

A 'seamless enactment' of citizenship education

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Abstract

Educational undertakings are subject to disjunctures at three separate stages: in the creation of curricular programmes, in the implementation of these curricula in practice and in their effects on students. These disjunctures are the result of complex 'leaps' between ends and means, and between ideal and real. This article proposes a response in the form of 'seamless enactment', applied here to citizenship education. Seamless enactment involves, first, the harmonisation of the principles underlying the different stages in the passage of the curriculum, avoiding problematic tensions between, for example, democratic aims and undemocratic teaching practices. Second, it requires the involvement of teachers and students in the design and development of the educational initiative, as well as in its implementation. Taken to its fullest extent, seamless enactment involves a unification of the separate stages, leading to the collapsing of the curricular transposition framework onto a single point. Finally, some possible justifications for and potential objections to the notion are considered.

The outcomes of educational undertakings are hard to predict for a number of reasons. First, having in view a particular set of aims or aspirations, the task of choosing educational means to achieve them is far from straightforward, particularly when these aims entail understanding and attitudes as well as skills. Second, on implementation in practice, these educational means – in the form of a curriculum – are transformed in a number of ways due to the specificities of local contexts and teacher practice. Lastly, the influence of the undertaking on students is dependent on the ways in which they absorb, recast or reject its messages. Each of these three stages requires of the initiative some form of 'leap'. The leap is between ends and means in the first and third cases, and between ideal and real in the second. This process of change – here referred to as 'curricular transposition' – presents a significant challenge to the realisation of any aim through education.

This article proposes 'seamless enactment' as a response to the potential disjunctures that can occur in the processes outlined above. Seamless enactment is an approach to the curriculum in which there is a harmonious movement between ends and means, and between the ideal and the real, both in terms of the underlying principles and the human agents involved. These ideas can be applicable to any form of curriculum, but here will be dealt with specifically in relation to citizenship education, an area in which these problematic disjunctures can easily be seen. While there has been extensive philosophical writing on the aims of citizenship education and on justifications for its presence in schools (e.g. Callan, 1997; Galston, 1989; Kymlicka,

2003; McLaughlin, 1992), less attention has been paid to the educational processes involved. This article aims to respond to this lack by addressing the difficult relationship between the ends of citizenship and the educational means designed to achieve them.

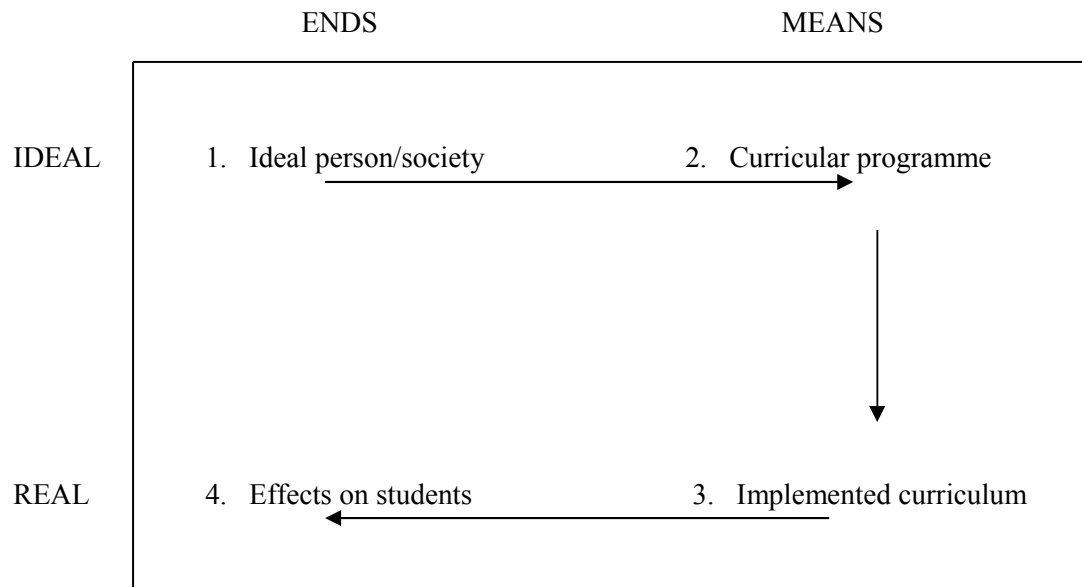
Conceptions of citizenship are multiple and complex, differing in the emphasis given to rights and duties, and to local, national and global levels, as well as in the extent to which difference and criticality are tolerated or perhaps encouraged. McLaughlin's well-known (1992) analysis identified four key components (identity, virtues, political involvement and social prerequisites), each of which may be interpreted in a wide range of ways, and exist in 'maximal' or 'minimal' forms. This article will not focus primarily on the conception of citizenship that should orient schools' practice (a question that has received ample attention elsewhere), but on the educational processes intended to support it. The argument here is based on an assumption that the aim is for *democratic* citizenship, one which entails individuals and groups being able to play an informed and critical role in decision-making that affects them, as well as respecting and facilitating the participation of others. At a later stage of the article, the implications of seamless enactment for *non-democratic* citizenship are also drawn out.

