

# Rethinking the Citizenship Education Curriculum:

How to meet the needs of twenty-first  
century citizenship

Kerry J. KENNEDY

*Chair Professor of Curriculum Studies  
The Hong Kong Institute of Education*

## Chair Professors

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Public Lecture Series



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*Chair Professor of Curriculum Studies  
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**The Hong Kong Institute of Education**  
10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, Hong Kong, China

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# About the Author

kerryk@ied.edu.hk

## **Kerry J. KENNEDY (甘國臻)**

joined the Institute in 2001. He is Chair Professor of Curriculum Studies and holds concurrent appointments as Associate Vice President (Quality Assurance) and Dean of the Faculty of Education Studies. He came to the Institute from the University of Canberra in Australia where he had successfully been Dean of the Faculty of Education and Pro Vice-Chancellor (Academic). He has an MA and PhD from Stanford University, both in Education. He has an MEd degree from the University of New South Wales and a Master of Letters degree in History from the University of New England. His undergraduate work was done at the University of New South Wales.



Prior to joining the Institute, Professor Kennedy had successively been Dean of Education at the University of Southern Queensland and Director of the Centre for Continuing Education at The Australian National University. While he has been at the Institute, he has been Head of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction and Dean of the Faculty of Professional and Early Childhood Education. Since 2001 he has won two Public Policy Research Grants, one Competitive Earmarked Research Grant, one General Research Fund Grant and one Quality Education Fund Grant.

Professor Kennedy works in the area of curriculum policy and theory with a special interest in citizenship education. He has published *Changing Schools for Changing Times – New Directions for the School Curriculum in Hong Kong* (Chinese University Press, 2005) and *Changing Schools in Asia: Schools for the Knowledge Society* (with Prof Lee Chi Kin) (Routledge, 2008). He is the General Editor of the *Routledge Series on Schools and Schooling in Asia* and of the *Hong Kong Teacher Education Series* (Hong Kong University Press). He is a Fellow of the Australian College of Education and a Life Member of the Australian Curriculum Studies Association.



# **Rethinking the Citizenship Education Curriculum: How to meet the needs of twenty-first century citizenship?**

Kerry J. KENNEDY

## *Abstract*

Almost ten years ago the world stood on the brink of this new century with hopes and dreams for a new age. It could have been an age that was more humane, more kind, more accommodating, more tolerant, more accepting, less confrontationist, less combative, less confronting, less selfish and less hurtful. Yet this new age has not come to pass. The first decade of the new century has instead witnessed a range of calamities including international terrorism, financial meltdowns, ongoing wars as well as new ones and even natural disasters such as tsunamis have wrought both physical and spiritual damage across the region. This backdrop, that constructs postmodern schooling, provides the context in which the school curriculum seeks to prepare 'citizens in the making' to meet the challenges of our time.

Being a citizen in these perilous times requires knowledge, skills and values that can sustain both individuals and the societies in which they live. Citizenship creation very often starts in schools although it by no means ends there. This lecture will focus on current and recent research that has sought to enhance understanding of the citizenship curriculum, its function, form and content. It will also look to the future and identify new possibilities for a research agenda that might contribute to the development of citizens as this new century progresses.

The nature of the school curriculum will initially be explored since it provides the immediate framework for citizenship education. Out of this framework emerges a 'space' for citizenship education. Its specific curriculum function and forms will be investigated in an attempt to identify the most effective curriculum and possible delivery mechanisms. At the heart of any curriculum is content – knowledge, skills and values. A recently developed model for the citizenship curriculum will be introduced and analyzed and the dominant Western model of 'active citizenship' will be critiqued because its ideological orientations are too narrow for our present times. Finally, a futures orientation will be taken towards the citizenship curriculum. The purpose is to 'unlock' curriculum making from its reliance on narrow ideologies and technical specifications. Instead, new technologies and new advances in social and learning theory will be explored so that emerging priorities can be addressed in the ongoing creation of the citizenship curriculum for uncertain and unpredictable times.

## **Introduction**

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*Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing.* (Roy, 2003)

These are the words of Arundhati Roy, the Booker Prize winning Indian novelist, and the recipient of the US-based Lannan Foundation's Prize for Cultural Freedom. They came at the end of her impassioned address to the World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2003. It was an amazing statement of confidence at a time of extraordinary uncertainty in the global sphere. It stood out from an avalanche of media and political constructions that seemed to delight in threats of war, terrorism and security alerts. Hers was a voice of optimism in times that appeared more like a tidal wave of crises.

Roy's confidence in the future was matched by George Bernard Shaw's in a previous century when he said: "Some men see things as they are, and say why. I dream things that never were, and say why not?" It is this prospect of a better world seen by the Indian novelist in the twenty first century and the English dramatist in the nineteenth century that also drives citizenship educators. The prospect of a better world that is fairer, more tolerant, less selfish and more considerate is the common vision shared by citizenship educators. I wrote some

years ago that civic education was the new secular religion for modern nation states that had discarded their formal ties to traditional religion and adopted a new framework for state legitimated values. Citizenship education, therefore, is not just about the acquisition of knowledge and skills, although it is about that. More importantly: citizenship education is about values, what we believe is important for democratic living.

It was John Dewey (1916, p.87) who pointed out that “democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience”. It is citizenship education that prepares students for “associated living”. By this I mean it prepares young people to be members of and contributors to civic life. This can involve both formal civic processes such as voting and informal processes such as protesting against unjust laws. This afternoon I want to share with you some ideas and issues that characterise attempts to do this. In doing so, I shall draw primarily on the work that I have done since I’ve been in Hong Kong. In doing so I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to colleagues at the Hong Kong Institute of Education who have, without exception, made the past eight years the most exciting and rewarding of my academic career.

Specifically, I want to do five things:

- Examine the nature of the school curriculum because it creates the ‘space’ for citizenship education;
- Investigate the form and function of the citizenship curriculum;
- Identify the most effective curriculum delivery mechanism for citizenship education;
- Evaluate a model that will help to identify the knowledge, skills and values for the citizenship curriculum;
- Explore how new technologies, new advances in social and learning theory and emerging priorities can be harnessed in the ongoing creation of the citizenship curriculum.

