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Educating Future Citizens in Europe and Asia

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In 2002, the United Kingdom introduced citizenship into the curriculum as an independent subject. Other European countries, notably Spain, are undertaking reforms along the same lines. The Council of Europe declared 2005 as the European Year of Citizenship through Education and, since 1997, has been developing several programs and projects to promote the teaching of democratic citizenship. Elsewhere, in Asia China took a further step to consolidate the teaching of citizenship by replacing politics instruction with character training and social studies in elementary and junior secondary schools in 2001, and the new syllabus has been implemented since 2003. This move marked an end to almost four decades of a core curricular area that had overtly aimed at providing training for socialism. In a series of educational reforms introduced in recent years in Japan, the debates on the national curriculum have carried out a most scrupulous examination, especially on the teaching of citizenship and history. Indeed, the teaching of some form of citizenship has been gaining ground in education throughout the world (Benavot and Amadio 2004; chapter by Fiala).

There are several reasons why citizenship has gained broader public attention, and why this has subsequently been reflected in the field of education. With the collapse of the polarized world system, the hegemony of liberal human rights ideologies and democratic principles has become prevalent. The increasing dominance of liberal market ideologies undermines the existing definitions of the welfare (or even the socialist) state and the citizen/state relationship. There has been increasing awareness of the world as a connected place engendering new (perceived and real) inter-dependencies, together with the need for individual competencies to face the challenges of such a connected world. Consequently, a renewed model of citizenship is envisioned. There have also been recent developments in some world regions that have hastened the need to rethink the education of young citizens. For example, in Europe, the entry of Eastern European countries into the world of 'modern, democratic nation-states' and declining electoral participation in Western European countries are posing challenges to the practice of democratic citizenship. Moreover, the recognition of diverse

population groups in European countries and the perceived failure of immigrant integration, combined with a concern about the 'terrorism threat', have called for some serious attention to identifying proper civic values.[1] Finally, the increasing concern about the legitimacy of the European integration project, especially with the failure of voters to endorse the European Union constitution, has further complicated the form and implementation of citizenship and citizenship education. Likewise, the adoption of a western-style liberal democracy by some of the Asian states has aroused much concern and doubts about its feasibility (Fukuyama 1992), especially with the emergence of China in Asia as a rising power on a level with Japan. The relations between Japan and her neighbors deteriorated when a new set of history textbooks was approved by the Japanese Government.

The current world order poses uncertainties and challenges about the most appropriate socialization model for educating future citizens. In what ways should citizenship be defined and constituted in a changing world? What are the educational requirements of an informed, functioning citizenry in different national societies? To what extent would a new model of citizenship education begin to emerge given the increasing emphasis on individual rights and global connectedness, or might this set off a stronger force of resistance to regional integration or global trends resulting in a more diverse citizenship education? These inquiries regarding citizenship instruction constitute the major agenda of this chapter. Specifically, we seek to examine the trends and differences in the organization of and emphasis on citizenship instructional content through the assessment of secondary school syllabi and textbooks. Our major effort is on analyzing and comparing these curricular materials among five countries in Europe and Asia, namely, China, France, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom. Our purpose is to identify trends that shape the transformation of curricula and textbooks towards a new citizenship model and a new civic consciousness.

What constitutes citizenship education?

The teaching of citizenship takes place through different curricular subjects, notably in instructional areas like history, geography, civics, social studies, world studies, environmental studies, and moral and values education. The relative emphasis given to these curricular subjects, as well as the level of schooling, differ among countries.[2] As shown in Table 4.1, compared to the European cohort, Asian countries devote more time to the teaching of some form of social science subjects in the lower grades, but both regions begin to devote similar amounts of time to citizenship training in higher grades, with 14.2 percent of instructional time for Asian countries[3] and 13.7 percent for European countries[4] over grades 6 to 8.

As far as the teaching of citizenship in Europe and Asia is concerned, Table 4.2 presents a breakdown of the current curricular structure and its emphasis in this instructional area. It is remarkable that the inculcation of citizenship values takes place through a great variety of subjects. In European countries, for example, history and

Table 4.1: The mean percentage of intended instructional time allocated to subject domains in Asian and European countries in 2000

Subjects	Elementary level (Grades 1-5)		Lower secondary (Grades 6-8)	
	Asia	Europe	Asia	Europe
Languages	38.00	35.21	29.47	28.91
Mathematics & Sciences	22.84	21.74	27.68	25.83
Computer & Technology	0.95	1.57	1.63	3.18
Social sciences	10.02	8.02	14.19	13.67
Religion	2.48	2.70	1.85	2.35
Aesthetic education & Sport/Physical education	15.07	18.54	10.72	14.02
Skills	4.52	2.56	5.22	3.57
Electives, options & Other subjects	5.99	7.94	8.97	7.81
Number of countries	29	32	28	36

Based on: IBE-UNESCO (2005a).

