Learning to live together

Hugh Starkey

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Struggles for citizenship and human rights education

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Biography

Hugh Starkey is Professor of Citizenship and Human Rights Education at UCL Institute of Education, London. His research focuses on education for democratic citizenship, human rights, and social justice in a globalizing world. He is founding co-director of the International Centre for Education for Democratic Citizenship and editor of the London Review of Education. He set up and taught the online MA programme in Citizenship and History Education. He has also created a community of current and previous doctoral students studying citizenship and human rights education in a variety of contexts in the UK and across the world.

He moved to IOE in 2004 from the University of Leicester where he was senior lecturer in the Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education. Having previously taught languages and world studies in schools in Cambridgeshire, he was appointed to a teacher education post at Westminster College, Oxford and then became assistant director of the Centre for Modern Languages at the Open University. He has led European-funded projects on citizenship and human rights education and has acted as a consultant for several governments and the Council of Europe, UNESCO, European Commission, and the British Council.

Learning to live together: Struggles for citizenship and human rights education

Introduction: the challenge of living together

At the time of writing this lecture, the ideologically motivated killing of the *Charlie Hebdo* team led to the massive demonstration in Paris of solidarity across religious, cultural, social, and political differences. It reminds us of the question raised by French sociologist Alain Touraine of whether we can live together as equals respecting difference (Touraine, [1997] 2000). As an educationalist I am not sanguine about the possibilities of influencing fanatical adherents of millennial cults. However, I do think that it is possible through education to create a broad consensus that repudiates violent attempts to undermine freedoms and equality.

Across the world, ways of life that do enable people of different backgrounds to enjoy or struggle for freedoms and equality are threatened by terrorism. The massive Paris demonstration is evidence that the third element of the French national motto, solidarity, is an essential adjunct to the preservation and enhancement of the freedoms and equalities for which previous generations struggled and which cannot be taken for granted. In this lecture I will be considering ways in which citizenship and human rights education can contribute to a consciousness that we are vulnerable human beings living in a relatively fragile interdependent world society. Solidarity and reciprocity are essential for our protection. Awareness of this perspective is a key task of citizenship education.

The title of my lecture alludes to a widely cited report from a UNESCO Commission chaired by Jacques Delors that identified four pillars of education in the twenty-first century (Delors, 1996). It emphasizes 'learning to live together' as the most important challenge for education. This is a challenge that I have attempted to address as a teacher and as a researcher throughout my professional life.

I have sought to develop conceptual frameworks and pedagogical practices that address the challenges of living together in diverse societies in a globalizing world. Having trained and practised as a teacher of languages, I recognized the importance of intercultural education supported by understandings of and commitments to human rights. New possibilities opened up with the introduction of citizenship education to the national curriculum for England in the 1990s.

Education based on 'recognition of our growing interdependence' may help, the UNESCO Commission argued, 'to manage the inevitable conflicts in an intelligent and peaceful way'. Learning to live together in multicultural societies requires a vision based on the acceptance of the legitimacy of multiple points of view. Delors calls this vision a 'necessary Utopia', a concept to which I will return.

Citizenship education, which has become my specialism, is one response to the questions of living together and preserving and promoting democratic values. It has gained currency in the UK and in many parts of the world. Working in a global city like London and being surrounded by a student body that constantly bears witness to our globalizing world, I feel obliged to challenge approaches to citizenship education that privilege a limited and limiting national perspective. A globalizing world requires a vision of what we call 'education for cosmopolitan citizenship' (Osler and Starkey, 2005).

In this lecture I will identify the tensions between a vision of living together based on promoting a national identity often defined by a dominant majority, and an alternative vision where human rights principles encourage cosmopolitan in addition to national perspectives. This tension represents a site of struggle between education for national citizenship and education for cosmopolitan citizenship. Nationalism is able to hold together diverse populations within an overarching discourse of patriotism and commitment to the nation-state. However, when misappropriated by authoritarian populist politics, nationalism can threaten democracy and lead to policies of exclusion and even of ethnic cleansing and genocide. Nationalism provides a reassuring frame of reference for many people, but it may also be exclusionary by promoting what Chimamanda Adichie calls 'the single story' (Adichie, 2009).

My title alludes to struggles for citizenship and for citizenship education, the one informing the other. Similarly I deliberately intend struggles for human rights and for human rights education. Citizenship has become a subject in the national curriculum for England as it has in many countries across the world. I want to emphasize the political dimensions of the concept.

These include democracy, struggle, communication, and organization. In this perspective, citizenship education has to be more than what Priscilla Alderson (1999) famously discovered in one school to be 'picking up litter and not killing whales'.

I have structured the lecture in three parts. In the first part I recall struggles for human rights, equalities, and freedoms from the time when I was in school. These struggles have influenced my understanding of the concept of citizenship. The second part revisits my participation in curriculum development as I attempted to operationalize in school and university settings what learning to live together might mean. This part of the lecture acknowledges a highly important European dimension. The third section reflects on current interests in citizenship education and education for cosmopolitan citizenship that has found resonances across the world (Osler and Starkey, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2010; Starkey, 2012).

(Part 1) Struggles for human rights

In my formative years at secondary school, momentous struggles for racial and social justice were discussed at home and at school. For example many families boycotted South African products as a symbolic and ultimately effective political action. These struggles gave me an understanding of what is meant by citizenship and by human rights that have strongly influenced my educational work. I will take this opportunity to revisit some of them.