## **The School Curriculum – Coveted, Contested and Contained**

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I am currently working on the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of a book I co-author with a colleague in Australia. It is called *Curriculum Construction* (Brady and Kennedy, in preparation). When it was first published almost ten years ago it stood out from similar texts in the market that had titles such as *Curriculum Development* or *Curriculum Design* or *Curriculum in Action*. We explained the rationale for the title of *Curriculum Construction* in the Preface:

The curriculum is constructed in two senses: it is constructed by human agency and by social and political constraints and realities.

Thus the school curriculum is not neutral – it results from interactions between governments, society and professional educators and very often represents a settlement between competing interests. The often conflicting demands on the school curriculum are shown in Figure 1:

*Figure 1: Orientations and Functions of the School Curriculum*

Curriculum	
Orientation	Function
Cultural	Ensure the foundational values of society are transmitted to the next generation
Personal	Provide for the intrinsic needs of individuals and groups
Vocational	Ensure students are equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills to ensure their employability
Social	Ensure society can function in a way that benefits everyone
Economic	Ensure that the productive capacity of the nation or society can continue to be enhanced

(Based on Brady and Kennedy, 2007, p.9)

My own view is that the school curriculum must satisfy all these needs rather than cater for or pander to single sets of needs or influences. What this means is that the school curriculum inevitably becomes a selection of knowledge skills and values out of the entire universe of knowledge skills and values available. This selection process is at the centre of curriculum construction – the school curriculum that we see today here in Hong Kong or on the Mainland or in Australia is a result of a process of selecting knowledge, skills and values that reflects the needs, priorities and values of those particular societies. But who does the selection? I have always liked William Pinar’s (1995, pp.847-848) answer to this question:

... curriculum is what the older generation chooses to tell the younger generation... (it) is intensely historical, political, racial, gendered, phenomenological, autobiographical, aesthetic, theological, international. Curriculum becomes the

site on which generations struggle to define themselves and the world.

This process of selection is more obvious in social subjects such as History, English Literature and Liberal Studies than Science, Mathematics and Physical Education. Selection, however, operates at a number of different levels. First, what subjects get included and which are excluded? There is actually remarkable uniformity across countries: Mother-tongue Language, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Art, Music, Physical Education and Second Language are a common set of school subjects irrespective of country. Even the adoption of broader curriculum organizers such as *Key Learning Areas* has not changed much the discipline base of school subjects. This has a fundamental impact on citizenship education that takes different forms in different jurisdictions.

There is only so much space in the school curriculum limited by the amount of time available to schools. Traditional subjects such as Mathematics and Mother-tongue Language will always take priority over other subjects such as Art and Music but particularly over an area like citizenship education that very often is not given subject status. Here in Hong Kong citizenship education in the form of Civic and Moral Education is a cross curriculum theme and not a subject. In Australia it is a priority for governments, cannot be found in any subject but is the subject of national testing. In England it is part of the national curriculum, there is no prescribed content but schools are assessed by OFSTED on its effective implementation. In the United States Civic Education is compulsory in many states but not all, there is no common curriculum although there are standardized text books and it is subject to regular national testing. In Mainland China it is compulsory in all secondary schools. This diversity of approaches gives rise to an important generalization.

There is an inverse relationship between the importance attributed to citizenship education by governments and its location in the school curriculum. The exceptions, interestingly, might be the United States and China but even in these places the weight given to citizenship education does not equate with the weight given to other subjects. Cultural, vocational and economic considerations always outweigh social considerations when it comes to curriculum construction. Ideology in countries such as China and the United States may lead to the creation of separate and compulsory subjects to promote citizenship education – this is a point I shall return to later – but it does not, for example, lead to such subjects becoming compulsory for university entrance or a prerequisite for participation in the labour market. All nation states wish to produce ‘good citizens’ but they rarely want to pay the price in terms of curriculum time or value to ensure that the graduates from schools necessarily

meet this requirement. This raises the question of how nation states formulate the citizenship curriculum and this will be examined in the following section.

## **The Form and Function of the Citizenship Curriculum**

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In a contribution I made to the *SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy* (Kennedy, 2008, pp.483-491) I talked about the content, ideology and organization of the citizenship curriculum. More than any other component of the school curriculum, citizenship education is driven by ideology. It is perhaps most obvious in totalitarian regimes. In Mainland China for example, “the framework for the PRC’s socialist citizenship has gradually shifted from an exclusive to an accommodative orientation” (Law, 2006, p.601). Yet there remains a “common purpose, to initiate students into a set of sociopolitical skills, values and behaviors that the CPC deems acceptable” (Law, 2006, p.607). On the democratic end of the spectrum there is not a single ideology. In England, the renewal of citizenship education took place within a civic republican framework that emphasized the common good over individual rights. Such a framework became more influential after the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York September 2001. David Blunkett (2004), a former Minister for Education in one of Tony Blair’s early governments, put it this way:

My belief is that we need to strive for freedom in its widest form – not just freedom from interference, but freedom for people to engage in providing solutions for themselves, their families and their communities. As the Ancient Greeks would have it, the freedom to contribute to the Polis.

He supplemented this with “all of us agree to forego some of our personal sovereignty and to combine our individualism in order to achieve common goals”. This is a very contentious statement within the discourse of democratic theory, but it became a driving ideal of the English citizenship curriculum. It was David Blunkett as Minister who commissioned his mentor, the late Sir Bernard Crick, to prepare a Report on Citizenship Education that subsequently guided the new citizenship curriculum. It is a report that faithfully reproduced a civic republican view of citizenship education (Crick, 2003).

Another ideological perspective on citizenship comes out of neo-liberalism. It can be most strongly seen in the European Union but is not confined to that political space. I have described it in terms of producing the “self-regulating citizen free of government restraints and able to work on his/her own behalf”

(Kennedy, 2007, p.307). This a restatement of the classic liberal conception of citizenship that argues citizens need to be free of interference from the state – free to conduct commerce, free to live their lives in the way they wish, free to enjoy basic human rights. Neo-liberalism, however, goes further – citizens are to be so free in the neo-liberal state that governments will take no responsibility for them at all from birth to death: this requires private hospitals, private schools and privately provided superannuation. Neo-liberal citizens live in isolation from each other and the state: it is survival of the fittest usually in a hyper-capitalist environment. Around October 2008 we witnessed the abatement of hyper-capitalism with the financial tsunami. Neo-liberalism, however, lives on and we see it in terms of citizenship education with the encouragement of ‘active citizenship’, although this term is capable of multiple interpretations and it can equally support a civic republican conception of citizenship.