Table 4.2: The mean percentage of intended instructional time allocated to select subjects within the 'citizenship training area'[a] in Asian and European countries in 2000

Subjects [b]	Elementary level (Grades 1-5)		Lower secondary (Grades 6-8)	
	Asia	Europe	Asia	Europe
History	0.53	1.83	2.59	4.76
Geography	0.46	1.02	2.66	4.62
Social studies	2.50	2.26	5.78	1.60
Civics	1.07	0.41	1.00	1.52
Environmental education	2.90	1.85	0.56	0.45
Moral education	2.56	0.66	1.60	0.72
Aesthetics	8.82	9.67	5.17	7.21
Hygiene/health education	1.53	0.64	1.30	0.48
Number of countries	29	32	28	36

Based on: IBE-UNESCO (2005a).

a. See text for discussion on subjects considered to be within the 'citizenship training area'.
b. The sum of the percentages for the subjects: History, Geography, Social studies, Civics, Environmental education and Moral Education equals the percentages of time allocated to the Social sciences (see Table 4.1).

geography are still taught as subjects in their own right and not incorporated into a general framework of social studies, while Asian countries tend to adopt an integrated social studies approach. Civics gets more attention in European basic schooling, whereas both environmental education and moral education became the preferred areas for broadening the training of citizenship values in Asia.

We focus our analysis on the lower secondary schooling—grades 6 to 9—as these grades are part of compulsory education in our case countries and represent formal schooling before a more specialized curriculum or tracking is introduced. We also focus on the taught curriculum by restricting our analysis to the investigation of textbooks at this level of schooling. The data on European textbooks come from Soysal's project on 'Rethinking Nation-State Identities'.[5] For Asian textbooks, the analysis reported here forms part of a larger research study on 'Social Studies Instructions in Asia'[6] conducted by Wong.

Trends in the teaching of citizenship

An empirical investigation of key instructional patterns in curricular outlines at two time points between the 1950s to 1960s and 2005 clearly demonstrates that the older form of teaching primordialism and systematic history and geography in the curriculum has been replaced by an integrated social-science approach (Wong 1991; 2006). This finding highlights a decline in professional, specialized and facts-oriented content in favor of content emphasizing broad principles and conceptions of the individual's immediate environment and the interdependence of elements within this environment. Nation-states tend to organize their social studies instructional content around the notion of progress, with the emphasis on a more participatory, scientifically rationalized and egalitarian society. Nation and national identity as teaching themes have remained consistent in the general social studies curriculum over time. However, a more pluralistic and open national and civic character are increasingly introduced in this area of instruction.

These broad developments are reflected in the textbooks that we analyze below from the viewpoint of three specific trends (see also Soysal, Berlotti and Mannitz 2005).

Decreasing significance of the nation as the collective focus of citizenry

There has been an important change in the way the nation is presented (and viewed). 'Nation' has become ordinary and re-interpreted within a broader world context.

Germany stands out with its relatively small amount of curricular time devoted to explicitly national history. European and world history share relatively equal curricular time with national history. In Lower Saxony, for instance, the history program for the first year of secondary school allocates 39.9 percent of teaching time to national history compared to 49.8 percent for European themes and 10.3 percent for non-European civilizations (Jeismann and Schönemann 1989). In addition, contemporary history has a much more prominent place in curricula compared with other European countries. In all *Länder* [states] of the former Federal Republic of Germany, the teaching guidelines

require extensive coverage of twentieth-century German history. Ancient and mediaeval history is relatively marginalized in favor of coverage of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi period and the Cold War. The extensive attention to this disastrous phase in German history—which is characterized as an "erroneous path" in one of the textbooks (*Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, vol. 5, Ebeling 2000: 185)—obviates celebration of the German nation through narratives of unbroken continuity. The tone is hence rather skeptical, and stress is put on 1945 as a historical break that separates the present from the past.