Nelson Mandela and the Rivonia trial

In 1964, Nelson Mandela, one of ten members of Umkhonto we Sizwe or MK, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC), stood trial for sabotage in a court in Pretoria, South Africa. They had been arrested at an ANC-owned farm in Rivonia and so the process was known as the Rivonia Trial. In concluding the long speech he made at the trial, Mandela effectively gives his vision of what living together means:

> I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve.
>
> (Mandela, 1994: 438)

However, given his precarious position speaking in a court of the South African Apartheid state, he was forced to conclude: 'But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die'.

Mandela was committed to the law. At the time of the Rivonia trial he was actually taking his examinations for the University of London External System LL.B. degree. But more than commitment to the law, Mandela was committed to justice. And this commitment, founded on the principles of human rights that are explicitly highlighted in the ANC's Freedom Charter, led him to struggle for the repeal of the unjust legislation that led to poverty and lack of human dignity for the majority Black population in South Africa.

In a key passage of his speech, Mandela expresses admiration for the British parliamentary system and aligns himself with a tradition of struggles for democracy and increasing freedoms and rights. In a section underlining his commitment to constitutional principles, he notes that 'The Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights are documents which are held in veneration by democrats throughout the world.'

In his autobiography, Mandela recalls the sense of global solidarity with the ANC struggle.

> The world had been paying attention to the Rivonia Trial. Night-long vigils were held for us at St Paul's Cathedral in London. The students of the University of London elected me president of their students' union in absentia …
>
> (Mandela, 1994: 443)

The trial was followed by 27 years in prison after which Mandela led the transition of his country to a multicultural democracy based on a new constitution. This case illustrates several key points. First there is the distinction between the law and justice. Secondly, in struggles against unjust laws and ruthless state apparatuses, actions such as sabotage may be justified. This is an example of what Malcolm X called 'by any means necessary'. Thirdly, struggles are led by dreams or visions of a better future. Fourthly, today's struggles are informed by yesterday's victories, such as Magna Carta. Finally, international solidarity, even by students and young people, can provide support and encouragement that is deeply felt and appreciated.

Martin Luther King

Some of the London students, who had expressed their solidarity with the freedom struggle in South Africa by electing Mandela as their president, were able to hear Martin Luther King, when he stopped in London on his way to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. He spoke to Mandela's supporters, both South African exiles and British anti-apartheid activists, at the City Temple. In a brief speech King linked the struggles for freedom and racial justice in the USA with those of Mandela and the ANC.

> In our struggle for freedom and justice in the United States, which has also been so long and arduous, we feel a powerful sense of identification with those in the far more deadly struggle for freedom in South Africa.
>
> (King, 1964)

Dr King explicitly refers to 'the great mass of South Africans denied their humanity, their dignity, denied opportunity, denied all human rights'. And in the name of the struggle for human rights, he argued passionately for citizens in the UK and USA to campaign and pressure their governments to implement economic sanctions against the apartheid regime, since it is 'the one form of non-violent action that could bring freedom and justice to South Africa'.

What we note from this example is transnational action linking the USA, UK, and South Africa in a common concern and struggle. The struggle is described as against the denial of human rights. It identifies a particular set of actions that citizens can promote from a sense of citizenship and solidarity, namely individual and collective sanctions.

On his return to the USA from receiving the Nobel Prize, King was caught up in another local struggle with national and global ramifications and was himself imprisoned again for his activism. The site of struggle was Selma, Alabama, and the issue was the registration of Black voters. These events are powerfully portrayed in the film *Selma*, starring David Oyelowo, released in February 2015 to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the campaign.

This struggle illustrates many facets of citizenship. First is that the law is important, but not sufficient in the creation of a society where people live together as equals. Many struggles for human rights start from a demand to implement existing laws equitably.

Secondly, educational campaigns play a vital role in supporting political struggles for civil rights and human rights. Voter registration was a

campaign across the southern states of the USA and in Mississippi this was accompanied by alternative Freedom Schools. Charles Cobb, the young activist who developed a special Freedom Curriculum aimed to encourage students to 'ask their teachers a real question' and 'make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to perceive more clearly its realities and to find alternatives and ultimately new directions for action' (quoted in Levinson, 2012: 293). Writing at this time, James Baldwin observed that: 'The American Negro has the great advantage of having never believed the collection of myths to which white Americans cling … ' (1963 [1993]: 101).

The Freedom Schools campaign opened up a space, denied in the regular school provision, to learn about rights. One of the participants, Unita Blackwell, recalled:

> Students came [ ] to talk about that we had a right to register to vote, we had a right to stand up for our rights. That's a whole new era for us. I mean hadn't anybody said that to us, in that open way …
>
> (Hampton and Fayer, 1990: 193)

It is reported that discussions also focused on the war in Vietnam that was just beginning. The local and the global were inseparable topics of debate.

A third illustration of citizenship is that teachers themselves made a stand. In January 1965, teachers' leader Frederick Reese persuaded virtually every Black teacher in Selma to march to the courthouse to demand to be registered to vote. Reese had forewarned the chair of the board of registrars in a polite letter requesting that the board be open on the Friday of the march. He pointed out that the courthouse was open for citizens to pay taxes any day of the week, but voter registration was restricted to the first and third Monday of the month. As the teachers arrived, Reese recalls that Sheriff Jim Clark and deputies formed a line across the door.