Finally, in terms of ideology, patriotism and nationalism cannot be neglected although in terms of the literature on citizenship education there is remarkably little discussion of these dimensions. Yet these dimensions cross the broad totalitarian/democratic divide and can be found on each side. George Orwell (1945) saw the two concepts as quite distinct: “by ‘patriotism’ I mean devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people. Patriotism is of its nature defensive, both militarily and culturally. Nationalism, on the other hand, is inseparable from the desire for power”. For some, the distinction is not so neat and patriotism is often seen as a precursor to nationalism. When George Bush said: “you are either for us or against us”, was he being a patriot or a nationalist? Is playing the national anthem patriotic or nationalist? Can you love your country but not be willing to go and fight a war on its behalf? These complex questions have inspired debate and discussions over time. Suffice to say here that governments and educators must grapple with these issues in constructing the citizenship curriculum and be aware of the impact that particular decisions can make. I shall come back to this issue later. For now, however, I want to show how the citizenship curriculum, irrespective of ideology, is organized.

Based on an analysis of reported curriculum practices in the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) and a European Union study (European Commission, 2005) I identified the options that are currently used for delivering the citizenship curriculum and it is shown in Table 1 (Kennedy, 2008).

Table 1: Approaches to Organizing the Citizenship Curriculum

Citizenship/Civics Curriculum				
Sector	Organizing Principle			
Primary →	Single Subject/ Compulsory	Compulsory or Optional		
Secondary →		Integrated into Other Subjects (e.g. History/ Geography)	Integrated across All Subjects	Extra Curricular Activity

While all countries do value citizenship education, there is no agreement on how best to deliver it. In general, it seems in the European Union that at the primary level there is a preference for integrated or cross curriculum delivery while in the secondary, the general preference is for citizenship as a single subject. Yet there are exceptions to these generalizations within the EU and certainly outside. Hong Kong and Australia, for example, are exceptions in relation to secondary education. Within Europe, Eastern European countries tend to have favoured single subjects while the Scandinavian countries have not. There is little evidence about the effectiveness of different kinds of delivery, in terms of either student learning or status within the school curriculum.

The specific form the citizenship curriculum might take – specific subject, integrated with social science subjects, integrated across all subjects or as an extra-curricular activity – has implications for other curriculum related issues such as whether citizenship curriculum is optional or compulsory and the amount of time allocated to it. The compulsory/optional nature of citizenship is an important policy decision in all countries because it signals the value placed on this component of the school curriculum. From the major reviews of civics and citizenship education (European Commission, 2005; Torney-Purta, et al., 2001) it does seem that most countries do include citizenship as part of the school curriculum and some have developed policy mechanisms to monitor its effectiveness. Yet how much time is allocated to it?

It is much easier, for example, at least in a structural sense, to allocate time to citizenship when it is a compulsory single subject. It is much more difficult to allocate a specific amount of time when citizenship is mandated as an integrated curriculum theme. In the European survey referred to above it was

not possible for national jurisdictions to indicate how much time was allocated to citizenship when it was integrated into other school subjects (European Commission, 2005, p. 20). The integration model for citizenship requires a great deal of flexibility because it is embedded in broader curriculum objectives that themselves demand time. Any citizenship theme or specific content, therefore, has to compete with other objectives for a limited amount of curriculum space. Success in this context will depend entirely on teacher professional judgment with the potential for considerable implementation variation across classrooms and schools. This means that a favoured form of curriculum organization for the citizenship curriculum, its integration into other social science subjects, can be problematic in guaranteeing the delivery of specific content to all students.

This raises the question referred to earlier: are different organizational forms more effective in terms of student learning? Given the choices available to education systems and educators in constructing the citizenship curriculum, can we determine whether some of these choices are preferable to others? This issue will be addressed in the following section.

## **Enacting the Citizenship Curriculum: What Works?**

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I have been working with colleagues over the past few years on a Public Policy Research Project<sup>1</sup> that has as one of its purposes to identify the optimal curriculum organization for citizenship education. We discussed some results earlier this year (Kennedy, Fairbrother, Ng and Leung, 2009) and they are relevant here because they start to address a key issue. Using data from the IEA Civic Education Study and supplementary information from a range of other studies we identified possible modes of curriculum delivery used across 25 countries involving national samples of students. For the purpose of analysis we classified countries according to the organizational form of their citizenship curriculum: compulsory or non-compulsory and separate subject or integrated. This gave us three separate categories: 48% used a separate subject for citizenship education and in all cases it was mandated compulsory. 52% used an integrated form and of these, 38% mandated it as compulsory with the remainder leaving it as non-compulsory.

We developed a number of models<sup>2</sup> to assess the effectiveness of each of these

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<sup>1</sup> *Alternative Policy Instruments for Enhancing Citizenship Education* [HKIEd8001-PP-3]. Dr Gregory Fairbrother is the Principal Investigator. Leung Yan Wing and I are Co-Investigators. Victor Ng Hoi Yu is the Senior Research Assistant.

<sup>2</sup> Ordinary least squares regression models

forms in relation to student achievement. In these models we regressed these curriculum organizational forms on students' Cognitive Civic Competence Scale Scores as reported in the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta, et al., 2001, p.55). That is, we wanted to see the extent to which the form of curriculum organization contributed to students' civic knowledge. Our results indicated two things. Students get better results when citizenship education is delivered as a compulsory single subject. In addition, the results are statistically significantly different from the results of those students who experience other modes of delivery. This seemed promising. Yet there is a caveat: the model also showed it was not the mode of delivery that caused these results – the mode of delivery accounted for a very small amount of the variance in the model. What was clear, however, was that students studying citizenship as a compulsory component of the school curriculum always do better than students in jurisdictions where citizenship education is not compulsory. Given that 42% of our participating countries did not adopt a compulsory mode of delivery, this is not an unimportant finding.