In German history books, the nation is given a negative valuation, if not disavowed, for its dangerous inclination toward nationalism. This tendency can be found even in books that cater to Bavarian schools and have to satisfy a relatively conservative agenda to be approved there. As shown in the following extract, the idea of the nation appears to be countered by perils of nationalism:

> Pride in one's own nation was mostly connected to liberal and social claims in 1848, e.g. freedom of the press, wealth and education for all. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the 'national' is often separated from the liberal movements and developed into nationalism. It no longer meant just pride in one's own nation, but also arrogance as well as hatred and devaluation of other peoples. (*Erinnern und Urteilen,* vol. 8, Bernlochner 1999: 116)

Thus, instead of invoking the nation and its enduring legacy, German textbooks articulate an affirmative discourse on responsibility and the legitimacy of the constitutional order as a way to validate the present-day Germany. The tendency to distance the present from the nation is so strong that even the unification of the two Germanys under the roof of the Federal Republic is greeted without much emotional enthusiasm. The unification process is rationally and very briefly related by an unsentimental account of the course of events (see the chapter on 'history of the German separation' in *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit,* vol. 6, Ebeling 2001). In chapters that deal with international politics, the difficulties that decolonized countries have experienced after independence are related in the context of the wrongdoings of European nations, their imperialist rivalry and colonial rule. The message is clear: 'we' are responsible for the current state of the world and cannot close our eyes to the global problems. International co-operation and global peace are the desired aspirations.

Given Germany's specific historical trajectory, the detached attitude towards 'nation' is understandable. However, a similar trend can be detected in French curricula and textbooks, which also deploy a less nation-oriented approach and a certain degree of openness to world history. This shift away from a national focus and toward more world-openness can be seen especially in the textbooks based on the 1990 curricular program. *Le monde d'aujourd'hui* (Bouvet and Lambin 1999), a text for final-year college students, begins with introductory remarks and questions aimed at providing students with a working frame of reference for comprehending the history of the

twentieth century. In this introduction, history proceeds from an encompassing view of the world, from an awareness of the world at large. The first question reads: "What is the political map of the world today?" The question accompanies two maps that outline the organization of world space at the end of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first map highlights the strategic zones of the most important colonial powers (France and the United Kingdom, in particular) and the second map identifies the major power centers of the twentieth century. The text makes it clear that the world we live in is connected, albeit with differential power relations: "Today the main world powers have wealth and play a central role in decision-making, operating as a central pole of attraction which the other nations have to converge upon and depend upon." Other questions put further emphasis on world consciousness and direct students to identifying and thinking about issues in a larger world context: "What are the most important imbalances concerning the process of development? What are the most significant tensions in the present world?" (Bouvet and Lambin 1999: 8-15).

The tendency toward a world view—one less oriented to France—goes back to the 1985 curricular program, which also explicitly introduced the idea of 'Europe-building' into French education (France Ministère de l'éducation nationale 1985). However, while national history now receives less emphasis, the notion of 'nation' still permeates the program. Compared to German textbooks, French books are much more forthcoming in presenting the nation. Even so, the nation here is an abstract notion, interwoven with the notions of nationality, citizenship and laicism, all of which are also defined and elaborated as universalistic principles.

In French history textbooks, students are offered a wide range of definitions for 'nation'. Citing formulations of historians, sociologists, philosophers and political scientists, and translated into accessible terms for students, the nation is defined for example as: "a group of people speaking the same language or sharing a common culture and a common history, and living within the borders of a same country"; or, more voluntarily, as a "group of people willing to make a political community" (Klein and Hugonie 1998: 140, 62). Despite the highly mundane nature of the definitions, the nation in French textbooks is, in the first place, the "Grand Nation", the "name given to revolutionary France, the first free nation" (Klein and Hugonie 1998: 94). As such, the concept of nation carries the revolutionary, universalistic values of freedom and citizenship, and national feeling means simply "to love France—nothing more, nothing less, a platonic abstraction" (Stern and Hugonie 1997: 114).

Japan consistently devotes a moderate proportion of time to the teaching of citizenship in lower secondary schools. The teaching of history and civics constitutes, like the German case, the major component of citizenship education at this level of schooling. In history textbooks, the emphasis is clearly placed on recent historical periods (two out of the total of six teaching units). Almost two-third of the content is dedicated to modern history and, most importantly, a substantial amount of these pages are devoted to vivid descriptions of current world events and the organizations through which Japan plays an important role in the world society. History has become recent and, in a similar trend to that in Germany, the end of the Second World War is the

historical break that distinguishes the present from the past (*Atarashii Shakai: Rekishi* [History] 2002). There is also a tendency to situate the nation in the broader world. Consequently, an approach that locates Japan among her regional neighbors (China and the Republic of Korea) or as a member of the world community is a pedagogical strategy adopted throughout the text.