> I reminded him that the courthouse did not belong to him, it belonged to us also, and we were there as citizens … we had a right to go in the courthouse and I would not back down from that right.
>
> (Hampton and Fayer, 1990: 218)

In spite of their polite and measured request, as citizens, the response came in the form of billy clubs as the Sheriff and his men knocked the teachers down the steps, not just once, but several times.

The teachers had shown moral and political leadership in the cause of racial justice that stirred up the community. On 1 February Martin Luther King arrived and led 250 marchers to the courthouse, where they were all arrested and put in jail. Two days later 800 schoolchildren marched and they too were taken into custody. Citizenship, in this tradition, requires moral courage and a clear sense of the distinction between the law and justice. The standard by which the law and its enforcers should be judged is fair treatment, due process, and respect for human dignity. These principles are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, articles 1–11.

Malcolm X

The agitation and the number of arrests was such that Malcolm X, usually based in Harlem, visited Selma in early February 1965, making a speech. It was a very short visit, since he had to fly to London the next day. Malcolm X had travelled extensively in Africa in 1964. He became very much aware of the parallels between the anti-colonial and post-colonial struggles and domestic struggles including the voter registration campaign in the South of the USA. This is reflected in his speech in Selma. In his final speeches Malcolm X stressed the importance of human rights and the role of the United Nations. In Selma he accused the US government under President Lyndon Johnson of dereliction of its duty to protect the 22 million Black citizens of the USA.

> In their failure to protect our human rights, they are violating the United Nations Charter and they are not qualified to continue to sit in that international body and talk about what human rights should be done in other countries of this earth.
>
> (Clark, 1992: 27)

Whereas accusations of hypocrisy in not respecting human rights are usually made against other countries, Malcolm X here uses knowledge of international law to frame a domestic struggle. By bringing together the local and the global dimensions, he puts pressure on the government of his own country.

On arriving in London, Malcolm X spoke at the London School of Economics (LSE). He argued, in a key passage, that the civil rights movement needed to rethink and focus instead on human rights. Civil rights imply a merely domestic struggle, whereas naming a struggle for human rights raises it to the level of 'a problem of humanity, a problem of the world'. He evokes the possibilities of solidarities from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe.

Individuals and groups can 'step into the picture and do whatever is necessary to help us see that our rights are guaranteed us – not sometime in the long future but almost immediately' (Clark, 1992: 63).

While in Britain, Malcolm X demonstrated his commitment to solidarity with those struggling for human rights anywhere, and specifically for racial justice. He visited the constituency of Smethwick which had been won for the Tories in the October 1964 general election by Peter Griffiths, a former primary school head who was considered to have colluded with the ambient racism to the extent that he was formally branded a 'parliamentary leper' by the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson (*Daily Telegraph*, 2013). In comments to the press, Malcolm X explicitly compared Smethwick to Alabama in terms of discrimination against Black people.

A few weeks earlier, Malcolm X had visited Oxford and made a powerful speech in contributing to a debate at the Oxford Union supporting the motion: 'Extremism in defence of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice no virtue' (Tuck, 2014). The word extremism has become common currency in political rhetoric in England since the beginning of the century, often being linked to terrorism and to Islamism. It is currently defined as: 'vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs' (Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism, 2013).

Malcom X, who was a Muslim, argued:

> My reason for believing in extremism, intelligently directed extremism, extremism in defence of liberty, extremism in quest of justice, is because I firmly believe in my heart, that the day that the black man takes an uncompromising step, and realizes that he's within his rights, when his own freedom is being jeopardized, to use any means necessary to bring about his freedom, or put a halt to that injustice, I don't think he'll be by himself.
>
> (Clark, 1991: 21)

The argument frames the struggle as the right to achieve freedom and justice where these are denied. The key phrase in this passage is perhaps 'use any means necessary'. The necessary means may include non-violent confrontations as in the Selma voter registration campaign. It is not in itself a call to violence, but it was interpreted by his enemies as grounds for banning him as a violent extremist.

The 'any means necessary' phrase may also be linked to the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) that sees provision of human rights as the antidote to the necessity for violent struggle.

> It is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

Rebellion against oppression is seen, even by the UDHR, as the likely outcome of denial of rights and freedoms. The phrase in the quotation above 'I don't think he'll be by himself' is also a reference to the international solidarity that an understanding of human rights encourages.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The examples above were chosen to illustrate ways in which the language of human rights is used to support struggles for equality and dignity. Human rights provide a way of looking at the world. Fortunately it is relatively easy to define human rights since these rights are set out formally and definitively in various human rights instruments. Human rights education includes sharing knowledge of the precise substance of the instruments. It is then possible to discuss the implications of governments being required under international law as signatories to declarations and conventions to respect, protect, and fulfil human rights.

The modern conception of human rights dates from the 1940s. At the end of the Second World War the Allied Powers created a new organization, the United Nations (UN), with a commitment to justice and peace in the world. The Charter of the UN was signed in 1945 and it proclaims respect for human rights as the means for achieving world peace. An international Human Rights Commission was established to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was proclaimed by the General Assembly of the UN on 10 December 1948.