The article has three sections. First, there is an outline of 'curricular transposition', a theoretical framework developed in previous studies (McCowan, 2008; 2009). The framework was initially derived from empirical research, but will here be discussed in general conceptual terms. Following this, the notion of seamless enactment is proposed. Lastly, there is a discussion of some justifications and possible objections to seamless enactment.

Curricular transposition

Since the 1980s, considerable attention in the French-speaking world has been paid to the notion of 'didactic transposition' (e.g. Chevallard, 1985; Conne, 1992; Perrenoud, 1998, 1992; Tochon, 1991). This theory attempts to show how items of knowledge (and in some cases social practices) are transformed when they move from society into school. Scientific theories, for example, adopt forms in the official school curriculum that are distinct from those in the scientific community, and are transformed once again through the work of individual teachers (there are clear parallels with Bernstein's [1996] notions of *recontextualisation* and *reproduction* here). Didactic transposition, however, focuses on specific items of knowledge or practices, and does not aim to capture the entirety of the curriculum. Curricular programmes as a whole are based on a set of ideals, aims or aspirations – whether explicit and conscious or not – which guide the choice of content. The notion of 'curricular transposition' proposed here extends didactic transposition by addressing these underlying orientations.

The movement between the four stages of curricular transposition can be seen in the following graphic:



(Source: McCowan 2008)

If this scheme is applied to citizenship education, the first stage would consist of an ideal citizen or polity to be developed (e.g. a loyal patriot). In order to develop the diverse knowledge, skills and values seen to comprise this form of ‘citizen’, a curricular programme is established (the second stage) – say, a course of inspiring national literature. The implemented or taught curriculum (the third stage), however, will differ from the official curriculum on account of a number of factors, including the particular interpretations of teachers. As a result of the ‘leaps’ between the previous stages, the influence of the initiative on students (the fourth stage) may differ significantly from the original ideal.

‘Transposition’ in music involves movement from one pitch to another without a change in the melody. So, in curricular transposition, the thread of an educational initiative is supposed to be maintained throughout the different stages. When this thread is wholly or partially broken we can speak of a curricular ‘disjuncture’.

The three leaps present different challenges and can be approached in different ways. In relation to the first of these, Kristjánsson’s (2002; 2004) distinction between approaches to character education is relevant. In *methodological substantivism* (characterising both expansive and non-expansive character education), a variety of methods can be adopted to achieve the desired ends, while in *methodological formalism* (characterising other approaches such as values clarification and philosophy for children), a preferred method is specified. Yet the nature of the relationship between means and ends in each case remains obscure: it is unclear both why certain approaches adopt certain methods, and whether (and in what way) that choice is significant.