The treatment of the two world wars has always created uneasiness and even tension between Japan and her Asian neighbors. We found that very few pages were allocated to the narration of wars, especially in terms of Japanese motives and reasons (which is commonly recorded as Japanese militarism in Chinese textbooks) for going to war with its Asian neighbors. Only one section, which covers half a page, describes the colonization of Korea (*Atarashii Shakai: Rekishi* 2002: 144). And when the increasing Japanese aggression towards China is described after the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894, some emphasis is also given to a discussion on how the scramble for concessions by European powers was also taking place in China. Thus, the Japanese involvement in China seemed a natural course of action (*Atarashii Shakai: Rekishi* 2002: 140). The "Nanking Incident" (quoted in parenthesis) is included under the section on the causes of the Sino-Japanese War, while taking special care to footnote that the incident is known as the Nanking Massacre by the international community (*Atarashii Shakai Rekishi* 2002: 170). Japanese militarism does not consume much weight in the treatment of wars. There is, however, a substantive exposure to the sufferings of war and the evil that ensues (*Atarashii Shakai Rekishi* 2002: 174-175). The history of wars ends with five pages highlighting the importance of *peace* and how Japan has persistently incorporated the peace principle and practice into her national restructuring and development program (*Atarashii Shakai Rekishi* 2002: 178-182). The subsequent chapter sets forth the agenda for a modern Japan that actively participates in the world arena.

A similar instructional arrangement is also revealed in Japanese civics textbooks where world peace and a citizenship model that emphasizes global awareness are presented as the two most dominant themes. One in a total of five chapters (18 percent) in the civics textbook is devoted to the topic of "our global society" (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* [Civics] 2002: 2-3). The chapter concludes with an exercise inviting students to write a visionary essay on what their dream might be in ten years' time, which establishes a perfect imagery of the interdependence between the current self and others, and the reunion of such in the foreseeable future (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* 2002: 152). Unlike Germany, the detached attitude towards 'nation' is less distinct in the Japanese case. However, global awareness and world peace are certainly featured in the textbooks' content, as was the case with Germany and France.

The most distinct feature about the current versions of the Chinese textbooks is their picturesque and colorful layout throughout, compared to the exhaustive and redundant details that dominated in the 1960s (Wong 2004). A large number of book 'additives'—illustrations, photographs, drawings and maps—have filled up the spaces. The change has been from one that emphasized detailed facts and thick descriptions of historical events and figures to more of a story-telling style in the recent versions. This

indicates a shift from the inculcation of ideological values (Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought) to a different form of curricular orientation that is concomitant with the opening up and reform movements of China since the late 1970s. In China, the most salient change has been the sharp decrease in the teaching of the 'labor or revolutionary heroes/movements' in their history textbooks. This is not surprising because the history texts written during the 1950s in mainland China had placed emphasis on the ideology of socialist egalitarianism by pointing to the masses as the real heroes and moving force of history. Their struggle was perceived as the dynamic of historical progress. Ideology commanded a very central place in the construction of socialist man and, therefore, was fully present in the official culture of the state system of education of that epoch. The complete absence of propagandist slogans in the new textbooks is particularly notable.

The nation depicted in the Chinese textbooks is exclusive and amicable. While the former points to the triumph of an axial civilizational power in the making of world civilization and human progress, the latter dwells on the many economic and political setbacks that modern China has experienced. Therefore, a stable and advancing China is beneficial to the world community. Chinese history is still taught as a separate subject in the lower secondary curriculum, where a chronological rendition of national history is organized. Nevertheless, such national history now depicts a sequence of societies and societal cultures, rather than a history of political and military might from the kingdom's past. In dealing with the rise and spread of capitalism, the emphasis have been on the pros and cons of capitalism in the modern world, but does not hesitate to point out the glorifying achievements of science and technology in this developmental project of capitalist exchange. The United States, the former USSR and Japan are cited as examples of technological and economic success. It is clear that China as a nation represents the theory of civilization, while the United States is looked upon as the theory of progress in the modern world, while both contribute to the advancement of human kind (S*hijei Lishi* for 9th grade, vol. 1, 2004). In the textbook of integrated history and social studies, the chapter entitled 'we are all one world's children' even precedes the chapter on 'our native land and people' (*Lishi yu Shahui* 2004, for 7th grade, vol. 1).

While China still views national history as the real educational requirement for national integration, the nation portrayed is no longer confined to a rigid configuration of ideologies and the triumphant past. Instead, a version of nationalism that is receptive to many of the common values shared by the world in general has emerged in China.

Citizenship values and qualities across borders

Universalistic values (e.g., human rights, democracy, gender equality), detached from the national collectivity, are endorsed. In this way, global awareness and responsibilities become manifest.

While teaching about the French nation invokes loosely elaborated abstractions, French civic education stresses human rights, citizenship, democracy and the Republic.

