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Nationalism, Patriotism, Citizenship and beyond – Editorial

“If you stepped into a school at a moment of patriotic expression, how could you tell whether you were in totalitarian nation or a democratic one? Both the totalitarian nation and the democratic one might have students sing a national anthem. You might hear a hip-hip-hooray kind of cheer for our land emanating from the assembly hall of either school. Flags and symbols of national pride might be front and center in each school. And the students of each school might observe a moment of silence for members of their country’s armed forces who had been killed in combat.” (Westheimer 2009, 317)

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1. Globalization and Cosmopolitanism

Historically, nationalism, patriotism and citizenship have been ambivalent educational concepts. In the age of enlightenment, the programmatic essays were entitled *civics* („Staatserziehung“) or *patriotic education* („Nationalerziehung“) and fostered public education of adolescents within an educational system which was no longer held by the church but by the state. Civic education was aimed at the virtuous citizen who is well aware of public interest and welfare („Gemeinwohl“). In the 19th and especially in the 20th century, this originally “positive” concept of emancipation served to legitimate colonialism and war against neighbours. With regard to Germany in particular, the concept of a superior race led to the singular Holocaust genocide.

In present age of globalization, a new concept of citizenship is promoted which is called *cosmopolitanism* (Beck 2006; Appiah 2006; Steffens, Widmaier 2009). Currently, there is a strong shift in rewriting history from a global perspective as world history, leaving the Eurocentric colonial perspective behind (prominent examples and bestsellers are Darwin 2007; Ansaray 2009). This narrative starts to influence school textbooks.¹ Citizenship educators have to learn that there is not only the cosmopolitanism

“from the privileged for the privileged” for those who – like many academics - cross borders frequently (Phoenix 2010), perfectly acting the imperatives of the “flexible man” (Richard Sennett). But that there is a *grass root cosmopolitanism* on a micro-level, which is for example done by children in order to help their parents to translate and negotiate a bureaucratic document for the local government in immigrant affairs (Phoenix 2010; Sandström et al. 2010). This micro-level neighbourhood is creating participatory “citizenship communities”.

The new challenge by *cosmopolitanism* leads to a rethinking of the role models of the ideal citizen which are “propagated” by citizenship educators. There is the idea of “Verfassungspatriotismus” (Behrmann, Schiele 1993), or new concepts of “flexible citizenship” (Mitchell, Parker 2008) and the metaphor of “multi-sectional identities” (Phoenix 2010). Others pull back to a renaissance of character education (compare the homepage “patriotism for all” http://members.cox.net/patriotismforall/character_ed_links.html or the work of Nel Noddings). Kahne/Westheimer (2004) differentiates the following citizen models (table 1):

1 Of course the cosmopolitan movement has strong roots in the philosophical tradition, too, if we think of Immanuel Kant (Nussbaum 1996) or the almost forgotten pioneer of education for international understanding and peace, Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster (1869-1966).



Table 1: What Kind of Citizen?

	Personally Responsible Citizen	Participatory Citizen	Justice Oriented Citizen
Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acts responsibly in his/her community • Works and pays taxes • Obeys laws • Recycles, gives blood • Volunteers to lend a hand in times of crisis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active member of community organizations and/or improvement efforts • Organizes community efforts to care for those in need, promote economic development, or clean up environment • Knows how government agencies work • Knows strategies for accomplishing collective tasks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critically assesses social, political, and economic structures to see beyond surface causes • Seeks out and addresses areas of injustice • Knows about social movements and how to effect systemic change
Sample Action	Contributes food to a food drive	Helps to organize a food drive	Explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes
Core Assumptions	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible, and law-abiding members of the community	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question and change established systems and structures when they reproduce patterns of injustice over time

Kahne, Joseph; Westheimer, Joel. 2004. What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy. In: *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 27.