Means are customarily seen as being effective in as far as they bring about particular ends. The appropriateness of choice of means, from this perspective, can be judged by empirical evidence. However, this is not the only form of relationship that can exist between the two. Means can also be chosen on the basis of their being in accordance with the principles contained in the ends. For example, in relation to

citizenship education, if a democratic society is the aim, it might be seen as appropriate to conduct one's educational activities in a democratic manner, independently of the consequences. The latter can be termed a relationship of 'harmony', in contrast to one of 'separation' outlined above, in which there is only a relationship of cause and effect. These can be understood as degrees of 'proximity' between ends and means (McCowan 2009).

When the harmony form is taken to its full extent, a further form of relationship – 'unification' – is created. Unification occurs when means and ends become one: in this case, where citizen learning takes place through the exercising of citizenship itself. John Stuart Mill (1991 [1861]) argued for this form of relationship, proposing that the best way to develop the knowledge, skills and values of citizenship was through active participation such as jury service or the holding of public office.

Many citizenship education initiatives, however, involve neither a harmonisation nor unification of ends and means (for example, these are seen only in a very tentative form in the National Curriculum provision in England and Wales). The separation mode can be problematic for citizenship education since teachers and students are likely to perceive the contradiction between the democratic aims and the undemocratic nature of the educational undertaking. In addition, forms of participation inside and outside the school can be important learning experiences in their own right.

In relation to the ideal-real leap, there is considerable empirical literature on the transformations that curricular programmes undergo when implemented in practice (e.g. Benavot & Resh 2003; Fullan & Pomfret 1977; Murphy 2004). Factors influencing implementation include teachers' distinctive practices and beliefs, the resources available in schools and the wider political environment. However, there are also influential factors stemming from the design of the initiative, such as the extent to which it has involved different groups in its construction and development, and the types of guidance or training provided to schools and teachers. A feeling of imposition on the part of the teachers or a simple lack of understanding of the initiative is likely to lead to ineffective implementation. For example, in a citizenship education programme that aims to promote 'political literacy' (QCA 1998), a lack of understanding of and importance attached to the subject in schools may lead to it being restricted to discussions of identity and personal values, and thereby not provide students with the necessary context to develop knowledge, skills and values relating to collective political action.

Not all transformations in implementation are negative: for example, a teacher may creatively interpret the official curriculum in a way that is more enriching for the students than had been envisaged in the original programme. Yet while some transformations are positive – and while they are impossible to avoid completely – others are likely to be negative, particularly when there is a separation between those implementing the initiative and those designing it.

The next stage – the effects of an initiative on students – is in part dependent on the two previous leaps. The existence of separation, harmony or unification mode in the ends-means leap can be influential for the reasons outlined above. Whether the initiative can be fully implemented, or whether it suffers significant transformations in

the process of implementation will also be influential. However, beyond these factors there is also the element of human agency. No two students will react in exactly the same way to the same educational intervention. However ‘effectively’ an ideal of citizenship is presented, students may reinterpret or reject it. The intervention will also be competing with a number of other influences, as shown in the *octagon* model of the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 1999).

The graphic above does not show a line from ‘4’ back to ‘1’ – constituting the fourth side of the square. Yet, there is a possibility of an extension of the process to include a reconstitution of the initial ideals in the light of the effects on students. This occurrence is most likely in the instance of a high degree of integration of the four stages, as will be discussed below in relation to seamless enactment.

These processes form the different phases of curricular transposition. Disjunctures can easily occur at each stage, due to the difficulties in bridging the ‘gap’ between ends and means and that between ideal and real – these ‘gaps’ being of a distinct nature in each case. However, the binary distinctions here are not watertight. Dewey (1964, p. 70) draws attention to what he sees as misconceptions over the difference between ends and means:

[T]he ends, objectives, of conduct are those foreseen consequences which influence present deliberation and which finally bring it to rest by furnishing an adequate stimulus to overt action. Consequently ends arise and function within action. They are not, as current theories too often imply, things lying beyond activity at which the latter is directed.