The 1999 curriculum states the goals of civic education as follows: "to teach human rights and citizenship, through the acquisition of the principles and values that form the basis of democracy and the Republic, through the knowledge of institutions and laws, and the rules of social and political life; training to have a sense of individual and collective responsibility; and to educate to acquire faculties of critical analysis, especially through the practice of discussion." These three goals are designed to prepare students to participate in the public sphere at large, not only to serve France: "Civic education forms the citizen in the French Republic, in Europe and in the international world" (France Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de la recherche et de la technologie, Direction de l'enseignement scolaire 1999: 37). Topics such as human rights and citizenship are increasingly viewed as European in scope: we find extensive sections on 'human rights and Europe', as well as 'European citizenship'. Instead of simply including pictures of the headquarters of the United Nations or the European Court of Human Rights, human rights are actually integrated into the narrative. What emerges from this curricular design is a universal citizen equipped with civic qualities and ready to participate in a multitude of public spaces—local, national, European and global. And as the citizen, qualifications and duties become universalized, the nation—and that which is claimed as Frenchness—loses its national particularity.

School guidelines in several German states specifically include four dimensions to be dealt with across all subjects: environment, gender equality, intercultural education and the European dimension. Since the German education system is organized in accordance with the principles of federalism and subsidiarity, such issues are usually first taken up in the form of advice or a resolution adopted by the Standing Conference of Education Ministers of all German *Länder*. It is then within the responsibility of each federal state to translate the conclusions into its own guidelines. Yet, despite the regional variation that is favored by this system, even in a typically conservative state like Bavaria, topics that deal with Europe, democracy and human rights have been assigned a higher priority—along with themes that emphasize regional affiliations in terms of the *Heimat* [homeland], as in 'my homeland Bavaria'.

We detect similar trends in citizenship instruction in the textbooks of both Japan and China. In fact, the scope of human rights in Japanese civics textbooks has been broadened in that it even goes as far as trying to break the gender stereotype. In one textbook, for example, a two-page cartoon text highlights that babysitting should be shared by both parents. This kind of illustration in textbooks is a distinct example of Japan moving towards equalizing rights between the two sexes (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* [Civics], 2002: 24-25). Japan is introducing both maternity and paternity leave after a new-born arrives in the family. It is noteworthy that exposure to democracy is assuming a central place on a par with human rights in the Japanese textbooks.

The Chinese lower secondary textbook includes one whole chapter on human rights, in addition to other references included under other chapters. The chapter begins with some vivid descriptions of the development of human rights in other national societies, including the United States' Declaration of Independence, the Human Rights Declaration after the French Revolution, and the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948. It also presents a rather sensational story about Martin Luther King's struggle for human rights in the 1960s (*Lishi yu Shahui*. 9th grade, 2004: 79-88). Important dates, such as Labor Day and the first women's suffrage in other countries, are also reported in the text. When it comes to the treatment of Chinese human rights, the discussion is one that emphasizes the many winding paths that China has experienced in the last century in terms of foreign assault, many unsuccessful revolutions, natural disasters, utter poverty and national crisis, and reaches a conclusion that an understanding and realization of human rights might just be unique to China (*Lishi yu Shahui*. 9th grade, 2004: 4-22). As a developing country, China proclaims the rights to life, survival and development, which constitute the fundamentals of human rights as conveyed through these texts. Compared to her Asian cohort, China is rather reluctant to commit herself to the normative model of human rights that is fashionable in western democracies, although a distinct priority dealing with human rights has been assigned to the teaching content.

Diversity as a normative good

Cultural difference (as in diversity) appears as a point of departure for understanding, tolerance and co-operation among peoples within national borders and beyond them.

In Germany, following the advice of the 1996 Standing Conference of Education Ministers, many local states have integrated 'intercultural education' in their curricular guidelines as an aspect that should be reflected in teaching. Topical reference works and manuals for teachers assert that "information about life in different cultures is an essential element of learning", and this would imply taking "the emotional and living conditions of migrants and refugees into account, as well as investigating the relations between indigenous people and their fellow citizens from other cultures of origin" (Hölscher 1994: 9).

This approach is demonstrated in the way Islam is presented in textbooks. Whereas in the 1950s, Islam appears only as a brief sub-plot to the history of the Crusades, in current textbooks the chronological accounts are supplemented by narratives that depict Islam as a 'culture' or a 'way of life' (*Menschen, Zeiten, Räume*, vol. 2, Beddies 1999: 210), and recount "cultural encounters between Islam and Europe" (*Gesellschaft Bewusst* vol. 2, Alhring, Dziak-Mahler and Nebel 2001:172ff.; and *Menschen, Zeiten, Räume* vol. 2, Beddies 1999: 197). More often than not, gender issues relating to Islam draw particular attention as topics that require classroom discussion. Even in a history textbook that otherwise manages to avoid controversy, pupils are asked to discuss gender-related passages from the Qur'an: "What does the text say about the position of women in Islam? What do you like, what do you maybe dislike, about the rules prescribed in the Fourth Sure?"[7] (*Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, vol. 2, Ebeling 2001: 34). Other books commonly attempt to generate comparative discussions on Islam and Christianity by setting quotations from the Qur'an alongside similar quotations from the Bible, without denigrating Islam. What the current books have in common, irrespective of their different emphases, is that

gender roles enter the debate as soon as Islam is at issue—this was not the case in the corresponding editions from the 1970s.