2. Main articles

Considering the basic concepts in a field, which encompasses an abundance of topics and issues, is a good advice (Feyfant 2010; Frazer 2007; Davies et al. 2005; Biesta 2009). *Laurance Splitter* (Hong Kong) is asking fundamental questions, what he calls the “citizenship industry”. The paper focuses on the problems linked to the term *citizenship education*, and the problems it rises in relation to the more philosophical items “person being in the world”, and the sociological items of “identities”, or the difficult to relate “well-being”. There is some concern that in the end the paper can be read as an argumentation to replace citizenship education by moral, identity, or critical education, although there are remarks, that democracy should be perfectly embedded in civics. A number of questions occur: Is there a risk of abusing citizenship education easily for nationalism and collectivism, and is it therefore overwhelming? Should citizenship education be a separate subject? How is the relation defined between pedagogical aims and aims of a subject like citizenship education? Does citizenship education have the wrong aims? How are the relations defined between the aims of different subjects? The paper enriches the discussion in social science education to the relations of other pedagogical aims and identifies their interre-

lated problems. When an earlier version of this challenging paper was presented at the conference „Education and Citizenship in a Globalising World“ convened jointly by the Institute of Education, University of London, and Beijing Normal University in November 2010 a heated discussion emerged. JSSE is looking forward to further discussion!

Education and Citizenship in a Globalising World

Institute of Education, University of London, and Beijing Normal University

London, November 2010

The results of this conference are fully documented online at the moment and give one of the best overviews of the state of the art worldwide.

For videos of the plenary sessions with keynote speakers as Lord Bikhu Parekh, Tan Chuanbao, Li Ping, Ann Phoenix, Audrey Osler, Krishna Kumar, Geoff Whitty and Hugh Starkey see <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/about/37498.html>.

Papers that were presented in the four strands may be downloaded under <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/about/37499.html>.

The fourth strand focussed on Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Education. The focus of this strand



was examination of issues around unity and diversity. This included global interconnectedness and solidarity, textbooks and national narratives and the impact of patriotism. Also under discussion was citizenship and history education and the role of education in developing cosmopolitan citizenship.

Takahiro Kondo (Nagoya) and *Xiaoyan Wu* (Japan Society for Promotion of Science) investigate “patriotism” as a goal of school education in China and Japan. The article presents a cogently argued analysis of the distinctive understandings of patriotism in the Japanese and Chinese educational contexts. In general, knowledge about citizenship education in Japan and China for foreign readers suffers from the language gap. Information on the Chinese situation has been rare according to the information policy of the Chinese government on the one hand and the paradigmatic differences in epistemologies on the other. There has been a pioneering issue of *Journal of Moral Education* through years of strenuous cooperation of Chinese and British educational scientists (2004, 1); JSSE has been monitoring the Chinese case as well (Oud 2006). Recent contributions show moral education woven with political education and indoctrination (Xu 2010; Lau 2010; Lau 2011). Professor Chuanbao Tan, Founder Director of the Centre for Citizenship and Moral Education at Beijing Normal University, argued that in spite of official sanction from President Hu Jintao for citizenship education, „in mainland China, the concept of citizenship education is still under suspicion today“. (quoted from an interview <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/newsEvents/47380.html>) He continued: „Of course, there are a host of reasons for doubt and suspicion, but one important reason is that some people lack the basic knowledge of the concepts of citizen and citizenship. Some people often suspect that the universality of the connotation of citizen will bring the catastrophe of Westernization for Chinese society and its education ... Others often worry that spurning the development of civil society and citizenship education will delay the Chinese social and political progress under the cover of specificity of the connotation of this concept.“ (ibid., Chuanbao 2010)

The Japanese situation seems easier to access for the European western reader (Suzuki 2009; Hawkins, Buckendorf 2010; Arai 2010; Nishino 2010). JSSE is very proud to have Takahiro Kondo among its board members from now on and will be continuously monitoring the Asian-Pacific region (Grossmann et al. 2008; Leung, Osler 2011).

Albena Hranova (Sofia) takes a look at history education and civic education in Bulgaria. The paper identifies traditions of Bulgarian History and Social Science Teaching, which are traced in a rather large set of textbooks spanning a long period of time (1878

- 1944 - 1989), and which are considered to have informed recent concepts of history and social science teaching. In doing so, the paper contributes to what can be coined as the historical consciousness of the discipline of history didactics itself. It throws some interesting light on both the traditional conception of Bulgaria as a national state in boundaries never realised and the role of this ideal in teaching, as well as on the role of imported disciplines (civics) and concepts (e.g. citizen) and their usage within this frame. There are similar processes of re-definition of terms and concepts within the Western countries of origin (e.g. “Bürger” in German) as well as of the similar roles which nationalist ideals as opposed to the real state played in other countries (again Germany in the inter-war period can be taken as an example). JSSE hopes for further research from post-socialist countries how they deal with their civic education heritage mirrored in micro ethnographies from classrooms, and how teachers and students are constructing the knowledge from the past.