We have also tested more complex models by adding new independent variables to the model, to identify the variables that may work side by side with mode of delivery to account for enhanced student learning. The formal curriculum can be delivered in a variety of ways that may or may not engage students. Thus we included in our model students' perceptions of their classroom climate in citizenship education lessons – referred to as the 'Open Classroom Climate Scale' (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, pp.138-140, 151). This scale measures extent to which students perceived they had the opportunity to ask questions and raise issues in class was a positive predictor of students' civic learning in all models. The standardized regression coefficients were small ( $\beta = \leq .11$ ) for all models but were significant. We also included Participation in School Council that was a single item in the original IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p.142). It produced similar results: a small but significant effect on student achievement. It was when demographic variables were controlled (Expected further years of education and Home Literacy) that significant gains were made in the variance accounted for by the model. Yet the important result from a curriculum perspective was that there are things schools can do (e.g. use School Parliaments) and strategies teachers can employ (e.g. develop a more open classroom climate) that can exert positive effects on student learning. Schools and teachers can make a difference! I wish to pursue this point further before leaving this section.

Very often in curriculum work and indeed scholarship, a great deal of emphasis is focused on the formal curriculum – 'officially sanctioned knowledge, values and skills' usually written down in curriculum documents and endorsed by different groups. The compulsory single subject curriculum referred to above

would be an example. In addition, however, students have other experiences in schools that are not so structured. These might include clubs, societies, sporting teams, student councils, choir, drama groups etc. In a secondary analysis of the European IEA data, Turney-Purta and Barber (2005) showed that there was a medium correlation between participation in a school council and future plans for active participation ( $r=.43$ ). In a different analysis in the same paper they showed that in most European countries participation in a school council accounted for a small amount of the variance in student learning about voting. While these results may appear somewhat meager, they were the first attempt to try to measure these effects. In addition, there are some further indications of the potential of informal learning to enhance, and in at least one case, influence negatively, students' civic learning.

Turney-Purta and Barber (2005) reported that reading newspapers is a moderate predictor of students' likelihood to vote ( $\beta$ s across their European sample were  $\geq .10 \leq .21$ ). (Torney-Purta et al., p.151) reported that the frequency of watching TV and news amongst the international sample was also a moderate predictor of students' likelihood to vote in the future ( $\beta=.13$ ). These could be activities that take place out of school. Yet given that there are differential levels of trust in the media across countries they could equally well take place within school if they were developed as instructional and learning activities. Husfeldt, Barber and Torney-Purta (2005) developed a new Trust in Media Scale but have also raised the question of whether students are able to apply critical skills to the task. Amadeo, Torney-Purta and Barber (2004) have shown the positive relationship between media consumption and both students' civic knowledge and their attitude to future civic engagement. Torney-Purta and Barber (2005) have pointed out "school-based programs that introduce students to newspapers and foster skills in interpreting political information may be of value". This may be a particularly important thing to do for students whose home environments do not provide them with these informal learning opportunities. These are more examples of how schools and teachers can make a difference to civic learning.

Not all informal learning experiences are positive. Torney-Purta et al., (2001 pp.151-152) reported that when students spend a lot of time outside of home in the evenings they will tend to have lower civic achievement scores. In their model, "evenings spent outside the home" was negatively related to civic knowledge ( $\beta= -.09$ ). This simple item has been replicated in many studies with similar results. Gage, Overpeck and Nansen (2005) reported that young people who spend an excessive amount of time away from home in the evenings are more likely to be engaged in alcohol consumption, smoking, bullying and a range of other problems. Kuntsche, Simons-Morton, Fotiou, ter Bogt, and Kokkevi (2009) reported in a cross national study that while cannabis use was

reduced amongst young people in most countries between 2001 and 2006, that frequency of use was related to the amount of time they spent out with their friends in the evening. In the strictest sense, this variable is outside the ambit of schools – it is a home and parental responsibility. Yet it is important to highlight that there are very significant social forces working against the gains that students might make in school. How can schools counter these external forces?

First, it needs to be acknowledged that schools are not equipped to solve the full range of social problems in the community. Social problems need to be addressed by everyone in a society and not just schools. Having said that, however, priority can be given to building strong home-school partnerships so there is a consistency between the two. Adequate counselling services in schools would also be of assistance since the role of teachers does not embrace a formal and professional counselling role. Importantly, however, it must be recognized that young people are subject to many pressures both inside and outside of schools. While the role of schools is important, however, it is not all embracing. Schools may well have responsibility for preparing future citizens but they cannot solve all of society's social ills and it is unrealistic to expect them to do so. Nevertheless, as shown previously, schools can make a difference. The next section will take up this theme by examining the way students understand citizenship responsibilities and assessing the implications for curriculum construction.

## **Student Conceptions of Citizenship Responsibilities and the Citizenship Curriculum**

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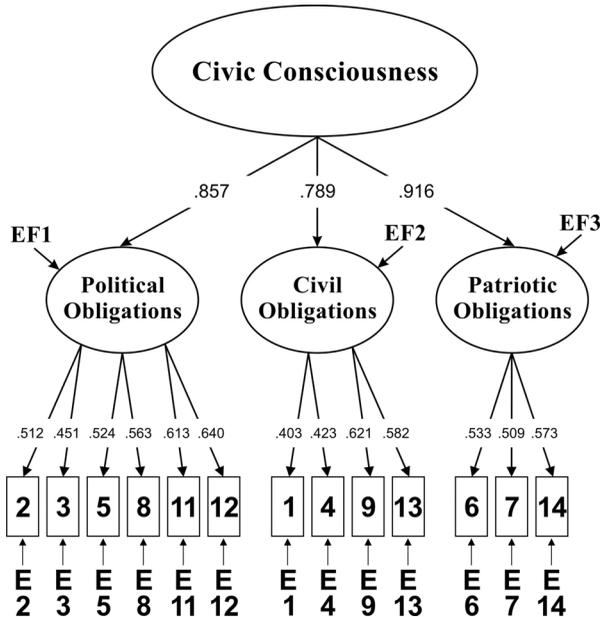
I have been working for the past few years on the issue of student conceptions of citizenship responsibilities (Kennedy, 2009a, Kennedy, 2009b, Kennedy and Chow, 2008, Kennedy, 2007, Kennedy and Chow, in press). I have now integrated this work into a Public Policy Research Project, *Hong Kong Students' Attitudes to Citizenship: Monitoring Progress Ten years after Hong Kong's Return to China*<sup>3</sup>. The project involves repeating the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta, et al., 2001) using a 2009 Hong Kong student sample then comparing the results to see what changes, if any, can be noted over a ten year period under Chinese sovereignty. One aspect of the project is to test the stability of what I have called the 'Good Citizen' model developed