Civics as well as history textbooks stress the contemporary necessity of recognizing 'others' and showing solidarity with them as fellow citizens, mostly through reference to unfortunate lessons from the German past. In this model, the threat no longer emanates from an 'exogenous other' (immigrant, foreigner) but from an 'indigenous' one that violates the democratic order and might jeopardize the standing of Germany in international arenas. This 'indigenous other' materializes in textbooks as the neo-Nazi youth and invariably appears as the natural, present-day extension of the Nazi past. Comparisons are made with the treatment of Jews in the Nazi period and the current violence against foreigners to discuss the issues of diversity and tolerance.

In French civics books, especially the ones written in the 1980s after the socialists came to power, ample space is devoted to substantiate and prescribe plurality and tolerance as corrective measures to racism and discrimination. The portrait and words of the prominent French-Algerian activist Harlem Desire concludes chapters on 'diversity and unity' in French society, as a means to re-examine the notions of nation, patriotism and chauvinism. The portrayal of the Crusades is also instructive with respect to the depiction of the other—in particular, the Islamic other. The Crusades, once a topic invoked in order to provide narratives of religious wars and victories between the world of Islam and world of Christianity, is now a story of economic advancement. As one history and geography book puts it: "The Crusades gave the Western people and especially the Italian merchants the possibility of controlling trade in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea." However, this economic advantage comes at a price: "In addition, the [Crusades] contributed to the development of a hostile image of the West among Muslim people, an image associated with violence and aggressive-ness." In summary, according to this French history narration: "The Crusades have dug a ditch between West and East" (Stern and Hugonie 1997: 64). This critical commen-tary on the Crusades is indicative of broader trends moving toward reconciliation of hostilities and reparation with the other.

Another form of diversity discussed, particularly in connection with Europe, is regional and linguistic diversity. The redefinition of 'French space' in the teaching of civic education and geography is particularly interesting. The move follows the administrative reforms of the 1980s. In the 1959 Civic Education Program (*Horaires et programmes de l'enseignement du second degree* 1959) the focus was on municipal institutions, departmental institutions and the state. In 1985, the teaching of the national administrative structure explicitly focuses on regional governance and decentralization, and places more emphasis on the responsibilities of local administrations (France Ministère de l'éducation nationale 1985). In the case of geography teaching, the effect of the reforms is twofold: on the one hand, the cultural specificity of French regions is brought to the fore and amplified; on the other, this 'new' French space is overtly linked to the European context.

Complementing the discussion about the way France is connected to the European space, textbooks devote special attention to regions and regional culture. In a section

entitled 'Regional cultural diversity', it is explained that "although the nineteenth century historians invented the 'nation-state' and proclaimed the Republic as 'one and indivisible', regional diversity still exists, especially in the cultural field" (Drouillon and Flonneau 1994: 230). This section is supplemented by a map showing linguistic diversity in France, the European Charter of regional and minority languages, and a text about regional languages that states: "Linguistic differences are arranged in a rich national harmony […] French regional languages are similar to some European languages and for this reason they constitute a precious bridge towards the languages of neighboring countries, thus enhancing important political and economic links with Germany, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands" (Drouillon and Flonneau 1994: 231). This emphasis on regional and linguistic diversity is quite remarkable for France, where regionalism has always had to take second place in favor of the centre, as opposed to Germany or the United Kingdom where regional autonomy is rather taken for granted.

The incorporation of *others* into the teaching of citizenship education in both China and Japan is prevalent. It is best represented by the inclusion of colorful pictures in the Japanese case. These pictures usually depict some kind of activity that typically engages two different social categories of human beings (senior versus junior, man versus woman, a Japanese person versus a foreigner). In almost all illustrations represented by pictures in these textbooks, a foreign human subject is included with a distinct effort to give equal weight to representing their ethnic origins. In one textbook, the back cover portrays a Japanese teacher who is sharing his knowledge with a group of African children (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* [Civics], 2002). While the teaching unit on the Japanese Constitution aims at detailing the spirit of this national accord, two-thirds of the pages are, in fact, devoted to the discussion of human rights as a world project for all types of human ethnicities. It is apparent that the heterogeneous nature of human communities is becoming more legitimate as the Japanese version of humanity and social interdependence.

