PROCLAMATION DAY GRANTS REPORT 2002

Preparing Teachers for a Civil Society

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By Peter Reynolds

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTRE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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- Encourages balanced debate about the development of our system of government.
- Educates the public about our electoral and parliamentary system, and
- Fosters a sense of ownership and encourages participation in the political process.
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Proclamation Day Grants have been established by the Premier, Dr Geoff Gallop, through The Constitutional Centre of Western Australia to encourage research in areas related to Western Australia.

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From this time forward, under God,
I pledge my loyalty to Australia and its People,
Whose democratic beliefs I share,
Whose rights and liberties I respect, and
Whose laws I will uphold and obey.

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ABSTRACT

To prepare teachers for a civil society is to prepare for something more comprehensive than civics and citizenship but certainly including these. A civil society embraces a liberal, democratic and constitutional polity but also a complementary network of voluntary associations dealing with all aspects of life, with membership open to all society members. Active citizenship cannot really be imagined without reference to the overall societal framework of State and non-State organisations.

These societal attributes are not innate in individuals and must be taught afresh to each generation. The attributes include knowledge, skills and values and, as such, require a curriculum and a learning methodology.

The preparation of teachers cannot be considered without the curricula that they will be required to teach. As professionals, they are expected to design, implement and evaluate curricula. The first and third of these tasks should be done in consultation with as comprehensive a range of stakeholders as possible. Only then can we talk about converting 'State' and 'independent' schooling into 'public' schooling.

Educational strategic planning and quality assurance require full community consultation in the development and evaluation of a curriculum. Since 1989, the Australian and Western Australian communities have experienced a great deal of change and development in the area of curriculum and schooling, leading to the Western Australian *Curriculum Council Act 1997* and a new Western Australian *School Education Act 1999*. From these have emerged new 'learning areas', which include civics and citizenship education, and the decentralisation of decision making in schools but also, with the essential (but initially only a potential) development of school councils, comprised of representatives of government, teachers, parents and other community stakeholders.

The *Curriculum Framework for Kindergarten to Year 12 Education in Western Australia* (1998) is complemented with a statement of the shared core values of Australian society, which includes civic and citizenship-related values. These represent the first-ever explicit statement of core values to be developed within and through the public education system, and are to be developed in all sectors of schooling and monitored by the Curriculum Council.

The history of the development of the area of civics and citizenship education is a constitutional case study of how the Federal Government can influence the specific outcomes of schooling systems that are constitutionally the province of the States.

Separate initiatives from the Senate and later the Prime Minister have led to a focus on civics and citizenship education out of all proportion to its place in the State's curriculum framework. The allocation of over $30 millions for the production of teaching resources and the professional development of teachers in this area has continued despite the change of the Federal Government in 1996. The *Discovering Democracy* project has now entered its second four-year period and there are indications that there will be nationwide assessments of achievement at upper primary and middle secondary levels at the end of this period.

Once the curricular goals have been determined, planning requires the selection and professional preparation of teachers who are to implement the curriculum. It would be sensible to determine what knowledge and skills teachers should have to achieve the goals and then design teacher education courses to ensure these are developed. As well as determining where the preservice teachers are at, it is also important to determine where the school students are at in their perception of citizenship. Research evidence on these matters is presented and analysed to indicate that the community is faced with a challenge of major proportions.

Finally, an analysis of what is happening in preservice teacher education suggests that the challenge and its implications are not receiving the priority they deserve in the universities.

There are six assessments from the investigation:

- If the community wants civics and citizenship education to be taught and taught effectively, then a compulsory core unit, combining essential content and appropriate professional strategies, must be included in preservice teacher education for all intending teachers at all levels. Graduates without such a unit should not be employed after a set date.
- The importance of knowledge about the development and nature of the State and civil society should be recognised. Students can be enthused by sound teaching by teachers well qualified in relevant subject matter and with appropriate professional skills.
- Active citizenship behavioural outcomes can be achieved by the development

of self-governing voluntary associations within schools of teacher education and in primary and secondary schools and, when appropriate, linked to and supported by existing associations in the wider community.

- Teaching has to be seen as a partnership with the family in the maintenance and development of community and society. Individuality and individual rights and responsibilities can only be developed when the full nature of society and culture are appreciated and incorporated into the processes of schooling.
- Schools of teacher education must prepare teachers to work with the monitoring role of the WA Curriculum Council and to work for and with the school councils to ensure that we have a truly public schooling system.
- More research and documentation needs to be undertaken into the large range of nongovernmental and voluntary associations, clubs and societies and their members which together constitute the civil society and provide the rich texture of social and cultural citizenship of Australia.

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1. INTRODUCTION

According to Nelson (1997, 1), civic education includes schooling aimed at the maintenance and development of a society and a State. Citizenship education is schooling which has a focus on individual life in relation to society and the state. Schooling includes some form of teaching, and that presumes some form of teacher education.

This Report has a focus on citizenship and its contemporary interpretation in Western Australian schools. In particular, it provides a context in which to evaluate the policies and courses of the universities of Western Australia in relation to the preparation of teachers of civics and citizenship education for Western Australian schools.

The author wishes to thank The Constitutional Centre of Western Australia for the grant of funds which has enabled the writing of this Report. The author hopes that the recommendations for greater clarity of the concept of citizen, as well as for the more effective implementation of citizenship education, can be accepted and acted upon by the government.

The author would also like to acknowledge the generous assistance provided by the following:

Mr Glen Bennett
Ms Kerry Boyd
Mr Ron Day
Ms Geraldine Ditchburn
Ms Janice Dudley
Ms Di Gardiner
Mr Bill Hassell
Dr Bill Leadbetter
Dr Graeme Lock
Dr Wally Moroz
Associate Professor Harry Phillips
Ms Anne Roberts
Ms Judith Robison
Dr Tom Wallace

Responsibility, of course, for the final report rests with the author.

2. CIVICS, CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The Constitutional Centre of Western Australia is properly concerned about what, if anything, the younger generation is being taught in the area referred to as civics, citizenship and civil society. However, these terms are not necessarily clear and unambiguous.

Civics has had some continuity in meaning. It refers to the school subject in which students are taught about the structures and functions of government at all levels. The actual content is graded to fit in with the development and experiences of the students. In the early decades of the twentieth century, civics was often linked to the teaching of history. In the *Curriculum for Western Australian State Schools* (1936), civics was part of the Social and Moral Education Syllabus, but with the introduction of the Social Studies Syllabus in the 1950s civics disappeared until the revival of the 1990s.

Citizenship is a much more complex concept. Betts (2002) argues that there are two perspectives on citizenship. The first, held by employer, financial and media elite groups, places an emphasis on processes so that the economic rationalist goal of an international workforce can be more readily achieved. A citizen is someone who has been born within the nation or, if born elsewhere, has been through a naturalisation process. The second perspective, held by the majority according to Betts, places an emphasis on the content of citizenship – the range of behaviours, expectations and values that constitute a person 'like one of us' (Dutton, 2002). To some extent such a distinction is similar to that between citizenship in terms of the exercise of certain rights and privileges and 'active' citizenship which involves a participation in communal and social activity beyond that of just exercising a franchise, working hard, paying taxes and obeying the laws of the land.

A civil society embraces a liberal, democratic and constitutional polity but also a complementary network of voluntary associations dealing with all aspects of life, with membership open to all society members. The concept of a civil society is not one that has received a great deal of attention from writers on citizenship. However, lately Cox (1995), Dixson (1999), Hudson and Kane (2000) and Hirst (2002) have all drawn attention to the importance of non-government and voluntary associations which, when open to all, can provide a rich context in which the institution of the State can operate, and which provide the real stage for 'active' citizenship.

The problem with the concept of citizenship when it is restricted to its narrow legal and

political contexts is that it excludes the social and cultural dimensions studied in sociology and anthropology. The focus of the legal and political contexts reflects the contemporary concern with the inclusion of international workers and consumers. For most citizens, however, society is more comprehensive than the State and provides the context of the link between the individual and the State.

Active citizenship has to be imagined within the whole society comprising both State and non-government and voluntary associations. Schooling for active citizenship and a civil society involved cognitive, affective and conative dimensions. Teachers have to be prepared to teach about active citizenship to ensure that students appreciate the satisfaction of active citizenship and that they are facilitated into a life of social and cultural engagement.

Dixson (1999) argues that the stability and strength of liberal democracies such as Britain, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand can be traced back to the network of voluntary associations that emerged in Britain at the time of the Enlightenment and during the modernisation processes that followed from the Industrial Revolution. While many of these associations were restricted to sectional interests such as religious denominations, class and ethnicity, there were many others with membership open to all citizens and which complemented the integrating role of the State.