The preamble to the UDHR first sets out the principles of human rights:

> Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world …

The main innovation of the UDHR is that it recognizes, for the first time, a *universal* entitlement to rights applying to all 'members of the human family'.

Previously, because of a concern for national sovereignty, states were immune from external control or moral pressure when they enacted discriminatory legislation or allowed their agents freedom to undertake extra-judicial killings or torture.

The UDHR is grounded in cosmopolitanism, the Enlightenment philosophy associated notably with Immanuel Kant. It is based on a liberal conception of human beings as a single community in which all have equal entitlement to dignity and to fundamental freedoms. The cosmopolitan perspective has much to offer educators in multicultural societies in a globalized age, since it is an ideal that 'combines a commitment to humanist principles and norms, an assumption of human equality, with a recognition of difference, and indeed a celebration of diversity' (Kaldor, 2003: 19).

The preamble then sets out the background to the drawing up of the Declaration:

> Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind …

The Declaration is justified on the grounds that humanity is shamed because 'barbarous acts' have been committed and such behaviour must be prevented in future. Those drafting the Declaration did not feel the need to specify the nature of the barbarity since it was of recent memory. It was assumed to be in the consciousness of those who read and heard it. In the preamble, barbarity is defined in terms of 'disregard and contempt for human rights'. In other words, this highly judgemental phrase proclaims that those who act in a way that denies human rights are liable to be considered barbarians, that is, uncivilized. Human rights are part of a struggle for civilization against barbarity. The UDHR is an invitation to make moral judgements.

The basis for such moral judgements is conscience. The 'barbarous acts' are said to 'have outraged the conscience of mankind'. The drafters thus set themselves up as the guardians of the global conscience. It is conscience that enables human beings to distinguish between right and wrong, civilization and barbarity. There is an assumption in the UDHR that there is a collective conscience that extends to the whole of humanity. This is highly speculative, since it was clearly the case that many well-educated citizens, who would have considered themselves to be civilized, participated in or supported war-time and pre-war atrocities. The UDHR is therefore asserting a new normative standard. Just as the main religious and humanist traditions aim to develop a

conscience of good and evil, right and wrong in their followers, so the UDHR proposes the terms on which judgements of conscience can be made.

The preamble to the UDHR also sets out a vision of a possible future that can be seen as a utopia.

> … and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

This section incorporates ideas set out in a speech by US President Franklin J Roosevelt in 1941. His four freedoms come as two pairs. Freedom of speech and belief are sometimes defined as negative freedoms since it is argued that they simply require inaction by government. The freedoms are asserted in opposition to interference from authority. They are among the civil and political rights essential for any form of democracy and political activity. Although freedom of belief is frequently associated with religious persecution, it applies just as much to political beliefs.

The two other freedoms are freedoms 'from'. The first is the psychological freedom from fear. This is the right of citizens and others living in the state to security, guaranteed through a system of policing and laws. Freedom from want is the right of access to basic standards of nutrition, health care, income, and shelter. Without these, human beings are deprived of their capacity to develop their capabilities and thus effectively robbed of their dignity and personal liberty (Sen, 2009).

Following the preamble, human rights are then precisely defined in 30 articles. René Cassin, one of the drafting committee of the UDHR summarized the content as:

- personal rights (life, freedom, security, justice) in articles 2–11;
- rights regulating relationship between people (freedom of movement, rights to found a family, asylum, nationality, property) in articles 12–17;
- public freedoms and political rights (thought, religion, conscience, opinion, assembly, participation, democracy) in articles 18–21;
- economic, social and cultural rights (social security, work, equal wages, trade unions, rest and leisure, adequate standard of living, education, cultural life) in articles 22–7.

Freedoms are not absolute. Where there are no constraints but an imbalance of power, the advantage is always with the powerful. The power relation is of

the essence. A human rights perspective balances freedoms with a concern for equality of access to rights. Freedoms are exercised *in society* and claiming them is constrained by the acceptance of the principle that all other human beings can claim the same right.

I have characterized the vision in the UDHR of freedom, justice, and peace in the world as utopian. Utopia can be an inspiration and a driving force motivating humans to exercise agency and shape history (Mannheim, [1929, 1936] 1991). That said, utopian visions characterized some of the most appalling political regimes of the twentieth century. Hitler, Stalin, Mao, and Pol Pot all governed on the basis that they had a vision of a better world. The UDHR is proposed on an entirely different basis from these 'failed utopias' (Klug, 2000: 189) that are based on superiority of race, class, or nationality.

The failed utopias respond to the issue of living together by eliminating from the discourse of 'us' those individuals and groups that challenge the authority or the authenticity of the single story vision. Those depicted as enemies of the regime were outlawed that is to say denied the protection of the law. Opponents were vulnerable to arbitrary arrest, detention, exile, and genocide.

A human rights perspective on living together emphasizes that all must be included in the 'us' and it is this vision that drives the political action. The vision of cosmopolitanism and utopia was neatly encapsulated in the slogan of the Beijing Olympics in 2008 'One World, One Dream'.