On the contrary, the transmission of tolerance and living together harmoniously among differences is very much embedded in the narratives in the Chinese textbooks. The Chinese model begins with the numerous national minorities within the country and extends its scope to cover overseas Chinese and people from foreign cultures. One typical example is the use of the SARS epidemics incident to pinpoint that achieving an epidemics-free environment was only possible because of tolerance and a shared effort by many scientists and researchers from different parts of the world (*Lishi yu Shahui,* 9th grade, 2004: 149-150; 172-181; 46-68). Chinese textbooks have moved away from acknowledging one certain category of people in society (the proletariat, working class, labor or revolutionary heroes, etc.) toward a distinct model embracing 'lives from all walks in one global village' that reflects a more participatory, scientifically rationalized and diverse citizenry.

What kind of a citizenship model do these trends reveal?

The study program for the newly introduced school subject 'citizenship' in British curricula summarizes the above trends very effectively:

> Citizenship encourages pupils to become helpfully involved in the life of their schools, neighborhoods, communities and the wider world. It promotes their political and economic literacy through learning about our economy and our democratic institutions, with respect for its varying national, religious and ethnic identities […] It shows pupils how to make them effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1999: 28)

Accordingly, the pupils should be taught about legal and human rights and responsibilities; the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities within the United Kingdom (UK) and the need for mutual respect and understanding; the work of parliament, the government and the courts; the significance of active participation in democratic and electoral processes; the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to exert an influence on the local, national and international levels; the importance of a free press and the role of the media in society; the UK's relations within Europe, including the European Union; and the world as a global community and the wider issues and challenges of global interdependence and responsibility (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1999).

These educational priorities point to a shift in the model of a good citizen from one based solely on national collective norms to one based increasingly on transnational ones as reflected in both the European (Soysal 2005) and Asian cases (Wong 2005). The shift is from a nation-centered civics and history to one where human rights, democracy and diversity are the orienting values for public life. Citizenship education emphasizes the teaching of these broad values instead of the administrative structures and procedures of local and national states, which used to dominate the earlier curricula. The new citizen is an active and responsible one— contributing at local, national and international levels. While both China and Japan present some distinct effort in relocating citizenship as an integral part of the international entity, the international has an additional layer in Europe. European countries make an explicit effort to define Europe as part of their citizenship project, in line with the European Union project. In their effort, however, Europe emerges as not being very distinct or specific, but again validating the broader transnational norms (Soysal 2002).

It is worth noting that, in all our case countries, teaching still emphasizes national history, society and citizenship. No perception of a global or transnational citizen emerges as such, but the national is now subject to transnational reflections—this is where it obtains its legitimacy. Citizens are still constructed for a world of competitive

nation-states, however their competitiveness now comes from how much they contribute to what is held to be global, and thus worthy (Soysal 2005).[8]

Contextualizing the transformation of curricula and textbooks towards a new citizenship model

Intellectual and pedagogical shifts in the field of historiography and social studies have played an important role in shaping the trends we have presented here. A visible shift can be observed since the 1980s towards a more socially informed history in place of formal military and political histories—hence, the increasingly socio-scientific nature of curricula and textbooks and a more integrated and interdisciplinary approach to educating young citizens. Traditional historiography, marked by wars, military confrontations and heroes, has lost its primacy in favor of accounts from the cultural and social history of everyday life (Frank et al. 2000; Wong 2004). This also means an apparent reduction in the teaching of chronological history; tedious chronological sequences of history have given way to pictorial story-telling. The textbooks from the 1980s and thereafter thus exhibit more illustrations and pictures, and more descriptions of social and cultural history, with less emphasis on war and conflict. Similarly, the emphasis on participatory aspects of education in schools has a lot to do with pedagogical approaches emphasizing individual competences and capabilities (see chapters by Fiala; Braslavsky et al.).

The regional and global developments in the post-Second World War period also shaped the transformation of the citizenship model in educational spheres. European countries particularly, embedded in a long-term unifying project, have felt considerable pressure to adopt a collaborative attitude in rethinking their past and projecting their future. This is not only with reference to the European Union itself. In Europe, international attempts to re-examine and revise textbooks have a long history, going back to the inter-war period, i.e. the 1930s. The national and international committees set up then by the League of Nations in co-operation with teachers' associations in different countries sought to eliminate national prejudices and stereotypes from textbooks. With the foundation of UNESCO and the Council of Europe following the Second World War, these efforts became more institutionalized. Under their auspices, a variety of actors—teachers' associations, academics, scientific experts, advocacy groups and NGOs—have been busy networking, convening numerous conferences on 'teaching Europe', reassessing controversial episodes in European history, trying to bring rapprochement between former enemies, and developing tools and texts for educating future generations of Europeans in line with universal civic ideals.