The notions of ideal and real are also problematic. ‘Ideal curricular programme’ as used here has elements of the meaning of ‘ideal’ as a goal to be aiming towards – the way we would like the curriculum to be – but also points to its existence as a set of ‘ideas’, rather than a set of observable practices of teaching and learning. Curricula, in this way, often exist in written form (the ‘official’ or ‘formal’ curriculum) as distinct from their manifestation in schools (the ‘taught’ or ‘unofficial’ curriculum). Yet it is hard to say that the official curriculum is any less ‘real’ than its taught counterpart in terms of its existence, nor necessarily more ‘ideal’ in the sense of being a model of excellence.

The separation of the four stages of curricular transposition, therefore, has an analytical function, and does not signify their existence as entirely discrete entities. While there appear to be some elements of logical necessity (e.g. a curriculum cannot be implemented before it has been conceived) there is not a simple chronological progression between them. Ideals may emerge alongside or in response to the development of curricular programmes, and official curricula can be modified in the light of experiences of implementation. In addition, it is important to note that the ideals underlying educational initiatives are very often not made explicit. (It is inherent in the concept of education, however, that there is some motivating aspiration, whether or not those engaged in the process are aware of it.) Furthermore, large educational undertakings (such as national curricula) may be based on complex and often contradictory sets of aims and aspirations. It is much harder to observe the workings of curricular transposition in these large-scale initiatives, though the same principles hold nevertheless.

The disjunctures in the trajectory of a curriculum outlined above are highly complex to negotiate. This article puts forward a response in the form of ‘seamless enactment’, designating an organic linking of ends and means and of the ideal and the real. While the theory of curricular transposition has a descriptive and analytical function, seamless enactment represents a normative framework.

Seamless enactment

In the literature on the implementation of curriculum innovations, the focus is often on the constraints to successful implementation – the obstacles in the way of the necessary improvements – seen as if friction acting on a moving body in physics. Understandings of the study of curriculum implementation in which, ‘the main intent is to determine the degree of implementation of innovation in terms of the extent to which actual use of the innovation corresponds to intended or planned use’ (Fullan and Pomfret 1997: 340) has been termed the *fidelity* approach. This is contrasted with an *adaptive* or *mutual adaptation* approach, ‘directed at analyzing the complexities of the change process vis-à-vis how innovations have become developed/changed etc. during the process of implementation’. In the latter case, curricula are seen in terms of their reconfiguration in light of local characteristics.

However, the emergence of the mutual adaptation approach was ‘the result of a reluctant concession to reality, rather than a commitment to a perspective on change’ (Snyder *et al.* 1992, p. 411). Another more genuinely participatory approach to curriculum implementation has been referred to as *enactment*¹ (Ball and Cohen 1996; Snyder *et al.* 1992; Spillane 1999; Thornton 1995). This perspective focuses on the ways in which “curriculum is shaped through the evolving constructs of teachers and students” (Snyder *et al.* 1992: 404). Curriculum materials and strategies developed externally, therefore, become ‘tools’ to be used and manipulated, rather than norms to be followed as faithfully as possible. Importantly, this process of construction of the curriculum is itself seen as a key learning experience for teachers and students. Research studies with an enactment perspective:

[A]re interested in describing not just how the curriculum is shaped as it gets acted out in specific settings, but also how it is experienced by the particular participants in the settings. For them [those with an enactment perspective], curriculum has meaning only in terms of individuals’ interpretations of it. (Snyder *et al.*, 1992, p. 428)

As Snyder *et al.* (1992) point out, it is better to think of these paradigms as a continuum, rather than three discrete units. Some ‘adaptive’ approaches are very close to fidelity, and others are effectively enactment. The different approaches relate to the *study* of curriculum implementation, that is to say, the ways in which the process is to be understood or researched. Yet they can also be seen as approaches to the task of curriculum implementation itself. In this way, curricula can be implemented without any attention paid to local context, or some adaptations can be made, or lastly they can be constructed through the interaction of teachers, students and the curricular content in the classroom itself. In the case of ‘fidelity’, the underlying assumption is that external curriculum planners are better equipped to make curriculum decisions

than the participants in the educational process, and that the best the latter can do is to faithfully implement them. In ‘enactment’, teachers, students and the community become central figures in planning and design as well as implementation.