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<sup>3</sup> HKIED 8001-PPR-5. Professor Lee Wing On and Dr. Gregory Fairbrother are the Co-Investigators. Joseph Chow Kui Foon is the Senior Research Assistant.

with Hong Kong student data from the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study. That model is shown as Figure 2 below, taken from (Kennedy, 2009a):

Figure 2: Hong Kong Students' Conceptions of the "Good Citizen"



This model has now been tested with the 2009 sample of Hong Kong students (n=600). The fit statistics indicate that the model shown in Figure 2 also reflects student conceptions of being a 'good citizen' ten years after the handover. The model has also been tested with other national samples (Kennedy and Chow, 2008, Kennedy 2009b) and in a statistical sense model fit is acceptable in those samples as well, at least at the configurable level. I do not want to claim at this stage that the model is generalizable and we are continuing to test it with new samples in Thailand and Spain. It is a statistical model that has yielded these unobservable constructs or latent traits by relating students' responses on particular survey questions to their position on the latent trait. It can be seen in this model that the latent traits themselves are related so that there is a higher order factor – called here Civic Consciousness – representing an holistic or integrated conception of citizenship. Thus the three latent traits are not independent – they share a great deal of the variance in the model and this is shown by the higher order factor. By relating this work on students' conceptions of citizenship responsibilities to latent trait theory there are

conceptual gains for, in my view at least, it is possible to see more than just a set of numbers. Yet I am aware of issues in the philosophy of science that raise important questions about the nature of latent traits themselves (Borsboom, 2005). Nevertheless, as I shall try to show in the last section of this paper, the gains are worth it. For if these latent traits are indeed mental representations rather than just statistical indicators, then another area of significance of research will have been opened up. For now, however, I want to pursue the curriculum implications of the model.

If we can assume different sets of obligations guide students' civic action and behavior can we structure a curriculum around these? It seems to me, intuitively at least, that each of these latent traits would make good curriculum organizers and together they represent the multidimensionality of citizenship responsibilities. Civil Obligations, for example, are what students need to know and be able to become what Bennett (2005) has called 'dutiful citizens'. We should not underestimate the importance of such citizens – they are the glue that holds our societies together. They obey the law, they work hard, they participate in activities that benefit the community and they protect the environment. But being dutiful is not all there is to citizenship.

There are also obligations to the broader community – to participate in elections and political parties, take part in legal protests, follow political issues in the newspaper, engage in political discussions, etc. These are obligations citizens have towards the community, or in ancient terms, the *polis*. They require more action and engagement on the part of citizens and they require education. Developing the capacity to engage in the political life of the community maybe one of the most important aims of citizenship education and it cannot be left to chance. But this does not end citizens' responsibilities.

In this model patriotism becomes a third responsibility for citizens – and, of course, it will be controversial. It emerged from the original statistical model and theoretically it is justifiable (Kennedy, 2009a). Nevertheless, it is contentious and nowhere more so than here in Hong Kong. Yet the case I would make for its inclusion as a curriculum organizer is that education for patriotism may well be the moderating influence that prevents patriotism from descending into nationalism and worse, xenophobia or racism. What is more when patriotism and its development is deliberate government policy then students need to be prepared to analyse and interrogate the kind of patriotism that is being promoted. Greg Fairbrother (2003) called this 'critical patriotism' and Todd Gitlin (2006) talked about 'liberal patriotism'. This is patriotism for the thinking person. It is a recognition that governments and authorities here in Hong Kong but also throughout the region and in western liberal democracies will seek to promote patriotic citizens. The curriculum response should be that

being patriotic does not mean surrendering critical thinking capacities; rather, it should mean the reverse if social development is to be informed by thoughtful and creative citizens.

Creating the citizenship curriculum will always be controversial because it is about the preferred citizen of the future. Can ideology be removed from the process of curriculum construction? I doubt it, but I think there are new directions for curriculum research that can enhance the citizenship curriculum and these will be the focus of the remainder of this paper.

### **Constructing the Citizenship Curriculum – An Agenda for the Future**

I would like to share in this final section of the paper my suggestions for moving forward with an agenda for the citizenship curriculum. Much of what I say will necessarily be speculative but all of it will be firmly grounded in possibilities for research that can support the development of a relevant, meaningful and engaging citizenship curriculum for young people.

I have recently become interested in theory of mind research largely as a result of the statistical modeling I have been doing over the past few years. A group of us in the Institute has started to meet around a common interest in theory of mind. We have had one meeting that demonstrated while we had a common interest we did not have a common understanding of what was meant by theory of mind. These are the most interesting kinds of meetings! From Gearon's (2003, p.106) perspective, however, there is a link between theory of mind and citizenship outcomes:

Having a theory of mind is important for understanding and reflecting on social, emotional and moral situations. Antisocial acts such as deceptions or lies depend upon having an understanding of others' frame of mind. Thus developing social and moral responsibility, the core outcome of citizenship education, seems to be closely related to the ability to infer and understand others' mental states and emotions.

This sense of the 'other' is fundamental to psychological constructions of theory of mind – just as it is fundamental to post structuralism research on identity and politics (Egharevba, 2001). In psychological contexts theory of mind is often discussed in terms of deficits – so that autistic children and sometimes schizophrenics and people suffering from depression are said to

suffer theory of mind deficits that prevent them from relating to others. This approach is not uncontested even in psychology where both the construct itself and the dominant research paradigm have been criticized. Yet from the perspective of citizenship I think it can be argued that without an adequate theory of mind that is able to take into account the needs of not just self but others, then citizens may not be able to exercise their duties or enjoy their rights. We have seen in history how distorted views of the ‘other’ have led to catastrophic disasters such as genocide and mass murder. Citizenship education, therefore, needs to focus on the relationship between self and other as a core concern.