The contribution of Kondo/Wu as well as the one of Hranova relay on textbooks as the classical objects of didactics research. Textbooks are perceived as national instruments perpetuating and sometimes changing cultures and ideologies. I would like to take the opportunity to point at a new released international journal on textbook research: *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* (JEMMS). It is issued by the well known Georg-Eckert-Institut for international textbook research in Braunschweig/Germany (www.gei.de). In the second volume, Repoussi, Tutiaux-Guillon (2010) give a very instructive overview on the state-of-the-art of research in three fields: production and distribution of textbooks, the contents of the textbook, and – last but not least – the use of textbooks as the most recent trend where research is only in its first stages.

Research instruments for textbook research

Edumeres database (<http://www.edumeres.net/>) at GEI in Braunschweig/Germany

Emmanuelle database by Alain Choppin at Institut National de recherche pédagogique INRP (<http://www.inrp.fr/emma/web/>).

There are many regions around the world where working on textbook history and the edition of joint and more multi-perspective textbooks might be a strong contribution to peace education of the future generation of citizens. This applies for example to the Israel-Palestinian region and to many African neighbouring countries (Waghid 2009). Within Europe, we have to consider the Irish conflict (Wylie 2004), Russia and Finland (Piattoeva 2009), or an older example, the peace building process between Germany and its neighbours (<http://www.gei.de/de/wissenschaft/arbeitsbe>



reich-europa.html: Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkommission, Deutsch-Tschechische Schulbuchkommission ...). A number of the issues discussed - understandings of patriotism, the difficulties of assessing citizenship etc - have been dealt with extensively in literature in Europe, North America and other regions.

Edumigrom

www.edumigrom.eu

Ethnic and Social Differences in Education in a Comparative Perspective –

EDUMIGROM publishes its comparative survey study by Julia Szalai, Vera Messing and Maria Nemenyi.

Eight target countries of the EDUMIGROM research completed survey reports, based on country datasets. A comparative dataset was produced and based on this the comparative study was prepared. The comparative endeavour found that the notion of “compulsory education for all” is more an ideal than a reality. Sizeable groups of children seem not to receive even primary education; other groups formally complete compulsory schooling but do not get hold of basic competences enabling them to continue education or step into the labour market. The survey demonstrates the wide range of mechanisms that lead to sorting and separating children of various ethnic and social background between or within schools, but these, in most cases work to the detriment of minority groups. Ethnic separation in education is just partially a by-product of the given residential conditions: spontaneous processes of “white flight”, local educational policies aiming at raising efficiency through inter- and intra-school streaming, and minority ethnic parents’ attempts at protecting children from discrimination and “othering” also contribute to the process. Segregation then becomes a key component of producing and reproducing inequalities of educational and labour market opportunities.

<http://www.edumigrom.eu/news/2010-12-30/new-publication-edumigrom-publishes-a-new-comparative-paper>

Community Studies on ethnic difference in education have been published for France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Sweden and England. The studies focused on how the school and the wider social environment influenced school performance, the formation of identity and future aspirations of adolescent youth in a multiethnic environment.

<http://www.edumigrom.eu/news/2010-12-22/new-publications-community-studies-published-for-france-germany-hungary-romania-swed>

Mehmet Acikalin (Istanbul University) reports on the current status of social studies (*sosyal bilgiler*) education in Turkey. Turkey has always been a case of special interest in comparative education accord-

ing to the topic of patriotism and nationalism. Does the “modernization dictatorship” (or authoritarian regime) by the founder of the modern Turkish republic, Kemal Atatürk, represent a rare example of a “positive” educational policy leading to democratization? JSSE has reported regularly on this subject (Cayir, Gurkaynak 2008). According to the curriculum, the purpose of social studies is to prepare those Turkish citizens who support Ataturk’s principles and revolutions, understand the Turkish history and culture, grasps democratic values, respect human rights, care about environment, know about his/her rights and responsibilities as a citizen, and think critically and creatively in order to take informed decisions.²