The notion of ‘seamless’ enactment put forward in this article extends the ideas of curricular enactment in Snyder *et al.* (1992) in two ways. First, it sees enactment as a process that can apply to the movement from ends to means and the effects on students, as well as the implementation of a curricular programme. It also introduces the element of harmonisation of underlying values or principles. The enactment is ‘seamless’² because all the stages are an expression of the same politico-pedagogical principles, and can count on the involvement of the key agents throughout the educational process.

In the transposition of overarching aims to curricular programme, seamless enactment entails ‘harmony’ or ‘unification’ between ends and means. In relation to education for democratic citizenship, harmony will involve the embodiment or *prefiguring* of democratic aims in the pedagogical relations and processes of decision-making in the school (as in Apple & Beane 1999; Fielding 2007; Gribble 1998; Suissa 2006). In these cases, the means ‘enact’ the ends, in the sense that they bring them to life in their processes and not just in their consequences. The most complete form of seamless enactment, however, occurs through unification. In this form – where students learn from their engagement in real political activity, such as participation in public debates, campaigning or protest – ends and means merge completely.

Clearly, it is not the case that most educational initiatives (even those in ‘separation’ mode) customarily adopt *any* means to achieve the desired ends. Normally, there are seen to be ethical constraints on the selection of means, such as those of wittingness and voluntariness proposed by Peters (1966). However, ‘harmony’ is distinct as it is not just about excluding certain methods (such as indoctrination or corporal punishment) on ethical grounds. It involves an embodiment of the specific values of the ends within the means.

Dewey (1955 [1916]) also discussed at length the need to avoid separation between ends and means. In a general sense, he questioned the view of ends as external to an activity, proposing instead an idea of ‘ends in view’, goals which orient the direction of an activity, but without rigidly fixing it. Specifically in relation to education, he opposed the constricting of practice through predefined and externally imposed aims that are not responsive to the nature of the educational process and the volitions of those involved. However, Dewey’s approach is distinct from ‘harmony’ in that it involves an adaptation of aims in response to the specificities of context, rather than an adaptation of means in response to the nature of the aims. Nevertheless, his understanding of democracy as a process and a form of human relations underlies the spirit of seamless enactment generally speaking. In fact, a ‘process’ conception of democracy necessarily entails a merging of means and ends as proposed here.

Seamless enactment also requires the involvement of teachers both in the design of the initiative and in its implementation. While others – such as community members and elected representatives – may be involved in the establishment of the initiative’s aims and content, this process would not occur without the presence of teachers. In addition, those delivering the programmes must share the core values of the initiative.

This does not mean that all teachers must have the same political positions, but that they must understand and be committed to the fundamental principles (e.g. democratic decision-making, a just distribution of goods etc.). Seamlessness in the first leap – between ends and means – therefore requires seamlessness in the second – from ideal to real: if the ends are to be embodied in the means then teachers must endorse and, to some extent at least, live and exemplify the core values of the initiative.

It is important to note here that enactment does not mean that there are no transformations: in implementation, there will always be effects from the pedagogical and political environment in which the initiative is taking place. However, the significant disjuncture of having an initiative imposed on teachers or being implemented in spite of them is avoided.