It is important to note that the bodies and organizations that have been particularly active in this process are mostly non-governmental, at both national and transnational levels. Most of their activities have taken place outside inter-governmental negotiation structures and also outside formal EU institutions (although some are loosely associated and funded by the EU). It is not Brussels or national governments that solely determine the process of curricula and textbook reformation. This extensive

involvement of non-governmental actors contrasts strongly with some countries in Asia such as China, Japan and the Republic of Korea, where similar efforts took place after the Second World War to normalize and denationalize history teaching. In these cases, governments have had a much more direct influence over these efforts, which blocked intellectual progress and input for a long time due to the priority given to national political interests (Hein and Seldon 2000). Such a tradition of curriculum design and implementation is expected to remain as the dominant mode in Asia, although moderate resistance began to emerge recently, especially after there were serious protests from China and the Republic of Korea following the revision of Japanese textbooks under the current Koizumi government. In Europe, the involvement of large numbers of non-governmental actors, as well as expectations of proper membership in a tightly interlinked normative framework, has for some considerable time facilitated significant change in national educational agendas, as well as in the techniques and content of teaching.

Our analysis, however, shows that in recent times Asian countries have also begun to make strides in revising their curricula and textbooks, despite the fact that teaching about the atrocities of the Second World War remains a sensitive area, sometimes leading to a political crisis among Asian countries (Wong 2006). This is also taking place despite state-centric textbook production and curriculum development in Asian countries, which ensures more resistance to intellectual changes and trends in pedagogy, or more pressure from civic groups. Such centralized organization of education contrasts starkly with the European cases that we have covered in this study.

The fact that such different education systems produce increasingly similar content testifies to the strength of the emerging models. Even China cannot resist forever the broader trends that are discussed in this book. The change will come about more abruptly and more authoritatively, often leading to a major overhaul of educational policy and ideology in Asian countries, since they are no longer outsiders to the citizenship model that is so widely endorsed by the broader world.

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Notes

1. In France, the *foulard* affair, and in the United Kingdom the 'ghettoization of Muslim kids' in schools, has been suggested as evidence for the failure of citizenship projects. Germany's poor performance in the much-talked-about PISA study—a multi-country comparative study of educational achievement levels, organized by the OECD—has been blamed on immigrant children.
2. Data presented here come from an international survey on curricular time devoted to basic education (grades 1 through 8) for the years 1985 and 2000 conducted by UNESCO's International Bureau of Education (IBE), and was reported and released in April 2005.
3. List of Asian countries included in the dataset of time allocated to subjects in Elementary and Lower secondary school: [East Asia and the Pacific] Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia/Kampuchea, China, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam; [South and West Asia] Afghanistan, Bangladesh (Elementary only), India, Islamic

Republic of Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka; [Central Asia] Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan.

4. List of European countries included in the dataset of time allocated to subjects in Elementary and Lower secondary school: [Central and Eastern Europe] Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the FYR of Macedonia, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [Western Europe] Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel (Lower secondary only), Italy (Lower secondary only), Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands (Lower secondary only), Norway, Portugal, San Marino (Lower secondary only), United Kingdom.

5. The project (funded by the 'One Europe or Several?' Programme of the Economic and Social Research Council, with additional grants from the Leverhulme Trust and the British Academy) investigated the changes in nation-state identities through a comparative and longitudinal analysis of history and civic curricula and textbooks in post-war Europe. The data set for the project was constructed by sampling textbooks and curricula in France, Germany, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, and at three time points, the 1950s, the 1970s and the 1990s, when major educational reforms took place in the case countries.

6. The project seeks to investigate the organization and presentation of instructional patterns and contents through curricular programs and textbooks in the instructional area of social studies since the Second World War for countries all over the world. In particular, textbooks used in Asia across time are selected for case study comparisons. The project is funded by the Hong Kong Research Grant Council (2003-2005) and supplementary funding has also been obtained for foreign researchers from the Japanese Ministry of Education.

7. The Fourth Sure sets the rules governing marriage, kinship, inheritance and the relationship between men and women.

8. Tellingly, a recent survey attempting to find out the most important Frenchmen/women in history placed Madame Curie, Jacques Cousteau and Edith Piaf in the top ten, Napoleon occupying a mere twenty-sixth place. The survey, being a media event based on a BBC program with a similar format, and not a scholarly study, reflects certain biases. However, it is clear that for French national pride accomplishments in science, the environment and music count more than being a mighty statesman and military hero (Henley 2005: 13).