Thus when I examine the three dimensions in the ‘good citizen’ model referred to earlier, I start to see a research agenda for the future. How do these dimensions develop? Are they invariant across societies and cultures? How does one teach towards them to develop a theory of mind in young people that will enable them to embrace the ‘other’? Are these dimensions actual mental representations – unobservable but measurable, active but without obvious triggers, capable of generating a theory of mind for engaged citizenship but operating differentially for individuals? I do not as yet know the answers to these questions but I am convinced that a research agenda based around such questions could yield important understandings for the future. In pursuing such an agenda I am given some comfort from the work of the American pragmatist philosopher, George Herbert Meade, who asserted rather boldly that “it is absurd to look at the mind simply from the standpoint of the individual human organism; for, although it has its focus there, it is essentially a social phenomena; even its biological functions are primarily social” (Morris, 1967, p.133). It is the sociality of the mind that is so important for the development of citizens who will make a difference in their societies.

This paper has shown through existing research that schools and teachers can make a difference to students’ civic learning. Yet the community, family and peers also play a role. Any curriculum must consider these external influences. The importance of out-of-school learning activities that can have a positive effect on learning has been highlighted as well as experiences that can have a negative effect. Civic learning, therefore, must be seen as a shared responsibility involving not only schools and parents, but the whole community. Understanding these links better will assist the way new curricula can span the full breadth of experiences that influence students’ civic learning.

This emphasis on the full breadth of students’ experiences does not in any way minimize the role of schools. The environment of the school plays an important part in preparing young people for citizenship although exactly how it does this needs further research. Opportunities for student participation and providing an

environment that is supportive seem to play a role but these may work differently in different national contexts and for boys and girls within these contexts. Schools also provide opportunities for informal learning that can be creative and constructive and these need to be included as part of the full range of experiences for young people within schools.

What this means is that the form the school curriculum takes – single subject or integrated – may not be as important as the way it is enacted. This places great responsibilities on teachers and on teacher education. Yet policy makers are not exempt. All students must have access to citizenship education in some form. Education authorities need to give this a great deal of thought. It is little use blaming students for not being ‘good citizens’ if time at school is not set aside to develop abilities and dispositions that will positively reinforce students on their way to becoming citizens.

While there are multiple influences from the community and the school environment on students’ civic learning, classrooms also provide learning opportunities related to the formal curriculum as well as informal learning opportunities. Open classroom climates for discussion should be encouraged and further research is needed to understand better how classroom environment influences student learning. Participation in classroom activities seems an important way to engage students so that their views and opinions are valued but also tested. Didactic one-way transmission of knowledge in the citizenship classroom is not likely to result in significant learning gains and alternatives need to be identified and tried taking into account national and cultural contexts.

Finally, the interactions in curriculum design and delivery are complex and this needs to be acknowledged. The school curriculum is not an objective reality created apart from the broad social contexts that inevitably influence it. Constructing the citizenship curriculum, therefore, is not a technical task that can follow simple prescriptions. It is a cultural task that should strive to be research based, keeping in mind the constraints imposed by the broader social contexts in which schools operate.

I started this paper with a quotation from the Indian novelist, Arundhati Roy because she focused on a future vision that is also the vision of citizenship educators. I want to end with a different kind of reference. For me, it is John Dewey, more than anyone else, who has recognized that schools have a role to play in the democratic reconstruction of society in order to contribute to the broad vision outlined by Roy. Schooling, therefore, must do more than socialize young people and produce high scores on international assessments. Schooling should, in Dewey’s (1975, p.17) terms, “be animated by the breath

of life” – a breath that is perhaps similar to the kind of breathing Arundhati Roy could hear in the move towards “another world”.

I hope this paper has, in some small way, shown how the citizenship curriculum can contribute to new visions of what the world can be, if only we choose to make it so. This is an aspiration for citizenship education.

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27. K. Kennedy. (2003). Some reflections on curriculum control in the neo-liberal state: The case of civic education. *Curriculum Perspectives*, 23(1), 46-49.
28. K. Kennedy. (2003). Higher education governance as a key policy issue for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*. 2(1), 55-70.
29. K. Kennedy. (2003). Preparing young Australians for an uncertain future: New thinking about civics and citizenship education. *Teaching Education*, 14(1), 53-68.
30. K. Kennedy, S. Jiminez, D. Mayer, Mellor, S., & Smith, J. (2002). Teachers' conversations about civic education. Policy and Practice in Australian Schools. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 3(1), 69-82.
31. K. Kennedy. (2001). Contexts for civics education: The case of post World War reconstruction in Australia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 21(1), 19-29.
32. K. Kennedy. (2001). Reconstructing the school curriculum for the post-millennial generation. *Pacific Asian Education*, 13(1), 49-55.
33. K. Kennedy. (2001). Uneasy pathways for the post-millennial generation: How might schools support youth in the future? *Curriculum Perspectives*, 21(1), 35-44.

***Non Refereed Contributions to Professional Journals***

1. K. Kennedy. (2009). What if we had... a national curriculum. *EQ Australia (Autumn)*, 10-11.

2. Kennedy, K. (2006). Review: G. Fairbrother. *Toward critical patriotism – student resistance to political education in Hong Kong and China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 232 pp. *Journal of Moral Education*, 45(3), 418-420.
3. K. Kennedy. (2005). Student attitudes to minority groups in twenty eight countries: What does it mean to be tolerant? *Comparative Education Bulletin*, 8, 36-42.
4. K. Kennedy. (2005). Review: A. Lockyer, B. Crick & J. Annette. (Eds.), *Education for Democratic Citizenship*. 2004 Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing 188 pp. *Teaching Education*, 16(2), 178-181.
5. K. Kennedy. (2003). Review: Cogan, J., Morris, P., & Print, M. (2002). *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region*. New York and London: RoutledgeFalmer. 201pp. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 35(4), 524-526.
6. K. Kennedy. (2003). From behind the mask higher education battles SARS outbreak *Campus Review*, 9-15 April, 8.
7. K. Kennedy. (2003). Review: Crowther, F. (Ed.). (2003). *Teachers as Leaders in a Knowledge Society. 2003 College Year Book*. Canberra: Australian College of Education. *Education Review/Campus Review*, June/July, 2.  
<http://www.austcolled.com.au/resources/ACENews/acenews-0603/acenews4.pdf>
8. K. Kennedy. (2003). Review: Reid. A. *Educating for Wisdom*, Australian College of Educators Occasional Paper No 3. 2003 ISBN 0 909587 92 2. *Education Review*, April/May.
9. K. Kennedy. (2002). Governance forced on university agendas. *South China Morning Post*, 17 December.
10. K. Kennedy. (2002). Making professional practice explicit and public: A common sense approach. In *Report of a National Meeting of Professional Educators – Canberra April 2002*. Canberra: Australian College of Educators, 46-50.
11. K. Kennedy. (2002). Action is needed now. *Unicorn* 27(3), 1-3.
12. K. Kennedy. (2001). A time for substance. *EQ Australia* (Winter), 22-25.