Furthermore, the ‘effects’ of an initiative would not be separated from the processes of design and implementation. Students are not ‘objects’ on which educational interventions are carried out, but are involved in decision-making in both the initial construction of the programme and during the learning experiences themselves. They are aware of the aims of the initiative, have a personal commitment to them and are involved in the programme’s development. While they may not agree with every aspect of the programme (and in some cases conflict between different perspectives can be positive) they understand and support its overarching purpose. Again, this does not mean that the outcome becomes predetermined. Students may still recast and reinterpret the message of the initiative and themselves develop in unexpected ways. In a case of fully seamless enactment, the effects of the programme would no longer be external or separated from the educational act itself. There would be an integrated and spontaneous expression of educational and citizenship practice.

The notion of *proximity* could therefore be extended beyond the ends-means leap. In implementation and effects, ‘separation’ would imply a top-down imposition without the involvement of teachers and students, ‘harmony’ would indicate a concordance between their values and those of the initiative, and ‘unification’ the design and development of the initiative by teachers and students themselves.

An empirical example (McCowan 2008) here serves to illustrate these ideas. The Landless Movement in Brazil is an organisation campaigning for agrarian reform, and runs a large network of cooperative communities in rural areas. Many of these communities have primary schools that receive state funds, but are run according to the movement’s political and pedagogical principles (closely following Paulo Freire’s ideas, and aiming for the creation of a collectivist socialist society). Seamless enactment can be seen in the workings of political education in the movement. First, the political goals are embodied in the procedures of school (harmony): students and teachers are involved in decision-making and the curriculum is developed by the school community as a whole. The teachers and other school staff are mostly members of the movement, meaning that they have a personal commitment to the goals and feel ownership of the curriculum. The students have also participated in some way in the design of the curriculum and have their views taken into account in its materialisation in class. In addition, teachers and students are involved in the movement’s political activity outside the school (unification), and links are made between this and the classroom activities. This degree of linkage between stages of

the curriculum, between arenas of learning and between the different agents – i.e. a seamless enactment of the movement's goals – means that an intense learning experience is provided. (Whether or not the movement's specific political goals and values are desirable is, of course, a separate question.)

Bringing means into line with ends in this way raises the possibility of seamlessness between school and society. Seamless enactment involves a link between educational processes and the lives of the teachers and learners, including their political activities outside educational institutions. Citizenship education in this way would become linked to wider political movements, struggles and events. It could be argued that a lack of fit between democratic school practices and an anti-democratic environment in the wider society also comprises a form of disjuncture along the lines of the curricular disjunctures discussed above. This could lead to a notion of 'community' or 'societal' enactment in which the environment outside the school also embodies democratic principles and provides learning opportunities (as indicated by Biesta and Lawy's [2006] call for citizenship education to acknowledge the 'individual-in-context'). This is not to say that a democratic school cannot exist in a non-democratic society, only that citizenship education is enhanced by a linking of *arenas*, with political learning occurring seamlessly inside and outside school.

As can be seen, seamless enactment reduces the distance and even blurs the distinctions between the different stages of curricular transposition. Taken to its fullest extent, the whole framework of curricular transposition begins to disappear (or perhaps converge on a single point). When the processes are fully integrated in an organic whole, there are no longer separate stages and spaces between them. There is no longer a clear separation between ends and means, between the curricular programme and its implementation and effects. These processes are simultaneous, or there is constant movement between them, and they involve the same agents in a single educational moment. We can therefore distinguish between 'harmony' across the whole of curricular transposition, in which all stages embody the same principles, and 'unification' where the stages become one.

Why seamlessness? Why enactment?

What justifications, if any, might there be for a seamless enactment approach? First, it may well be beneficial from the perspective of the *effectiveness* of an initiative, in so far as it provides a better chance of achieving the initiative's goals than one characterised by disjunctures. As discussed above, citizenship education is unlikely to be successful if its democratic message is in conflict with the undemocratic nature of the institution. Teachers and students will engage more fully in the educational undertaking if they feel ownership of it, and both understand and endorse its overarching aims. In an area as contested as citizenship education, teachers can transmit values that are not their own in only a very superficial manner. Participation in decision-making is also an opportunity for students to develop knowledge, skills and values relating to democratic citizenship.