Hirst (2002) also makes the very important point at the beginning of his history of Australia's democracy that, long before citizens were granted the franchise, they enjoyed the benefits of the rule of law. Britain was the first country in Europe that had a government that respected rights and liberties (2002, 3) and Lord Sydney ensured the rule of law was to apply even to a convict colony.

For teachers and educationists in general the range of meanings associated with active citizenship and civil society poses a problem. Teaching a course in civics is discrete and can be done and examined within the process of schooling. However, producing adults who are 'active' citizens raises questions of the role of the school in reconstructing society. Schools can prepare students for change but the school is an institution embedded within a wider society and its more general behavioural outcomes are problematic. Much depends upon the students' family life, peer group, existing community life and the mass media of communication.

Delarity (2000, 1) and others (see Stokes in Hudson and Kane, 2000, 231-242) envisage a new practice of citizenship that goes beyond the nation-state. He labels it 'cosmopolitan

citizenship' and regards it as due to new expressions of cultural identity, human rights, technological innovation, ecological sustainability and political mobilisation. He regards economic globalisation as both supporting and threatening cosmopolitan citizenship. We look around in vain for democratically elected supra-national institutions, perhaps with the exception of the European Parliament.

Phillips (2001, 8) argues that education can help in the pursuance of cosmopolitan citizenship by:

- recognising citizenship education to be a core domain at all levels of education:
- promoting the participation ideals of citizenship often labelled 'active' citizenship;
- adjusting educational structures to take advantage of technological and communication revolutions; and
- utilising the benefits of the internet at all levels of education.

Globalisation opens up the possibility of something like cosmopolitan citizenship, a new practice that goes beyond the parameters of the nation-state. Perhaps a cosmopolitan civil society is already emerging with world-wide voluntary associations such as those linked to protecting human rights, environmentalism, saving endangered species, artistic and musical societies and the like.

Thus schooling for civics and citizenship within a civil society should be considered a culmination of values and moral education. It should help to answer the age-old question of 'What is the Good Life?'.

3. A PRIORITY FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Citizenship education was very much in focus when public education was being established in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Hirst (2002, 66) quotes Parkes' argument that the emerging nation required a common goal of citizenship to enable it to rise above the divisions derived from the separate worlds of the British (English, Scots, Welsh and Cornish) Protestants and the Irish Catholic minority. This emphasis continued through to the 1950s. The 1936 *Curriculum for Western Australian Schools* included civics as an essential part of the Social and Moral Education Syllabus.

Between the 1950s and the 1980s civics as such became lost in the development of an integrated Social Studies Syllabus with a focus on the community. The new Syllabus contained units on State and Federal Government and political history but the adopted approach was analytical and essentially value free, or at least the values were never made explicit. The word 'civics' disappeared from teacher talk (Moroz, 1999, a).

From the 1980s and as part of the development of a national curriculum, renewed emphasis was placed on civics and citizenship education within an historical context. The reasons for this renewal are many and in response to local and international trends. Davison (2000, 194-195) writes that the new demand for school history and citizenship seeks to reinforce a sense of common identity, group loyalty and national purpose. He believes it gains strength from fears that the focus on globalisation, multiculturalism and economic turmoil threaten national and community bonds. Davison further quotes from the Civics Expert Group in their 1994 report 'that a knowledge and understanding of the history of Australians is an essential foundation for citizenship'. This history is to be taught as a narrative and not as fragmented themes.

A crucial factor to consider locally when seeking to support the direct teaching in schools of civics and citizenship is the non-racially based and multicultural immigration policy pursued since World War II and since 1970 in particular. If Australia is prepared to accept as migrants people from a range of societies exhibiting varying levels of economic and technological development and with histories that show little and only recent evidence of implementing liberal democratic values, then it would seem strange, if not foolish, not to insist that the schools introduce these migrants and their families to the history of Australian democracy and the practices of a civil society. Literacy in English needs to be supplemented with social and political literacy if such migrants are to take advantage of what an 'open society' has to offer.

It is interesting to note how the identification of shared core values (as in the *Western Australian Curriculum Framework*) and the promotion of citizenship is now linked administratively with immigration and multiculturalism and given a higher priority in the Ministries. In Western Australia, the Premier's portfolio includes citizenship and multicultural interests while, at the federal level, it was a former Prime Minister who started the push for citizenship education which has been continued by the current Government through the Department of Education, Science and Training, while the processing of citizenship is part of the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs.

If Australia is to allow multiple schooling systems then a core unit on civics and citizenship in all systems would seem to be as essential as the teaching of literacy in English and basic numeracy. Teaching about, and the practice of, multiculturalism in schools is often based on a misunderstanding of the concept of culture and is used to emphasise somewhat stereotypical differences rather than the attributes we all have in common (see Sandall, 2001).

It would be helpful if the Western Australian Curriculum Council could state that the Western Australian Curriculum Framework's shared core values of Australian society including active citizenship are being taught through all learning areas and in all schools in the State and that new teaching graduates have been prepared to implement these.

Australia's social and political stability is one of the factors which attracts people to its shores. Greenwood (1999, 91-92) identifies Australia as one of the seven oldest living democracies: Britain 1688; USA 1776; Sweden 1809; Canada 1840s -1867; Australia 1850s – 1901; New Zealand 1854 – 1876; and Switzerland 1874. A liberal, democratic society and polity is the product of certain contextual factors but also of particular historical factors. The seven are all developed industrialised nations: five of the seven are British born and five are constitutional monarchies.

It has to be understood that the knowledge, skills and values of democratic citizenship do not occur naturally in people. They must be taught consciously through schooling to each new generation. If democracy is to survive it requires the education of each new generation. In the past children did learn from the apprenticeships with parents and fellow workers, from both formal and informal organisations and the operations of the State. However, with so many citizens coming from different political and constitutional traditions, with the erosion of a good deal of community life through urbanisation and the impact of television and the decline of trade unions, it is increasingly important that curricula and teaching

methodologies be developed to enable the young to learn civics, and to participate in active citizenship within a civil society.

There are practical reasons why the teaching of civics, citizenship and participation in the civil society should be considered a core area in schooling. To bring this about governments have had to make the federal system work for them in what can be called 'cooperative federalism' and this will now be described in the next two sections.

4. CONSTITUTIONS AND EDUCATION CHANGE

The renewed movement towards citizenship education has had to be achieved through a federal system. Schooling systems were established in colonial times and with Federation in 1901, education was one of the powers left with the States. The federal tier of government has had to bring about change by special funding provisions in the federal Constitution and through intergovernmental-tier meetings, such as the Ministerial Council and the Australian Education Council. Commonwealth initiatives can only be introduced with the cooperation of Ministers of Education (Commonwealth and States). As will be discussed below, federal initiatives associated with large special grants have been prominent in the renewed emphasis on civics and citizenship education but at a cost. The content has a focus on the federal tier of government, and the State and local tiers are generally ignored along with the whole of civil society.

That the 'Australian Government' is comprised of three tiers (federal, State and local) has to be made clear in this whole process of citizenship education. Even in much of the literature leading up to the centenary of federation, the federal Constitution was often assessed as though it were the only basis for all government and law in Australia rather than it being merely the transfer of certain existing powers of colonial legislatures to a new federal tier to give effect to a limited number of national concerns. In one wall poster included in the *Discovering Democracy* resources produced by the Curriculum Corporation (1999) and titled 'The History of Australian Democracy', the importance of the *Australian Colonies Government* Act 1850 is ignored by its omission from a series of time-line events.

The initiative for a national curriculum has come from the federal tier, as outlined in the following section.

5. NATIONAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT: THE CONTEXT FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

While the move towards a national curriculum started in the 1970s (see R. Moroz, 2000), a renewed push in the 1980s came about with the evidence of increased mobility of families between the States. However, more importantly, the role of education in national economic policy planning became a focus with the rise of 'economic rationalism' and 'globalisation'.

A national curriculum framework has been developed and integrated with an approach that has replaced specific subject content syllabuses with learning areas, generalised outcome statements, and a framework of sequential standards of achievement indicative of student growth through the entire period of compulsory education.

In addition, a truly national curriculum not only has to overcome State boundaries but also the government / nongovernment divide, especially when the latter group accounts for between 20-30 percent of compulsory enrolment. This comprehensiveness needs to be effected through States' Curriculum Council legislation.