## Invited Key Note Addresses

### *International*

1. K. Kennedy. (2009). Creating a Citizenship Curriculum: What Do We Know about the Way Students Learn to be Citizens? Key Note Address, International Conference on Educational Research, Khon Kaen University, Thailand, 11-2 September.
2. K. Kennedy. (2009). School Based Curriculum Development: Catering for the Needs of All Students. Key Note Address, Annual Conference of the Association for Childhood Education International, ROC, National Chengchi University, Taipei 28-29 May.
3. K. Kennedy. (2008). Student Conceptions of the ‘Good Citizen’: Implications for School and Classroom Organization. Keynote Address, International Seminar: “Sharing Responsibilities and Networking Through the School Process (SRNSP)”, University of Seville, 8-11 September.
4. K. Kennedy. (2008). Multiple Methods as “Ways of Knowing”: What We Can Learn about Democracy and Patriotism from Citizenship Education Research. Keynote Address, 4<sup>th</sup> Citzied International Conference: “Researching Citizenship Education: Principles, Policies and Practice”, King’s College, Cambridge, 28-30 July.
5. K. Kennedy. (2008). The Idea of a National Curriculum in Australia: What do Susan Ryan, John Dawkins and Julia Gillard have in Common? Key Note Address, Symposium on National Curriculum, University of Sydney, 12 December.
6. K. Kennedy. (2006). “*Making the Numbers Dance*” – A Reconsideration of the “New Gender Gap” in Civic Education and the Implications for Classrooms. Key Note Address delivered at *Challenges and Possibilities in Gender Equity Education: The Second International Conference in the Asia Pacific*, Hong Kong, 22-24 June 2006.  
<http://www.eoc.org.hk/eoc/upload/2006711104913137728.doc>
7. K. Kennedy. (2006). Reframing Civic Education for New Citizenships: The Civic Needs of “One Country, Two Systems”. Keynote Address, International Seminar, *New Schooling and Citizenship Practice*, University of Granada, May.

8. K. Kennedy. (2005). Conceptions of Freedom in the Neo-Conservative State: Challenges for Political Socialization and Civic Education. Key Note Address, Annual Conference of the Pacific Circle Consortium, Sydney, 19-23 July.
9. K. Kennedy. (2003). Teacher Professionalism in Times of Uncertainty: Charting The Civic Responsibilities of Teachers, Key Note Address, National Conference of the Australian College of Educators, Sunshine Coast, Queensland, 9 -11 July.
10. K. Kennedy (2003). Building Civic Capacity in Times of Uncertainty: The Role of Social Education in the New Century. Key Note Address, “Establishing New Frontiers: Social Studies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, Social Studies Symposium, National Institute of Education, Singapore, 17-18 March.
11. K. Kennedy. (2002). University Governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Key Note Address, International Conference on Higher Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Miri, Sarawak, 24-26 September.
12. K. Kennedy. (2002). Developing a ‘Democracy of the Mind’: Lessons for Australian Schools from the IEA Civic Education Study. Key Note Address, Discovering Democracy Conference, National Museum, Canberra, 9-10 May.

### *National*

1. K. Kennedy. (2001). Schools as ‘social anchors’: Leadership challenges for uncertain times. Lutheran Principals’ Conference, Canberra, 1 September.
2. K. Kennedy. (2001). Reconstructing the school curriculum for the post-millennial generation. The Association of Independent Schools of Queensland Biennial State Conference, Brisbane, 4-6 May.

## **Conference papers - international and national**

### *International*

1. K. Kennedy. (2009). Cross national perspectives on young people’s attitudes towards citizenship responsibilities: A comparison of Hong Kong and Latvian students. Paper presented at the XI European Congress of Psychology, Oslo, July 5-7.

2. K. Kennedy. (2009). 'Hybrid' multiculturalism? Ethnic minority student policy in Hong Kong. Paper presented at the Interactive Symposium, *Policy, Action and Theory: Cross-Cultural Experience of Ethnic Minority Students in the United States, Canada, Australia and Hong Kong*, Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, 12-18 April.
3. K. Kennedy & M. T. Hue. (2009). Ethnic Minority Students in a Chinese Society: Towards Multiculturalism in Hong Kong? Paper presented at the Redesigning Pedagogy – International Conference 2009, *Designing New Learning Contexts for a Globalising World*, Singapore, 1-3 June.
4. K. Kennedy. (2008). Obligations and duties: Hong Kong students' conceptions of citizenship responsibilities. Paper presented at the 29th International Congress of Psychology, Berlin, July 20-25.
5. K. Kennedy. (2008). Policy, action and theory: Tensions in Hong Kong's response to educational provision for ethnic minority students. Paper prepared for the Interactive Symposium, *Ethnic Minority and Immigrant Students' Experience of Language, Culture and Identity Development in Hong Kong, Canada, and U. S (Session 67.060)*. Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, 24-28 March 2008.
6. K. Kennedy. (2007). Civic and political obligations as citizenship responsibilities: Hong Kong students' conceptions of the 'Good Citizen'. Paper Presented at the Xth Conference of the European Congress of Psychology, Prague, 3-6 July.
7. K. Kennedy. (2007). Barriers to innovative school practice: A socio-cultural framework for understanding assessment practices in Asia. Paper prepared for the Symposium: "Student Assessment and its Social and Cultural Contexts: How Teachers Respond to Assessment Reforms". Redesigning Pedagogy – Culture, Understanding and Practice Conference, Singapore, 28-30 May.
8. J. C. S. Chan, K. Kennedy, W. M. Yu & P. K. Fok. (2006). Assessment policy in Hong Kong: Implementation issues for new forms of assessment. Paper presented at the 32<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference of the International Association for Educational Assessment, Singapore, 21-26 May.
9. K. Kennedy. (2006). The dimensionality of 'active citizenship': Students constructions of participation in democratic societies. Paper presented at

the 26th International Congress of Applied Psychology, Athens, 16-21 July.