(Part 2) The Politics of Curriculum Development

World Studies Project

Major historic struggles for equality, racial justice, and human rights were a background to my formative years. I also spent a year as a VSO volunteer teaching in a town in Algeria whose inhabitants were rather conservative in their observance of Islamic dress codes but progressive in their enthusiasm for socialism in the immediate aftermath of the anticolonial struggle. When I qualified as a teacher I was anxious to ensure that my students had access to understandings of the interdependence of the nations and peoples of the world and an appreciation of complexity. I joined a curriculum development project that aimed to:

> ... encourage modification of syllabuses at secondary school level to reflect a world perspective rather than national attitudes, so that an opportunity is given in the curriculum for balancing national loyalty with a measure of conscious loyalty to the human race as a whole in all its diversity.
>
> (Richardson, 1980)

The World Studies Project had its origins in the currents of thinking promoted by the progressive educators of the New Education Fellowship from the 1920s and in the interest, inspired by the creation of the United Nations from 1945, in the concept of world government. In the 1950s the Parliamentary Group for World Government set up an educational charity, the One World Trust, which in 1972 under the leadership of then shadow cabinet member Shirley Williams MP and Dr James Henderson of the IOE, achieved funding for a curriculum development project. The trustees appointed Robin Richardson as director of the World Studies Project (Richardson, 1980).

In preparing this lecture I notice that the New Education Fellowship (NEF), founded in 1921 to promote progressive or child-centred education, brought together educationalists from Europe, USA, and Australia in a series of world conferences, one of which, in 1936, was entitled 'learning to live together'.

The struggle to promote a cosmopolitan worldview over prevailing national and indeed colonial perspectives in schools in England was supported by IOE. The Director, Lionel Elvin, was president of the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC) and James Henderson, lecturer in history and international affairs at IOE, was highly active in promoting the idea of world studies through his own involvement with the One World Trust and World Education Fellowship. Henderson's postgraduate students included David Bridges and Derek Heater whose writings on citizenship education continue to inform and influence students and academics today (See for example Bridges, 1988, 1997; Heater, 2002).

Richardson, as director of the World Studies Project, engaged with progressive educators in England and in the USA to produce a highly original set of materials based on innovated pedagogical principles that facilitated the examination and discussion of big political issues (Richardson, 1976).

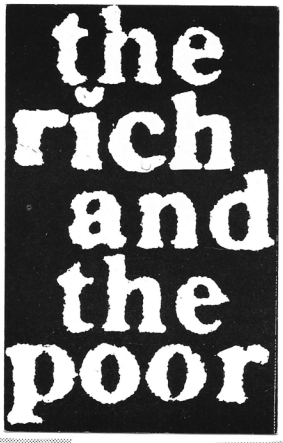
My initial engagement with the World Studies Project did not seem like a struggle. I was teaching in a comprehensive school in Cambridgeshire and actively seeking ways to interest a group of students who were considered unsuitable to study French and who needed a dimension to their curriculum

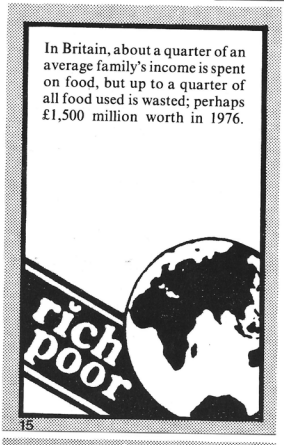
that would encourage them to be outward looking and respectful of the lives and perspectives of people from a range of contexts beyond their own experiences. In the days before a national curriculum teachers and schools were encouraged to innovate and they could find support from a network of local teachers' centres. I was able to develop a world studies syllabus, with its own examinations for a Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE).

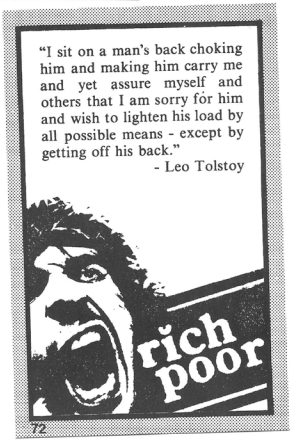
Support for curriculum innovation to develop cosmopolitan rather than nationalist perspectives came from the Ministry for Overseas Development under the redoubtable Judith Hart MP and the future director of Oxfam, Frank Judd, rather than from the Department for Education. I was able to access funds to support my teaching of world studies. I developed a set of 100 cards designed as starting points for enquiry and to promote discussion. The pack was entitled *The Rich and the Poor* and contained 20 photographs, 40 'fact' cards, and 40 quotations. Some of the cards are illustrated here. The quotations were selected to include poor people in rich countries, rich people in rich countries, poor people in poor countries, and rich people in poor countries. The cards could be used to put a fact with a quotation, a picture with a fact or quotation, or to sort in various ways (Starkey, 1979). While in retrospect this exposes students to often simplistic assertions, these were always juxtaposed with pictures or quotations designed to challenge students to ask critical questions. One of the quotation cards informs the case studies of struggle in the first part of the lecture:

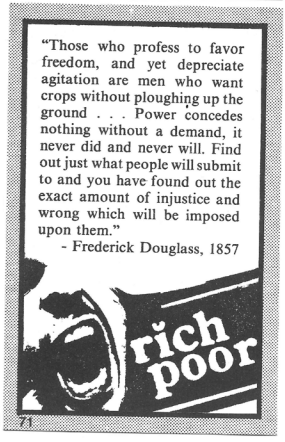
> Those who profess to favour freedom and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground … Power concedes nothing without a demand … Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong that will be imposed upon them.
>
> (Frederick Douglass, 1857)