This said, seamless enactment cannot rest on a pragmatic justification. The notion of *effectiveness* exists within a *separation* mode, and depends on empirical evidence of the consequences of an initiative. In seamless enactment, consequences are not the

only criterion by which the initiative is judged. Moreover, they are not entirely external to the initiative, but are embodied within it. So while prefiguring democratic relations within the school can have a number of positive side-effects in relation to the goals of democratic citizenship in the wider society (and even other non-democratic goals), it cannot, and does not need to be justified in terms of the achievement of these goals.

Another potential justification could be that a greater degree of participation on the part of teachers and students is desirable on moral and political grounds. Involving teachers and learners in the educational process shows a commitment to democratic values, showing respect for persons – seeing them as ends in themselves rather than means to other goals. One of the reasons that the stages of curricular transposition are so unpredictable and liable to disjuncture is that each of them is mediated by (often uncoordinated) human agents. First, those designing the initiative (who are fallible and unavoidably not in possession of all relevant knowledge) establish means. These means are then implemented via people (usually different from those designing the initiative) who themselves alter that programme in the course of their teaching. Lastly, the results of the programme occur through students, who interpret the message in different ways. In the ‘fidelity’ approach to curriculum implementation, these human intermediaries are at best to be ignored, and on occasions to be deliberately suppressed. The response is therefore one of *control*. The unpredictability of outcomes is to be reduced by a ‘teacher-proof’ curricular programme, one which is as resistant as possible to local adaptations. This controlling approach is largely unviable, since human beings cannot be made completely machine-like in this way. Yet, it is also clearly undesirable in terms of respect for persons.

What, then, would the implications of the framework be for an *undemocratic* citizenship education initiative, one based on unquestioning loyalty to the nation, firm hierarchies and subservience to authority? A harmonisation of ends and means in this case would mean that the educational activities would have to be carried out in such a way that students absorbed knowledge and values unquestioningly, maintaining a distant relationship of respect and obedience for their teachers. This harmony would in fact be likely to enhance the effectiveness of the initiative. In relation to the element of involving teachers and students, some participation of these agents – one encouraging a feeling of ownership of the initiative – would enhance the implementation and delivery of the initiative. Yet, this would not extend to meaningful participation in decision-making, there being no principled reason for involving these actors. So, while ensuring coherence between ends and means would be beneficial in any conception of citizenship, seamless enactment as a whole is only possible in a democratic one, since only then will the involvement of the participants in the educational process be an expression of the underlying orientations.

The notion of *agency* is, therefore, central to seamless enactment. As Peters (1966) argued, education (as opposed to training) requires voluntariness and wittingness on the part of those engaged in it. This entails at least some endorsement of and commitment to the initiative along the lines proposed here. Beyond that, participation in the delivery and implementation of the initiative is itself an educational experience, leading to an enhancement of agency. This is particularly relevant in citizenship education – at least in those conceptions of active, critical citizenship – in which learners develop as political agents capable of influencing events around them.

In addition to agency, another principle on which seamless enactment rests is *coherence*. An educational initiative can only be coherent if its stages are in harmony, i.e. if in its teaching of respect for diversity, for example, it incorporates the same value in its pedagogical processes and relations. If we really hold a goal or ideal to be of value and to orient our lives (whether it be democracy, inclusion, social cohesion, academic rigour, creativity etc.) then it must characterise the way we carry out the educational act, as well as furnishing it with an aim.

A first objection that might be raised against seamless enactment is that there is surely nothing wrong with 'separation' mode if it achieves the desired results. While it is unlikely that an initiative will produce citizens with democratic values through undemocratic means (particularly if the learners are aware of the conflict), it is not impossible. However, as stated above, what is wrong with the separation mode is that it reveals (and helps to instil in learners) a particular relationship to the values it is trying to achieve, seeing them as provisional and dispensable.