The process in the 1990s was also associated with the introduction of 'managerialism', strategic planning, quality assurance and the devolution of professional decision-making from centralised bureaucracies.

It appears that there is more than one thing here. There is a whole raft of changes with the potential to radically alter Australia schooling systems. Any evaluation of civics and citizenship education has to be considered within such a context.

The main federal initiative concerned a nation-wide curriculum. In 1986 the Australian Education Council, comprising all Ministers of Education, resolved to support the concept of a national collaborative effort in curriculum development. Later, in 1989, the Australian Education Council accepted the ten common goals for schooling in Australia known as the Hobart Declaration. Eight learning areas were identified and the writing of statements and profile for each was commissioned.

The seventh common goal was:

> *To develop knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which will enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in our democratic Australian society within an international context* (Marsh, 2001, 167).

Between 1988 and 1993, statements and profiles were completed with Commonwealth facilitation and supervision, but the publication and implementation were left to the States. Welsh comments (1996, 82) that misgivings among some States persisted about the extent of federal intervention in what had historically and constitutionally been a State matter. After 1993 the federal tier of government lost interest in the initiative and the States have modified the earlier consensus (see Marsh, 2001, 180-191).

In particular relation to the teaching of civics and citizenship, there is continuing concern that the Society & Environment learning area focuses on the generalisations from the range of social sciences but that history as one of the humanities loses its continuous narrative status and is fragmented to illustrate particular themes and case studies. Many would prefer to see a ninth learning area called Australian Studies where Australian history, geography, literature and the arts can be correlated to illustrate the importance of the particular (idiographic), leaving Society & Environment to develop general laws (nomothetic). Only the current Premier of New South Wales, Bob Carr, seems to have the will to act here but note that LaTrobe University is planning a first degree in Studies in Western Civilization.

The second and separate initiative for citizenship education from the federal tier of government came from the Senate. In 1989 the Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training conducted an inquiry, *Education for Active Citizenship*, which indicated that young people lacked knowledge of, and were ignorant about, politics and bureaucratic systems (Print et al, 2001, 3). In 1991 the Senate Committee called for more research into the motivation of individuals to engage in active citizenship.

These issues were linked to the Australian republic push by the then Prime Minister, Paul Keating, when he established a Civics Expert Group to investigate the education of Australians about the federal Constitution. The Group's Report, *Whereas the people...*(1994) found a low level of understanding and called for more systematic civics and citizenship education linked to the National Goal Seven.

Further, and despite a change of Government, in March 1996 the Federal Government in its May 1997 budget allocated $25 millions to establish Civics Education programs in educational institutions and in the community. The Civics and Citizenship Education Program was renamed the *Discovering Democracy* project.

6. WESTERN AUSTRALIAN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Responding to the Federal Government initiatives the Western Australian Government used its constitutional powers to establish its own curriculum authority and to review the State Education Act. In 1995 the publication of the *Review of Curriculum Development Procedures and Processes in Western Australia* identified a number of curricular priorities, the key one being the creation of a Curriculum Council with responsibility for developing a curriculum framework for all schools.

By 1997, the Western Australian Curriculum Council was established and an important feature was the greater involvement of nongovernment schools and the community (especially business and commercial interests) in statewide curricular development processes. In 1998 the *Curriculum Framework* was published with an aim 'to ensure that all students in Western Australia have the knowledge, understandings, skills and values necessary to participate and prosper in a changing world and new millennium'. This was a very assimilationist goal, at least in the things that are deemed to matter.

As well as adopting and modifying the eight learning areas initially put forward by the Commonwealth Curriculum Corporation (established in 1990), the *Curriculum Framework* incorporated an explicit statement of Australian shared core values. These were intended to underpin the Curriculum and were woven through all aspects of the *Curriculum Framework* (Curriculum Council, 1998, 16). There are five core values, each supplemented with a number of key indicators – 32 in all. Core Value Four reads:

> *Social and civic responsibility, resulting in a commitment to exploring and promoting the common good; meeting individual needs in ways which do not infringe the rights of others; participating in democratic processes; social justice and cultural diversity.*

The seven indicators for this core value include:

- participation and citizenship
- sense of community
- diversity
- contribution to the common good
- respect for authority

- cooperation and reconciliation
- social justice
- responsibility and freedom
- research and advancement of knowledge

In the *Western Australian Curriculum Framework*, Overarching Learning Outcome No. 8 states:

> *Students understand their cultural, geographic and historical contexts and have the knowledge, skills and values necessary for active participation in life in Australia;*

No. 9 states:

> *Students interact with people and cultures other than their own and are equipped to contribute to the global economy;* and

No. 13 states:

> *Students recognise that everyone has the right to feel valued and be safe; and, in this regard, understand their rights and obligations and behave responsibly.*

The Learning Area Statements for Society and Environment include a definition and rationale. The latter involves such processes as:

- *participating in a rapidly changing world;*
- *acquiring knowledge, skills and values;*
- *connecting different perspectives; and*
- *aiming for civic responsibility and social competence.*

There are seven Learning Outcomes for Society & Environment and seven reads:

> *Active Citizenship:*
> *Students demonstrate active citizenship through their behaviours and practices in the school environment, in accordance with the principles and values associated with the democratic process, social justice and ecological sustainability.*

In addition, each Learning Outcome is described in terms of the phases of child development.

As can be seen from the statements above, the language of the *Curriculum Framework* is very general and the Outcomes are expressed as processes. The selection of content is left to the teachers, the school and the community. In reality, if the teachers do not possess the background knowledge and content relevant to the Outcome, one has to ask what interpretation will be placed on such generalities. Under such circumstances it is to be expected that the teachers will rely very heavily on texts and prepared resources. The supervision of the implementation of the *Curriculum Framework* thus becomes of critical importance.

In addition, while the statements include words such as 'participation', 'contribution', 'cooperation', 'interact' and 'social competence', there is no direct reference in the curriculum documents to the nongovernment and voluntary associations of a civil society. There is no reference to the role of teachers and community groups in fostering a wide range of clubs, societies and associations through which the concepts, skills and values of active citizenship are to be practised and learned. For many teachers their imagination and resources stop at class parliaments and student representation on school councils. Community-based competitive team sports would appear to be one of the few examples that connect families, schools and communities.

The Curriculum Council Act of 1997 states that its objects are, inter alia, to:

> *(b) provide for development and implementation of a curriculum framework for schooling which, taking account of the needs of students, sets out the knowledge, understanding, skills, values and attitudes that students are expected to acquire, and*
>
> *(d) provide for the assessment and certification of student achievement.*

The functions of the Curriculum Council are to develop a curriculum framework, coordinate the implementation of the curriculum framework and to provide professional development. In relation to implementation a governing body of a school (the Director-General of government schools) has to ensure that it provides schooling in accordance with the most recent version of the Curriculum Framework and the Curriculum Council, with the approval of the Minister can give direction on the implementation of the Curriculum Framework and also on the reporting requirements.

The review of the *Education Act 1928* was the second response to the changing national focus on the outcomes of schooling and a common curriculum. The *School Education Act 1999* is largely concerned with management of staff and resources. Part Three, Division Three, Clause 64 states:

> *The curriculum in a government school is to be determined by the chief executive officer (director-general), but any determination is to be made in accordance with the requirements of the Curriculum Council Act of 1997.*

In reference to Parent and Community Involvement, Division Eight, Clause 115 states: A government school is to have a Council unless it is exempted by the Minister under Section 116. The Constitution of Councils (Section 117) states that membership will be drawn from parents of students, staff of the school and members of the local community. The functions of a Council for a school are to

> *take part in establishing, and reviewing from time to time, the school's objectives, priorities and general policy directives and in planning of financial arrangements, and in evaluating the school's performance in achieving them.*

In addition, with the approval of the Minister, a Council may take part in the selection of the school principal. Just what a school's objectives, priorities and general policy directions mean in relation to the implementation of the *Curriculum Framework* is not clear. It may only refer to resource management.

Already it is becoming clear that if the teachers are not well educated in the area of the Outcome Statements, the supervision of the implementation of the *Curriculum Framework* is effected at such a distant level from the classroom that greater import has to be placed on the preparation of the teachers in both content knowledge and teaching strategies. For example, what is the point of training teachers in questioning techniques if they do not know the subject area from which the questions are drawn?

The consultative committees within the Western Australian Curriculum Council and the school councils within the government school sector both represent important steps towards a civil society, so that in the language of strategic planning and quality assurance, all relevant stakeholders are represented in the development and evaluation of policy. The cohesion of the two bodies relies on cross membership of councils. The potential for the councils and committees to contribute avenues for 'active' citizenship is still in the future and the formal links between the Curriculum Council and the government and nongovernment school systems remain undeveloped, as are the relationships between schools and community-based voluntary associations. Once again, the documents make no reference to a civil society and the potential roles of teachers and schools within such a society.

7. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

In Western Australia, the revelations of the 1992 WA Inc. Royal Commission made the public aware of the need to enhance political education. The Commissioners recognised that: *knowledge of our constitutional and administrative arrangements is a prerequisite for effective action within our democracy* (cited by Phillips, 1998, 303). They called for the Parliament itself to play a role in the education process.

Consequently, in *The Report of the Western Australian Constitutional Committee,* Phillips (1998, 304-305) recommended that:

- *The State Government support the establishment of a Constitutional Centre, incorporating a museum with community education functions, ideally to be situated near Parliament House.*
- *Priority be given by the Education Department to the updating of existing curriculum material in the area of parliamentary and civic education.*
- *With the introduction of four-year teacher training... each trainee teacher complete at least one unit of study in the area of civic and parliamentary education.*
- *In the course of any long-term restructuring of the year 11 and year 12 school syllabuses and the Tertiary Entrance Examinations requirements, provision be made for the inclusion of some measure of civic and parliamentary education in the program for all students.*
- *To enable the effective implementation of the above recommendations, funding be made available for the development of resource materials at appropriate levels relating to the Western Australian parliamentary and constitutional system.*
- *Any citizenship courses for migrants should cover the federal nature of Australia's Federal system, since many migrants have no prior experience of living in a federation.*
- *The State Constitution Acts be consolidated in a single Act in a manner that facilitates teaching about its key features.*

In addition, he drew attention to the creation of enhanced roles given to the Electoral

Education Centre and Francis Burt Law Centre. Following this, the State Government established the Constitution Centre of Western Australia which was opened in October 1997 by the Governor with its aims to:

- *Promote public awareness of Australia's federal system of government, with a particular emphasis on its constitutional basis;*
- *Encourage balanced debate about the development of the system of government; and*
- *Educate the general public of Western Australia about the electoral and parliamentary system* (Phillips, 1998, 305).

Thus, in addition to these State initiatives, the present focus on citizenship is the product of two developments. The identification of the shared core values of Australian society includes a civics and citizenship stream but this is not given as primary an emphasis as that given to individualism. However, the third development, coming initially from the Senate and then from the then Prime Minister Paul Keating, was associated with the promotion of a raft of social expectations almost resembling a millenarian cult – constitutional changes, a republic, a new flag, the Sydney Olympics, reconciliation with Indigenous peoples and the centenary of Federation or nationhood. It was felt that the understanding of Australian people was deficit in the area of constitutional history and the practice of government especially at the federal level. The Government therefore was prepared to promote the teaching of civics and citizenship education in the nation's schools by the provision of special grants to facilitate resource production and the employment of professional developers. This development received bipartisan support when the 1996 Federal election led to a change of government and the new government continued with its financial support for what became known as the Discovering Democracy project.

The Federal Government's initiative is linked to the State Curriculum Councils and the schooling sectors through a cross-sectoral committee which oversees the project at its various levels. Firstly, the Commonwealth Curriculum Corporation based in Melbourne is responsible for developing teaching resources which are reviewed by State representatives. Then the Project Committee in each State employs trainers to visit schools to provide professional development for teachers to promote the project's materials and give exemplars on teaching practice. In addition, a second group is employed to visit

schools with the aim of assisting in a whole school approach to active citizenship within the school and involving the students.

Print (Print et al, 2001) reported on a 1998 national survey to identify and gauge the extent and nature of civics and citizenship education as it was practised at that time. He noted (2001, 18) that a lack of teacher preparation was identified in all States and territories. Moroz (Print et al, 2001, 128) reviewed the Western Australian situation and he also noted the teachers' lack of background knowledge and the shortage of resources covering State and local government activities.

To gauge the effectiveness of the introduction of the *Discovering Democracy* project there was a second survey conducted in 1999-2000. Print (Print et al, 2001, 147) notes that the teachers using *Discovering Democracy* materials were highly supportive of them but that there were still large numbers of less enthusiastic teachers.

Ditchburn (Print et al, 2001, 198-201) notes the enthusiasm of a small group of teachers but also draws attention to the lack of administrative support for a broadly based whole school approach, the problem of motivating the students, and the competing demands of the curriculum.

There is criticism about the *Discovering Democracy* materials which reflects the modernist and postmodernist perspectives on knowledge and the nature of school curricula. The title change from 'Teaching Civics' to 'Discovering Democracy' was meant to emphasise a constructivist approach to learning. However, Robison and Parkin (1997, 18) comment on:

- the over emphasis on an historical approach;
- the heavy emphasis on content and lack of awareness of differing perspectives;
- a pedagogical approach which does not engage students in meaningful participation;
- an approach which sees students as being prepared for citizenship and thus ignoring the dynamic aspects of citizenship.

The last two comments support the claim that the voluntary associations of a civil society are

the context for active citizenship and that these should be encouraged in schools by teachers and community leaders. Governments, parents and other stakeholders need to be more active through curricular committees and school councils to ensure that schooling is not left entirely to the teachers and their university mentors. Public schooling in a civil society demands participation in the design and evaluation of curricula by a wide range of stakeholders.

Having now sketched the governmental initiatives, both State and federal, we need to review the present understandings held by the student generation. The maxim for the good teacher is to pretest always to find out what the students know and understand, that is, to do a professional diagnosis.

8. STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF THE GOOD CITIZEN

With the renewal of interest in civics and citizenship education arising in the early 1990s, it was found that there was a serious lack of research about young people's perceptions of citizenship. There was initially a reliance on information from the United States, from surveys such as one reported by Gross and Dynesson (1991). In that survey, students mentioned the following as characteristics of 'good citizens':

- Knowledge of current events;
- Participation in community or school affairs;
- Acceptance of an assigned responsibility;
- Concern for the welfare of others;
- Moral and ethical behaviour;
- Ability to question ideas;
- Ability to make wise decisions;
- Knowledge of government;
- Patriotism

(Social Science Association of Australia, 1992, 4-8).

In view of the lack of information within Australia and in conjunction with the establishment of the Civics Expert Group, in 1994 the then Prime Minister commissioned a survey by the Australian National Opinion Poll into the Australian community's knowledge about citizenship and civic issues. Findings from this survey include the public perceptions of what makes a good citizen, as listed in Table 1.

The findings in Table 1 relate to the community as a whole. Phillips notes that *meaningful civic education should be based on an understanding of the viewpoints of Australian young people about citizenship* (1995, 20). In 1996 he reported on a statewide survey of Western Australian students which sought information on a range of citizenship questions. Eight hundred students were surveyed of whom about half were in their final year of primary schooling and about half having just completed their first postcompulsory year of secondary education. Phillips states that, when asked about what they thought were important aspects of being a good citizen, the students gave a low rating to being well informed about

Australia's political system and its Constitution; and also to being informed about Australia's history and geography (1996, 25). These rankings are set out in Table 2. As shown in the Table, students gave a high priority to ideals such as respecting and being considerate of the rights and properties of others; to treating people equally regardless of their gender, disabilities, ethnicity, age or religion, and to acting to protect the environment. Middle rankings were given to meeting family responsibilities and being prepared to help neighbours.

Table 1: Perceptions of what makes a good citizen

What is a good citizen? **What sorts of things does a good citizen do?**	%
Obey laws	62
Care and consideration for others, help others, treat others equally, live and let live	38
Community involvement and activities, helps in community – 25% voluntary, charity work – 5%	30
Followed by:	
Patriotic	16
Good character. Be honest, responsible. Have a moral conscience	15
Pay taxes, bills	10
Be responsible, family oriented	7
Be more aware of political/current affairs	5
Vote responsibly	5
Be environmentally conscious	4
Generally do good	3
Others at 1-2% level	
Is vocal, outspoken. Lives by religious, Christian values. Is not racist. Enjoys life. Supports government/government decisions. Makes Australia a better place for future generations	

Source: Civics Expert Group (Appendix 3, 115)

In an open-ended section of the survey when listing the most important features of good citizenship, students referred most frequently to being considerate and helpful to others, to treating others equally (regardless of race, religion, gender or disability) and being honest and trustworthy.

The survey asked in what way schools could better prepare students to be good citizens and a majority of students indicated that they wanted to be taught the qualities of good citizenship. They also frequently mentioned teaching students the laws and that teachers should provide good role models, teach students to be loyal Australians and teach students to care for the environment.