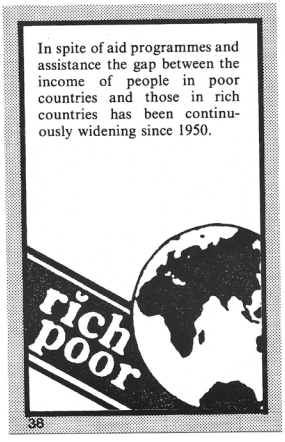
The end-of-course examination included opportunities for students to draft questions as well as to write answers to the examiner's questions. A researcher from the University of Cambridge conducted interviews with a group of students, who said they were being given 'the facts for us to sort out what we think ourselves about the situation'. And that they were 'learning things we never knew existed' (Starkey and Panayides, 1978).


the
rich
and
the
poor


In Britain, about a quarter of an average family's income is spent on food, but up to a quarter of all food used is wasted; perhaps £1,500 million worth in 1976.
rich
poor
15


"I sit on a man's back choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I am sorry for him and wish to lighten his load by all possible means - except by getting off his back."
- Leo Tolstoy
rich
poor
72


"Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground . . . Power concedes nothing without a demand, it never did and never will. Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them."
- Frederick Douglass, 1857
rich
poor
71


In spite of aid programmes and assistance the gap between the income of people in poor countries and those in rich countries has been continuously widening since 1950.
rich
poor
38

In the years immediately before the introduction of the national curriculum for England, the World Studies 8–13 Project led by David Hicks and Simon Fisher was adopted by the government-funded Schools Council. Its handbook sold 12,000 copies and it had co-ordinators in 50 Local Education Authorities (Hicks, 1988). I moved to a post at Westminster College, Oxford, where I co-ordinated the World Studies Teacher Education Network (WSTEN) that organized a series of biennial conferences.

The first of these conferences addressed the challenge of ensuring world studies developed as an inclusive educational movement supportive of struggles for justice in Britain as well as in the wider world. It was entitled World Studies in a Multicultural Society. My rationale was as follows:

> World studies encourages us to look at our own society … from the point of view of other inhabitants of the planet. To a certain extent multicultural education has a similar preoccupation, in this case to look at our society from the point of view of members of our community who have strong links with other countries and cultures and who therefore do not automatically take for granted many aspects of what other people would define as the British way of life.
>
> (Starkey, 1982: 3)

The assumed liberal consensus of the 120 educators at the conference was profoundly disrupted by a challenging speech by the Director of the Race Relations Policy and Practice Research Unit at IOE, Chris Mullard. He argued that 'colonial patterns of control are reproduced internally within metropolitan society'. On his analysis:

> As an expression, however liberal, of dominant ideology, world studies as taught at the moment conflicts with the fundamental aspirations held by black peoples in Britain and the world at large.
>
> (Mullard, 1982: 16)

Given that there were rather few people at the conference qualified to have first-hand knowledge of the 'aspirations held by black people', the audience reaction was of embarrassment and even anger. However, Mullard had quite legitimately and helpfully invited his audience to consider the conflicts and contradictions in their positions and actions.

As conference organizer I received a letter from the Director of Studies of the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations for England and Wales, Malcolm Skilbeck, who was also professor of curriculum studies at IOE at that time. He characterized Mullard's contribution as extreme and irrelevant. The Schools Council was offered a right of reply in the conference proceedings that was taken up by the Coordinator for Multicultural Education at the Schools Council, who said:

> The School Council's view of educational innovation is firmly based on a tradition of gradual change … [Mullard's] angry attack may well lead some teachers to abandon their efforts in this sensitive and difficult field and prevent others from even entering the arena.
>
> (Craft, 1982: 19)

Interestingly a similar argument to this was used by Bernard Crick who found challenges to his conception of citizenship education from a race equality perspective unwelcome (Crick, 2000; Osler, 2000).

If there were tensions and challenges within world studies and multicultural education, there were greater challenges from without. A climate in which political actors, the press, and certain academics had considerable scope to denigrate programmes intended to address race equality issues facilitated the abolition of ILEA and its curriculum development work and the closing of the Development Programme for Racial Equality in Schools in Brent, both in 1990. The nationalization of the curriculum in England following the 1988 Education Act drastically reduced the scope for local curriculum development projects.

Human rights education

Teachers who engage with sensitive and controversial issues, such as peace education and race equality, require the ability to articulate the basis of the value position from which they are speaking, lest they be accused of propagandizing or indoctrinating. In schools with a religious foundation, faith and tradition are built into the school's mission. Even so, not all their students or colleagues will be observant and so, even for so-called faith schools, a set of shared principles is helpful when it comes to living together.

I became aware of the possibilities of human rights to provide shared principles for living together when I attended a symposium convened by the Council of Europe and held in Vienna as a gesture of resistance to the

far-right-wing populists who had gained significant political traction at that time. Speakers included Ian Lister, Derek Heater from the UK, and Judith Torney-Purta from the USA (Starkey, 1984). As rapporteur for the conference I was responsible for drafting the conclusions and then redrafting them as a formal recommendation for circulation to the education ministries of all member states. The revised text *Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Schools* was adopted at European level.

