and does that connect with specific ideologies
* to whom (if any) do we owe allegiance (in particular is citizenship primarily a relationship between an individual and a nation state)
* what do we assume and prefer about identity (ethnicity, gender, age, social class etc)

Once we have some sense of what we feel and think about the above what sort of education would we wish to see? Some references have been made by our experts to whole school contexts, community approaches and to the teaching and learning of individual subjects. Within those approaches could we be witnessing the development of new forms of citizenship and new ways of teaching and learning perhaps especially in connection with ‘new’ technology.

The above questions show the complexity and significance of what our experts have presented. We must be alert to the possibility in comparative research that we may use the same words to mean different things; or different words to mean the same things. This question of validity should be considered together with that of according value, or crudely, what we want. What do we most value in our understandings of ‘east’ and west’? How do we disentangle valuing a process of respect and toleration with a substantive commitment to specific ideas and practices that are deemed to be ‘good’? Together the individuals and groups within the citizenship education communities around the globe will continue to explore these matters and to strive for clearer thinking and better practice.

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1. This paper is supported by the Sungshin University Research Grant of 2012. Also the part of this paper was presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of College and University Faculty Assembly (CUFA) held in St. Louis, Missouri on the day of 21 November, 2013. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)