When asked what topics about politics students believed should be taught at school, students gave a high priority to knowing the rights of citizens. They also sought to know more about how the political system works.

Table 2: Important characteristics of a good citizen as perceived by Western Australian Year 7 and Year 11 students – in rank order

1.	Respects the rights of others
2.	Respects the property of others
3.	Treats people equally regardless of their gender
4.	Is honest
5.	Treats people equally regardless of disabilities
6.	Treats people equally regardless of race
7.	Drives and rides safely
8.	Acts to protect the environment
9.	Treats people equally regardless of their age
10.	Treats people equally regardless of their religion
11.	Obeys the community's laws and rules
12.	Meets their responsibilities towards their family
13.	Is prepared to help neighbours
14.	Works hard
15.	Respects the Australian flag
16.	Buys Australian-made goods where possible
17.	Contributes to charity organisations
18.	Is patriotic about Australia
19.	Keeps fit and healthy
20.	Is well informed about Australia's history
21.	Is well informed about Australia's geography
22.	Is committed to their religion or faith
23.	Knows all words of Australia's national anthem
24.	Is well informed about Australia's Constitution
25.	Is well informed about Australia's political system
26.	Is successful in their career

Source: Phillips (1995, 22)

When asked how schools might better prepare students to be politically aware, their responses could be categorised as follows:

- Teach politics and government in an interesting way;
- Visit State Parliament;
- Encourage students to watch the news; and
- Give students the opportunity to be leaders, conduct class debates and elections.

Phillips compared the findings from the student survey to those from a 1992 Western Australian adult survey about the importance of political education. In particular, he points to the low priority given by the students to being well informed about Australia's Constitution and political system as compared to the 64 percent of adult respondents who indicated that it was very important to be educated about the political process (1995, 22). He notes also that the adults listed the media and family as their major source of knowledge about politics, with 45 percent indicating that the school had provided none of their knowledge about politics.

Another local survey undertaken in 1996 focused on the sources of information for political socialisation (Phllips and Beresford, 1998). The target population for this survey was young people aged 18 to 25 living in metropolitan Perth. Findings from the survey indicate that the media was by far the most significant source of political information for youth, particularly commercial television. Discussion with friends and family was only sometimes mentioned and school was not regarded as an important source of information. Similarly only 40 percent of youth indicated that they intended to vote the same way as their parents and nearly 20 percent did not know how their parents voted.

Interviews were conducted with three distinct groups of youth (those attending a youth support service for the unemployed, those working in lower level clerical jobs and those undertaking law studies at university). These interviews indicated that for the first two groups, parental influence was insignificant while for the third group the result was more mixed, with some interviewees reporting some discussion of issues at home. On the whole, the research indicates that there has been a lessening of the significance of the family and school for political socialisation and an escalation in the role of the media.

The earlier student survey described by Phillips was undertaken before the introduction of

the new Curriculum Framework. Similarly the youth surveyed in 1996 would have completed their schooling before the new approach was introduced. There were many concerns about the adequacy of the former Social Science Syllabus and, for example, Moroz stated in 1996 that: *The vehicle for civic (and political education) and citizenship education has traditionally been social studies, however, it seems that the 'vehicle' is in no shape to deliver the goals of citizenship effectively* (1996, 64).

Research overseas and in Australia has indicated that social studies does not rate highly with students. In a Western Australian study Print (1990) found that secondary school students perceived social studies to be less useful than other subjects, and in 1993 Moroz found that primary school students in this State gave a low ranking to social studies in comparison with other subjects, ranking it 12th out of 13 subjects, as indicated in Table 3 (1999b, 3).

Moroz also found that students' attitudes changed according to year level and that between year 4 and year 7 the decline in attitude towards social studies was greater than the decline for any other subject. Moroz's research indicates that students' attitudes towards social studies are influenced by teacher variables rather than content and that the major issue is the instructional practices used in social studies classrooms. These are most frequently teacher-centred, text-book based delivery whereas students prefer more interactive practices. Moroz surmised that teachers use these traditional methods because of a lack in their background and experience in social studies.

Table 3: WA primary school students' rankings of school subjects.

Ranks	Subject	Mean
1	Sport	4.65
2	Computing	4.45
3	Creative Writing	3.98
4	Music	3.90
5	Reading	3.88
6	Science	3.82
7	Library	3.75
8	Mathematics	3.68
9	Spelling	3.59
10	Writing	3.59
11	Health	3.49
12	Social Studies	3.38
13	Religion	3.08

Source: Moroz (1999b, 3).
Note: The data above were for metropolitan students.
In a separate survey country students indicated a similar ranking.

The Australian component of an international survey of 14 year olds in 28 countries, the IEA Civic Education Study (Mellor et al, 2001), provides more recent information on students' knowledge and beliefs about citizenship and democracy. This survey was undertaken in 1999 when *Discovering Democracy* initiatives were having some effect, particularly on teachers. However, 1999 is still too early for the initiatives to have had their full effect on student learning.

The IEA Civic Education Study defined civic knowledge as comprising knowledge of content and skills in interpretation. The Study found that Australian students performed comparatively much better on the interpretative skills scale (ranking fourth) than they did on the content knowledge scale (ranking eleventh), suggesting that students have the ability to interpret demanding civic contexts and issues but do not have a deep understanding of theoretical constructs and models of democracy.

Gender did not appear to have a significant effect on differing levels of civic knowledge for boys and girls. Home literary resources was an important predictor but the most powerful variable was shown to be student expectations about further education. The higher the expectations, the higher the level of civic knowledge. Two other school factors of particular

importance were an open-classroom climate (where civics lessons encourage discussion) and participation in school councils. Out-of-school factors were evenings spent outside the home which correlated negatively with level of civic knowledge and likelihood to vote, and frequency of watching TV news which had a positive effect.

Mellor et al note that while the importance of civic knowledge was well established by the Study, *knowledge itself will be of little relevance if it does not lead to action in the civic sphere* (2001, 136). The results indicated that Australian students did not have a desire to be engaged in different aspects of civic life. While they acknowledged the importance of voting and the need to show respect to government representatives, they were not attracted to joining a political party. Australian students were more inclined to be involved in civil society and social movement type activities than in conventional citizenship activities, although they were still not as engaged as students in other countries. Such activities include participation in activities to benefit people, to protect the environment and to promote human rights. This suggests that young Australians might increasingly look for solutions to social problems outside formal structures of government. A majority of students, however, believed that electing student representatives could materially affect schools. The Study also indicated that Australian students generally had a positive attitude to the social and economic role of governments and showed commitment to their nation.

In reviewing this research on students' perceptions on citizenship, it is interesting to note how, time and time again, the students come so close to identifying participation in the voluntary associations and social groupings of a civil society as being at the heart of active citizenship.

In view of the significant influence of commercial television news as indicated above, one has to note the symbiotic links between the main political parties and the news media increasingly centralised in Sydney and the almost total exclusion of news about voluntary associations. The 'globalisation' of a few male sports by commercial news agencies should serve as a warning.
The so-called community newspapers have played a role here, but the recent purchase of a major group of such papers by a leading international news corporation, well-known for its 'advocacy' journalism, does not augur well for Australia's future as a liberal, democratic and truly civil society. Who then are these teachers who may be able to help us to maintain and develop all aspects of society?

9. TEACHER EDUCATION: THE BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS

Over a decade ago educationists were aware of a need for greater political literacy in Australia. Phillips (1989, 21) lamented that few Australians could articulate what is meant by democracy. He quoted Professor Hugh Emy as stating that *very few students can tell you why the Constitution, Parliament or elections are important or why ideas about participation and citizenship deserve to be taken seriously.* Phillips noted that as far back as 1983 there was evidence of widespread political ignorance which led to the Australian Electoral Commission and Commonwealth Parliament moving to involve themselves in furthering the cause of political literacy through the production of video materials and teaching kits. The focus of this material was Federal Parliament.

At State level there was some increased involvement in the 1980s - apart from the Parliament conducting school tours and visits by members of the public, it appointed a public relations officer with educational responsibilities and established a board of advisory teachers. The Western Australian Electoral Commission created in 1987 also was given educational and research functions. However, across Australia it was generally acknowledged that a national approach was required.