The ministers of education agreed that they were:

> Conscious of the need to reaffirm democratic values in the face of:
>
> - Intolerance, acts of violence and terrorism
> - The re-emergence of the public expression of racist and xenophobic attitudes.

They also expressed their belief that:

> Throughout their school career all young people should learn about human rights as part of their preparation for life in a pluralistic democracy.

The political dimension was recognized with the advice that:

> Human rights inevitably involve the domain of politics. Teaching about human rights should always therefore have international agreements and covenants as a point of reference.

The content of human rights education might include:

> ... the various forms of injustice, inequality and discrimination, including sexism and racism
>
> ... people, movements and key events, both successes and failures, in the historical and continuing struggle for human rights
>
> (Committee of Ministers, 1985; Osler and Starkey, 1996)

This advice and other elements of the recommendation such as the importance of a democratic school climate are still highly relevant. The French minister of education circulated the recommendation to all schools. Good policies and guidelines are an important part of developing human rights education (see

also Banks *et al*., 2005). Implementation is another struggle (Al-Nakib, 2011; Mejias and Starkey, 2012; Starkey *et al*., 2014).

The Council of Europe from the 1990s promoted an ongoing programme of Education for Democratic Citizenship / Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE) in the context of the ending of the Cold War and the democratization of former Eastern Bloc countries. International commitments to human rights education were strengthened at the World Conference on Human Rights (1993) and the subsequent adoption by the UN of the Decade for Human Rights Education (1996) followed by the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2006) (see Osler and Starkey, 1996; Osler, Rathenow, and Starkey, 1995; Osler and Starkey, 2010).

That said, human rights education rarely has a specific place in the curriculum. In order to ensure that human rights education is an entitlement for all young people, it requires curriculum space and this has been provided, in England and in many countries across the world, through Citizenship.

As discussions started on the content of the first national curriculum for England, the Speaker of the House of Commons convened a commission to consider how to 'encourage, develop and recognize Active Citizenship' (Speaker's Commission on Citizenship, 1990). This generated cross-party interest in citizenship education to the extent that it was introduced in the first national curriculum for England as a cross-curricular theme (National Curriculum Council, 1990). Within a decade it had become a subject within the national curriculum for England (Jerome, 2012).

(Part 3) Education for cosmopolitan citizenship

Citizenship education provides a conceptual framework that logically embraces human rights, global perspectives, and equalities issues. The aims and purposes of citizenship education, as defined collectively by European states, focus on counteracting political forces that attempt to undermine the democratic basis of citizenship. Ministers are concerned by:

> the growing levels of political and civic apathy and lack of confidence in democratic institutions, and by the increased cases of corruption, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, intolerance of

> minorities, discrimination and social exclusion, all of which are major threats to the security, stability and growth of democratic societies.
>
> (Council of Europe, 2002)

This formulation is very significant since it appears to recognize that it is not minorities that are the problem for European states, but rather the inability of majority populations (the dominant communities) and traditional structures to adapt to diversity. It is not the minorities who are major threats; what is undermining democracy and security is, rather, the attitudes and behaviours of the dominant communities within these countries, including 'corruption, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, intolerance of minorities'. However, many other political voices are raised in Europe to demand that minorities assimilate.

In Britain, legal definitions of the word 'citizenship' have been developed as part of immigration policy. In legal contexts associated with migration, the term 'citizenship' is used to distinguish those entitled to formal nationality and residence from those who have no legal right to the benefits of nationality. However, this is a relatively recent usage. The concept of British citizenship only appeared in statute in 1981 (Gardner 1997; Tyler 2010). The significance of the legal concept being developed as part of immigration policy is that, by this definition, citizenship is bounded and exclusive. This creates potential antagonisms between those who possess the status and those who do not.

In the context of formal education policy, as opposed to immigration policy, there are many reasons for proposing a more inclusive definition of citizenship. Since 2002, citizenship education has been included in the national curriculum for England and is the entitlement of all pupils in schools, many of whom have nationalities other than British. In a democratic context, citizenship education should be inclusive rather than exclusive. However, as Dewey warned early in the twentieth century, national education systems have been based on promoting nationalist agendas. They deliberately privilege the national perspective over wider ones:

> Education became a civic function and the civic function was identified with the realization of the ideal of the national state. The 'state' was substituted for humanity; cosmopolitanism gave way to nationalism.
>
> (Dewey [1916] 2002: 108)

Although nationalist education is the education of citizens, it aims to transmit a particular view of national identity and culture, rather than enabling reflection on plural identities. This model is often known as 'civic education' and is based on education for assimilation into a given national culture. It survives in many contexts in the twenty-first century (Hahn 1998, 2005; Torney-Purta *et al*., 1999; Kymlicka, 2001).

An alternative is to define citizenship in such a way that nationality can be part of a citizenship identity, but does not determine that identity. Citizenship is a valuable way of understanding ones associations with and connections to others. It can be characterized as having three dimensions: feeling, status, and practice (Osler and Starkey, 2005). The first element of this definition of citizenship is that it is based on a feeling of belonging or identity: citizens feel that they belong to a community or, more usually, to various communities.