A second objection that may be raised against the idea of seamless enactment is that it assumes that control of teachers and students over the curriculum is a positive thing. White (2007, p. 14), for example, states that:

The curriculum should have some bearing on the shape of our future society. What this shape should be is a political question: it is for the democratic electorate to make decisions about it. The teacher should have no more voice in this than the postman.

It is clearly the case that in a public system of education, the public should be involved in establishing aims. However, this is not precluded here. A seamless enactment approach does not give teachers exclusive control over the curriculum (as in the so-called 'secret garden' of pre-1988 England), but includes them in the processes of decision-making, alongside other sections of the community, in such a way as to avoid transmitting it 'through' and 'in spite of' them. Again, in relation to students, what is being proposed is not that they independently choose their own curriculum, but that they are involved in the design and development of the course, alongside teachers and others. This conversation between those engaged in an educational undertaking and those outside it would prevent conservatism or a simple reproduction of teachers' and students' existing views.

An associated objection is that many teachers (and students) simply do not have the disposition or ability to play a substantial part in developing curricula. If we see this involvement as a *right* of those participating in the educational process, this objection is no more valid than an argument against universal suffrage on the basis of the claim that some people are not informed and critical voters. Even if it is not a right, there are still reasons to believe that the experience of participating in constructing the curriculum will enable skills (and possibly dispositions) to develop, along the lines of Mill's (1991 [1861]) idea that citizenship is best learnt through civic participation itself. The 'conversation' with outside parties will certainly help in this process.

There is, however, a more radical response to the objection of the need for a wider democratic control of aims. Seamless enactment taken to its fullest extent leads to a

collapsing of the curricular transposition scheme onto a single point. Aims, here, conceived as something external to the educational process, begin to dissolve. There are two ways in which the frontier between ends and means can be broken down. First, this occurs when learning takes place through the exercising of the end (as outlined above in relation to the development of citizenship through political participation itself). Second, learning can become an end in itself when the process of opening and expanding the mind is seen as having intrinsic worth (McCowan, 2009). There is perhaps a further stage when these two forms (*ends-become-means* and *means-become-ends*) join. Here the educational processes and aims become a single instance of preparation and realisation. Citizenship and education in this way become a unified process of reimagining and recreating, both in the realm of ideas and action.

A further objection – one that is diametrically opposed to the one just addressed – is that a seamless enactment approach may be *too* constraining. As stated above, attempts to respond to the unpredictabilities of educational undertakings by *controlling* the different agents involved are both undesirable and unlikely to succeed. Yet, could it not be argued that any attempt to respond to curricular disjunctures is undesirable and unviable? The value of educational processes can be seen to lie precisely in the fact that they are hard to predict and are very often unexpected. Any attempt to bridge the ‘gaps’ would be to turn education into a process akin to a chemical reaction where once the correct treatment had been identified, the desired result would be guaranteed. These concerns are well-founded in relation to ‘education’ as opposed to ‘training’ (in Peters’s [1967] stipulation). However, they are not applicable here, since it is not a question of *removing* the ‘leaps’ between the stages of transposition – a task that would be impossible since there are always some transformations between ends and means and between ideal and real. Seamless enactment is a way of responding to this challenge, and of making sure that the disjunctures do not make the educational process either pointless or (in the case of imposition of a curriculum) counter-productive. Seamless enactment is intended to respond to the disjunctures, but not in a way that makes the process predetermined. It requires that consonance is achieved between stages, and that the educational undertaking emerges from the beliefs and practices of teachers and students, but it does not determine what the responses of these agents will be. Indeed, the beauty of education does lie in the freedom of these agents to reject, distort and reshape the ideas in play.

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NOTES

¹ It is important to note that the term 'enactment' (or 'enact') is also used in the literature on curriculum and by policymakers (e.g. CCSSO 2007) in a more neutral sense to refer simply to 'putting into practice'. This paper, however, follows the more specific use in Snyder *et al.* (1992).

² The term 'seamless' is not used here in the sense of a smooth transition between different types of educational institution, as in Young (2006).

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