According to Phillips, a major issue was the absence of a school curriculum which explicitly provided education in politics as a basis for active citizenship skills (1989, 30). The 1983 K-10 Social Studies Syllabus included politics as one of its five themes. However, given the disparaging connotations of the term politics and the fear of bias in teaching, the politics sequence was titled 'decision making'. Each student progressing through primary and secondary school was expected to study decision-making units in each year of schooling. Materials were produced and professional development provided but on the whole the units were either not presented at all or not presented in sufficient detail for students to derive benefits from them. According to Phillips the most severe problem for the units was the inadequate content and conceptual background of the teachers and their lack of skills and attitudes to effectively foster political literacy.

Moroz and Washbourne (1989) and Print (1990) also found that the decision-making units containing the bulk of political and civic education curriculum components were frequently avoided by teachers for presentation, presumably because they lacked the background to teach these units. At upper secondary level a similar problem existed for the politics tertiary entrance subject and enrolments remained stagnant for several years.

Some attempts have been made to boost the teaching of citizenship. For example, in 1992 the Social Science Association of Western Australia, under the authorship of Phillips, identified for the benefit of teachers the attributes of an ideal citizen. The listing of knowledge, skills and values suggested was as shown below:

Knowledge (main features of the polity)

- Australia's geographic and demographic features
- Traditional rule and law making procedures (particularly those appropriate to Aboriginal people)
- Cultural literacy and cultural heritage
- The Federal System (the three tiers – Commonwealth, State and Local)
- Features of Australia's Constitution
- The Commonwealth Parliament (House of Representatives and Senate)
- The Cabinet System of Government
- The Public Service and Statutory Authorities
- The State Parliament (Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council)
- Steps in the Legislative Process Elections (including electorates)
- Electoral law (the preference vote and proportional representation)
- Parties (basic)
- Interest Groups (including groups and associations relevant to youth)
- The Courts (including the High Court, State Courts, Family Courts, Small Claims Tribunal and the Ombudsman)

In summary how the system works.

Skills: Having a Say

- Voting (firstly in the context of the youth's experience; extended thereafter to the voting systems employed in local government and Parliamentary elections
- Enrolment and registration

- Discussion and debating
- Telephoning and faxing
- Letters
- Talkback participation
- Deputations
- Report writing
- Submissions
- Petitions
- Lobbying
- Communicating (with public service departments and statutory authorities)

Other Action Skills

- Organising meetings
- Negotiating
- Bargaining
- Peaceful demonstrating
- Organising coalitions
- Reflecting and evaluating

Household Skills

- Health
- Safety
- Licensing (registration of cars, dogs etc)
- Insurance/Banking (consumer education)
- The household and the law (safety, marriage, parenting, etc)

Values (liberal – democratic) Ideals of Democracy

- Freedom of the media
- Freedom of speech and expression
- Freedom of association
- Freedom of assembly
- Freedom of information
- Freedom of religion and conscience
- Freedom of mobility
- The rule of law (including equality before the law and an independent judiciary)

The Democratic Person

- Tolerance of other points of view
- Valuing fairness as a basis for making civic decisions and judgements
- Willingness to express reasons for views and actions
- Responsible but watchful in one's attitude towards authority
- A concern for social justice
- Rectitude (honesty)
- A respect for evidence in the forming and holding of opinions, and a willingness to change or modify one's point of view in the light of more evidence

Democratic Institutions

- Universal suffrage (with special emphasis on youth)
- Regular elections (at government, group and club level)
- Competitive political parties
- Loyal Opposition

- Considerations
- A civic consciousness
- The work or commitment ethic
- Employment and leisure rights
- Development/environment balance
- Basic heath care-protection
- The private/public ownership balance
- Family responsibilities
- The ten commandments
  (Phillips, 1992, 4-6).

A decade further on, as we have seen, there have been positive developments for civics and citizenship education at both State and national level. We could expect positive outcomes to arise from the prioritising of civics and citizenship education within the Curriculum Framework (for example, by the inclusion of 'active citizenship' as one of the seven Learning Outcomes in the Society and Environment Learning Area Statement and also by the inclusion of 'knowledge about political systems and their impact on societies and environment' as essential knowledge in the Learning Area). In the past few years also, the *Discovering Democracy* project has been implemented, resource materials have been developed and distributed to schools and the associated professional development for teachers undertaken.

However, as Phillips noted back in 1989, *without teacher expertise the best prepared syllabus in political education will not be effectively implemented. Excellently produced resources will be underutilised. Even some of the best teaching strategies such as mock parliaments and simulation exercises will not be recognised* (1989, 30). The teachers teaching civics and citizenship education currently are, on the whole, those who were in schools at least a decade ago teaching the Social Studies Syllabus and, as discussed in the previous section, a body of research undertaken locally highlights teachers' failure to enthuse students in the social studies area.

The research undertaken by Moroz into student attitudes towards social studies, already discussed, was also associated with research into the attitudes of the teachers of the students surveyed. Moroz found that there was a wide disparity between teachers' and students'

perceptions of social studies and that teachers had little understanding of the low and declining status of the subject as perceived by their students (Moroz and Reynolds, 2000, 34). A majority of teachers had not completed either a major or minor in Society and Environment curriculum in their undergraduate studies and their background in any of the social sciences was very limited.

Baker and Moroz state that: *It seems that this adherence to traditional teaching practices in social studies, more than the content, is what dissatisfies the students most about the subject. Teachers tend to repeatedly use recitation, textbooks, note-taking, whole-group instructional practices and, occasionally, audiovisual materials. Small group work, interactive cooperative learning activities, and inductive inquiry approaches to student learning are used infrequently... ...Our research shows that the teaching/learning needs of the students in social studies classrooms are not being taken into account by the teachers who, in spite of the strong, student-centred, action-oriented policies in social studies curricula, continue to utilise teacher-centred, text-based instructional practices the students find uninteresting and boring* (1997, 27-28).

Moroz notes that teachers schedule very little time for social studies, almost half teaching less than the Education Department's suggested minimum of 100 minutes a week (1996, 63). He suggested that this might explain why they avoided the time-consuming student-centred activities. He commented that: *The dangers are that without a significant increase in time allocation and other resources for Studies of Society and Environment the new citizenship education will be reduced to 'more of the same' by primary school teachers struggling to meet the demands of an already overcrowded curriculum* (1996, 64).

Recent research into the background of student teachers in Western Australia highlights issues likely to arise in regard to future teaching in the Society and Environment Learning Area in primary schools, including citizenship and civics education (Reynolds & Moroz, 1998). Reynolds and Moroz emphasise that with the new *Curriculum Framework* the background and experience of teachers is critically important, even more so than formerly, because of the expectation that they should have a highly developed conceptual framework from which to develop the Learning Area Framework and Student Outcome Statements (1998, 42).

However, the findings from the research suggest that the student teachers surveyed (future primary teachers) did not like social studies, ranking it 10th out of 13 subjects they themselves studied at primary school and 9th out of 14 studied at secondary school. A large

percentage had not studied any social studies in upper secondary school (14 percent in Year 11 and 20 percent in Year 12). Very few intended studying Social Studies Education at university – less than 10 percent in any semester. Reynolds and Moroz (1998, 50-51) note that teachers who lack knowledge rely more heavily on available resources and this implies the continued employment of methods (such as use of text books) which they themselves found boring.

The student teachers' dislike of social studies implies that in their future teaching there will be a lack of enthusiasm and less effective teaching with a consequential detriment to student learning outcomes. Their lack of content in social studies suggests also that their understanding of the Learning Area may be an issue and there are implications in particular for specific social studies areas, such as political science, which is studied at upper secondary level by a very small minority of student teachers. Political science has a central role in civics and citizenship education.

A separate investigation undertaken locally by Reynolds (1999, 21) indicates that student teachers come from a restricted group within society. They are predominantly female, under 25 years of age and from the Anglo-Celtic cultural heritage (with three quarters Australian-born with Anglo-Celtic heritage and another 10 percent from (British) Commonwealth countries). Students from Aboriginal, Asian and non-English-speaking backgrounds generally are under represented.

Another more recent research study by Reynolds (2001) was undertaken to obtain information about the values held by student teachers. The survey targetted teacher education students at one Western Australian university in the third year of early childhood and primary teacher education bachelor degrees and in the secondary graduate diploma. This study confirmed that students are young, predominantly female and Australian born. Thirty percent had never visited another country and 17 percent had not visited any regions of Western Australia away from Perth and the South West.