Secondly, citizenship is a status. It can be legal, as a national, and also a moral status as a person entitled to dignity and human rights. Nationality is in the gift of governments that may be tempted on occasions to withhold or rescind it. Yet nationality may be simply an instrumental citizenship; moreover, many dual nationals may have affective ties to, and patriotic feelings for, more than one country.

Citizenship, then, is a feeling of belonging and the possession of the status of a national and/or of a person with rights. It is also, thirdly, a practice. The practice of democratic citizenship centres on intervention. Citizens have a sense that they are entitled and empowered to act in the world, in order to defend their own rights or the rights of others. This sense of agency derives from identity as a citizen.

Education for citizenship encourages the development of citizenship as an identity. The educational process helps learners to see themselves as citizens. While all human beings have the capacity to be citizens, they only become citizens when they are able to recognize themselves as such; in other words, they need to understand the concept of citizenship. They can then move from a passive, or potential, identity as a citizen to an active, or conscious, one (Hudson 2005).

Education for cosmopolitan citizenship encourages an identity as a member of the human family, all of whose members have equal entitlement to dignity and defined human rights. It also promotes solidarity with those denied their rights locally, nationally, and internationally.

Conclusion

Terrorist attacks justified by the perpetrators by reference to a millennial belief system have led to political leaders denouncing the failure of multiculturalism as a response to living together. The UK's Prime Minister has claimed that:

> Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream.
>
> (Cameron, 2011)

This discourse, common across all political parties, serves to blame Muslim communities and Muslim women in particular, for their separation from mainstream public life. This analysis overlooks problems of social and economic exclusion expressed in higher than average unemployment rates, and inadequate housing and schooling (Osler, 2009). Diane Ravitch observes, in the USA 'racial segregation remains a pervasive fact of life for millions of black children, primarily as a result of residential segregation' (2013: 292). Additionally the issue of whether majority communities are accepting or welcoming of minorities may also promote separation. As James Banks notes:

> A citizen's racial, cultural, language, and religious characteristics often significantly influence whether she is viewed as a citizen within her society.
>
> (Banks, 2004: 5)

A caricature of multiculturalism might accept separation in the name of respect for cultures. Such a view derives from cultural relativism rather than cultural pluralism. Cultural relativism accepts the right of any culture to be evaluated on its own terms. This approach to the study of cultures developed from anthropology. It was an attempt to avoid racist or colonialist perspectives and a rejection of Western normative perspectives in the name of support for oppressed minority cultures seen as victims of globalization (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Cultural relativism may encourage concession to claims such as individuals having a right to deny access to abortion or to discriminate against gay people on the grounds of religious belief. However, from a human rights perspective, there must be judgements about the implications of a culture and its practices for the equal human rights of all. As Freeman argues:

> The principle that we should respect *all* cultures is self-contradictory, because some cultures do not respect all cultures … cultures that endorse the violation of human rights cannot command our respect simply because they are cultures.
>
> (Freeman, 2002: 109)

Although solidarity is a powerful tool of human rights struggle, it can also be used more narrowly to support struggles that are not based on human rights. On the far right, the English Defence League and the German PEGIDA movement call for solidarity in the name of defending a notion of cultural exclusivity. For the far left, a sense of solidarity with oppressed minorities may be combined with a rejection of the actions of the perceived oppressors leading to a blanket antagonism to the USA and its allies. This may also lead to a rejection of human rights as supposedly Western values.

From a human rights perspective citizens, including teachers, should not be afraid to make normative judgements. In the current climate we should heed Karima Bennoune's warnings. She presents the voices of Muslim women from across the world struggling for equality and dignity in the face of conservative religious practices. She argues that Muslim fundamentalists should not be immune from criticism just because Western governments have opposed Islamist violence, often in ways that have included killing and the abuse of human rights. Opposing terrorism is not the same as giving uncritical support to the so-called war on terror. In fact, '[t]he battle against fundamentalism is a critical fight for human rights as well as one that has to be guided by human rights' (Bennoune, 2013: 314).

The struggle for a multicultural society is a struggle for democracy, defined not as 'a model to copy from certain States, but a goal to be achieved by all peoples' (Boutros-Ghali, 1993 quoted in Rivière, 2009: 239). Viewed in this way, the focus shifts from the integration of minorities to the development of political systems that ensure the representation and recognition of many voices that have traditionally been marginalized.

Learning to live together is not simple. As an educator I have the opportunity, indeed the professional obligation, to encourage others to think critically about how best to construct an inclusive society. As a teenager, I admired the Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a dissident voice in the then USSR. In his poem Zima Junction, Yevtushenko remembers the revolutionary Cossack who said:

> That the only thing we had to do was to push the bourgeoisie into the sea.
>
> All the rest was easy. Life would be fine …

One way of eliminating conflict is to impose a single story and brutally dispense with opponents. It is tempting to grasp at the certainties of such solutions.

The poet then challenges this simplistic view of life.

> How could he know, with his Cossack top-knot, so easily deciding life in advance, that for us it wasn't going to be so simple; how know the weight and mass of the complications?
>
> (Yevtushenko, 1962: 22–3)

The struggle for freedom, justice, and peace in the world is not simple and we are confronted with a mass of complications. As an educator I will continue to struggle for education that includes the development of a global awareness, an understanding of and commitment to human rights, and opportunities to act with others to make a difference locally and in the wider world. This necessary utopia is what we have called education for cosmopolitan citizenship.

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