10. K. Kennedy, J. S. K. Chan, W. M. Yu & P. K. Fok. (2006). Assessment for productive earning: Forms of assessment and their potential for enhancing learning. Paper presented at the 32<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference of the International Association for Educational Assessment, Singapore, 21-26 May.
11. K. Kennedy, C. Hahn & W. O. Lee. (2006). Becoming Apolitical: A comparison of students' constructions of citizenship in Australia, Hong Kong and the United States. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Honolulu, March.
12. M. M. C. Mok, Y. C. Cheng, Y. C., P. Moore & K. Kennedy, K. (2005). Gender differential item functioning in the Self-Efficacy Scale with secondary students. Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Parramatta, 1 December.
13. K. Kennedy. (2005). Exploring the gender dimension of student attitudes to minorities and its implications for political socialization. Paper presented at the 3rd European Consortium for Political Research Conference, Budapest, 8-10 September.
14. K. Kennedy. (2005). The gendered nature of students' attitudes to minorities – Issues for political socialization. Paper presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> European Congress of Psychology, Granada, 3-8 July.
15. K. Kennedy. (2005). Gender issues in civic and citizenship education. Paper prepared for International Symposium on the Theoretical and Practical Issues of School Civil Education and Moral Education in the 21st Century, Guangzhou, China, 20-22 June.
16. K. Kennedy. (2004). The “new gender gap”: Issues for Australian adolescents' political socialization. Paper prepared for the International Psychology Congress, Beijing, 9-13 August.
17. K. Kennedy & S. K. F. Hui. (2004). Self efficacy as a key attribute for curriculum leaders: Linking individual and organizational capacity to meet the challenges of curriculum reform. Paper prepared for the Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Council of Educational Administration and Management, Shanghai, 24-26 October.

18. K. Kennedy. (2003). Civic professionalism and the teaching profession. Paper presented at the International Conference on Civic Education Research, New Orleans, 16-18 November.
19. K. Kennedy. (2001). Technology and convergence: Implications for citizenship in the new century. Paper prepared for the *International Forum of Democratic Citizenship Education in the Asia Pacific Region*, Seoul, 16-17 October.

### ***National/Local***

1. K. Kennedy, G. Fairbrother, Y. W. Leung & N. Y. Ng. (2008). Implementing citizenship education in twenty eight countries: Does the mode of curriculum delivery enhance student learning? Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Institute of Education, 23 February.
2. K. Kennedy, M. T. Hue & K. T. Tsui. (2008). Comparing Hong Kong Teachers' sense of efficacy for teaching Chinese and non-Chinese students. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Institute of Education, 23 February.
3. K. Kennedy & J. K. F. Chow. (2007). Hong Kong Students' Attitudes to Law Related Issues: Do Gender and Age Matter? Paper presented at the Law Related Education Seminar, The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong, 15-16 June.
4. K. Kennedy. (2007). More civics, less democracy: Competing discourses for civics and citizenship education in Australia. Paper presented at the Comparative Education Society of Asia / Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, Joint Annual Conference, University of Hong Kong, 8-10 January.
5. K. Kennedy. (2006). Students views of 'active citizenship' in democratic societies: Beyond conventional citizenship. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Baptist University, 21 January.
6. K. Kennedy (2005). Student attitudes to minority groups in twenty eight countries: What does it mean to be tolerant? Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, The Hong Kong Institute of Education, 29 January.

7. K. Kennedy. (2004). The “new gender gap” in students’ civic attitudes: Perspectives from the IEA Civic Education Study. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, University of Hong Kong, 7 February.
8. K. Kennedy, C. Y. Luk, Y. C. Lo & G. Fairbrother. (2003). Scenarios for the future of schooling in the Asia Pacific region: The views of educators in Hong Kong. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 18 January.
9. K. Kennedy. Education funding in times of constraint: Why governments should fund education. Paper presented at “Learning from the Past, Informing the Future: Education Then, Now and Tomorrow”. Symposium Supported by the Lord Wilson Heritage Trust, Hong Kong Baptist University, 13-14 May 2002.
10. K. Kennedy, J. Smith, S. Jimenez, D. Mayer & S. Mellor. “Conversations about Civics” – Creating contexts for teachers to talk about their experiences with civic education. Paper presented at the Biennial Conference of the Australian Curriculum Studies Association, Australian National University, Canberra, 28 September – 1 October 2001.
11. K. Kennedy. (2001). The Western imagination and local values. How should civic education be constructed? Paper presented at the *Symposium on Citizenship Education* held at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Perth, 2-6 December 2001.
12. K. Kennedy. (2001). Curriculum control and civic education in Australia: Some reflections on curriculum policy and practice in the neo-liberal state. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Perth, 2-6 December 2001.
13. K. Kennedy, Mellor, D. Mayer, S, Jiminez & J. Smith. (2001). “Conversations about Civics” – Practitioner realities and world views about civic education in schools and classrooms. Paper at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Perth, 2-6 December 2001.
14. S. Mellor & K. Kennedy. (2001). 90,000 students can’t be wrong: What young people know and believe about their civic responsibilities. Paper at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Perth, 2-6 December 2001.



Research excellence is a combination of scholarship, professionalism and service through knowledge transfer and application. With this philosophy, The Hong Kong Institute of Education endeavors to create spaces for dialogues and exchanges so as to promote research and development in the field. This Lecture Series aims to bring all stakeholders together to address contemporary education issues. It will also identify areas where further effort is needed to strengthen the evidence base that informs education policy and practice.