The student teachers were asked about their own values and their perception of Australian values. The findings indicated that a consistently low ranking was given to values categorised as those pertaining to knowledge, environment, societal values, world order, religion and change. These values have been described as those which are fundamental to an appreciation of the significance of societal structures and the values of a civil society (2001, 47). Conversely, the values ranked highly by student teachers were those based on the focus on individualism in schooling. Reynolds indicated that current degree courses concentrate

largely on the study of curriculum and teaching to the exclusion of content studies focussing on the nature of society. He noted that, with entrants to teacher education courses holding fewer and fewer social studies and humanities units, it could be asked how the trainee professionals are to acquire an understanding of the societal framework which determines the life chances of individuals within it and the nature and effectiveness of schooling processes.

The curriculum is established and the qualities of entrants to teacher education have been noted. It is now time to consider how the universities will prepare them over a period of the initial four years.

10. PREPARING TEACHERS FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY

Between 1970 and 2000, teacher education was deeply affected by a number of changes coming from the State and federal governments, the universities and the profession itself. These changes include:

- removal of teacher education from employer control;
- university takeover of the whole process;
- extension of teacher education preservice period from two to four years;
- lack of clarity over the emerging roles of teachers:
    - curriculum designer
    - manager of learning
    - manager of student behaviour at school
    - role model as life-long learner;
- the role of professional socialisation processes within universities;
- depletion of the cultural life of the new universities;
- universities slow to respond to changes in schools following state legislation to establish the Curriculum Council and new *School Education Act 1999*.

These changes have yet to be absorbed by the education system and new policies on civics, citizenship education and the appreciation of a civil society and values education cannot be implemented without a full awareness by teacher education institutions.

As already indicated, schooling for a civil society should follow the cycle of plan, do and review. It should start with the determination of the curriculum by as comprehensive a group of stakeholders as possible, including teachers. Then should follow the selection and preparation of the teachers who will implement the curriculum. Finally, all the stakeholders evaluate the outcomes. In other words, while teachers are trained in curriculum theory involving the development, implementation and evaluation of curriculum, their specific professional role rests with the implementation stage.

The implementation stage involves the teacher in knowing content and in being able to

design appropriate learning activities, including the selection of resources. Courses in teacher education and professional socialisation must involve a study of:

- The nature of the society and culture in which schooling is instituted;
- The nature of the curriculum and knowledge;
- The nature of the child, childhood and youth; and
- The nature of the learning processes.

The basic professional disciplines include philosophy, sociology, anthropology, history, linguistics, psychology, and the study of teaching as both an art and a science. In addition, there are the content areas relevant to the learning areas and teacher specialisations.

There have been major changes in the processes of teacher education over the past 30 years in response to changes in society itself but, in particular, the increasing demand for much higher levels of educational achievement across the whole society.

In 1870 Western Australia tried to introduce English-style local School Boards which would have been an interesting step towards a civil society but the small and scattered nature of the population and the multiplicity of religious denominations made this almost unworkable. (By 1920 the community consultation role of the School Boards had been taken over by the more restricted role of the Parents and Citizens Associations.) In 1890 full internal self government was granted and education became one of the four original ministries of the new government with the Education Department established in 1893 charged with the introduction of 'free, compulsory and secular' education between the ages of six and 12 years (later 14) for all non-Indigenous children in Western Australia.

Within 20 years of responsible government the basic context for teacher education was established; compulsory primary education 1893, Perth Technical College 1900, Claremont Teachers Training College 1902, the first State high school (Perth Modern School) 1909 and The University of Western Australia in 1911. A pattern of teacher education was soon established that was to last until the 1970s. For primary teaching there was a preservice two-year Teachers Certificate and for secondary teaching a university degree in one of the basic disciplines (English, French, German, History, Geography, Economics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics etc), followed by a one-year graduate Diploma in Education. To matriculate into the teaching profession at either the University or Teachers College, students typically had to pass seven subjects chosen from the list above and studied at secondary

school for five years. Secondary education was selective and only a tiny minority completed the five years.

In relation to the teaching of civics and citizenship there were a number of significant features. All primary teachers were expected to have studied some Australian history (largely political and economic) and some Australian geography (largely physical and economic). If they had not studied these at secondary school level, they had to study at least one unit of history or geography content as part of their Teachers Certificate course. Secondary teachers of history were expected to hold a degree with a major in history and to teach a content established by the Public Examinations Board which comprised subject committees led by university specialist staff.
In addition, students at the teachers colleges participated in interest clubs and voluntary associations which were self governing and provided a training experience for the teachers as community leaders and for their involvement in voluntary associations. Students also participated in various rituals, communal activities and assemblies as part of the process of professional socialisation. Finally, all students received training in pastoral care by being allocated a staff mentor with whom they met regularly. These aspects of teacher education were not always valued for what they were.

For secondary teachers, the four-year degree plus diploma meant that for three years they were not in a process of professional socialisation but were free to participate in the clubs and associations which were found in the universities of the time. However, the one-year diploma became a compacted year of teacher preparation. The content they taught in secondary schools was the content they studied in their undergraduate courses.

All this was to change in the 1970s, but before we leave this period it is worth noting that the contribution of the State teachers colleges and the State primary and secondary schools toward an Australian identity, citizenship and a civil society has not really been acknowledged. For most Australians of the period 1870 to 1970 the local State primary school was the only common cultural experience in addition to the common language.

From 1970 through to 2001, teacher education has been subjected to fundamental challenges from without and the authority of the curriculum has been undermined, content has been ignored in the promotion of process, and 'education' has been pushed aside by an emphasis on 'training'.

In 1972 the teachers colleges (Claremont 1902, Graylands 1955, Secondary 1968, Mount

Lawley 1970 and Churchlands 1972) were excised from the control of the Education Department and given autonomy, access to federal funding and all academic positions were made subject to open advertisement. Each college was given a governing board under a loose Western Australian Teacher Education Authority. In addition Curtin University of Technology, Murdoch University and The University of Western Australia were allowed to offer full preservice degree courses as well as postgraduate courses.

In 1982 the colleges were amalgamated into the Western Australian College of Advanced Education (WACAE) which thus became the educator of most of the State's teachers. Finally, with the Federal Government's decision to do away with the binary system of higher education by creating 38 public universities. WACAE was designated as Edith Cowan University.

Associated with these changes were a number of others that have affected the ability and willingness of the schools/faculties of teacher education to respond to the changes in educational expectations. Firstly, the length of preservice teacher education has doubled. In 1968 the longstanding two-year Teachers Certificate was replaced by a three-year Diploma of Teaching. In the mid- 1980s this was upgraded to a Bachelor of Arts in Education which could be converted by a fourth year of study, while teaching, into a Bachelor of Education. By 1998, all teachers were expected to complete a preservice Bachelor of Education degree. An analysis of the content of these extended degrees might suggest that they would have been better described as Bachelor of Teaching degrees. The relationship between education and teaching is analogous to that between medicine and surgery.

Secondly, as the secondary schools responded to meet the needs of secondary education after 1955, the type of education background of prospective teachers changed but little analysis was done to ensure that gaps in the secondary background of teachers in secondary content areas were being addressed during the extended period of teacher education. From earliest times teacher education has always included the secondary education as the basis for primary teachers' content and a secondary teacher was expected to have a first degree in the content area to be taught. This has affected the preparation of teachers of citizenship.

Thirdly, the universities as new players in the full program of teacher education failed to provide for the complete professional education of new teachers with a reasoned integration of preservice, inservice, graduate and postgraduate teacher education. Either teacher education was interpreted narrowly as little more than curriculum and instruction or would-be teachers were deemed as needing to be educated in the liberal arts, with a program

controlled by specialists in the sciences, social sciences and humanities but with minimal focus on the nature of children and adolescents or on the processes and curriculum requirements of schooling.

Furthermore, there was little input from stakeholders such as parents, citizens, government or the teaching profession. Academic leadership in universities and schools has become somewhat unclear as designated principals, heads of university schools and deans have become managers of physical and human resources. The monitoring of what is being taught in schools and universities and how well it is being taught and learned is dangerously unclear. Even the processes of peer review of curricula, a strong feature of the former colleges of advanced education, are not established fully in universities despite the Commonwealth Quality Audits of the early 1990s.

At a time when there are claims about a knowledge-based society, it is uncertain as to whether many teachers can distinguish between information and knowledge. Teachers are trained in questioning techniques but there are no guarantees that they know the content areas from which the questions are drawn, nor just how the questions may help the students to convert information into conceptual knowledge.

It is within this context that the perceived need for explicit values education, civics, citizenship and a civil society has to be seen. It is one thing for federal politicians to fund the notion of active citizenship within Australia's democracy and quite another to have it implemented within Australia's schools.

What is happening now? A survey was conducted among the schools/faculties of education within the four public universities in Perth and into the four-year Bachelor of Education degrees (Early Childhood, Primary and Secondary) and the one-year Graduate Diplomas of Education.