3. Case archive

In 2010-3 issue, JSSE started a case archive with an example of a lesson from the western part of Germany in the 1960s. Part two of the case archive continues with an example from the former eastern part of Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from 1949-1989 - a nation, which does not exist any longer. The subject is “Staatsbürgerkunde” (civics and politics) and the lesson is settled in the middle of the 1980s. Within socialist cosmopolitanism (“Kommunistische Internationale”), national identity plays always a vital role. The curriculum requires: “Dem Unterricht in den Klassen 9 und 10 liegt die weltanschauliche Erkenntnis des Marxismus-Leninismus zugrunde, daß sich die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung zum Sozialismus und Kommunismus gesetzmäßig vollzieht, daß gesellschaftliche Gesetze objektive Handlungserfordernisse zum Ausdruck bringen und daß der historische Untergang des Kapitalismus und die Errichtung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus mit geschichtlicher Notwendigkeit im revolutionären Kampf der Arbeiterklasse vollzogen werden.”³ (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Klassen 7 bis 10. Berlin 1983, 10.)

Studies in history of education have labelled the GDR as a classical form of “*Erziehungsstaat*” (Benner 1998), a sort of “participatory dictatorship” (Fulbrook 2005, 2009), where a high quality of citizenship participation fostered the illusion of a socialistic character

2 According to the vivid discussion placing the nation globally as a translator between the Arabian and the European world, the colleagues founded a new online journal – JSSER Journal of Social Science Education Research. JSSE is looking forward to intense discussion with colleagues from JSSER.

3 Translation: Instruction in classes 9 and 10 is based on the philosophical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, that the development of society towards socialism and communism is going on as a process according to the rules and laws of the nature of society, that social rules express objective social needs for action and that the historical decline of capitalism and the construction of socialism and communism are fully covered with historical necessity in the revolutionary struggle of the working class.] (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Klassen 7 bis 10. Berlin 1983, 10.)



(*sozialistische Persönlichkeit*) in a socialistic democracy. The content of the reported lesson is situated in the Cold War (1945-1991) between the Communist World and the Western World in its final period. The lesson uses the well known fable *The fox and the Grapes* (*Der Fuchs und die Trauben*) to recall national and patriotic emotions. Core questions of educational philosophy can be studied such as manipulation and indoctrination (Schluss 2007; Snook 1972/2010). The commentary (Tilman Grammes, Hamburg) provides context information to the case, an interpretation from “within” the GDR and Marxist-Leninist epistemology as well as an external interpretation from outside the Marxist-Leninist paradigm. In addition, questions for discussion with students are provided. The case does not show an example of direct manipulation. From an internal perspective it reveals that even closed epistemologies need an “open” learning environment to be credible and plausible. Paradoxically, even knowledge that is considered as secure (closed) has to be presented openly - as long as the learner is seen as the subject of an enlightenment process. Do we have a case of non-intended manipulation – the educator believes what he/she teaches? Do the students believe what they are taught? The topic of *Staatsbürgerkunde* will be continued in one of the next issues of JSSE with an enhanced report on the state-of-the-art.

4. Review and Congress Report

Law and Ethics Professor *Martha Nussbaum* contributed to the question of patriotism by her essay “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism”, which originally appeared in the Boston Review. Nussbaum argues that it is better to prepare children to be cosmopolitans - citizens of the world - rather than patriots of a nation. 15 other professors responded to Nussbaum in the volume “For

Love of Country” (2010), some challenging Nussbaum on the basis that there is no larger world government to become citizens of, belittling her suggestion that people can have many allegiances and criticizing her for putting forth an abstract, rather than a specific, sense of humanity. Nussbaum’s recent essay “Not for Profit” is again a manifesto to be discussed. It is introduced by *Ruud Veldhuis* (Amsterdam).