Responses were received from each university with some seven responses from Society & Environment specialist staff covering both degree and diploma courses. In each course there was a semester-length core unit on the curriculum and teaching of the Society & Environment Learning Area for all Early Childhood and Primary specialists and for relevant major and minor students in the Secondary specialism. About 10 percent of the time and learning activities in each of these core units was allocated to values, civics and citizenship education.

In addition, each university provided opportunities for students to elect to do extra units in the teaching of values, civics and citizenship but few students chose to study these units and in the relevant content areas of history and political science there were few units to enable students to explore Australian political and economic history with even smaller percentages of students choosing to study them.

In response to a question about the preparedness of student teachers to teach civics and citizenship education, the responses varied from 'basic and sound' in relation to teaching strategies to 'poor and negative' in relation to background content. The Society & Environment lecturers are part of larger organisational units and when asked about the priority that civics and citizenship education has within the schools of education, the majority of responses indicated that the Society & Environment lecturers were keen within the restraints of a crowded curriculum but that lecturers in schools of education as a whole had little understanding and even less commitment.

Finally, in response to a question about the civics and citizenship education focus within Society & Environment, most drew attention to the good work being done by the Commonwealth-funded *Discovering Democracy* team in producing resources and in the implementation and inservicing of teachers by the special task force. The *Discovering Democracy* taskforce is not only involved in the very extensive on-the-job training program in schools, but also is used by the schools of education in the universities to provide training and awareness for preservice teachers.

In response to an open question, it is significant that only one of the seven responses offered any reference to the connection between 'active citizenship' and a civil society and what universities and schools may be able to do about promoting these. The interpretation given to civics and citizenship education was essentially that of ensuring that the students 'knew the facts', the privileges of citizenship and the challenges faced by schools in moving from learning 'that' to 'learning how to do that'.

In short, the civics and citizenship education specialists thought that the subject was important, considered that they were doing the best that they could in an unresponsive environment and a restrictive, overcrowded curriculum.

The present situation for teacher education for civics, citizenship education and a civil society is unsatisfactory. The solution to this basic challenge rests with both the universities as well as with the wider society. The responses here confirm the findings and support the

conclusions of a recent national review of the *Discovering Democracy* project within civics and citizenship education (see Print, Moroz and Reynolds, 2001, 208-210).

Universities must grow to appreciate the complex nature of the teaching profession and to see teachers, even university teachers, as people with more than a liberal arts education and a piece of chalk, or as trainees who know about classroom communication and behavioural management but who are not very learned in any area of knowledge and who are not role models of lifelong learning.

A national curriculum demands a national understanding of the role of schools, schooling and teaching. From this should emerge the guidelines for national teacher education. Western Australia already has the makings of a publicly-accountable Curriculum Council and the new *School Education Act* (1999) has the potential through its proposed school councils to convert 'state' schools into 'public' schools. Together the legislation has the power to ensure that 'private' schooling, in so far as it receives public moneys and is monitored by the Curriculum Council, also meets the requirements for schooling within a civil society.

The teacher education curriculum must include secondary education, preservice university education, postgraduate and inservice education. Within this ideal construct of what is essential for a professional teacher and educator, entrants into teaching need to be positioned so that omissions in their secondary education can be met. The critically reflective practitioner must be able to distinguish between knowledge and information, education and training, and must be able to justify which knowledge is of the most worth and the nature of the good life.

Schooling as a process four general aims. These are:

1. Maintenance of the cultural heritage (achieved through the study of the humanities and the arts);
2. Preparation for social and cultural change (achieved through the study of mathematics, sciences and social sciences);
3. Encouragement of individuality (achieved through the practice of the performing and creative arts and physical culture);
4. Development of a sense of community (achieved through the study of values and civics and the practice of active citizenship within a civil society).

Not each of these four aims has received or is receiving equal priority in history nor in stages of child development nor levels of education. However, all the content and processes listed above are variably represented in the whole of the schooling process. During the past 30 years preparation for social and cultural change and the development of individuality have received most emphasis with much less on cultural heritage and the sense of community, values and citizenship. While State and federal governments have made moves to address this situation, the university schools of education have been slow to respond.
Their response must be not only to insist that certain studies and content are essential for all teachers, but also to ensure that the professional socialisation processes within the university schools of education incorporate the basic elements of a civil society. This means the encouragement of voluntary associations reflecting a wide range of social and cultural interests as well as a comprehensive range of stakeholders being involved in the determination and evaluation of the teacher education curriculum.

If the Western Australian Curriculum Council declares that civics and citizenship education should not only be part of the Society & Environment learning area but should also be, like the shared core values of Australian society, taught across the whole curriculum, then the schools of education must change course structures and their whole operation to ensure that graduates are able to implement the new initiatives effectively. If civics and citizenship education requires teachers to know something about Australia's political and economic history then such studies should be mandatory for all teachers.

Interestingly, the State Education Acts do not mandate any studies but proscribe dogmatic theology (but not general religious instruction) and polemical politics from State schools. Curriculum is left to tradition and the teaching profession. In contrast, within most of the State systems in the United States the teaching of American history is mandated at all levels.

In terms of remedial action, there is an interesting parallel example of the Aboriginal Studies undertaken by teacher education students. In 1992 the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody recommended that all teachers be taught a unit of Aboriginal Studies and the Commission recommended that the implementation of its recommendations be monitored on an annual basis. Initially nothing happened within the university schools of education other than that a small minority of students continued to choose to study an elective of Aboriginal Studies.

However, in 1996 the Director General of Education in Western Australia issued a policy statement that from 1998 no new graduate teachers would be employed by the State

Education Department if they did not have at least one unit of Aboriginal Studies within their degree. The four State universities moved quickly to change course structures to ensure that their graduates would not be disadvantaged in seeking employment within the State system. Only nine of Australia's 38 public universities have such a compulsory unit even though all States and territories have accepted the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Of the nine, four are in Western Australia. Such is the power of the prospective employer to cut through the labyrinthine nature of academic politics!

This parallel is instructive. If the public and governments truly believe in the critical importance of civics, citizenship education, democracy and civil society, then the employing authorities have the power to withhold employment of teachers lacking the relevant concepts, skills and values in any school system (state or independent or private) which is in receipt of public moneys and which is under the monitoring of the Curriculum Council of Western Australia.

11. CONCLUSIONS AND ASSESSMENTS

In the eighteenth century the Anglo-Irish philosopher, Bishop George Berkeley, said that 'He who has not considered the Good Life, may make a thriving earth worm...but a very sorry patriot...'.

In 1917, the American philosopher, James Dewey, promoted Enlightenment values by arguing in his classic *Democracy and Education* that the 'social' became the 'moral' when social actors were taught to evaluate the influence of their behaviour on other people.

In 1936, the so-called 'green' *Curriculum for Western Australian Schools* recognised that 'active citizenship' is the culmination and expression of a social and moral education.

As a society we have taken some steps towards providing a worthy education for our children and the maintenance of our society but we still have to implement the changes from the 1990s relating to citizenship education. We do have the necessary pieces. However, we need the will to put them together. This investigation has identified the possibilities and the following assessments suggest how we might move forward:

* If the community wants civics and citizenship education to be taught and taught effectively, then a compulsory core unit, combining essential content and appropriate professional strategies, must be included in preservice teacher education for intending teachers at all levels. Graduates without such a unit should not be employed after a set date.

- The importance of knowledge about the development and nature of the State and civil society should be recognised. Students can be enthused by sound teaching by teachers well qualified in relevant subject matter and with appropriate professional skills.

- Active citizenship behavioural outcomes can be achieved by the development of self-governing voluntary associations within schools of teacher education and in primary and secondary schools and when appropriate linked to and supported by existing associations in the wider community.

- Teaching has to be seen as a partnership with the family in the maintenance and development of community and society. Individuality and individual rights and responsibilities can only be developed when the full nature of society and culture are appreciated and incorporated into the processes of schooling.

- Schools of teacher education must prepare teachers to work with the monitoring role of the Western Australian Curriculum Council and to work for and with the school councils to ensure that we have a truly public schooling system encompassing the current divisions between State and private schools.
- More research and documentation needs to be undertaken into the large range of nongovernmental and voluntary associations, clubs and societies and their members which together constitute the civil society and provide the rich texture of social and cultural citizenship of Australia.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTRE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Published by The Constitutional Centre of Western Australia.
Edited by Jolly Read.

Department of the Premier and Cabinet
Government of Western Australia

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