This issue of JSSE is a truly international one with topics from “Old Europe” as well as from Asia. The report by *Tilman Grammes* (Hamburg) is from the 90th annual congress of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and adds a third continent and political culture. The function of the report is to enable the Non-American researcher to have a quick access to the American state-of-the-art in the field of civics, law-related and economics education. There has always been a rich tradition of educational exchange among the continents. The NCSS annual congress was upset by a discussion on Social Studies Standards in Texas where key terms like “exceptionalism” focus on the positive attributes of American life – but also clearly displays an image of superiority and nationalism (Blanchette 2010). Some even started to speak of a “poisonous atmosphere” after midterm elections and the Tea Party Movement – an uncomfortable situation, where NCSS is labelled as a typical „liberal East Coast organization“ involved in the curriculum struggle.

What it means to be patriotic or cosmopolitan is a matter of considerable debate. Thus, finally two helpful distinctions could be given in this trickled discourse field:

The first one is given by Westheimer (2009) who differentiates nationalistic and democratic patriotism (table 2):

Table 2: The Politics of Patriotism

	Authoritarian Patriotism	Democratic Patriotism
Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief that one’s country is inherently superior to others. • Primary allegiance to land, birthright, legal citizenship, and government’s cause. • Non-questioning loyalty. • Follow leaders reflexively, support them unconditionally. • Blind to shortcomings and social discord within nation. • Conformist; dissent seen as dangerous and destabilizing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief that one’s country’s ideals are worthy of admiration and respect. • Primary allegiance to principles that underlie democracy. • Questioning, critical, deliberative loyalty. • Care for the people of society based on particular principles (e.g., liberty, justice). • Outspoken in condemnation of shortcomings, especially within nation. • Respectful of, even encouraging of, dissent.
Slogans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My country, right or wrong. • America: love it or leave it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dissent is patriotic. • You have the right to NOT remain silent.
Historical Example	<p>McCarthy Era House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) proceedings, which reinforced the idea that dissenting views are anti-American and unpatriotic.</p>	<p>The fiercely patriotic testimony of Paul Robeson, Pete Seeger, and others before HUAC admonishing the committee for straying from American principles of democracy and justice.</p>
Contemporary Example	<p>Equating opposition to the war in Iraq with “hatred” of America or support for terrorism.</p>	<p>Reinforcing American principles of equality, justice, tolerance, and civil liberties, especially during national times of crisis.</p>

Westheimer, Joel. 2009. Should Social Studies Be Patriotic? In: *Social Education* 73, 7, 318.

The second one is given by Aviv Cohen (2010, 25) in the *Canadian Journal of Social Studies* (table 3). Using the method of ideal types he differentiates four conceptions of civic education:



Table 3: Conceptions of Civic Education – A Comparison

	Liberal Civic Education	Diversity Civic Education	Critical Civic Education	Republican Civic Education
Nature of Man	Individual	Affiliated to a social group	Individual that is juxtaposed to other individuals and groups	Affiliated to the nation/state
Nature of Society	A gathering of individuals	A gathering of social groups	A reality in which power structures maintain oppression	The nation as a whole that is worth more than the sum of its parts
Perception of Knowledge	Emphasizes knowledge that is aimed at helping the individual act in the public sphere	Emphasizes knowledge that is aimed at helping the social groups act in the public sphere	A tool in the hands of the oppressors that can be utilized in order to question reality	Emphasizes knowledge regarding the larger social entity
Perception of Attitudes	Emphasizes the individualistic values	Emphasizes values which connect the individual to the social group	Can be manipulated in order to maintain social reality	Emphasizes values which connect the individual to the larger social entity
Role of Education	Develop individual skills	Develop skills in order to enhance the reality of the social group and its place in society	Develop critical abilities	Promote a feeling of belonging to the larger social entity
Normative Goals of Civic Education	The student will develop the skills essential for acting as a participating citizen	The student will understand the ways in which the different social groups that compose society may receive recognition and take part in national field	The student will develop individual analytical skills needed in order to better understand the unjust reality of society	The student should possess an authentic feeling of belonging to the state

Cohen, Aviv. 2010. A Theoretical Model of four Conceptions of Civic Education. In: *Canadian Journal of Social Studies* 44, 1, 25.

Perhaps such distinctions can clarify this field, which is often affected by heated debates.

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